

# THE ARENA

EDITED BY B. O. FLOWER

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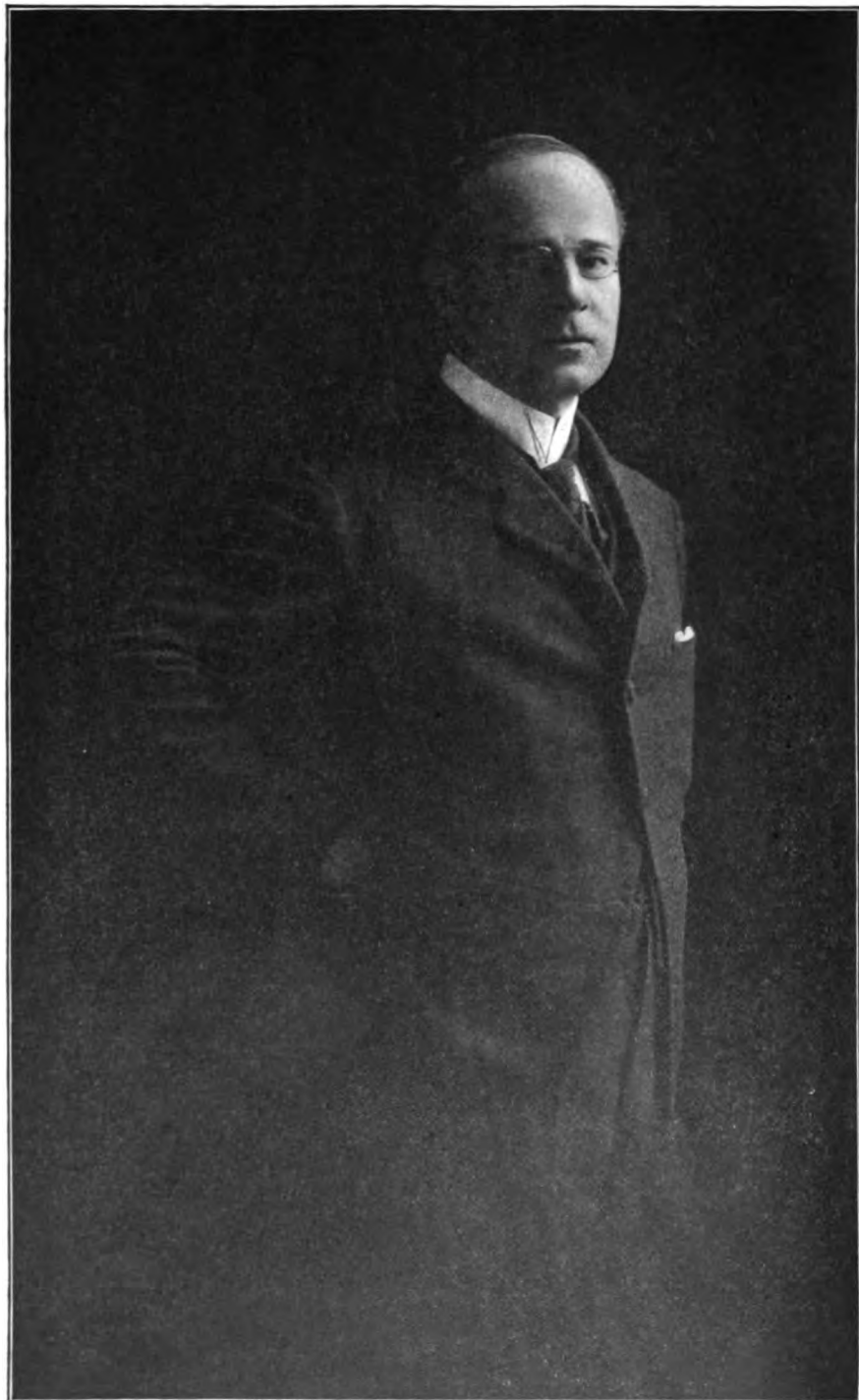


Photo. by Marceau, New York.

**RICHARD MANSFIELD IN 1905**

Courtesy of Mr. Mansfield to Kanyon West.

*"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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No. 194

## RICHARD MANSFIELD.

BY KENYON WEST.

SCHILLER said that for actors posterity has no wreaths, that immortal fame comes only to the creator, not to the mere interpreter.

The ordinary actor is indeed but the interpreter of other men's ideas; but in the work of a dramatic artist like Richard Mansfield there is so much creative genius, so much of the illuminative quality, the distinction, the imagination, of the creative interpreter, that, after the inevitable fate of humanity overtakes him and his mortal part is dust, his memorial will be something besides a tradition of greatness, fading gradually into oblivion:—his name will live, his creations will be part of dramatic history, kept in vivid and grateful memory.

Richard Mansfield is not only the most important figure on our stage to-day, but he is one of the most interesting men of our time. His work as an actor is full of intellectual power and dignity, but it is all infused with the subtle and alluring influence of his peculiar temperament. Many actors have the mysterious quality which we call magnetism. Mansfield has it in full measure, but his magnetism is unlike that which influences us in others. In this, as in everything else, he is thoroughly unique.

His method and his style are his own. Not the least of his virtues is his disre-

gard of theatrical traditions. He calls no man master. He is mentally so strong that he has taken his own course, independent of praise or blame.

It is a great gain to go to the theater and find a method of interpretation different from what has been expected. It is a gain to have one's mind stimulated, one's imagination fired, and to have new aspects of life and of art presented in an original as well as brilliant manner. Mansfield makes his audiences think as well as observe and enjoy.

The occasional opposition he has aroused is a tribute to his power rather than a proof of defeat. And the inequalities sometimes observed in his work are due to his temperament. Such a man would be, of course, a man of varied mood; and this variation of mood might vary his interpretation of a certain character. Who that has seen his marvelous impersonation of Richard III. has ever seen him play it twice alike in every minute detail? Ten years ago there was in "Richard III.," from the weird, ghost-haunted sleep to the battle and death-scene, a cumulation of impressive acting which had seldom been paralleled upon our stage. The struggles of the valiant, despairing king were fierce and terrible. His yielding to the dread Conqueror was slow and desperate. He grew weaker



Photo. by Conly, Boston.

A RARE PORTRAIT OF MR. MANSFIELD,  
TAKEN FIFTEEN OR TWENTY  
YEARS AGO.

and weaker, but his indomitable spirit upheld him. Finally he fell, but only to rise once more and make a convulsive effort to lunge with his sword at an enemy unseen by his dimming sight but ever-present to his tortured conscience. The clutching of the tree behind him for support was remarkably vivid.

Last spring when Mansfield presented "Richard III." after the interval of so many years, several important changes were noticeable. The development of Gloster's character from youth to manhood, from the impish, mirthless glee of the murderer of Henry to the sardonic, somber gloom of the solitary king on his uncertain throne was made intensely human,

without a trace of inartistic sensational appeal. In the tent-scene, followed by the hysterical recognition of Catesby, the actor touched an altitude of tragic power which was sublime. The death-scene was quite different from what it had been ten years before. The struggle was quickly over. The spiritual conflict with the dread Conqueror had taken place before Richard fell on Bosworth Field. The meeting with Richmond was but the physical consummation of his doom.

No! Richard Mansfield has no cut-and-dried method. He will never get into a rut. There will always be something novel and interesting in his impersonations; for, like Keats and other great men, he has the faculty of growth.

Mansfield's temperament and genius can only be partially explained by reference to his nationality and ancestry. The son of Captain Mansfield of the British army and of the famous Russian singer, Madame Rudersdorf, he was born in Berlin a little over forty-five years ago. Mr. Mansfield has not taken the trouble to correct the prevailing impression that his birthplace was Heligoland, but he himself is the authority for the statement that it was Berlin.

In many striking qualities of his character and in the German atmosphere which he infuses into several of the most successful plays with which his fame is identified we can trace the Teutonic influences of his early days. From his mother he must have inherited many of his vocal and artistic gifts, and the circumstances and environment of his youth strengthened and developed them. Her career as an honored "Gast" at many of the most brilliant courts of Europe was illustrious, and the boy had unusual opportunities for culture and to see life in some of its most varied and interesting phases.

The foundations of his scholarship were laid at one of England's most famous schools, but he devoted himself to several things besides books, and when the





by Byron, New York.

MR. MANSFIELD AS ALCESTE IN "THE MISANTHROPE."

came to choose his own career he thought of being a painter. His ability both vocal and instrumental music given delight to his mother's guests, he had also painted with promise of great success. Even now he finds it occasionally to paint pictures which were Mrs. Mansfield's especial pride.

But fate did not intend Richard Mansfield to gain his high position in the world except as an actor. Therefore she made him suffer hardships until he finally found the right path. An intense and sensitive nature like that of Mansfield must

pass through suffering; but his strength of character, his stern self-reliance, would have made it impossible for him to do anything but carve out his own fortunes, independent of help from his friends. In Boston he tried for a time to content himself as a "clerk" in a "store," but he soon returned to London to work again at his painting. The hardships he endured in London have been the subject of much newspaper gossip, but under the circumstances they were inevitable. Had his pathway been strewn with soft grass and fragrant roses instead of rough, un-



Photo. by Sarony, New York.

MR. MANSFIELD AS DON JUAN, 1891.

pleasant stones, he would have missed certain experiences which have been important in the building up of his character. He would also not have been in that glorious company of great men who win success in spite of obstacles and overwhelming odds,—win it by means of their own vital energy and force of will.

Fortunate is it for the American stage that Richard Mansfield was forced to give up his plans for a painter's career. The pretty story has been often told of how he went without breakfast that he might have violets in his coat when he sought an interview with W. S. Gilbert in order to get a part in "Pinafore." Gilbert might well be surprised when

Mansfield sang one part of "La ci darem" in his rich baritone and the answering soprano in a falsetto whose beauty and clearness of tone were delightful. This remarkable vocal achievement was the cause of his engagement then as Sir Joseph, followed later by his appearance in different rôles in a number of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas.

The same versatility which showed itself in the contrasts in the range of his voice is, of course, the most obvious characteristic of his dramatic art; and in his tastes and occupations we can see that he is many-sided. He is a genius, but he has an evenly-balanced mind. He is a scholar and a thinker. He writes, he talks well, and has sane and healthful views of life. He is a man of his word, a lover of truth.

Mansfield has spent the last twenty years continuously in America, with the exception of one season when he played at the Lyceum Theater in London, and an occasional pleasure-trip abroad. He has a winter residence in New York, and a summer-home in New London, and one of his chief summer recreations is cruising in Long Island Sound.

Everything American appeals to him with peculiar freshness and power. We are told that once when he, with vigor and impressiveness of argument, was defending our integrity as a "producing and creating nation of artists," a somewhat superficial youth asked the great actor if he were an American; and the question was put with an unmistakable tone of sarcasm. It was answered without resentment, but Mansfield said, with



MR. MANSFIELD PHOTOGRAPHED IN HIS STUDY AT NEW LONDON, CONN., BY VIVIAN BURNETT, SON OF FRANCES HODGSON BURNETT, OCTOBER, 1905.

due emphasis: "Geographically I am not an American, for I was not born here. Shall we not in the artistic world, however, consider a man native to the country where he spends all the years of his choice, where he founds his home, to which he gives the offering of all that nature has granted him?"

Mansfield married an American—a young actress who was in his company when he first produced "Prince Karl." She has acted in many of his most im-

\* Miss Fanton tells this charming story: "Several years ago, when the 'Scarlet Letter' was adding fresh laurels to the actor's fame and just before the production of 'Beau Brummell' in Philadelphia, a child in the company, who played Pearl in the 'Scarlet Letter,' was taken seriously ill. She was a fragile mite of six years, an enthusiastic actress, but not equal to the strain of acting and traveling. Mr. Mansfield, who was devoted to his little comrade, insisted upon taking her with the company to Philadelphia, in order that he might consult a noted nerve and heart specialist of that

portant plays, but she retired from the stage several years ago. Their home-life is most happy and serene. A boy, whom they call "Gibbs," born the year that Mansfield made his famous production of "Cyrano de Bergerac," does a great deal to make their home-life beautiful.

Children have always had special power to win Mansfield's affection and he has been much beloved by the children who have acted with him.\*

city. When it was decided that the baby actress must give up the stage and be confined to her room for weeks, as the only chance of saving her life, Mansfield made a point of going to see her every day after rehearsal, taking her flowers, goodies and toys galore.

"During the rehearsals of 'Beau Brummell,' the child was in a fever of excitement, for she had set her heart on seeing her hero in the title rôle. On the day of the dress rehearsal, when Mr. Mansfield dropped in with a package under his arm as usual, what was her inexpressible delight to behold him



MR. MANSFIELD AS EUGENE COURVOISIER IN "THE FIRST VIOLIN," 1896.

We can well understand that the same genius for entertaining children which made the actor so delightful in "The First Violin" would also make him a most entertaining companion for his own boy. Many people might be inclined to congratulate the son equally with the father.

The New York house of Richard Mansfield is on Riverside Drive, just clad, from head to foot, as Beau Brummell, silks, laces, high hat, all complete.

"'Oh, if we were only in the theater,' she cried, 'and I could see the curtain go up and hear the applause!'"

"'Well, here 's the theater,' was the reply, as the actor undid his huge package and displayed a toy theater, with drop-curtain and bell. Then placing

south of 104th street, where the bank is very high and the view of the river most enchanting. The house is richly furnished and in every part shows the evidences of culture and good taste. Best of all, it has "the atmosphere of home."

Mansfield is fond of outdoor life, is athletic, an expert in swimming and rowing, but his especial passion is horseback riding. He has a strong mind in a strong body. His health gives him a vast power for hard work and is an important factor in his artistic success.

The exacting nature of his professional work prevents him from having much time to devote to any but a select circle of personal friends. His Sunday evenings are given to these friends, and in his drawing-room can often be seen men and women eminent in art, letters and in statesmanship. For this many-sided man is not alone artistic in his tastes, but politics and sociological and economic problems engage his atten-

tion and excite his interest. If proof were needed of his Americanism, proof could be given by the fact that the people most warmly welcomed and most highly esteemed in the Mansfield home are distinctively American.

To the friends intimate with him Mansfield is a most entertaining companion. His talk is humorous, suggestive, full of the little playhouse on the foot of the bed, he rang up the curtain, waited for the child to applaud, and proceeded to give a monologue of Beau Brummell in his best style, and, as he afterward said, "to the most sympathetic audience he had ever played to."

"Later when Mr. Mansfield left Philadelphia, his little friend was sent to Lakewood with her mother, and was kept on full salary until she died."

imagination. He has the narrative gift, and his reminiscences of his boyhood are interesting and graphic,—a boyhood full of rich and novel experiences when he accompanied his mother on those memorable visits to the various courts of Europe.

For many years certain newspaper gossips have concerned themselves with references to Mansfield's sarcastic speech, his impatience, his arrogant temper in the midst of the wearing trials of rehearsal. He is indeed a strict disciplinarian. His executive faculty, his skill in practical organization, are somewhat unusual in an artist. He has invented an admirable system for the guidance of his company and the benefits of his discipline are substantial. Schiller said:

"Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens."\*

It is the fate of every great man to be the victim of the envy, spite and uncharitableness of lesser spirits. Mansfield is a fighter. He has won his high position by dint of hard work and untiring energy as well as by the compelling power of his genius. He has had to deal blows as well as suffer them; but his blows have been dealt in a good cause. For many years he has worked for certain reforms and changes in the theater, and these reforms concern the humblest members of his company. He has contended with managers to have proper service on the stage, clean floors, clean dressing-rooms, warmth in winter, quiet attendants and other advantages; and he has been called a crank because of

\*"With stupidity even the gods themselves contend in vain."

this contention. "By his assiduous complaint," asserts his secretary, "it has become accepted that Mansfield must have these things right. Now he no longer complains, because as a rule when he comes into a theater his demands have been anticipated and the way is paved for himself and those surrounding him to give the public the very best possible."

It is certain that the public has benefited by every one of Mansfield's victories.

I have a strong suspicion that when actors have left his company and forthwith gossiped about how impossible it is "to get along with Mansfield," they have



From a painting by Edgar Cameron.

MR. MANSFIELD AS THE BARON CHEVRIAL IN "A PARISIAN ROMANCE"

Play produced in 1882. From a photograph taken in 1906.

been so full of the mighty "ego" that they have felt themselves under no necessity to submit to discipline. There are very few actors in this country who cannot learn something from Richard Mansfield.

Mansfield's distinction as a stage director is due to the fact that to the costumes, the demeanor, the make-up, the demeanor of even the humblest super in his company he pays careful attention. His "Julius Cæsar," "Cyrano de Bergerac," "Ivan the Terrible" and "Henry V." have been notable spectacular as well as dramatic productions, picturesque in their elaborate detail and investiture

of scenic beauty. In his guidance of the actors who are his principal support, Mansfield has a fine and true feeling for dramatic harmony; there is a thorough study of manners, exquisite skill in minute portraiture, and historical fidelity.

One of his friends says that Mansfield realizes that he is sometimes nervous and irritable and that he frequently begins a rehearsal with a note to the effect that he may say things he does not mean and that he hopes his people will try and understand him.

As for the newspaper men, one of them in enumerating the well-known "man-nerisms" of Richard Mansfield, said recently:

"Perhaps somebody took out an accident insurance policy, hired a corps of private detectives for a body-guard, donned chain-armor, and then gently apprised him of these things. Certain it is that in late years they have been gradually diminishing."

A great man, be he actor, novelist or poet, ought to take criticism peaceably,—that is, if the critic knows enough to be a critic of great art. But I do not wonder at any man's impatience with much of the crude, illogical, mole-eyed and misinformed writing that passes for modern criticism.

The critics of the high order, critics who are scholarly, who have insight into the finer phases of genius, the subtler methods of imaginative interpretation of dramatic masterpieces, are all on Mansfield's side. During the last three years he has won the critics and won the public as never before. He has won universal



Mr. MANSFIELD IN "KING RICHARD III."  
First produced in 1889. From a photograph taken in 1905.  
Courtesy of Mr. Mansfield.

recognition of his great services to art, and as more is gradually learned about the man, justice is being done to his fine qualities of mind and heart.

Of the rôles with which the fame of Richard Mansfield is identified, the list is long.

On that memorable night at the Union Square Theater, New York, when he assumed the character of Baron Chevrial, he first excited the attention of thoughtful students of the drama. But before that he had acted with skill and distinction.

His American *début* was made September 26, 1882, in an opera called "The Black Cloaks," and the papers of the following day made note that the hit of the night had been made by an unknown young man who had assumed the character of Dromez, the leading comedy rôle.

His next appearance was in Planquette's "Rip Van Winkle," Mansfield's rôle being Nick Vedder. Then came the great triumph in "A Parisian Romance," when he made the character of Baron Chevrial stand out with startling vividness and power.

This was succeeded by his appearance in Boyesen's "Alpine Roses" in which he created the rôle of Count von Dornfeld. Associated with him were Georgia Cayvan, W. J. Lemoyne, Marie Burroughs and George Clarke.

He then won success in a musical comedy called "La Vie," his rôle being another baron, with the euphonious name of von Wiener Schnitzel. Laura Burt acted with him.



From a painting by Edgar Cameron.

MR. MANSFIELD AS SHYLOCK IN SHAKESPEARE'S  
"THE MERCHANT OF VENICE."

Play produced in 1898.

A visit to England was followed in 1885 by his appearance in a play called "Victor Durand" in which he was another baron, the villainous De Mersac. Then he was Nasconi, Podesta of Syracuse, in a play called "Gasperone." The next season he was Herr Kraft in Steele Mackaye's drama "In Spite of All." Mrs. Fiske played with him. Then for some time he was in Boston playing Koko in "The Mikado."

Then came his own production of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" and of the charming contrast to that gruesome tragedy, the memorable "Prince Karl." The



people who have seen only the later revivals of "Prince Karl" miss from them Mansfield's famous mimicry of amateur musical artists. This was exceedingly droll and amusing and showed to fine advantage the actor's vocal powers. The play is altogether delightful, full of humor, liveliness and rollicking fun, and one of its best features is the perfect sympathy it establishes between actor and audience. His production of "Prince Karl" in 1886 is especially notable because it inaugurated his career as an independent star. In 1887 came "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" and the play called "Monsieur" in which Mansfield was Andre Rossini Mario de Jadot.

In 1889 came "Richard III." In 1890 he produced "Master and Man," he being Humpy Logan. To this same year belongs his famous "Beau Brummell." In 1891 his rôles were "Don Juan" and "Nero" in two plays of great interest. In 1892 he produced "Ten Thousand a Year," his character being Tittlebat Titmouse. To the same year belongs the production of "The Scarlet Letter," Mansfield, of course, being Arthur Dimmesdale. In 1893 came "The Merchant of Venice." Mansfield's Shylock is one of his most popular characters. In 1894 he produced Bernard Shaw's "Arms and the Man." The eccentric character of Captain Bluntschli brought out very entertaining phases of the actor's art. In 1894 he also produced his "Napoleon." In 1895 his character was Don Pedro XIV. in "The King of Peru." In the same year he was Rodion in "The Story of Rodion the Student." In 1896 his character was Sir John Sombras in "Castle Sombras." In 1897 he produced Shaw's "Devil's Disciple," his rôle being Dick Dudgeon.

In 1898 came that charming play "The First Violin," his rôle being Eugene Courvoisier. It was worth the price of admission to hear Mansfield sing Ben. Jonson's immortal lyric, "Drink to me only with thine eyes." The lullabies

sung to the little Sigmund were also touching and impressive.

In 1898 came the stupendous production of "Cyrano de Bergerac." He played this for two seasons. Then in 1900 came another costly offering, "Henry V." In 1901 came that charming play, "Monsieur Beaucaire." In 1902 he put on another costly Shakespearian production, "Julius Cæsar," Mansfield acting Brutus. In 1903 he gave an English version of "Alt Heidelberg," his character being Prince Karl Heinrich. In 1904 came his marvelous presentment of "Ivan the Terrible." In 1905 he gave the first presentation in English of Molière's "Le Misanthrope." In many respects the rôle of Alceste is Mansfield's greatest.

Now this list of plays is significant, not alone because some of them are great plays but because they are kept in Mr. Mansfield's repertory and every season he gives representations of them. This is one reason why his company has to be under excellent discipline. It has to be "kept up" in fully a dozen plays,—that is, ready to produce them at any time. Several of these plays are things of shreds and patches and would soon be forgotten did they not possess a central character, which, as interpreted by Mansfield, stands out with vivid force and dramatic significance. These personalities as enacted by him have also authoritative and vital ethical value. He is "a great public teacher through the impersonations which he has chosen for his repertory. . . . By a *per contra* method he tells us what traits of character to avoid, since the exercise of them is fatal to life or happiness."

"The supreme merit of Mr. Mansfield's impersonation of Jekyll and Hyde" says William Winter, "is that it transcends personal display; that it comes home to every human heart and has a meaning for every human soul."

Richard Mansfield's technical equipment is extraordinary. It seems as if he had at his command every theatrical resource and expedient. In the hands of



an actor of inferior equipment, a *rôle* like that of Mr. Hyde might seem cheap and tawdry, but he has a wonderful power to invest it with a certain truth and convincing realism which is simply irresistible. William Winter is right when he calls Mansfield's "Mr. Hyde" an "assumption remarkable for prodigious power." It is no easy matter to make stage deaths satisfactory. The tendency is to overact. The spectator does not submit willingly to the horrible alone. An appeal to the imagination is required, suggestion rather than too much detail. Mansfield always dies impressively. The deaths of Baron Chevrial and of Mr. Hyde partake indeed of the horrible, but the just balance between the fitting, the essential and the awe-inspiring seems to be maintained. The death scenes of Beau Brummell, of Cyrano de Bergerac and of Brutus are most powerful and touching, and they furnish excellent examples of Mansfield's artistic method—a method which takes

account of the value of cumulative interest. There are no anti-climaxes in this method.

This list of plays proves many things, the most obvious being, of course, that Richard Mansfield's versatility is unmatched on our contemporary stage. Many of these plays deal with tremendous tragic forces working amid tragic circumstances towards an inevitable destruction. They deal with grim horror, with colossal crime, with sorrow, and with death. These tragic forces and situations he treats with temperamental



MR. MANSFIELD AS THE CZAR IVAN IN "IVAN THE TERRIBLE," 1904.

Courtesy of Mr. Mansfield.

sympathy and superb distinction. He has the imaginative grasp, the far-reaching vision of the true tragic poet. But to say that Richard Mansfield's power lies in his being a great tragedian is but a statement of a half-truth. In sparkling, brilliant comedy, in the expression of delicate, poetic sentiment, in the display of genial kindness and heroic generosity, in the expression of the lighter phases of satire, in cynical wit, in rollicking humor, he is also masterly.

He has his limitations, to be sure, for he is but human. He has often shown

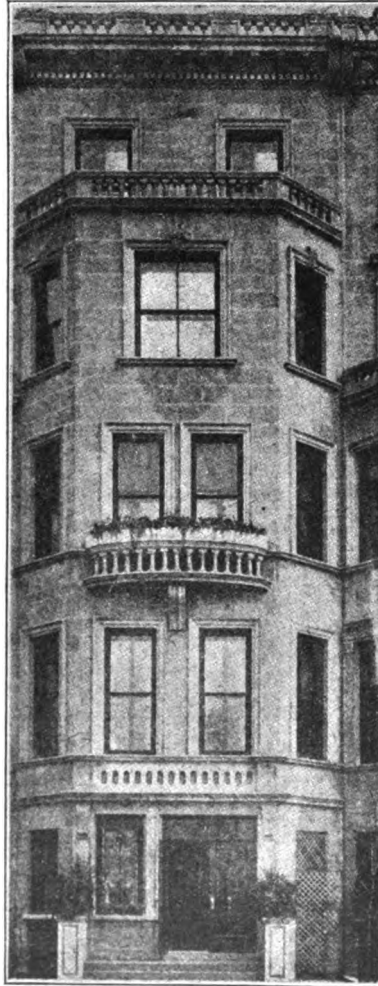
defects—"mannerisms" if you choose—but during these twenty years that he has been presenting new plays nearly every year and keeping before the public so many of the old, we notice every season a broadening and deepening of his art, a gradual elimination of what is crude and experimental, a progress more and more certain towards perfection.

Richard Mansfield is a leader of the stage not only because he is a man of genius, of artistic temperament, of insight and judgment, but because of this versatility which makes it necessary that he be seen in many or perhaps all of his portrayals in order to gain the full measure of the man, to realize the scope of the powers with which he is endowed. One needs to see the sardonic malignancy, the meditative villainy, the solitary and lonely remorse of his Richard; the creepy, repulsive villainy of his Mr. Hyde; the delicacy and deftness of his portrayal of the fascinating Beaucaire; the crafty, hideously courteous sensuality of his Cheverial; the poetic wistfulness and the sad thralldom of his Jekyll; the airy grace, the proud and tender charm of his Beau Brummell; the sardonic cruelty and fierce racial hatred of his Shylock; the simplicity and loving heroism of his Eugene Courvoisier; the fine patience,

the chivalrous devotion of his wise and witty, self-effacing Cyrano; the baleful, somber gloom of the suspicious, conscience-haunted Ivan; the tragic splendor, the melancholy dignity of the distraught Brutus; the beautiful sincerity of the restless, impatient, half-tender, half-cynical Alceste.

It cannot be denied that, whatever qualities an actor who essays rôles diametrically opposed to each other may or may not have, it is absolutely essential that he have the power to create illusion. Mansfield infuses into his impersonations of Brummell, Cheverial, Ivan, Richard, so insistent a reality, such supreme force, that the spectator has the continual sense of illusion. But his power to create this illusion is not due merely to his mastery of externals, to his changes in physical aspect. His Gloucester is different from his Brummell, his Nero, or his Napoleon, not only in make-up, in gesture, in innumerable phases of stage business, in marvelously swift changes in facial expression, in vocal contrasts, and in the alternate flash

or smouldering of the light in his eyes; but these impersonations make their impression by the denotement of those mental and spiritual qualities which differentiate one character from another. Here comes in the faculty of



MR. MANSFIELD'S CITY HOME ON  
RIVERSIDE DRIVE.

imagination which is the chief attribute of genius,—the imagination which lies at the root of all true poetry, all great painting, and without which dramatic art, however technically perfect, is but a soulless and empty imitation.

Underneath the external form and style of Mansfield's art there is the soul, the temperament of the actor. Into each impersonation he throws so much Promethean fire that it is vital with human sympathy and emotion.

Mansfield's imagination is also shown by his skill in suggestion. He sets other imaginations to working; you feel that there is more in his characters than he cares to reveal. He imparts an air of mystery to his characters. His work is not done on a hard surface. It has atmosphere. It opens out limitless visions.

John Corbin says that "the touchstone of histrionic genius is in the power of giving vibrant force and varied color to the verbal utterance of emotion." Doubtless he has in mind Mansfield's own words in a speech he once delivered to the students of the Empire School of Acting. "When you are acting a part," said Mansfield, "think of your voice as a color, and, as you paint your picture, (the character you are painting, the scene you are portraying,) mix your colors. You have on your palate (pallet) a white voice, *la voix blanche*; a heavenly ethereal, or blue voice, the voice of prayer; a disagreeable, jealous, or yellow voice; a steel gray voice, for quiet sarcasm; a brown voice of hopelessness; a lurid, red voice of hot rage; a deep, thunderous voice of black; a cheery voice, the color of the green sea, that a brisk breeze is crisping, and then there's a pretty little pink voice—and shades of violet—but the subject is endless."

"Some excellent voices," says Corbin, "suggest silver. They do very well for

the minor movements of the heart, the palely reflected moonlight of the spirit. Mansfield's voice is pure gold. Even in its most delicate and colloquial shadings it has the fresh color, the unmistakable authenticity of sunlight. Its anger is torrid, its rage scarlet; and when the shadow of defeat, despair, and even death, passes over and into it it glows with the crimson and the purple of sunset. In that nobly restrained scene of the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius the austere carriage and the luminous eye of the actor will linger long in memory; but what swelled the veins and lifted the heart into the throat was the smouldering pathos of the voice.

"O Cassius, I am sick of many griefs . . .  
No man bears sorrow better. Portia is dead."

In the scene before Agincourt King Henry's prayer swelled like an organ with majestic spiritual fervor.

"O God of battles! steel my soldiers' hearts;  
Possess them not with fear; take from them now  
The sense of reckoning if the opposed numbers  
Pluck their hearts from them. Not to-day, O  
Lord,  
O not to-day, think not upon the fault  
My father made in compassing the crown!"

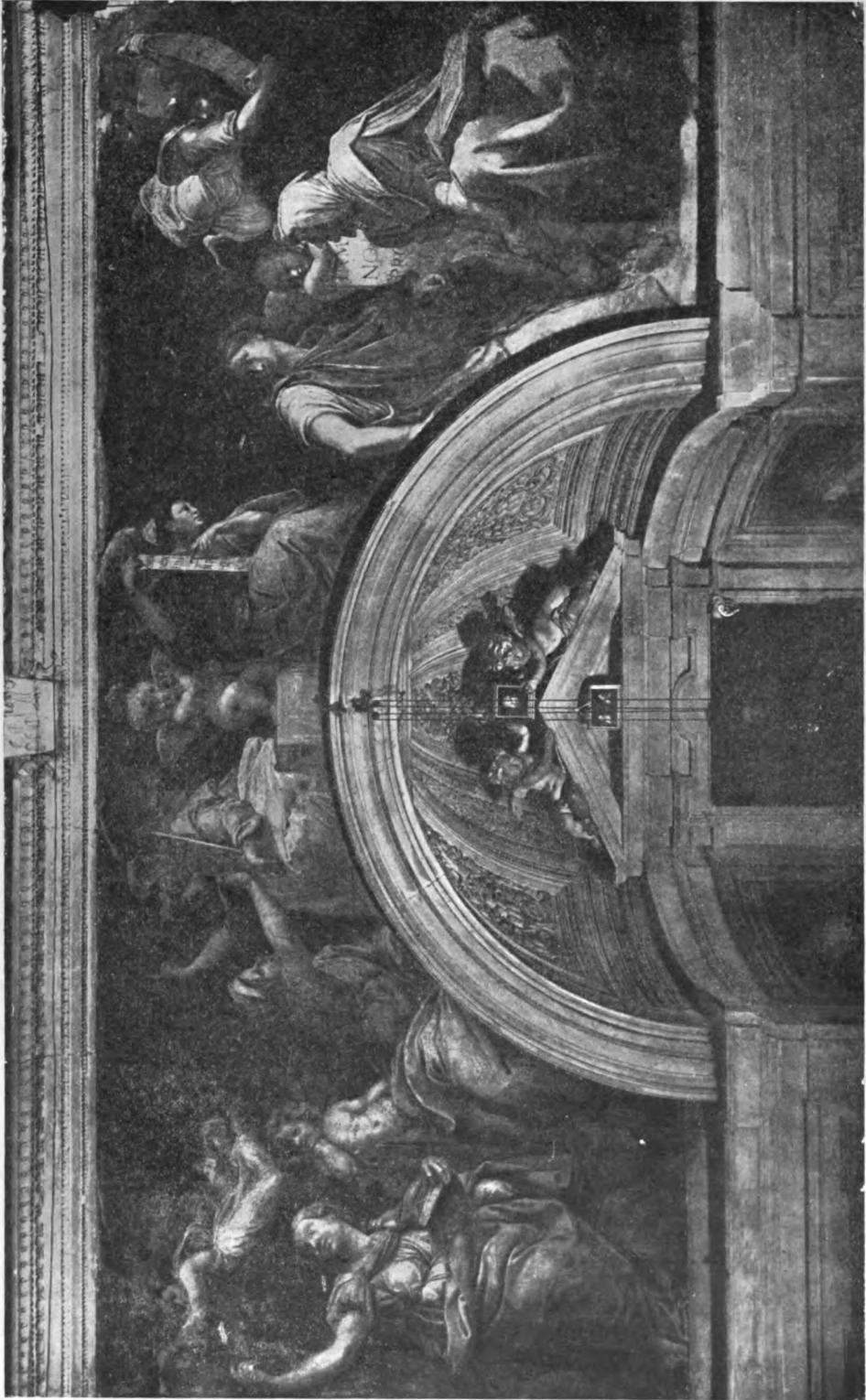
None of us will ever forget the thrill we felt when Alceste, in fiery abandon and passionate fervor thundered out:

"I love my love, I love my love so well"

In a magazine article it is impossible to attempt an adequate criticism of Richard Mansfield's work. But a slight tribute to the worth and value of that work is one which every lover of the best art is glad to pay. Now that Henry Irving is gone there is no one to dispute Richard Mansfield's leadership.

KENYON WEST.

New York City.



THE FIVE SYBILS OF RAPHAEL—IN SANTA MARIA DELLA PACE, ROME.

# THE PRINCIPLES OF THE DECORATIVE ART-SPIRIT OF JAPAN IN COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF WESTERN COUNTRIES.

BY MRS. F. EDWIN ELWELL.

I HAVE taken the Art of the East and West at the present time. I do not include in my remarks on Western Art any of our inheritance of the past, but only the contemporary phases that we are producing at the present. I am not comparing the *ethical* standards of Japan, but their standards of *Art* with those of Western countries.

*Art* is simply the harmonious expression of human emotions and thought—the power to perceive the beautiful and express it in artistic forms.

Art is always interpretative. It interprets the life and feelings of the people of the period. We all recognize that “the coin outlives the empire, the bust survives the state.”

Art is of two great classes, Creative and Decorative.

Creative Art follows no canons. It is purely and simply inspirational, but creating always new forms of expressing itself. Where Art expresses high ideals, impersonating great qualities, as Justice, Mercy, Truth, Heroic Action,—it becomes creative.

Creative Art elevates the intellectual and spiritual side of man's nature, teaching unconsciously a lesson, appealing to our highest faculties with subtle power, developing the poetic instinct.

Decorative Art, on the other hand, is only a part and is subordinate and does not necessarily appeal to the highest faculties.

One proof of the greatness of Creative Art, is that it requires a certain measure of mental development on the part of the beholder to appreciate it, while Decorative Art requires little effort of mind to understand.

Decorative Art may express these high sentiments but they are always subordinated to the ornamental embellishment, for which it stands.

It is a rule in all composition that the principal idea, the predominant creative feeling, should never be confounded with the accompanying decorations, or ornamental development, although it should be expressed by it. Therefore the separation of Art into the two classes.

Decorative Art follows always some set canons, and has for its aim pleasing qualities, without thought and desire for the creative quality.

Decorative Art is the adaptation of the beautiful to living. It is interpretative as far as it gives one a graphic conception of an intellectual idea.

Ruskin says in *Stones of Venice* that at times the decorative becomes so great that it develops into the creative, and the building is simply a support or easel. He cites this as a decadence of art. But take, for example, Raphael's “Sibyls” in the church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome. The decoration so far out-values the creative structure of the church that the whole architecture is but a casket containing this precious jewel.

Does the West truly understand what Decorative Art is? Are they not unconsciously copyists of greater masters, and have they the originality for fine decorative results?

The Japanese seem to have the spirit of true Decorative Art, in which the West was lacking until recent years. With the advent of the mural decorations of Puvis de Chavannes in Paris, some thirty years ago, Decorative Art took a great step on to a higher plane. The simple principles that Puvis de Chavannes in-

stituted were that true Decorative Art must be of such a character that the attention should never be concentrated on any part at the *expense* of the whole constructive work.

Louis Gonse, Director of *Gazette de Beaux Arts*, in his introduction to his book *L'Art Japonais* says: "This idea ought to be clearly expressed. The Japanese are the first decorators of the world. All explanation of their esthetic work ought to be searched with a supreme instinct of harmonies, in a constant, logical, inflexible subordination of art to the needs of life, to a recreation of the eye. One risks misunderstanding the rarest and most delicate of artistic industries of Japan if one does not place himself at this point of definite view. *We* have insensibly lost the feeling of decoration and the sense of color while the Japanese just to this latest moment have kept theirs intact."

A recent Japanese artist, who stands for the old Art of Japan writes: "Our difficulty lies in the fact that Japanese Art stands alone in the world, without immediate possibility of any accession or reinforcement from kindred ideals or technique. The unfortunately contemptuous attitude which the average Westerner assumes towards everything connected with Oriental civilization tends to destroy our self-confidence in regard to our canons of Art. Those Europeans who appreciate our efforts may not realize that the West as a whole is constantly preaching the superiority of its own culture and its Art to those of the East. Japan stands alone against all the world. Its Art has done wonders in remaining true to itself in spite of the odds it has had to face."

A Japanese critic, writing of the process of absorbing new ideas which has mainly occupied the Japanese nation for the past thirty years said: "Thus, theoretically, as well as practically, it will be best for Japan to hold fast to her own ideals of Asiatic tradition. It is a service she owes to humanity. She is the last

custodian of ancient Oriental culture. *She*, alone, has the advantage of seeing through the materialistic shams with which Western civilization delude themselves, and of appropriating only such material as may help to rekindle her native flame. The fusion of Western and Eastern ideals, which was accomplished two thousand years ago by Alexander the Great, who carried the borders of Greece to India, would become for the second time possible, and create in both hemispheres a far more rounded civilization than either has ever known. Through her temperament, her individuality, her deeper insight into the secrets of the East, her ready appropriation of the powers of the West, and, more than all, through the fact that she enjoys the privilege of being a pioneer, it may have been decreed in the secret council-chambers of Destiny that on her shores shall be first created the new Art which shall prevail throughout the world, for the next thousand years."

The essential difference between the decorative qualities of Japanese Art and that of other countries of modern Western civilization, especially the Anglo-Saxon, might be summed up in the bare fact that our ponderous seriousness precludes any possible near approach to Nature, or to that which is intrinsically graceful or decorative in Nature.

*We* have an inherent dislike to express our feelings in our Art, while the Japanese are delighted to discover this most subtle of human qualities.

We have missed the essence of simplicity and are inclined to look upon honest expressions of feeling as the birth-right of the weak alone, while the Japanese live along the line of least resistance in their atmosphere of Art. Here, therefore, is the immense difference in the attitude of the Japanese toward decorative feeling to that engendered by commercialism such as ours.

One might say at the very start, that it is almost impossible to make comparisons between our decorative Art and that

of Japan because much that *we* seem to have is imitation, while all the Japanese have is really their own.

*We* are too busy to sit in silence, in admiration, or in contemplation of a sprig of apple-blossom, or to gaze in a pool and dream of the wonderful beauty of a water-lily, and see in this flower great cause for feeling joy and reverence.

We have *little* reverence.

How can the inner feeling for the beautifully decorative that keeps alive the sublime love of Art ever have a chance to grow when there is apparently so little reverence for human life, and almost none for the life of Nature?

The Western mind has made its Art hard, while the more simple mind of the Japanese has made it possible for that nation to make its Art creative as well as decorative, and appreciative of the *beauty* in Nature. We must reach *deep*, if we would know the causes of our failure to appreciate the beautiful in Nature. We must find out why we fail even to appreciate beauty in humanity. Why *we*, supposedly the most gifted of the races of the earth, have lost our finer feelings, and are almost devoid of reverence for beauty itself,—and why we are apt to drag in every outside influence at the wrong time. Money is worshiped in place of the beautiful, while the rush and struggle of modern existence gives no opportunity for the leisure required for the crystallization of ideals. It is this commercial spirit that tends to debase our ideals, to harden our natures, and to blind us to the reality of beauty. Even in his ideal of his God, the Anglo-Saxon has stripped him of most of those lovable attributes that are human,—one may say, truly divine,—and have left in his hand only the “mighty sword of Death.”

In *Letters of a Chinese Official* he says: “In *your* civilization a man to be a man must venture, struggle, compete and win. To this characteristic of your society is to be attributed, no doubt, its immense activity and its success in material arts. But to this is due the feature that most

strikes a Chinese. Its unrest, its confusion. Among you no one is content; no one has leisure to live. To us of the East, all this is a mark of a barbarous society. *We* measure the degree of civilization, not by accumulation of the means of living, but by the character and nature of the life lived.”

The West takes pride in its emancipation from medieval superstition, but what of that idolatrous worship of wealth that has taken its place? What sufferings and discontent lie hidden behind the gorgeous mask of the present! The voice of socialism is a wail over the agonies of Western economics—the tragedy of capital and labor.

The Japanese do not live always in the winter side of their natures. We, apparently, live constantly in the frozen zone of sordid desires; *we* rarely see the re-birth of the world in the springtime. We live in winter as far as our mental life is concerned, all the year round. We only exist in this mad rush, this feverish haste to be above and beyond our brothers, to live outside human feelings.

The Japanese, like the ancient Greeks, were more fond of the portrayal of great deeds, of the beauty and relation of Nature to man, of the nobler side of humanity, than are we to-day.

Go to the Paris Salon, and see there depicted on huge canvases, the terrible slaughter of the early Christians, and the paintings representing killing and death. In Japanese Art there is never pictured actual killing; there are great warriors brandishing swords, but never the actual gore. It is like the highest period of Greek Art which always dealt with the great creative element in the human soul, and not with the details of the destructive element in the human mind.

Is it to be wondered at that the Japanese painter looks in wonder at our Art and sees in it little else except a reflection of the wolfish nature that predominates in our Western civilization. *We talk* of “A Life of Love”; we preach it;—the Japanese live it. They see God in every-

thing,—we see him only when we fancy we need him for our own special purposes.

All great artist-souls have discovered sooner or later the necessity of getting back to nature. That, unless at stated times they contemplate Nature and the wonder of her beautiful life, the very light of genius, that burns so strongly, is snuffed out and they remain the rest of their natural lives devoid of those high and mighty moments of conception.

But let us fancy we can tear away this critical shell surrounding the Anglo-Saxon self, and drop the money-getting for a while, *then* perhaps we may understand why it is that all great Art that has emanated from Japan is essentially decorative and satisfying to the eye and mind. We may come to see that it is the soul of Nature translated to human vision by the hand of man. Had we time to stop a moment in the rush of our own lives we might see how wonderfully decorative is nature herself in every phase. Nature left alone is always decorative; the fall of snow, the arrangement of the limbs on the trees, the way they radiate from the trunk, their emplacement in the soil. What seems like careless prodigality arranges itself in orderly form; if we have but the desire to look, to learn and to know Nature. The Japanese sees all this. The fear *we* have of being called childlike, does not exist in Japan. We have this through false pride, engendered largely, no doubt, by our false conception of the real dignity of life. They are a great nation of children, a vast garden of human flowers. In relation to Art *we* may be only luxuriant of growth, pompous, powerful, but dying and falling to the ground, leaving nothing to enrich posterity.

The Japanese for six hundred years have kept the artistic soil of Japan constantly rich for succeeding generations; the fallen human flowers of mind have left an enriched mental soil and some great lives have left a perfume of beauty that has passed down the ages to give joy to those who have risen into their atmos-

phere in the communion with Nature.

To understand Japanese art we must learn to live with the reverence of little children, as do the Japanese, when they walk out in the springtime and see God in the bush. We must learn to see in the works of Nature fit subjects for prolonged contemplation, until, without their actual presence we can draw and paint these visions and add to our work that mystery of the human soul that so raises Art that no mortal man can find its exact counterpart in Nature itself.

It is not the ornamental and industrial features of the country's Art, but that great life of the ideal, by which it is hardly known as yet in Europe; not a few drawings of plum-blossoms, but the mighty conception of the dragon; not flowers and birds, but the worship of Death; not a trifling realism, however beautiful, but a grand interpretation of the grandest theme within the reach of the human mind—the longing desire of Buddhahood to save others, not itself,—these are the true burden of Japanese Art.

The Western civilization in great periods of Art had the same spirit as the Japanese have, which is reverence. In Japanese Art it is reverence for the visible forms of nature in the outer world. In Greek Art it was reverence for the human form divine. In Medieval and Renaissance Art it was Nature in the invisible forms of the heroic virtues, and the whole worship of the Madonna and saints was a symbolic worship of the heroic virtues, —Divine Love, Mercy, Justice and Self-Sacrifice. But man must always have aspiration and reverence as the base from which to form Art, and through this reverence comes inspiration.

The Japanese love of symbolism shows their child-like qualities. The Japanese Art, although to Western view is wrapped in admiration of the visible forms of nature, is, according to their own canons, symbolic. Their secret of knowledge was to penetrate behind the mass which change imposed beyond things; so-called facts and forms were merely inci-



dent beneath which the real life lay hid.

I quote a description of "The Dragon" from one of their writers, which shows this wonderful symbolism. He says:

"The Japanese delight in the image of the Dragon, and use it in decoration constantly. Have you ever seen the dragon? Approach him cautiously, for no mortal can survive the sight of his entire body. The Eastern dragon is not the gruesome monster of medieval imagination, but the genius of strength and goodness. He is a spirit of change, therefore, of life itself. We associate him with the supreme power, or that sovereign cause which pervades everything, taking new forms according to its surroundings, yet never seen in its final shape. The dragon is the Great Mystery itself, hidden in the caverns of inaccessible mountains, or coiled in the unfathomed depths of the sea, he waits the time when he slowly rouses himself into activity; he unfolds himself in the storm-clouds. He washes his mane in the blackness of the seething whirlpools. His claws are in the fork of the lightning, his scales begin to glisten in the bark of rain-swept pine-trees. His voice is heard in the hurricane which scatters the withered leaves of the forest and quickens a new spring. The dragon reveals himself only to vanish. He is a glorious, symbolic image of that elasticity of organism which shakes off the inner mass of exhausted matter, coiling again and again on his strength he sheds his crusted skin amid the battle of elements, and for an instant stands half-revealed by the brilliant shimmer of his scales. He strikes not till his throat is touched. Then *woe to him* who dallies with the terrible one."

Compare this with the Western idea of the dragon—"the old serpent that deceiveth the world."

The Japanese idea was more like the Egyptian in Art, where the dragon or serpent symbolized Wisdom. Those who have been so fortunate as to have seen a painting owned by Mrs. Ernest Fenollosa

in Boston, of "The Dragon," painted by the great Japanese master Hōgi, who died about twenty years ago, can realize that the dragon could be painted with the same religious fervor as were the Madonnas of the Renaissance.

Undoubtedly in the minds of many thoughtful Japanese the West is a monster they must resist, a monster without feeling that breathes death to beauty with its hot, commercial nostrils and withers the child-nature of man. We have degraded them ethically by our commercial relations. They have already called us "The White Disaster," referring entirely to our ethical influence. Compare our reciprocal term, "The Yellow Peril," which is used entirely in reference to their commercial effects on us.

To give birth, to create, to make to live, then one sees no death. All is beautiful life, and one may feel with the Japanese soldier that the passing of the body is nothing, but the death of an idea is the real sorrow of the land. To preserve some ideal, to love some beautiful thing in nature or mankind, is the fulfilment of their existence, the goal of their desires.

Is not this life beautiful? Is it not decorative? Does it not call beauty to life? Have we not come close to Nature when we find in the fallen tree, the dead limb, the dried flower, something to love, to reverence? The Japanese do not slur, do not half-grasp the beautiful that floats so generously and so easily into their minds. They think about ideas, they let their imaginations have full play; they reason about Nature; they leave something behind at death. We, very little, except our business and our machines. They, like the Greeks, made beautiful works of Art and in their silent contemplation sat and listened again for the voice of genius that they might make better and grander work for posterity, might see clearer the vision of the soul of a flower, might drink deeper at the fountain of Nature.

The Japanese have learned that it is only by the preservation of the child-

spirit in the human race that one can enter into that realm of happiness entirely denied to those who become untrue in their seriousness. In the springtime the whole nation goes out to worship the reincarnation of life—divine, celestial and human life. From the aged to the little child there is exaltation in the fact that the world is beginning to be born again, that Beauty has come of herself to enrich the life of man.

It seems most foreign to our natures even to suggest that we might thus go out in the spring as little children, forgetting commercial greed; that we might wander in the forest by the brook; that we might look up at the mountain and over the

sweet valley. Let us sit in silent contemplation of the wonders of the heavens at night, and let us fold each other in loving thoughts. Let us see the awakening of the day when the great bronze disk rises noiselessly into the open world. Let us joy with child-laughter when we see the new day, so majestic, so beautiful. Let us see in the great decorative orb, the flattened clouds, the warm glow of the morning, something to make us sing. Let us with reverence hold a simple flower in our hands, for it is said: "Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven."

Mrs. F. EDWIN ELWELL.

*Weehawken, N. J.*

## THE RAILWAY EMPIRE.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.,

*Author of The City for the People, The World's Best Books, The Story of New Zealand.*

**T**HE RAILWAYS of the United States would circle the globe twelve times, and the cars and locomotives on their tracks, if coupled in a string, would reach from the North pole down over all the zones to the heart of the Southern frigid, take a loop about the South pole, and hang down two thousand miles beyond. Last year these railway lines that net the country like a spider's web carried over 700,000,000 passengers, and 1,300,000,000 tons of freight,—an average of about 9 rides and 32,000 pounds for each man, woman and child in the Union. The railroads employ directly about 1,300,000 persons, and indirectly in car-shops, locomotive works, mines, rolling-mills and other accessory industries that furnish railway materials, etc., they give employment to about as many more, affording sustenance to 2,500,000 workers and their families—something like 10,000,000 people, or one-eighth of our total population, without counting the western farmers and other producers who could

not get their goods to market without the railways. Their capitalization is \$13,213,000,000, or nearly one-seventh of the total estimated wealth of the nation.

The benefits that railways have conferred upon the country are beyond computation. Their services to civilization are inestimable. They form the foundation of modern economic development. They have gone far toward annihilating distance and cost of transportation.

They are welding states and nations together. They develop intelligence as well as commerce and industry. They constitute a fundamental, all-pervading force in modern life. They form one of the greatest industries of the country and come into vital contact with every other industry and with social and political interests of the utmost moment.

The power of our railroads over public and private interests is enormous. They control the destinies of individuals, cities and states. They carry the commerce of a continent and collect their tolls upon

it by an autocratic system of transportation taxes. They run their trains from ocean to ocean over states and territories, laws and institutions; and they tunnel our economic and governmental systems as cheerfully as they do the mountains in their pathway.

Moreover, the railroad power is rapidly growing. These all-pervading interests, individually vast and powerful, are being united into larger and larger groups, and the groups are being welded into a colossal railway empire.

There have been about 5,000 railway companies in this country. More than half of them have disappeared. About 3,000 companies have ceased to exist, a few of the roads being abandoned and some reorganized with change of name, but most of them merged, consolidated, leased, or otherwise absorbed and made a part of some other system.\*

There are now about 2,000 companies (2,078 to be exact), 809 of which are reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission as "independent companies."†

The death-rate among railroad corporations is evidently high; and most of those that have not retired from active life, have passed into slavery.

The shrinkage of five thousand companies to about eight hundred, chiefly by absorption, indicates the tremendous movement of concentration that is going on in the railway world, but it does not disclose the whole truth.

*First*—The deposit of dead and dying companies is not spread evenly over the railway field. The clusters of captured roads vary greatly in size. The Pennsylvania Railroad in its own specific system owns or controls more than 150 roads, which still retain their names,

\* *Poor's Railroad Manuals* and other authorities show that over 2,000 companies disappeared or went under the yoke before 1890, and about 1,000 since that date. In about 180 cases the roads were abandoned. Some 320 companies were reorganized with change of name. The rest were absorbed.

† *U. S. Interstate Commerce Commission Report, "Statistics,"* July 6, 1904. Since the text was written we have received the advanced statement of the Commission, dated August 14, 1905, which shows

besides a considerable number that have lost their tags. The Reading holds 42 companies, the Erie 57, and the New York Central has benevolently assimilated over 100 railways.

The subsidiary roads listed in some other leading systems are as follows:

COMPONENT ROADS THAT ARE STILL RETAINED ON THE RAILWAY LISTS.

Systems.	Number of Component Roads.
Boston and Maine,.....	45
New York, New Haven and Hartford,.....	40
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western,.....	21
Lehigh Valley,.....	26
Baltimore and Ohio,.....	37
Illinois Central,.....	27
Northern Pacific,.....	22
Great Northern,.....	25
Union Pacific,.....	28
Missouri Pacific,.....	38
Atchison,.....	34
Southern Railway Company,.....	52

These figures are probably all below the truth, but they give some idea of the massing of railways in this country.

*Second*—The "independent roads" themselves are linked together in six giant groups or families, the railways of each group being dominated by one little knot of capitalists. These groups are known as the Vanderbilt, the Morgan-Hill, the Gould-Rockefeller, the Pennsylvania, the Harriman, and the Moore groups. The Pennsylvania group includes 280 companies, with 19,300 miles of road. The Vanderbilt system extends from Boston to the Missouri river and the Dakotas, including 132 companies and 22,000 miles of line, equal to the entire railway system of Great Britain and Ireland. The Morgan-Hill group covers the continent from New York to the Pacific, with 240 operating companies and over 50,000 miles of road,‡ or more than the whole of the railways of Germany

some additions—making the numbers 2,104 and 848—but the new items are all insignificant; no important independent company has been added to the list.

‡ The figures as to the six groups are taken from *Poor's Manuals* and *Moody's The Truth About the Trusts*, the leading railroad and Wall-street authorities. For the Morgan-Hill group, *Moody* gives 225 companies and 47,000 miles, but the absorption of the Pere Marquette and other roads reported in the

and more than the entire mileage of the United Kingdom and France put together.

Taking the whole six groups, more than nine-tenths of the vital railway mileage of the United States is controlled by these interests.\*

Aside from the Chicago and Great Western, a four-pronged system of 1,464 miles between Chicago, Minneapolis, Omaha and Kansas City, the independent attitude of which is largely due to the special views and personal force of its president A. B. Stickney, the railways not directly controlled by the six "communities of interest" are listed by Moody as follows:

	Miles.
1. Boston and Maine System,.....	3,298
2. New York, New Haven and Hartford,..	2,234
3. Delaware and Hudson,.....	824
4. Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton,.....	1,015
5. Pere Marquette System,.....	2,351
6. Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh,.....	500
7. New York, Ontario and Western,.....	540
8. Wisconsin Central,.....	.....
9. Atchison, etc.,.....	1,043
10. Minneapolis and St. Louis,.....	443

Numbers 4 and 5 are lately reported to have come under Erie or Morgan control, and nearly all the rest are allied corporations, more or less under the influence of one or more of the groups (or capitalists that control those groups) through stockholdings, traffic relations and agreements. For example, Morgan, Rockefeller, Depew and Cassatt are directors in the New York, New Haven and Hartford—an interlocking in this one system of the four great eastern groups,—a sort of Morganbilt, Vanderfeller, Rockegould, Cassattivania system. The Atchison is closely allied with the

press since Moody wrote bring up the figures on Poor's data to the totals stated in the text.

For details as to the specific roads that compose the groups the reader is referred to Moody.

\* Moody, our leading Wall-street authority on corporations and combinations, says (1904) that, leaving out some small scattered roads of comparatively slight importance, aggregating 26,000 miles, our vital railroad mileage is really about 178,000, nearly all of it in the hands of the big groups and their allies. The six big systems "dominate directly nearly 95 per cent. of the vital railway mileage of the country. They indirectly dominate and bid fair shortly to control directly the other 5 or 6 per cent. of the vital mileage; and they will also ultimately absorb

Moore group, and Harriman has recently acquired a \$25,000,000 interest in it, so that the Santa Fé is strongly interlocked with at least two of the six groups. Vanderbilt and Rockefeller interests have invaded the Delaware and Hudson. In fact our Wall-street expert, Moody, says that: "All the above-mentioned companies are more or less closely allied with one or more of the six great groups."

*Third*—We have not come to the end of the story yet. We have seen 5,000 companies shrink to 809 independent operating roads, and have traced the bulk of these so-called independents into 6 colossal clusters, which together dominate over 90 per cent. of the vital railway mileage of the United States. Now we have to add that these 6 vast aggregations are themselves by no means independent, but are intertwined, affiliated, and coordinated with each other by the interlocking interests of their owners, common holdings and overlapping ownership of shares, interrelations of boards of direction, and various agreements and understandings.

The Vanderbilts have an interest and control in the Reading jointly with the Pennsylvania, and the Morgan people also retain some interest in it though they no longer dominate it. On the other hand the Lehigh Valley is part of the Morgan cluster, but both the Pennsylvania and the Vanderbilts have an interest in it. The Pennsylvania interest is represented in the management of the Hocking Valley system which belongs to the Morgan Group. The Gould-Rockefeller interest is strong in the

or wipe out most of the 26,000 miles of small disconnected and more or less unprofitable lines."

Moody reaches the 95 per cent., however, by including the Santa Fé's 9,269 miles in the system controlled by the Moore group. The reason he gives is that the Santa Fé has "close traffic alliances with the Moore railroads and works in perfect harmony" with them. I do not consider this sufficient reason for including the Santa Fé in the mileage directly dominated by the six groups and therefore state the mileage directly controlled by the big groups as 90 per cent. instead of 95 per cent. Moody himself, in tabulating the independent roads, includes the Santa Fé.

Kansas City Southern, which is a Harriman road. The Moore group has a half-interest in the Houston and Texas, the Houston, East and West Texas, and the Houston and Shreveport, which are in the Southern Pacific System and part of the Harriman cluster. Four Baltimore and Ohio directors represent the Pennsylvania road; four represent the Harriman group, and two are appointed to represent the State of Maryland. The Chicago and Northwestern, which is a Vanderbilt road, has on its board one of the leading Harriman men of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific boards. J. P. Morgan, head of the Morgan group, is a director in the New York Central, the controlling company of the Vanderbilt system. William Rockefeller, representing still another group, is also a director in the New York Central. George J. Gould, head of the Gould system, is a director in the Union Pacific and in the Southern Pacific, both of which belong to the Harriman group. E. H. Harriman, President of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific, is on the board of directors of the Northern Pacific and of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, which are Morgan-Hill lines.\*

Speaking of the intimate relations of the great railroad groups, which I have illustrated above by examples gathered from Poor's *Railway Manuals*, Moody's *The Truth About the Trusts* and other authoritative sources, Mr. Moody says:

"They are all allied and intertwined by their various mutual interests. For instance, the Pennsylvania Railroad interests are on the one hand allied with the Vanderbilts, and on the other with the Rockefellers. The Vanderbilts are closely allied with the Morgan group, and both the Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt interests have recently become the

\*In addition to the facts of record stated in the text (which are only a part of what might be cited) we have now a press report of a gigantic merger of the Union Pacific with the New York Central and Chicago and Northwestern, bringing the Harriman and Vanderbilt interests into close federation. (See New York and Boston papers April 14, 1905.)

dominating factors in the Reading system, a former Morgan road, and the most important part of the anthracite-coal combine, which has always been dominated by the Morgan people. Furthermore, the Goulds, who are closely allied with the Rockefellers, are on most harmonious terms with the Moores of the Rock Island system, and the latter are allied in interest quite closely with both the Harriman and the Morgan groups. The dominating men in the Morgan group are also important factors in the Gould, Pennsylvania, and Moore groups; and the Rockefeller-Gould interests are represented to a greater or less degree in every group, and also in most of the 'independent' allied lines. The whole aggregation thus makes up a gigantic 'Community of Interest' or Railroad Trust, being allied together by most remarkable and intricate ties of inter-dependence and mutual advantage. While nominally controlled by two thousand corporations, the steam railroads of the country really make up a *mammoth transportation trust*, which is dominated by a handful of far-seeing and masterful financiers. . . . Not only do these financiers dominate their respective groups, but, as stated above, the most important of them, such as Rockefeller, Morgan, Harriman, Gould and Vanderbilt, are interested in and more or less dominate all the groups, and in this way knit together the entire railroad system of the country into this greater 'community' or 'Trust.' The superior dominating influence of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan is felt in greater or less degree in all the groups."

A striking illustration of the coöperative spirit that prevails among the principal railway systems is afforded by the recent concerted action in the wholesale raising of freight-rates throughout the country. Speaking of this, on page 15 of its report for 1903, the Interstate Commission says:

"These advances have been almost

without exception the result of concerted action. Advances in competitive rates have uniformly been made effective by all carriers interested upon exactly the same day and for exactly the same amount. It is idle to say that where such a condition exists, where, for example, every one of the numerous lines transporting grain from Chicago, St. Louis and kindred points to the Atlantic seaboard advance their rates upon the same day and by precisely the same amount, there has been no understanding between these companies."

*Fourth*—The movement of concentration is swift, intense, irresistible. The growth of the groups has been rapid beyond the dreams of railway men a generation ago, and the forces of industrial gravitation and personal ambition are still working with unabated vigor toward further consolidation.

Some of the groups have doubled and even trebled in five years' time. The rapidity with which these giant interests are growing is revealed by the following comparison:

Group.	Miles, 1897.	Miles, 1903.	Capitalization, 1903.
Vanderbilt, . . . . .	16,909	21,908	\$1,169,196,132
Pennsylvania, . . . . .	8,977	19,300	1,822,402,235
Morgan-Hill, . . . . .	15,173	47,206	2,265,116,350
Gould-Rockefeller, . . . . .	10,858	28,157	1,368,877,540
Harriman, . . . . .	9,916	22,943	1,321,243,711
*Moore & Santa Fé, . . . . .		25,092	1,070,250,939
	61,833	164,586	\$9,017,016,907

The increase in mileage for these great systems is about 103,000 miles or over 160 per cent. in 6 years, while the total railway mileage of the country increased but 13 per cent. And the capitalization of the roads directly controlled by these great interests represents 72 per cent. of the total railway capitalization of the United States for 1903.

\*The 91 companies and 25,092 miles given by Moody for the Moore group really represent a sort of double star; Moody does not write the Atchison in the list of roads in the Moore group but he says that in getting the totals the Atchison data "have been included in the figures of the Moore Group" for the reason that "while the Moore interests do

If we look further back to get a fuller perspective, the contrasts are still more vivid. The Vanderbilt group had its beginning in the Albany and Schenectady Railroad, 17 miles long, chartered in 1826 and opened in 1831, the first railroad built in New York state. Now the New York Central system reaches from Boston to the Black Hills, and it is said that more than half the people of the United States live in the territory covered by the Vanderbilt lines. The first division of the Pennsylvania Railroad was chartered in 1846 and opened in 1850. In 1852 it moved 70,000 tons of freight in a year, now it frequently moves that much in an hour. It covers the heart of the continent. It carries  $\frac{1}{3}$  of all the passengers and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of all the freight moved in the United States—300,000 passengers and a million tons of freight per day. And all this traffic flood is handled easily and swiftly by one of the best railroad managements in the world, which owes its efficiency largely to the consolidation of hundreds of companies under one control. The coördinating impulse is still vigorous. Recently the Pennsylvania acquired control of the Baltimore and Ohio. The New York tunnels and the New England interests of the road will soon give the Pennsylvania a continuous line of traffic from Chicago and Washington through Philadelphia and New York to Boston. And a union or alliance with the Santa Fé or Harriman or Hill would extend the Pennsylvania influence over the whole 3,000 miles from Boston to San Francisco.

The roads of the Morgan-Hill group already run from ocean to ocean, as do also the lines of the Vanderbilt-Harriman combine, if recent reports are true.† The Gould lines go from the Lakes to the not yet control the Atchison system, still they partially dominate it, and through close traffic alliances operate in perfect harmony." (*The Truth About the Trusts*, page 438.)

My own opinion is that the Santa Fé with its 34 companies, 9,269 miles and \$465,416,000 of the capitalization is entitled to be ranked as a separate system.

† See note on page 25.

Gulf and from Salt Lake City to Pittsburgh and Buffalo, and are trying hard to reach the Atlantic.

The Harriman interests are linked with the Morgan-Hill union and with the Vanderbilts, who in their turn are friendly to all the interests named, as is also the Pennsylvania. A combination of the New York Central with the Union Pacific, or the Pennsylvania with the Santa Fé, or even a practical federation of the Harriman-Hill-Morgan-Vanderbilt-Pennsylvania interests, will not surprise any one familiar with the movement of railway combination in the last dozen years.

The interlocking of interests and the forces making for closer alliance are increasing so rapidly that our leading authorities on Wall-street tendencies, who have most excellent means of knowledge and have given close attention to the subject, predict the practical coalescence of the groups at no distant day.

Besides the increase of efficiency, saving in cost of management, sending goods by the shortest routes, saving transfers and reloading, and preventing other economic wastes of severance, several additional advantages have been put forward as reasons for consolidation.

C. P. Huntington, the first president of the Southern Pacific Railroad, urged the consolidation of all the railways under the control of one company as the only cure for rate-cutting and railroad wars.\* Jay Gould is said to have held the same opinion.

Hon. Paul Morton says: "I do not view the ownership of all the American railroads by a single company or interest with the slightest alarm."†

Mr. Newcomb, editor of the *Railway World*, says: "The economic advantages of absolute unification are so great that

\* In *North American Review*, September, 1891.

† Lectures on Commerce, Chicago University (1904), page 106.

‡ *Review of Reviews*, 1901, Vol. 24, p. 174. The advantages and disadvantages of consolidation are discussed by James J. Hill, Russell Sage, Charles M. Schwab, and others in the *North American Review* for May, 1901 (Vol. 172, p. 641 *et seq.*). See

it may be expected that the movement will not cease until unification has been completely accomplished."‡

In 1898, Mr. John Hobson, one of the greatest of English economists, wrote in his *Evolution of Modern Capitalism* :

"The rapidity with which the whole railway system is passing into the hands of great monopolist syndicates with the necessary result of stifling competitions is in some respects the most momentous economic movement in the United States at the present time."

Moody says (p. 491):

"The Standard influence is felt quite forcefully in all the railroad groups, and this influence is showing a steady growth throughout the entire steam-railroad field. It is now freely predicted in Wall street that the next decade will see the Rockefeller interests the single dominating force in the world of railway finance and control."

*Fifth*—In the great railway groups and the stupendous Railroad-Trust they are developing, the tendency is toward the concentration of control in fewer and fewer hands. Not only are railways absorbed by the wholesale, and the resulting systems gathered into enormous groups, but inside these systems and groups the movement is toward one-man power.

Already, as I am informed by a leading member of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission, half a dozen men can meet and practically determine the transportation rates for the country. And the forces of integration and industrial gravitation that have operated so powerfully in the past are not likely to stop even with this high degree of centralization.

"In Chicago," says Spearman, "the also *Report of United States Industrial Commission*, Vol. IX., p. 148, and *Final Report*, 1902, Vol. XIX., pp. 304-309; Spearman's *Strategy of Great Railroads*, 36, 125, 128-29; Lewis' *National Consolidation of Railroads*, 29-31, 34, 35, 38, 40, 47-54. Professor Johnson's *American Railway Transportation*, 250-51.

five men who in authority that is absolute are traffic directors of two-thirds of the United States may be found almost every day within a few moments' walk of each other."\*

A Hill-Morgan representative, a Harriman man, a Santa Fé man, a Gould man, and a Rock Island man can shape the railroad destinies of the West and a large part of the middle and southern sections of the country.† Add a Vanderbilt man and a Pennsylvania man, and you have a board of seven capable of controlling the rates and fares for nearly the whole United States.

If you want to summon a Boston and Maine representative and swing Northern New England into line we will make it a board of eight.

Four years ago *The Railway World* declared that "A. J. Cassatt, Mr. Vanderbilt, J. P. Morgan, E. H. Harriman and James J. Hill are regarded as practically ruling all the great railroads of the country."

Whatever may be the true number of our railroad kings, it is beyond question that a very few men have power to control our railway rates, and that still fewer will control them if the present processes of consolidation and combination continue. The managers of six big systems control three-fourths of the country and five-sixths of the traffic and indirectly dominate almost all the rest. The six big groups are growing into one. The Railway Empire looms huge and powerful out of the mists that shroud the future.

Those who have the largest surplus incomes are continually buying their way to more complete control. John D. Rockefeller's income is variously estimated at two to six millions a month. Even if it is only the modest sum of \$100,000 a day, he can live pretty well and still use

most of his income to buy up more railroads and other properties; and with each new purchase, the income expands and the power of further purchase increases. Even the founding of a great university only retards the process for two or three months. The money piles up on his doorstep like a snow-storm, four or five thousand dollars an hour, day and night, \$600,000 or more a week, and it must be invested; the Rockefeller power must grow by the natural laws of surplus property in prudent, and especially in aggressive, hands.

Moreover the smaller capitalists in a group permit the heavy men to dominate the business in large measure even where the latter do not hold a majority of the stock—a habit that is due partly to the prestige and ability of the big financiers, and partly to the knowledge that if their will is crossed they have the power to enforce it if they choose by buying a control or compelling obedience by the pressure of related companies and properties dominated by them.

We have seen that the dead and captured companies lie in great clusters, that the independent companies controlling the clusters are themselves united in a few giant groups, that these groups are intertwined and affiliated, that the movement of concentration is going rapidly forward, and that the tendency is for fewer and fewer men to control the combinations.

If these movements, the merging of railways into great systems, the gathering of these systems into giant groups, the interlocking and coalescence of these groups, and the progressive narrowing of control in each constellation of capitalists, continue to the limit, there will be in time a Railway Empire in this country dominated by a single man.‡

\* *Strategy of Great Railroads*, p. 163.

† *Ibid.* pp. 126, 162.

‡ Years ago Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, is reported to have said: "Ten men control the railroad business of the United States, and nearly all of them live in the city of New York." He quoted the statement of the Inter-

state Commerce Commission: "It is a matter of common knowledge that vast schemes of railway control are in process of consummation, and that the competition of lines is to be restrained by these combinations. If the plans already foreshadowed are to be brought into effective results, there will be a vast centralization of railroad properties with all



The Railroad-Trust may never reach this degree of concentration here, but the most strenuous devotee of decentralization and compulsory competition must admit that the coming of such an aggregation, viewed from the standpoint of existing conditions and tendencies, cannot be deemed so unlikely as the present concentration would have seemed to railway men, statesmen, or economists fifty years ago. And whatever may be the outlook for the future, it is clear that the Railway question has become a trust question, and that the condensation of power already attained is sufficient to demand the serious attention of every one who believes in republican institutions and disapproves of autocratic or aristocratic power in the heart of the Republic.

In some countries consolidation does not bring these dangers. Switzerland is buying out the railway companies and consolidating the roads under public management in pursuance of the decision of the people on referendum vote. In Belgium the roads are consolidated in the hands of the government; in the German states also, and in the Anglo-Saxon states of Australasia. But in these cases the consolidated railways are managed by men who are trustees for the people and responsible to them. In America the tendency is to weld the roads

into an Empire, a consolidation under a management responsible to a few gigantic stockholders, dominated at last perhaps by a single autocrat, a Czar of all the railways.

The motives that impel men to build these giant combines by consolidation or coördination relate partly to the economic and transportation benefits of union, and partly to the personal profit and power of those who control the combines. The first motive and its consequences are in line with the public good. In so far as combination eliminates the wastes of conflict and secures the benefits of harmonious coöperation in the railway service, it is a gain to the community. But in so far as it conduces to the financial ascendancy of Wall street and intensifies the commercial supremacy and industrial dominion of a few great capitalists, it is a political, industrial, and social danger. The railways united form a much more extensive interest than the Government from an economic point-of-view; already they outrank our State Governments and dominate the political affairs of sovereign commonwealths, and as a unit in the hands of a gigantic trust they might even overshadow and control the National Government itself.

FRANK PARSONS.

*Boston, Mass.*

## THE HEART OF THE RACE PROBLEM.

BY ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE, A.M.

### *Part I.*

**O**NE WRONG produces other wrongs as surely and as naturally as the seed of the thorn produces other thorns. Men do not in the moral-world gather figs from a thorn-bush any more than they

the power involved in such far-reaching combinations, yet uncontrolled by any public authority." And commenting on this statement Mr. Wright continued: "This is a statement which will gradu-

ally, and more rapidly as time goes on, sink into the consciousness of this country; as it sees that instead of ten men it is five, then instead of five it is three, and instead of three it is one man that controls all the railroad interests of the country."

Men cannot cause what is bad to bring forth what is good. Truth does not come out of error, light out of darkness, love out of hate, justice out of injustice, liberty out of slavery. No, error produces more error, darkness more darkness, hate more hate, injustice more injustice, slavery more slavery. That which we do is that which we are, and that which we shall be.

The great law of reproduction which applies without shadow of change to individual life, applies equally to the life of that aggregation of individuals called a race or nation. Not any more than an individual can they do wrong with impunity, can they commit a bad deed without reaping in return the results in kind. There is nothing more certain than that the wrong done by a people shall reappear to plague them, if not in one generation, then in another. For the consummation of a bad thought in a bad act puts what is bad in the act beyond the control of the actor. The evil thus escapes out of the Pandora-box of the heart, of the mind, to reproduce and to multiply itself a hundredfold and in a hundred ways in the complex relationships of men with men in human society. And then it returns not as it issued singly, but with its related brood of ill consequences:

“But in these cases,  
We still have judgment here; that we but teach  
Bloody instructions, which being taught return  
To plague the inventor: this even-handed justice  
Commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice  
To our own lips.”

The ship which landed at Jamestown in 1619 with a cargo of African slaves for Virginia plantations, imported at the same time into America with its slave-cargo certain seed-principles of wrong. As the slaves reproduced after their kind, so did these seed-principles of wrong reproduce likewise after their kind. Wherever slavery rooted itself, they rooted themselves also. The one followed the other with the regularity of a law of nature, the invariability of the law of cause and effect. As slavery grew and multiplied and spread itself over the

land, the evils begotten of slavery grew, and multiplied, and spread themselves over the life of the people, black and white alike. The winds which blew North carried the seeds, and the winds which blew South; and wherever they went, wherever they fell, whether East or West, they sprang up to bear fruit in the characters of men, in the conduct of a growing people.

The enslavement of one race by another produces necessarily certain moral effects upon both races, moral deterioration of the masters, moral degradation of the slaves. The deeper the degradation of the one, the greater will be the deterioration of the other, and *vice versa*. Indeed, slavery is a breeding-bed, a sort of compost heap, where the best qualities of both races decay and become food for the worst. The brute appetites and passions of the two act and react on the moral natures of each race with demoralizing effects. The subjection of the will of one race under such circumstances to the will of another begets in the race that rules cruelty and tyranny, and in the one that is ruled, fear, cunning and deceit. The lust, the passions, of the master-class act powerfully on the lust, the passions, of the slave-class, and those of the slave-class react not less powerfully on those of the master-class. (The greater the cruelty, tyranny and lust of the one, the greater will be the cunning, deceit and lust of the other. And there is no help for this so long as the one race rules and the other race is ruled, so long as there exists between them in the state inequality of rights, of conditions, based solely on the racehood of each.)

(If two races live together on) the same land and under the same government as master and slave, or as superior and inferior, there will grow up in time two moral standards in consequence of the two races living together under such conditions. The master or superior race will have one standard to regulate the conduct of individuals belonging to it in respect to one another, and another

standard to regulate the conduct of those selfsame individuals in respect to individuals of the slave or inferior race. Action which would be considered bad if done by an individual of the former race to another individual of the same race, may not be regarded as bad at all, or at least in anything like the same degree, if done to an individual of the latter race. On the other hand, if the same offence were committed by an individual of the slave or inferior race against an individual of the master or superior race, it would not only be deemed bad, but be treated as very bad.

With the evolution of the double moral standard and its application to the conduct of these two sets of individuals in the state, there grows up in the life of both classes no little confusion in respect to moral ideas, no little confusion in respect to simple questions of right and wrong. Nor is this surprising. The results of such a double standard of morals could not possibly be different so long as human nature is what it is. The natural man takes instinctively to the double standard, to any scheme of morals which makes it easy for him to sin and difficult for a brother or an enemy to do likewise. And this is exactly what our American double standard does practically in the South for both races, but especially for the dominant race, for example, in regard to all that group of actions which grows out of the relations of the sexes in Southern society.

What relations do the Southern males of the white race sustain to the females of both races? Are these relations confined strictly to the females of their own race? Or, do they extend to the females of the black race? Speaking frankly, we all know what the instinct of the male animal is, and man, after all, is physically a male animal. He is by nature one of the most polygamous of male animals. There goes on in some form among the human males, as among other males, a constant struggle for the females. In polygamous countries each man obtains

as many wives as he can purchase and support. In monogamous countries he is limited by law to one wife, whether he is able to maintain a plurality of wives or not. When he marries this one woman the law defines his relations to her and also to the children who may issue from such a union. But the man—I am talking broadly—is at heart a polygamist still. The mere animal instinct in his blood inclines him to run after, to obtain possession of other wives. To give way to this inclination in monogamous countries he knows to be attended with danger, to be fraught with sundry grievous consequences to himself. He is liable to his wife, for example, in an action for divorce on the ground of adultery. He is liable to be prosecuted criminally on the same charge by the state, and to be sent to prison for a term of years. But this is not the end of his troubles. Public opinion, society, falls foul of him also in consequence of his misconduct. He loses social recognition, the respect of his fellows, becomes in common parlance a disgraced man. The one-wife country is grounded on the inviolability of the seventh commandment. All the sanctions of law, of morals, and of religion conspire to protect the wife against the roving propensities of the husband, combine to curb his male instinct to run after many women, to practice plural marriages. There thus grows up in the breast of the race, is transmitted to each man with the accumulated strength of social heredity, a feeling of personal fear, a sense of moral obligation, which together war against his male instinct for promiscuous sexual intercourse, and make for male purity, for male fidelity to the one-wife idea, to the one-wife institution. The birth of this wholesome fear in society is the beginning of wisdom in monogamous countries. And unless this sense of moral obligation is able to maintain its ascendancy in those countries, the male sexual instinct to practice plural marriages will reassert itself, will revert, if not openly then secretly, to a state of

nature, to illicit relations. But every tendency to such reassertion, or reversion, is effectively checked in a land where national morals are sound, are pure, by wise laws which a strong, an uncompromising public sentiment makes and executes impartially against all offenders.

That is the case in respect to monogamous countries inhabited by a homogeneous population. In such countries where there exist no differences of race, where there is no such thing as a dominant and a subject race, the national standard of morals is single, the sexual problem is accordingly simple and yields readily, uniformly, to the single standard regulation or treatment. The "Thou shalt not" of the law applies equally to all males in their relations to all females in general, and to the one female in particular. No confusion ensues in law or in fact in respect to the subject, to the practical application of the rule to the moral conduct of individuals. Fornication, adultery, marriage and concubinage are not interpreted by public sentiment to mean one thing for one class of individuals, and another thing for another class under the same law. There are no legal double standards, no moral double standards. The moral eye of society, under these circumstances, is single, the legal eye of the state is likewise single, and the eye of the whole people becomes in consequence full of moral light. Marriage is held to be sacred by the state, by society, and adultery or the breach of the marriage-vow or obliga-

tion is held accordingly to be sacrilege, one of the greatest of crimes.

The man who seduces another man's wife in such a society, in such a state, is regarded as an enemy by society, by the state, and is dealt with as such. Likewise the man who seduces another man's daughter. For this crime the law has provided penalties which the wrongdoer may not escape. And it matters not whether the seducer be rich and powerful, or the girl poor and ignorant, the state, society, respects not his wealth nor his power. His status in respect to her is fixed by law, and hers also in respect to him. While in the event of issue arising from such a union, the law establishes certain relations between the child and the putative father. It enables the mother to procure a writ against him, and in case of her success he will be thereupon bound to support the child during a certain term of years. The state, society, does not yet compel him to give his name to the innocent offspring of his illicit act, but it does compel him to provide for it proper maintenance. Thus has the state, society, in monogamous countries restrained within bounds the activity of the sexual instinct of the human male, evolving in the process a code of laws and one of morals for this purpose. These codes are administered impartially, equally, by the state, by society, over all of the males in their relation to all of the females.

*(To be continued.)*

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE.

*Boston, Mass.*

# ECONOMICS OF MOSES.

BY GEORGE MCA. MILLER, Ph.D.,  
President of Buakin University.

## Part II.

**T**HE VALUE of the principles of the Mosaic system of Economics must be judged chiefly by the pathologic effect of their violation. This necessity results from the low percentage of observance as compared with the high percentage of violation. Before treating of the evils growing out of this violation, however, it is but fair to the Jewish people and due this discussion to call attention to the good that followed the observance of this ancient law that so sacredly guarded Land and Tools on behalf of all the people.

Most history is so written as to give the impression that the progress and prosperity of a nation is to be measured by the wealth of its predatory classes, the splendor of its palaces, and the magnitude of its cities. Rightly understood, however, such phenomena are but sure symptoms of national decay. This common error has led Biblical commentators to pass over the democratic period of Jewish history as unimportant. They see no greatness in this people until they reach the militarism of David, and the imperialism of Solomon. Indeed, some authors of high repute go so far as to say that there was no settled government during the period of three hundred and fifty years from Joshua to Saul. Some even assert that the political condition of the people during this period was only a sort of intermittent anarchy.

It was during this period that the Mosaic code regulating Land and Tools, as given in our preceding article of this series, was more or less dominant.

This is evident from the absence of prophetic denunciation of its breach, and of historical reference to injustice, violence and oppression exercised by the

stronger classes against the weaker, which are the burden of the books of both prophets and historians of later times. It follows, therefore, that either the Biblical commentators referred to are in error, or the Mosaic code of Economics was ineffective.

This issue justifies an examination of such available data as bear upon the case.

As to political and social institutions as evidence of national progress, it is true that no splendid national capital was established, standing for centralized government, and no magnificent temple was erected to represent ecclesiastical congestion. Within twenty-five years from the crossing of the Jordan, however, thirty-one powerful chiefs, or kings, as they were called, were conquered and twelve states, as definitely organized and as thickly populated as our thirteen at the time our independence was won, were founded. Six district courts, with equal and final jurisdiction, were instituted in what were known as the "Cities of Refuge," with forty-eight courts of inferior jurisdiction in the Levitical cities. In these same cities were established forty-eight educational centers for advanced instruction, moral and intellectual, while from these institutions there went forth into every village and hamlet, at least twenty-three thousand trained teachers, supported at government expense, to instruct not only the children and youth of the nation, but the adult, as well, in the Mosaic laws, civil and religious, writing them on the gates and posts of the houses.\*

A complete account of the achievements can be found in the concluding chapters of Joshua, and in Book V., Chapter I., of *Jewish Antiquities*, by Josephus.

\* See Deut., 6:9, 11:20; Lev., 10:11; Ezra, 7:10; Neh., 8:1-18; II. Chron., 17:7-10.

Here are feats of political and social progress unequalled in either ancient or modern times, and in making this statement the writer does not forget the Pilgrims and Cavaliers of primitive America, nor the marvelous civic experiment stations now operating in Australia and New Zealand.

To attribute these achievements to Divine Providence without reference to the superior economic system adopted by this people at the beginning of their national career is to beg the question, as it is easy to reply that Divine Providence manifests itself to nations, if at all, through the institutions which they adopt or develop.

As to material wealth as a measure of progress and prosperity, achieved during the first quarter-century of this civic and economic Democracy, Josephus in the chapter above cited says:

"They had an affluence of great riches, both all in general and every one in particular, and this of gold and of vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle whose number could not be told."

This quotation indicates that much of the property was held as public possessions for the good "in general," while there were no great fortunes for the few and poverty for the many, since there was private-ownership of what was to be privately used, by "every one in particular," as "vestments," and "furniture" are mentioned as being owned in abundance by all.

While a considerable amount of this wealth was no doubt taken from the conquered Canaanites as spoils of war, the lands had been allotted some years before this, and much had been done towards developing the resources of the country while the conquest was in progress.

Joshua in his farewell address to the tribes whose lands had already been acquired and allotted to them on the east side of the Jordan before the entrance

was made into Canaan, according to Josephus, says:

"For we shall always remember how you have put off the enjoyment of your own happiness for our sakes, and have labored for what we now have by the good will of God obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us this assistance. However you have by joining your labor with ours, gotten great plenty of riches."

It is fair to infer from the above that there was the heartiest coöperation, civic and economic as well as military, during this pioneer period, for Joshua in the same address says:

"We are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of and are to most carefully observe; because, while you continue in those laws, God will show Himself most merciful and assisting you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws, He will reject your nation."

Twenty years later, Joshua testifies to the continued prosperity of the nation in his farewell address to the entire people just before his death, as reported by Josephus:

"He put them in mind of all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not but be a great many, since from a lower state they were advanced to such a degree of glory and plenty."

Thus closes a record of forty-five years of national life under the Mosaic code, in which the wisdom of economic democracy is completely vindicated.

During the remaining three hundred years of the Democracy there developed a struggle between the stronger and the weaker elements of the social body which showed itself from time to time both between tribes contending for political

supremacy and between individuals contending for economic power. This resulted both from the great productiveness of the country, and from the economic system in vogue, together producing wealth in such abundance as to stimulate the avarice of the greedy, and to produce general indifference to the public welfare.

This is pointed out by Josephus in Book V., Chapter II., in which he says:

"They applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, which producing them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlement, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures, nor were they longer careful to hear the laws which belonged to their political government."

This marks the beginning of the violation of the principles of the economic democracy of Moses, as indicated by the statement, "They neglected the regular disposition of their settlement," which will be treated at length in a subsequent article, the quotation being made here to show that economic inequality is not essential to the production of wealth.

Enough, we trust, has been said upon this period of Jewish history to make it clear that those who regard Hebrew nationality as dating from the reign of Saul are almost as far from the truth as would be the historian who should date Grecian nationality as beginning with Alexander, or Roman nationality with Augustus Cæsar.

It was the wealth that was produced largely under the economic democracy which an ecclesiastic aristocracy under David and Solomon concentrated into a temple costing nearly five billion dollars, and took an army of 183,600 men, working under military compulsion, seven years to build, the money having been collected during the reign of David.

Still more of this democratic wealth

was aristocratically used by the erection of a royal palace by Solomon. Although the figures are not given, it is fair to assume, both from its dimensions and the time required to build it—thirteen years as compared to seven, for the temple—that it approached in cost that of the temple itself. This palace was imitated by many palaces built by the rich nobility.

This congestion at Jerusalem of wealth produced for the most part under the Democracy and appropriated by the aristocracy under the first three kings, was the ground of complaint on the part of the ten tribes who revolted under Rehoboam, the fourth king, and set up a government of their own, which will be considered as one of the chief disasters following the violation of the Mosaic code of Economics, to be treated in the next article of this series.

During the period of the Kings the political principles of the Mosaic law having been abandoned, there was but small chance for the economic law to assert itself. Nothing but pathologic data, therefore, is furnished by this period.

After the return of portions of the two tribes from the Babylonish captivity, however, observance of the economic law was renewed, and notwithstanding the payment of heavy tribute to their Eastern conquerors, after the reestablishment of the Mosaic system under Nehemiah, by the abolition of rents and interest, and the cancellation of all debts and mortgages, not only was a large degree of material prosperity enjoyed by all classes, as shown by the liberal contributions toward rebuilding of the temple, but a great religious revival followed, Sabbath observance was reestablished, and the standard of social morality was elevated to a higher level than it had held since the days of Joshua.

GEORGE McA. MILLER.

*Glen Ellyn, Chicago, Ill.*

# UNCLE SAM'S ROMANCE WITH SCIENCE AND THE THE SOIL.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

## *Part II. The Stream.*

**T**HE FIRST Presidential Message to Congress recommending National Encouragement of Agriculture was that of George Washington, 1796, himself a member of the first society for the promotion of agriculture ever organized in the United States. He recommended a National Board "to encourage and assist a spirit of improvement, . . . by stimulating enterprise and experiment."

The first Presidential Message recommending national aid to irrigation and national control of the water-supply was the first message to Congress of Theodore Roosevelt, December 3, 1901.

Legislation waited on Washington's recommendation forty-five years and came in a \$1,000 appropriation which took the government three years to spend.

Within seven months after the recommendation of President Roosevelt, Congress enacted the most beneficent piece of public-land legislation since Abraham Lincoln signed the Homestead Act in 1862.

Eleven days after the measure became a law recommendations were made for the withdrawal from entry of areas in six localities to prevent speculative filings on them pending their examination.

On the third anniversary of the passage of the Reclamation Act, June 17, 1905, and within three years and seven months of the first presentation to Congress by Presidential Message of the plan of the Executive, water was turned onto 50,000 of the thirsty acres of Nevada, the first section of this national project to be completed. It is an event of unusual significance, not only in that it marks the beginning of the creation of a great State; not only that it is an example

of what the service will do for other arid areas, but that the United States is now more than ever definitely launched upon a policy of scientific and intelligent "State Interference," not this time at the bidding of any industrial interest—the Steel-Trust, for example—but the United States is more definitely committed to the welfare of the whole people for all time, in this wedding of science to the soil.

Already, within four years from the Presidential Message referred to, construction work has been finished, or started, or planned and approved for the absolute creation out of those dreary and infinite wastes of western sands, of nearly 2,000,000 acres of fecund soil, every foot of which will be transformed by the magic of science into a blooming fertility; a resurrected area that will add an additional income of from \$30,000,000 to \$100,000,000 to the American farmers' wealth with a large work already under contemplation. Ten years more will see this work done. Twenty years more will see the work paid for from the soil created with the money in the United States treasury, and with fifty thousand happy homes where the lizard and rattlesnake find precarious livelihood to-day.

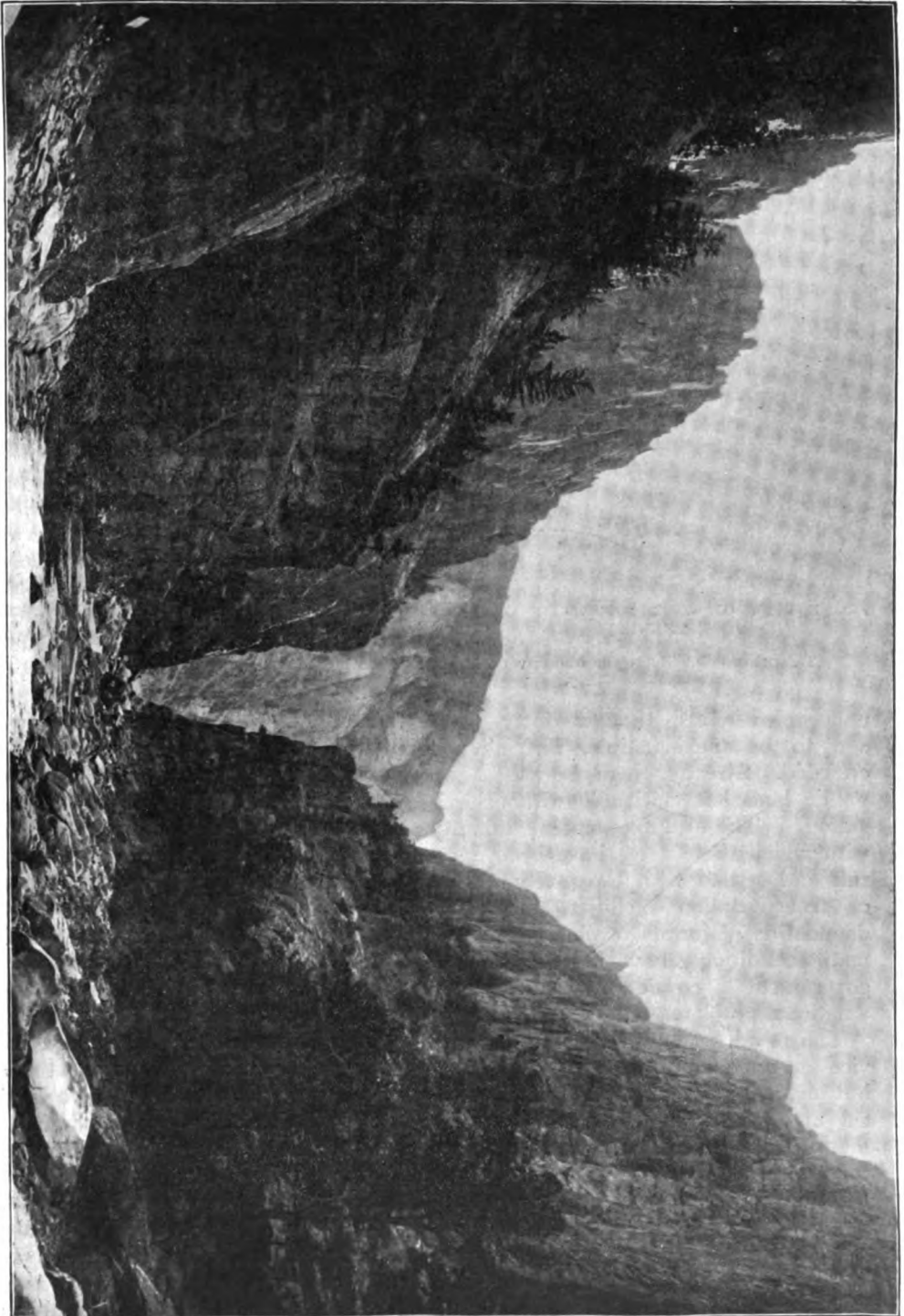
Our public-land question is already a serious one. There is little chance for further preëmption outside of the newly made and to be made irrigated lands which will be taken up before ready for the plow. There is no chance of the public lands supplying this generation of the farmer's children; even those who do not go to town, to say nothing of the solving of any problems of our present immigration or future growth.

When the Homestead Act was passed in 1862, the great West was a vast and empty domain of nearly two billions of



At this point will be erected one of the highest dams in the world, 810 feet high. Bed rock is 88 feet below the surface of the stream.

**SHOSHONE DAM-SITE, WYOMING.**





INSIDE VIEW OF WEST PORTAL OF GUNNISON TUNNEL,

Through which will flow Gunnison river to Uncompahgre Valley.

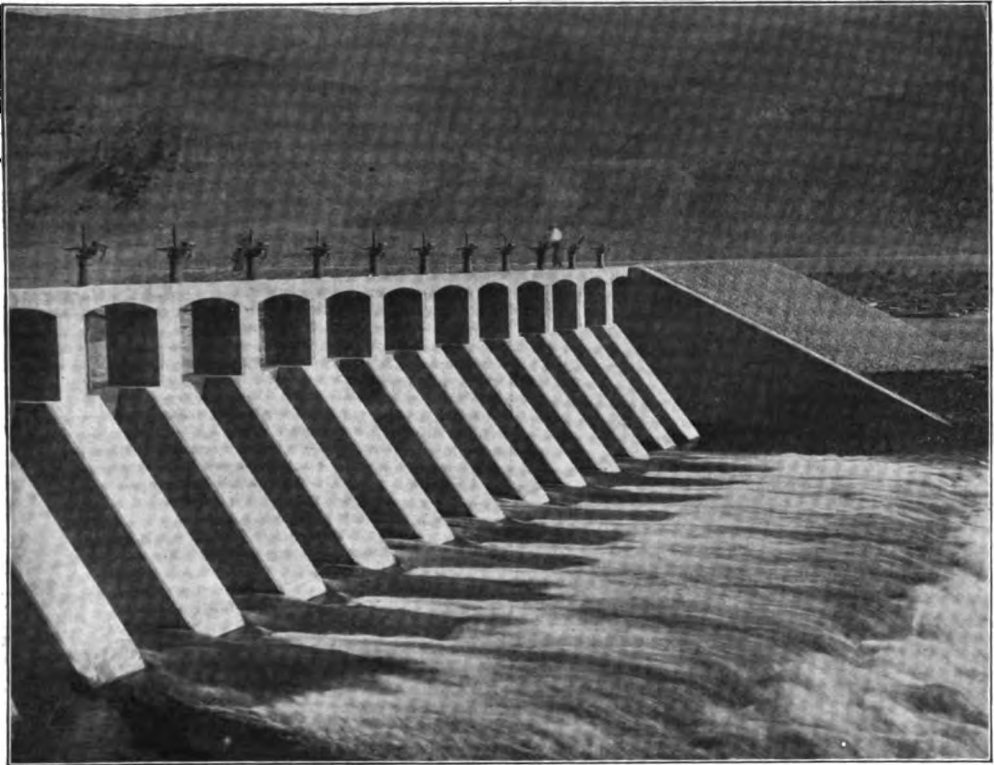
unoccupied acres, thought forty years ago to be inexhaustible, but already crowded. Already there is almost no public land left cultivable without irrigation. The unprecedented rapidity with which these acres have been overrun and settled with the multiplication of transportation facilities, the rapid denudation of forests revolutionizing climatic conditions, have led the Federal government to consider the situation as a national problem.

The problems of the reclamation service are not merely those of engineering, but include many complications of political and social conditions, and involve many phases of science, practical more than theoretical, worked out day by day by the highest grades of men the government can secure, intellectually and scientifically, and as to personal character. The personnel of this service, especially, must be above matters of selfish consideration. The United States government

requires under the Geological Survey, of which this service is a part, that no official shall have any personal or private rights in the lands or mineral wealth under survey.

The foundations of the work of the reclamation of our arid lands were laid by a man of as rare insight as heroic spirit, Major J. W. Powell. The story of his thrilling descent and exploration of the Colorado river, is one of the most daring chapters of the pioneer history of the North American continent. One etching will hang high on the walls of fame. At the bottom of that strange cleft in the earth, called the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, stands Major Powell wishing to advance, and his little party who fear further to tempt the turbulent and unknown rapid below. This devoted scientist was determined to draw straws with death. "I will go down in one boat," he said, "and if at the head of the rapid I see I can get through alive, I will lift my arm"—the only one he had. "If I do not lift it, you may return."

And he shot down into the boiling current. The last they saw of him was his uplifted hand. The man was spared who was yet to serve his country in peace with as patient and able service as he had served it in war; the man who was to be the genius of the future exploration of the Great American Desert and solve the riddles propounded by the sphinxes buried in its sands. His report to Congress, *Lands of the Arid Regions*, the classic on the subject, caused Congress in 1888 to authorize him as Director of the United States Geological Survey, to investigate the extent to which the arid lands could be reclaimed by irrigation. The work was carried on for twenty years, by a corps of engineers known as the Division of Hydrography of the Geological Survey, of late years under Mr. F. H. Newell, now Chief Engineer of the Reclamation Service, of which he, perhaps, more than any other man living, is creator, and whose affairs he has ably and economically administered. One finds



DIVERSION DAM IN TRUCKEE RIVER, NEVADA.

in Mr. Newell's instructions and addresses to the two hundred and fifty engineers under him, constant appeal to the highest motives and insistence on the strictest economy and effectiveness, laying these down as the fundamental measures of promotion in the service. "The American engineer," he says, "is a man who can do for one dollar what another man can do for two dollars."

When the law was enacted setting aside the sale of public lands in thirteen states and three territories to be used in the construction of irrigation projects, the newly-organized service fell heir to a large body of data regarding the flow of streams in arid regions, their fluctuations, opportunities for storage and diversion, and other geologic facts; and these extended through a sufficient number of years to determine at once that certain localities were and others were

not adapted to economical irrigation, with a certainty of sufficient water to warrant the project; and Mr. Newell stepped into his place at the head of the service familiar with every detail of a work in which for years he had been the leading spirit.

Following is a table of the work now under construction, by the Reclamation Service, every project including within its further plans, the great enlargement of the areas to be reclaimed. That which is now under way and which will be finished ere long is tabulated on page 40.

The Minidoka project in Southern Idaho will eventually reclaim 130,000 acres on both sides of Snake river, and water will be raised by developed water-power to the bench-land above the line of the gravity ditches.

In the Hondo project in New Mexico, near Roswell, the capacity of a large



**RELIEF MAP OF THE LOWER COLORADO RIVER,**  
Showing irrigable lands in the United States  
and Mexico.

natural depression will be increased by embankments between the surrounding hills.

A most interesting exploit is that by which the Gunnison river in Colorado will be carried through a six-mile tunnel now being driven through the granite, slate and sandstone of the divide, the water to be turned upon the soil of the Uncompahgre valley, where it will refresh 125,000 acres of land.

Three miles below where the Sweet-water river flows into the North Platte, the service is building a dam across the

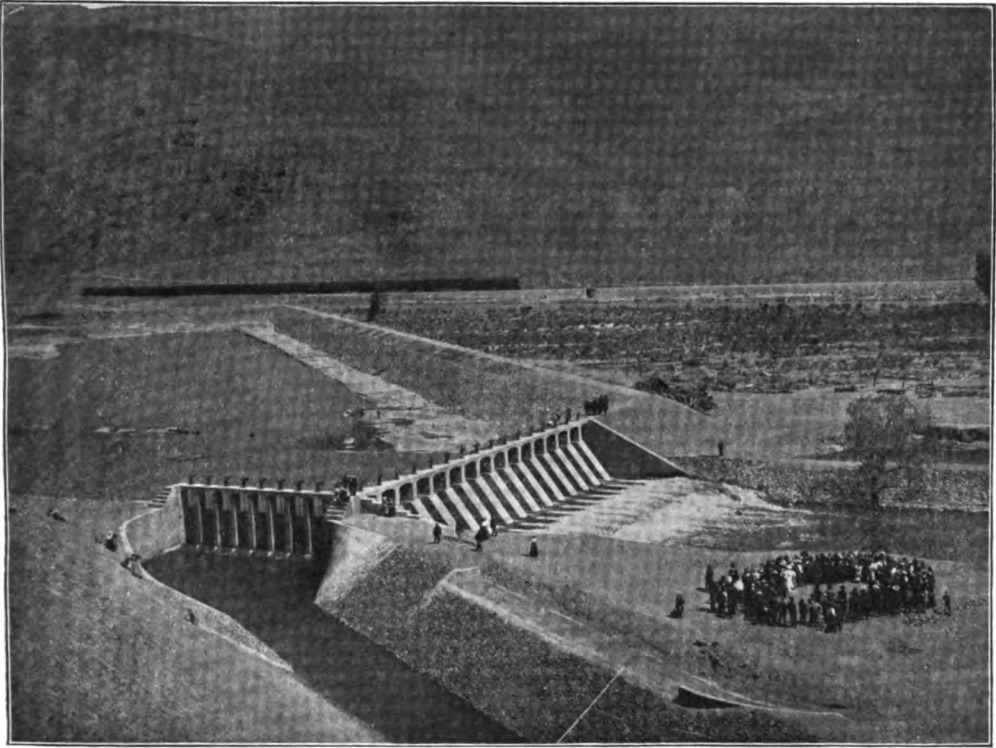
State.	Projects.	Amount Set Aside for Beginning Construction.	Acres Irrigable.
Arizona, . . . . .	Salt River, . . . . .	\$3,600,000	180,000
Cal. & Ariz., . . . . .	Yuma, . . . . .	3,000,000	85,000
Colorado, . . . . .	Uncompahgre, . . . . .	2,500,000	125,000
Idaho, . . . . .	Minidoka, . . . . .	1,300,000	60,000
Montana, . . . . .	Huntley, . . . . .	900,000	35,000
Mont. & N.D., . . . . .	Ft. Buford, . . . . .	1,800,000	60,000
Neb. & Wyo., . . . . .	North Platte, . . . . .	3,500,000	100,000
Nevada, . . . . .	Truckee-Carson, . . . . .	2,740,000	100,000
New Mexico, . . . . .	Hondo, . . . . .	280,000	10,000
S. Dakota, . . . . .	Belle Fourche, . . . . .	2,100,000	80,000
Wyoming, . . . . .	Shoshone, . . . . .	2,250,000	125,000

solid-rock cañon 200 feet high. This dam will not only prevent the prevailing destructive floods, but will store these waters, hitherto far worse than wasted, in the reclamation of 300,000 acres of land. The whole flood and surplus waters of the year, about one and one half million acre feet will be held back by this mighty dam. The main canal, furnishing water in Wyoming and Nebraska, will be 140 miles long, with a vast system of lateral canals.

Different still are the problems presented by the Yuma project on the lower Colorado river, which being navigable, and therefore an international stream, required a special act of Congress. The project includes an extensive system of drainage, and levees and unique engineering features for the disposal of silt, and a tunnel to carry the irrigating water under the Gila river. Pumps will be installed to lift water to 25,000 acres of very fertile mesa land southeast of Yuma.

The Belle Fourche project in South Dakota includes one of the largest dams in the world, a hundred feet high and nearly a mile long. This will make possible the irrigation of nearly 100,000 acres.

The Roosevelt dam in Salt River Cañon, Arizona, will be 240 feet high, stone laid in cement mortar where the solid cañon walls are only seven hundred feet apart; and will hold back a lake 25 miles long and from one to two miles wide. An ample spillway will provide an escape for excessive flood-waters, and a tunnel driven through solid rock will enter the reservoir directly on the bottom and will furnish reinforcement to the spillway and facilitate the discharge of sediment from the basin. As the water is allowed to pass down the river, it will be picked up as needed by the ditches already constructed and distributed over the land. One of the most important features of this work is the development of power, which will be utilized for pumping underground waters to augment the surface-supply available for irrigation.



OPENING, JUNE 17TH. TRUCKEE-CARSON PROJECT.

The power developed along the river will be transmitted electrically to substations properly located, and then distributed at a lower voltage to pumping-stations so situated as to furnish water for irrigation. The estimated cost of the dam and power-plants will be about \$3,600,000, which will irrigate 200,000 acres of land.

An interesting circumstance has come to light in the building of this dam, where in the basin the government has built a little city, with its own electric-light and telephone service. It was found that in asking for bids for cement for this work that the freight-rates were so outrageous, that the government sent out a geologist who found all the necessary ingredients for first-class cement. A cement-mill was installed and Uncle Sam went into the cement business; and charging the cost of the whole plant against only the

first 200,000 barrels, the mill has already more than paid for itself. When the railroads found they did not after all have Uncle Sam by the throat, it was surprising how cheaply cement could be handled by those philanthropic railroad companies which do not like a rate-bill in Congress.

Perhaps the most interesting illustration of the government work is that on the Truckee-Carson project in Nevada. This state lies in a basin into which most of its rivers run and evaporate, there being no other outlets except in the sands and toward the sky. The Humboldt river, rising in the mountains dividing Nevada from Utah, drains the whole northwestern portion of the state through a thousand wandering miles to spread out into a large lake, there to evaporate. The Truckee, Walker and Carson rivers, formed of the melting snows of the Sierra



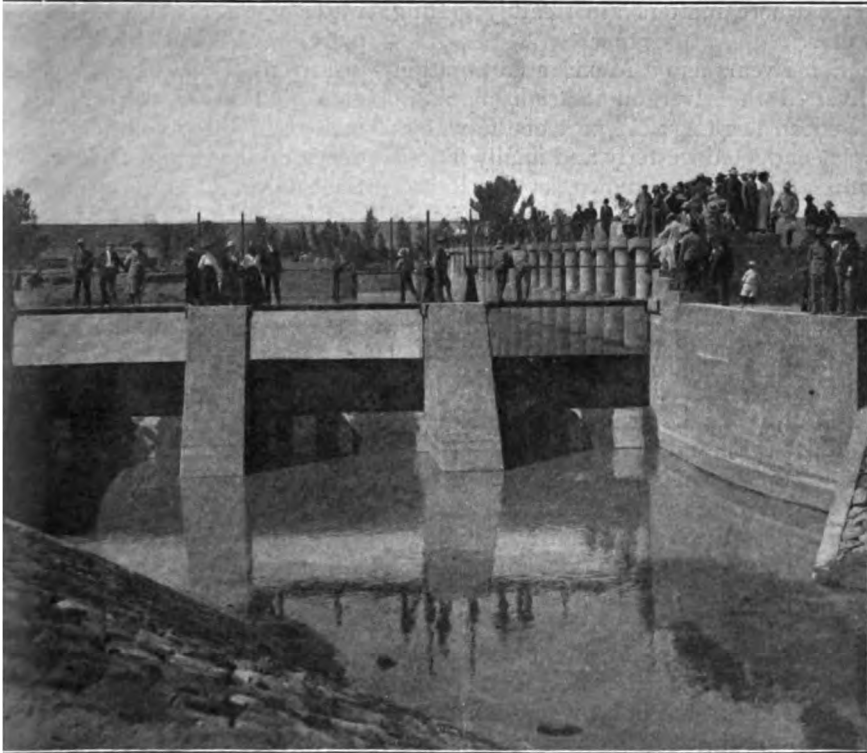
VIEW SHOWING THE FLOODED BANKS OF THE IMPERIAL HEADING No. 3, AT THE JUNCTION OF THE THREE HEADLANDS OF THE MAIN IMPERIAL CÁNAL, MEXICO, 1905.

Nevada mountains in California, flow into lakes with no outlets, also to evaporate. These streams have carried great quantities of silt from the mountains and in high water have spread them over the parching plain, their immense potential fertilities awaiting the spell of the water. This project unites these four principal drainage systems of Nevada by means of great main canal and lateral canals and will redeem at an eventual cost of \$9,000,000 about 400,000 acres of desert which, for a half-century, has been used as an emigrant graveyard and for millenniums before in no other capacity than that of holding the world together.

A dozen lakes in the foothills will be used as primary natural reservoirs and the great dams in the valleys will withhold the flood and distribute it through the network of canals over the eager acres.

The Carson sink in the old days was

a forty-mile desert, through which lay the emigrant trail to the Pacific. Here lay a three days' journey from one end to the other without hope of a drop of water. It became a great wilderness grave. It was said that one could walk across it on the bones of the animals that strewed the trail with the white monuments of that awful torture it was left for the desert to invent, death from thirst. As for the men and women and children who were taken out of their canvas-covered prairie schooners, dead for lack of a cup of water, sometimes their graves were marked by a gun-barrel or iron rod driven in the soil. In the digging of the main ditch, three wagon-loads of these were dug up and carried to the river. To add to the pathos of the many tragedies buried here and there across this waste of death, there is the heart-breaking fact that these bones lie within six



DIVERSION DAM AND LAND IN CARSON RIVER.

ter, which has been found in wells twelve feet deep. And no one was there to know, and there was no one there to guess that the foundation lay just under the parching soil pillowed so many a head of man of thirst.

Believed by the hydrographers who surveyed the state that artesian wells, the underflow of streams and springs, and eventually be utilized for irrigation, 1,600,000 acres in Nevada. From the works under construction, some to above, and others, nine have been approved by the Secretary of the Interior, as follows:

State.	Project.	Amount Set Aside for Construction.	Acres Irrigable.
Washington,	Palouse, . . . . .	2,800,000	90,000
Wyoming,	Shoshone, . . . . .	2,250,000	125,000
Idaho, . . . . .	Payette-Boise, . . .	1,300,000	350,000

A large number of reconnaissance and preliminary surveys have been made and plans are being prepared for numerous other projects in the several arid states and territories. Many important investigations have been made of underground water resources of several drainage basins, with a view to utilizing the water in the various sections wherein the supply of surface-water is inadequate.

Not to speak of legal difficulties, it appears to be self-evident that there are interests here which belong to the whole people, and that private enterprise is incompetent to grapple with them. A fair example of the results of irresponsible and private enterprise is now before the public regarding the lower Colorado

Project.	Amount Set Aside for Construction.	Acres Irrigable.
Malheur, . . . . .	\$2,250,000	100,000
Gilk River, . . . . .	1,000,000	300,000
Countley, . . . . .	900,000	35,000
St. Buford, . . . . .	1,200,000	60,000
Buford-Trenton, } . . . . .	550,000	18,000
Winnemucca, . . . . .		
Winnemucca, . . . . .		15,000



river where matters are steadily getting worse.

Some years ago a Mexican corporation diverted the river on its right bank in Mexican territory. A part of the waters was conducted westerly and finally flowed into a depression known as the Salton Sink, this being in Southern California adjacent to Mexico. The sink and surrounding desert land extend down to nearly 300 feet below sea-level.

During the past year the Colorado river has gradually enlarged the temporary opening and has eaten into the bed and bottom of the artificial channel until now nearly the entire volume of the stream rushes down a relatively steep slope into this great depression. The water accumulating in the basin is slowly rising and had already inundated settlements and has forced the abandonment of many miles of the Southern Pacific track, the road being forced to build temporary tracks around the rising sea.

The river at the point where it escapes has now cut its bed down nearly nine feet below the usual level and the ancient channel of the river is being eaten backwards up towards Yuma, so that the canals which formerly took water upon the irrigable lands near Yuma are left high and dry and the people are being forced to abandon their homes and farms. The condition is serious, and unless Uncle Sam takes a vigorous hand and politely but firmly requires that the river be restored to its old channel there will be great losses to American citizens, both in the vicinity of Yuma and in the Salton Sink.

As the result of ill-considered private enterprise, a most deplorable condition exists also in the Pecos Valley near Carlsbad, New Mexico, which is set forth in resolutions passed at a meeting of the Carlsbad Commercial Club and forwarded through the Chief Engineer of the Reclamation Service to the Secretary of the Interior.

About 18,000 acres of irrigated land tributary to Carlsbad and dependent for

water upon the Pecos Irrigation Company, have been without water since the disastrous floods of 1904 carried out the dam and other works. The result as recited in the resolutions, has been the death of shade and fruit-trees and vines, the total failure of crops and great financial loss. Unless the Avalon dam is rebuilt in time to furnish water in the early spring to crops, all the property situated under the canal system, including the town of Carlsbad, the county-seat, and amounting to between two and three millions of dollars, is threatened with total extinction.

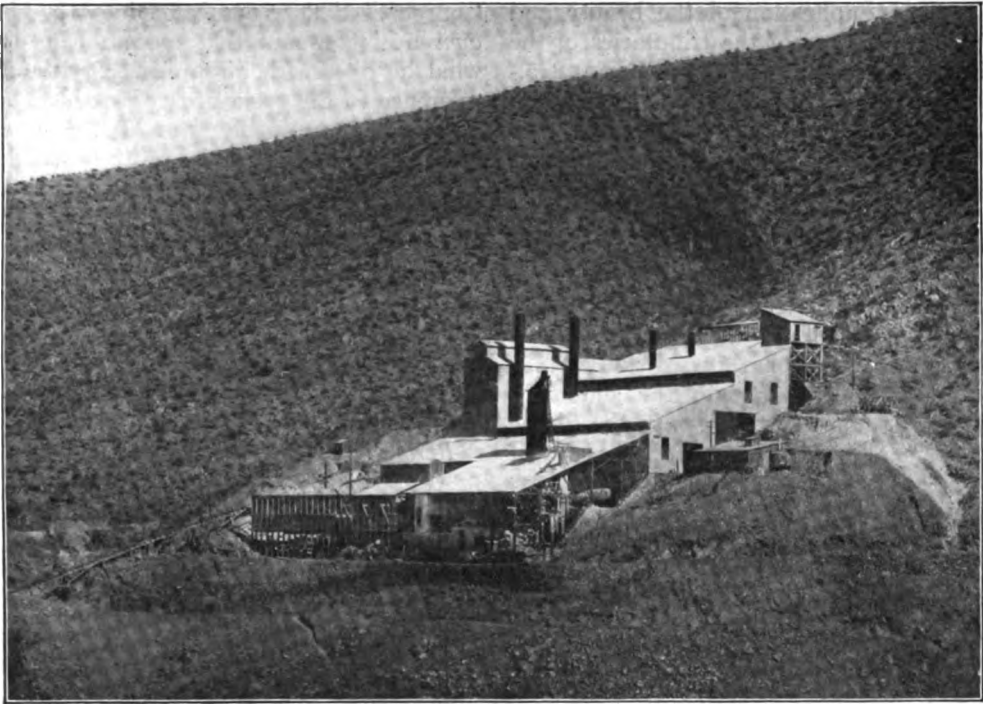
The engineers of the Reclamation Service, at the urgent request of the people interested, have made detailed examinations and surveys and perfected plans for the relief of the settlers, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

Much of the old private construction has not only been badly planned, but is temporary, faulty and incomplete. The government work is slow but thorough. It is designed to be permanent in its character and complete in its development. In many of the private enterprises head-works, flumes and other structures are usually built of wood. Ditches are dug to be enlarged. The government builds, however, with a view to all the land that can be developed and each structure is as strong as can be made in stone, concrete and steel.

The building and control of irrigation-plants as a national enterprise is another silver-plated screw in the lead coffin of *laissez-faire*. It is revolutionary and epoch-making. The success of the nation is so overwhelmingly brilliant in its whole conception and prosecution of the enterprise that it will certainly lead to the building and control of other public utilities and benefits, and what is as inexorable as logic and inevitable as death, the eventual federal control of all human necessities.

This paper would be incomplete without a glimpse at the reverse side of the





GOVERNMENT CEMENT-MILL AT ROOSEVELT.

This mill makes 840 barrels of cement a day at a cost of \$2.20 per barrel, operation and materials and first cost of mill being charged against the first 220,000 barrels. The cost by shipping would have been \$9.00 per barrel.

picture. We have seen the fruits of patriotic nationality. Let us see the logical and legitimate fruits of *laissez-faire*.

If President Roosevelt's stand is well taken, that in river-control the government is justifiable in legislating in river and harbor bills at one end of the river, it is also justifiable in legislating for water-storage reservoirs at the other. So should the contention receive support that if the national Reclamation Acts are justified in creating new farms, fields, homes and gardens from the arid and desolate plain; that the government should also legislate against the conspiracy of gold-dredging land-destroyers in California and elsewhere which is turning some of the garden-spots of the world into desolate and irredeemable wilderness.

On account of the fabulous profits yielded by gold-dredging, now the most

lucrative industry in the world, the orange-groves and prune-orchards of the most fertile valleys of California are some of them already irremediably ruined, or doomed to the destruction which has no resurrection. For the sake of a quick and brilliant profit, extracting once for all from a soil twice blessed, the yellow fruit below the ground, these gold-ships have destroyed and are destroying once for all that wealth of fertility which has yielded such wealth of yellow fruit above.

It has been sad enough to watch the denudation of our American forests, but the tree will grow again if the soil is left. But to destroy an orange-orchard as a mere preliminary to the making of the soil beneath it an everlasting desolation, to wipe a fertile valley off the face of the world forever, this is a double crime, a crime against the nation and against the future. In all the wide world there is

hardly a duplication of the beauty and fertility of some of the tributaries of the Great Sacramento Valley. From \$25,000,000 to \$40,000,000, I am credibly informed, have been invested within twelve or fifteen months in California's fertilest areas, which have been condemned to what the valley of the Feather river is to-day at Ovoville, where I have seen square miles behind forty gold-ships, of piles and stretches of washed and whitened boulders looking for all the world like heaps of whitened skulls.

And if the contention of the contemporaries of those who believe in the divine right of kings or the divine right of

"barons," that a man's business is his own business, and that a man can do what he likes with his property, without reference to the society of which he is a part, has been forever annihilated in a free country; so must the claim be valid, once denied by those who once owned irresponsibly their wives, their children and their slaves, that there are properties which the muniments of title do not give them power ruthlessly and everlastingly to destroy—they escaping punishment, leaving for posterity the "weeping and gnashing of teeth."

FRANK VROOMAN

Berkeley, California.

## THE INITIATIVE A DEMOCRATIC SAFEGUARD AGAINST CLASS-GOVERNMENT.

By ELTWEED POMEROY, A.M.,

President of the National Direct-Legislation League.

IN THE May issue of *The American Journal of Sociology*\* appears an attack on the popular initiative by W. H. Brown, secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago. The discussion though long, occupying more than one-fourth of the entire magazine, is singularly lacking in wisdom and real grasp of the facts of life, and shows scant sympathy with the common people or true democracy. It is purely critical and destructive in character and attempts to tear down while proposing nothing constructive. It would stop advance or experiments in advance, but proposes no remedies for the known evils, which, indeed, it glosses over. In fact, the whole article bears the ear-marks

of that section of the professional class that holds seats in highly-endowed universities.

Usually the members of the anæmic, bookish class in any community know the authorities on any subject, are accurate in their citations from these authorities, and though often biased and usually weak in their judgments, show that they intend to be fair. Mr. Brown has the faults of his class but not its virtues. He is not familiar with his authorities, is not accurate in his statements of fact, and he is not fair. He quotes Deploige, who is not an advocate but a critic of Direct-Legislation, and the Webbs and Lilian Tomm, who are English Fabian oppo-

\*This magazine is edited by Albion W. Small, and published by the University of Chicago. The author of this paper, on reading Mr. Brown's contribution, wrote the editor of *The American Journal of Sociology* requesting permission to briefly answer the errors of fact and of argument. Professor Small, replying on a letter-head bearing the legend, "University of Chicago, Founded by John D. Rock-

efeller," wrote: "I have read a great deal that you have written and would be much pleased to have the article from you, but we are suffering from such a congestion of material," etc., etc. He could give thirty-seven pages to an attack, but not five, or even one page, to an answer. The real reason is probably found in the heading, where it says, "Founded by John D. Rockefeller."

nents of Direct-Legislation, as if they were advocates making damaging admissions.

He shows his ignorance of the whole movement on the first page, where he says:

“The scheme of the initiative includes (1) direct-legislation (the proposal of laws by petition and the adoption of them by majority vote); (2) the ‘veto of the people’ (the submission by petition of laws passed by legislative bodies to the voters for sanction or rejection); (3) the recall or imperative mandate.”

It would be difficult to imagine a more inaccurate summary. The recall is not a part of the initiative or of the referendum, or of Direct-Legislation. The recall is a democratic method kindred to Direct-Legislation in its underlying principle, and most of the advocates of Direct-Legislation believe in it, but it is not a part of Direct-Legislation. The National Direct-Legislation Convention, held at St. Louis in 1896, by resolution permitted Direct-Legislation and Referendum Leagues to attach the recall and proportional representation to their objects, but expressly stated that neither of these was a part of Direct-Legislation.

Direct-Legislation consists of the direct proposal and vote on laws in small communities, as for example, in the New England town-meetings and the Swiss *Landsgemeinde*. In larger communities Direct-Legislation is attained through (1) the initiative or proposal by petition of a law by a reasonable minority, which law, if not passed by the legislature, must go to a vote of the people; and (2) the referendum, which is the vote by the people on a law after either an initiative petition or a reference by the legislature or a petition from the people. There are one or two other forms of the referendum, but it usually means the vote on a law passed by the legislature after a petition from the people.

Mr. Brown's first criticism is that “the

popular initiative is founded upon the general theory that representative government is a failure. It implies also that constitutional government is a failure.”

I do not know of a single advocate of the initiative who says that constitutional government is a failure. I know very few advocates who would say that representative government is a failure compared with past governments; though all of us would admit that it is a failure compared with the hopes entertained for it a century ago or with its actual crude workings at that time, before privileged and class interests became preponderating influences in government, or compared with the ideal of what a representative system might be if buttressed and improved by Direct-Legislation.

Later he makes the astounding statement that “in every city in the country it has either been abandoned or has become the source or cause of the very worst features of political corruption.” No examples does he give in proof of this, while I can cite Brookline, Massachusetts, with over twenty thousand population, which spends more money yearly than the State of New Hampshire and has to-day its town-meeting as it had nearly three centuries ago. I could cite many another New England town, as well as the fact that the towns of Massachusetts are many of them larger than cities in other states, because they are loath to give up the acknowledged benefits of the town-meeting. Further than this, I could cite a number of Swiss cities.

If Mr. Brown refers to Direct-Legislation, by the initiative and referendum, I can cite Los Angeles, Portland, Oregon, and other American cities, and Zürich, Geneva, Berne and other Swiss cities.

If he means to oppose the initiative and referendum by saying that the town-meeting is not suited to large communities, he is using a disgraceful quibble. On this I at once agree with him and say that the town-meeting is not suited to large cities, but that the initiative and referendum are

the improved machinery for applying to larger communities the principles underlying the town-meeting.

After quoting from Captain Cadman's admirable tract, he says that "an abiding faith in the honesty and intelligence of a majority of the voters, which includes ability not only to comprehend the most complicated questions, but also to draft laws concerning them, is the foundation stone of the whole scheme"; and he then goes on to oppose it.

I could continue to cite errors of judgment and misstatements of fact extending through many pages, but these, being typical, are sufficient. The man is anti-democratic in sentiment—a thorough-going reactionary with face set toward the past.

Few if any of the advocates of Direct-Legislation wish to dispense with legislatures. I sincerely hope and expect that our people will always choose wise men to act as expert advisers in all matters of government; but I do hold that the final decision, either tacitly when no referendum is called for, or actually when there is a vote on the law, should always rest in the hands of the people; and, as a

correlative of that, that the legislature may not prevent the enactment of needed legislation by refusing to initiate them, I believe in the initiative. The two go together. These will not supersede legislatures but purify and ennoble them, raising their members to the old and noble title still retained in some of our cities, of Councillors to the People. In this sense I, and I believe all other advocates of Direct-Legislation, have an abiding faith in the intelligence and honesty of the people and in their ability to know their own business and to pass on the laws and rules for that business.

Mr. Brown believes in government; we believe in self-government. He desires either a king or an hereditary or elective aristocracy; we desire, as the Swiss constitution puts it, "a republic either representative or democratic," though I would prefer to say a republic both representative and democratic. He is of the past and of the Old World; we are heralds of the future and of the New World. He is anti-American; we are American.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

*East Orange, N. J.*

## J. CAMPBELL CORY: CARTOONIST.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

### I.

**N**EXT to our magnificent system of public-schools the press is the greatest popular educator in the land. Indeed, the daily paper educates vast multitudes from foreign shores who have never had the splendid opportunities given by our free-school system. In confirmation of this fact one has only to note the numbers of foreign workmen in our great cities during the noon-hour or after work hours. Wherever congregated it will be noticed that a number of these are found perusing the papers, turning from the pictures to laboriously

decipher the reading matter. First the large print lures them on and stimulates interest, until they spend all the noon-hour not devoted to their meal in becoming acquainted with the news of the day and the large-typed editorials. But it is the pictures which almost invariably first challenge their interested scrutiny,—the pictures illustrating news items, the cartoons and the funny drawings. Children and the frivolous and superficial will frequently turn first to the humorous drawings, but we have frequently noted that the earnest workmen from foreign





Photo. by MacDonald, New York.

**J. CAMPBELL CORY**





Cory, in *New York World*.

"QUEER FISH I HAVE KNOWN."—"ROCKEFELLIUM JOHNDECUSSUM OCTOPUS."

shores no less than the Americans turn to the cartoon; and if it be something striking, it is carefully studied until its meaning is comprehended even by the slow-thinking artisan whose early opportunities for education have been meager. To the more intelligent the cartoon, if it be the work of a bright and strong mind, means much, for here in a few strokes of the pen a whole situation is summed up and presented. Sometimes it is the unmasking of a colossal wrong or a glaring and infamous scandal, such as the recent revelations of insurance corruption on

the part of the great New York companies. Sometimes a man who is the master-representative of some evil aspect or tendency of life is presented in a drawing so typical that ever after the evil genius who is responsible for so much misery is associated in the public mind with his wrong-doing, much as in olden times criminals who were branded ever bore the sign of their infamy. Sometimes the indifferent and slothful public that idly permits itself to be victimized by the bold, cunning and daring criminals in broadcloth who pose as the pillars of

Cory of the New York World.

II.

Mr. Cory's success affords another illustration of what pluck and perseverance can achieve in this land, when there is present a fixed determination to succeed along some special line, accompanied by industry and application. It is amazing, when one looks the field over, to find how many successful men in America have risen to the foremost ranks or have achieved a large measure of success without a college education or the special training supposed to be essential to success on special lines. This is said, not for the purpose of disparaging collegiate education or specialization in



Cory, in New York World.

FEEDING THE YELLOW DOG.

society, is pictured as the pitiful incompetent that it has actually demonstrated itself to be. But it matters not what important lesson is emphasized by the talented cartoonist; he impresses the important truth on the mind with great distinctness, and in an age when men do not read slowly and carefully and in a land where there is all the time a vast influx of persons who can understand pictures better than they can comprehend labored arguments, the cartoonist becomes a powerful aid to the editor as an opinion-forming influence and an important factor in the furtherance of moral integrity in business and political life, as well as a true educator of the people on questions that are of vital moment to them.

One of these popular educators whose work is appealing to hundreds of thousands of our people is J. Campbell

work, when such advantages are within the reach of the aspiring youth, but rather as a fact that cannot fail to impress any person who makes a wide study of the long list



Cory, in New York World.

"JUST AS EASY!"



of successful lives in the annals of our nation. And this fact is further dwelt upon because we wish to stimulate and encourage those who have the strength of will, courage, determination and the application necessary to success, but whose circumstances render impossible extended special training or collegiate education. Mr. Cory is one of thousands, aye, and tens of thousands, of men who have risen to success without the advantages of special training or academic education, by improving the talents given them through pluck, persistence and patient industry.

He was born at Waukegan, Illinois, in 1867. When twenty years of age he began to earn his living by making pictures, al-



Cory, in New York World.

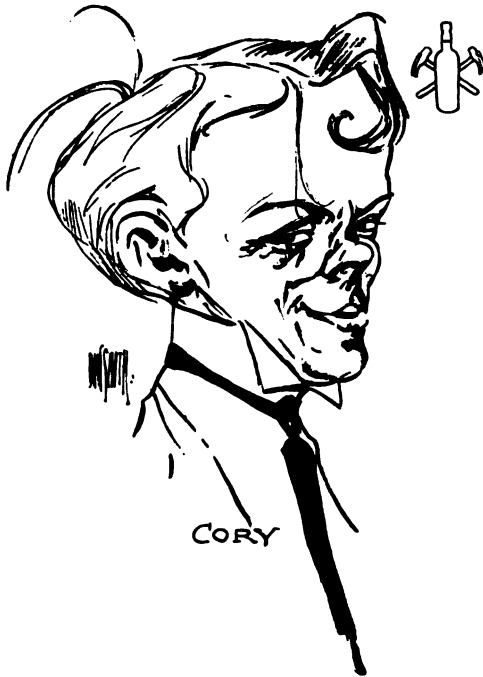
NOTHING LEFT BUT THE HYDE.

though he never received any artistic education. For many years the drawing of horses was his specialty, his success being so marked that his work brought him in a good income, not, however, as much as that being earned by successful cartoonists, so he at length turned his attention to caricature. During the Spanish-American war he launched a weekly periodical of his own, with the usual result: kindly reception and criticism, but financial failure. After eleven weeks of precarious livelihood the weekly expired and Mr. Cory became regularly associated with the *New York World*. There his best cartoons have appeared and there he has



Cory, in New York World.

"HIGH LIFE INSURANCE."



A CARICATURE OF CORY BY DAN. SMITH.

worked steadily, excepting during a period of four years, when, under the infection of the Western mining-fever, he gathered his savings together and with pick and shovel went to Montana, where, to use his own words, he "achieved some small success and some greater failures." That the "treasure state" of the northwest still holds him in thrall, however, may be inferred from this recent remark: "I like the [mining] business, and having paid the price for my education in that line, it is my intention some day to resume operations with pick and shovel."

In speaking of his aims and convictions Mr. Cory says: "While I have no political affiliations, I always strive to favor the best man and the most worthy cause."

One of the most unfortunate aspects of newspaper life, and indeed of life in general, since the ominous shadow of the commercial autocracy has fallen over government, college, church and press, is the absence of strong, clearly-defined and bravely-adhered-to moral ideals and

convictions among those who mould opinions and shape the course of government and civilization. No nation can rise, aye, or can escape a steady moral decline, where a careless opportunism dominates in state, in church, in the college and the press, taking the place of an aggressive moral rectitude or character; for the great moulding influences that operate through them environ the individual and exert a regal or determining sway over the nation or civilization, writing the fateful words "glory" or "decay" across the pathway of the future. This does not mean that individual growth or unfoldment does not come from within, but it does mean that when sordid, egoistic and selfish interests dominate in society, they act as prison-bars for the spiritual ego and as a canopy shutting the soul from the freedom, light and warmth that are as essential to the evolution of the divine or perfected character as are the light and warmth of the physical sun and the pure air of heaven necessary to the unfoldment of the divine potentialities in the seed—the fruition of flower and fruit that are empearled in the life-germ, but whose perfect expression is dependent upon freedom and normal environment.

A great work confronts the really great and true men and women of to-day—the work of so awakening the latent moral or spiritual energies of the people that the spell of the golden god shall be broken and a democratic renaissance shall come, instinct with the same irresistible moral enthusiasm that more than a century ago broke the age-long scepter of arbitrary privilege and dogmatic authority, destroying the prison-walls of ignorance, superstition and unreasoning adherence to hoary error that had stifled growth, bound freedom, dwarfed the popular mind and enslaved the people for the enrichment and the power of the privileged few.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

# HIS GIRL.

BY FRANK H. SWEET.

THE GREAT week was over, and of the three or four hundred girls who had filled the college-buildings and campus with their bright, earnest lives, not more than a dozen remained; and most of this dozen had their trunks packed for speedy departure.

But among the two or three who had not, who did not even know whether she could pack, or where she could go if she could, was Mary Cathcart, the poet of the debating class.

This morning she was standing near the entrance of the lecture-hall, wondering what she would do. For ten days she had been looking hopefully for a letter, but none had come. None was likely to come now.

She had not fitted herself for anything special; and she rather looked forward to coming back after the summer holidays to take a post-graduate course, when, if that would seem best, she would study for one of the half-dozen callings which many of her schoolmates were already entering upon. But it all depended on the letter, and the letter had not come.

A girl but little older than herself came suddenly from the building, folding some papers which she had apparently just received. It was the French teacher, and she was now going straight to the station, to take the next train for home. Mary looked at her a little enviously. She had had her trunk taken away a half hour before.

"The teacher reached the foot of the stairs and she smiled and nodded. "Not gone yet, Miss Cathcart?" she

said; I am looking around."

"I understand. It is a lovely place. I expected to find it hard to leave; but the past week everything seems so bright and dreary that I am glad to get home. When do you go?"

"A second before, Mary had not even thought of packing her trunk. Now she answered promptly: "On the afternoon of

"That is nice. By to-morrow the dear old buildings will be empty and ready to enter upon their long summer sleep. How strange to think of our girls becoming so scattered! Where do you go?"

"To Longley."

The answer was unpremeditated; but oddly enough, with it vanished the listlessness and discontent and doubt from the girl's face. As the French teacher turned away, she skipped rather than walked across the campus, ran up the steps and into the building which had been her home for four long years, and on up the stairs to her own prettily furnished room. To Longley? Of course. It was from there that she had been expecting the letter.

Two hours later her trunk was packed and at the station, and she had purchased a ticket. She had money enough left to pay her expenses for a month. Beyond that she did not know.

As the train whirled away from the station she caught a fleeting glimpse of the college-buildings on the slope, and her face grew tender. They had been the only home she had known since leaving that other one in the Far West, where for years she had been nurse and her mother invalid. Then the trees shut the buildings from view, and her thoughts went forward to Longley. Whom would she find there? Would she even find anybody? A letter which had come to her after her mother's death, more than four years before, bidding her to enter upon a course at college, and stating that money would be sent to her from time to time, as before, was all she had to go by. The letter had been postmarked "Longley." Before that, money had been sent to her mother from banks in New York, Boston and other cities, but never from the same city twice. And during her college course it had been the same.

She had always been generously supplied, and had furnished her room well,

and dressed well, and had money to spend. Then, as the end of the course approached, she had confidently looked forward to another letter. But none had come. The one postmarked Longley was her only clue; and even that might have been mailed by someone passing through the place.

Her mother thought the money might have come from a wealthy uncle who had some disagreement with the family, and who took this way of saving his pride. He was eccentric and fond of traveling about from place to place. But there was also a family tradition of a great aunt somewhere, who had property, and who never communicated with any of her relatives.

The train rushed on, and the half-dozen schoolmates who were in it dropped away one by one. At length Longley was called, and Mary rose with suddenly beating heart and hurried out to the little platform of a small country station.

But as she looked around, her heart sank. There was a long, unpainted building with many small windows, which she afterwards learned was a cotton-factory. She could hear the harsh "clack, clack, clack-i-clack," of the looms from where she stood. Around the mill were several dozen small houses, all alike, and all without shade-trees or yards. She looked around eagerly for a mansion with piazzas and lawn, but there was none; only the unpainted factory tenements, with two or three buildings in the midst of them which might be stores or offices. Just from the campus and spacious college buildings, it seemed unutterably dreary and lonesome, and Mary turned longingly toward the train which was disappearing in the distance. Of course it was a mistake, coming here.

The station-master was dragging her trunk back from the edge of the platform where it had been dropped. She went to him.

"There are no Cathcarts here, of course?" she said, more as an assertion than a question.

"No, guess not; never heerd of any. Be you lookin' up some?"

"Y—es, I thought I might find a relative here. When is the next train?"

"Not till to-morrer."

She drew a long breath.

"Is there a hotel near?"

"Fact'ry boardin'-house; but I guess it's pretty full. It only has rooms for seven or eight. That's it down yonder," pointing with his finger; "the house with a blind swingin' on one hinge. Be you lookin' for a job? The bookkeeper's been fired, an' they ain't found another yet; though I don't know as they'd take on a woman. Then I hear they're needin' two or three more weavers. That's all the jobs I know of, unless it's old Tom Farrar's. He's been man-o'-all-work 'round the mill ever since nobody knows when; but has been sick now for a month or so an' sort o' wanderin' in his mind. Gettin' old, ye see, an' been workin' pretty hard. But of course you do n't want that job. Well, good luck to ye, whatever ye do. But oh, say!" as she started down the platform. "I 'most forgot. I heerd this mornin' that the woman who's been nussin' Tom is goin' off to-day. Mebbe ye could get her job. The pay won't be much, but Tom's home is a good place to live in as homes in fact'ry tenements go."

Mary nodded her thanks, a sudden resolution flashing into her eyes. She was a girl who made up her mind quickly, often on impulse, as now. She had not thought of obtaining a situation, but why not? If she returned to the college-town she would scarcely have money enough to pay her expenses through the vacation, even with the strictest economy. By the time school commenced she would of course have another check from the unknown relative, and be able to keep on with her studies; but she did not like the idea of getting entirely out of funds. If she could do something to even pay her expenses, she would be able to save the little she had for any emergency that might occur.

So when the boarding-house keeper grimly informed her that there was not a room, not even a lounge, vacant she did not look dismayed as she might other-

wise have done, but smilingly inquired her way to the home of Mr. Farrar. There she found a middle-aged woman who greeted her anxiously. But on learning Mary's errand the woman's face cleared.

"That's what I call a special Providence!" she exclaimed, heartily. "You see, I've got to go, for my sister's sick; but I have been hatin' to leave old Mr. Farrar. The very best I could think of was gettin' a neighbor's little girl, only fourteen, to come in; but she'd be a pretty poor excuse. Have you done any nussin'?"

"I took care of my mother quite a good many years before she died."

"Then it's all right, an' I'm glad. You won't have a bit of trouble lookin' arter things here. Mr. Farrar's one of the best housekeepers I know, if he has kept bachelor's hall. There's everything one wants to do with, an' it's all spick an' span. An' Mr. Farrar himself won't give a mite of trouble. Even when he's wanderin', which has been most of the time, so fur—he's gentle an' soft-spoken. One can't help lovin' the old man. But come in! come in!" stepping back from the doorway to allow Mary to enter; "you might as well begin right off, an' I'll be packin' my trunk."

"Is he very ill?" Mary asked, as she went inside.

"Well, no; not so very, now. He's gettin' better slowly. The doctor says he'll begin to sense things in another week, an' arter that he'll pick up fast. But you're likely to be needed for a month or more. An', oh yes; he told me when I fust come that he could only pay three dollars a week, for he had other expenses to meet outside. I s'pose you'll get the same. But it's a nice place to stay, an' I think you'll like it."

She was right; Mary did like it. As the woman had said, there seemed to be everything to do with, and it was all in its place and "spick an' span." She remembered many of the tempting dishes which she had prepared for her mother, and she made them now, singing little

snatches of song as she did so. She had not known what she was fitted for. Now she knew that she could be a good nurse. Perhaps she could also be good at other things; but she had not found that out yet.

What surprised her most were the books in every room, some of which even she looked at with awe. And they all showed marks of much use, as well as loving care. The old man's hands were rough and calloused, as befitted a man-of-all-work around the mill; but for all that, he was evidently a scholar, and Mary felt that she could read proof of it in the strong brow and dreamy eyes.

As the days went by these eyes began to follow her as she moved softly about the room, contentedly and lovingly at first, then with a questioning wistfulness, as though the clouded mind were striving to grasp something it could not quite reach. Then one day there were several minutes when the eyes grew clear and intelligent, during which they gazed at her with almost startled wonder. The next day the lucid interval was longer, and several times repeated. But he did not speak, only gazed at her and passed his hand across his brow from time to time, as though to clear his brain. Once he turned his face to the wall, and when she went to him a little later she found of tears upon his cheeks.

Then came a morning when he was strong enough to sit up in bed; but still the wistfulness and wonder remained in his eyes, and mingled with them now was a certain resignation. Presently he motioned Mary to his side.

"You are a new nurse?" he said.

"Yes."

"I knew it, of course, but I have n't said anything. I—I have been trying to get my mind clear. I thought as I got stronger my mind would get better, but it do' n't. I—I'm afraid it is getting worse. I suppose I'm growing old and it's to be expected, but I've been planning for a good deal of reading and study yet, and have n't realized how the years slip by."

Mary stroked his hand softly.

"You cannot get well all at once, Mr. Farrar," she chided. "You have been very sick, you know. But you are growing stronger gradually, and your brain is becoming clearer. I can see it."

"You do n't understand," he answered, gently. "My body's stronger, but my mind don't seem to gain. It made you out to be somebody else from the first, and has persisted in the hallucination ever since. I've looked in other directions, and changed my thoughts to other things; but it's no use. You've taken care of me, so my mind says you are somebody I used to know a long time ago, who's now dead. I suppose it's what people call second childhood." Then, changing the subject abruptly: "How long have I been sick?"

"I do not know. I have only been here two weeks. It is now the fifteenth of July."

He looked startled.

"That late!" he gasped. "Why, I—I've got a little girl off to school who ought to have been written to long ago. Will you bring me my pen and paper from the desk?"

She complied, but his hand trembled so that he could not hold the pen.

"Let me do it for you," she said, taking the pen from his shaking fingers and moving a small table close to his bedside. "Now how shall I begin?"

But he remained silent, looking at her doubtfully.

"I—I—you see, I do n't write to her direct," he said at length, hesitatingly. "There's an old friend in New York who acts for me." He was silent for some minutes longer, then went on, desperately:

"The letter must be written, and I suppose it'll be best to explain things a little. You see, when I was a boy I had a strong notion for college, but there were reasons why I had to work hard year after year. When at last I was so fixed that I could go, I felt that I was too old. Besides, I was sort of settled with the books I liked to read, and had lost ambition to go out

into the world. But I did n't give up the idea altogether; I would send somebody in my place. So I looked around. I had no relative save a little girl I played with when a boy. She had married and gone West. I traced her up, and found that her husband was dead and she an invalid without means. That was something nearer than college; so I sent her what money I had to spare from time to time. When she died, I had her girl go to college."

He paused with his gaze upon the coverlet, his eyes unobservant, dreamy, reminiscent.

Mary had risen, her eyes shining.

"Why did n't you write to her direct?" she breathed.

"Well, she was a college-girl, you see, with college-girls' notions. I liked to think of her as my girl, and to plan things for her. If I'd written to her direct it—it might have been different. You see, I'm just a man-of-all-work in a factory." He held up his hands, white and transparent from his illness, but still knotty and hard from a lifetime of toil. "I do n't know much about girls," he went on, "but I want to think of this one as mine, and I can't bear the thought of her ever——"

"Mr. Farrar, do you think any girl could be ashamed of you?"

The quick, passionate cry brought his gaze suddenly from the coverlet. What he read in her voice, in her eyes, brought a look of rapt understanding to his face.

"Then it is n't my mind wandering!" he exclaimed, tremulously. "It's her, really and truly her! Mary, bring me that tin box in my desk."

She brought it, and he ran his fingers through the contents eagerly, soon finding a tintype which he opened and held up for her inspection. It might have been her own picture, so exact was the likeness. She recognized it with a low cry.

"It's your mother, Mary," he said, softly, "taken just before she went West."

FRANK H. SWEET.

*Waynesboro, Va.*

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WORLD FROM THE DEMOCRATIC VIEW-POINT.

### **The New Political Revolution Inaugurated by The November Elections in City and State.**

**T**HE NOVEMBER elections have an historic significance. They represent the opening battle in a new moral revolution—a revolution incomparably greater and more significant in its influence upon the fundamental principles of democratic government than any popular uprising since the anti-slavery agitation which preceded the Civil war. For almost fifty years there has steadily arisen in the American nation a distinctly un-American and reactionary movement which favored class-government and was inherently inimical to free institutions. For many years the sinister influence of the political machine dominated by corrupt bosses failed to properly impress the electorate with its menace to free government. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the machine would ever have become a powerful engine for the corruption of municipal, state and national government, for the virtual overthrow of democratic institutions, for the enthronement in positions of power of the tools of special privileged interests and great corporate wealth, and finally for the virtual domination of government by public-service companies and powerful trusts and monopolies, had it not been for the union of privileged interests with unscrupulous partisans, the former furnishing vast campaign contributions and the latter building up corrupt organizations dominated by men innocent of all moral principles and ready to resort to all forms of dishonesty and corruption to gain victory for their bosses and masters, reckless in their violation of law because they knew that behind them stood the wealth of the pillars of society who were the direct beneficiaries of the triumph of the political machines. But for the last quarter of a century the ominous and sinister onward march of the controlled machine has been so rapid that

the government of many cities and states had practically passed into the hands of notorious bands of criminals whose leaders were in the United States Senate or were occupying other powerful positions in government, while their lieutenants were acquiring millions of dollars through the sale of the people's public franchises to the multi-millionaire representatives of public-service corporations and monopolies operated for the despoiling of the people and the enriching of the few. From year to year republican government became more and more a farce. From year to year the tyranny and oppression of corporation magnates and high financiers became more unbearable, yet their power seemed to be constantly augmented in the nation, the state and the city. The November election was the first registered protest on a large scale of the American people against the domination of privileged interests through corrupt bosses and controlled machines.

### **The City Elections.—The Emancipation of Philadelphia.**

In Philadelphia the aroused electorate won a sweeping victory over the most corrupt, powerful and arrogant machine in any municipality of the United States, with the possible exception of the Tammany organization in New York, and in spite of the desperate efforts of the corrupt boss, United States Senator Penrose, and the discredited Governor Pennypacker, both of whom fought with the fury of despair to further the interests of the thieves who had robbed the city of untold millions of dollars and had been responsible for the death of more than twelve hundred citizens through typhoid fever.

The Durham ring was probably the best-organized band of political desperadoes in the United States. Its infamous character was admirably described by Mr. Blankenburg in his great series of ARENA papers which did

so much toward crystallizing public sentiment and arousing the people of Philadelphia to the importance of making a stand for civic righteousness; and from the day when Mayor Weaver threw the gauntlet in the face of Boss Durham one of the most exciting and determined political conflicts known to our municipal history has raged.

More than fifty thousand fraudulent names were found upon the voting lists. The elimination of this menace to good government was the first movement that gave the people real hope of the redemption of their municipality. The revelation of the experts from Washington which showed that the filtering plant could easily have been completed in time to have saved the lives of twelve hundred citizens of Philadelphia, and which also showed that more than six million dollars had been looted from the city by the political ring and their abettors, greatly helped the movement for reform, as did the outspoken words of Secretary Root who had been retained by Mayor Weaver and who was acting as counsel for the city at the time when he reentered the cabinet, and later the brave words of Secretary Bonaparte.

The reformers, however, labored under many disadvantages. Their opposition had the most perfect organization in the state. The reformers' organization was necessarily weak because new and untried. Moreover, the "safe and sane" element, the immensely rich rogues who pose as the pillars of society, as the ultra-respectable citizens, but who had been fattening off of the city by their association with the ring in obtaining franchises and other benefits, were doing all in their power to defeat the effort of honest citizenship to emancipate the city. Another element that the reformers had to contend against was the attitude of the Republican political machine of the state, headed by United States Senator Penrose, which was battling valiantly for the thieves; while the other United States Senator, Philander Knox, declined to raise his voice for decency, honesty and good government in this crisis. In speaking of his shameful silence the Boston *Herald* well observed editorially:

"United States Senator Knox, who owes his incumbency of office to the favor of a syndicate of corporations, has stood aside like a moral coward, taking no part in the great contest between honor and dishonor."

Mr. Knox has too long been the tool of the great corporations which are always the fountain-head of the power and sustenance of the bosses and controlled machines to stand for the people and good government. But thousands of President Roosevelt's friends were amazed that he, usually so ready to take a hand in every conflict at home and abroad where there is a shadow of excuse for such interference, should have steadfastly refused to speak a word against all that was most criminal, corrupt and infamous in American political life, and for purity and honesty in municipal rule, when such a word would have meant thousands if not tens of thousands of votes in Philadelphia for the cause of good government. Very different was the course of Governor Folk of Missouri, who came to Philadelphia and did valiant service for the cause of morality and free institutions.

The result was a glorious victory for the people, who carried the election by over 40,000 majority, routing the forces of the United States Senators, the governor and the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia machines at every point.

#### **The Three-fold Municipal Victory in Ohio.**

In Cleveland the public-service corporations and privileged interests of Ohio determined to overthrow Mayor Tom L. Johnson if money could compass his defeat. Never had there been a more savage or more hotly-contested mayoralty election in the city of Mr. Rockefeller and of the late Mark Hanna. The moral sense of the community, however, was thoroughly aroused, and Mayor Johnson won one of the most magnificent victories ever scored in the United States, carrying the district by thirteen thousand majority.

Another most important victory for the people was won in Toledo, where the well-known author, Mr. Brand Whitlock, the successor of Golden-Rule Mayor Jones and the editor of the beautiful little volume, *Letters of Labor and Love*, by Mayor Jones, which we review in this issue, was elected on an independent ticket by a majority of almost six thousand.

In Cincinnati, the stronghold of one of the most arrogant and dangerous bosses of the United States, the machine-ticket was also overwhelmingly defeated by the aroused electorate.



**The Great Uprising in New York City.**

In New York city the most exciting campaign, and in many respects the most remarkable contest in the history of the city, took place. For years the Republican state boss and the Tammany boss have from time to time made common cause against the people. Of course the public-service companies have been behind the bosses all the time and have been the great controlling influence in dictating their courses, as they have been the power behind the throne that has given the bosses dominion.

During the next four years there are vast sums of money to be expended in greater New York, reaching up into the millions of dollars. Ryan, Belmont and their fellow public-service cormorants have their greedy eyes fastened upon the rich prize. It is not surprising, therefore, that Boss Odell of the Republican party defeated the attempt at fusion which at that time alone offered hope of overcoming the baleful influence of Boss Murphy of Tammany Hall.

At the moment, however, when all seemed secure, a tremendous public-meeting nominated William R. Hearst, ex-Senator Ford, J. G. Phelps Stokes and Clarence Shearn on a Municipal-Ownership ticket amid unparalleled excitement and enthusiasm. Mr. Hearst at first declined to run, not desiring to enter the mayoralty contest. The people, however, insisted, and he and his associates made one of the most brilliant campaigns known in the history of American municipal government. Never before in the annals of New York had a mayoralty candidate been received with such unbounded enthusiasm as was Mr. Hearst. From all parts of New York, save in the great gamblers' den of Wall street, came spontaneous and enthusiastic support. The press of the city, however, outside of his own papers, for the most part united in an effort to defeat him. Only the *New York World* and *Herald* maintained an independent attitude.

It soon became evident that the Municipal-Ownership ticket would sweep the city unless the wishes of the people could be defeated by the corrupt use of wealth. Tammany leaders boldly boasted that they had a million and a half to spend. All the great Wall-street magnates, all the great trust-lawyers, all the grafters and henchmen of political bosses and machines, were arrayed against the Municipal-Ownership ticket; and after the great Madison Square meeting held in the interests

of Mr. Hearst on the Sunday night before election, which proved to be the greatest political gathering in the history of the city, it is stated that the Republican leaders gave the word to knife their own candidate and support McClellan, so that the reign of the bosses, the public-service corporations and the corruptionists might continue.

The city of Brooklyn gave fifteen thousand majority to the Municipal-Ownership ticket. Tammany, however, desperate, resorted to the most shameless crimes to perpetuate its rule. Men were slugged, beaten and even killed in their attempts to work for Mr. Jerome for district-attorney and for Mr. Hearst. It is stated that thousands of Municipal-Ownership advocates when they went to vote found that others had voted in their names. Mr. Bird S. Coler, who headed the Municipal-Ownership ticket in Brooklyn, declared that he had evidence of thousands of fraudulent votes being cast in Brooklyn alone—far more votes than the alleged majority of McClellan. The election officers in many instances held back the returns for many hours, but in spite of all the efforts made by Tammany Hall, the face of the returns as given out only gave McClellan 3,485 plurality. These same returns showed that the head of the Municipal-Ownership ticket had over 225,000 votes counted for him.

Mr. Hearst, however, had overwhelming evidence of fraud brought to his attention and therefore demanded a recount, with a view to contesting the election, the result at this writing being therefore undecided.

Mr. Jerome, who ran independent of any organization, having been denied a place on the three tickets, was elected by a substantial majority,—another blow to boss and machine-rule.

**A Popular Victory in Boston.**

One of the greatest surprises of the November elections occurred in Boston where Mr. John B. Moran won the election for district-attorney by more than four thousand votes over the present incumbent of the office who had received the nomination of the Republican party and the endorsement of the Democratic party and who was supported by every paper in the city with the exception of Hearst's *Boston American*, the latter paper maintaining an independent position and giving Mr. Moran's speeches to the public. The nominee of the machines was eminently satisfactory

to the grafters, the public-service corporations, the lobbyists and the corruptionists, and it was supposed that, having the support of all political machines and of every morning paper in the city and of all the evening papers but one, he would be elected by an enormous majority. Mr. Moran, however, made an appeal directly to the people, promising that the rich rogues should receive the same treatment as the little rogues at his hands. He had previously made a fine fight for the people when the gas-trust was trying to get an infamous measure through the legislature and also was fighting the reduction of the price of gas in Boston. The victory of Mr. Moran was one of the greatest surprises and one of the most hopeful victories in the November elections, as well as one of the most severe blows to the machines and bosses.

#### The Result in San Francisco.

In San Francisco Mayor Schmitz, the labor-union candidate, was reelected by fifteen thousand majority. There has been great dissatisfaction on the part of many of the most sincere friends of labor as well as lovers of pure government, with the administration of Mayor Schmitz, and it is quite possible that he might have been defeated had not the Citizens' Alliance element played into the hands of the mayor by assuming an aggressive position in the contest. That at once caused the hosts of union labor to rally around the man that its organized foe had singled out for slaughter, with the result that the labor mayor was triumphantly elected.

#### The State Elections.—The Redemption of Ohio From Boss Rule.

ONE OF the most interesting and in every way encouraging elections of the year was held in Ohio. There the corrupt boss Cox, whose shameful work of Tammanyizing or Durhamizing Cincinnati has been admirably described by Mr. Steffens, aspired to become the absolute dictator of his state and play the rôle in Ohio that Quay played in Pennsylvania. Cox had also set his heart on becoming a United States Senator and everything seemed going his way. Governor Herrick was his pliant tool, and when in order to hold the support of the liquor interests some offensive liquor legislation was pressed last winter, Governor Herrick showed his contempt for the religious protestants and actively

supported the liquor measure. This aroused general indignation throughout the state and fostered the dissatisfaction that had long since been growing in the minds of the more independent and thoughtful patriots of all parties. The continued aggressions of the public-service corporations and other privileged interests and the disclosures in the insurance investigation also proved powerful influences in arousing the public conscience. The boss and the governor, however, felt thoroughly secure. They believed the voters of Ohio to be so hypnotized by the name Republican and so under the spell of certain meaningless phrases and false shibboleths that had long been employed to conjure with, that with the vast corruption fund that they could always depend upon from the privileged interests they would prove invincible. They did not appreciate the fact that we are in the morning-time of a great moral awakening. Hence Boss Cox's programme was pushed through regardless of the protests of the more decent element of the party. Herrick was renominated and the campaign opened with the boss and his tools absolutely confident of success. Had not Ohio given Governor Herrick 114,000 plurality two years before, and had not the state been carried by President Roosevelt by 255,000 votes last year? Surely, there could be no danger of defeat in a state where the majorities were so large.

But the people were thinking. Mayor Johnson had given Cleveland the cleanest, most honest and the finest municipal government enjoyed by any American city in recent years. Boss Cox's minions had given Cincinnati one of the most shameful and disgraceful administrations of modern times, and now this man aspired to be the real master or dictator of the state. The Democrats nominated a prominent temperance man, a true democrat, with a clean record for honesty and probity, and to his standard the people flocked. Moreover, they had determined to break machine-rule and destroy the corrupt boss while overthrowing the reactionary legislature that had been the servile tool of corrupt public-service companies and privileged interests. They cast their ballots in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to the determination of the commonwealth. Governor Patterson was elected by 41,705 votes, and the legislature passed into the hands of the Democratic party—a victory so sweeping as to be revolutionary in character.

### **The Freemen of Pennsylvania and Their Revolt Against Their Masters and Rulers.**

When Mr. Blankenburg last January opened his series of papers on "The Masters and Rulers of 'The Freemen' of Pennsylvania," the outlook for the overthrow of the corrupt ring built up by the late Senator Quay through the aid of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, other public-service corporations and the privileged interests of the state, seemed hopeless. The ring that ruled Philadelphia appeared to be impregnably buttressed. Its members had complete control of all government machinery; they had padded the voting-lists of Philadelphia by the addition of from sixty to eighty thousand fraudulent names, and the virus of corruption had extended not only to Pittsburgh but throughout the state. President Roosevelt carried Pennsylvania, according to the face of the returns, by half a million votes, and the people seemed steeped in moral apathy. In less than a year, so great has been the revolution, that at the November election the state treasurer, nominated by the Prohibition and Democratic parties, was elected by over 85,000 majority, an overturn of nearly 600,000 votes.

#### **Senator Gorman's Waterloo.**

Senator Gorman has long stood as the most obnoxious Democratic boss in the United States, whose methods more nearly approached those of Quay, Addicks, Penrose, Cox, Platt and Odell than those of any other Democratic politician. In late years the hold over his state of this political leader has become more and more precarious as the moral sensibilities of the people became aroused. The privileged interests which Gorman had so faithfully served were coming to feel that the Republican party could be depended upon to carry forward their wishes, and without their support Gorman's eclipse was foreshadowed unless he could devise a plan by which he would be able to keep an indefinite hold on the state of Maryland. His plan to disfranchise the negro was a plan to render permanent his boss-ship of the state. The iniquitous scheme was denounced by the Democratic senator, Governor Warfield, and indeed by the most liberal and progressive Democrats as well as Republicans of the state. Perhaps the most efficient worker against Gorman in the late campaign was Secretary

Bonaparte. The result of the election has proved the Waterloo for Gorman, his amendment for disfranchisement being defeated by about 30,000 votes.

#### **The New Jersey Election.**

The New Jersey election was less encouraging than those in most of the eastern states, as it indicated that the power of the Dryden ring is being strengthened rather than weakened. Yet the election was not devoid of victories for the cause of good government, the most notable of which was the election of Everett Colby and the consequent discrediting of the arrogant boss of Newark. The friends of Mr. Colby believe that he will soon become a figure of national importance and perhaps will become the Folk of New Jersey.

Another corporation and machine defeat was witnessed in the reelection of Mayor Fagan in Jersey City.

#### **The Result in Massachusetts.**

In Massachusetts the election was won by the Republican party by a very narrow margin. Had it not been for the fact that Henry M. Whitney had long been the master-spirit in the street-railway monopoly of Boston, whose malodorous record in the legislature of Massachusetts cast in the shade all legislative scandals of the past quarter of a century, unless it be that of the gas company in which Mr. Whitney was also the master-spirit, we think there is no doubt but what Mr. Whitney at least would have been triumphantly elected, for he stood as the distinct representative of the idea of reciprocity—an idea overwhelmingly popular with the people of the commonwealth. A large proportion of the Republican party of Massachusetts clamored for reciprocity, and Mr. Draper stood as the foremost representative of those who are opposed to tariff revision. His position in this respect was similar to that of Senator Lodge. The Senator, whose autocratic spirit has entitled him to be ranked as the boss of Massachusetts, determined that Mr. Draper should appear as lieutenant-governor on the ticket. He also needlessly antagonized the reciprocity Republicans by his sneering allusion to them and courted the humiliating personal rebuke he received by declaring that every vote cast against Mr. Draper would be a vote against himself. In order to express their sentiment in favor of reciprocity and also to resent the

arrogance of the state boss who is so dear to the privileged interests that plunder the people, many thousands of the liberal Republicans determined to knife Mr. Draper. The Democrats took advantage of this condition and nominated Mr. Whitney who had taken a bold and positive stand for reciprocity. Mr. Whitney's wealth enabled him to carry on the most aggressive campaign that has been pushed forward by the Democratic party in years. However, thousands of self-respecting voters refused to support Mr. Whitney solely because they remembered the shameful legislative scandal in connection with the street-railway legislation and which Mr. George Fred. Williams, incorruptible and scholarly representative of true Democracy, so admirably epitomized in these words:

"I charge Mr. Whitney with procuring the passage of an elevated-railroad charter by employing an enormous lobby, by securing the silence or assistance of leading politicians with legal retainers, by influencing the nominations and elections of members of the legislature, by attempting to influence the appointment of the street-railway committee, by expending from \$33,000 to \$53,000, and by buying off competitors for a charter. Mr. Whitney," added Mr. Williams, "denies none of these charges and they were amply proved in the West End investigation. The above charges," he urged, "constitute corruption of the legislature as defined by the courts."

These conscientious voters also remembered that the conservative Democrat, Governor Russell, had denounced in unmeasured terms the methods and practices which had secured the legislation so peculiarly advantageous to Mr. Whitney, and though they were for the most part either outspoken friends of free trade or strongly in favor of reciprocity, they would not stultify themselves by voting for Mr. Whitney. Personally we know of a number of voters who cast their ballots either for Mr. Draper or for the Prohibitionist or Socialist tickets, simply because they would not vote for a man whose influence in politics in the past had been in their judgment so baleful and pernicious.

This election offered a striking example of the imperative need of the referendum—the referendum that is dreaded by every corrupt boss and minion of corporate wealth. The people wanted to express their views on the question of reciprocity, but through the re-

fusal of the legislature to yield to the fundamental demand of democratic government there was no way in which they could do so without voting for a man whose election in the eyes of a large number of people would be a blow to pure government and would be taken as a vindication of methods that they felt were subversive of democracy and political integrity. They were therefore denied the privilege of expressing their wishes on a question which they believed to be of vital importance. On the other hand, thousands doubtless voted for Mr. Whitney with profound regret that only in that way could they express their indignation and impatience at the recreancy of the national government to the interests of the people and its subserviency to privileged interests to whom the dominant party looks for enormous campaign funds.

Altogether the result of the elections of November is more significant and encouraging than of any elections in a quarter of a century. All that is now required is a persistent educational agitation addressed primarily to the moral idealism and high sense of patriotic duty of the citizen, and organization. In every city, town and hamlet the true patriots who are friends of the fundamental principles of democracy and of pure government owe it to their nation, their commonwealth and their community to organize into clubs for the systematic educational agitation of the demands for direct-legislation and pure government. If such a systematic campaign of education can be pushed forward from now on, the overthrow of the boss and the controlled machine and the vindication of the fundamental principles of free government can be easily achieved within six years. The call of duty was never more clear or imperative than to-day. Educate, agitate, organize. The salvation of the nation is dependent on it, and you have a solemn duty to perform.

#### **William Randolph Hearst and The Most Exciting Municipal Campaign in History of New York.**

DURING the exciting weeks prior to and since the November elections, no man in public life has loomed so large or has grown so steadily in the appreciation of men and women who think and who place the cause of popular government, of justice for all the people, of political integrity and popular education above selfish interests and unreasoning preju-

dice, as William Randolph Hearst. Mr. Hearst's conduct, long before the nomination for the mayoralty which was forced upon him, was such as to commend itself to hundreds of thousands of thoughtful Americans who heretofore had listened to the wholesale calumny and abuse emanating for the most part from the grafters, the corruptionists and the up-builders and upholders of the present politico-commercial oligarchy which rules the nation and controls a large number of the state and municipal governments through corrupt bosses and controlled machines for the benefit of privileged interests, corporate wealth and servile political tools.

Long before there was any thought of the nomination of a Municipal-Ownership ticket Mr. Hearst's papers in New York were the most powerful advocates of a fusion of all parties and respectable citizens opposed to the reign of graft and loot and the corrupt practices which had marked the administration of Tammany throughout greater New York since Boss Murphy had become the real ruler in Manhattan and Patrick McCarron had assumed the dictatorship in Brooklyn. These two men, supported by Ryan, Belmont and other public-service cormorants who through the corrupt political government were acquiring untold millions by the most shameful exploiting of the people, were as absolute dictators as any feudal lords in the Middle Ages. That the people were ripe for a revolt against the millionaire grafters and the thieving politicians was clearly apparent. All that was necessary was the fusion or union of the decent elements of the community.

When Benjamin Odell, the now discredited Republican boss of the state, and Robert Fulton Cutting determined to play into the hands of Boss Murphy by bringing to naught all the efforts of the honest and self-respecting citizens to perfect a fusion ticket, it seemed that the cause of civic righteousness and honest government for New York was lost. The influence of the high financiers who pose as the "safe and sane" pillars of society while plundering the millions on every hand, and of the bosses had apparently been great enough to destroy all hope of the redemption of the city through the enjoyment of anything like true democracy and political integrity in municipal affairs. The most vicious of all despotisms—that of corporate wealth, corrupt bosses and controlled machines—loomed large and ominous over America's chief city.

Then occurred one of those great spontaneous uprisings of the better element—not the rogues, the thieves and the grafters who have long posed as the "better element," but the men and women of moral worth who have not bowed the knee to the reigning god of Mammon and who have been true to the fundamental principles of popular government and the demands of civic righteousness—a popular uprising such as we find only in great moral and political crises. At a tremendous meeting called to protest against the betrayal of the nation's metropolis the assemblage resolved itself into a nominating convention and imperiously demanded that Mr. Hearst accept the trust of leadership in what was then universally regarded as a forlorn hope. From the very first of the agitation for a fusion ticket, Mr. Hearst had resolutely declined to be considered as a candidate for the mayoralty. It was an office he did not seek or desire, and when the Republican party under the leadership of Odell refused to enter a fusion movement and it was proposed to start a new Municipal-Ownership party, many friends of Mr. Hearst, knowing his strong disinclination under any circumstances to lead in the conflict, feared he would not measure up to the demands of the occasion. They felt, as did the Democratic, Republican and independent press, that there was practically no chance of success in a three-cornered fight, especially when the dominant party was not only in office, but was the best-organized, the most unscrupulous and corrupt political body in American municipal life, and that moreover, behind it stood the millions of the Ryans, the Belmonts and other representatives of the public-service corporations, and the high financiers. But Mr. Hearst rose to the demand of duty and evinced the lofty patriotism of the true statesman by accepting the trust. The associates placed on the ticket were as clean, able and in every way worthy men for the high positions to which they were nominated as could be found in the city.

When the campaign opened it was not regarded seriously by "the masters and rulers" or the press. But from the opening to its dramatic close, when on the Sunday evening preceding the election there assembled twenty thousand men within Madison Square Gardens and from thirty to one hundred thousand in the street—the largest and most enthusiastic political assemblage ever known to the city—the enthusiasm of the people was un-

bounded. The friends of pure government and progressive democracy and those who wished to see the city wrested from the hands of the great thieves, the grafters and the oppressors of the citizens, rallied around the standard-bearer of the people's cause.

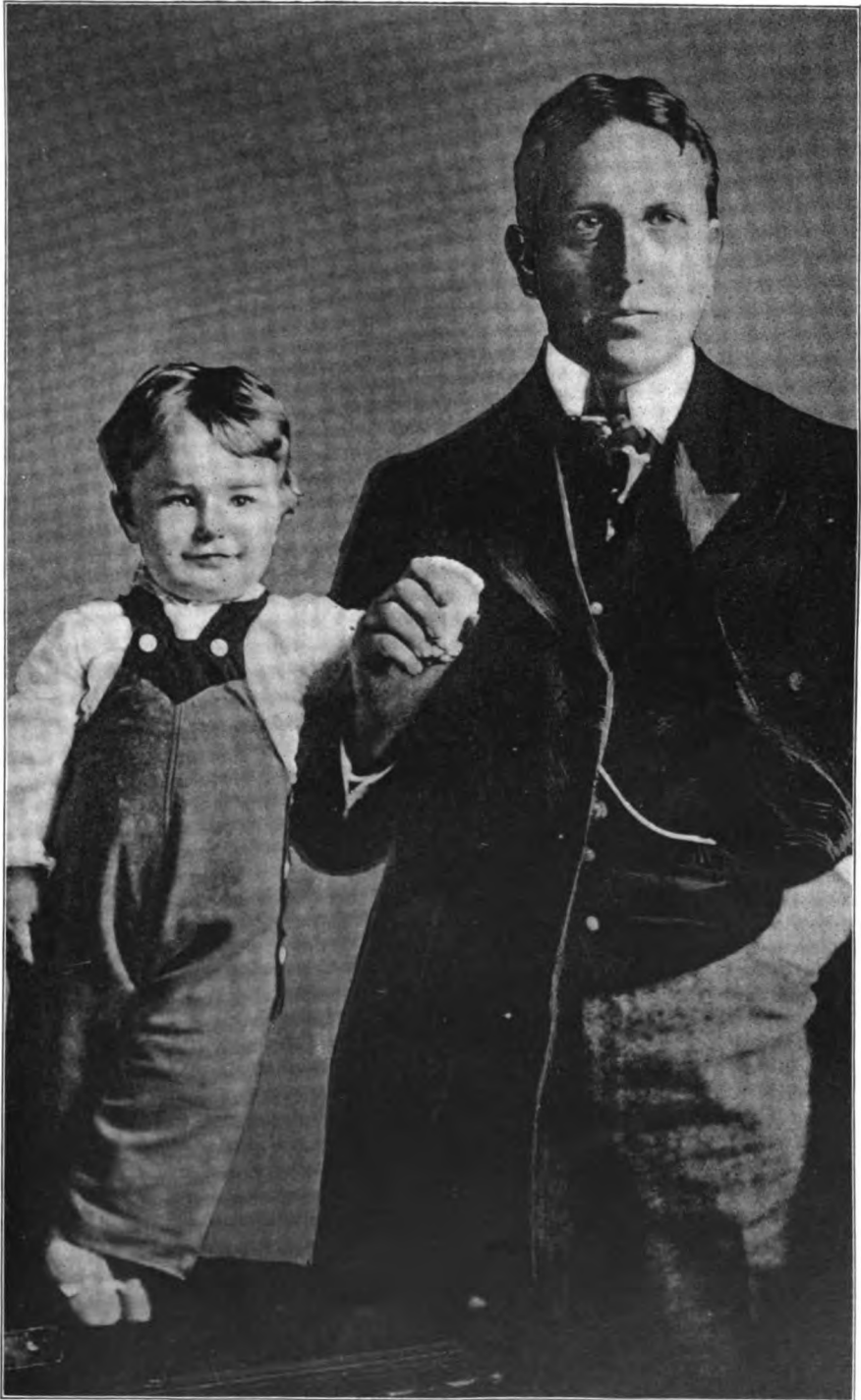
The intelligent voters who were uninfluenced by selfish considerations and unblinded by unreasoning prejudice, knew that when the government at Washington, at Albany and at the City Hall refused to give the people relief or to take any practical steps looking toward relief from the oppressions of the great coal and railroad-trusts and the public-service magnates, William Randolph Hearst haled the coal-trust into court and at an enormous personal expense fought the bandits with a courage and ability never before evinced in the attacks upon the criminal aggressions of privileged wealth. They knew that when through the infamous connivance of Tammany officials the ice-trust gained a monopoly that enabled it to charge sixty cents for ice, Mr. Hearst instantly gave battle, and so effective was the warfare that the price was reduced to forty cents. They remembered how he had fought the gas-trust and other predatory bands, and they loved him for the enemies he had made. They knew that every corruptionist, every grafter, every millionaire exploiter of the people, who was looking to the government for special privileges in order to further oppress the millions, was in active opposition to Mr. Hearst. They knew furthermore that the American public-schools had never had a more steadfast, outspoken or persistent advocate than they have found in Mr. Hearst and his great journals. The laboring men knew that in every battle against organized labor or in every conflict to gain better treatment or wages for the bread-winners and wealth-creators, Mr. Hearst had ranged himself on the side of the toilers. And thousands of the unfortunates and the poor remembered that during the recent winters, when Boss Murphy was dining in luxury at Delmonico's, when the high financiers of Wall street were perfecting plans to extract further millions from the pockets of the wealth-creators through indirection, and when the frivolous millionaire members of the smart set were vying with each other in the giving of banquets and fancy balls, William Randolph Hearst was not only fighting the battles of the people all along the line and raising up a host of powerful foes among the grafting million-

aires on every side, but he was also serving free hot coffee and luncheons every night during the winter season to the friendless and destitute.

These and many other things drew to him the people—the great, struggling, honest, home-loving, simple and sincere people who are the glory of the nation. Therefore from the first the meetings addressed by Mr. Hearst and his associates on the Municipal-Ownership platform were characterized by the same popular enthusiasm that marked the public careers of Jefferson and of Lincoln. The people had faith in their leader and had not become sodden and corrupt as the cynical criminal class of Wall street and Tammany Hall imagined.

The speeches of Mr. Hearst from first to last displayed the clear vision of an earnest, high-minded, honest and sincere statesman, as did those of his associates. No false notes were struck. At first the cynical beneficiaries of corrupt practices and special privileges and the Tammany politicians looked on with amused wonder. They refused to take seriously this sudden uprising of a great people. They judged the American electorate by themselves. They imagined the voters had lost that moral idealism and intelligent discrimination that should mark the responsible citizens of a free nation. "Hearst will not get 25,000 votes," confidently declared Mr. Murphy in the early stages of the campaign; while William Devery, the former Tammany chief of police, during the height of the enthusiasm of the campaign laughed at the claim that Mr. Hearst might be elected. "His vote," he exclaimed, "is the zephyr vote." And then with a laugh he explained that the zephyr vote was everywhere present before election, but was never found in the ballot-box. He little dreamed that the zephyr was rapidly assuming the proportions of a cyclone. Later, genuine alarm was felt among the leaders of Tammany Hall and their corrupt associates of Wall street; but day after day predictions were made that the Hearst enthusiasm had reached its high-water mark and was receding, notwithstanding the fact that the meetings grew greater and greater and the enthusiasm of the people became more and more unbounded with each successive day.

We can easily imagine the alarm of Ryan, Belmont and other public-service cormorants who were the immense beneficiaries of the Tammany régime—an alarm that easily ex-



**WILLIAM R. HEARST AND HIS SON**





plains the action of Grover Cleveland, Alton B. Parker, J. G. Carlisle and other men who are beholden to the public-service exploiters, in rushing to the support of the most corrupt political organization in the nation. The people, however, heard in the voice of Grover Cleveland the expressed wish of Thomas F. Ryan; in the fulminations of J. G. Carlisle they heard the voice of J. Pierpont Morgan and other representatives of privileged wealth; and in the appeal of Alton B. Parker they heard the frantic cry of Belmont. Hence their enthusiasm for Mr. Hearst became greater with every such appeal from the special-pleaders for privileged interests. The more the enemies of society and their vassals assailed Mr. Hearst and Municipal-Ownership, the greater rose the tide of public enthusiasm, evincing again the truth of Governor Folk's oft-repeated assertion that the heart of the people is sound.

Tammany leaders boasted on every hand that they were in possession of a million and a half dollars to be used in the election, and the organization counted on that great corruption fund to defeat the expressed vote of the people and destroy democratic government by robbing the electorate of the men of their choice. On the eve of the election it was stated that the word had gone forth from the Republican leaders to vote for McClellan and not for their own candidate. Before the election it was discovered that the Tammany organization had perfected plans for colossal frauds on the ballot-box. Murphy and McCarran were fighting for their lives. They were desperate and as reckless as they were unscrupulous. The election day was characterized by brutal attacks upon the watchers and captains for the Municipal-Ownership ticket and those for Mr. Jerome. The *New York World* in describing the crimes of Tammany the day after election said:

"Men battered and bruised were helped by friends into the Municipal-Ownership headquarters. One man had a broken arm dangling in his sleeve. Another's head was cut and the blood was trickling through the bandages. Tammany thugs in the lower East Side district had all but killed him. From many parts of Manhattan reports poured in of the greatest violence and crimes at the polls that New York has ever known."

It is stated that thousands of Municipal-Ownership voters when they reached the polls

were not permitted to vote because it was declared that others had voted in their names. After the closing of the polls the returns were held back from many districts for many hours, and for a time it was thought that even Mr. Jerome had been counted out, though he had had the backing of a large number of trust-lawyers and leading Wall-street Republicans. On the face of the returns Mr. McClellan was elected by something over 3,000 plurality.

Soon, however, evidences of fraud were brought to the Municipal-Ownership headquarters of such a stupendous and overwhelming a character that a general cry went forth that Mr. Hearst should demand a recount. This was bitterly fought by Tammany and the Democratic administration. Finally it was brought to the ears of the Municipal-Ownership leaders that a large number of ballots were then being printed. It appeared evident that a gigantic plan was on foot to stuff the ballot-boxes. Thereupon Judge Gaynor wisely ordered the boxes to be taken from the police control and given to the proper election officials. These officials, however, dominated as they were by Tammany, refused to accept them until a mandamus was issued by another supreme judge compelling them to do so.

Mr. Hearst's action since the election has been as admirable as it was before. No one would have yielded more quickly to the honest voice of the people than he, but when it became evident that colossal frauds had been perpetrated and that in all probability the will of the people had been defeated through unparalleled corruption and brutality, a new duty devolved upon him, and again he measured up to the high standard of the occasion and with his accustomed energy, courage and determination inaugurated one of the most important battles for electoral honesty that has ever been fought in America.

No friend of democracy, no friend of civic purity and honest government, can fail to honor the head of the Municipal-Ownership ticket for his splendid fight to bring the criminals who sought to strike a deadly blow to democratic government, to justice. We repeat, at every step since the commencement of the battle to break the power of the corrupt bosses of the Empire City and of the controlled machine operated in the interests of public-service companies and rendered powerful by corrupt wealth, Mr. Hearst has evinced honesty, sincerity, courage and statesmanship of a high order. We know of but few instances

in our political history where a man has grown so steadily and rapidly in public esteem and in the regard of the most worthy and truly high-minded and patriotic element of society as has William Randolph Hearst during the last few months.

### The Onward March of Autocratic and Bureaucratic Aggressions in The National Government.

COINCIDENT with the domination of corporate wealth and privileged interests, which has been rendered possible through boss and machine-rule, there has been a steady and an increasing tendency toward autocratic and bureaucratic usurpations in the national government. These evils which are fatal to democracy have become more and more marked since the second inauguration of Grover Cleveland. Under the administration of Mr. McKinley and the unexpired term filled by Mr. Roosevelt the advance was very marked, especially in the bureaux, and most noticeable in the postal and war departments. It was at this time that we find for the first instance in our history, we believe, the post-office officials prostituting the functions of the post-office department so as to seriously injure by arbitrary rulings, orders and instructions to postmasters, periodicals holding political opinions opposed to the dominant party and to the great corporate interests that were large campaign contributors to that party. Thus Socialist and liberal Democratic journals on several occasions were seriously harassed, as in the cases of *The Appeal to Reason*, *The Challenge*, owned by Mr. Wilshire and later *Wilshire's Monthly*, and also Mr. Bryan's *Commoner*. It was during this period also that the department, after confessing that it had sought for many years to secure certain legislation which it desired but which Congress had refused to grant, believing it to be inimical to the best interests of the people, made arbitrary rulings which in effect took the place of the legislation that the lawmakers had refused to grant.

It was during Mr. McKinley's administration that the war department under Secretary Alger became autocratic and arbitrary to a degree that aroused the indignation of the nation and of the army, and in the minds of many resulted in the screening and protecting of inefficient public servants—an arbitrary attitude that certainly favored official favoritism and graft and which Mr. Roosevelt defied

in his celebrated round-robin that proved to be probably the most popular act committed by him up to that date. Now, however, the president has become the fountain-head of the autocratic spirit against which he so bravely protested and for which protest he won the plaudits of the millions.

It was in Mr. Roosevelt's administration that this aggression of bureaucratic power was again extended to encroach on the functions of the legislative department of the government in the case of the old-age service pensions. When Congress refused to pass the legislation that the president desired, he did not hesitate to usurp the legislative function, under "the tissuey pretence of interpreting the law." One of America's ablest economists thus characterized this act: It "was an order amounting to an act of legislation, usurping the functions of Congress, breaking the fundamental law of the land in a most vital spot, and setting a vicious precedent of encroachment of the executive upon the legislative field." These are but a few of many typical examples that might be cited as illustrations of the steady advance of un-American and bureaucratic exercise of power by departments under recent administrations.

The exercise of Russian bureaucratic methods in the departments has been matched by the advance in the autocratic spirit as evinced by the president. Two recent acts boldly and startlingly emphasize this vicious tendency. It is a fact often noted by historians that frequently the most pernicious precedents have been established by the most popular rulers, and not unfrequently high-minded executives, failing to realize the evil latent in acts that violate the spirit or letter of constitutional and legal restrictions, have set precedents that by more unscrupulous and despotic successors have been made the excuse for usurpations that have been deadly in their influence on the cause of freedom and justice. For this reason at no time should the citizens of a republic be more keenly alert or more quick to condemn the establishment of dangerous precedents than during the administrations of popular public servants; yet because the people are usually off their guard at such moments and because it requires more courage to criticize a popular servant than one who is generally distrusted, there is usually little protest until the precedents have become firmly established.

One of the latest examples of the autocratic

spirit as exercised by the president is found in his setting aside of the Civil-Service rules, based on a fundamental requisite of just government—the right of one accused to a fair hearing before he is dismissed from the service. The giving of this autocratic right of dismissal to the heads of the departments is not only a severe blow dealt against the fundamental right of the accused, but it is the most demoralizing attack that has been made upon Civil-Service reform in many years, a vicious sword-thrust in the house of a supposed friend. Rightly the *Sacramento Bee*, though a strong Republican journal, regards this ruling of the president as “dangerous” and likely to make every man in the government less personally independent; while the *Brooklyn Citizen* aptly characterizes it as “a tremendous step backward.” The *Houston Chronicle* remarks that this “may not be tyranny and injustice, but it comes so near it that the people will not be able to distinguish between the two, and they will hold to accountability those responsible for an uncalled-for and arbitrary order.”

It is more than a step backward; it is an exhibition of a reactionary autocratic spirit inimical to free government and a blow at the fundamental demand of justice, that requires that an accused person, before he is condemned shall have the right of being heard before impartial judges.

The second illustration of the monarchical or reactionary and un-American spirit is the president's recent attempt to muzzle his own cabinet-officers by forbidding them to speak of matters discussed in cabinet meetings to the representatives of the press. Some time ago a Washington journalist wrote us that the people of America had little idea of the extent and activity of the administration's press-bureau or of how news sent out was colored to suit the administration's wishes. This order tends to make the president's news-bureau service about as autocratic as that of the European emperor he seems so eager to imitate in reactionary ways. Doubtless the president does not wish the people to hear any version of Washington news happenings or opinions that are not presented as he himself desires them to be given to the public. But ours is supposed to be a republic and not a monarchy, and full publicity is as much the hope of free government as it is something offensive to undemocratic and reactionary nations. It is difficult to overestimate the

potential evil that may be wrought by arbitrary prohibitions that leave but one channel open for news, so that the people can get only so much information as certain interested parties desire to give to the public, while the little that is given is colored to suit the administration's wishes.

In this connection one is strongly reminded of another illustration of the autocratic spirit exhibited by the president. We refer to his shameful and indefensible action a little over a year ago, when the Washington correspondent of the *Boston Herald* published a story about the president's children and a Thanksgiving turkey which the correspondent had received from a source that he believed to be thoroughly credible. The accuracy of the dispatch was denied at the White House and the *Boston Herald* editorially called attention to the mistake and fully explained how it occurred. But without waiting for any explanation or denial, the president not only denied the *Herald's* representative access to the White House, but forbade the various departments of the government to furnish the *Boston Herald* with the news which the people of the United States have a right to possess. Even the weather department's forecasts were refused to the *Herald*, and thus more than a hundred thousand persons who had been in the habit of reading these forecasts found themselves suddenly denied information which the people's servants are paid to give the public, simply because of the autocratic whim of the president exhibiting a personal spite against a great journal. The storm of indignation at that time raised by the press from the Atlantic to the Pacific quickly showed Mr. Roosevelt that the people were not prepared for such arrogation of autocratic power, and the despotic order was rescinded; but the giving of it and its enforcement for a time afforded, as do the two recent presidential rulings to which we have just alluded, illustrations of the dangerous autocratic spirit in the head of the government—a spirit that like the bureaucratic usurpations has steadily grown in recent years and which is as fatal to democracy as is the divine-right-of-rulership idea of monarchical governments.

#### The Railways and The Government: Mr. Olney's Sophistry Exposed.

AT THE present time when special-pleaders are on every hand industriously engaged in missionary work in behalf of privileged in-

terests throughout the press, we appreciate the vital importance of authoritatively answering the most able special pleas that are being made, and on the appearance of Richard Olney's recent article in the *North American Review*, an article which may be regarded as an exceptionally strong brief for the railway interests, we requested Professor Frank Parsons to state his opinion of Mr. Olney's argument. We selected Professor Parsons because he is recognized as one of the foremost authorities in America and a man whose legal training no less than his thorough knowledge of the railway question would enable him to authoritatively reply to Mr. Olney. Professor Parsons was for many years a member of the faculty of the Boston University School of Law. In the last few years the pressure of literary work and a commission to prosecute an exhaustive research of the railway question throughout the world and to study other prominent and pressing economic subjects, have made it impossible for Professor Parsons to do any law lecturing. After completing his two distinctly great works, *The City for the People* and *The Story of New Zealand*, he threw his whole energy into an exhaustive personal investigation of the railways of the world, visiting England and Continental Europe and going from the Atlantic to the Pacific in our own country, everywhere making a personal study of the subject and obtaining authoritative data for his forthcoming important work. He is therefore preëminently well qualified to judge of the weight and value of Mr. Olney's special plea and detect any fallacies that may be lurking in the specious arguments of the attorney.

In justice to ex-Secretary Olney, however, it should be said that his education, training and habits of thought during his long legal practice have been unfavorable to broad and all-sided views on questions relating to corporate interests. Indeed, they have been such as to give a strong bias in favor of the contentions of his clients and business associates, and this doubtless has rendered it possible for him to give in a great review some amazing exhibitions of special-pleading that must have astounded many readers who had expected to find in his discussion evidences of broad-visioned statesmanship.

It will be remembered that when Mr. Cleveland called Mr. Olney to the position of attorney-general, to enforce the interstate commerce laws against the rebate-making rail-

ways and to bring the violators of the Sherman anti-trust law to the bar, Mr. Olney was a director in the C., B. & Q. Railway and in the Boston & Maine. He was at that time also the hired attorney for the whiskey-trust and in this capacity had a short time previous filed demurrers in Boston alleging the anti-trust law to be unconstitutional and void. It will be seen therefore that his mind had long been trained to view questions arising between the people or the government and the railways and trusts through the spectacles of corporate interests in whose service he was so actively engaged.

A man who thus becomes habituated to see things from his clients' view-point is always liable to lose the sense of proportion essential to an impersonal or truly statesmanlike view of the subject, and such it seems has been the weakness of Mr. Olney—a weakness which Professor Parsons so thoroughly exposes that one marvels that Mr. Olney could have consented to father such palpable sophistries:

“B. O. FLOWER, Editor of THE ARENA:

“In the *North American Review* for October, Richard Olney argues against the constitutionality of authorizing a Federal Commission to fix railroad rates. He says that the fixing of railroad rates is a legislative function; that legislative power cannot be delegated; that the rate-making power is the essence of ownership in the case of railroads; that to give this power to a government commission is virtually to establish government-ownership of the railroads, which he says Congress has no power to establish, as the Constitution only gives power to ‘regulate’ commerce, not to own and operate the instruments of commerce; and that, in addition to all this, the Constitutional provision prohibiting Congress from giving an advantage or preference to a port or ports of one state over the port or ports of another state, would prevent the Interstate Commission or any other Federal commission from fixing rates under the ‘differential system which puts the ports on a common footing. This equalization of the commercial qualities of ports is competent for the railroads, but is not within the power of the political entity known as the United States.’

“It is fair to presume that this argument of the ex-Secretary of State is as strong a plea as the railroad interests can make against the constitutionality of the legislation desired by

President Roosevelt. Let us, therefore, examine it with respectful care.

"Mr. Olney says that rate-making is a legislative function, quoting some loose remarks of the Supreme Court to this effect and arguing that legislative power cannot be delegated. He admits that the Supreme Court also says: 'Congress might itself prescribe rates; or it might commit to some subordinate tribunal this duty; or it might leave with the companies the right to fix rates.' (167 U. S., 479, 494.)

"Does not this sweep away Mr. Olney's argument on this point by force of the very authority he cites to sustain it? It is clear that the Supreme Court does not regard the fixing of rates as *wholly and exclusively* legislative, or else it holds that legislative power can be delegated.

"Mr. Olney admits that if Congress fixes definite standards or rules for rate-making, such as the rule that 'rates should be so fixed as to secure to the carrier, above the cost of carriage, three per cent. on the money invested in the means of transportation,' then it would be all right to delegate to a commission the duty of making the actual rates; but he says that a declaration by Congress that the rates made shall be just and reasonable would not be sufficiently definite to amount to a legislative standard under which rate-making could be regarded as an administrative function.

"Well, it would be easy for Congress to join a 'specific rule' that rates shall be fixed with the view of yielding three per cent. or five per cent. on the investment along with the provision that rates shall be just and reasonable, and so fulfil the condition upon which Mr. Olney is willing to regard it as possible for Congress to give a commission power to fix rates.

"But getting away from the tangle of technicalities and looking at the matter in the light of common sense, is it not clear that the actual making of railroad rates is an administrative function? It is so regarded by every railroad system in the country and is performed by executive officers. The fixing of the broad principles on which rates shall be made is legislative, but the actual rate-making is administrative, and this is what the President desires to have Congress delegate to the Commission. Congress has already in large measure determined the principles on which rates should be made, and it is because the railroad companies will not make rates in conformity with these principles that it is now proposed

to bring the administrative branch of rate-making more fully under Federal control.

"If the fixing of rates under the general provision of law that they shall be just and reasonable, etc., is the exercise of sovereign legislative power, then the railroad managers are now exercising sovereign legislative power; and if a railroad manager can exercise such power, it is a little difficult to understand why a Federal Commission may not exercise it.

"As to the position that legislative power cannot be delegated, it is enough to call attention to the fact that every legislature in the country delegates to cities and towns a large amount of legislative power, and that the right to do this is as well established as any principle in the law.

"In the second contention above stated, I believe Mr. Olney is largely correct. The rate-making power is a *very important part of the essence of railroad ownership*, and if the government were to take over the whole rate-making power it would amount to the virtual establishment of quasi-government-ownership. But if the government leaves the railroads free to make rates, so long as they conform to the principles laid down in the law, and only gives the Commission power to fix such rates as are necessary to replace rates made by the railroads contrary to law, the Commission's exercise of such rate-fixing power will be merely a part of the *regulative* function—a necessary incident to the business of effective regulation, which will be so far from absorption of the rate-making power by the government that if the railroads conform to the law and make just and reasonable rates they will remain absolutely undisturbed in the full exercise of the rate-making power and neither the government nor its agents will make a single rate. The whole thing will be in the hands of the railroads. They themselves determine how much rate-making will be done by the government by the attitude they take on the question of obeying the law in relation to just and reasonable rates.

"It is because they do not want to be compelled to obey this law that they are so vigorously opposing the granting of the regulative rate-making power to the Commission. They know that the big shippers will still bring pressure to bear to force the roads to give them preferences. The railroads also fear, and to some extent justly, the tendency of the Commission to give undue weight to geographical considerations, and most of all they

are determined to preserve intact if possible their power to fix their own margin of profit. So intense is the feeling on this subject that the president of a great railroad system, one of the best railroad presidents in the country, told me recently that if the rate-making power were given to the Interstate Commission the result would be simply that "the Commission would have to be controlled." The interests at stake are so great that whatever influence or price might be necessary to capture or obstruct and paralyze the Commission would be used.

"To return to Mr. Olney. Even if the proposed legislation contemplated not merely regulative rate-making but partnership in rate-making, it may be fairly claimed that the franchises, privileges and protection afforded the railroads by the public and capitalized by the railroads at substantially half their total valuation, would entitle the public to such a partnership in the exercise of the rate-making power.

"Mr. Olney's claim that Congress has no power to establish government-ownership of the railroad system, because the commerce clause relates only to regulation and not to ownership, proves that Mr. Olney is making a lawyer's brief, not a search for the truth. There are other clauses of the Constitution that in the opinion of the most eminent jurists afford ample authority for government-ownership of railroads; for example, the post-road clause, the war power, the welfare clause, etc. The contention of Mr. Olney that Congress has not the said power because one particular clause does not confer it, is a good example of the sort of fallacies lawyers often fall into when they are trying not to discover what is true or what is for the public good, but simply to present in plausible form the argument of the client they have been employed to represent.

"The port argument is another of the same sort. No man who brought only common sense, intelligence and conscience to the consideration of the subject would be likely to discover that "the *equalization* of the ports" constitutes a *preference*, as Mr. Olney says it does. It takes a great lawyer to see such a point as that.

"Mr. Olney is entitled to the utmost respect and consideration when he discusses a public question as a man and a statesman, but when his argument bears the earmarks of the attorney, as in this case, it is to be taken simply as

the plea of the defendant and allowances made accordingly.

"FRANK PARSONS.

"Boston, Mass., November. 1905."

#### **An American Municipality for Two Hundred Years Under Direct-Legislation.**

FROM November 10th to 13th the town of Brookline, Massachusetts, celebrated her two hundredth anniversary. On November 13, 1705, the village was given the "power and privileges of a township" by the General Court of Massachusetts and was incorporated under the name of Brookline. For two hundred years this town has been governed under direct-legislation. A board of selectmen administer the affairs under the direction of the voters who at the annual meeting or at adjourned meetings pass directly on all matters relating to municipal legislation and government. Besides this legislation by the referendum there is the initiative in active operation. When several citizens desire the town to act upon some measure deemed to be important or of general interest, they petition the board of selectmen, who include the petition in the warrants and reports of matters to come up for the action of the voters. These warrants and reports are distributed to the homes of all voters two weeks before the meeting, so that every citizen may be thoroughly acquainted with the measures that are coming up for action.

Thus for two hundred years in this beautiful and wealthy suburb of Boston the citizens have been practically applying the initiative and referendum, with the result that the town has an uninterrupted record of two centuries of clean and honest government alike wisely liberal and wisely economical—a government untainted by corruption or graft and marked by conspicuous ability and efficiency in its management. In the matter of public-schools and libraries, parks, and all things that contribute to the well-being, development and happiness of the citizens, Brookline has taken the lead. It is not strange, therefore, that it has long since become the most famous residential town in Massachusetts. Its population numbers 24,000. It is the richest town in the world, but its glory is that it has always been conspicuous as one of the best-governed towns in the New World.

Sometimes ignorant or reckless special-pleaders for the bosses and grafters in public life oppose direct-legislation as being un-

American. Sometimes a political boss, dreading the loss of despotic, autocratic and irresponsible power, opposes, as did Senator Lodge at the Brookline celebration, the extension of the right of the people to compel their representatives to legislate as they desire instead of obeying the bosses and the corrupt corporations; but only the un-American and autocratic bosses, the special-pleaders for corporate aggressions, or the hired tools of privileged interests can be found making such a plea.

Now with all sane and normal minds the fact that a measure is not American is no reason for opposing it, if it is fundamentally democratic. Under changed conditions it will be necessary from time to time to modify methods for the better preservation, safeguarding and promotion of pure democracy or a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The one thing that a true friend of free government will demand is that every change or modification of methods of election or of carrying out the will of the people shall better carry forward or promote the fundamental demands of democracy. But as a matter of fact direct-legislation is thoroughly American. The example of Brookline, with its two hundred years of splendidly successful municipal government, is a striking illustration. Here, long before our republic was established, the New England town-meeting became the nursery, school and university of democracy.

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#### **Mayor Johnson's Anti-Suicide Commission.**

IT IS A fact worthy of note that while our captains of industry are ruthlessly pressing forward in the sordid struggle for gold and are cynically sneering at moral idealism and all those efforts to aid the unfortunate, the great leaders of the people, the true representatives of progressive democracy, while battling for a wider measure of justice and equality of opportunities for all are also on every hand seeking to aid in various ways the unfortunate victims of our privilege-bulwarked Moloch of modern commercialism. For several years Mr. Hearst has given hot coffee and free lunches during the bitter nights of winter to the hungry and shelterless of New York. The recent action taken by Mayor Johnson of Cleveland in appointing an Anti-Suicide Commission to stay the hands of self-destroyers and in placing on that commission such

men as the Rev. Harris R. Cooley, State Senator Frederick C. Howe, and William A. Greenland, former probation officer of the juvenile court, affords another illustration of the ethical idealism that dominates the new moral renaissance—the spirit of humanity that animates the real apostles of justice and democracy.

This commission or bureau has been appointed with the object of preventing the discouraged, depressed and despairing ones from committing suicide. It is a known fact that numbers of fine but delicately-organized natures, after a long and heroic struggle for a livelihood, at last give up the apparently hopeless battle, and it is believed that this bureau will be able to set such ones on the highway of independence and self-respecting manhood and womanhood by helping them temporarily and securing for them permanent employment and aid such as will enable them to become successful.

It is natural that writers and journalists devoid of moral idealism and dominated by the sordid spirit of the present business world should sneer at this attempt to rescue and uplift the sinking ones, but the effort will be appreciated by all high, true natures who believe in the divinity of humanity and the true purpose of democracy. It is a noble movement and in the hands of the men who have been appointed on the commission cannot fail to work great good. It is an act typical of the spirit of the new leaders, which will be more and more appreciated by the millions as the ethical revolution so auspiciously opened in November, sweeps onward, rejuvenating the nation and reestablishing the democracy of the Declaration of Independence.

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#### **The Lesson of The Toledo Victory.**

WHEN living Samuel M. Jones, the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo, by his simple, true, genuine and consistent life, fine teachings and the wise deeds which marked his business and public career, won the love of all friends of the good, the true and the worthy. It was believed, however, that because he had behind him no organization, his influence would disappear in political life when he died. The recent election in Toledo proved, however, to be one of the grandest victories that may be justly credited to this fine, Christ-like life, because without the magic influence of his personality, without the presence of the leader

in person, reflecting the high civic ideals for which he stood, his cause, under the banner of his successor, won and won gloriously. One of the finest writers and noblest citizens of Ohio in a personal letter thus describes the victory in Toledo:

"I am writing you these few lines to tell you of the wonderful victory over the Republican machine in Toledo yesterday. Of course you have seen it in the papers, but I know you will rejoice over what, perhaps, will not be made so much of, and that is the outburst in every meeting previous, of love for the memory of Mr. Jones. And yesterday morning the men from the Jones factories, headed by the Golden-Rule band preparing to march down town to serenade the successful candidate, Mr. Whitlock, demanded that the little grandson of Mr. Jones and his namesake, two and a half years old, should be carried in advance, that once more they might be led by 'Sam. Jones.' It was sentiment, of course, but prompted by the love that is still warm in the hearts of 'the people.'

"Brand Whitlock, the new Mayor, you doubtless know as a writer. He is a young man of ability, who believed in Mr. Jones, worked with him, and won his friendship. He battled hard not to be nominated, and yielded finally from a sense of duty."

#### **Is The United States Senate The Corrupt Tool of The Standard Oil Company ?**

IN THE November issue of *Everybody's Magazine*, direct and specific charges of the gravest character are brought against the United States Senate which demand a searching investigation. If the Senate remains silent in the face of the amazing charges made by Mr. Lawson, such silence will be taken as a sign of guilt. It will not do to assume the indifferent and contemptuous attitude which the corrupt and guilty in high places are wont to assume in order to evade investigations that will reveal iniquity that the offenders naturally desire to keep hidden from view. It will not do to act as Governor Higgins acted, probably at the instigation of the insurance magnates and such political bosses as Messrs. Odell, Depew and Platt, in the face of revelations that amazed the nation and apparently everybody but the Governor of New York, who resolutely resisted all importunities to allow the legislature to appoint an investigating committee until the popular

clamor compelled his reluctant permission. The more Governor Higgins insisted that there was not evidence to demand an investigation, the more the people knew that there was every reason why the grafting domain should be investigated.

So with the Senate. It will not do to say that Mr. Lawson is a sensational and reckless writer not worthy of notice, as did so many of the insurance magnates when he began his exposure of the rottenness of the great companies. All he charged, and more, of iniquity than he described, has been revealed by the legislative investigation. His specific charges of almost incredibly corrupt practices and infamous deeds in connection with the Amalgamated Copper Company, the gas companies and other Standard Oil interests stand unrefuted, not because the Company is indifferent to the charges, not because the utterances are libelous, for before these circumstantial and detailed revelations of infamy were made public, the attorneys for the Standard Oil Company served a notice on the publishers of *Everybody's Magazine* that if any libelous or false statements were made they would hold the publishers criminally liable; yet in the presence of all Mr. Lawson's specific and almost incredible charges the Standard Oil Company has refused to make good this threat. Moreover, Mr. Lawson is a prominent citizen of large property, so his charges made against the Senate cannot be dismissed as the vapors of an irresponsible person who cannot be held accountable for his statements. Still further, and a fact that alone makes it imperative that the Senate vindicate itself before the nation if it can do so, Mr. Lawson's paper appeared in a magazine which goes monthly into several hundreds of thousands of families, and the grave charges were also republished in many great newspapers which were read by millions of Americans. They have therefore tended to confirm in the minds of a large proportion of our people the low opinion which the action of the Senate in recent years has fostered in the minds of the more thoughtful and patriotic Americans, who have regarded with increasing indignation the stubborn persistence of that body in blocking legislation designed to give the people relief from the tyranny of corporate wealth. Moreover, the fact that three members of the body have recently been indicted on criminal charges and that two of the number have been already convicted, lends color to the increasing conviction



that the Senate is not only entirely out of harmony with the needs and the best interests of the nation, but that it is becoming more and more a machine for registering the will of Wall-street campaign contributors and the puppet of privileged wealth.

Clearly, if the Senate is not conscious of its guilt it cannot and will not remain silent under the circumstantial accusations of Mr. Lawson that brand it as bought body and soul by a great corporation; for in the November *Everybody's* to which we have alluded Mr. Lawson in discussing the attempt of Senator Clark to become a member of the United States Senate, describes with great frankness one of the most disgraceful pages in modern political history. Clark was at this time fighting the Standard Oil Company and the great head of the modern American commercial feudalism did not propose to allow him to enter the Senate until he came into their own camp. Clark, however, long remained loyal to Heinze, but in order that our readers may get the facts clearly before their minds as presented by Mr. Lawson, we quote from his article:

“At the first election in Montana after the Clark-Heinze line-up, their combined forces swept the state. Later, the legislature they elected sent Clark to the United States Senate, and apparently his goal was won. But in stepping from Montana to Washington, the ambitious millionaire had simply passed out of the tall grass and entered the enemy's country. Barbarous Montana was not under the ‘Standard Oil’ spell—but in the Senate Rogers was a demigod. The first intimation that Clark had of his danger was peremptory notice from Rogers to break with Heinze and ally himself with ‘Standard Oil’ or be expelled from the Senate. At that time the Montana Copper King did not know Mr. Rogers as well as he learned to later, and promptly he suggested to the intermediary that ‘Standard Oil’ might go to —. Soon after this message had been delivered there arose an outcry as to the manner and methods of Senator Clark's election, and plentiful evidence was published to prove that he had committed the heinous and unusual crime of purchasing the support of certain Senators and members of the Assembly. The virtuous Senate of the United States ordered an investigation, and Clark realized his mistake too late. He resigned just in time to save himself from being thrown out.

‘The manner of Clark's resignation was

in keeping with the methods of this new American royalty, the royalty of dollars.”

In due course of time there was a second election in Montana, and though the Standard Oil Company did all it could to defeat Mr. Clark, “the Copper King was triumphantly rechosen United States Senator,” says Mr. Lawson.

“Before Clark presented himself for admittance to the Senate,” he continues, “Rogers prevailed on him to enter a conference, and the two went at it hammer and tongs. Rogers intimated that as long as the Montanan remained the ally of Heinze he could not enter the Senate, that the cards were again stacked for his expulsion, and that he had better patch up with ‘Standard Oil’ before it was too late. Clark did not believe that even the Master of ‘Standard Oil’ could actually ‘deliver’ the Senate of the United States, and bluntly he told Rogers that he believed he was bluffing. He was willing to put the threat to a test—if Rogers could show him a majority of the United States Senate pledged in writing to refuse him admittance, he would concede defeat, drop Heinze, and join ‘Standard Oil.’ On the other hand, if Rogers failed, ‘Standard Oil’ should cease its opposition to his admittance to the Senate. In making this proposition Clark imagined that he had imposed an impossible condition, . . . but his weasel eyes opened wide when Mr. Rogers quietly but pointedly said: ‘It's a bargain. If I do n't give you the proof as I say one week from to-day, I will not trouble you again in connection with our Heinze affairs.’ At the appointed time the great manipulator of men as calmly as though he were exhibiting a bill of sale for a car-load of barreled petroleum, allowed Clark to inspect a list of two over a majority of our grave and reverend seigniors. Clark delivered his goods like the conservative business man he is, . . . has gone untroubled on his way, and from that time to this has faithfully performed his obeisances before the great Oil Throne.”

Gentlemen of the Senate, what are you going to do in the presence of these specific accusations? Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, were you one of that majority that signed the paper at the command of Mr. Rogers of the Standard Oil Company? If not, we call upon you to vindicate the Senate by demanding a thorough, searching and impartial investiga-

tion. Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, Senators Depew and Platt of New York, Senator Gorman of Maryland, Senator Bailey of Texas, Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania, Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, Senator Elkins of West Virginia, were your names, gentlemen, on that list? If not, we call upon you, or such of you as are innocent of any such transaction, to vindicate the Senate if it can be vindicated, not by denouncing Mr. Lawson, but by demanding and seeing that the charges are thoroughly and openly investigated.

The American people are in no humor to be trifled with. They will not be satisfied with any shuffling or content with sneers or the convenient ignoring of the charges. Silence will be taken as a confession of guilt. Only by such a searching investigation as that which Mr. Hughes is now carrying on in New York can you satisfy the American people that the Senate is not afraid to meet this amazing charge of moral turpitude and subserviency to the master-organization of the modern plutocracy. Gentlemen of the Senate, the American people demand that this serious charge be promptly honestly and openly investigated.

**The Slaughter of The Innocents ; or, How  
a Corrupt Political Machine Caused  
the Death of Twelve Hundred  
American Citizens.**

THE MOST startling illustration of the peril to a community and of the essential criminality of boss-rule in municipal government that has been forced upon the consciousness of the American electorate was seen in the official report of Major Cassius E. Gillette, U. S. A., and John D. MacLennan of Washington, D. C., recently made to Mayor Weaver after exhaustive investigations of the filtering system in course of construction in Philadelphia. Major Gillette is one of the best-known members of the United States Engineering Corps, owing to his investigation of the Savannah Harbor frauds. Both men were selected because of their competence and reliability.

In their report they state (1) that the filtration system should have been completed on January 1, 1904; (2) that since June 5, 1904, when the West Philadelphia district began receiving filtered water, there have been but ten deaths from typhoid fever out of a population of 41,000. At the same proportional rate the deaths in the whole city from typhoid fever since the date when the filtering-plant

should have been completed would have been 57, whereas the records show that over 1,257 have died from typhoid fever. "Twelve hundred deaths," says the report, "represent the loss of life due to the methods employed in conducting the work."

Here is the startling record of twelve hundred innocent American citizens slain, the responsibility for which rests with the corrupt Republican machine dominated by Israel W. Durham. The twelve hundred lives offered up on the altar of greed and graft are only part of the tribute the city of Philadelphia has paid as the price of criminal civic indifference and blind allegiance to corruptionist leaders of the great political party. The report among other things shows how the city has been looted by the thieves out of over six million dollars. It says:

"First-class work under the specifications should not have cost over \$12,430,000, which includes an allowance of 20 per cent., or \$2,075,208, for legitimate contractors' profits.

"The difference is \$6,330,000. In other words, \$18,760,000 in round numbers has been paid for work costing the contractors \$10,356,000.

"Of the \$6,330,000 excessive cost, there has gone to the contractors who worked under the name of D. J. McNichol, \$5,065,122.51; similarly to Ryan & Kelley, \$543,890.21, and to Vare Brothers, \$89,128.50."

In this connection it should be observed that Israel W. Durham, the state boss, and State Senator J. P. McNichol, another master-spirit in the machine, own eleven-twelfths interest in the D. J. McNichol firm that, according to the above report, received over five million dollars of the loot. Leading members of the other firms are also leading Republican machine-politicians. The criminal subserviency of the citizens of Philadelphia to a party name and their indifference to high civic duty made the building up of the corrupt machine possible. These same citizens joined in applauding the leaders when they urged every one to vote the Republican ticket in the interests of national honor, business integrity and general prosperity, ignoring the fact that many of them must have been cognizant of the fact that there were over sixty thousand fraudulent names on the voting-list of Philadelphia alone, placed there by the machine of the party that boldly claimed to be the party of moral ideals.

The startling disclosure of the Gillette re-

port impress the solemn truth that not only do none of us live unto ourselves, but that he who acts the sheep in political life by blindly following corrupt party-bosses commits a moral crime from which all society suffers. Gerald Massey on one occasion exclaimed: "Humanity is one. The Eternal intends to show us that humanity is one. . . . And if we do not accept the revelation lovingly, do not take to the fact kindly, why then 'tis flashed upon us terribly, by lightning of hell, if we will not have it by light of heaven."

And side by side with this fundamental truth emphasizing the law of solidarity is the equally basic fact of the individual responsibility of a voter in a republic to be intelligent, independent, conscientious and faithful to the high trust imposed upon him. In despotical lands there may be some excuse for the masses being sodden and indifferent. In a republic, where the price of freedom, justice and equity always depends on the intelligence and the conscientious faithfulness of the electors, he who is recreant is morally criminal, and sooner or later the result of this criminal indifference is felt by all. Civic ideals are lowered, public servants are corrupted, and the electorate is necessarily made venal. All moral standards are lowered, the people are robbed and oppressed, and not unfrequently, as in the above case, they are murdered by the wholesale in order that the few ringleaders and they who represent privileged interests may become rich and powerful.

#### **Bribery by Franks and Passes: The Lion in The Path of Popular Relief from Public-Service Extortion.**

THE FOLLOWING is an extract from a personal letter we have recently received from the editor of an influential Republican journal published in Colorado. We are personally acquainted with the author and know him to be a thoughtful, conscientious gentleman. It is probable, however, that owing to his connection with the Republican party organization, he would not feel it possible to denounce the iniquity of the pass-bribery as vigorously as he, in common with all honest men, desires to see it denounced:

"With your tendency to favor reforms, it seems to me that you could not find a better subject to discuss than the evils of the frank and pass system. We probably see the evils of it more in the West than you do in the East.

"Out here, particularly every officer in the state, from governor to county commissioner, is absolutely owned and controlled by corporations through the use of passes and franks.

"I believe that the other great reforms in legislation for the railroads and corporations will be delayed just as long as public sentiment permits a congressman to use unlimited quantities of transportation, express franks, W. U. T. franks, and other similar kinds of bribery.

"If the public sentiment could be so educated that it would be just as great a disgrace to accept a thousand dollars in value for railroad transportation as it would be to accept a thousand dollars in cash from the same railroad, we would have a cleaner set of congressmen, and the other reforms proposed would stand a greater show of being accomplished."

This letter, coming as it does from a conservative or organization Republican editor, is especially valuable as indicating that at last the more thoughtful of the conservatives in political life, who are not corrupt and venal, are coming to see that the people can secure no real relief from the intolerable oppression of the public-service corporations so long as the army of public servants hold retainers in the form of frank and pass bribes from the corporations from which the people are demanding relief.

But the evil of the pass system is by no means confined to the public servants. Lawyers or individuals supposed to be in positions to especially benefit the railways are the recipients of railway favors for which the public pays in higher freight-rates and more exorbitant fares than would be tolerated if a large portion of the traveling public did not travel on passes. We were calling the attention of a friend to the above letter a short time since, when he related some interesting facts that had come under his personal notice in southern Illinois, where he had occasion to go some months ago on a business trip. "My attorney," he said, "related to me that he had recently had his pass taken up by the Illinois Central Railroad. I inquired the reason for this, and he replied that two of his clients had cases for damages against the railroad company, and he, as an honorable lawyer, defended the cases to the best of his ability, in each instance securing judgment against the road; whereupon the railway promptly cancelled his free pass."

Here we have the railways attempting in an indirect manner to bribe lawyers to betray their clients. How much of this is going on throughout the length and breadth of the United States it is, of course, impossible to tell. Our friend who related this incident gave us another illustration bearing on the free-pass bribery. Another lawyer in southern Illinois, who has several times been a county-attorney, stated as an amusing incident that on one occasion he was traveling on a well-known railway line. There were seventeen passengers in the car, all of whom were men. It seems that there was no ice-water in the car, and loud were the complaints on all sides. When the conductor entered, the passengers, feeling that they had a real grievance, appealed to him in an earnest manner. He replied: "Gentlemen, there are seventeen persons on this train, and I have taken up but two fares. All the rest of you are traveling on passes. You have no right to expect the road to furnish ice-water and free transportation as well."

These cases are typical. They illustrate a far-reaching system by which the railways, the telegraph monopoly and the express companies have rendered themselves impregnable in government and through which they have been enabled to place the people at their complete mercy. It is idle to expect any effective railway legislation, any efficient parcels-post, any reasonable telegraph rates, so long as the public servants and lawyers who are in a position to betray their clients are permitted to ride at the expense of the traveling public. And, as an express-agent in discussing this question with us some time since and referring to the fact that a United States senator said to be worth four million dollars each year franked or dead-headed large quantities of goods from his palatial home by the seashore to the national capital and from the capital back to his home through the express companies, remarked, "Who pays for all this? You do, I do, all the people who patronize the express companies. The companies themselves are not going to lose." And he added significantly, "It is well to have a friend at court."

Here is a crying evil that demands persistent, earnest and unremitting agitation on the part of every honest and honorable patriot. Bribery by franks and passes must cease or the condition of the national government will grow steadily worse. This form of bribery is probably the most insidious, the most de-

moralizing, and certainly the most effective of all forms of bribery now in general practice. A man who thus accepts a bribe should be socially ostracized, and every elector should make it a point to interrogate all officials asking for support. If the official will not pledge himself to refuse all courtesies from railways and other public-service companies, he should be opposed by every right-minded patriot. The time has come when no man loving the nation can afford to be indifferent in the presence of this great evil.

#### Increased Cost of Living.

ON NOVEMBER first, according to Dun's "index number" of commodity prices proportioned to consumption, the steadily advancing price of things required for the sustenance of life reached the highest point in recent years. On November first, 1905, the things that on the same date one year ago cost \$99.431, cost \$103.853, or \$4.422 above the cost for the same articles a year ago. This increase, which is chiefly marked in food-stuffs, is largely due to the steady advance in the price of the necessities of life made by the giant trusts and monopolies which have been fostered and protected by legislation and which the government has left undisturbed, notwithstanding their rapacity. Trusts have been formed capitalized for millions upon millions of dollars more than what represented the tangible value of the holdings, if the monopoly-rights were eliminated, and in order to earn large dividends on the watered stock the people have been robbed on every hand.

The hour is approaching when the millions will end this cruel tax which in effect is usury exacted by an irresponsible class from the wealth-creators of the land, a portion of which ill-gotten gain is being systematically used to maintain corrupt political bosses, controlled machines and the hirelings of privilege that are entrenched in every branch of the government.

#### Civic Advance-Movement in Colorado: The First Arena Club of Denver.

JUST as we go to press we have received the following notice of the formation of the first Arena Club of Denver from the secretary of the Club:

In response to an invitation published in the November ARENA, ten persons met at the office of J. Warner Mills, in the Kittredge

Building, Denver, Colorado, on November 21st, to form an Arena Club. Those present were W. C. Kingsley, J. M. Clark, John H. Gabriel, T. B. Stuart, Mila Tupper Maynard, Lucy J. Harrington, William Bates, Dr. Mary E. Bates, J. Warner Mills and M. Florence Johnson. Many others would have been present had the meeting been held in the evening instead of during business hours.

To convey a general idea of the object of the Club, an article entitled "Centers of Light and Leading" from the September ARENA, and a portion of "Civic Centers for Moral Progress" from the November ARENA, were read. The opinion of each one present was asked regarding the possibilities of an Arena Club, and each was requested to suggest the best means for making the club a success. It was decided that the first object of the Arena Club shall be to work to secure direct-legislation and a general civic uplift in all governmental affairs. All subjects are to be discussed. The platform is to be absolutely free.

J. Warner Mills was made president. Letters were read from friends, encouraging the formation of the club, prophesying its usefulness, and regretting the inability of the writers to be present. The following short extracts reveal a gratifying interest in Arena Clubs.

Etta D. Kelso, of Longmont, Colo., writes: "We cannot be present in person, but in spirit we certainly will be with you, and will give the movement the uplift of our thought then and thereafter."

M. H. Coffin, Longmont, Colo.: "I am especially glad that you are to form an Arena Club in Denver. The time is truly most opportune."

Wilmatté Porter Cockerell, Boulder, Colo.: "I was much interested to see your call for an Arena Club. Certainly Colorado needs stirring up to a better realization of their privileges and duties."

Leo Vincent, Boulder, Colo., writes a long and interesting letter which would require reading in full to be appreciated.

A. M. York, 78 Sherman avenue, Denver, Colo.: "Will you please enter my name as a member of the Arena Club of Colorado, to be organized at your office?"

Joseph Wolff, Boulder, Colo.: "The object of this letter is to express my hearty approval of your move to establish an Arena Club in

Denver, and I hope it may be instrumental in staying the flood of unrighteousness that now threatens to engulf all that the friends of progress hold dear. . . . It has my full sympathy and will have such support as my circumstances will allow me to render."

F. E. Ashburn, Olathe, Colo.: "I am gratified to note the proposed formation of the Arena Club in Denver. These 'Civic Centers of Moral Progress' will shine out as beacon-lights that point the road to a real civilization—a civilization in which humanity for the first time in its history may truly live. . . . I wish I might be one of Denver's Arena Club, but while that privilege cannot be mine now, yet I send greetings to its every member and my best wishes for its increased success till the cause of freedom has been triumphantly won."

T. Lytel, Manzanola, Colo.: "I have been one of THE ARENA family for several years and most certainly desire the extension of its influence and the fruition of its hopes for the political and moral regeneration of our people."

F. W. Kraeger, Durango, Colo.: "I am very glad that you intend organizing the first Arena Club in our state. I hope it will gather in many of the good people of Denver, and that many more clubs will be started. It may be possible to form one in this part of the state. Great work is being done all over the country by a few earnest, honest, unselfish men."

It was voted that the writers of these letters be made honorary members of the Denver Arena Club, and that they be advised to start clubs in the communities in which they reside.

Judge Stuart offered the use of his spacious residence as a regular meeting-place for the Club. The Club is thus assured a good home.

At the next meeting Mrs. Mila Tupper Maynard, well known throughout the state and nation as a public lecturer, will speak. It is expected there will be a large attendance, and that the meeting will be of unusual interest. A full report will be sent to THE ARENA.

Those who are now interested in the Arena Club are requested to make its existence known to all who would be glad to help in this work, and invite them to be present at the meetings which will be held at the residence of T. B. Stuart, 1228 Sherman avenue, Denver. The

next meeting will be held on December 5th, at 8 P. M.

The *Denver News*, of November 22d, gave the following notice of the formation of the Club:

"An Arena Club was organized at the office of J. Warner Mills yesterday afternoon. The call had been published in the November ARENA and letters were read from persons all over the state interested in the proposed organization. Preliminary to organization the ARENA article by Mr. B. O. Flower was read, suggesting the organization of 'centers of light and leading.'

"It was agreed to organize and Mr. Mills was chosen president and Mrs. M. Florence

Johnson secretary. Meetings will be held at the home of Judge Stuart, 1228 Sherman avenue, beginning Tuesday, December 5th, at 8 P. M., to which the public is invited.

"Mrs. Maynard has been selected as the speaker of the evening."

In a personal letter just received from the Hon. J. Warner Mills, he says:

"The launching of the Arena Club was a success, not because of the numbers, but because of the enthusiasm and interest and of the large number who have promised to be present at our subsequent meetings. I have received a large number of letters from various parts of the state, all of which speak approvingly of the Club venture."

## THE WORLD BEYOND OUR BORDERS.

### **The Russian Revolution: Some Facts and Lessons.—Russia as an Historic Bulwark of Despotism.**

SINCE the middle of last October events in Russia of the gravest significance, not only to her millions but to the cause of human progress the world over, have transpired with startling rapidity. Ever since the great revolutionary epoch was inaugurated at Lexington, from which democracy came forth as the handmaid of progress and the apostle of justice and human rights, Russia has stood as the dead wall against which the waves of freedom fruitlessly beat. Aye, more. She has not only resisted all efforts of the people to secure a voice in the councils of the nation, but she has been the Gibraltar of imperialism, despotism and reaction, ever aiding as she was able to crush the onward march of democracy in other European lands. Without the powerful aid of the Russian autocracy in crucial moments it is probable that the democratizing of western Europe might be almost complete to-day.

### **Russia's Role in The Latest Reactionary Movements.**

Since the rise of the new commercial feudalism in America, Germany and other lands, in which a small class has become immensely powerful through vast fortunes, the fruits of

privilege, a new reactionary and anti-democratic factor has entered the ranks of imperialism which, uniting with the autocratic, bureaucratic and monarchical elements, has been systematically working more or less openly against the fundamental principles which differentiate democracy from class-rule.

For some time prior to the declaration of war between Japan and Russia the more discerning democratic diplomats had marked with increasing apprehension the pernicious activity on the part of the Russian autocracy and the Emperor William of Germany against everything that favored popular rule or democracy. Some months ago one of the leading English reviews published a paper of marked ability from a writer intimately acquainted with the contemporaneous diplomatic history of the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin. This contributor declared that a systematic campaign of reaction was being vigorously carried forward by the Czar's government and the Emperor of Germany against democracy and all liberal tendencies in government, not only in London, Paris and other European capitals, but also in Washington, and that large sums of money were being expended annually in furthering in every way possible the reactionary educational campaign. The distinguished consideration shown by the Kaiser to the great capitalists of Germany.

such as Herr Krupp, and to the great Wall-street magnate, J. Pierpont Morgan, was merely a part of a systematic and concerted effort to knit together the princes of privilege and the aristocracies and thrones in their effort to weaken the power of popular government or pure democracy.

#### **Japan Frustrates The Plans of The Czar and The Kaiser.**

When the war broke out between Russia and Japan, Nicholas and William confidently expected that Japan would be crushed and the autocracy would be more firmly established than ever. With Russia's prestige increased, it would be easy to rapidly push forward the reactionary movement. Indeed, so confident was the Emperor of Germany of the outcome of the conflict that the declarations were freely made that the German Emperor contemplated the securing of legislation that would reduce the Socialist representation in the Reichstag to an insignificant number, notwithstanding the fact that the Socialists numbered more than one-third of the entire electorate of the empire.

But just as the outlook appeared darkest for the cause of freedom, justice and democracy, a change occurred. The arms of Japan were victorious on sea and land. Russia as a naval power fell to an insignificant position, while the record of her armies was a record of constant defeats and retreats. At home the despotism of Von Plehve and Pobiedonostseff, sanctioned by the Czar, goaded the people to desperation. Von Plehve was assassinated. Uprisings and strikes occurred in various places, only to be ruthlessly crushed. Every noble aspiration of the people for the enjoyment of a larger measure of freedom that found public expression, was summarily dealt with. The flower of Russia's students and many of her noblest educators who advocated freedom of speech and the right of association were rewarded with prison and exile. Pobiedonostseff vigorously opposed the proposition to allow the peasants to be taught to read and write. The church everywhere fostered religious bigotry, superstition, fanaticism, race hatred and unquestioning reverence for the crown.

Then came the St. Petersburg strike and that fateful Sunday morning a year ago this month when, led by a noble priest, men, women and children, unarmed and cherishing the long-fostered belief that the Czar was their

Little Father who loved them, marched forth to tell him the story of their misery and woe, to show him that they were starving and to plead with him to aid them in their distress. There was no murder in their hearts. Instead there was the age-long veneration for the divinely-appointed ruler. Never had a monarch a more splendid opportunity to make an immortal name and to win the love and devotion of his people than had Nicholas II. on that Sunday morning when the starving and trusting poor marched forth to lay the burden of their woe at his feet. Had the Czar met them as a kind and beneficent ruler, with words of love and gentleness; explained to them the difficulties and exigencies of his position and that of the nation; given them out of his own great abundance sufficient for their immediate wants; promised his good offices to adjust the labor difficulties; and then, rising to the heights of great statesmanship, had announced that the long aspirations and yearnings of his people would be answered, as it was his pleasure to give them a constitution and guarantee to all the right of free speech, a free press and freedom of association, and that he would ask their own representatives to help him in wisely ruling the great empire and promoting the happiness and prosperity of all the people,—we say, had he done this, he would at one step have placed himself among the foremost of the world's greatest rulers; he would have won the passionate love of his millions and have been the strongest because the most popular ruler in all Europe. But instead of this, when his people asked for bread he gave them bullets. He had the helpless, unarmed men, women and children shot down in cold blood, and thus stepped before the civilized world branded as a murderer, a despot whose hands were crimson with the blood of the weak, the unarmed and the poor. In that hour he sounded the knell of autocracy; in that hour he placed an impassable gulf between the love of the people and the throne. Henceforth there might be waiting spells, but despotism from the autocracy would be answered by assassination. Sergius followed Von Plehve, and every tyrant lived in hourly dread of a similar fate. The war dragged to a close and the people realized the importance of action. It was as perilous as it was useless to petition. Their hope lay in another direction.

Suddenly one of the most amazing things happened known to history—something that evinced a master-mind directing millions who

were inspired by the grim determination that lifts brave souls to the peerage of heroes. "In one week," to use the graphic language of Jaakoff Prelooker, "practically the whole gigantic empire made revolution by the peaceful means of a general labor, educational and professional strike."

Then the Czar awoke to a realization of the powerlessness of his position. His soldiers had shown in the field how weak was the strong arm of autocracy. The credit of the nation was imperilled. The people were in revolt. Something had to be done. Every hour brought certain doom nearer his door. He was no longer in a position to murder, imprison, persecute or exile the offenders, for they were hundreds of thousands strong. He granted a constitution when it was already too late to pass from despotism to constitutional government without the shock of violence. But it is a very important and noteworthy fact that almost all the rioting and brutal massacres that immediately followed the concessions made by the Czar were the work of the upholders of the autocracy or the indignant loyalists and reactionary officers, soldiers and citizens who sought to vent their anger at the new order by instigating the most horrible massacres of the most defenceless citizens of Russia. These elements took advantage of the racial hatred that the church had so long stimulated among the ignorant and superstitious against the Jews and wrought the wretched slaves of religious bigotry to a frenzy of savagery that brought on the frightful persecutions and murders of the defenceless Hebrews.

The spirit of war, murder and hate begets hate and retaliation, and it is perhaps not strange that in the presence of the massacres, with no strong or positive stand taken by the government to stop the outrages, or with no expressions of horror emanating from the throne in regard to them, the distrust felt by the revolutionary element of the population against the Czar rapidly grew. It was also found that the Czar had reserved to himself far more power than was at first supposed, and the subsequent liberal steps that were taken at the imperative demand of the aroused people were but grudgingly granted—granted in such a way as to foster rather than abate the revolutionary spirit born of generations of the most cruel and dehumanizing despotism.

Whether Russia can pass to constitutional government without a general empire-wide

revolution is a question for the future to answer, but one thing seems assured: the nation is now too thoroughly aroused to ever again submit to a return of the long night of autocratic or bureaucratic despotism from which the people have so toilsomely and at such frightful cost dragged themselves. No. There may be temporary reactionary movements; there may be brief periods of despotic rule; but the die is cast; the most formidable bulwark of despotism has fallen, and democracy the world over will be the immense gainer for the revolution that compelled the brutal and despotic government to bow to the demands of an awakened people.

#### **The Practical Results of Governmental Insurance in Belgium.**

AT THE present time, when the public is obtaining a glimpse through the insurance investigation of the riot of corruption that has marked the conduct of our three great metropolitan insurance companies for many years, and when the people are seeing just how the grafting management has prostituted the political machinery of New York, thereby securing control of the people's servants through the corrupt use of wealth, for the purpose of destroying the safeguards given to the policyholders, it is interesting to find so conservative a capitalistic organ as the *Boston Transcript* giving much space to an extended description of the actual results of governmental insurance as administered for half a century by the Belgian government. The following extracts from the able paper which appeared in the *Transcript* of November eighteenth will be of interest and value to men and women who think for themselves instead of taking the opinions of those who hold briefs for corporate wealth and privileged interests.

The Belgian government, the *Transcript* points out, "does a general life-insurance business, issuing straight life-policies as well as term or endowment policies. It goes further and contracts to pay annuities to such of its citizens as desire them. This life-insurance and annuity business is grafted upon the governmental postal savings-bank system. Almost identically the same machinery operates all three. Under this singular financial system the poorest individual in the little kingdom can secure a moderate life-insurance policy or annuity by the payment of trifling annual premiums, or derive interest on his small deposits in the postal savings-bank."



"The system," this writer continues, "was adopted to encourage national thrift, and has fully vindicated its purpose. There are few or no beggars in Belgium. It works smoothly and is apparently without a flaw. No fiscal corruption has developed in connection with the system, complex and peculiar as it is. It has been in practice upward of half a century. The balance-sheet of the Belgian National Bank on December 31, 1903, the last report within reach, showed deposits to the credit of the three institutions of \$45,992,768, approximately \$7 a head of the total population of Belgium. The aggregate is much greater now.

"The most important branch, of course, is the postal savings system, well worth a study. Every possible facility to make deposits is afforded the public. They are made in the post-offices and bank agencies in sums as low as twenty cents. More than \$965 cannot be deposited in any period of two weeks without special authorization. The interest-rate is fixed periodically by the government. At the close of the year the interest is added to the principal and begins to draw interest itself. Each depositor receives a bank-book free of charge. Special adhesive deposit-stamps are used, which are receipts for money paid in, and are pasted in this bank-book. In it, also, are entered calculations of interest, and all other transactions between the postal savings-bank and the depositor. The system is constantly growing in favor. This postal savings system is no new thing. It has been greatly discussed in this country and its adoption urged in Congress.

"The Belgium life annuity and life insurance adjuncts are something unique. Yet they are apparently successfully conducted to the entire satisfaction of King Leopold's subjects." The writer, after describing the insurance system in detail, observes that it "is apparently simple, cheap and reliable insurance. There is doubtless a small profit accruing to the government for doing the business, but it must be infinitesimal. It is palpably arranged in the interest of the policy-holders, and not of the officials."

#### **Municipal-Ownership of Street-Railways in Germany: A Conservative Educator's Report.**

ON HIS return from Germany Professor L. S. Rowe, of the Chair of Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania, published

in *Bradstreet's* the result of his careful personal investigation of municipal-ownership of street-railways in Germany. The testimony of this conservative educator in the ultra-conservative *Bradstreet's* is of special value to the cause of public-ownership, as it goes far to confirm the contention of reformers which the special-pleaders for public-service corporations have attacked. Professor Rowe observes that:

"During the last few years the movement for municipal-ownership has acquired great headway in Germany through the municipalization of the street-railway systems. Within less than ten years some thirty municipalities have acquired title to their street-railway lines and are operating them. The most important developments in this direction have taken place within the last four years."

The Professor found that the cities had been led to take over the street-car service largely because of "the failure of private corporations to furnish adequate transportation facilities." He incidentally emphasizes a fact which reformers have insisted upon, but which those who hold briefs for public-service corporations systematically ignore, namely, that "no city of continental Europe enjoys rapid transit in the sense in which we understand the term in the United States. This defect cannot be laid to the door of municipal-ownership, as the conditions are the same whether the street-railways are under private or public control. The real cause is to be found in the fact that until the recent extension of the territorial area of German cities, the need for rapid transit was not keenly felt."

One of the most important achievements of municipal-ownership, Professor Rowe points out, "has been the extension of street-railway lines into the outlying districts, thus relieving the congestion of the densely-populated central districts. The readjustment of fares, with a view to favoring the migration of the working-classes into the suburban districts, is another of the important services of municipal operation."

On the subject of fares our author observes:

"The fares in all German cities are considerably lower than in the United States for short rides ranging from one to one-and-a-half miles. Two and one-half cents pays for a ride of one and one-fifth miles and for one transfer. Monthly commutation tickets over one-mile sections of the road are sold for \$1.50,

and over the entire system for \$3.25. In Nürnberg a uniform fare of 2½ cents over the entire system has been introduced."

On the subject of low fares in the Old World Professor Rowe makes some pertinent observations striking at the very heart of the question, when he shows that the high fares with us are necessitated by the stock-watering or inflated capitalization of our corporations.

"If we inquire into the reasons," he says, "why German cities are able to offer relatively low fares, and still derive a profit from operation, we find the cause to be the relatively low fixed charges of the German street-railway accounts. The capitalization per mile of track of the German municipal-lines ranges from \$23,809 in Munich to \$54,138 in Nürnberg. Even this capitalization has been largely increased by the large indemnities paid to private companies for unexpired franchises. When we compare this capitalization with the \$259,542 per mile of track of the New York surface-railways and the \$165,085 of the Philadelphia system, the difference is readily apparent."

He shows that though the financial results have been at the outset disappointing, largely because of "the heavy payments which the cities were compelled to make to the companies as indemnity for their unexpired franchises," the results even in this particular are full of promise. His conclusions are thus summed up:

"Municipal-ownership and operation of street-railways in Germany were begun under the most trying conditions. The cities, immediately after purchasing the lines, were compelled to make large expenditures for electrical equipment, and, to add to the difficulties, the change was made during a period of industrial depression which seriously affected the traffic. In spite of these difficulties, more than four-fifths of the cities which have embarked upon this policy are running the lines at a considerable profit and are gradually introducing a policy which is fostering the social welfare of the community, as well as the financial interests of the city treasury."

These conclusions of one of the leading conservative authorities in political economy, after a careful investigation and given to the public in one of the great capitalistic journals, must prove of great interest and value to those

who believe in public-ownership and operation of public utilities for the benefit of all the people, instead of private-ownership and operation for the enormous enrichment of the few at the expense of the millions and also at the expense of civic honesty.

#### **A Gorman City Where Municipal-Ownership is in Full Flower.**

A CORRESPONDENT wishes to know if any city of continental Europe has carried municipal-ownership so far as have Glasgow and some other British municipalities. An answer to this question has recently been given by United States Consul Liefeld, of Freiburg, Germany. This city, it is true, is very small when compared with the second city of Great Britain, it having but seventy thousand inhabitants, but Glasgow and Freiburg taken together furnish admirable examples of how municipalities, both great and small, can be governed honestly, economically and to the immense benefit of the people, when once the public-service companies, which are ever the fountain-head of municipal and state corruption, as they are the mainstay of corrupt bosses and party-machines, are no longer a polluting influence in a municipality.

In Freiburg, as in Glasgow, the municipal utilities are operated with a view to lessening the cost and in other ways benefitting the citizens, rather than with the object of merely making money; yet the showing, even from the latter view-point, in the German municipality as in Glasgow is creditable. In Freiburg, according to our consul, the street-cars, the gas, the electric-light, the water, the theater, the slaughter-house, the pawn-shop, the cemetery, the savings-bank and the schools are operated by the city, which indeed also controls a daily paper, vineyards and building-lots. Last year the city treasury realized, after all expenses had been paid, \$3,478 from the electric-plant; \$3,581 from the gas; \$13,440 from the cemetery; \$221 from the municipal pawn-shop; \$65,892 rental from buildings owned by the city; \$71,315 from the water department; and \$4,211 from the slaughter-house.

Many of the things operated by the municipality are primarily for the benefit, protection, education or development of the inhabitants. The pawn-shop, for example, is operated so as to accommodate those who need loans and who would otherwise become victims of extortioners. Another institution for the benefit

or convenience of the citizens, and especially of the poorer members of society, is the people's kitchen. Here good food is served at very reasonable prices. The receipts from the kitchen last year amounted to \$27,806. The city savings-bank is also another valuable institution, being perfectly safe and tending to stimulate thrift. The municipal theater is regarded by the citizens as almost as important an educational institution as the city schools. Therefore the city each year contributes liberally toward its maintenance. Last year the outlay for the theater was \$89,837. Of this amount the city paid \$32,606.

The municipal theater is an institution that specially merits the attention of our people. We believe Richard Wagner was right in his contention that so long as the theater was dependent on the money-mad speculators; so long as the box-office was the chief concern of those who gave the public their amusements, there would be no really great dramatic art or a theater that would be a powerful educator of the people. By the municipality giving a subsidy to the municipal theater the best of plays can be produced and at prices not so exorbitant as to render them prohibitive to people of limited means.

#### **The City of Berlin Votes to Build and Operate a Subway.**

THE ELECTORATE of Berlin recently voted by a large majority in favor of the construction and operation of a subway for the benefit and convenience of the citizens. It is well to note the fact that the citizens were not so indifferent to their interests or as easily duped by the paid advocates of public-service corporations as to vote to give this immensely valuable franchise to the individual capitalists, such as the Morgans, the Belmonts and the Ryans with us, who are annually diverting into their own pockets millions upon millions of money that should be enjoyed by the people in cheaper and better service and in reduced taxation under municipal-ownership and operation. No. The citizens of German municipalities do not propose to have their city governments corrupted by the wealth of public-service corporations and their lawyers, as our municipal governments have been debauched by these enemies of the people and of popular rule. They know that if corruption occurs in public management it will be quickly remedied and the guilty punished so long as the evil-doers have not behind them the great and

powerful corporations that can afford to spend millions of dollars for the betrayal of the interests of the people and for the protection of the guilty if any attempt is made to bring them to justice.

Germany tentatively tried governmental ownership of railways, and after full and fair trial with about one-half the roads under government-ownership and one-half under private-ownership, the state found that the public-owned and operated roads were far more satisfactory and profitable, after which she took over the five great lines that remained under private control.

For the past ten years the cities of Germany have been taking over the street-car service, with the result that the service has been immensely improved and the roads are making a better and better showing, the only serious drawback having been the high prices which in some instances the municipalities were compelled to pay for the unexpired franchises. These facts are referred to elsewhere.

It matters not whether it be in England or in New Zealand, in Germany or in Scotland, everywhere where public-ownership has been fairly tried, the people have been the great gainers and corruption in government has been rapidly abated.

#### **Reactionary Usurpation in Norway.**

THE REFUSAL of the members of the Norwegian parliament to grant the electorate the opportunity of voting on whether Norway should become a republic or be governed by a king, was a shameful abuse of power, reflecting the old monarchal spirit wholly inimical to free institutions or the principles of democracy. It was an exhibition of treason against popular government that branded the members of the Norwegian Parliament as traitors to their electorate and their nation. It is said that the thrones of Europe and the commercial interests of Norway influenced the legislators in their decision against allowing the people to select their form of government. But what right had outside interests or the little coterie of commercial leaders that is always governed by selfish interests, to override the inherent rights of the people?

This crime against Norway and against democracy should serve to further awaken our people to the peril of the influence of sordid commercialism which upholds the reactionary political bosses in our midst. But for this

selfish and anti-republican influence, seeking privileges at the expense of the basic principles on which free institutions rest, our nation would not to-day be cursed with bosses, nor would the wishes of the people be systematically slighted by such reactionary representatives of privileged interests as Senators Lodge, Aldrich, Platt, Dryden, Spooner, Elkins, Gorman and Penrose. The great moral awakening that is now becoming so marked in our land must hew to the line of fundamental democracy and keep in mind at all times that the most urgent need of the hour is for the people to compel their servants to submit their legislation to the electorate when such demand is made. Otherwise our republican government will become more and more a farce, a government of corrupt wealth through the political boss and the controlled machine, for the benefit of the privileged few.

When the people of Norway had a referendum on whether or not they would accept Prince Charles as their monarch, and he was voted for, the reactionary press all over the country hailed the fact as the decision of the electorate in favor of monarchy instead of republicanism, when as a matter of fact the people were not given the opportunity to vote directly on that question.

#### **Prime Minister Fejervary's Liberal Programme.**

AT THE present writing a very interesting and somewhat anomalous condition is presented by the leading governmental factions in Hungarian politics. For some time a majority party has been formed through a coalition of two parties that are opposed to the conservatives but which have little in common. Indeed, so great is their distrust that they have been unable to agree on a cabinet. Thus the governmental business has been at a standstill and the Emperor Francis Joseph, acting in his capacity as King of Hungary, has at last appointed a cabinet satisfactory to himself but not agreeable to the parliament. Realizing that in all probability the parliament would promptly overthrow the new ministry by passing a vote of want of confidence, the king prorogued parliament for two months. The prime minister, Baron Fejervary, then came forward with a radical programme among the principal demands of which are: universal suffrage with secret and direct ballot; compulsory free education; the granting of small farm-holdings to farmers; compulsory insur-

ance for workingmen; tariff and taxation reforms. Now it is by no means certain that this magnificent liberal programme will be accepted by the powerful Magyars who dominate the so-called liberal opposition. They represent the richest and most scholarly element in the kingdom, but they have too long enjoyed absolute political control to desire the extension of suffrage, as that might threaten their future domination. But when once such a programme is promulgated, and especially when it emanates from the throne, its ultimate acceptance is inevitable, and such acceptance will mean another substantial democratic stride among the nations of the Old World.

#### **International Peace Propaganda of Socialists Creating Alarm in Reactionary Circles.**

FOR YEARS men have preached and prayed for the advent of universal peace. It has been claimed to be the special mission of the church as the representative of the Prince of Peace, to actively strive to bring about such a condition that war would be impossible. But after two thousand years the great Christian lands of the earth are becoming more and more great armed camps. Most of the time some of the great nations are at the throat of other nations or are vigorously engaged in subjugating the small peoples.

In recent years, however, there have arisen a number of noble writers of marked ability, not only among the essayists and moral leaders but also among the great writers of fiction—such men as Tolstoi and Zola—who have wrought a tremendous work in impressing on the conscience of the thoughtful the inherent criminality as well as the frightful wastefulness of war. Bloch probably more than all other writers has shown the economic waste incident to militarism, while a number of editors under the lead of Mr. Stead, and not a few able clergymen have assailed the war-spirit from the view-point of morality and religion. But it has remained for the Social Democrats of Europe everywhere to put forth an active educational peace propaganda that has startled every monarch, every beneficiary of privilege or class-rule, and every reactionary in politics, religion and business life who is at heart a foe to the teachings of the Prince of Peace and the enemy of democracy, whose ideal is summed up in the words Liberty, Justice and Fraternity. The Socialists hold that all men are bro-

thers and that war is inherently criminal. They urge that the killing of men, disguise it as you may, is murder. They insist that "the enormous waste of money involved in a military budget" represents a criminal waste which if applied to popular education of the young and the furtherance of just conditions whereby every man might have an opportunity to labor and be protected in the realization of what he earned, would soon change the face of society and do much toward transforming the social hell of to-day into a fraternal heaven. They are educating the masses in every land to wage a ceaseless war on war. Recently the great French Socialist statesman, Jaurès, in an address delivered at Limoges, scandalized the representatives of the old order by making the following clear-cut statement in favor of pacifism:

"The duty of Socialists, as soon as danger of a war appears, is very plain. The International Labor Association stands before everything else for a permanent and universal propaganda of peace. When ambition or desire of conquest arises in the State and suggests the probability or possibility of war, the international proletariat must rise as one man and make it plain to the Government of a capitalistic State that the laboring men will have no slaughter."

This peace propaganda is being aggressively carried forward in France, Germany and elsewhere where the Socialists are growing in numbers and power, much to the alarm and indignation of the thrones and the church. In Italy the *Osservatore Romano*, the organ of the Vatican, censures the state for not suppressing the Socialist associations. It is greatly agitated over the fact that there is an international anti-military association in full operation and that its agents carry on a diligent propaganda by interviewing and disseminating literature in inns and *cafés* frequented by the soldiers. Indeed, the position taken by this great organ of the Vatican in its attack on the international anti-military Socialistic organization sounds startlingly like the denunciations of the old pagan officials of the early Christians, whose teachings in regard to war were almost identical with those of the Socialists, both holding that men were brothers and that as such they should love one another and not kill each other simply because a national boundary separated or because some monarch or official class chose to throw hundreds of

thousands of men at each other, regardless of the lives slaughtered and the misery, starvation, wretchedness and crime that inevitably follow in the trail of war.

In a recent issue of the *Fortnightly Review* Eugene Tavernier, a doughty defender of the Catholic religion and reactionary ideals, bewails the fact that the free-school teachers of France are everywhere teaching the criminality of war. According to this writer one of the worst results of the banishment of religion from the public-schools is found in the attitude of the teachers in emphasizing the criminality of war. In referring to the educational conventions being held in France he says:

"In the congresses organized by the Radicals, with the coöperation of the Socialists, it has become customary to hear teachers speaking against the military profession, and against the old idea of patriotism, which in its turn is treated as a superstition like the Christian faith. The belittling of one's country and of the army is a corollary, in fact, of the contemptuous hatred for religion testified by Radicalism."

This writer, who seems to think that the function of the church is to foster the war-spirit, which in the last analysis is the spirit of hate and murder, is greatly exercised over the attitude of the eminent educational leader and official, M. Payot, because the latter holds that war will not bear investigation, that its fruits are found in "excessive labor, poverty with its attendant train of vices, tuberculosis, misery of every description." "Fifteen to twenty thousand teachers," says M. Tavernier, "in primary schools, male and female, read out similar lessons almost every week, and repeat them to those around them."

M. Tavernier's denunciation of Socialism and radicalism on the ground of their teaching that all men are brothers and that war is criminal, and in seeking to make war impossible by educating the masses to refuse to kill one another at the behest of those who take no personal risks, will not appeal to true Christians or to men who are sufficiently civilized to see the enormity and criminality of war—an evil about which the church, if it retained even a faint appreciation of the true meaning of the teachings of Christ, must necessarily condemn. On this point at least the Socialists are in as perfect accord with the teachings of Christ as are the *Osservatore Romano* and M. Tavernier in accord with the spirit of

ancient Rome, when it indicted the Christians for their refusal to fight.

### **The New Liberal Party in New Zealand.**

A POWERFUL opposition party is one of the surest safeguards of popular rights. All political parties, if they become strongly entrenched in power and are conscious that they have an overwhelming majority behind them, become in time autocratic and less alive to the basic demands of democracy than is safe for the people, when, indeed, the dominant organization does not become the tool of privileged interests which under the honorable robings of a once great moral party secure selfish measures and legislation inimical to the best interests of the nation.

New Zealand under the leadership of Premier Richard J. Seddon has made one of the most glorious records as an experiment in government of the people, by the people and for the people known to history. The great advance steps taken under the statesmanship of such men as Ballance and Seddon and their able co-laborers met with the overwhelming approval of the people. There is therefore no danger of any serious backward step in the government of this New England of the southern seas. Yet the consciousness of the strength and popularity of the government with the people has bred at last, according to the views of many citizens of the commonwealth, a spirit of autocracy and an indifference in administrative matters that is unfavorable to the highest interests of a free and progressive state. The government has also been slow to encourage some important democratic safeguards, such as the initiative, referendum and right of recall. True, so long as the public servants are as responsive to the will of the people as have been the governments of Premier Seddon and his predecessors there is no general demand for these measures, for their need is not realized by the masses. Yet the fact remains that if the nation was under a reactionary administration as unresponsive to public demands as is our Senate and as are our municipal and state governments in many cities and commonwealths, the people would be as powerless as are our own citizens since Wall-street high financiers and privileged interests have gained control of party-machines. This danger is recognized by some of the most far-seeing statesmen of New Zealand, though the government seems blind to its importance. Hence the rise of an active opposition to the

government, which is in many respects more liberal and progressive than the great Liberal premier who placed the commonwealth in the van of progressive democratic states.

Among those actively opposed to the sluggishness into which the government seems to have fallen, and whose opposition is not so much against the legislation as the methods of administration of Mr. Seddon's government, is the new Liberal party in which are found four members whose strength, vigor and aggressive activity have already made them a force to be reckoned with. Messrs. Bradford, Fisher, Laurenson, and Taylor are already known as the "Fighting Four," and in battling for uncompromising honesty and integrity in all administrative departments are serving a useful purpose.

There is in New Zealand no corrupt political machine dominated by privileged interests: no powerful public-service corporations debauching the people's servants and exerting a baleful influence on the press; no plutocracy governing through political machines or with powerful representatives enjoying such intimate social and business relations with the master-spirits in government that the interests of the masses are sacrificed or slighted on every hand. But there is nevertheless the need there, as everywhere in a democracy, of a healthy and vigilant opposition to compel the dominant party to live up to its best ideals and to continue to be progressive. Thus we rejoice to see a strong young opposition party arising in New Zealand and we venture the hope that the next great battle in this commonwealth under the Southern Cross will be fought for the initiative and referendum. Given these things in New Zealand in as effective a form as in Switzerland, and the position of this commonwealth will be preëminent as the most truly democratic and progressive state in the civilized world.

### **Government-Owned Railways of Australia Yield Millions to The Public Treasury.**

CONSUL-GENERAL BRAY recently forwarded from Australia to the Department of Commerce and Labor a report of the government-owned and operated railways of Australia, in which he shows from the official figures that the *net earnings* of the state roads for the last two years were as follows: For the year ending June 30, 1904, \$19,761,646; and for the year ending June 30, 1905, \$22,745,508.

These official figures cannot fail to depress the magnates of the American railway systems who are not only plundering the people but are debauching the public servants, elevating to positions of power and mastership political servants and bosses who can be relied upon to fight all efforts looking toward the nation securing the enjoyment and benefits of the enormous earnings of its public utilities. But on the other hand, they will show thoughtful people that in the New England of the southern seas as well as in the old civilizations of Europe, wherever the people take over and operate their utilities, they not only enjoy the enormous revenue realized but they are able to break the backbone of political corruption, despotism and reaction rendered possible by the presence of irresponsible corporations elevating to the most powerful positions in government the tools of corporate wealth and driving into defeat and obscurity true and loyal patriots who cannot be bought to sacrifice the interests of the people for the enrichment of the privileged few. The great public-service companies will fill the government with their tools and the real enemies of the people so long as they are able to reap the hundreds of millions of dollars annually that should go into the municipal, state and national treasuries or be enjoyed by the people in better service and lower rates.

Once take away the motive and power for corrupting government and defeating the ends of justice, and the bosses will give place to statesmen and democracy will reassert itself.

#### **Helping The Wealth-Creators to Secure Homes.**

NO GOVERNMENT on earth has striven more intelligently or systematically to foster home-building among the people than New Zealand. This is one reason for the great popularity and success of the government with the people. Ever since the Liberal administration has been in power, in all land legislation the important fact ever kept in view has been the saving or reclamation of the land so it may be used for the actual home-builders. The state-owned railways, by furnishing tickets at nominal prices for workers and school-children have made it possible for the toilers and their families to own homes far from the centers of population and their places of work and yet permit these toilers to attend to their daily duties in the cities and their children to enjoy the best school privileges with little or no greater ex-

pense than if they lived in the congested centers.

The state has also given the workers who wish to become home-builders land on the most favorable terms and has at times advanced money to aid in building these homes. Still, rents have been high in some cities, especially in Wellington, the capital of the commonwealth, and that part of the earnings of many thousands that should have gone into improving homes has been eaten up each month by rents. To meet this difficulty the government now proposes to build cottages on attractive plots of land. The whole cost when completed will be about fifteen hundred dollars for each. Thus attractive little homes will be offered to the workers, who can buy them outright, or buy them and pay on instalments, the time for payment extending over a number of years; or they may rent them for a certain period and have the option of buying them at any time before the expiration of the lease.

In thus fostering the home-building spirit the people's servants of New Zealand evince the wisest statesmanship. A nation where popular government obtains has little to fear if the great majority of the citizens have homes of their own. The home-builders are the strength and glory of the commonwealth, and from these free firesides will come strong, true manhood and womanhood, where the heart and the brain are alike alive and illumined and where the passion for knowledge is only second to the passion for justice.

#### **Cardinal Moran's Advocacy of Social Reform in Australia.**

IN AMERICA the representatives of the Roman hierarchy have evinced little sympathy with the aspirations of the people for a coöperative commonwealth. In many instances, indeed, the attitude of the religious leaders has been distinctly reactionary in spirit. Not so in Australia. Here the head of the Roman church has avowed himself in strong sympathy with the progressive social reform programme of the Radical Labor Party. In a recent issue of the *New York Nation*, which is one of the bitterest opponents among American journals of everything that can by any stretch of the imagination be denominated as Socialistic, we find the following account of the stand taken by Cardinal Moran and the Archbishop of Melbourne in favor of the radical Socialistic Labor

Party. The extract is taken from an extended article by their special<sup>2</sup> correspondent:

"Catholics would appear, in spite of themselves, to be committed against Socialism by the Pope's encyclical, but his representatives in Australia took another view of the matter. The liberal-minded head of the Church, Cardinal Moran, who was public-spirited enough to stand for election to the convention that drafted the Federal Constitution, drew a sharp distinction between the revolutionary Socialism denounced by the Pope and the "coöperative commonwealth" that is the ideal of the Australian labor leaders, which he seemed to favor. Another tolerant and cultured prelate, the Catholic archbishop of Melbourne, adhered to the distinction."

#### **An English Heroine Among The Boers.**

IT IS always a pleasure to record the splendid deeds wrought by the heroes and heroines of peace and humanity. They go hand in hand with the advance movements of the nations toward the ideal of true democracy based on justice and brotherhood; and among the recent stories of lofty humanitarian heroism, exhibiting wisdom, nobility and self-sacrifice, nothing is more worthy of the recognition and aid of all high-minded men and women the world over than the well-considered campaign of Miss Hobhouse, the English practical philanthropist and human helper, in the Orange River Colony and in the Transvaal.

In 1903 Miss Hobhouse, journeying through the region devastated by the late war, was appalled by the destitution of the people and the difficulties under which they were laboring in attempting to start again their agricultural and other productive labors throughout the denuded lands. She determined to consecrate her best endeavors to a practical work for helping the wives and daughters of these poor people to materially assist their parents, husbands and lovers in the heroic battle to win back homes of comfort. Accordingly she returned to England determined to introduce and teach the Boer women who desired to learn, the arts of lace-making and weaving. Securing two trained assistants to aid in inaugurating the work, and with some spinning-wheels and looms shipped to the Orange River Colony, she set out on her mission. The first school was opened at Philippolis early in March, when the greatest enthusiasm was

manifested by the Boers. Numbers of girls clamored to be taught to spin and weave. Only a few applicants, however, could be accommodated at first, owing to the limited number of spinning-wheels and looms. Several Boer fathers early came to the school to know if they might copy the wheels and looms for their daughters' home use—a request that was gladly granted, as the great object was to thoroughly teach the girls and to have them the possessors of their own spinning and weaving outfits.

Of these girls Miss Hobhouse writes that they are "bright and eager, yet shy and quiet." "They took to the work like ducks to water and quite shamed us by the rapidity with which they learned to spin." They were equally apt in learning to weave. How eager these poor girls were to improve the opportunity thus given them may be judged from the following extract from one of the philanthropist's letters:

"H. has made rapid strides with the machine in this week's teaching, and triumphantly carried home her work to show her father last night. She is the daughter of one of the Elders of the Church, and her mother died in Bethulie Camp. In order to come to us she gets up at 2.30 A. M. to wash, bake and iron, to be free at eight o'clock. She has her little brothers and sisters to be-mother, so six hours at the machine, in addition to her homework, is pretty hard for a delicate girl; but she won't give in."

Again she writes thus of the aptitude of the pupils:

"I set a new girl to spin on it yesterday for the first time of her trying, and, to my astonishment, in less than an hour she was spinning quite fine flax, better than I could, when learning, after a fortnight's raging and stamping despair and broken threads. The aptitude and intelligence of the girls are very striking, and make the teaching a pleasure, however fatiguing. Several girls have already brought me the plants that yield dye; and one, this week, brought bits of wool tied neatly in packets and labeled, which she and her mother had been experimenting upon, using golden syrup tins to boil the dye."

In a letter written fifteen days after the training-school had opened, Miss Hobhouse wrote:



"M.'s pupil on the knitting-machine has turned out several pairs of socks of various quality; and a rug is being made on the upright loom, and a carpet on the weaving-loom. Six of the girls are employed in spinning enough of the coarse wool for this sample carpet. Two have made the warp and set up the loom, and one is to do the actual weaving. This is quite a coöperative business."

That this high-minded philanthropist is thoroughly practical and that she is carrying forward her work in a manner that will prove of lasting value to the citizens of South Africa is clearly shown from her letters. Here is a typical extract:

"Our pupils have increased to seventeen, and at that number, in spite of many applications, I must stop, because we have no more seats and no more wheels, and only six looms. We have had a little meeting of the girls, and put before them that until they set to work to procure wheels and looms of their own, we cannot teach their companions who want to come. And so now several have begun to get relations or friends to copy my wheels, and soon they will be able to spin yarn in their homes to bring in for the looms, or else knit up themselves."

Less than six weeks after the school was opened the founder thus describes some of the new work. In South Africa there are a great number of Angora goats, so the Angora mohair enables them to make alpaca.

"We have found out that we can make a very nice sort of alpaca with cotton-warp and fine Angora web, and this washes beautifully. The girls can spin the angora on my old-fashioned wheels beautifully fine. I am now putting on a silk-warp to try a silk and angora

mixture, thinking that will make a rich material. You see, we have to keep thus ahead, finding out the best way of dealing with the raw material at hand."

By August 6th, less than five months from the inauguration of her work, Miss Hobhouse had her school in Philippolis in a flourishing condition, with twenty-five girls being steadily trained—the full capacity of the accommodations. She had also started a flourishing little training-school in the Transvaal, near Johannesburg, the only drawback being the limited number of spindles and looms. The Aid Society for Boer Home Industries has done much in purchasing and forwarding wheels and looms, but the demand has been far greater than the money at the command of the English ladies who have pushed the work forward.

In perusing the letters of Miss Hobhouse one cannot fail to marvel at the selfish indifference of a large number of our idle rich in the presence of such crying need as is here exhibited and such a practical method for helping the unfortunates to help themselves. If some of the many thoughtless rich who spend a thousand dollars on a banquet or at a weekend party would forego these things for a few weeks and donate the sum thus saved to this work, they would be conferring lasting benefits on the brave, struggling young of these war-desolated southern lands that would tell through all the coming years in the sound growth and development of the sturdy home-builders.

Miss Hobhouse is doing perhaps more than any other citizen of Great Britain to lessen the bitterness that the Boers naturally feel toward their conquerors. She is one of the noblest heroines of our age—a splendid type of twentieth-century womanhood, brave, wise, just and loving.

## SCIENCE AND INVENTION.

### **A Gasoline Car That Promises to Revolutionize Suburban Travel and Traffic.**

**E**ARLY in November the Union Pacific Car Shops, at Omaha, Nebraska, turned out a large new gasoline motor-car which runs at a speed of fifty-seven miles an hour with less noise, friction or jar than a Pullman going at half the speed. This is the

second car of the kind made by this company, the first being built as an experiment. It proved to be practical, performing all that was expected of it by the inventor, Mr. W. R. McKeen, Jr. The new motor-car is driven by a 100-horse-power gasoline engine, and a new car is now being constructed that will be driven by a 200-horse-power engine, it being

intended to carry passengers, express and freight. The officials of the Union Pacific Company are confident that the gasoline motor-car will solve the problems of suburban and interurban traffic by giving fast and frequent service at a minimum cost.

If these confident expectations are realized, the new invention will greatly aid the movement of home-seekers to the country from the congested cities. There are thousands and tens of thousands of persons in all of our large cities and manufacturing towns who would long ere this have been enjoying little homes in the country had it not been for the fact that suburban service rendered it impossible for them to dwell at a distance from their places of work. Like the trolley, this new invention may prove a great decentralizer in regard to population. There are few more hopeful signs of the times than the movement back to the land, and every aid in this great work must prove a real blessing to the citizen and the state.

#### **Interesting Results of Ether Forcing Rhubarb.**

OUR READERS will call to mind that some time since we recorded the remarkable results that had attended the experiments of certain Danish and French florists in forcing lilacs, lilies of the valley, azaleas and other flowers by putting them to sleep with ether. This sudden suspension of normal functions in the plants in a dormant or sluggish condition was followed by a rapid maturing of the flowers, causing the lilacs and other plants to bloom some weeks earlier than similar plants not so treated.

Now comes the report of a very interesting experiment made by the Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station and recently published by the Agricultural Department, in forcing rhubarb with ether. Three lots of rhubarb roots were treated with ether, one on December 20th, the second on January 9th, and the third on February 24th. The results showed that "the etherized plants gave the largest total yield in every instance," and that they came into the market at an earlier date than plants raised under similar conditions but not subjected to ether. The greatest yield was from the plants treated on December 20th, the second largest from those treated January 9th, while those treated on February 24th showed a very small increase over the plants cultivated under similar conditions without

ether. The reason for this is doubtless that in the last instance the period of rest was about over. "In summing up the result it would seem quite evident," says the report, "that there was a decided impulse given to the ether-treated dormant plants. This quickening of vital processes in the plants resulted in a more vigorous growth and a decided increase in weight of product."

These results are immensely significant in potential value, for if future experiments confirm the results so far attained there would seem to be great possibilities in the treatment of various plants and vegetables. That such success may be reasonably expected is indicated from the well-assured results of etherization of flowers, which has now come, it is said, to be very largely practiced where early blooming is desirable.

#### **Successful Treatment of Appendicitis Without The Knife.**

IN A RECENT report our consul-general at Frankfort, Germany, gives an account of the successful treatment of appendicitis by a physician at Leutkirch, as reported in the *Munich Medical Weekly Review*. The remedial agent employed in the treatment is a silver solution. Out of seventy-two cases all but two were successfully treated without resort to surgery. The physician who has discovered the new treatment believes that every case of appendicitis, if early diagnosed, can be cured by the silver solution without resort to the knife.

A few years ago there was a veritable craze among surgeons over ovariectomy. Tens of thousands of women became the victims of this mania. The next popular excuse for the surgeon's knife was appendicitis, and though there are doubtless many times when operations have been necessary to save life, there can be no question but what numbers of precious lives have been sacrificed on account of this later fad or craze, though probably the list is not as great as the unnecessary deaths resulting from ovariectomy. It is to be hoped that the new treatment may prove as successful as its discoverer anticipates and that the mania for operations in all real or supposed cases of appendicitis may have had its day.

#### **Pneumonia: A Simple Remedy Recommended by a Health Board.**

FEW ACUTE diseases in our northern climate are so fatal as pneumonia. Every winter it



GE FROM THE CONFESSIONS OF A HOLIDAY-CHARITY PHILANTHROPIST.

Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA.

levies a fearful tribute in every community, and few diseases have so successfully baffled medical science in its research for specifics. Many people will therefore read with interest the strong recommendation recently made by the health-board of Washington, Warren county, New Jersey, of the following simple treatment for pneumonia, which according to a dispatch in the New York *Herald* is claimed to be a sure cure if used in the early stages:

"Take six or ten onions, according to size, and chop fine, put in a large spider over a hot fire, then add the same quantity of rye meal and vinegar, enough to form a thick paste. Stir thoroughly, letting it simmer five or ten minutes. Then put it in a cotton bag large enough to cover the lungs and apply to chest as hot as patient can bear. In about ten minutes apply another, and thus continue by reheating the poultices, and in a few hours the patient will be out of danger."

## DIRECT-LEGISLATION IN CARTOON.

[NOTE.—We take pleasure in publishing below an article contributed by Mr. Eltwed Pomeroy, President of the National Direct-Legislation League, and embodying a number of striking cartoons by Mr. J. W. Bengough, illuminating the subject of Direct-Legislation. We take special pleasure in publishing this contribution because we hold that the overshadowing issue in the battle that is now on relates to Direct-Legislation. The supreme question is whether democracy or class-rule shall prevail; whether the people shall have the power to compel their servants to act in their interests and to repudiate the action of corrupt or bought politicians,—in a word, whether the people are to be the sovereigns and the officials their servants, or whether the officials are to become the irresponsible masters of the people and the people subjects instead of sovereigns and, as is now the case, the victims of corrupt party-bosses and controlled machines that carry out the demands of the new plutocracy or the privileged classes, reckless of the interests of the electorate. It is the old battle between democracy and despotism, between popular rule and class rule; and in this battle every political boss and every public official who takes his orders from corporate wealth or the feudalism of Wall street will fight against the people having the opportunity to rule themselves, just as the thrones and the aristocracies of the Old World have sought to further their own interests at the expense of the interests of the people. Every corrupt official, every venal servant of privileged interests, every exploiter of the people, will battle against Direct-Legislation; and all the power and influence of the gambling-hell of Wall street, all the power of the Standard Oil Company, of the Morgans, the Rogeses, the McCalls, the McCurdys, the Perkinses and the Depews will be joined with the Platts, the Odells, the Aldriches, the Lodges, the Gormans, the Elkinses, the Penroses, the McCarrrens, the Murphys and the Durhams to defeat popular government. Therefore the hour has struck for the people to organize, educate and agitate, and THE ARENA will be in the van in this great battle for democracy.—THE EDITOR.]

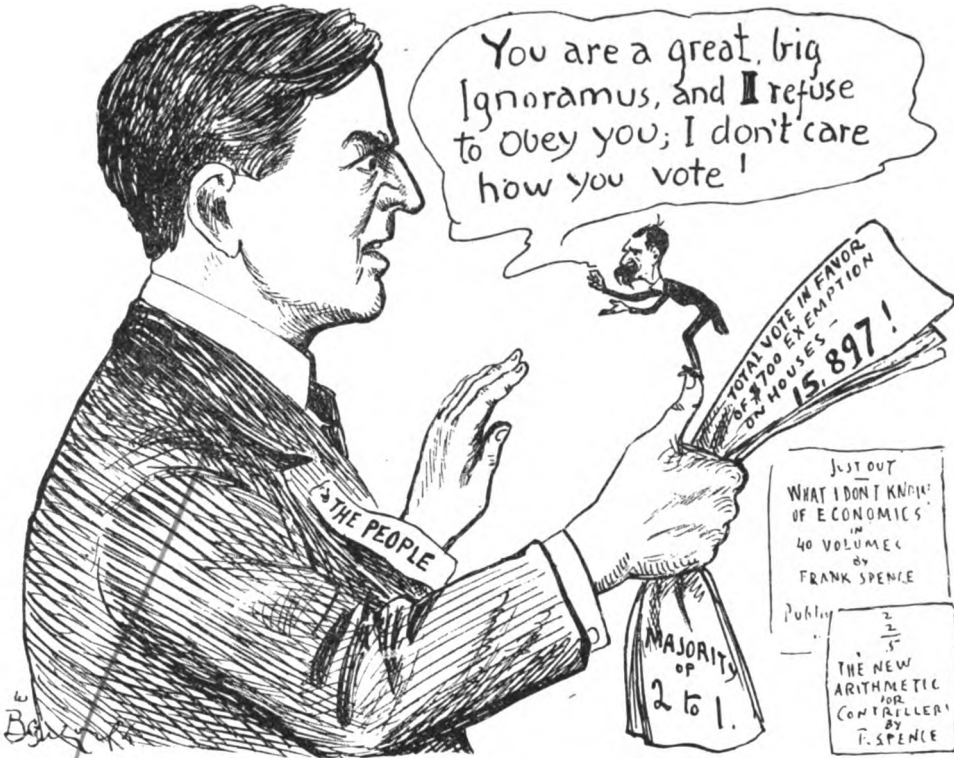
SOMETIMES the keenest and most influential articles and cartoons go into what seem small and weak organs. Garrison's

*Liberator* was utterly insignificant in size and circulation compared with its contemporary Boston papers. Who can recall even the names of its contemporaries now?

There has been a very interesting fight going on in Toronto for a real democracy. Some of the daily papers have aided it, most have kept silent, a few have opposed. But *The Canadian Single-Taxer*, a little sixteen-page monthly with articles and cartoons of incisiveness and vigor, has made city officials squirm and has roused the citizens to an appreciation of the situation. The cartoons have been by Mr. J. W. Bengough and are particularly good.

To illustrate the use of direct democracy by the people, a group of earnest men secured pledges from the mayor and most of the aldermen before their election, to abide by the will of the people as shown by a referendum vote; and then, mainly because they were persistent, they got a referendum on the question of exempting seven hundred dollars of house-value from taxation, and it was carried by a good majority. Let their own words and cartoons now tell the story. The April issue of the *Single-Taxer* said:

"'The people be hanged,' was practically the answer given by the City Council on Monday, March 13th, when Alderman Dr. Noble called on the aldermen to obey the popular injunction given at the polls on January 2d, last, to ask the legislature for power to apply the \$700 exemption in the city of Toronto. By a vote of twelve to seven the civic legislators decided to burke the electors in their attempt to mitigate the severity of the house famine.



"It is all very well," said Alderman Spence, "to talk about public opinion, but it is not well to follow public opinion when public opinion goes wrong."

"The question is are we or are we not going to pay any attention to the voice of the people," said Alderman Dr. Noble. This measure was carried by a vote of 15,897, against 8,219, a majority of 7,678, and thousands were prevented from voting for it by the deputy returning officers."

"Controllor Ward said: "This increase in taxes would simply mean plunder, and we have a right to protect the landlords. It would ruin the commerce of the city. It would increase the taxes of the Massey-Harris Company by \$1,031.34 per year, and on the Canada Life Building by \$1,416.77 per year."

By such arguments to-day do the advisers of the Czar urge him on to ruin.

During that month a committee had an interview with Mayor Urquhart. Here is a part of it and its accompanying cartoon:

"Mr. Thompson—"Before your election as Mayor you signed a pledge that you would submit any question to the people asked for

by them. You also signed a pledge that if a majority of the people voted in favor of the measure you would use all your best efforts to make it law."

"The Mayor—"I never signed any such pledge, but if I did I would break it, as I would any pledge, if after further consideration I decided it was not in the best interests of the city."

Here is the pledge he signed:

"Do you believe that the will of the majority should prevail in this city, 'majority' meaning majority of those entitled to vote and who do vote?"

"(Signed) 'Yes.'

"Will you, if elected, use the power of your office to carry out the will of the majority as expressed by any referendum vote that may be taken?"

"(Signed in the mayor's handwriting) 'Yes.'

"THOS. URQUHART,

"136 Major street,

"24th Dec., 1902."



## THE PUBLIC PILLORY.

Let the pupils of Walmer Road Sunday-school come and look at their worshipful superintendent.

Mr. Urquhart is an able and honest city official. He told me right after his election that he was a believer in direct-legislation. This shows the effect of office-holding on a good man. It changes his view-point in a few years. He is none the less honest in other matters now than then, but his own statement might have come from the lips of Emperor William of Germany. Both are equally sincere in their belief that they know better what the people should have than the people themselves, and both are equally un-American.

The May issue of the *Single-Taxer* had a pungent little catechism and cartoon:

- "Q. 'What is public opinion?'"  
 "A. 'Public opinion is belief or opinion held by the people at large.'"  
 "Q. 'What is meant by the expression "at large?"'"  
 "A. 'It means outside of the asylum.'"  
 "Q. 'Is public opinion at large a safe guide in government?'"  
 "A. 'Not so safe as that inside said institution.'"  
 "Q. 'What is it good for?'"

"A. 'It is good to talk about, but not to follow.'"

"Q. 'Why is it unsafe to follow?'"

"A. 'Because it is wrong. The people are ignorant, and when they vote do not know what they are doing.'"

During the summer the following delightful cartoon, taking its inspiration from Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream," and referring to the fall elections appeared.

The people really need more houses and are actually living in tents for lack of other accommodations, and during the summer a committee of citizens waited on the city's governing body, the Board of Control. The following cartoon and extract from the *Single-Taxer* tells the story:

"Deputation—'We have come to ask if something cannot be done to provide more house accommodation in the city, and to reduce the present exorbitant rents. Some of us are living in stables, some in tents, and some of us have had resource to old street-cars.'"

"Mayor and Controllers (in one breath)—'Want more houses and lower rents, do you?'"

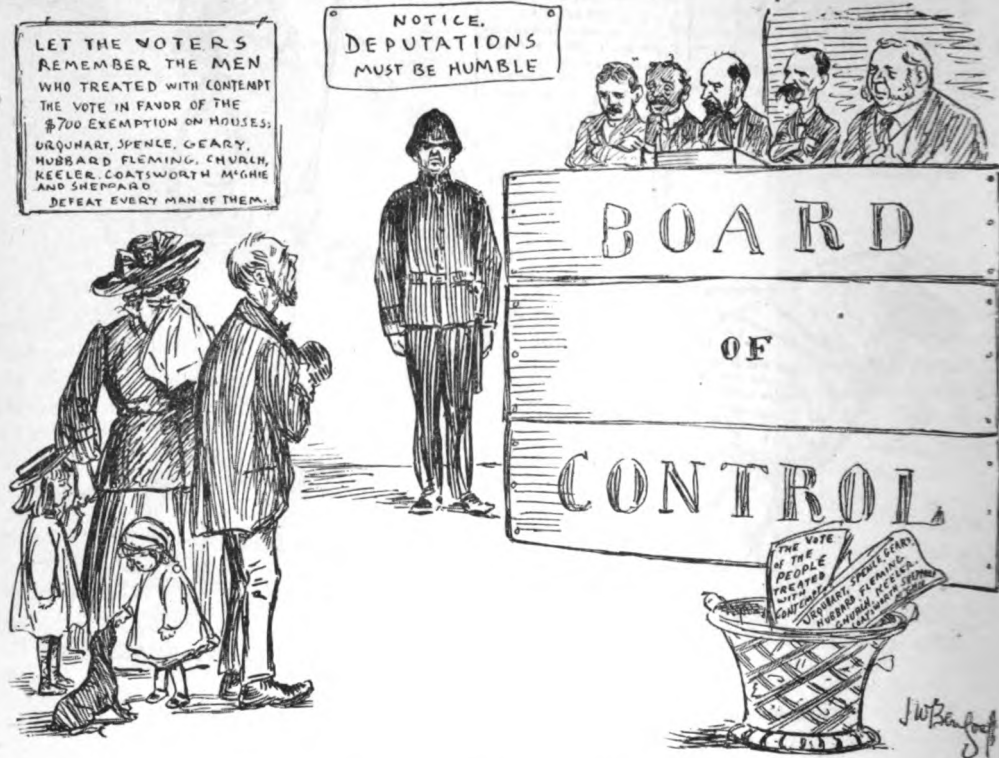


**THE SHEPHERD LED AWAY BY THE SHEEP.**  
 "We should not be led away by fallacious arguments."—Alderman O. B. Sheppard.



**"ENAMORED OF THE ASS."**  
 A Midsummer Night's Dream of certain Aldermen who will have a rude Midwinter Night's Awakening.





"NONE OF THEIR FUNERAL."

You must be Anarchists, or Single-Taxers, or something; the idea is preposterous. Do n't you know that high rents are good for landlords, and more houses would bring down rents?

"Spence—'My dear sirs and ladies, if you will only leave this awful drink alone and sign the pledge, you will have no further trouble.'

"Hubbard—'This idea about increasing the number of houses being a benefit to the city is a gold brick. See what a loss it would be to the landlords if rent was reduced. and the landlords are the most respectable and influential class in the community. Why, it

would mean a straight loss to me of hundreds of dollars a year.'

"Ward—'How about the common people, have they no rights?'

"Spence and Urquhart—'Only at election time, and that is six months off.'

"The deputation then withdrew, promising to remember the matter at the next election."

More cartoons might be given, but these illustrate how susceptible direct-legislation is of an appeal to the eye in cartoons.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

East Orange, N. J.



# THE POWER BEHIND THE BOSSES AND THE MACHINES: A PEN-PICTURE OF WALL STREET.\*

A BOOK-STUDY.

## I. A CONSERVATIVE STATEMENT OF PRESENT-DAY WALL-STREET CONDITIONS.

**I**F DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS had written *The Deluge* fifteen years ago, or prior to the great Cleveland, Carlisle and Morgan secret bond-debt, and Secretary Gage's amazing concessions to the National City Bank of New York—a transaction known as the Standard-Oil bank-scandal—the critic and the public would doubtless have denounced it as a libel on Wall street, the great metropolitan banks, the trust lawyers and the master-spirits of the new commercial feudalism; while the controlled New York dailies that live off of subsidies from Wall-street interests or which are owned by leading financiers, would have promptly described it as the crazy and irresponsible vaporings of a populist, socialistic or anarchistic brain. If it had been published a few months ago, after the shameful facts of the Morgan ship-trust scandal had been partially aired and other ominous and discreditable revelations had come to light touching the recklessness and essential dishonesty of great Wall-street magnates, and after Mr. Lawson had made some of his most sensational revelations about the colossal criminality of the Standard Oil Company, the foremost Wall-street gamblers and the insurance grafters, it would have been accepted as a faithful pen-picture of present-day conditions in America's Monte Carlo, where the high financiers have become the moral pest-breeders of commercial dishonesty and brigandage. But coming as it does since the depths of infamy and business immorality have been laid bare in the testimony of the McCalls, the McCurdys, the Perkinses, the Hegemans, the Hydes, and other members of the looting bands in the insurance ring, the work falls so far below the amazing and almost incredible revelations that have been brought out on the witness-stand that it must rank as a conservative under-statement of conditions as they are now known to exist.

\* *The Deluge*. By David Graham Phillips. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 482. Price \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

## II. THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF POLITICAL AND BUSINESS CORRUPTION EXPOSED TO VIEW.

This novel is a companion-work to *The Plum-Tree*, the latter being the most graphic and faithful pen-picture of American political life since the money-controlled machines operated by party-bosses became the dominant influence in the politics of the republic, while *The Deluge* pictures in a startlingly realistic and convincing manner the power behind the controlled machines, the corrupt and corrupting influences emanating from the interested few who in the last analysis are the real masters and rulers of the freemen of the republic—the influence that makes and un-makes presidents, governors, congressmen, mayors and city fathers and which shapes legislation and public opinion so as to render possible the continued plundering of the masses out of millions upon millions of wealth which is diverted into the pockets of an ever-narrowing coterie.

In this work Mr. Phillips lifts the curtain and takes us behind the scenes, revealing in a manner at once comprehensive and detailed the inner workings of the most demoralizing and dehumanizing world of crime found above the lowest depths of criminal degradation, where poverty, vice and all the influences of society press upon the bestial and besotted so as to intensify or arouse all the savage and low instincts of man.

No normal man of moral and mental probity can study the development of corporations like the Standard Oil Company, for example, or follow the history, reeking with political corruption, of the great railway systems such as the Erie under Gould, the Pennsylvania under Scott and the Southern Pacific under Huntington, or trace the more sinister and bolder deeds of later Wall-street gamblers and master-spirits and their relation to the political life of the nation, without realizing that in Mr. Phillips' work we have far more history than romance. That is to say, the pen-picture which he presents is startlingly

faithful in its general representation of the world of "high finance" to-day, whose throne is Wall street but whose powerful scepter sways government as absolutely as it controls the speculative world.

He who would understand present-day political and business life should not fail to read *The Plum-Tree* and *The Deluge*, for they are truer and therefore more convincing than most historical works that pretend to deal with these subjects. Here the novelist not only describes conditions with perfect fidelity, but he invests his characters with flesh and blood and enters into the holiest of holies of the brain, so as to depict with startling faithfulness the motives and mainsprings of action as only a man of genius can portray them.

### III. THE STORY AS A CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL LITERATURE.

The leading characters of the story are at once typical and also strongly suggestive of the master-minds and prominent present-day figures in Wall street and the speculative world. Blacklock, the narrator will constantly remind one of the author of *Frenzied Finance*, as does Roebuck, the master-spirit and chief beneficiary of the industrial despotism that prevails, suggest the Standard Oil colossus; Roebuck who ever remains in the background, whose lieutenants push forward all his evil schemes while he poses as a pious man and is ever ready to punish his lieutenants for carrying out his own orders, if they have so bungled as to get caught or to arouse a storm of indignation that calls for a victim. Here are some extracts that give an idea of Mr. Phillips' pen-picture of this greatest spider that spins in the net of the high finance of to-day:

"It is half-past three o'clock on a May afternoon; a dismal, dreary rain is being whirled through the streets by as nasty a wind as ever blew out of the east. You are in the private-office of that 'king of kings,' Henry J. Roebuck, philanthropist, eminent churchman, leading citizen and—in business—as corrupt a creature as ever used the domino of respectability. That office is on the twelfth floor of the Power-Trust Building—and the Power-Trust is Roebuck, and Roebuck is the Power-Trust."

Later Mr. Roebuck proposes to destroy Blacklock, the narrator of the story, but he

characteristically veils his sinister purpose with an extra show of urbanity which completely puts the young speculator off his guard:

"I was to find out that whenever a Roebuck puts his arm round you, it is invariably to get within your guard and nearer your fifth rib. I was to trace the ugliest deformities of that conscience of his, hidden away down inside him like a dwarfed, starved prisoner in an underground dungeon.

"And whenever Roebuck, with an air like a benediction from a bishop backed by a cathedral organ and full choir, gave me the tip to buy coal stocks, I canonized him on the spot. Never did a Jersey 'jay' in Sunday clothes and tallowed boots respond to a bunco-steerer's greeting with a gladder smile than mine to that pious old past-master of craft."

Mr. Phillips' characterizations of the trust-lawyers and the high financiers are as bold and detailed as they are faithful and true. It is well for America that we have a novelist who thus sees things as they are and who does not hesitate to characterize them as they should be pictured. Here are some of his observations in regard to the lawyers who prostitute their God-given intellects in furthering the interests of the great thieves who are the most formidable element in our modern politico-commercial oligarchy that rules the country. Speaking of the trust-lawyers, he puts these descriptive words into the mouth of the narrator:

"I do not mean to suggest that there are not honorable men in the profession. Most of them are men of the highest honor, as are most business men, most persons of consequence in every department of life. But you don't look for character in the proprietors, servants, customers and hangers-on of dives. No more ought you to look for honor among any of the people that have to do with the big gilded dive of the dollarocracy. They are there to gamble and to prostitute themselves. . . . Lawyers are the doorkeepers and the messengers of the big dive; and these lawyers, though they stand the highest and get the biggest fees, are just what you would expect human beings to be who expose themselves to such temptations, and yield whenever they get an opportunity, as eager and as compliant as a *cocotte*.

"My lawyers had sold me out. . . . Roebuck and Langdon between them owned the

governor; he owned the Canal Commission; my canal, which gave me access to tide-water for the product of my Manasquale mines, was as good as closed.

"The great lawyers of the country have been most ingenious in developing corporate law in the direction of making the corporation a complete and secure shield between the beneficiary of a crime and its consequences.

"Your lawyer is your true mercenary. Under his code honor consists in making the best possible fight in exchange for the biggest possible fee. He is frankly for sale to the highest bidder. At least so it is with those that lead the profession nowadays, give it what is called 'character' and 'tone.'"

The high financiers or Wall-street's captains of industry are admirably described by Blacklock, but space permits only a few characteristic examples of these descriptions:

"I looked about me in Wall street; in my mind's eye I all in an instant saw my world as it really was. I saw the great rascals of 'high finance,' their respectability stripped from them; saw them gathering in the spoils which their cleverly-trained agents, commercial and political and legal, filched with light fingers from the pockets of the crowd; saw the crowd looking up to these trainers and employers of pickpockets, hailing them 'captains of industry'! They reaped only where and what others had sown; they touched industry only to plunder and blight it; they organized it only that its profits might go to those who did not toil and who despised those who did.

"The processes of high finance are very simple—first, buy the comparatively small holdings necessary to create confusion and disaster; second, create confusion and disaster, buying up more and more wreckage; third, reorganize; fourth, offer the new stocks and bonds to the public with a mighty blare of trumpets which produces a boom market; fifth, unload on the public, pass dividends, issue unfavorable statements, depress prices, buy back cheap what you have sold dear. Repeat *ad infinitum*, for the law is for the laughter of the strong, and the public is an eager ass. To keep up the fiction of 'respectability,' the inside ring divides into two par-

ties for its campaigns—one party to break down, the other to build up."

At first Blacklock did not understand the real inwardness of Wall street. "I did not know," he observes, "did not suspect, that high finance was through and through brigandage, and that the high financier, by long and unmolested practice of brigandage, had come to look on it as legitimate, lawful business, and on laws forbidding or hampering it as outrageous, socialistic, anarchistic, 'attacks upon the social order'!"

Of the low moral code that prevails in this money-mad world Blacklock says, in speaking of the head of the food-trust:

"I suppose Schilling as the directing spirit of a corporation that hid poison by the hogshead in low-priced foods of various kinds, was responsible for hundreds of deaths annually, and for misery of sickness beyond calculation among the poor of the tenements and cheap boarding-houses. Yet a better husband, father and friend never lived. He, personally, would n't have harmed a fly; but he was a wholesale poisoner for dividends.

"Murder for dividends. Poison for dividends. Starve and freeze and maim for dividends. Drive parents to suicide, and sons and daughters to crime and prostitution—for dividends. Not fair competition, in which the stronger and better would survive, but cheating and swindling, lying and pilfering and bribing, so that the honest and the decent go down before the dishonest and depraved. And the custom of doing these things so 'respectable,' the applause for 'success' so indiscriminating, and men so unthinking in the rush of business activity, that criticism is regarded as a mixture of envy and idealism."

Readers will find in this book the most accurate and convincing pen-picture of the most ominous, corrupt and politically demoralizing and debauching influence in American life,—the gambling world of Wall street with its public-service magnates, its monopoly kings and privileged chiefs; for here the author enters the holiest of holies of Wall street and gives a photographic view of the power that is the source of strength of the political boss and the master of the controlled machine.

But Mr. Phillips is not merely an historian and a narrator. Perhaps for the student of social and political problems the most valuable part of the work is his vividly realistic

forecast of the coming commercial cataclysm that the watered and inflated securities of the great gamblers will sooner or later make inevitable. His prophecies and warnings are worthy of thoughtful consideration.

This work will do much toward awakening the people to a realization of the real meaning of the Morgorganization and Ryanization of the business and politics of the nation.

#### IV. THE NOVEL.

As a romance this novel compares favorably with *The Cost* in human and love interest while as a section taken from present-day public life it is equal to *The Plum-Tree*, Mr.

Phillips' greatest previous work. Never before has our literature presented so thrilling or so vivid a pen-picture of present-day life in the reckless, anarchistic and feverish maelstrom known as Wall street as is found in this story.

We note with great pleasure the steady growth in excellence in the work of this gifted author. No man in America to-day is doing so much in the field of fiction to arouse the people to a realization of the perils of plutocracy and the importance of returning to the old principles of democracy, based on equality of opportunities and of rights, as is David Graham Phillips.

## THE RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT THAT MAKETH FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS: THREE VITAL WORKS INSTINCT WITH RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND LIFE.\*

### A BOOK-STUDY.

#### I.

**D**URING one week there recently came to our office three works of a deeply religious character. These books were written by thinkers in widely-separated regions and whose view-points were probably as varying as their environment. And yet the three writers, viewing the profound question of life in its relation to the Unseen—life in its high moral aspect—each delivers a message which in its broadest significance may be said to embody essentially the same views and conclusions; that is, at heart all the teachings voice the same concepts. And this new-old gospel, or rather this new searchlight on the life and teachings of the Great Nazarene as they concern man in his relation to the Father and the children of that Father, is, we think, the most deeply religious and profoundly true and vital word that has been uttered in recent years. Yet in each instance the writer's view will antagonize orthodox thought that is concerned with legalism, formalism, or the outside of the cup and platter, as much as did the profound and luminous teachings of Jesus antagonize the Phariseism of his age and

\**The Creed of Christ*. Cloth. Pp. 220. New York: John Lane.

\**Life More Abundant*. By Henry Wood. Cloth. Pp. 314. Price, \$1.20 net. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

\**Letters of Labor and Love*. By Samuel M. Jones. Cloth. Pp. 248. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

generation. For these works draw the line between the spirit that maketh alive and the letter that killeth as clearly and boldly as did the Nazarene in His life and teachings. They who are the slaves of creeds and dogmas, they who exalt legalism, formalism and ritualism above the Kingdom of God that is within—the idealism that nourishes, upbuilds and creates great character—will not be attracted by these works, any more than were the conventionalists in the days when Jesus of Nazareth taught that the cup of cold water and the visit in prison outweighed the ostentatious professions that found expression in the wide phylacteries and the long prayers.

One of these works is entitled *The Creed of Christ* and is published anonymously. Of it the Rev. R. J. Campbell, successor to Charles Spurgeon in the City Temple, London, says: "It is as remarkable in its way as was *Ecce Homo*."

The second book in this trinity of which we write is entitled *Life More Abundant*. It is from the finished pen of Henry Wood of Boston, the well-known author of *God's Image in Man*, *The Symphony of Life*, *Studies in the Thought World*, and other valuable idealistic and philosophical works. It is broad and sweet in spirit. The author is not so argu-

mentative as is the author of *The Creed of Christ*. He presents his spiritual ideals in a wonderfully fascinating manner and is careful to avoid creating antagonisms.

The third work is entitled *Letters of Labor and Love* and was written by the late Samuel M. Jones, known throughout America as the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo. Mr. Jones' work is quite unlike the other volumes in treatment, but it is in wonderful accord with both in spirit. Indeed, the life, thought and labor of this sweet-souled, simple, Christ-like man afford perhaps the most striking illustration of the practicality of the Christ life in our age and time that modern history presents. Mr. Jones lived the teachings of Jesus, and his letters, very simple, sweet and practical, written down to the comprehension of the toilers in his factory and never intended for general publication, form a striking complement to the other religious works which appeal to the rationality and the imagination of the twentieth-century reader in search of the real Christ and his teachings.

These works, which seek to rescue the Great Nazarene from the legalists and formalists into whose hands His teachings have fallen, splendidly voice the spirit that liveth and that holds the potentiality of spiritual renaissance for humanity.

## II. "THE CREED OF CHRIST."

The author of this remarkable work is said to be a scholarly layman in England. That he is a man of broad mental vision, of rich imagination and of deep spiritual intuition is clearly revealed in the work, which seems to us to be pregnant with the seeds of a spiritual renaissance. This is saying very much, but we believe that it is not an unwarranted estimate.

If every high-minded, conscientious clergyman in America who is not bound by dogma to such an extent that he dares not freely exercise the high and priceless God-given gift of reason, could or would empty his mind of all prejudice and preconceived opinions long enough to read this remarkable work; if he could or would for the time being open his mind to it with the receptivity exhibited by a child, we believe that the thought herein luminously presented would awaken in America a new religious enthusiasm and open a new world of spiritual truth that would result in a religious revolution as great as any that has been known since the days of Primitive Chris-

tianity,—aye, greater and far grander, for the new revolution would not be marked by the spirit of hate, bigotry, persecution and dogmatism, because it would be born of the spirit that giveth life and would be vitalized by love instead of being the product of dogma, law and formalism that ever carry the seeds of contention and intolerance or of blind, unreasoning, soul-dwarfing, arbitrary faith, so fatal to soul-expansion and the development of full-orbed character.

The work contains seven chapters which are devoted to a consideration of "The Sayings of Christ," "Phariseeism," "God the Law-Giver," "God the Father," "The Kingdom of God," "Apparent Failure," and "Final Triumph." We have never known a work in which the line has been drawn so clearly and strikingly between the letter that killeth and the spirit that maketh alive as in this book. The chapter on "Phariseeism," in which our author describes the Pharisee, not as necessarily a bad man—indeed, as a man who believed and sincerely believed himself to be a very good man—but as one who had exalted formalism, ritualism and convention while omitting the expression of the true essential of religion,—the love which embraces the fulfilment of the high spiritual law that places men *en rapport* with the moral order of the universe. Christ fought Phariseeism with all his strength, because its law killed the growth of the soul and its concept of Deity, as a personality removed and apart from creation, was fatal to man's spiritual growth or to any concept of man's evolution and final atonement with the Divine Life that pulses through the universe. Christ's teachings were revolutionary and based entirely on the interior development,—the growth from within. Those of the old order represented God as an Oriental potentate, outside the world, who desired to be bribed or cajoled and held in awe by His own children. The essential immorality of the old concept is very boldly and clearly emphasized. The exalted ethics and spiritual vitality of Jesus' message are no less impressively set forth; and the story of how the church lost sight of the new revelation and came to subordinate the law of freedom to the mechanical system of salvation under a formalism or legalism borrowed largely from Israel and against which the whole life and teachings of Jesus were a protest, is very clearly presented, as are the two diametrically opposite concepts of God as em-

bodied in the ideas of the Jews and those held by Jesus.

We could heartily wish this volume could be placed in the hands of every truth-loving and sincerely religious man and woman in the land.

### III. "LIFE MORE ABUNDANT."

Mr. Wood is a finished writer whose charm of style is as pleasing as it is rare among religious and philosophical writers. In this work there are eighteen chapters in which such subjects as the following are considered: "Eden and the Fall," "The Bible and Nature," "The Bible and Idealism," "Biblical Poetry and Fiction," "The Miraculous and the Supernatural," "The Priest and the Prophet," "The Higher Criticism," "Christ and Jesus," "The Real Seat of Authority," "History, Manuscripts and Translations," "Faith and the Unseen," "Life More Abundant," "The Future Life," "The Glory of the Common-place," and "The Forward March."

Mr. Wood is an optimist and a man who believes in seeing the good in all things and in laying as little emphasis on the evil as possible. While there is much to be said in favor of such an attitude, it tends, we think, to impair the sense of proportion in regard to things ethical and religious and to prevent a clear-cut line being drawn between things whose preponderating influence is against light, growth and soul development and those things that are of the spirit and that make for truth and progress. In some respects, therefore, this work is inferior to *The Creed of Christ*, though perhaps we should not compare the two, as the latter work is argumentative and Mr. Wood avoids all argumentation, or at least the risk of arousing antagonism in a marked manner. His views are more metaphysical than are those of the author of *The Creed of Christ*. To many persons in search of a broad-visioned, wholesomely optimistic volume dealing with the vital elements of religious belief this work

will appeal in a compelling manner. It is an important contribution to the constructive religious thought of the day.

### IV. "LETTERS OF LABOR AND LOVE."

Mr. Jones' work, as has been observed, is entirely unlike the other two books in treatment, yet the spirit is the same. *The Creed of Christ* is a logically reasoned and convincingly presented exposition of the religion of the spirit and the spiritual teachings of Jesus. *Life More Abundant* is a luminous presentation of the idealistic or spiritual philosophy which animates the Christian religion and without which it would long since have ceased to hold sway over minds of a noble order. And this book is a practical, every-day presentation of this gospel of right living whose essence is found in the Golden Rule, given in the form of a series of letters which were addressed by Mr. Jones to his workers—addressed as one brother, an elder brother, would write to brothers. They breathe forth in transparent beauty the spirit of Christ and are of vital worth to men and women of our time, not merely because of the high, fine, sane and practical idealism that is present, but because they came from a successful nineteenth and twentieth-century business man and the mayor of a populous American city, and yet a man who lived the Christ life and gave the lie to the shallow claim of sordid materialism heard on every side, that no man can be a successful business man or be prominent in political life, and live the Golden Rule. Mr. Jones demonstrated as few if any well-known personages in business and political life in America to-day have demonstrated, the practicality and sanity of the lofty ethics of Jesus—the philosophy of human brotherhood, apprehending the law of solidarity and accepting its implications.

No man or woman can read this book without being made purer, nobler and truer for its perusal. It is a volume that will make for civic righteousness, a nobler manhood and a juster social order.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

*The Joy That No Man Taketh From You.*  
By Lilian Whiting. Cloth. Pp. 78. Price,  
50 cents net. Boston: Little, Brown &  
Company.

WE KNOW of no distinguished present-day clergyman whose spoken or written word is more instinct with the deep, broad spirituality that nourishes, sustains and proves in every way helpful to the religious cravings of that great army of American people, who are weary of the husks of present-day theology and yet who cling lovingly and reverently to the Bible, as are the writings of Lilian Whiting, and this deep spiritual quality is especially marked in her last two works, *The Outlook Beautiful* and *The Joy That No Man Taketh From You*. The latter work is a little volume just from the press. It will appeal with special force to those saddened, discouraged and disappointed ones from which riches have taken wings, or who have been overcome by still greater calamities. We are constantly meeting with those who have become the victims of evil circumstances and, through successive disappointments or failures, have come to feel that all things are wrong, that

"Evil stands on the neck of good  
And rules the world alone."

To such Miss Whiting's little word will come as a sustaining and heartening message of cheer. There is a note of triumphant faith ringing through this little volume that will bring courage and hope to many hearts. To those who are ever dwelling on the joys that are fled our author says:

"Believe and go forward. Forget the beautiful yesterday and dream of the radiant tomorrow. For in the radiance lies that kingdom of God which is power, and in this power shall one recreate his vanished paradise. Out of this power shall he again evolve all prosperity, all gain and gladness, all beauty of achievement. Nor does he struggle alone. The cloud of witnesses gives him cheer. The glory of the Lord shall encompass him round

\* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

about and the beautiful yesterday shall reappear transfigured into the radiant to-morrows.

"The opportunities that lie in failure are often an unsounded mine of wealth. 'The changes which break up at short intervals the prosperity of men are advertisements of a nature whose law is growth.'"

The deep spiritual realization of the riches of life which come to those who are great and wise enough to consecrate their best energies to the service of the Highest is dwelt upon with much power and eloquence. "It requires," observes Miss Whiting, "the complete consecration of life. Not merely in the outer forms of the devotee; not as the life withdrawn from the world; but as the life held exalted and purified in the very heart of ceaseless activities.

"That the glory and the freshness of a dream vanish into the light of common day need never be true. On the contrary, this glory and freshness are self-perpetuating and may enter into every recurring experience. This glory of a dream is the illumination on the pathway. It is the pillar of fire by night. It inspires patience because it enables one to see beyond the perplexity of the moment; it inspires serenity and dignity because it presents human life under the aspect of its sublime oneness with the life that is to come. It generates hope and exhilaration and thus imparts an intense tide of energy to every endeavor. The test of all true greatness of soul is the power of sustained sacrifice, and the very condition that makes sacrifice possible is this spiritual perception of the ideal in which is comprehended the glory and the freshness of every exquisite dream."

He who would truly live must give all that is best within him to develop, uplift and make brighter and better the lives of those who come within the circle of his influence. He who fails in this, he who wraps the mantle of self-desire and absorption around himself cuts his own soul off from the reservoir of spiritual life which yields the highest pleasure and which sustains and develops the spiritual energies.

"Life," observes our author, "is a wonderful mosaic in which all experiences combine in exquisite adjustment. It is governed by the same law that governs the universe and holds the solar systems in their appointed courses. In this mosaic all things play their destined part: sacrifice and sorrow; joy and achievement. But the immortal gain in life is in what one gives, not what he gets; it is measured only by that which he contributes to progress, to the sum of human endeavor."

We close this notice with the following fine words on the law of love and its potency:

"Shall we not come to realize that the law of love is not for the spiritless and the inert who have neither the wish nor the will to make any impress on life; but that, instead, it is the great and positive force which achieves; the force that bridges the seas with new cables; which cuts continents asunder and unites oceans; which fares forth anew to discover the North Pole; which adds the spectroscope to the telescope and discovers new stars; which aims at the sublime attainment of a world peace; which multiplies universities and libraries and galleries of art, which not only builds cathedrals, but extends and exalts the spirit of Christ in all the ordinary relations between the church and the people. For all the most mighty and sublime achievements of the physical conquest of the earth, and even of the universe, as well as those achievements of magnanimity, courtesy, integrity, patience, serenity, trust, sympathy, and generous helpfulness—the glories of all physical conquest, the graces of all spiritual life, are each and all to be attained by that law of love that links the soul with God. In this law of love is the joy of life. It insures all beautiful social relations. It makes possible all extension of intellectual and moral greatness."

From these extracts the reader will gain an idea of the spiritual virility and the charm of this little work, which, like Drummond's *The Greatest Thing in the World*, will appeal to thousands of lives which are hungering and yearning for just such a message.

*The Indian Dispossessed.* By Seth K. Humphrey. Illustrated with sixteen full-page half-tones from photographs. Cloth. Pp. 298. Price, \$1.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

It is a subject for congratulation that in a

time of moral lethargy like the present, when, especially in matters relating to the duty of the nation to the weak and small peoples of earth, it seems almost impossible to arouse the interest of the people, such a work as this should find a publisher in one of the best American publishing houses.

The matter set forth in the book is free from emotionalism or sentimentalism, being a plain, straight-forward, historic presentation of a shameful page in modern history as revealed in national documents and other testimony and evidence about which there can be no controversy. It is the story of continued oppression and ill-faith on the part of our government in its treatment of the Indians, such as must bring the burning blush of shame to every conscientious American who reads it. The simple history of the treatment accorded the Indians by the republic constitutes one of the most infamous pages in the annals of modern times.

This is a volume that belongs preëminently to the conscience-literature of the day—a work that is well-calculated to arouse the moral sensibilities of true men and women, but it is not a book that will find favor with the sordid materialistic element—men and women who are crushing out the divine in their own souls, leaving a trail of misery in their wake and lowering the moral ideals of the nation.

The story told in this volume cannot fail to do great good. We, however, are far from agreeing with the author as to the remedy lying in more centralization of power in the hands of the Executive Department of government. His views are in this respect in accord with the shallow and thoroughly reactionary policy of the extreme centralizers and those who are seeking consciously and unconsciously to transform the republic into a bureaucracy or a possible despotism more absolute in many respects than a constitutional monarchy. There never has been a time when the conscience of the nation could not be aroused to a degree that action would follow along the high lines of moral rectitude and democratic ethics if the people had possessed a direct voice and had it in their power to directly pass on the issue brought before them instead of delegating their power to representatives who in devious ways become the tools of interested parties. In other words, there has never been a time when had it been impossible for a privileged class or interest to interpose between the desires of the nation but



what great moral wrongs could have been speedily remedied. Under the initiative, referendum and right of recall all great moral issues and all policies which are subversive to the basic principles of democracy can and, we believe, will be speedily corrected, but without these democratic safeguards the rich, privileged and sordid classes will be able to continue to defeat the cause of morality no less than they to-day nullify the operations of democratic legislation, or legislation in the interest of the whole people, and prevent redress demanded by the people. It is as true to-day as it was when the great French writer, De Tocqueville, insisted that the evils of democracy could be best remedied by more democracy.

*Red Fox.* By Charles G. D. Roberts. With many illustrations by Charles Livingstone Bull. Cloth. Pp. 340. Price, \$2.00. Boston: L. C. Page & Company.

AMONG the many writers of nature-books none is more satisfactory than Mr. Roberts. He does not endow his animals with absolutely human faculties and reasoning powers, but he does perceive and express clearly the mental processes of the wild creatures and the impulses which underlie their various actions.

In the present volume he has taken a remarkably intelligent and sagacious member of the fox family—a fox who may serve as the type of all that is best in the breed—and has traced the course of his life through several years. Mr. Roberts in his preface states that Red Fox “simply represents the best in physical and mental development of which the tribe of foxes has shown itself capable.” He further adds that every adventure which befalls him has befallen some fox in the past and may come within the experience of other foxes in the future, and that the emotions which Red Fox manifests may safely be accepted as fox emotions and not as human emotions.

Incidentally we learn much about the habits of the other denizens of the forest and field with whom Red Fox comes in contact in various ways, and one chapter contains a wonderfully graphic description of a forest fire,—that devastating scourge following a long-continued drought.

The book is beautifully illustrated by Mr. Charles Livingstone Bull and is a fitting companion to *The Watchers of the Trails* which appeared last year.

AMY C. RICH.

*The Preparation of Manuscripts for the Printer.* By Frank H. Vizetelly. Cloth. Pp. 148. Price, 75 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

AN EXCEPTIONALLY valuable book for literary workers is Mr. Vizetelly's volume entitled *The Preparation of Manuscripts for the Printer*. It is the work of one of the editors of the *Standard Dictionary* and a man who is not only a master of the subject he discusses, but who also possesses in an eminent degree the rare power of making a somewhat technical treatise thoroughly entertaining. The volume contains seventeen chapters. Among the principal subjects discussed are the following: “The Preparation of Manuscripts,” “Rules for the Simplification of Spelling,” “Capitalization,” “Punctuation,” “Explanatory Notes and Examples of Punctuation,” “Indexing,” “Proof-reading,” “How to Compute the Space that a Manuscript Will Occupy,” “On Making Up a Book,” “Illustrations,” “On Submitting Manuscripts for Publication,” and “How to Secure a Copyright.”

This is a work that should be possessed by all persons with literary aspirations. It is also a treatise that will materially aid the practical culture of the general reader. Some idea of Mr. Vizetelly's pleasing style may be obtained from the following extract from the work, in which the author discusses the subject of royalties:

“In considering the subject of royalty the author should bear in mind several things, the chief of which is not to believe implicitly all the stories that are told by word of mouth, or in the press, of the immense sums of money said to have been paid to other authors as royalties on the sales of their books, and the next is to remember not to kill the goose that may lay him a golden egg by exacting too large a royalty from his publisher. If a publisher does not offer to purchase an author's work outright, but offers to publish it on a royalty basis, the author should not conclude that the publisher has only little faith in the book. He should remember that, in offering to publish it on this basis, the publisher shows his faith by his willingness to incur heavy liabilities in producing the book. These liabilities may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) The publisher usually makes an advance to the author on account of prospective royalties; (2) he pays an editor to prepare the manuscript for the press, for as a rule authors lack the technical

knowledge necessary to enable them to do this work for themselves; (3) he pays the printer for the composition and the presswork; (4) he pays the binder for binding the book; and (5) he maintains a staff of persons whose duty it is to draft and place advertising, to distribute the book to the press, to sell it and ship it to the purchasers, to keep accounts, and to promote in general the interests of the author. It stands to reason that if a publisher has to do all this he can not afford to enter into a contract that shall guarantee the author a large royalty. Not many years ago 10 per cent was the amount of royalty almost invariably paid to authors by publishers, and then authors were glad to accept it. There were fewer authors then, and most of the books published were successes. But times have changed; to-day their name is legion, and their demands often absurdly extravagant."

*Radiant Motherhood.* By Margaret E. Sangster. Cloth. Pp. 374. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is one of the most sane and helpful books ever written for mothers, fathers and all who love children and the home. We do not agree with all that the gifted author says, especially in regard to the rejuvenating influence of frequent child-birth on the mother. Our observation leads us to believe that while two or three children may not over-tax the reserve power of the American woman, more than this number of offspring tends to age the mother prematurely and not unfrequently undermines and destroys her health. There are also several passages that remind us of the remark of an old lady who after listening to a spread-eagle eulogy on the prosperity of our nation under the trust-fostering tariff, turned to us when the speaker sat down and said: "All that he said is very beautiful, but it is not true." So when we read in the following paragraph the way Madonna-like motherhood is now regarded the world over, we feel much as did our shrewd friend about the blessings of the tariff:

"She is the central figure of our modern life, the queen regnant of every home. This, not alone in what we call civilized lands. The mother rules in the tepee of the red man, in the harem of the Turk, in the zenana of the Hindu, in the flower-wreathed homes of Japan. Everywhere the mother is queen, in the palace, in the hut."

These things, however, are merely spots on the sun, for the book as a whole is rich in matter of vital interest and worth to home-builders. All mothers and every woman in America who contemplates maternity should read the volume. It will exalt her ideals of life and its splendid gifts and high responsibilities. It will tend to ennoble her and make married life rich and precious. It is a book that should also be read by fathers, for its influence over them will be extremely valuable.

*The Twentieth-Century Child.* By Edward Cooper, author of *Wyemarle and the Sea Fairies*. Pp. 311. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane.

MR. COOPER has evidently not made any effort to produce either a grim or a scientific book; he merely discourses pleasantly about children, among whom he has met some remarkable personalities—as, for instance, the little eleven-year-old lady who spends her time astonishing her hearers with her performances on the piano, and attending late teas. The book adds little to one's knowledge of children, but is marked by a deep love of small people.

The most important chapter is that in which he formulates a demand for deputy-mothers to take the place of those women to whom the care of children is either irksome or exhausting. He points out that there are to-day thousands of highly-cultivated women who are neither hard nor indifferent, and yet who do not wish to spend their lives in the nursery. That such a demand should be voiced between the covers of a respectable English book is a sign of the times—these peculiar times in which it is actually admitted that the last word has not been said about the mother business.

It is the only radical touch in the entire book, and even this is couched in such discreet language that only those who have ears to hear will discover the message.

E. L. POMEROY.

*The Wall-Street Point-of-View.* By Henry Clews. Cloth. Pp. 290. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

IN THIS work Mr. Henry Clews gives the world a brief for Wall street and the privileged classes that seek to become the dominating and ruling influences in government and business life,—the element that is to-day working in devious and often indefensible ways to become the master-class in an imperial republic

that has far more affinity for a limited monarchy than a true democracy. The author frankly admits that his point-of-view is that of Wall street, but he would have us imagine Wall street to be the fountain-head of all that is best in our political as well as business life.

His eulogy of Wall street, coming at the present time when the corrupt and immoral practices of the great master-spirits of the street—the pillars, indeed, of the Wall-street world—have been laid bare in the sworn testimony brought out before investigating committees as well as in the various scandals that have smirched the business annals of the New World during recent years, is well calculated to arouse the cynical risibilities of the Street no less than the indignation of friends of justice, high ethics and the fundamental principles of true democracy.

Mr. Clews is nothing if not an apostle of privileged interests. He glorifies Wall street. He denounces Jackson for throttling the great banking-trust that was corrupting the government of his day. Our present banking system, based on privilege and so intimately associated with the wholesale gambling of the Wall-street high financiers and the corrupt practices of the great corporate magnates, calls forth the most enthusiastic praise. He bows in adoration at the shrine of high protection. Indeed, wherever there are groups of men or a class becoming immensely rich through special privileges, there we are sure to find Mr. Clews dancing attendance and voluble in praise. He and his work are wholly out of touch or sympathy with the foundation principles of democratic government. The work is worthless to sincere friends of republican institutions because he has been so intimately associated for so long a time with the ethics of Wall street and has so long been accustomed to looking through the spectacles of privileged interests that apparently he has lost the power to appreciate the meaning of democracy. The world in which he has lived and his point-of-view naturally lead him to indulge in the most vicious species of demagoguery and special-pleading when he attacks views he fears. This is constantly apparent throughout the book, but nowhere more marked than in his chapter entitled "The Physical Force Annihilators," in which he brings together in the same general discussion schools of thought as far removed as are the poles and the ethics, philosophy and methods of which are as unlike as are darkness and light. Here

he groups socialists, nihilists, anarchists and communists all together in such a way as to leave on the mind of the superficial or hasty reader the impression that the socialists are seeking a bloody revolution. True, he modifies his statements from time to time, but the general effect of his discussion and his linking the opposing schools together are calculated to arouse a deadly, unreasoning prejudice in the minds of his readers against all the schools he attacks. To place the socialists with the anarchists and nihilists is cowardly, contemptible and misleading, and the purpose of the whole chapter seems to us to be, not to enlighten the reader, but to injure socialism, which he fears, by linking it with schools of thought that are in direct opposition in philosophy, in teaching and in methods of action.

The book will doubtless please the narrow-minded beneficiaries of special privilege and reaction, who at heart have no more love for democracy or a truly free government than did the Tories of the days of the Revolution.

*The Balanced Life.* By Clarence Lathbury. Cloth. Pp. 264. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: The Nunc Licet Press.

THIS is one of the best recent works which seek to strengthen and round out character by stimulating the inner life and impressing on the mind in a realizing sense the omnipotence and omnipresence of Good. The author's style is clear. He makes his thought easily understood, though he is somewhat redundant at times,—the fault that it seems to us is present in the writings of most of those who represent what is commonly termed the New Thought. Barring this defect the style is on the whole excellent and the thought well-calculated to strengthen, purify and upbuild the character of the reader. Some idea of the writer's style and thought may be gained from the following brief quotation:

"While the body has an unquestioned influence on the spirit, we know it is the spirit which is master, and is that which produces and controls the body. Everywhere and with everything it is a law that the inner creates the outer. The hidden life of the seed builds the structural pansy or nettle according to its secret quality. The plant is an expositor of the chemicals within its stem. Nevertheless, this interior power may be hampered or spoiled by mutilation of the roots or leaves. Life is coöperative or interdependent, the

within and the without playing upon and modifying one another. Yet we must cling to the fact that the essential is the inner, for without it there could be nothing at all. There must be melody in the soul before song is possible and yet a defective larynx would prohibit the divinest expression. In the heart of the nut lie coiled beauty and majesty, then the heart of the oak and arms that clasp the skies. First, essential spiritual life; then the human form divine."

*The Balanced Life* is a book that will make for a better manhood.

*Shakespeare's Sweetheart.* By Sara Hawks Sterling. Illustrated in color by Clara Elsen Peck. Cloth. Pp. 282. Price, \$2.00 net. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company.

THIS is the love-story of William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway, purporting to be written by Anne herself, after her husband's death, at the solicitation of Ben Jonson, who lays the manuscript away in a vault in London where it has recently been discovered. The story is beautifully written in quaint and charming language and introduces many of the incidents and phrases which occur in Shakespeare's plays. In it also we catch glimpses of Marlowe, Greene, Burbadge and other player-folk of the time. The author has very much idealized the characters of both Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway, but she has succeeded in writing a most delightful tale which has been handsomely brought out by the publishers. The volume is illustrated in colors, with profuse marginal decorations and will make a beautiful and acceptable Christmas gift.

AMY C. RICH.

*That Reminds Me.* Cloth. Pp. 230. Price, 75 cents net. By mail, 83 cents. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company.

THIS is a little volume of very bright stories which originally appeared in the columns of the Philadelphia *Times* and the *Public Ledger* and which were called out by the offer of premiums for the best jests for the columns entitled "Tales Worth Telling." The work contains over two hundred brief, pointed, humorous anecdotes, many of them exceptionally bright and all worth the reading. It is a little book that should prove very popular, not merely for the entertainment to be derived

from its pages, but because there are times when all persons wish to have in mind some bright stories that are apropos and worth relating.

*Wit and Humor of the American Bar.* Cloth. Pp. 238. Price, 80 cents net. By mail, 85 cents. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company.

THE LATEST addition to George W. Jacobs' admirable series of vest-pocket books on wit and humor deals with the *Wit and Humor of the American Bar*. Books of this character may or may not be worth the while. Here if anywhere it is essential that there be discriminating judgment and a keen sense of humor on the part of the editor. Fortunately this volume is edited with rare judgment, and as a result we find in it a rich fund of capital anecdotes at once humorous and entertaining: just such stories as bright people, whether lawyers, public speakers, toast-masters or those who are constantly mingling with their fellowmen in a social way, will wish to be familiar with.

*Hearts' Haven.* By Katharine Evans Blake. Illustrated with six drawings in color. Cloth. Pp. 496. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

*Hearts' Haven* is a stirring romance, rich in lights and shadows, full of human interest and possessing the peculiar charm of new scenes and surroundings; for here the reader is taken into a field hitherto unexplored by the writer of fiction and brought *en rapport* with the strange life of one of the most remarkable of the many religious communal colonies that have flourished for a season from time to time since the Revolutionary period. The story is a love romance, the scenes of which are laid in the religious community founded by the German mystic, idealist and enthusiast George Rapp, who led his band of faithful followers from Germany to Pennsylvania. Here Father Rapp conceived the idea of abolishing marriage. If these devoted people had not been the unconscious victims of that most powerful of all psychic influences—the sway of religious suggestion, set in action by the leader and master-mind of the community but resultant largely from the enthusiasm and auto-suggestion of the members themselves, this attempt would not have succeeded, for

the Germans are a home-loving people and the bond of matrimony is very precious to them. Moreover, they are at once rationalists and idealists, and their rationalism leads them instinctively to feel that it is perilous to fly in the face of nature's great fundamental laws. Still, history teaches no fact more clearly than that religious fanaticism will bear a people to any lengths, often transforming them into the likeness of the most ferocious beasts, as witnessed in the leaders of the Spanish Inquisition and other master-spirits in the long night of persecution, hatred and intolerant bigotry that followed the Reformation. The Rappists, as they were called, hesitated for a little time but finally, almost all of them made what to them was the great renunciation. It is at this point that our author begins to weave the fabric of her romance.

The struggle of a noble woman to hold her husband's love and to retain the care of their child, the taking of the babe from her and her attempt to destroy the paramount prompting of a loving nature and to stifle the natural yearnings of her heart by indulging in religious ecstasy, only to find her whole soul calling more loudly than ever for the love of her husband, are described with such touching fidelity as to reveal deep human insight on the part of the author. Next we come to the tragic death of the mother and the shadow that henceforth falls over the father's life. These things form the prelude of the tale in which the babe Hugh becomes the hero and the infant daughter of a Southern gentleman who dies in southern Indiana, near the Rappist settlement of Harmony, becomes the heroine; for from Pennsylvania the scenes have shifted to New Harmony, Indiana, where Mr. Rapp had established a wonderful community, with its great temple, its labyrinth, its granaries, its mills for grinding grain and its factories for weaving cloth. Here the community prospered in a financial way, but here again trouble came, largely through the children coming to maturity and feeling the powerful attraction of sex instincts.

The growth of love in the children, Hugh and Trillis, is told in a simple, powerful yet delicate manner. The struggle of the two to be faithful to the tenets held sacred in the only world they knew, while nature advanced her imperious claim, is splendidly described. But finally love triumphs. They fly from the community to get married. They meet a Methodist circuit-rider who cheerfully weds them, but Father Rapp overtakes the fugitives

and by the power of his will beats down their opposition. They return to the community. Hugh is sent to Heidelberg to perfect his education, and Trillis becomes a mother. From thenceforth the story grows in power and in compelling interest over the reader's imagination. There is also the mystery of a theft, with its dark shadow falling athwart two lives, and there are the fate and the future of many other members of the community in whom the reader becomes deeply interested, besides the central figures whose struggles typify the battle of tens of thousands of misguided enthusiasts whose blasted lives have shadowed the pages of history—lives wasted through mistaken belief in religious tenets that oppose the great fundamental law of nature. Happily fortune is more kind to Hugh and Trillis than she has been to the thousands who have renounced home, love and life's sweetest fruition in the hope of saving their souls from the wrath of an angry God, for Hugh, Trillis and the beautiful baby Helen come together in a glad reunion as the curtain is rung down.

As an artistic romance of love, sacrifice and noble endeavor this work of a new and gifted author claims serious attention. As a remarkably faithful picture of the life and the beliefs of one of the most interesting religious communities, the work is of historical value. But its greatest excellence lies beyond these things. Here is evidenced the imagination of the true artist—the imagination of the creator who comes into perfect rapport with the lives of the characters depicted, so as to faithfully reflect the thought, aspirations and dreams, the heroisms and weaknesses, the lofty flights and the mental and spiritual limitations that mark strong individualities. This excellence of the work is especially noticeable, because the characters are widely divergent, and some are exceptional in nature; yet they are all drawn with remarkable fidelity. Take, for example, the character of Father George Rapp, in many respects the foremost personage in the book. Our author makes us see and feel the high religious fervor, enthusiasm and ecstasy that in their extremes lead to fatal mistakes, but the purity of purpose, the lofty idealism and the austere moral rectitude of the man lift him to the peerage of religious leaders; and so admirably is he drawn that we see the man, and even if we do not come under the sway of his mysticism, we understand his acts, seeing them as we do from his view-point. As far removed as the

poles is the remarkably fine creation of the lusty, worldly Brother Hanno, whose character is in its way almost as notable a creation as that of Father Rapp. So, too, are the characterizations of Hugh and Trillis, Brother Laurence and Count Theodor, and in less marked degree those of other prominent personages. All the characters delineated show the presence of the imaginative quality essential to great work in fiction, poetry, painting, sculpture, and, indeed, all phases of creative labor.

Another excellence of this work is the remarkable knowledge of psychology displayed. This may be intuitive or it may be in part the fruit of study and observation, but certain it is that seldom have the inner struggles of human minds been more faithfully depicted or the power of mind battling with mind and of religious dogmas, vagaries and dreams battling with the imperious promptings of nature been more faithfully imaged than in *Hearts' Haven*. These things give a special interest and value to the otherwise charming romance of an author who promises to take a prominent place among our American novelists.

*Tancred*. By Benjamin Disraeli. Edited by Bernard N. Langdon-Davies, M.A. Cloth. Pp. 584. Boston: L. C. Page & Company.

PEOPLE to-day are apt to think of Benjamin Disraeli only as a statesman, forgetting that he was also an author of far more than ordinary ability and that he wrote a remarkable series of novels portraying as did no other writer of his time certain phases of the political and social life of England during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In many of these works he had no definite purpose in view, but in *Vivian Grey*, *Coningsby*, *Sybil* and *Tancred* he set forth the ideals and aspirations of Young England,—that small party prominent for a brief period in the political life of England prior to the repeal of the Corn Laws and whose objects have been briefly summarized by a recent critic as follows:

“To make more effective the power of the Crown after the Parliamentary reforms of 1832; to remove the Church, in so far as concerned purely spiritual matters, from Parliamentary dictation; to decentralize authority to local bodies, and to improve the condition of the laboring classes.”

These things were to be accomplished by

bringing about better relations between the propertied class and the laboring class. Young England held that “Property has its duties as well as its rights”; that “Labor has its rights as well as its duties.”

*Vivian Grey* was a keen satire on prominent personages in political life. *Coningsby* expressed the social and political views of the author. *Sybil* gave a graphic description of the condition of the working-class in England. *Tancred*, the last and in many respects the greatest of these four novels, was Disraeli's favorite. It is the story of the life of an idealistic dreamer who aims at the regeneration of the West through the restoration of faith. He journeys to Palestine, seeking that inspiration which has guided the Chosen People of old and which he believes dwells in that land of poetry and mystery,—an inspiration which he fondly hopes may some day come to him, enabling him to guide his life into the channels of greatest usefulness to his nation. The book impresses strongly the idea of the power of the individual and insists upon the necessity for individual faith. As literature it ranks high. The descriptions of the Orient are wonderfully beautiful. Someone has said that Disraeli is the only writer who has poetically as well as graphically described the East.

These four volumes recently brought out by Messrs. L. C. Page & Company are admirably gotten up and will prove an important addition to the libraries of all cultured people who do not already possess these works of the great statesman. AMY C. RICH.

*The House of a Thousand Candles*. By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 382. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is one of the best mystery tales of the year, though it is marred by the improbability not to say impossibility of some of the situations, and the climax is decidedly melodramatic—a rough-and-tumble fight with blood flowing freely before the villain is undone and virtue receives its reward. The story will doubtless enjoy a passing popularity, for the public taste is not yet satiated with mystery-tales, and the novel is not only clever in construction and well-written, but it possesses enough of the dramatic and love elements to appeal strongly to the popular imagination. It is not, however, a book that will hold a permanent place in literature.

The hero receives a cablegram while absent in Europe, to the effect that his wealthy grandfather has died leaving him his property on certain specific conditions. These he finds to embrace his remaining for one year in the old gentleman's palatial but partially-finished home just outside an Indiana village. If he leaves he forfeits the property. If he marries a certain lady within five years, he also loses the estate. A rascally lawyer who is entrusted with the will plots to undo the hero and is successful in luring him away from the home in time to destroy his claim to the property. The lawyer with a sheriff and a posse of deputies tries to eject the hero and his friends, only to provoke a savage battle in which blood flows on both sides. Then occur some most surprising developments which it is safe to say have been little surmised by the reader and which change the entire situation.

Persons who enjoy well-written mystery-tales will not be disappointed in *The House of a Thousand Candles*.

*Curly. A Tale of the Arizona Desert.* By Roger Pocock. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 320. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

IN THIS story every prominent character figures conspicuously in some part of the narration as either a highwayman, robber, murderer, cattle-thief, or a drunkard and gambler. The story, which is told by one Chalk-Eye, a partially-reformed cattle-lifter, is as rich in the slang and peculiar vernacular of the frontier as it is in hair-breadth escapes for the highwaymen, murderers and thieves with whom it deals. The only thing that can possibly be said in its favor is that it presents a vivid and doubtless truthful picture of one of the most shameful phases of our frontier life—a phase which happily is rapidly disappearing. On the other hand, such books are in our judgment necessarily evil in their influence over the minds of the young and of all ill-balanced or superemotional mentalities, filling them with pictures of crime and bloodshed and lowering their respect for human life and the high ethics upon which all orderly progress depends, and at the same time fostering a taste for reading that is as alien to good literature as it is to sound morality. The fact that the story is told in a vivid and spirited manner and that it is crowded with exciting and melodramatic incidents only makes its potential influence for harm all the greater.

*The Flight of Georgiana.* By Robert Neilson Stephens. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 339. Price, \$1.50. Boston: L. C. Page & Company.

THIS is a spirited and fairly-well written romantic love-story of the stirring days which followed the battle of Culloden. The hero is a Jacobite officer who is flying through England to take boat for France, believing this course to be safer than remaining in Scotland, where the followers of the Pretender were being vigorously hunted down by the English troops. Quite a number of the followers of the Pretender, however, have been recently hanged or beheaded in England, and the apprehension and conviction of well-known Jacobites brought handsome rewards. Therefore even under ordinary circumstances the trip would have been necessarily perilous. But the hero, in true melodramatic fashion, is being pursued by a villain who has been previously wounded by him in battle. He is therefore in imminent danger of apprehension, which does not, however, prevent his tarrying in England to court and win a beautiful young English girl of whom he has become enamored. There are several important characters besides the hero, heroine and villain who add to the interest and complexity of the situations. The story contains less of the mock-heroics and artificiality which are so prominent in most romances of this class, though it is by no means free from melodramatic and improbable episodes.

*The Thistles of Mount Cedar.* By Ursula Tannenforst. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 454. Price, \$1.25. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

THIS is a story dealing with the lives of a bevy of girls from twelve to sixteen years of age, at a boarding-school. Their hopes, fears, aspirations, joys and sorrows, their numerous pranks and the punishments that overtake them as the aftermath of certain indiscretions, are all set down in a manner that will doubtless interest the class of readers for whom the book was written,—girls from twelve to sixteen years of age.

The story is not marked by any special strength and impresses us as being stilted and artificial in treatment. The moral atmosphere, however, is excellent.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**F**IRST ARENA CLUB, DENVER, COLORADO. Hon. J. WARNER MILLS, *President*. M. FLORENCE JOHNSON, *Secretary pro tem*. The club meets on the fifth of the month at eight P. M., at the residence of Hon. T. B. STUART, 1228 Sherman avenue, Denver. All friends of social progress and civic righteousness are welcome at these meetings.

The Arena Club, New Orleans, 852 Camp street.  
Mrs. J. M. FERGUSON, *President*.

In this issue, in addition to our extended Editorial survey of important events of the world from the view-point of progressive democracy, we publish a number of papers of the first importance to students of social, political and economic problems, chief among which we mention Professor FRANK PARSONS' *The Railway Empire*. This is one of the clearest, most compact yet comprehensive discussions of the great railway question that has appeared. It is a contribution that no student of present-day public questions can afford to overlook, dealing as it does in a most luminous manner with the question that is uppermost in our national Congress. Our readers will be pleased to know that this is the opening contribution of five papers on the railways by Professor PARSONS that will be a feature of THE ARENA during the ensuing year. No man in the English-speaking world is, we believe, so well equipped with facts gleaned from years of careful study and from extended personal investigations throughout Europe and America as is Professor PARSONS to authoritatively discuss this question. These papers will be standard contributions cited as authorities for many years to come.

The splendid work being carried on by the national government in reclaiming waste-lands and making the desert blossom as the rose, is vividly presented in this issue by our special correspondent Mr. FRANK VROOMAN, in the second paper of his series on *Uncle Sam's Romance With Science and the Soil*. The paper is further illuminated by the reproduction of a number of fine photographs taken by the government and presented through the courtesy of the Reclamation Department of the United States Geological Survey.

President GEORGE MCA. MILLER continues in this issue his deeply thoughtful discussion of the *Economics of Moses*. These papers will be followed by two contributions on the *Economics of Jesus*, the whole forming one of the most valuable contributions to the present-day social and political ferment. No thoughtful friend of the Christian religion should fail to read these papers.

*The Initiative a Safeguard Against Class-Government*, by ELIWEED POMEROY, A.M., is a paper which all friends of democracy should carefully read. It

is the first of our series of papers which will be a feature of THE ARENA for 1906 dealing with the fundamental and overshadowing demand of the hour—the demand for the people to reassert themselves and overthrow the most insidious and pernicious form of despotism—the despotism of corporate wealth operating through political bosses and party-machines.

We regret to state that Hon. J. WARNER MILLS' paper on *The Smelter-Trust and The Railways of Colorado* was not received in time to appear in this issue.

Our series of papers on Art, Education and the Drama is represented in this issue by two notable contributions, one by the talented and scholarly Mrs. F. EDWIN ELWELL, who opens the art papers with an exceptionally thoughtful and informing discussion of *The Principles of the Decorative Art-Spirit of Japan in Comparison With Those of Western Countries*. Mr. KENTON WEST, the well-known critic, essayist and novelist, opens our series of critical dramatic papers with a delightful appreciation of RICHARD MANSFIELD and his work. Since the death of HENRY IRVING, Mr. MANSFIELD is unquestionably the greatest histrionic artist in the English-speaking world; and Mr. WEST, by his long, intimate and critical study of the actor's work is admirably qualified to pay a merited tribute to the actor and his work.

We invite special attention to the contribution by ARCHIBALD GRIMKE, A.M., on *The Heart of the Race Question*. It is the first part of a discussion which will be continued in the February and March issues. Mr. GRIMKE is one of the ablest thinkers of his race, a graduate of Lincoln University and of the Harvard Law School. He has held with credit several important public posts and is the author of two admirable biographies, one dealing with the life of GARRISON and the other with that of SUMNER.

We regret to say that a number of important articles, some of which we had announced have been unavoidably crowded out of this issue, but will appear in the February ARENA. Prominent among these is a very fine sketch of the life and work of the late Hon. SAMUEL M. JONES, of Toledo. This paper we were compelled to carry over in order to make room for Professor PARSONS' contribution on *The Railway Empire*, that being the question uppermost in the minds of the people at the present time when Congress is considering the question. A fine portrait of Mayor JONES will accompany this paper, and all friends of civic righteousness will appreciate the beautiful tribute that has been prepared for THE ARENA by one of the most gifted writers of Ohio.







Photo. by Gerschel, Paris, France.

MAURICE MAETERLINCK

*"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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## MAURICE MAETERLINCK: SYMBOLIST AND MYSTIC.

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D.

**T**HE CLOSING half of the nineteenth century exhibits no marvelous and immutable fixations in the sphere of consciousness; like all the other epochs, it has been a period of flux and reflux, of ebb and flow, of mutation and transmutation. Any well-marked devolution in the forms of literary art, in the ethical and philosophical expressions of human consciousness, has been checked by counter currents, setting contrariwise, towards light, freedom, spirituality, truth.

The keen psychologist, with his subtle analysis of the mind, the intellect, and the human heart in all its intricate and devious workings, first held the world's gaze for a space: his day is not yet done. He was succeeded by the Naturalist, the bestial image-breaker intent upon the uglification of humanity—bare of arm, merciless knife in hand, waiting to dissect with surgical precision his human victim. Then came the dilettante poco-curantists, the Japanese-like Impressionists, reproducing with pastel effects of elusive significance the outermost and salient details of life, with their suggestions of depths and abysses of thought and feeling. Here was change in literary art ideals; but was it a progression or a retrogression? Realism was followed by its bastard progeny, Naturalism, to be followed in its turn by Realism's remotest of artistic relations,

Impressionism. Psychology is replaced by physiology, and subsequently by photography; there is devolution here, and the devolution is from the actual to the artificial—mind, body, integument.

Just as, in the physical world, to every action corresponds a reaction, so may we seek the law of tidal ebb and flow in the sphere of literary phenomena. Edmond Rostand arose in France with romance as his watchword. Forthwith the French world forsook Ibsenism and crowned him with the laurels of genius. Stephen Phillips in England, a shining apparition in a gray world of naturalism, only accentuated the swing of the pendulum away from the pseudo-social and fundamentally prevaricative drama of Pinero. A generation sated with honeyed sentiment, flabby opinions and pointless pruriency, sits up with renewed vigor to listen to the provocative quips, the merciless wit, the sovereign satire, of Bernard Shaw. Maurice Maeterlinck, at the very crest of the wave of reaction, marks the return from the coarse and the artificial to the spiritual and the true. He turns from the realism of Hauptmann and Sudermann to the mysticism of Marcus Aurelius, Ruysbroeck, Novalis, and Thomas à Kempis; from the naturalism of Zola and D'Annunzio to the supernaturalism of Guy de Maupassant and Edgar Allan Poe.

Individualism is the most resonant note in the symphony of modern thought; and individualism and reaction in philosophy rang out the dying years of the last century. To-day the three names that are emblazoned on the oriflamme of Revolt are Friedrich Nietzsche, Henrik Ibsen and Maurice Maeterlinck. Their supreme distinction is modernity—in art, in vitality of thought, in form of expression. Each in his particular sphere, they represent what Nietzsche has called the link between Man and Superman, between Man as he is and Man as they would have him to be. Under their diverse guidance man may be enabled to “rise above himself to himself and cloudlessly to smile.” They represent the restless, throbbing, unquiet spirit of the age. If they stand forth for anything, it is as apostles of regeneration—the physical, mental and spiritual regeneration of the individual. Individualism, enfranchisement, freedom, is the message they are bringing to the world to aid the individual in his struggle towards a more perfect and ideal type. Each one soars over the most novel spheres of thought, truth’s red torch aflame within his brain. It is by that ruddy and clarifying light that we shall see our way clearly. Heinrich the Bell Founder, Stockmann, Monna Vanna, and Zarathustra mutely attest humanity’s struggle towards the light.

Advancing along strikingly distinct paths and unique each in his view of life, nevertheless these three men—Nietzsche, Ibsen, Maeterlinck—in reality are following radiating lines which converge towards some far distant point. They follow the so-called parallel lines of human endeavor which are said to meet at some Utopian infinity. In his millennial philosophy of the *Übermensch*, the late Friedrich Nietzsche—poet, philosopher and prophet—symbolizes the reaction of dynamism from the mechanism of Darwin, of radiant individualism from the self-effacing altruism of Tolstoi, of aristocratic anarchy against the levelism of the age. The divinity of Nietzsche’s rhapsody is

not a subject for Bertillon or Lombroso, but the “roaming, blond animal,” created through the felicitous conjunction of man’s cunning and Nature’s process. The physical development of the individual, his supreme exaltation, the cultivation of the most strenuous physical type—thus spake Zarathustra.

With dauntless front, Henrik Ibsen flung his bold defiance in the teeth of modern society in his dramas of revolt. That trenchant sentence, “The Majority is always wrong,” seems to sum up his message to humanity. He has taught the final efficacy and supremacy of Will; but with marvelous sanity, his doctrine involves the salutary concession that “submission is the base of perfection.” He stands out, in grim aloofness, as the soul’s captain, the apostle of individual freedom—freedom of choice, freedom to live one’s own life, freedom from the false conventions and trammels of society. He has etched his own personality into the century’s page with the corrosive acid of his mordant irony.

Maurice Maeterlinck—poet, mystic, transcendentalist—comes with gentle words of wise and aspiring sincerity to impress upon the world the belief that the development and disclosure of the human soul is the ultimate aim and goal of existence. Marking the spiritual reaction from Zolaism, with all its blatant bestiality, he seeks to realize the infinite, to know the unknowable, to express the inexpressible. “Oh, that this too, too solid flesh would melt!” is his eternal prayer. He is individualistic in the sense that he is unique and essentially modern, not explainable as a product of the age, but rather as a reactionary, hostile to all its materialistic tendencies. He heralds the dawn of a spiritual renaissance.

## I.

Maeterlinck’s first little volume of lyrics, *Serres Chaudes*, expressive of his initial manner, most completely identifies him with that band of poets and mystics in France known as the Symbolists.

There is no greater mistake than that of supposing that the wide hearing he has gained is attributable to the peculiar eccentricities of his style, the novelties in literary form he has employed, or the seeming inanities and solemn mystifications of his poetry. At first there was about him a trace of the *fumisterie*, that air of solemn shamming which has helped to make the Parisian "Cymbalists," as Verlaine loved to call them, a jest and a mockery. Perhaps he first caught the most obvious tricks of his style, those very idiosyncrasies his own fine instinct has since taught him to discard, from the school of Mallarmé, Vielé-Griffin and De Regnier. Yet the Ollendorffian puerilities, the reiterant ejaculations, the hyperethereal imaginings of the Symbolist manner, are the symptoms of a tentative talent, not of an authoritative art.

Symbolism—the casting of the immaterial thought into the material mould of speech, to use the word in a broad connotation—marks the correspondence between the outward visible sign and the inward spiritual idea. One must distinguish with the greatest care between the Symbolism of the French school and that of Ibsen, of Hauptmann, or of D'Annunzio. The point of departure for the art of the French Symbolists was the effort, by tricks of sound and rhythm, of figure and image, by allusion and suggestion, to cast a languorous spell over the reader, evoking rare and fleeting emotions, producing strange and indefinable impressions. As Henri de Regnier expresses it: "It is the function of the poet to express his own emotions. He realizes that his ideas are beautiful. He would convey them to the reader as they are. It is then that the power of common speech forces him to place known words in uncommon sequence or to resurrect an archaism that his idea may be better expressed. He is in no sense an analyst of the emotions but an artist, pure and simple; his function is not with life and nature, but with the imagination." A symbolist in this sense is an artist who finds the words at his

command inadequate clearly to express his emotions, and is therefore compelled to employ words as symbols, deeply suggestive in their meaning. It is apparent that, with the symbolists, the simplest words, the homeliest figures, may take on untold significance. The poetry of the symbolists is characterized by peculiar, haunting and elusive beauty and destined for the profoundest suggestiveness; but quite too often, it must be confessed, conveying no meaning at all to anyone save to the initiated devotee.

To compare Maeterlinck's early poems with the "unrhymed, loose rhythmic prose" of Walt Whitman is to make a perfectly obvious and yet at the same time perfectly irrelevant criticism. While both are disjointed, formless, enumerative, Maeterlinck's every line is charged with a certain vague significance, suggestive of subtle and ever subtler possibilities of interest. There is something in it of the dim and haunting fancies of Poe, of the puerile vaporings of Arthur Rimbaud. Take a passage from *Serres Chaudes* like the following:

"O hothouse in the midst of the forests!  
And your doors shut forever!  
And all that there is under your dome,  
And under my soul in your likeness!  
The thoughts of a princess an-hungered,  
The weariness of a sailor in the wilderness,  
Brazen music at the windows of incurables."

Is this pompous mystification or profound poetry? Is it sense? As Bernard Shaw would say: "Is it right, is it proper, is it decent?" And yet the morbid mind of the isolated child of modernity sighs and frets through it all: he is excluded by very reason of his supersensitive, exotic, orchidaceous soul from spontaneous and untrammelled communication with nature. Witness the poignant image of the princess, born in affluence and bred in the lap of luxury, suffering the unimagined pangs of hunger. The isolation and hopeless sense of desertion are accentuated by the figure of the sailor, longing for the cool waves and bracing salt breeze of health, as he wanders with parched throat over the hot sand of the

endless desert. What more eloquent, what more laconically modern symbol than that of the military band passing under the windows of a hospital for incurables! Lonely souls, obsessed with world-weariness, harassed with morbid self-distrust and uncertain of a goal; these are sketchily bodied forth with the ruthless, the mystifying laconism of the Flemish mystic.

As an illustration of the beauty and finish and simplicity of Maeterlinck's art as a poet, at its highest and least symbolical pitch, may be cited Richard Hovey's translation of Maeterlinck's unnamed poem:

“And if some day he come back,  
 What shall he be told?  
 Tell him that I waited,  
 Till my heart was cold.

And if he ask me yet again,  
 Not recognizing me?  
 Speak him fair and sisterly,  
 His heart breaks maybe.

And if he asks me where you are,  
 What shall I reply?  
 Give him my golden ring,  
 And make no reply.

And if he should ask me  
 Why the hall is left deserted?  
 Show him the unlit lamp,  
 And point to the open gate.

And if he should ask me  
 How you fell asleep?  
 Tell him that I smiled,  
 For fear lest he should weep.”

## II.

M. Maeterlinck owes his great reputation, not to faddism, to decadentism, or to symbolism. He is admired because he is the sincerest of literary artists, because he is ever striving for that Truth which is Beauty—the beauty which Baudelaire called “*la grace suprême littéraire.*” His poetry, even when vaguest and most mysterious in its strangely symbolic vesture, leaves always upon the mind, or rather upon the senses, an ineffaceable impression of peculiar and unusual beauty. He cannot be said to have created any great, distinctive or strikingly modern form of prose writing. Still his prose wears a gentle simplicity, a quiet impressiveness,

and a pensive appeal that charms one when the fulminations of the blatant rhetorician, the vaporings of the phantasmagoric imagination, tire the senses, or the polished periods of the faultless *proseur* leave one cold and unmoved. Such a book as *Wisdom and Destiny*—a book that may truly be called noble—marks a distinct epoch in spiritual and cosmic evolution. The calm philosophy of Marcus Aurelius; the longings after the Infinite, if haply they may find it, of the fourteenth century mystics, Ruysbroeck the Admirable and the gentle Novalis; the transcendentalism of the Greek spirit in our own literature, Emerson; the “second sphere,” the realm of unconscious revelation of the Ibsen of *The Lady from the Sea* and *The Master-Builder*; the brooding mysticism of the Shakespeare of *Hamlet*—these and other inspiring influences mingle with and color Maeterlinck's own conception of *la vie intérieure*. If, in Maeterlinck's interpretation of the world-riddle, there is one charm more fascinating than another, it is his disinterested search for truth. He is never didactic, never even definitive in any ultimate sense. Quite often he is actually found contradicting himself, consciously doing so, in the hope of retracing his steps a little way, aided by the faint glimmer of some new light, until he enter once more the straight path to his goal. His books show that, in a sense rightly understood, he is a scientific worker, difficult as this is to reconcile with the vagueness and groping insecurity of his mysticism. From the evidence of his books, M. Maeterlinck has studied the most modern theories of auto-suggestion, hypnotism, telepathy, psychology, and psychic phenomena. No reader of *The Life of the Bee* can doubt that M. Maeterlinck is a scientific worker, although this exquisite social history is the work of an artist and a *littérateur* as well as of a scientist. His works—poetry, prose, drama—all evidence his close study and deep comprehension of modern scientific theories, especially of a psychic or psychologic

character, and these works evidence it concretely and suggestively, but more often by mere implication.

It would be a serious mistake to imagine M. Maeterlinck to be the mere mouthpiece of the mystics of other years. It is not to be doubted that his mysticism is based upon a long and loving acquaintance with the greatest mystics of the past. To find standards of comparison for a phenomenon like the rare mind of this new-century mystic, we have to seek, not in our own, but in another age. A comparison of M. Maeterlinck's philosophy with that of the mystics of the past shows similarity in fundamentals to exist between them. But to say that M. Maeterlinck follows Ruysbroeck here or Novalis there, is not an easy matter: with other mystics M. Maeterlinck has in common only mysticism. The point of vantage from which he views the world, the eyes with which he sees it, the transmuting mind, are all his own. Nor has he studied modern science—that of the body, the organism, that of the mind, the intelligence, that of the soul, the emotions—only to be thrown back upon himself in disappointment, disillusionment and despair. Rather, as someone has recently said: "There is evidence that his mysticism is not so much a refuge from the tyranny of scientific naturalism as the deliberate choice of a man who finds in it confirmations of countless hopes and suspicions science herself raised within him."

### III.

It is the fundamental faith of M. Maeterlinck that the theater of to-day needs reorganization and reformation in order to conform to the subtler demands of the higher and more complex life of our epoch. The theater, he affirms, has for its supreme mission the revelation of infinity, and of the grandeur as well as the secret beauty of life. He would have a theater in accordance with modern psychic demands, giving a revelation of what the Parisian mystic Schuré calls the *abîmes* and *profondeurs* of the soul. Carlyle also

pleaded for a recognition of what he called in his own speech the Eternities and the Immensities. M. Maeterlinck would bring the inner life of the soul closer to us; he would push the actors farther off. Thus he regrets that he has ever seen *Hamlet* performed on the stage, since it robbed him of his own conception of its mystic significance. The actor, the spectator of an actor, dethroned his own image of the real Hamlet. From the printed page starts forth the old Hamlet of his dreams never again.

His great regret is for the loss of the "second sphere," that subconscious realm where soul speaks to soul without the intermediary of words. He hails the coming of the Renaissance of Wonder, the mystic epoch when men shall penetrate deep into the soil of their subliminal selves. That age which, as Phillips Brooks once said, "stands off and looks at itself"—that age M. Maeterlinck heralds and summons. Ibsen, too, has dreamed of this dawning day: Julian perhaps in the end caught some faint prevision of the "third kingdom."

Silence is the pall that hangs over the earlier plays of M. Maeterlinck; the characters themselves are quiescent and immobile. It is only in silence that we can really know each other—in the fugitive look, the chance meeting, the sudden hand-clasp. Only in such moments do we truly come to know anything that is worth knowing. Half conscious of his deep-rooted faith in the meaning of presentiments, the significance of sub-conscious revelations, M. Maeterlinck wrote a number of plays surcharged with the impalpable and imponderable weight of pathos and groping nescience. "The keynote of these little plays," he once wrote, "is dread of the unknown that surrounds us. I, or rather some obscure poetical feeling within me (for with the sincerest of the poets a division must often be made between the instinctive feeling of their art and the thoughts of their real life), seemed to believe in a species of monstrous, invisible, fatal power that

gave heed to our every action, and was hostile to our smile, to our life, to our peace and our love. Its intentions could not be divined, but the spirit of the drama assumed them to be malevolent always. In its essence, perhaps, this power was just, but only in anger; and it exercised justice in a manner so crooked, so secret, so sluggish and remote, that its punishments—for rewards there were never—took the semblance of inexplicable, arbitrary acts of fate. We had then more or less the idea of the God of the Christians, blent with that of fatality of old, lurking in nature's impenetrable twilight, whence it eagerly watched, contested, and saddened the projects, the feelings, the thoughts, and the happiness of man."

In those early plays the interest hangs upon the passage rather than upon the victim of fatality; our grief is not excited by the tragedy: we shudder with wide-eyed horror at the argument of the invisible, the evidence of things not seen. By the intuitive apprehensions of the soul, its instinctive groping for elective affinities, and the incomprehensible, disquieting movements in nature in sympathetic attune with dark forebodings of dumb, shadowy events—by these means M. Maeterlinck made us aware of the adumbration, the gradual approach, and ultimate presence of the mysterious forces of Fate, Terror, and Death. He objectified and concretized for us those moments of life

"When . . . . .  
in some nimble interchange of thought  
The silence enters and the talkers stare."

The unnamed presence was always Death—Death the Intruder. In "L'Intruse" we waited with tense expectancy and strained senses for his coming; in "Intérieure" we accompanied him to the scene of the eternal tragedy; in "Les Aveugles" we awaken with a start to find Death in our very midst. Terror lurks behind a half-closed door, and all the poignant mystery of the universe seems embodied in the figures of seven princesses sleeping in a dim castle beside the sounding sea.

There was no escape from the obsession of some dire, inexpressibly dreadful unknown presence. "This unknown," M. Maeterlinck himself has said, "would most frequently appear in the shape of death. The presence of death—infinite, menacing, forever treacherously active—filled every interstice of the poem. The problem of existence was answered only by the enigma of annihilation. And it was a callous, inexorable death; blind, and groping its mysterious way with only chance to guide it; laying its hands preferentially on the youngest and the least unhappy, for that those held themselves less motionless than others, and that every too sudden movement in the night arrested its attention. And round it were only poor, little, trembling, elementary creatures, who shivered for an instant and wept, on the brink of a gulf; and their words and their tears had importance only from the fact that each word they spoke and each tear they shed fell into this gulf, and resounded therein so strangely at times as to lead one to think that the gulf must be vast if tear or word, as it fell, could send forth so confused and muffled a sound."

A time came in M. Maeterlinck's career when he recognized the morbidity and unhealthiness of such a view of life, and realized that, in the transition, he had come out on the other side of good and evil. This conception of life may be truth, he grants, but it is "one of those profound but sterile truths which the poet may salute as he passes on his way"; with it he should not abide. It is perhaps this early conception which led him to avow that he had written these plays for a theater of marionettes. The characters all silently and unresistingly do the bidding of some unseen, unknown power. Duse said of Maeterlinck: "He gives you only figures in a mist—children and spirits." Even that "savage little legend" of the misfortunes of Maleine, M. Maeterlinck's first play, with all its violence, lust, bloodshed, tears and terror, is overbrooded by haunting and inexpressible



misery. With fatal exaggeration, Octave Mirabeau wrote\* of this play: "*M. Maurice Maeterlinck nous a donné l'œuvre la plus géniale de ce temps, et la plus extraordinaire et la plus naïve aussi, comparable et—oserai-je le dire?—supérieure en beauté à ce qu'il y a de plus beau dans Shakespeare. . . . plus tragique que Macbeth, plus extraordinaire en pensée que Hamlet.*" Plus, plus, and again plus. Bernard Shaw delightedly accused even the precise and careful Archer of conferring the "Order of the Swan" (the Swan of Avon) upon Maeterlinck. There are many suggestions of Shakespearean characters in this little play—Hamlet, Ophelia, Juliet, Lear, the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*, and Lady Macbeth; one rather feels, however, that M. Maeterlinck is not the "Belgian Shakespeare," but a rather morbid and immature young man, reinterpreting and rehandling the plots and personages of the master-poet, in order to express himself and his faith in terms of the psychic chirography of to-day. *Maleine* is full of the unnamed terrors of the Poe of *The House of Usher*, of ghost-haunted regions, of dark, pestilential tarns—the Poe of *Ulalume* and *The Haunted Palace*. It is not until M. Maeterlinck's second, or rather third, period, is reached that his theories find plausibly human concretizations.

In *Pelléas and Mélisande* we have a play of conventional plot—a modern revision of the Da Rimini story of Dante—yet in Maeterlinck's play there is no such thing as *couleur locale*, no trace of Italy, for example, no suggestion of the thirteenth century. So distant is the *milieu*, so fanciful is the setting—a pathetic love-story projected against a gloomy background of old, forgotten castles—that we might almost think of it as taking place out of space and time. It is typical of the plays of this period, peopled with princes and princesses from No-Man's Land, named after the characters in the *Morte d'Arthur*, striking stained-glass

\* Paris *Figaro*, August 24, 1890.

attitudes of pre-Raphaelite grace; old men, symbolic of experience, wisdom, abstract justice; blind beggars, intoning the song of the world-malady; little wise children, whose instinctive divination gives new veracity to the words *ex oris infantium*. . . . There are castles in the depths of haunted forests, fountains playing softly in the misty moonshine of secret gardens, where errant princesses lose their golden crowns in magic pools, or their wedding-rings in caverns echoing with the murmur of the sea. These are pictures in which may faintly be traced the lineaments of humanity; but the figures are dim and confused, more abstract than vital. In *Pelléas and Mélisande* the accent is everywhere raised from off the human characters and the stress thrown upon forces of a supersensible dream-land, beyond the frontier of the natural. Throughout every scene, in almost every speech, there lurks a hidden meaning, so suggestive, so elusive, so profound, that the unembodied forces of another world seem to adumbrate and control the destinies of humanity. *Mélisande* is a child-princess, wedded through no will of her own to the gaunt, rugged, silent Golaud. As soon as *Mélisande* and the young and handsome *Pelléas*, Golaud's half-brother, meet, their mutual insight tells them that they are destined for each other. Struggle as they will against fate, its coils are too strong for them and they succumb to the inevitable call of soul to soul. Through the little Yniold, his son by a former marriage, Golaud learns of *Mélisande*'s infidelity, surprises the lovers in each other's arms, strikes *Pelléas* dead, and gives *Mélisande* a mortal wound.

Throughout the whole play there breathes an atmosphere of the most profound symbolism. Even the simplest acts, the merest words of all the characters, are charged and freighted with symbolic meaning. The beautiful balcony episode, suggestive as it may be of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Cyrano de Bergerac*, is not only cast in exquisite poetic form, but is

animate with tragic significance. The incident of the flight of Mélisande's doves, the fluttering of her hair to her lover's lips, the loss of the wedding-ring, the cave scene, and the clandestine meetings beyond the walls of the castle loom large with hidden import. Nowhere is the novel dramatic method of M. Maeterlinck more manifest than in this play, in that he causes nature in its faintest movement to coöperate with the thoughts and deeds of the characters in suggesting the overshadowing dominance of the divinity which shapes our ends.

In all the love-dramas—"Alladine and Palomides," "Pelléas and Mélisande," and "Aglavaine and Sélysette"—the mood is ever individualistic, symptomatic of the modern thinker. The action, simple to the verge of bareness, is but a frail framework through and beyond which we gaze into the depths of the human soul. Maeterlinck seems to throw some faint gleams of light into the dark pool where humanity has lost its golden crown. The march of events is but a passing show, life is a tiny oasis in an illimitable desert, a narrow vale between two eternities. The characters do not bring things to pass; they are set in a magic maze of tragic destinies: through them are ever sweeping the impelling forces of the universe. Action is but the *simulacrum*, emotion is eternal reality. Deeds are but the evanescent expression of the temporary, feelings are the vital concretization of immortal truth.

The realities, the crises of life, are found in silence and in sadness: "*sunt lacrimae rerum.*" Across the stage with dominant step strides no vital, tremendous, self-captured soul, incarnate with the deep-seated elements of religion and Christian morality. Love is ever the fleeting victim, wantonly broken upon the wheel of fate. The characters, one and all, solemnly acknowledge the supremacy of destiny and morally acquiesce in its decrees. The call of soul to soul cannot be disregarded: the forces of Love and Chance conspire in the tragic *dénouement*.

## IV.

To M. Maeterlinck, as both his plays and essays affirm, tragedy to-day is of necessity of a different cast from the tragedy of the past. Speaking of his art, Ibsen once significantly said: "We are no longer living in the time of Shakespeare." However he may have carried his theory out, at least Gerhart Hauptmann has said: "Action upon the stage will, I think, give way to the analysis of character and to the exhaustive consideration of the motives which prompt men to act. Passion does not move at such headlong speed as in Shakespeare's day, so that we present not the actions themselves, but the psychological states which cause them." Maeterlinck believes that the bold bloodshed and gaudy theatricism of the conventional drama of the past must be replaced by psychic suggestion and the silent conflicts of the soul in this modern day of analysis and introspection. The "character in action" of a Shakespeare will be superseded by the inverted "action in character" of a Maeterlinck. Or, to be more precise, life reveals its meaning to us only in static moments, in the passive intervals of our life. "It is no longer a violent, exceptional moment of life that passes before our eyes—it is life itself. Thousands and thousands of laws there are, mightier and more venerable than those of passion. . . . It is only in the twilight that they can be seen and heard, in the meditation that comes to us at the tranquil moments of life."

Maeterlinck's ideal mood is static: he would relegate the dynamic, the violent, to the ages of whose life it was the counterpart. He protests against this false anachronism which dominates the stage to such an extent that dramatic art dates back as many years as the art of sculpture. He cites modern examples of the art of painting to prove that Marius triumphing over the Cimbrians, or the assassination of the Duke of Guise is no longer the type. The drama is no longer dependent upon the exhibition of violent

avulsions of life: "Does the soul flower  
 ly on nights of storm?" It is only  
 en man is at rest that we have time to  
 ervice him. "To me, Othello does not  
 pear to live the august daily life of  
 mlet, who has time to live, inasmuch  
 he does not act. Othello is admirably  
 ous. But is it not perhaps an ancient  
 or to imagine that it is at the moments  
 en this passion, or others of equal vio-  
 ce, possess us, that we live our true  
 es? I have grown to believe that an  
 man, seated in his arm-chair, waiting  
 iently, with his lamp beside him,  
 ing unconscious ear to all the eternal  
 s that reign about his house, interpret-  
 g, without comprehending, the silence  
 doors and windows and the quivering  
 ce of the light, submitting with bent  
 ad to the presence of his soul and his  
 stiny—an old man who is conscious not  
 at all the powers of this world, like so  
 ny heedful servants, are mingling and  
 eeping vigil in his room, who suspects  
 t that the very sun itself is supporting  
 space the little table against which he  
 ns, or that every star in heaven and  
 ery fiber of the soul are directly con-  
 ned in the movement of an eyelid that  
 ses or a thought that springs to birth,  
 I have grown to believe that he, motion-  
 s as he is, does yet live in reality a deep-  
 ore human, and more universal life  
 an the lover who strangles his mistress,  
 e captain who conquers in battle, or  
 e husband who avenges his honor."

M. Maeterlinck's hope for the drama  
 s in the paralysis of material action and  
 sistence upon the methods of the static  
 eater he proposes: only thus will it be  
 ssible to penetrate deeply into human  
 nsciousness. His first little plays—  
 ange reflections of unusual *états d'ame*—  
 e couched in the language of children and  
 ogenarians; the dialogue spoken is  
 nptomantic of the simplicity of infancy  
 enescence. If his characters have  
 dominant will or great purpose prompt-  
 g; their actions, but are quiescent, ab-  
 it-minded, non-resistant,—all the more  
 this reason do they seem in close

touch, almost in communion, with an-  
 other world. Such stuff as dreams are  
 made of, they stand with arms outstretch-  
 ed towards the ambient immensities, the  
 infinite mysteries of life and time. In  
 permeating these dramas with mysticism,  
 Maeterlinck has made an original con-  
 tribution to our time. A mystic may be  
 imperfectly defined as one who seeks to  
 realize the hidden, unspoken mysteries  
 of life, to tear aside the veil between the  
 seen and the unseen, to bring mankind  
 into close communion with the super-  
 natural, to cross the frontiers of the un-  
 knowable. He would realize in his own  
 person the inscrutable workings of Deity,  
 he would lay strong hands upon the very  
 passport of the soul. M. Maeterlinck  
 has sought to embody and vitalize his  
 philosophy of mysticism in dramatic form.  
 It is not so much what his characters do  
 as what they feel; he is not dealing with  
 the glorious freedom of the individual to  
 fashion his own life, but with the under-  
 current of fate that penetrates the regions  
 of his inner consciousness, directing and  
 controlling the frail bark of human life.  
 Delicate studies of psychic states, of at-  
 mospheric, impalpable yet decisively ac-  
 tive agencies impressing themselves upon  
 the human soul, of death as an almost  
 personal influence in its collision with  
 humanity—all these things are the revela-  
 tion of Maeterlinck, the mystic.

## v.

The plays of M. Maeterlinck inter-  
 vening between "Aglavaine and Sély-  
 sette" and "Monna Vanna" possess no  
 marked significance either in the develop-  
 ment of his art or the evolutionary trend  
 of his philosophy. "Ardiane et Barbe  
 Bleu" derives its significance from its sub-  
 jectively explanatory nature: Mr. Hale  
 correctly describes it as a sort of commen-  
 tary. Marchbanks in "Candida" sub-  
 tly insists that nothing that's worth say-  
 ing is proper. Ardiane, in Maeterlinck's  
 play, insists that of all the keys which  
 Bluebeard has given her, the one for-  
 bidden is the only one of value. Truth

lies not on the beaten path of humanity, but in the secret recesses of the soul, fast locked by the force of worldly authority, convention, tradition, and prudery. This is the lesson, the doctrine, so magnificently exemplified in "Monna Vanna."

This play seemed to mark a turning point in M. Maeterlinck's career. Was it, the critics asked, a typical Maeterlinck play which approximated nearer than usual to the modern drama, or the index of a permanent revolution in literary methods? Discussion of the sort must be quieted by M. Maeterlinck's own statement that he wrote this play for his wife. His marriage, as Mr. Huneker says, accelerated his evolution from mystic to philosopher of reality: the necessity or pleasure of writing a *rôle* suitable to his wife, a gifted actress, doubtless caused him to create that magnificent specimen of dauntless womanhood, Giovanna, wife of Colonna, and called by him Monna Vanna.

The import of all great modern philosophy, of much modern drama, is the same. There is a secret and abstract justice, a sphere of ethical equity outside of and above the domain of law, convention and authority. The arbiter of human conduct should be, not the merciless *on dit* of the world, but the mystical sense of justice deep-rooted in the consciousness of the race. To the question: Which of two forces which work within us, the one natural, the other ethical, is the more natural and necessary? M. Maeterlinck would answer, according to Signor Lorenzo Ratto: "The great ideas of humanity belong to the species, not to the individual. Justice is perhaps an instinct whose tendency is the defence and conservation of humanity. Ideal justice is innate and is transformed by reason and will into moral force. Justice is within ourselves; outside of us is infinite injustice, which may rather be called justice incomplete, because exposed to all the errors and modifications which result from clashing interests. While we are benefited by following the dictates of this inner voice, its influence cannot extend to our surroundings and modify the

laws of nature. Its sole result is an internal equilibrium, the balance of the conscience, which furnishes the best condition in which we may enjoy material well-being." It is this sense of innate and eternal justice which leads the poet in D'Annunzio's "Gioconda" to desert his wife and cleave only to his spiritual affinity. Marchbanks defiantly asserts his spiritual possession of "Candida." Max Stirner rhapsodically declared: "My truth is the truth." Nietzsche transvaluated all moral values beyond good and evil. Justice, like truth, is in ourselves; each one can see and worship it within himself. As Mr. Hale, says: "Real justice appears beautiful in Marco; real morality in Vanna; real love in Prinzi-valle. Such people will understand each other even if everybody else holds them worse than fools or knaves. Those who want to live at a higher level must be satisfied with very few companions." In the end we must revert to Ibsen: the minority is always right; the strongest man is he who is most alone.

If "Monna Vanna" enforces the lesson of abstract justice, "Joyzelle" celebrates the final authority of love—perfect, eternal, true. In the words of M. Maeterlinck: "It represents the triumph of will and love over destiny or fatality, as against the converse lesson of 'Monna Vanna.'" Through Arielle, his subliminal self, Merlin has learned to realize "his interior force, the forgotten power that slumbers in every soul." It is thus that, like Marco in "Monna Vanna," he is enabled to "see into the life of things": for the sake of those he loves, "he would be cruel only to be kind." In enlarging, in developing our activities, as Novalis has it, we are transformed into fatality. M. Maeterlinck has only sought to do a little sooner what others will do later, when the soul, in obedience to unknown laws, will rise to the very surface of humanity. "Let us wait in silence; perhaps ere long we shall be conscious of 'the murmur of the gods.'"

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Chapel Hill, N. C.



**SAMUEL MILTON JONES**

## SAMUEL MILTON JONES: THE GOLDEN-RULE MAYOR.

BY ONE WHO KNEW HIM.

IT IS A pleasant thing in these days of corruption exposed in high places, when newspapers and magazines are filled with stories of the robbery of the people by those whom they have trusted, to turn to the life of the man, Samuel Milton Jones, known the world over as The Golden-Rule Mayor; the man who believed in the governing power of Love and acted always in accord with that belief. To read of one who so persistently and fearlessly obeyed the law of the Master, as he saw it, in all of the affairs of his busy life, is to gather inspiration for a greater effort to reach the high ideals which he showed in a practical way to be possible of attainment.

In the life of Thoreau by William Ellery Channing is written these words concerning the poet-naturalist:

“Never eager, with a pensive hesitancy he steps about his native fields, singing the praises of Music and Spring and Morning, *forgetful of himself*. . . . No bribe could have drawn him from his native fields, where his ambition was—a very honorable one—to fairly represent himself in his works, accomplishing *as perfectly as lay in his power* what he conceived his business.”

The spirit of this affirmation, if not the letter, may well be applied to the life of Mr. Jones, especially of his later years. He was a man who, from comparative obscurity, stepped into the lime-light of a national and even an international publicity. Curiously enough, this was brought about, not by any of those things that usually give name and fame to individuals, but by his belief in the possibility of following the teachings of the great Master in all of the affairs of life, and his persistent effort to make this ideal a proven reality. The business world was his “native field,” and therein, for-

getful of himself so far as personal ambitions were concerned, he wrought faithfully among his fellow-men, who were all—rich and poor alike—his brothers to whom he was bound to give loving service. This service represented his hopes, his desires, his aspirations, and no bribe however tempting and subtly offered, could ever have made him false to them or change their color and expression.

The life of such a man has in it a lesson invaluable in character-building. To know the circumstances and environment of his earlier as well as of his later years, is to gain some understanding of the process by which his intellectual, moral and spiritual nature was moulded into the strength and nobility that enabled him finally to exert such a powerful influence over all with whom he came in contact. It was the absolute sincerity of purpose underlying his simplest action which impressed itself upon everybody entering into his presence. That he should be so trusted was his earnest longing, which he expressed in the introduction to one of his books:

“Sometimes I think that nothing so completely separates the soul from God as the distrust, doubt and suspicion of our fellow-men that is the distinguishing feature of our present-day life, social, commercial and political; and I am sure there is no compensation or reward that I so earnestly long for as the consciousness that my fellows believe in me. Doubt my wisdom, question my judgment, deny the truth of my propositions, if you will, but for your own sake, and for the sake of humanity, I ask that you will not charge that I am false.”

In a larger degree than comes to most men who are so constantly before the public, came to him, finally, the unquestioning faith in the purity of his motives

which he longed for and so dearly prized. Those who for years distrusted him; who believed him actuated solely by the selfish motives that move most men to action; who thought his persistent expressions of love and service to his fellows were what are roughly termed "playing to the galleries," came at last, for the most part, to understand that his every-day life was simply the flowering of a sincere desire and earnest purpose to follow in his Master's footsteps, and this in the most literal way possible. What has been said of him is absolutely true, that he was entirely free from conceit and acted without the slightest reference to appearances. To one who was familiar with his every-day life and action, as was the writer, he seemed to possess the simplicity of a child studying the problems of unfolding experience, a simplicity replaced when necessary by the keen judgment of a successful man of affairs. This characteristic made him unconscious of any inequality with his fellow-men, whether they were rich and aristocratic, or poor and perhaps criminal. He met all upon the ground of human brotherhood, and thus, in the end, drew out the best in those with whom he came in contact.

Mr. Jones was a Welshman by birth. In one of his books entitled *The New Right*, he says with regard to this event:

"I do not know of what particular consequence it is to the people who read this book just when, or where, or why I was born, but quoting from *Copperfield* and following the general custom, I will say that I was born, as I was told and have reason to believe, on August 3d, 1846, in a small stone house, still standing, known as Ty Mawr (big house) about three miles from the peaceful village of Bedd Gelert, Caernarvonshire, North Wales. Three years ago I had the privilege and pleasure of visiting the rude house where I was born, the floor of which was composed of rough flagstones, rougher by far than any I have ever seen used in a common sidewalk—yet worn smooth

by the tramp of the feet of the tenantry that have polished them through their service, the main result of which has been that they have earned rent for the landlord and incidentally have eked out an existence for themselves. I am glad that I left the place at such an early age that I cannot recall any of the hard experiences that my parents must have had there."

The family emigrated to the United States when the boy was but three years old, coming across in the steerage of a sailing-vessel, then going in a canal-boat from New York to Utica, and finally by wagon northwest into Lewis county, where were extensive stone-quarries in which his father found work. As soon as he was old enough, Sam., as he was called, was sent to the village-school, but his attendance there was limited to thirty months.

When he was only ten years old he worked for a farmer at three dollars a month, getting up at four o'clock in the morning and only ceasing his labor at sundown. He hated farm-work intensely, and was in constant revolt against the injustice of being compelled to do that which was so distasteful. It was the memory of these days which gave him always a ready sympathy with the boys and girls who were being forced into callings for which they had neither inclination nor fitness. He believed that many lives, which might have been prosperous and happy, and of service to humanity, have been distorted and perhaps ruined by this process.

It is not necessary to follow minutely these earlier years of his career, further than to show that the boy was father to the man, possessing in full the qualities of pluck and courage that belonged to his later years. At fourteen he was working twelve hours a day in a saw-mill which was more in accord with his mechanical turn of mind than farming. Then came what seemed to him a wonderful opportunity,—employment upon a steamboat,

about the engine of which he hoped to learn enough to become an engineer. After spending three summers in this way, the whole current of his life was changed by the advice of one who saw something of what was in the lad. "Sammy," he said, "you are a fool to spend your time on these steamboats; you should go to the oil-regions; you can get four dollars a day there."

The outcome was a journey to Titusville, Pennsylvania, when the oil excitement was at its height. He had just fifteen cents in his pocket when he started out to find something to do. He often spoke of the sense of desolation which he had while tramping from place to place seeking but finding no work. In his autobiography he calls it "the most disheartening of all errands that any child of God ever undertook, looking for a job among strangers—a task, too, that I do not believe God intends that a man shall waste his time on, for I fancy that in the Divine order, in the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth, in the condition of social justice that is yet to prevail, there will be such a scientific ordering of the affairs of society that no man will waste time tramping from door to door in the heart-breaking, soul-destroying business of begging for work, looking for something to do."

Mr. Jones finally found a place in the oil-fields, and his energy and industry gave him remunerative employment until the time came when he was able to dig for oil himself, in which his ventures were successful. In 1875 he married—in his own words—"as sweet and helpful a soul as ever inhabited this world of ours." For ten years they lived a happy life together, and then came the sorrow of his little girl's death, followed soon by that of her mother.

Almost overwhelmed by these successive blows, he sought relief by removing with his two sons into new scenes, first to Bradford, Pennsylvania, and then to Lima, the center of the oil-fields in Ohio. In the latter place he entered extensively into the business of development and

gained what the world terms success.

In 1892 he married Helen L. Beach, of Toledo, and soon after moved thither in order to develop in the larger place some of his inventions that he had vainly offered to the Standard Oil-Trust. Here he built a beautiful home in which, with his wife—a woman of rare intelligence and dignity of character and an accomplished musician—and his two sons he once more found happiness.

At this time came his first awakening to the great wrong of the existing social and industrial conditions. His eyes began to open with the crowds of applicants for work when the wheels were set in motion at his factory. He learned that men were working elsewhere for less than a dollar a day, and he studied upon the problem of how they could live decently upon such wages. Yet he found those who plead for the chance to toil under this condition. In his own factory he ordered that his men should be paid according to what the business would allow and without reference to the scale in other factories. Good wages and short hours were his rule as an employer.

Growing more and more troubled over social conditions, he came upon an article by George D. Herron upon the philosophy of the Lord's prayer, which impressed him greatly. "Our Father" means that all men are brothers; the tramp is brother of the railway president, the wild-hearted woman of sin is the sister of the clergyman, and her shame is his because she is his sister. He had never thought of it that way before, even though he had often said the prayer at his mother's knee, and repeated it in the church in later years.

Continued dwelling upon the wrong of social conditions impelled him to action. He said:

"For me to be contented with existing conditions would be to blaspheme the sacred name of Christ, and moreover would be a treason to the republic itself. I know the republic cannot endure and our mock Christianity must perish from



the face of the earth unless those of us who claim to be both patriotic and Christian are able to demonstrate by the sacrifice of service that our claims are well-founded."

He inaugurated about this time at his own expense, a series of addresses by noted speakers along these lines, given in the church of which he was a member and the minister of which was in sympathy with his growing thought. It was at one of these lectures, that given by Washington Gladden, I believe, that I first saw Mr. Jones. He was beginning to attract attention by his peculiar ideas regarding business and the Golden Rule, but had not then become "dangerous." I had also heard stories of nightly rides through the poorer parts of the city when the mercury was hovering around zero, to discover and relieve suffering.

At the close of the address, which was the concluding one of the series, the chairman of the meeting spoke of the value of what had been given through the generosity of Mr. Jones, and asked him to speak. A man, keen-eyed, strong-featured, with modest but earnest bearing, stepped reluctantly forward, and in a few brief sentences told of his object in bringing these subjects before the people, and of what seemed to him were some of the crying social needs of the day. I went away impressed with the thought that here was a man to be, in some way, reckoned with in the future.

As yet, however, he had not gotten his bearings, only that he knew and persistently declared that the Golden Rule could be applied to every relation of life, and in so far as this was done, the irregularities which bring sin and suffering would disappear. This was the only rule which he allowed placed upon the walls of his factory, nor would he ever permit the placard bearing the words "No More Help Wanted" to be hung there, because he desired to see all who were out of work and find if he could not give them help.

Other measures that he introduced were social gatherings by which he hoped to break down what he called "the absurd notion of social distinction between employer and employed"; the shortening of the term of labor to a fifty-hour week; profit-sharing at Christmas-time when, with the dividend, he sent to his employes a letter upon such subjects as "Peace on Earth and Good Will to Men," and the "Christ Principle of Overcoming Evil With Good."

He caused to be placed in the office of the factory, a box in which letters of criticism might be put by his workmen. These could be anonymous, or signed, as the writers chose. He himself wrote them letters from week to week regarding their relations to each other, which were enclosed in their pay-envelopes.

The vacant land next to his factory he turned into a park and a playground for the children. He named it Golden-Rule Park, and there, every Sunday, talks, often by men and women of national reputation were given, attended by the workmen with their families, and such of the townspeople as believed in "Jones" and the principles which he was trying to apply to life.

As a business man he had the peculiarity of an absolute disregard of recommendations. When men applied to him for work, presenting at the same time the written good-word of some former employer, Mr. Jones would refuse to look at it, saying: "If you have recommendations, anybody will help you to a place. I must help men who have none." Sometimes he added to this refusal: "Your face is good enough for me." He was a keen judge of character and rarely wrong in his estimate.

Naturally these things, so different from the usual methods, attracted the attention of the public, but it was by a seeming accident that he received the Republican nomination for mayor. To the politicians this was a matter of astonishment, that this man, a resident of Toledo for only four years, and wholly

unknown in the field of politics, should jump over the heads of those who had been toiling for many weary years to serve the party. He himself believed his nomination was due to "a little effort put forth to deal justly with his fellow-men."

Mr. Jones was elected, although vigorously opposed by the saloon-keepers because they feared a drastic policy, and by the wealthy class who considered him "dangerous on account of his belief in the Declaration of Independence." The story of his reelection again, and yet again, upon an independent ticket, in the face of the most violent opposition of the Republican leaders and the newspapers, has been many times told and need not be here repeated, although it is full of interest.

His methods in his public career were the same that he used in his private, successful business. From what he believed was right he never swerved no matter how strongly it might seem to militate against his personal interests. He proved in both the possibility of making an everyday application of the Golden Rule to every affair of life. His factory flourished and his wealth constantly increased, though money passed through his fingers like water. His conduct of public business won for him among the people a constantly increasing confidence, while his reputation abroad grew apace.

It is true that in his own city he had bitter opposition. Good men could not understand his ideas regarding the treatment of criminals nor his attitude with respect to saloons and gambling-houses. It was repeatedly affirmed that the latter were allowed to run wide open, contrary to law, and that crime increased during his mayoralty. This was believed by those who did not know the facts. The records declare the contrary. Official figures show the number of saloons decreased and that there was less crime, instead of more, in the growing young city.

His conduct of affairs in his official capacity was unique. Everybody was received kindly and courteously, but there

was not a shade more of deference to the moneyed man or powerful politician than to the laboring man, or the unfortunate and penniless. All were "just people" and his brothers, and each was spoken with in his turn. He never turned away from anyone who asked for help, regarding his wealth as a responsibility from which, if it could be rightfully done, he would have gladly shaken himself free. It is well known that he gave away each year far more than the salary of his office. Each day he lived in accord with this simple statement:

"I assure you that I have no other purpose than to be a Christian on the basis of loving my neighbor as myself, whether my neighbor is a church-member, or a non-church-member; a saloon-keeper or a store-keeper; a gambler or an oppressor of labor; always remembering that he is my neighbor, God's Child and my brother—an erring brother, perhaps, but my brother just the same."

At all times and seasons he was studying the problems of living, those which seemed to him of vital moment to the well-being of "all the people." He was an eager listener to the conclusions of others, weighing their arguments without prejudice, easily taking the attitude of a learner. Frankly he expressed his own convictions whether of agreement or difference, but with a simplicity that precluded offense.

His faith in the individual was supreme. He saw in the poorest and lowest that something which will make for good, if aroused, and this was always his purpose. One day a poorly-dressed man came into the office and asked of him money enough to pay his railroad fare to a place where he hoped to secure the work for which he had been vainly seeking in Toledo. Instantly Mr. Jones' hand went into his pocket, but, as was often the case because of his quick generosity, he found nothing there. Application to his clerk and his secretary produced no result. Then he took out his

mileage-book and handed it to the man whom he had never before seen, telling him to send it back when he reached his destination. The remonstrances of his clerk—who was also his devoted friend and helper—he answered with a smile, turning to his desk in dismissal of the subject. Some time after, so long that there was a chance he had been deceived, the book came back, with the amount of fare enclosed in a poorly-written but most earnest letter of thanks. Anything like this naturally brought him in conflict with the railroads, but he would settle the difficulty by paying the difference in fare, remarking: "The very rich man can ride in a private car; the moderately wealthy may ride on a pass; and the well-to-do is able to buy a mileage-book at two cents a mile. It is only the poor man who is compelled to pay the full price."

One cold winter morning three men came in and asked for money to get a Salvation-Army dinner, saying they were out of work. He drew out a five-dollar bill and gave them, telling them to bring back the change, as he had none. "You will never see that money again," remarked his clerk.

Late in the afternoon they returned, but Mr. Jones being out, they handed what was left to Mr. Voit.

"Is it all right?" asked the latter.

They hesitated. "All but twenty cents," one said at last. "We took a drink out of what was left and thought we would run away with the rest, but we concluded we could n't treat a man like that in so mean a way."

Through all the years I knew him and when he was under the hottest fire of criticism, I never heard him speak unkindly of his enemies. And in his public life, through his political campaigns his condemnation was always of methods and measures, never of men.

Much of interest regarding the life of this man must necessarily be omitted from this article. I have said little of his political campaigns, carried on with no bribing of voters, no promises given

for influence and work, without appeal to partisan feeling, and with no catering to any class of society.

From the closing of his first term as Mayor, the magic of his name would call together crowds of eager listeners, the majority of whom were working-men and women, to whom he would talk simply and naturally of their duties to each other and to the community in which they lived. "The ideal government," he would say, "is one where the strongest will always help the weakest." Without cant, but with an intense earnestness that held the attention of the most careless, he presented the highest religious ideal as the practical one to live by.

The Golden Rule he declared to be an exact science. "It is really the physical law of action and reaction expressed in morals. It is the law of life, of relation—*and it works.*"

"I intend to be always in politics," he often declared, "working and voting for those candidates who seem to me to be looking most toward the light of liberty and equality."

Letters of commendation from thinkers and reformers came to him from all over the world. "It is a great joy to me," wrote Tolstoi, after the third election of Mr. Jones, "to know that such ideas as are expressed in your address are approved by a great majority of your people."

"The work you are doing for human welfare," wrote Edwin Markham, "is far larger than the orbit in which you move; it is an object-lesson to the world."

In similar vein were letters from W. D. Howells, R. Heber Newton, Edward Everett Hale, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and almost countless others whose names are familiar household words.

Perhaps the letters which touched him most deeply, for which he cared most, were those from children telling him their troubles and asking him for all sorts of things, expressing their childish faith in his will to do what they desired. He loved children and they knew and loved him with fervor.

The life of Mr. Jones, both public and private, has the deepest moral significance from every point of view.

The man whose whole aim under every condition was to do every thing in his power to help unfortunate men and women to live better lives and do nothing to hinder them, finally won the love and trust of the great body of the people to a most unprecedented degree. And even though there were those who bitterly opposed him as dangerous; though the legislature repealed the law by which a mayor could take the place of the police-judge, because of the rulings which he made in that position with regard to criminals, few indeed were they who questioned the sincerity of his motives or doubted his integrity.

The outpouring of the people upon the day of his funeral was such as has been rarely witnessed in any city. Thousands stood for hours in the hot July sun upon

the lawn before the house and in the avenues leading thither, sorrowfully awaiting the moment when the body of their friend should be borne to its final resting-place. And all along the route to the cemetery groups of men and women stood with bared heads—many with tears streaming down their faces—while the procession slowly passed by. They loved him so—these people.

Nor do they forget him, nor the things for which he worked. His name is one to conjure with to-day, and the lesson of brotherhood which he taught will remain a living influence even when the memory of the personal man has grown dim by the passing of the years. They will recall that by his life he exemplified this thought:

“Shun sorrow not; be brave to bear  
The world's dark weight of sin and care;  
Spend and be spent, yearn, suffer, give,  
And in thy brethren learn to live.”

## RAILROAD DISCRIMINATION.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.,

Author of *The City for the People*, *The World's Best Books*, *The Story of New Zealand*, etc.

**T**HE HEART of the railroad problem is the abolition of unjust discrimination between persons and places. President Roosevelt has recognized this fact, and in his messages to Congress has placed his chief emphasis upon the necessity of stopping rebates, midnight tariffs, private-car and terminal railroad abuses, elevator allowances and all other forms of favoritism.

“Above all else,” he declares, “we must strive to keep the highways of commerce open to all on equal terms; and to do this it is necessary to put a complete stop to all rebates.”

The law already requires that common-carriers shall be impartial. And justice in this instance coincides with law. Outside of the Oil-Trust, Beef-Trust, one or

two professors in Rockefeller's Oil University, the people who infest the stock-exchanges and other haunts of gamblers in railway stocks, and some other ethical slums in our big cities—the conscience of the civilized world is practically a unit on this point. Constitutional provisions and state and federal statutes have been enacted by the carload to enforce the rule. The railroads themselves declare that it is right. And yet in spite of the railway conscience and the common law, the universal sense of justice of mankind, and the whole legislative, executive and judicial power of the government, the rule is not obeyed. On the contrary, disregard of it is chronic and contagious, and constitutes one of the leading characteristics of our railway system.

In order to understand this phenomenon and arrive at reasonable conclusions as to the means of abolishing the evils of unjust discrimination, we must study the causes, the purposes and the motives that lead railway traffic managers to make discriminating rates.

(1.) First the managers make special rates to keep business from going to competing lines. For example, as a railroad president said to me some months ago in illustrating this point:

“A representative of the Beef Combine asked the traffic-manager of a leading road for a reduction of two cents a hundred on the rate from Chicago to New York. The traffic-manager refused. Some weeks later it was noticed that this road was no longer getting any of the Armour business. The manager sent for the agent of the packers and said: ‘Why have you taken your business from our line?’

“‘Well,’ said the agent, ‘I asked you for a two-cent reduction on the rate and you would not give it to me.’ He did not say that the other roads were giving him cut rates, but that was the natural inference; and the effect was the same in any case.

“The traffic-manager said: ‘Well, what do you want us to do?’

“‘We want the two-cent reduction per hundred that we asked for some time ago.’

“‘And if we give you that reduction will you return to our road a due proportion of your business, at least as much as we were getting six weeks ago?’

“‘Yes,’ replied the agent.

“‘Very well,’ said the traffic-manager, ‘you shall have the reduction.’”

(2.) A second cause for discrimination is the desire to get new business. Any additional traffic that will pay more than the cost of handling adds to the net income of the road. Jim Hill’s cars come east from the Pacific loaded with lumber. There is not sufficient west-bound trade to fill those cars and many of them must go back empty unless by making low rates sufficient goods can be induced to

move to supply tonnage for the west-bound trains. In such a case it will pay to make any rate above the additional cost due to the carriage of the goods in question in trains which must move anyway whether the cars are loaded or not.

Even where there is no question of empty cars very low rates may be made to develop new business, which either would not move at all at ordinary rates, or would not move by railway transportation. A Southern manufacturer desired to build a chimney of Jersey bricks, but the freight-rates made the cost too high. In order that the Jersey brick might compete with Southern brick and the railways get the tonnage they made a very low special rate on this shipment from New Jersey. On the same principle goods have been carried all the way from Hamburg to Denver more cheaply than the same goods could be transported from Chicago to Denver. And the railways have made arrangements so that hats, caps, shoes, blankets, and many other sorts of freight could go from Liverpool to San Francisco for \$1.07 per hundred, while the same sort of goods of domestic manufacture have had to pay \$2.88 and even \$3.70 per hundred from New Orleans to San Francisco; the railways receiving in many cases less than one-sixth as much for the carriage of imported goods as for the carriage of domestic goods of the same kind in the same trains.

(3.) Another purpose of discrimination is to simplify and solidify traffic. Many a railroad man in the West has assured me that it is much easier to give one good, sharp, hustling man a cut-rate on grain and let him scoop the market than to try to deal with a large number of shippers all anxious to get the best possible rates, and multitudinous in their shipments, their importunities and their complaints. If they give concessions to a large number of grain-shippers the facts are almost sure to leak and other roads will cut below the line and take the traffic. But if one man only has the cut-rate or rebate he will

keep it to himself and capture the market and the road will get the tonnage with the least possible expenditure of time and energy and the greatest economy in the massing of shipments and condensation of billing and collection, etc.

(4.) The fourth and most prolific cause of unjust discrimination is the desire to favor persons who through political influence or other power may aid or injure the road. For this reason passes are given to legislators, congressmen, judges, sheriffs, auditors and others who are in a position to help or hurt the railroad interests. I have in my possession several photographs of passes given by the Pennsylvania Railroad to members of the legislature. Some of these passes are dated 1904 and some are dated 1905.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania, section 8 of article 8, says: "No railroad, railway or other transportation company shall grant free passes or passes at a discount to any persons except officers or employes of the company." The question is whether the members of the Pennsylvania legislature are employes of the Pennsylvania Railroad. A good many people think they are.

This motive of favoring influential persons applies to the making of freight-rates as well as to the management of the passenger service. In the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company case, for instance, a company which is controlled by Standard Oil interests was given a rebate on shipments of coal over the Santa Fé lines from Trinidad, Colorado, to Deming, New Mexico, and other points. There was no competing railway in this case nor any question of new business or simplification. The Santa Fé transported the Fuel Company's coal at \$2.90 a ton against the published tariff of \$4.05 which other shippers had to pay, and the real reason for the discrimination was simply that the persons interested in the Colorado Fuel Company had great influence in the railway councils and were powerful enough to injure the railroad if their demands for favors were not granted.

(5.) Another motive for discrimination is the wish to advance the interest or enhance the value of a business, property or place in which the railway or its officers are interested, or to favor persons who through friendship, marriage, business or civic connection or other relationship have a "pull" with the management. Take for example the Hutchinson Salt case (1903-04). There are sixteen salt-mills in Hutchinson, Kansas, nine of which are combined in what is known as the Salt-Trust, the rest being independent. The president of the Salt-Trust was Joy Morton, brother of Paul Morton who was head of the traffic department of the Santa Fé railroad. The Salt-Trust owns some switch-tracks around the mills amounting in all to less than a mile of track. They incorporated this as a railroad company and asked for a division of rates. The Santa Fé gave the trust-railroad 25 per cent. of the through rates, equivalent to a rebate of 50 cents a ton on shipments to Missouri river points, so that the Trust was enabled to drive the independents out of those markets and take their packing-house contracts away from them.

Another illustration of this principle is the tendency of railway managers, especially on western lines, to favor towns and cities in the development of which they or their friends or business associates have personal interests. Railroad directors frequently invest in town lots or other property at special points on their roads and then manage the road in such a way as to draw traffic to those points and rapidly increase the value of their property.

(6.) Sometimes the railway management will discriminate in order to kill or injure a person or place that has incurred the enmity of the road or its officials. It is said that a town in Montana, which had displeased the Northern Pacific, was punished by entire deprivation of all railroad facilities. The management refused to stop their trains within the limits of the town; built a station two miles

beyond in the open prairie and ran their trains right through the old town, built up another settlement around the new station and practically ruined the offending town. Even President James J. Hill is accused of inflicting a similar punishment on a Minnesota town that incurred his displeasure. He moved the station half a mile out of town into the middle of swamps, and made the people walk out to the new station.\*

The remedies proposed by President Roosevelt and others for the prevention of discrimination are the fixing of maximum rates, the lowering of the open rate to all shippers to the level of any rebate or concession given to favorite shippers, the recovery of double the value of rebates or concessions from the beneficiaries thereof, pooling and publicity.

It is clear that the fixing of maximum rates could not prevent discrimination. The railroads disregard the rates fixed by themselves and protected by law by publication under the Interstate Commerce Act, and there is no reason to suppose that they would refrain from cutting rates fixed by any other authority.

The fixing of the open rate at the level of the cut-rate or concession given to favored shippers would seriously disturb the business of transportation and would punish innocent railways more severely than the guilty ones. Suppose the Santa Fé were found to be giving a 50 per cent. concession to certain shippers of fruit from California to Chicago and Eastern points; if the open rate were cut to the rebate level the Santa Fé would get all the fruit business from California unless competing roads cut their rates in a corresponding ratio, which might mean serious loss to revenue and a practical war of rates brought on by intervention of law. It would seem that some method should be used that would punish the

\*The illustrations given in the text afford but a few glimpses of the various forms in which discrimination makes its appearance. In my *Railways, Trusts and the People* I have enumerated over sixty methods of unjust discrimination now in use on our railways.

road in fault rather than those who are innocent in respect to the matter in hand.

Another trouble with this plan and with the publicity plan and the collection of double damages from rebate beneficiaries, etc., is the fact that rebates and other forms of favoritism are resorted to in secrecy. In many cases no records are kept, or if kept they are destroyed upon the slightest hint that they may be desired in evidence, and as the Interstate Commerce Commission has abundantly shown, railway managers, as a rule, absolutely refuse to tell the truth about discrimination.

Discussing the continuance of the demand for rebates in the spring of 1905 before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, Commissioner Prouty said:†

“When I first came into the Interstate Commerce Commission (1897), I used to see continually in the newspapers statements like these: ‘Rates sadly demoralized,’ ‘Agreement between railroad officers to restore rates,’ and everything of that sort. I said to my associates: ‘Gentlemen, this thing will not do; we must stop the payment of rebates.’ They said: ‘How are you going to stop the payment of rebates?’ I said: ‘We are going to call these gentlemen before us; we are going to put them under oath, and we are going to make them admit they paid these rebates, and we are going to use the evidence which we obtain to convict them.’ We employed Mr. Day, who is now with the Department of Justice. The rates which have been almost uniformly demoralized have been the grain rates from Chicago to the Atlantic seaboard. We called in the chief traffic officials of all these lines and we put them under oath. Now, I would ask these gentlemen, ‘Are you the chief traffic official of this road?’ ‘I am.’ ‘Would you know if a rebate was paid?’ ‘I would.’ ‘Are any rebates paid on your road?’ ‘There are none.’ ‘The rates are absolutely maintained?’ ‘They are.’

†Sen. Com., 1905, pp. 2,899, 2,901, 2,911.

"Well, every traffic official who came before us in that capacity—and we prosecuted it for three days at Chicago—testified that rates were absolutely maintained.

"Senator Newland—'How many did you have before you?'

"Mr. Prouty—'We had the officials of every trunk-line leading from Chicago to New York.'

"They all testified the rates were absolutely maintained from Chicago to New York. Two years after that I examined the chief traffic officer of the Baltimore and Ohio, and of the New York Central—do not think it was the same man in either case—and of the other lines, and they all testified that rates had *never* been maintained. I would like to know what I could do as Interstate Commerce Commissioner to make those gentlemen admit that they paid rebates, and as they would not tell that they paid rebates, I would be glad to know how I could obtain evidence that they did.

"Having gotten through, Senator, with the lines between Chicago and New York, we said perhaps this is not a fair example. Now, we will go up in the Northwest, and we will take the lines that carry flour from Minneapolis east. We instituted another investigation, and we put the railroad and the traffic men and the millers on the stand, and they all swore without exception that the rates were absolutely maintained. . . . We could not get the admission from any man there that they had ever paid a rebate. We said: 'This does for the East; now let us go West.' So we went to the Pacific coast, to Portland, Oregon, and went over exactly the same performance there. We made one man admit that he burned up his books rather than present them to the Commission, but we could obtain no admission of the payment of any rebate there.

"There has not been a time since I have been an Interstate Commerce Commissioner when if the traffic officers of the trunk lines between Chicago and the Atlantic seaboard would have consented

to tell the truth under oath, the Interstate Commerce Commission would not have stopped the payment of rebates. I have been able to discover no way in which to make them tell the truth."

The attainment of publicity, you see, is a very difficult matter so long as the railroads are in the hands of private owners whose interests are opposed to publicity. It is true that Governor La Follette succeeded in turning the light on the rebate business in his state by sending public inspectors to examine the books of the companies in order to test the accuracy of their returns under the tax laws. But the railroads were not expecting the X-rays. They were unprepared. They do not need to leave any traces of their discriminations and if any plan of public inspection were adopted they would not leave any traces.

In the case of government railroads inspection and publicity can be made effective because the roads are not in the hands of men whose economic interests and business ethics command secrecy, but in the hands of public managers who would be traitors to the business ethics of their position as well as to the law, if they tried to defeat or evade inspection and publicity. This is one of the great advantages of public-ownership. Everywhere in Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, etc., I found the government railroads absolutely free from unjust discriminations. The same is true of the government roads in the Anglo-Saxon colonies of Australasia and South Africa. The reasons are that the main motives to discrimination are eliminated, that much fuller publicity is possible, and that the railway managers are employed by an authority that is opposed to discrimination and will discharge them if they are found to be breaking the law, instead of being engaged by an employer who asks only for profit and will approve and promote the manager if he wins that whether through discrimination and breach of the law or not.



The matter is put in clear light in a conversation I had with the manager of the Central South African Government railways. I explained the nature of the favors granted to the big shippers in the United States, using the Beef-Trust, Salt-Trust, Oil-Trust, Fuel Company, etc., as illustrations, and said:

"Suppose a big concern tried to get special rates or concessions of some kind on your railroads, and made a secret agreement with the railway management?"

"They could n't do it."

"Why not? Human nature is the same in South Africa as in America. Suppose they made some traffic man a partner in their profits or brought pressure enough on him in some way to get a concession?"

"It would n't be possible."

"Well, why? Suppose it were possible, what would happen?"

"The government auditors would find it out, and the manager would lose his position."

"Could n't he cover up the thing?"

"Not for any length of time."

"The people would have a fit if anything like that were attempted," said a member of the manager's staff.

"You have no attempts to secure preference then?"

"No, it is not even attempted."

The favorite remedy with our railway managers is the legalization of pooling. They say discrimination is the result of competition among the railways for business and that if the railways are allowed to make traffic agreements discrimination can be stopped. But we have seen that competition between railways is only one of the six principal causes of discrimination. Pooling would not touch any of the other five causes. To the president of one of the greatest railroad systems in the country, who told me, as so many others have done, that the legalization of pooling is the remedy for discrimination, I said: "Are there not two great classes of discrimination? (1) Those

that are due to railway competition, and (2) those that are due to the interest of railway managers or their desire to favor influential persons, relatives, business associates or others who have a 'pull?' And while the legalization of pooling might tend to diminish discriminations that result from railway competition it could not prevent discriminations caused by interest or 'pull'." The railroad president said he thought that was true and he admitted also that even competitive discrimination could not be entirely eliminated by pooling. In fact, in earlier years before the Interstate Commerce Act was passed, when traffic agreements were in vogue, it continually happened that some greedy road would cut below the rates agreed upon in order to get a large share of traffic and enlarge its claim upon the pool. Railroad presidents and managers have been known to go direct from the meeting at which the pool was organized, hunt up some big shipper and give him a cut rate at once in order to capture more than their share of his business.

The fact is that none of the proposed remedies are likely to be effective. We have been assured from time to time that the remedy has been found and that rebates and discriminations have ceased. When the Interstate Commerce Act was passed, 1887, railway men declared that "rebates have been stopped." And for a time direct cash rebates were prevented to a considerable extent; but other forms of discrimination were in full swing all the time and rebates soon came back in full force. Years after the Interstate Commerce Act went into effect a famous railroad president declared "that if all who had offended against the law were convicted there would not be jails enough in the United States to hold them."

After the Elkins law was passed, in 1903, railway men again affirmed that railway rebates and discriminations had been stopped. And last year before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate, presidents and managers testified

by the score that rebates and discriminations were no longer in use. But James J. Hill, president of the Great Northern, and Victor Morawetz, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Santa Fé, and members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and other high authorities, testified that rebates and discriminations had not ceased. And President Hill declared that they never would cease.

In the railroad investigation in Wisconsin recently instituted by Governor LaFollette it was found that every railroad of importance in the state has been paying rebates every year both on freight and passenger business, state and interstate traffic, the total rebates for the principal lines amounting to more than \$7,000,000 in six years, and it was further discovered that the total rebates paid in the year following the enactment of the Elkins law were greater than the rebates for the year before. In some cases the payments after the law took effect were very much greater than before. The Northwestern Railroad, for example, jumped from \$212,075 rebates in 1902 to \$410,476 in 1903 mostly after the Elkins law went into effect (February 19, 1903).

Professor Hugo Myer, of Chicago University, asserts that the prosperity of America is founded on railway discrimination and that the trouble with the government railways of Germany and other countries is that they have abolished discriminations. Few, I believe, will agree with Professor Myer that railway favoritism is the foundation of prosperity in general, although there is no question that it is the foundation of the prosperity of the Oil-Trust, Beef-Combine, and many other giant combinations of capital.

Our people as a rule, including many of our railway managers, would be very glad to discover an effective method of preventing railway discrimination between persons and places. My studies at home and abroad lead me to believe that there is only one method by which this can be accomplished, and that is to remove the fundamental cause or tap-

root from which railway abuses grow, namely, the antagonism of interest between the owners and the public. So long as the railways are owned by a few and operated for the private profit of a few there will be unjust discrimination; men who own coal-mines, steel-mills, packing-houses, oil-refineries, etc., and also control railroads will not give their competitors in business equal rights with themselves over the railway lines whose policy they determine. So long as the railway managers are employed by and are the servants of a small body of stockholders, especially men who own the great trusts, favoritism is bound to continue. The only way to secure management of the railways in the public interest is to make the railways public property and the railway managers servants of the public. You cannot expect the servants of the other fellow to manage the business owned by the other fellow in your interest. If you want to have it managed in your interest you must own it and make the managers your servants.

Before a club of business men in one of our leading cities recently, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission spoke in favor of the President's railroad policy. Mr. Edgar Rich, successor to Richard Olney as General Counsel for the Boston and Maine Railroad, presented the case for the railways; and I followed with a talk in the course of which I stated the conclusions just set forth. As we were leaving the hall the Commissioner said: "Rich, you and I are both wrong, and Parsons is right. I want to see the other method tried, but it won't succeed. I know it won't succeed."

Let us do our best to apply effective regulation. Let us adopt all the President's suggestions, and more. Let us have thorough public inspection and the utmost possible publicity. Let us demand representation of the public upon every board of railway direction, and if necessary in every railway traffic office. But let us not suppose that we can do more than palliate railway abuses by any

system of regulation. So long as you leave the motive and the power in the hands of private owners and private managers you are going to have defiance and evasion of law and serious departures from public policy and interest. Talking with one of the ablest and most honorable of our railway presidents a few months ago I said: "What will happen if Congress does give the Interstate Commission power to fix rates?" He replied: "The Commission will have to be controlled, that's all." I quoted this remark in conversation with a leading member of the Interstate Commerce Commission and he said: "That's true; I always said the railroads would own the Commission as soon as it was worth owning."

We know that powerful railroad interests have succeeded in capturing the legislatures in many states and that they control the Senate of the United States, and it is not at all unlikely that they would be able to control an administrative board if they decided to do so. However this may be it is clear that we ought to do all in our power to enforce the principles of justice and impartiality upon the railroads by means of regulative measures until our people are ready to establish national ownership and operation of the railroads under governmental conditions that will secure efficient and successful management.

FRANK PARSONS.

*Boston, Mass.*

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

BY HON. T. B. STUART.

HON. LESLIE M. SHAW, *Secretary, Washington, D. C.:*

DEAR SIR—I beg leave to submit a few self-evident propositions, and a few suggestions in connection therewith, asking your pardon in advance for any boldness I may be guilty of in so doing.

1. Those that control the money of a nation, control that nation and all the business there is in it.

2. Give one person the money the world is paying as interest each year for twenty-five years (an average of four per cent. per annum), and he will own substantially all the money there is in the world at the end of that time.

3. If the money of a nation is its life-blood, it is evident that it should be under the control of its people, and not congested in a few. Such in substance was President Jackson's objection to the old United States Bank.

At the beginning of the Spanish-Ameri-

can war, Miss Helen Gould offered as a donation quite a large sum to our government. It was returned, presumably on the ground that the nation had no law authorizing the acceptance of such donations.

The donations made in recent years for public and civic purposes, by such gentlemen as Carnegie, Rockefeller, Armour and many others, are fresh in our minds.

Some two years ago, the *New York Times* gave an accurate statement of the donations of this kind that had been made in the United States in the few years preceding, showing the following astonishing results: In 1898, \$38,000,000; in 1899, \$62,500,000; in 1900, \$47,500,000. It is safe to say that each year since has outstripped any former year.

Fifty years ago millionaires were almost unknown; to-day we number them by thousands. Those of us in middle

age can well remember when the man worth \$10,000 was far more uncommon than the man of \$100,000 to-day.

The natural impulse of the great majority of our wealthy men in this country is to do as much good as they can. They are patriotic, and would be pleased to assist the nation and the people that have made it possible for them to accumulate the immense fortunes they control. They are not profligates; neither do they wish to encourage profligacy in their descendants. They may live well, and may wish that their children may live well after they are gone, but they know that nothing can so completely break down and ruin the moral character of their children as profligacy.

Many a wealthy man doubtless feels that it matters not how much wealth he may leave his children at his death; that it will be hard to conjecture how much of it they will have left in a few short years, or how much lasting injury they may do to his memory, or their own name, in the spending of it.

At best, and should he leave it under the wisest control, it must pay from two to five per cent. per annum in taxes, as well as run the chance of loss in investment. It may accumulate, but the general rule is to the contrary. In a given territory, there may be a thousand men whose learning and intelligence fit them for positions in the highest councils of the nation, and still but very few, if any, among them, could take an inheritance of a couple of million dollars, and have that amount at the end of a life-time.

Let us see if a feasible plan may not be adopted, by which the very wealthy may donate to the public, for the best possible and most worthy object, a part, or all of their fortune, and *still get every dollar back thus given away.*

Suppose that you should recommend, and Congress should enact, a law with the following among other provisions:

*First*—The national government should be and act as trustee to receive donations,

by will or otherwise, of money (or property to be converted into money), for the purpose of establishing banks. The donor could give the fund for the use of any state designated by him, or, in case it was given without such designation, then such funds to be assigned by Your Excellency among the different states as nearly as practicable *pro rata per capita.*

*Second*—The fund could be donated absolutely, or with the right on the part of the donor, or his heirs, to receive back from the government one cent on the dollar (no interest) each year for one hundred years.

*Third*—All states to receive such funds under laws requiring that they should forever keep such funds intact, by direct taxation if necessary, thus making good any loss that might occur through the wrongful act of any officers of the bank or otherwise.

*Fourth*—The state should be allowed to nominate the bank officers, subject to the approval of the national government, and the latter should always retain power of visitation and inspection into the affairs of such banks, and the power also of suspending, or ousting, all officers. The salaries of all officers and employes should be fixed under general rules, promulgated by your department, taking like or similar services of those in your department, and the compensation paid, as your guide.

*Fifth*—The money so donated should be exempt from all taxes, levies or assessments of any kind, be the same state or national. It should be exempt from attachment, execution, creditor's bill or otherwise, as against the donor, his heirs, or persons described in the will or deed of donation. They might also be prohibited from selling, assigning or encumbering their right to such fund, if the will, or articles of donation, should so declare.

*Sixth*—General banking, or commercial banking, should be avoided, and the funds of such banks should be invested *only* in national, state, county, city or

other public bonds or securities, the payment of which must be made by taxes levied and collected.

*Seventh*—Such banks could draw exchange on each other without the transfer of funds, the treasury at Washington serving as a clearing-house for them.

*Eighth*—The circulation of such banks, in sums of two dollars and upwards, should be paper, furnished by the general government, after the style of the green-back, except that it should be receivable for all debts, public and private, including duties, and should bear the *vignette* of the donor. The gold originally donated should be kept in the vaults at Washington, except as it might be used by the department as provided by law, in redeeming bills. The bills might read: "The First National State Bank of Colorado," "The Second, etc., etc.," as the case might be.

*Ninth*—Such banks could receive deposits and pay interest thereon, but the interest should be confined to the actual net earning capacity of the deposit, which should be ascertained semi-annually or quarterly, and so much on the dollar paid for each dollar of deposits that remained in the bank for thirty days or more. All interest not collected within two years after due, might be converted into the funds of the bank.

Let us suppose such a bank started in Colorado, upon a donation of one million capital. (In the last twenty years I have known of at least \$20,000,000 being donated in this state to schools, homes, etc., every dollar of which, I believe, would have gone into such banks, even if the party desired to use the annual payments to endow other institutions.)

Suppose the deposits should be \$5,000,000 the first year. We thus have \$6,000,000 on which we must earn interest. Five out of the six millions could easily be spared for investments in good securities, which would average five per cent. interest per annum. Five per cent. on five million dollars equals \$250,000. From this we will deduct \$25,000 as the expense of

running the bank, and \$10,000, the one per cent. to be repaid to the donor; this makes \$35,000, and leaves \$215,000 as dividends, or interest, on the \$6,000,000, or a little more than three and one-half per cent. on the dollar to depositors. This is a higher rate than most of the government bonds carry, and the security is equally as good.

It is sufficient to say, however, as shown above, it is all that the deposits justly earn, and that is all that any bank should or can properly pay.

At the end of the first year, there is added to the bank's capital its pro rata share of the interest, \$35,000, and so its capital goes on compounding from year to year.

There could never be any runs or other financial distress of such banks. So long as the state and the national governments stand, the depositor is absolutely safe.

Whenever the securities are in the first instance negotiated by the state, county, etc., directly to such a bank, such state, county or city should be stopped from setting up as a defense any illegality or informality in the issue of such bonds, or the contracting of the indebtedness. The state being bound to make good, by general taxation if necessary, any such loss, it is as broad as it is long, and certainly more just, to prohibit such defenses. In Colorado (and in all states), where people are paying interest on public indebtedness, the people paying such interest would get it back by the interest made on their deposits.

I submit to your good judgment, that there is no "Mississippi Bubble" scheme here proposed. It must be admitted that you and your department are more capable of looking after the financial interests of the people than any other agency that could be employed. No risk or speculative venture is recommended. General and commercial banking is avoided. The people at large are given absolute security for their small individual deposits, and the government would be drawing to itself the control of the money of the land.

If the act should directly provide that the government, in case of necessity, might by pro rata levies on such banks, draw into its own treasury funds even to the extent of their capitalization, eventually returning the same without interest, it could not be objectionable either to the donors or the people, and would certainly very much strengthen the money power of the general government.

I also pray you to consider the trust feature here suggested. It is one of the strong points of the proposed measure. May we not even claim that it would meet with the general approval of moneyed men?

Take, for instance, a man who, either in the trades or at his bank-desk, has passed near a lifetime, and by his good business ability accumulated a fortune of \$20,000,000. He desires to so dispose of it as to secure the very best results for his family. Suppose he should leave the half of it directly to his heirs and donate the other half on the plan here suggested, to the national government to start ten banks of \$1,000,000 each. The \$10,000,000 given to his heirs must run the chance of unwise investment and business contingencies, and besides pay taxes at from two to four per cent. per annum. That which is given to the government is in the hands of a trustee that cannot fail in doing its duty. The fund can suffer no loss. It is given under a law that shields it from being taken from the donor, or his heirs, by legal process. Being shielded from taxes of from two to four per cent. per annum, it is the same as if the government was paying the donor that amount for its use. The income from it will be steadily \$100,000 per annum for one hundred years, at the end of which time it would all be returned to the donor and his heirs.

Now, if we look upon it solely as an investment, what better could he do? Where can he place his money at as high a rate of interest for such a length of time? Where can he find such absolute security? Not only would such a law appeal strongly to the donor who gives

simply for the good he is doing thereby, but it would have a decisive influence with the prudent investor, who wished to look well to the future.

There is another matter, which, while not controlling, is still worthy of mention. We erect statues of bronze and marble to our military heroes and our great statesmen. It is but fitting that the great financiers and men of money who do their whole duty and more than their duty to the people, should be properly remembered.

To be able to reach national fame only through politics or military deeds, is too restricted a field. There should be another way by which both men and women may be able to build lasting monuments to their own memory. It is for this reason that I suggest that the bills issued by each of these banks should bear the *vignette* of the donor of the fund, and thus perpetuate his or her memory in the hearts of a thankful people.

That a Carnegie, or such an excellent woman as Miss Helen Gould, should thus live through long centuries after they have been laid to rest, and even after statues of marble shall have crumbled, is not an unpleasant thought. Who should object that the bright, new, crisp bills, that shall be used a thousand years hence in paying the laborers of the land, should carry the features of a Carnegie, or a Miss Gould, as well as those of Washington, Lincoln or Grant? I would also suggest that the very act of capital thus reaching out to help labor, would do much to bring about that perfect harmony between the two that we all desire.

Bank bills are the only proper medium of exchange. It is a well-known historical fact that newly-coined gold pieces will, in twenty years' ordinary use, fall far short in weight. Thus value has departed that can never be recovered. For this reason in your department, you neither receive nor pay out large amounts according to its stamped value, but by actual weight. We say, therefore, that gold should be kept locked in the vaults

at Washington, and be allowed to send its servant and representative—paper—to do its work in the busy world.

While the man that loses paper money by fire or flood, may (not always) lose as much in value to him as if it had been gold, still in such case the world has not lost the gold. In such case the world has only lost so much paper. The saving

to the government in the loss or destruction of its bills, instead of coins, amounts to far more than many of us can conceive. It is also true that the people, as a rule, much prefer to handle paper money.

I am with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

T. B. STUART.

*Denver, Colo.*

## EDWIN MARKHAM: THE POET-PROPHET OF DEMOCRACY.

### AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

By B. O. FLOWER.

#### I.

SOME time since, after publishing a sketch of the life and work of our great poet of democracy, Edwin Markham, we received a personal letter from one of England's gifted writers, the author of two fine critical works and a valued contributor to the great English reviews. In this letter our correspondent, in referring to this sketch, thus graphically characterized the poet:

"You have succeeded in understanding and depicting the ambient air, as the French would say, in the life of the greatest poet in America and the greatest poet of democracy in the world; and you have done this by calling particular attention to the art displayed in Mr. Markham's verse. Now Democracy and Art have not previously been found in such close unison. Whitman, in spite of his natural charm, vigor and originality, was never an artist in the academic sense, and for this reason many critics do not enjoy reading him. For the first time in the history of America we have a poet who brings us a chiseled and statuesque art, right out of the soil."

We fully agree with this critic, that Mr. Markham is democracy's greatest living poet. His stately lines not only conform

to the canons of art and are rich in melody, but they ring true at every point; they are instinct with the virility of democracy; they are vibrant with the spirit of justice and fraternity; they represent all that is best, truest and finest in the new social awakening which is battling against the rising tide of reaction, imperialism and class-rule based on privileged interest and acquired wealth.

#### II.

Mr. Markham was born in Oregon when the West was young to the Anglo-Saxon world and when sturdy determination was companioned by buoyant hope; when rugged, sane and hardy youth beheld glorious pictures woven in ambition's loom while gazing into the blazing logs in the great open fires.

His early education in home and school laid the foundation for a love for the best in literature and to him was given that passionate desire to learn the written word that comes to the hungry intellect of a child reared far from the maddening distractions and moral enervation of the city. He felt the mystic power and spell of nature known only to the children of imagination; and happily for him in early boyhood circumstances necessitated

his having to herd cattle alone in the sublime valleys of the Sierra Nevada. Here during the slow-moving hours he perused the stately verse of Homer and Milton. Here also he enjoyed Byron's burning lines and vivid imaginative pictures which served to quicken his intellect and enable him to come in close rapport with nature and feel companionship in her solitude. Here great dreams began to form in his plastic mind, while God drew near to him as in the earlier days on Sinai and the mountains of Galilee He had drawn nigh unto the mighty statesman of Israel and the sublime Prophet of perfected humanity. Here, environed by the august sentinels of time, the mighty, spire-like peaks and frowning heights, scarred, riven and torn in nature's labor-pains when continents were born, the youth received his most vital education. He was in fact in nature's university, with the Infinite for his master and in touch with the sublime thought of the immortal poets of the ages. Later in well-known educational institutions of the Pacific Coast he received the intellectual training which the cultured acquire within modern college halls, and subsequently he became a leading educator in California, while all the time the songs of the human, the "chants democratic," were germinating in the imagination of this child of genius and freedom who on the ample breast of rugged nature had drawn deeply from the fountain of inspiration.

From the hour of the publication of "The Man With the Hoe" Mr. Markham's position was assured in literature. Men and women of imagination and heart discerned at once the presence of a new and a great poet of democracy,—he for whom we had waited since the day Whitman's voice grew silent and Lowell passed under the spell of reaction. Some there were, it is true, who shook their heads and cynically predicted that though this was indeed a great poem, no other work would come that could compare with it. But as if in answer to the carping, the poet gave us "The Sower," followed by

"Lincoln," that superb pen-picture of the greatest statesman of the republic since the days of Thomas Jefferson. Never has the apostle of justice and union been so grandly outlined as in these stately lines:\*

"When the Norn-Mother saw the Whirlwind Hour,  
Greatening and darkening as it hurried on,  
She bent the strenuous Heavens 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;  
Then mixed a laughter with the serious stuff.

"The color of the ground was in him, the red earth;  
The tang and odor of the primal things—  
The rectitude and patience of the rocks;  
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn;  
The courage of the bird that dares the sea;  
The justice of the rain that loves the leaves;  
The pity of the snow that hides all scars;  
The loving-kindness of the wayside well;  
The tolerance and equity of light  
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed  
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—  
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn  
That shoulders out the sky.

"And so he came.  
From prairie cabin up to Capitol,  
One fair Ideal led our chieftain on.  
Forevermore 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.

"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 kingly cedar green with boughs  
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,  
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

"The Man With the Hoe," "The Sower," "The Leader of the People," and "Lincoln" are typical examples of the distinctly great and stately creative verse of Mr. Markham in which the poet leads the reader out upon the promontories of thought and stimulates the imagination to its profoundest depths. They are indeed spire-like peaks in a range of lofty mountains where many summits rise amid valleys carpeted with nature's glory, where sublimity and beauty go hand in hand.

\**Lincoln and Other Poems.* By Edwin Markham. New York: McClure, Phillips & Company.



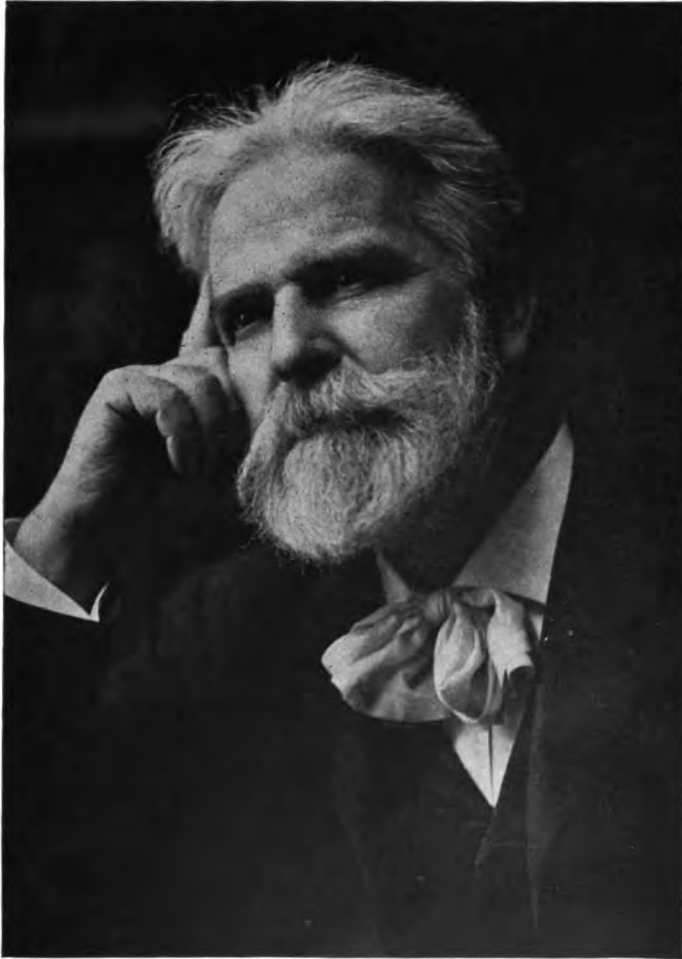


Photo by McMichael & Gro, New York

EDWIN MARKHAM



As a social philosopher he is no less clear-visioned than as a poetic dreamer, and in prose no less than in verse he is striking sturdy blows for a newer, a higher and a finer social order—the order of the Golden Rule—the day of practical fraternity for which so many of our truest men and women are valiantly striving. An example of his recent prose thought along economic lines is found in a contribution by him to a recent issue of *The Cosmopolitan* entitled “When I Am Dictator.” After pointing out the fact to which statesmen seem to be so perversely blind: that enforced idleness of any considerable portion of the citizens of a state constitutes one of the gravest possible menaces to national integrity, lowering the moral ideals, weakening the efficiency and embittering the life of the individual, he urges the importance of lifting from the man out of work “the fate of hunger and the fear of to-morrow.” He then continues:

“It is the first duty of a government to see to it that all her people have the opportunity to live by labor. She must keep open the gates of opportunity, so that every man and every woman may have the material resources for living a complete life. A government that fails in this fails in the vital thing.”

The poet next refers to the most “pathetic fact of the modern world,” the “ever-growing army of enforced idlers going onward in the shadow of civilization.” “There are always tens of thousands of these able-bodied men” knocking vainly at the door of opportunity, a fact that explains the phenomenon that when there is a strike there is always an army of men ready to take the strikers’ places. He also shows that this army of idle men must come to be one of the great menaces to public safety, for “a man must do one of three things—work, beg or steal. If the labor market denies a man labor, and the law forbids beggary,” there is nothing left him but the dread alternatives of stealing or dying of starvation. “In a government where a man cannot find

work, he finds it easy to lose faith in government.” He is then ripe for revolution and anarchy.

“A man wanting to live by work, yet finding no work to do—all the dramas of the poets furnish no spectacle more tragic than that man’s case. Here the man is in a world, not of his own choosing—in a world where he must eat bread. Social conditions forbid him to work, and the laws forbid him to be idle. For he is gravely told that he must not be a vagrant. He is reminded that every man must have a visible means of support: otherwise the jail swallows him. It is illogical, if not grotesque, in a government to punish a vagrant, when the government has not secured to him the opportunity to make a living by work.”

Mr. Markham holds that it is clearly the part of wisdom and sound statesmanship no less than the august duty imposed by justice and the Christ ideal, to give to every man the opportunity to engage in productive labor—labor that shall create wealth and sustain self-respecting manhood.

“This would not be paternalism: it would be fraternalism. And we need to make government the organ of the fraternal principle. Paternalism is a system that relieves a man of individual effort—that puts bread into his open and waiting mouth. This was the ‘bread and circus’ idea of the Romans. But the wise father dividing the farm among his boys, so that all, both strong and weak, shall have a chance to live—that is fraternalism. Fraternalism is justice, it is Christianity; and towards this ideal we must press more and more with the process of the suns.”

In closing this brief sketch of our poet-prophet, we cannot refrain from giving the following little poem instinct with a great truth that should be indelibly stamped on the consciousness of every American in the present crucial hour in our history:

"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.

"There was no substance in their soaring hopes;  
The voice of Thebes is now a desert cry;  
A spider bars the road with filmy ropes,  
Where once the feet of Carthage thundered by.

"A bittern booms where once fair Helen laughed;  
A thistle nods where once the Forum poured;  
A lizard lifts and listens on a shaft,  
Where once of old the Colosseum roared.

"No house can stand, no kingdom can endure,  
Built on the crumbling rock of self-desire:  
Nothing is living stone, nothing is sure,  
That is not whitened in the Social Fire."

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## DEMOCRACY'S CALL TO THE STATESMANSHIP OF TO-DAY.

### A CONVERSATION WITH EDWIN MARKHAM.

By B. O. FLOWER.

WE WERE seated in one of the great hostelries of New York city. Without, the roar and tumult of life swept by. Only the faint sound of the ceaseless murmur reached us. But a few moments before, when entering the building, we paused, arrested as it were by the din of the conflict, the remorseless battle of modern metropolitan life, and at that moment there had been borne in upon our minds the meaning of the struggle. Here millions were in conflict. Some were money-mad and striving under the spell of the master-passion to acquire gold. Others were no less fiercely struggling for a bare livelihood or to keep the hunger wolf from frail and tender lives; while above and beyond, in the din of the battle we seemed to hear the sound and echo of that other conflict which bears with it the fate of the republic—the battle between reaction and imperialism, fed by the selfish desires of privileged interests, and the democracy of the Declaration of Independence—the democracy of Jefferson and Lincoln, based on the idea of freedom, justice and fraternity.

We had been discussing recent events and their portents, and turning to the

poet I thus took up the thread of the conversation that had engaged us in the street:

"It has often been noted by historians that some one thought or ideal becomes the keynote or master-concept of an age in periods of great moral awakening. It seems to me that all things point to a new civic renaissance that may do much not only to bring our republic back to the old ideals of democracy, but also to a higher ideal of statesmanship. What are your views on this point and what do you conceive to be the master-demand of twentieth-century statesmanship?"

"Everyone seems to feel," replied the poet, "a great seismic wave passing over the whole world. This is distinctly the age of social awakening. A new sense is breaking through the crust of custom—the sense of solidarity, perhaps the most powerful emotion in the heart of man. We are all coming to see that we belong together; that humanity is one; that in a very deep and vital sense humanity has but one hope, one destiny. This sense is the basis of the democratic passion, and out of this passion will finally spring that new order which was foretold by St. John on Patmos and struggled for by Mazzini, Garibaldi, Jefferson, Lincoln,

and all the social heroes and apostles of the race. Poor is the statesmanship that is empty of this ideal, dead to this passion."

"Do you not conceive it to be necessary," I ventured to ask, "in order to break up the new despotism of corporate wealth and machine-rule, that the initiative and referendum be introduced into our political life, so that they may be as easily applied as they are in the republic of Switzerland?"

"I certainly do," replied Mr. Markham. "If we had men wholly consecrated to the common welfare—men guided by conscience and richly endowed with wisdom, then we might trust ourselves to the ideal of a purely representative government; but as long as the people must fight their servants in order to receive any fragment of justice, it is necessary for the people to come closer and closer to the management of public affairs. As life now is, it is of the first importance that the initiative, referendum and right of recall be introduced as effective measures for public safety. The more truly democratic we can make our government, the more certain we are of peaceful progress. No doubt we must get closer to the source of political life, which is the people. Our country now is largely in the hands of the land-barons and the trust-barons. It is becoming a government of the corporations, by the corporations, and for the corporations."

"I asked your views on this question largely because of the extraordinary statement recently made by United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in an attack upon Direct-Legislation which he made at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the town of Brookline. After extolling the town-meeting system for the government of small communities, he said:

"On the other hand the methods of the town-meeting should never be permitted to trench upon the representative government of state or nation. . . . The essence of representative government is responsibility, and when that responsi-

bility ceases representative government becomes anarchy and we are fairly on our way to such scenes as were enacted during the French Revolution, when the Paris mob, breaking into the Assembly or Convention, dictated the passage of laws. The control of the electors over the representative is direct, and if he does not satisfy them he can be replaced, but it is not to be forgotten that he represents not merely the people of his own district but in due proportion the people of the entire state. If responsibility is taken from him by compelling him to vote for measures solely because they have secured a certain number of petitioners, or if he is at liberty to refer measures of all sorts to popular vote, he ceases to be a representative and becomes a mere machine of record. When responsibility vanishes representative government is at an end and all the safeguards of debate and discussion, of deliberate action, of amendment or compromise, are gone forever, legislative anarchy would ensue, and we might easily find ourselves in a position where the mob of a single large city would dominate legislation and laws would be thrust upon us ruinous to the state itself and to the best interests of the entire people of the state."

"Are those the Senator's words or merely an abstract?" asked the poet.

"They are his *verbatim* utterances. I personally heard the address, which Mr. Lodge read from manuscript. He also presented a copy to the press and the address was published in full in the *Boston Transcript*. Indeed, it was on the presses of the *Transcript* when the Senator was delivering it at Brookline; so it is not only his *verbatim* utterance but his view expressed with deliberation."

"It seems to me, then, that Senator Lodge," said Mr. Markham, "is sadly wanting in that faith in the people that marked our great democratic statesman, Lincoln, who constantly insisted that the people can be trusted; that the great heart of the world is just. The Senator says that the legislator represents the

people, but he more frequently represents some soulless corporation or base political boss. Direct-Legislation would surely do something to destroy this growing danger to the nation."

"Under democratic government," I ventured, "of course the people are the fountain-head or source of rule and the representative is merely their public servant, while under aristocratic, monarchical, or other form of class-government the people are the pawns or subjects of the ruling power and not the sovereigns or real masters. This, in fact, is a chief difference between democracy and class-rule, and in the light of present conditions, where the absolute mastership is in the hands of the party-boss and the machine controlled by privileged interests, nothing could be more absurd, fallacious or essentially out of harmony with the genius and spirit of free government than the stand taken by Senator Lodge, who for some years has been politically speaking the boss or feudal lord of Massachusetts."

"Yes," replied the poet, "we have been supposing that our officers are our servants, but we are now awakening to the fact that our officers are the servants of our new commercial feudalism. The Senator says that the people have the power to recall their faithless representative, but, alas! he cannot be recalled until he has plundered the public cupboard. Perhaps even at the end of his term of office the boss, the 'kept' editor and the controlled machine may thrust him back into the plundered house to again betray the people in the interests of his real masters. Something must be done to give the people a more certain control of the political machine now run in the interests of unjust privilege and commercial piracy. We are in a government where our political philosophy is based on the idea that the people are the one fountain-head of political authority, the one source of all that shall be law and government. The distinguished Senator's views, if adopted, would serve to hinder, if not to frustrate,

a direct expression of the will of the people. This would doubtless be gratifying to privileged interests and to the representatives of commercial piracy, but it is reactionary and anti-democratic."

"You will notice, Mr. Markham," I observed, "that the Senator is solicitous lest the people's representatives should become mere machines of record for registering the people's desires. If they fail to register the people's desires, are they in any true sense their representatives? As a matter of fact, whatever else they are, they are not the representatives of the people or what they pretend to be. Now one of the chief objections that in recent years has been advanced against the people's misrepresentatives in our municipal government, in legislatures, in Congress, and especially in the United States Senate, where Mr. Lodge is a leading member, is that the officials are merely machines for registering the commands or wishes—not of the people, it is true, but of the great public-service corporations, such as the railways and the express companies, the Standard Oil Company, the Wall-street gamblers and other privileged interests that make the political boss and the controlled machine well-nigh invincible by reason of the campaign contributions and other favors. I have never heard of Senator Lodge being in the least concerned on account of the persistent manner in which his colleagues have disregarded the welfare, the wishes and the demands of the people when making themselves mere machines of record to register the wishes or the commands of corporate wealth.

"We have surely gone far from the old democratic moorings and well into the domain of class-rule, if the people's servant is not expected to carry out the wishes of the people. If he is to be the creature of the political boss or the tool of corporate wealth, which is now frequently the case, he ceases to be the popular representative and becomes the betrayer of the people, and the whole theory of our government is set at defiance. And

this is precisely why the disinterested friends of free institutions are demanding the introduction of the initiative and referendum. They would preserve democratic government, they would secure the ends of popular rule in an orderly, peaceable and enlightened manner. The initiative and referendum have been in operation in Switzerland for the greater part of the past fifty years, and have proved immensely successful, placing that nation in the very van of the republics of the world. Switzerland is known to all men as a government preëminent for its orderly, progressive and enlightened rule.

"The shallow alarmist cry raised by the Senator made me indignant, as it was an insult to the intelligence of every person present. By the initiative the people compel legislators to act upon measures that they desire to have acted upon. The legislators have thus every opportunity to oppose the proposed measure with all the arguments that they can bring to bear against it. If they defeat it the measure will then go before the people with the stamp of disapproval of the legislative body. Here again it will be thoroughly discussed through the press and on the hustings before the people are called upon to vote Yes or No on its adoption. Does this extension of an educational campaign and general deliberation, not only in the legislature but on the part of the press and the people, smack of inconsiderate action, mob rule or anarchy? Is it not almost inconceivable how any man prominently before the people would place himself in so ridiculous and unenviable a light as to attempt to excite the fears of the ignorant by summoning the bogey of mob-rule in connection with the initiative and referendum? For the referendum is also an equally rational and obviously needed democratic safeguard to protect the nation against the corrupt usurpations of legislators acting for privileged interests against the public good. Here, if a certain per cent. of the voters demand

that a measure shall be submitted to the people, and make known their demand in the prescribed manner within sixty or ninety days of the passage of the bill, it must be submitted to the electorate at the ballot, when the people have a right to pass on the measure, and if their servants have yielded to the corrupt lobby, the corrupt boss or to the privileged interests that purchase legislation through campaign funds, they have the opportunity of defeating the measure and thus merely protecting themselves. Does that suggest anarchy or the coming of a mob into the legislative halls to over-awe popular servants? I think Senator Lodge is the first man of any reputation who has had the hardihood to intimate that Direct-Legislation fosters or could foster either anarchy or mob-rule."

"No," replied the poet, "as a matter of fact the initiative, referendum and right of recall all discourage mob-rule. They are also safeguards against the ever-growing anarchy of selfish wealth. They are the safety-valves essential to the life of the people. As long as the people feel that the public servant is betraying the plain rights of all men, giving to the Few the things that belong to All, public discontent grows, the pot of popular indignation boils, and there is ever-growing danger of popular explosions. The true statesman knows that when the pot begins to boil it is time to lift the lid. Direct-Legislation would be a lifting of the lid. It would quiet the rising tide of discontent; it would render impossible the betrayal of the people by corrupt party-machines. Who does not remember the betrayal of the people in Philadelphia, in Cincinnati, in San Francisco?"

"Another thing should be noticed. Who are fighting or opposing Direct-Legislation? All the associated villainies of the nation, for the good reason that these measures would prove effective extinguishers for these villainies.

"No, it is the continued disregard of the wishes and interests of the people that

is stirring the electors so profoundly, and it is the feeling of helplessness that makes them heart-sick—the feeling of helplessness in the toils of the party-boss and the controlled machine. It is easy to see where the more dangerous anarchy has

its central hold. It is in a cabal of traitors composed of corrupt bosses, commercial pirates and 'kept' editors. Here is the real menace to the life of the republic."

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.\*

### II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS—(Continued.)

BY HON. J. WARNER MILLS.

#### *The Pageant of the Throne-Powers—The Smelter-Trust—A General Glance at the Trusts.*

THE SMELTER-TRUST now approaches in the procession of the throne-powers. But before we strictly confine our attention to this trust, a few general observations may be helpful.

In the popular understanding, any big corporation or combination is a "trust." This understanding, too, is far enough right to indicate "corporations" as the great division of the law along with "monopolies" where we are to look for the legal treatment of "trusts." It is somewhat anomalous, however, that one of the oldest and largest divisions of the law carries the significant title of "trusts," implying a fiduciary or confidential relation with respect to property, and yet our modern commercial "trust" implies no such relation, and is legally classified not as a "trust" at all, but as a corporation or a monopoly.

This curious misnomer arose through the fact that the early form of the "trust," as exemplified by the Standard Oil and the Sugar-Trust, was, in fact as well as in law, a literal "trust" where a fiduciary relation was actually established by the stockholders depositing the stock of the confederating corporations in the hands of certain trustees, who then became a

voting and managing syndicate, with strings in their hands, like a mechanical toy, enabling them to control each company in the interest of all the conspiring companies. The magnitude and novelty of those early oil and sugar operations attracted such general public attention that everything since of the same or a similar order has been usually called a "trust," even though there was no semblance of a fiduciary relation or any actual trusteeship.

Counting only the large industrial, franchise and transportation trusts, there are 440 of them, with a floating capital of \$20,379,162,511.† The greater industrial trusts are only eight in number and are as follows: The Copper-Trust, the Smelter-Trust, the Sugar-Trust, the Tobacco-Trust, the Shipping-Trust, the Beef-Trust, the Oil-Trust and the Steel-Trust.‡

These eight trusts have merged and consolidated more than 1,500 distinct companies and plants; and all of them, except the Sugar-Trust and the Beef-Trust, were created and turned loose upon the country by the State of New Jersey. The par value of their stocks and bonds (omitting the Beef-Trust) is \$2,662,752,100, and the Steel-Trust alone has more than half of these fabulous figures with its

† *Moody's The Truth About the Trusts*, p. 11. The total wealth in the United States, according to the census of 1900, is \$94,300,000,000.

‡ *Id.*, p. 485, etc. Mr. Moody makes the number seven and omits the Beef-Trust.

\*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1905, number of THE ARENA.



capital of \$1,370,000,000. The market-value of the stocks and bonds of the seven trusts, not counting the Beef-Trust, is \$2,278,460,000.

MORALS OF THE TRUST.

If there is a necessary relation between large corporate combinations, or the men who compose them, and a code of morals, certainly the code is not very high. In our chapter on "The View-Point," we indicated that the accepted code of morals was made by the economic needs of the ruling-class. The history of the evolution of every dominant trust gives ample evidence that this view is well sustained by the facts. A great many people confuse magnitude of money with exalted character and honor. This is generally a mistake. There is no more specific solvent of character and honor than magnitude of money. Those who would deceive us into making a safe asylum in our midst for the ingratiating trust, would fain have us think that we can rely upon the high character and morality of the class of men interested in promoting the trust. But why should we rely upon them when we recall our glimpse of "high finance" as exemplified by the dominant trusts and corporations in Colorado, and in the nation by such petrified consciences as those exhibited by the Alexanders, Hydes, Depews, McCalls, McCurdys, Drydens, Rockefeller, *et als?* Thus reminded, we are more inclined to look beneath the surface, and to appreciate the eloquent words of Governor Thomas in speaking of the promoters of the Trusts:

"The voice that intones the litany is the same that commands a rise in the price of grain when hunger is abroad. The pen that signs the check for the erection of a church or a library is the same that approves the vouchers of the lobbyist. The hand that gives freely to the cause of temperance in New York is the same hand that regulates the output of the Kentucky distilleries. The influence that deplores the decadence of public

morality is frequently the same which tempts the public servant to his downfall."\*

But from the mouths of the trust-promoters themselves, and from one who has attained such eminence that he is entitled to speak for his craft, we have the most convincing evidence of their moral delinquency and perversion. When asked by the Industrial Commission whether he thought it was a "fair, ethical position" to make the consumer pay dividends on \$25,000,000 of over-capitalization, H. O. Havemeyer, head of the Sugar-Trust, testified, under oath, as follows:†

"I do not care two cents for your ethics. I do not know enough of them to apply them."

Such an answer from a child, showing so clearly a moral lesion, would lead our psychologists to classify it as a deplorable case of "arrested development" and to recommend it to competent hands for immediate treatment. Yet, through the power of money and monopoly, Mr. Havemeyer has so dazed and duped our social psychologists that they are content to diagnose his case as that of a great "captain of industry." This "captain" is in Colorado now (October, 1905) trying to excite the people to increase his profits by an organized effort to prevent Congress from putting the sugar from the Philippines upon the free-list. He and his disciples, including Mr. Morey, the same gentleman who, as we have seen, figured with the Smelter-Trust in coercing a settlement of the rate-fixing telephone suit, are deftly instructing us now, while saying nothing about their own profits, how to save our sugar-beet interests by pulling the right string on the Filipinos. Of course, we have forcibly made these unhappy people our wards, and all principles of justice and equity require us, as their guardians, to act in their interest and not in our own. Yet

\* Message on "Trusts" to Colorado Legislature, February 21, 1899 (*Sen. Jour.*, p. 520.)

† *Report Indus. Com.*, Vol. I., p. 118.

this "captain," who does not give "two cents for our ethics," is now in Colorado, backed by his unethical millions, seeking for help to pull the string that will strangle the Filipinos and push up the profits of the Sugar-Trust.

Smooth are the lieutenants he has already enlisted, and it may not be long before we shall have another proof that economics make our morals; and sugar-beet raisers may come to see that it is all right to promote their industry by inducing a great national guardian to betray its trust to its helpless wards. But there are counter-economics now at work, and just at present they are a powerful influence against the cunning designs of the Sugar-Trust.

Colorado-made sugar is sold cheaper outside the state than at the plant where it is made. Beet-sugar made at Loveland is sold in Denver at the New York price plus the freight between New York and Denver. If you backed your wagon into the Loveland factory for a load of sugar the price you would pay would be the New York price plus the freight to Denver, and plus the freight from Denver to Loveland. This fact has already arrested general attention and the people, if not aroused, still are suspicious and afraid of this trust. They see the handwriting on the wall and know it will only be a short time before the Sugar-Trust will become one of the throne-powers of the state, and like the Franchise, Smelter and Coal-Trusts will be a constant menace to social order and justice. We have thus digressed a moment on the sugar-beet industry to illustrate the inevitable social tendencies of an enormous trust controlled by a "captain" who does not "give two cents for our ethics and does not know enough of them to apply them."

This total absence of moral uplift in trust-promoters is not at all peculiar to Mr. Havemeyer. It is so obviously in keeping with the end to be achieved by every trust, that even this early in their career they have come to have a code of morals of their own. They have under-

ground "short-cuts" by which they go "to the root of things in acquiring and dominating the sources of supply and the raw material, in controlling shipping rights of way, in securing exclusive benefits, rebates on large shipments, beneficial legislation, etc. . . . These so-called 'short-cuts' in business methods are made in many ways, and it may be that men are sometimes obliged to break through the lines of abstract justice to achieve their ends."\* That is precisely the point I am making, and it is frankly confessed by such an adroit expounder of the trust as Mr. Moody.

These imposing trust-promoters are continually "breaking through the lines of abstract justice," as exemplified in this series of papers by the Franchise-Trust, Coal-Trust, Smelter-Trust and the Railroads, and as exemplified in the nation by the Beef-Trust, Insurance-Trust, all other trusts, and also by the Railroads. They care nothing for social justice, and spurn it like a cast-off garment. When they do so, Mr. Moody assures us "that society is apt to endorse their methods on the general theory that the end justifies the means."†

If this is so, then the trust-magnate has already reached a stage of irresponsible depravity. He is a free-lance in morals, duly licensed to use either stiletto or club, as he may determine; the one or the other will secure his end. In my opinion, however, society is not "apt to endorse their methods." One who says otherwise forgets or ignores as an essential part of society the Socialists, Single-Taxers, Labor-Unionists, Roosevelt Republicans and Bryan Democrats. Society is in open revolt against the methods of the trust, but reserves its final rebuke until it may learn how it may be best administered. Even outside of the forces that make for reform, this revolt is also strikingly apparent. I quote from an address on "Moneyphobia" by ex-Assistant Attorney-General James M. Beck, before the recent

\* Moody's *The Truth About the Trusts*, p. 17.

† Moody's *The Truth About the Trusts*, p. 17.

New York State Bankers' Association:

"The signs of the times indicate a growing feeling of social discontent which finds its chief expression in indiscriminate abuse of wealth. This agitation is not confined to the ignorant, the envious or the malicious. The recent commencement season unmistakably indicated that the educated men are disinterestedly considering the phenomena of business in their moral aspects. Their deliverances teem with woeful jeremiads at the evil of the times and the decay of morals. Primarily, at least among the conscientious critics of the times, the present discontent is due to a profound dissatisfaction with the code of commercial morals. Abuses of trusts have run riot."\*

Words like these sounded in the ears of bankers, and many others of similar import that space forbids us to quote, are cogent proof that society is not endorsing the "short-cut" methods of trusts; at least, not those methods that "break through abstract justice."

A most effective statement of the popular revolt against trust-methods and irresponsible wealth comes from the still virile pen of the venerable John Bascom. He is now of Williams College, but when the writer knew him and sat entranced by his earnestness and erudition, he was then the president of the University of Wisconsin.

A recent issue of *The Independent* contains an epoch-making discourse by Dr. Bascom,† from which we quote the following:

"The multimillionaire cannot be a member of a free state on equal terms with his fellow-citizens. . . . The most obvious and immediately serviceable of equalities which go with free institutions is equality in economic opportunities. No other quality concerns so many actions, or actions on which so large a share of welfare depends. The wealth of which

we are speaking has been accumulated at the expense of this equality, and now threatens utterly to destroy it. One who can bring hundreds of millions to an undertaking, and, by a little combination, can carry the capital invested into the billions, has a power which, in comparison with that of men of ordinary means, gives him complete control of large undertakings. Not only does this mastery extend to securing these forms of enterprise, it carries with it the ability of making them, under almost any circumstances, profitable. No competition and no fear of competition accompany the development of business of this order, and unless the conception itself was a piece of folly the profits of a monopoly accrue to it at every stage. . . . Whether it is steel production or the stock market that is under consideration, the multimillionaire creates the conditions under which he operates. Equality of opportunity in business relations has suffered a sudden overthrow which the future will easily complete. The strongest antagonism to social decay should be found in Christian faith, but faith slowly bends to the conditions which surround it. [Thus economics make religion.] The Greek church brings to Russia no liberty. Our own religion goes but a little way in carrying sympathetic aid to the working-class, or in arousing a sense of the service due from those who lead business. It has been no strange spectacle with us to find one ordering his economic activity in a method utterly subversive of the kingdom of heaven, and yet cherishing some detached notion of finding his way into that kingdom. He has provided himself with a night-key, so that, an opportune moment arising, he may leave his business companions in the street, and drop into this quiet home of the faithful. . . . The Republican party is fast becoming the bondman of plutocracy. Its motto is to "stand pat," careless of discussion or vindication. It has so long prospered by concession that inquiry and resistance are foreign to its spirit. The temper of Pres-

\* Associated Press dispatches of Bankers' Convention, at Frontenac, N. Y., July 13, 1905.

† New York, March 30, 1905.

ident Roosevelt, alien to this altitude, may make slight fissures and chip off thin flakes. The Democratic party has broken midway, one extremity plutocratic, the other democratic. There is as yet much hammering here and there, and searching the face of the rock, but the moment a workable seam shall appear many wedges are ready to be driven home. This is made obvious by the unrest of workmen, by scattered revolt in many states, as in Wisconsin; by the number, radical character and large vote of secondary parties at the last presidential election. Our forecast is that one of those sudden changes, which are sure to arise in times of wide pressure, will combine these forces of resistance, and with them sweep the field for another deal in human rights."

As gloomy as the social outlook sometimes is, personally I am ever hopeful of the outcome and never lose faith in the ultimate triumph of social justice. In the end the people are bound to prevail. An absolute democracy is ultimately inevitable. I do not despair of curbing, or at last of even destroying, the power of the trusts. Their unbridled license is but for a day. Their power is in the special privileges and monopoly they enjoy. This power has all the hateful elements of oppressive taxation when, through watered stocks and bonds and secret rebates and governmental favors—legislative and judicial—they can lay tribute upon the community far in excess of their service, and take money from the many to make profits for the few. This is another form, and but lightly veiled, of the "farming out of the revenues" and of letting a favored few enjoy the exclusive taxing functions of the government. A power so many-sided and so dangerous should be studied and understood, and the Smelter-Trust will now afford us an excellent opportunity for a study so important.

#### THE SMELTER-TRUST.

We are now to deal with the oldest and

one of the most important economic interests of the state. All our agricultural and commercial prosperity was originally founded on the mines. They gave us a home market for the output of shop, factory and farm, and they gave us a product, too, that was sold or sought in every market on the globe. It is not strange, then, that the legislation of the state should single out gold and silver-mining for special favor. But it has now carried such favor to the extreme and there is serious and just complaint from other large interests prejudicially affected. Upon this phase of the subject the voice of history has an expressive warning, and it tells us that no industry of any kind can be made the special "pet" or concern of government without manifesting, if its development is successful, at least three distinct stages: first, suppliance; second, prosperous dependence, and third, arrogant dictation. This is certainly true of all the industries fed by a protective tariff, and it is equally true where the legislative food is served in the form of local tax favors or subsidies.

In Colorado metal-mining is still a special pet,—a young giant fed and reared on special privilege. Under article 10, section 3, "mines and mining-claims bearing gold, silver and other precious metals (except the net proceeds and surface improvements thereof)" were exempt from taxation for the period of ten years after the adoption of the state constitution. This time-limit expired in 1886, and in the following year an act was passed by which a mine or mining-claim was valued for revenue purposes at a sum not exceeding one-fifth of the gross proceeds in dollars and cents derived therefrom in the preceding fiscal year, and if such proceeds were \$1,000 or less they were not taxed.\*

This act remained in force until 1901-02. At this time a legislative attempt was made to take away the special privilege enjoyed by metal mines and to require them to pay taxes on the same basis

\*2 *Mills Ann. Stat.*, Sec. 3,224.

and under the same laws as the iron, coal, quarry and agricultural and other industries were required to pay. The mine-owners and operators, with the help of the Smelter-Trust, organized a powerful lobby and appeared at both the regular session of 1901 and the special session of 1902, and by the vast influence they were able to wield *and by threats to close down all the mines of the state*, they held in check the legislative hand and continued to enjoy their special privilege. By the new act passed in 1902 and which is still in force, mines were divided into two classes: those whose gross production exceeded \$5,000 were called *producing mines*, and all others *non-producing mines*. The latter, which generally belong to the multitude of common people, were to be "assessed and taxed like other property."\* But the producing mines owned by millionaires and the great mining corporations interested in increasing dividends and profits even though thereby provoking industrial war, these producing mines, most able to take care of themselves and least needing legislative subsidy, were successful in still holding on to the special privilege denied at last to the small mine-owners but still preserved almost intact to themselves. It was enacted that "for the purpose of assessment for taxation (the assessor shall) value such producing mine at a sum equal to one-fourth of the . . . gross proceeds for (the) preceding year for any such mine"; *provided*, that where the net proceeds for any such preceding year exceeds one-fourth of the gross proceeds, then any such producing mine shall be valued at the amount of such net proceeds.† Under this act, if the gross proceeds of a mine were four million dollars and the net proceeds one million and one dollars, the one million and one alone would be taxed, and three millions would be free. But the above proviso is of small practical value in raising revenue; still it served a good turn in sufficiently sugar-coating the measure to make it

palatable. Under the operation of the foregoing special privileges secured by legislative enactment, by the methods mentioned above, the metal-mining industry was, until 1902, only taxed on one-fifth of its output and four-fifths were free; and since 1902 it has been taxed on but one-fourth of its output and three-fourths have likewise escaped scot-free. Meantime the heavy burden of taxation has been borne by the small mine-owners and the other great and growing industries of the state.

Thus, through legislative favors, we see the evolution of classes among the mine-owners of the state; and the next step to be seen in a moment is the natural alliance between the large mine-owners and the Smelting-Trust. And here we pause an instant to reflect.

#### A RETROSPECT.

What a vast change has been wrought in the mining industry of the West, since George Jackson, on the 7th day of January, 1859, trying to thaw out the gravel by his big fire on Chicago creek, discovered, near the present thriving city of Idaho Springs, that celebrated "nugget of coarse gold."

In the summer following came the big rush to "Pike's Peak," with its romances and disappointments; but thirty years later this towering peak gave up its secret, and the world then beheld Cripple Creek and Victor nestled in its western folds. Until the spring of 1899 there was not a trust smelter in the state, and there were competitive ore-buyers in every prosperous camp, and a large number in Denver, Pueblo and Leadville. A mere prospector then with but a single ton of ore could sell it, and generally with a chance to take his choice of bids. Every large mining-center had one or more smelters or reduction works, and such plants, too, were numerous in the smaller towns of the state. Improved methods and competition were continually bringing down the cost of treatment and mine-owners and miners then shared with the mil'

\* 3 Mills Ann. Stat., 2d ed., Sec. 3, 890.

† 3 Mills Ann. Stat., 2d ed., Sec. 3, 885.

men something like a fair proportion of the general prosperity. There then was a choice of mills and prices, and the men had a choice as to employers and wages. That happy day is now no more; the competitive ore-buyers have disappeared from the state; the mine-owners are now at the mercy of the trust and the miner is at the mercy of both.

#### THE COMING OF THE SMELTER-TRUST.

New Jersey foisted the Smelting-Trust upon us, and has foisted upon the entire country a greater progeny of predatory corporations than any other state in the union. A natural parent is expected and required to nurture, rear and discipline his offspring, but this *unnatural* parent has sent its corporate children adrift as soon as they were born; and wholly bereft of parental instruction and restraint, they have gone as tramps through the country, and they have commercially and industrially looted, pillaged and oppressed wherever they have gone.

Just before the Smelter-Trust was born, instead of the seven wise men from the East, coming to worship it, we had on the contrary the usual commercial prevarication, and men of prominence and supposed probity joined in denials of knowledge of the coming event; and they did not even apologize or blush when the event soon happened with their own names signed to the midwife's contract, executed months before. This is in good form with the prevalent morals of corporations and trusts. We recently saw some of our best men in Denver deny that Armour and others of the Beef-Trust were negotiating with them for the purchase of our local packing-plants. Soon the purchase was confirmed, however, and we have now a new trust upon our hands and its coming has an ugly portent for our stockmen, if its first act be, as proclaimed, the acquisition of a million acres of Union Pacific Railroad lands in Wyoming on which to raise its own range-cattle for market. Whether first act or

not we can well believe this will eventually be a Beef-Trust act.

But to return. The American Smelting and Refining Company, as the Smelter-Trust is legally called, was born at its New Jersey home April 4, 1899, and in less than a month it swooped down upon the mine-owners and miners of Colorado and the West and entered upon its dual career of professing itself as a benefactor of the people, and at the same time demonstrating itself as a virulent destroyer. The year of its birth is quite significant, because that year, 1899, and the preceding year, 1898, constitute the most wonderful birth-period of trusts in all the commercial annals of the world. The New York *Investor* says\* that in those two years there were 562 trusts brought into being with the fabulous total capital of over \$8,000,000,000. Even then there were three and one-half million people compelled to look to trusts for employment, and it is not improbable that the number now impressed into service for the trusts is at least one-third of the grand total of thirty million people engaged in productive labor in the United States.

When the American Smelting and Refining Company was first organized in 1899, it started with eighteen plants, seven† of which were in Colorado, and its authorized capital stock was \$65,000,000, of which \$54,800,000 was issued one-half preferred and one-half common. The preferred stock of \$27,400,000 carried 7 per cent. dividends.‡ The operations of the company are now carried on in the following states: California, Colorado, Illinois, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas and Utah; also in old Mexico and South America. It is closely allied with the interests which control the Ameri-

\* Issue of December 30, 1899.

† The Colorado plants were as follows: Grant and Globe at Denver, San Juan at Durango, Pueblo Smelting and Refining Company at Pueblo, and the Bi-Metallic, Consolidated Kansas City, and the Chicago and Aurora at Leadville.

‡ *Report Indus. Com.*, Vol. XIII., p. 94.

can Linseed Company (Linseed-Oil Trust), the National Lead Company (Lead-Trust), and the United Lead Company. It controls the American Smelters Steamship Company, operating steamers to carry mine and mill-products between New York and Mexico.\*

The man who organized the Smelter-Trust vouched for the effectiveness of his work in the following words:†

“My impression is that, leaving out the Mexican interest of the Guggenheims and counting their two smelters on this side of the line, it (the percentage of business controlled by the company) would amount to about 85 per cent. of the entire smelting business of the country.”

This promoter further testified:‡

“Q. ‘Does this constitute a monopoly of the business in the United States now, or nearly so?’

“A. ‘With the Guggenheims it would. Well, there may be small concerns that we do not know about doing a small business for a few local men here and there, but the large commercial smelting business would be all included.’”

He then explains that the smelting to which he refers relates to gold, silver and lead-ores and that copper and zinc are by-products.

In the account given by Mr. Chapman of the organization of this trust, we see the options gathered up from all the confederating companies and taken to Chapman’s bank at No. 80 Broadway, New York. He describes the haggling over terms and prices and their general adjustment. The incorporation of the American Smelting and Refining Company is then rehearsed with its capital, etc., and the privilege extended to the

consolidating companies to take as much as they liked of the preferred stock at par, and to have a bonus of 70 per cent. in common stock with each subscription. He then tells us that “in getting together an organization of that kind you find a lot of people that claim to have been a very great benefit to the organization; who swarm around the great combination like flies around a sugar-barrel; and then it becomes necessary to make things comfortable for everybody and to settle up with them; and you settle up with one man for so much money and you settle with another for so much stock, and you get along with them the best you can.”§

Then the “round-up” comes, not the “round-up,” however, familiar to our stockmen in the mountains, but still a “round-up” that answers the same purpose and enables each participant to “cut out” the particular brand or property he claims as his own. At this trust “round-up” there congregated the officers of the various vendor companies, with all their important airs and with their still more important deeds of conveyance and with checks and securities ready to carry out their respective conspiring agreements with the American Smelting and Refining Company. At this “round-up,” too, as important as the many corporation officers, were also the many corporation attorneys. They were the high-priests at this interesting function, and save for the fact that they each had the duty of a wet-nurse to perform at the birth of a great commercial trust, their legal service was ordinary and uneventful, yet they all went away with self-satisfied opinions and with well-filled pocket-books, and like the fabled Minerva, the infant of their mighty brains, full-grown, sprang into instant being.

pany; (2) Continental Tobacco Company; (3) Pittsburgh Coal Company; (4) American Malting Company; (5) Pittsburgh Brewing Company; (6) Cleveland & Sanduaky Brewing Company; (7) Empire Steel & Iron Company; (8) American Smelting & Refining Company. He further says he is a director of the Tennessee Iron & Railroad Company and of the Tennessee Coal Creek Mining & Manufacturing Company. *Id.*, p. 93.

\* *Moody’s The Truth About the Trusts*, p. 45, etc.  
† E. R. Chapman, *Report Indus. Com.*, Vol. XIII., p. 97.

‡ *Id.*, p. 97.

§ *Report Indus. Com.*, Vol. XIII., p. 96. Mr. Chapman assures us of his familiarity with the organization of trusts by saying he financed the following industrials: (1) Brooklyn Union Gas Com-

## FISHING FOR THE GUGGENHEIMS.

With the Smelter-Trust thus born into an environment robbing it of heart and soul, and rich only in the tawdry embellishments of millionaire bluster and pluckings, and bereft of the benefit of the tutelage and discipline of a gradual growing from youth to manhood, this wanton offspring of frenzied "commercialism" fell at once into the hands of the "captains of industry." Knowing a good thing and having 85 per cent. of it, the longing of these "captains" for the other 15 per cent. was not to be abated. They angled for the Guggenheims with their smelters in Mexico and elsewhere, and especially for their "Philadelphia" smelter at Pueblo. But Simon, with his six brothers and old Meyer, the father of them all, were no ordinary fish to be caught by the first hook that came in sight. Moreover, they were petted and feasted by all the press and people of the state, who like the savage with his totem, ignorantly supposed they might thus drive away the devil-like fisherman from his successful invasion of their waters. But despite the people and their hysterics, the fisherman still fished, and although the people did not know, still he knew there was always a nibble at his hook. At last he changed the bait, and with the angler's best art the hook was again whipped into the ripples and there soon was heavy pulling on the line. The line had to be reinforced; the whole board of directors had to help, and they also called to their assistance the Chancery Court of New Jersey, and with a steady

pull and a pull all together they at last landed their catch, and to their utter dismay and amazement they found they had caught in the laughing streams of Colorado, not the expected frisky trout of the mountains, but seven great whales, and still another—the parent-whale of all.

Thus it was that Meyer Guggenheim and his seven sons were fished out of Colorado waters and landed as whales in the absolute control of the great American Smelter-Trust. The capital stock was increased from sixty-five million to one hundred million dollars—the thirty-five millions of increase having been put on the hook as bait; and in the board of directors of the trust we now see the House of Guggenheim royally sitting as the imperial Mikado.

Here are the names to remember when we hail, as now we must, the reigning dynasty of the world's great mining and smelting industry: Meyer Guggenheim, father, recently deceased; (1) Daniel Guggenheim, president and chairman of the executive committee; (2) Simon Guggenheim; (3) Isaac Guggenheim; (4) Solomon Guggenheim; (5) Murry Guggenheim; (6) Benjamin Guggenheim; (7) William Guggenheim.

And thus it came to pass that the American Smelting and Refining Company succeeded in its fishing, and secured its 100 per cent. of the business in the United States of smelting ores of lead, silver and gold, and thereby acquired and still exercises an absolute monopoly.\*

(To be continued.)

J. WARNER MILLS.

Denver, Colo.

\*This is not entirely accurate as the *Report of the Industrial Commission* informs us (Vol. XIX., p. 229) that the Guggenheim absorption resulted in consolidating practically all the silver-lead smelting interests in the United States, except the Balbach Smelting and Refining Co., Newark, N. J.; the Selby Smelting and Lead Co., San Francisco, Cal.; Puget Sound Reduction Co., Everett, Wash.; and a plant at Tacoma, Wash. Our space will not permit us to enter into a consideration of the subsidiary companies connected with the Smelter Trust further than already mentioned above. The valuable mines and plants of the Guggenheim Exploration Company have heretofore been absorbed by

the Trust and the capital was increased fifty million dollars for the purpose. The Guggenheims thus have a clear corporate control of the Trust,—eighty-five out of one-hundred and fifty millions of capital. The Federal Mining Company operating in the Coeur d'Alenes of Idaho and producing 21 per cent. of all the lead in the country is reported in the hands of the Trust. Simon Guggenheim is president of the Western Mining Co., owning and operating important mines, and the Trust has large stock holdings in the American Smelters Securities Co., with its \$77,000,000 of capital. The recent purchase by the Trust of more than 640 acres of copper mines in Bingham cañon, Utah, has brought



# UNCLE SAM'S ROMANCE WITH SCIENCE AND THE SOIL.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

## *Part III. The Forest.*

**I**T HAS lately come to the notice of our wise men that a forest policy is not only a national need but a national necessity; that our forests not should but *must* be preserved; that the water supplies sheltered at their sources by the nation's forest-covers are needed for the preservation of areas already under cultivation, and for the creation of new homes and farmsteads out of regions now parched to uselessness, must be protected and conserved. Public sentiment has drifted tardily in the wake of the far-sighted, and Congress has kept in sight of public opinion so far that the appropriations for the Forest Service have been increased from \$20,000 to \$1,000,000 a year.

It has been said often and truly that the two most important new problems of the internal administration of the affairs of the United States are National Irrigation and National Forestry. The government has adopted a public-land policy toward the solution of these problems involving some of the fundamental, if not vital, conditions of our national welfare. It is certain that a national forest policy is all that stands between us and the speedy destruction of whatever foundations of wood our national utilities and industries rest upon, and as well the sources of living waters for thirsty lands.

The control and administration of the forest reserves, formerly under the direction of the Land Office, passed last June over to the newly-created Forest Service, the nucleus of which was the Bureau of Forestry of the Department

the Trust into the field of "coppers" and it is already preparing plans for copper development that will run into the millions. It is not improbable that "Amalgamated Copper" itself will soon fall into the rapacious maw of the whale-born Guggenheims. If not, it will at least have a formidable rival in the Trust.

of Agriculture, whose personnel included men of the scientific training and experience necessary to render the people the largest utility and benefit the most lasting. With the coöperation of the President and the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Gifford Pinchot, National Forester, has, in making a national issue of the tree, begun a great movement, which, it is hoped, eventually will place the American forest beyond the ravages of the destructive anarchy of the "land-skinner."

The Forest Service has been familiarizing itself with the entire public domain with reference to its highest measure of utility. This study is thorough and scientific, free alike from any guess-work or favoritism, and includes both general and specific problems of the forest and its products, the tree and its products, and every possible relation they sustain to the nation and to the individual. In short, it is concerned with every possible relation existing between civilization and the tree. It studies methods of tree-planting, growing and utilization; whatever can make every given wood last longer and produce more, and what can produce more of that wood and for a greater length of time. The Service not only seeks the introduction of practical and scientific forestry throughout every portion of Uncle Sam's public domain, but is enlarging the forests of that domain; and is introducing the same methods among the private owners of timber areas, large or small, by advice, by the distribution of literature, by the dissemination of scientific knowledge learned from original investigations, and in actual co-operation in the work. It is replanting denuded forest areas, starting new ones and conserving old ones. It is studying the problems of the small owners of 500,000,000 acres of wood-lots and showing

them not only how they can successfully practice forestry but compete with the holders of larger interests. It studies the tree in its relation to the drouth and to the flood; to the irrigation of arid lands and the encroachments of sand-dunes, as well as to the inundations of the freshet.

It tells the man who owns timber-land how to get the most out of it; the farmer who has none what trees to plant and how. It shows the lumberman how to avoid waste and the millman how to save, and this because of the imminent dangers of the failure of both the timber and, in places, the water-supply and the inconceivable and irreparable loss to the nation which would ensue.

The two great outlines, however, which embrace the incomparably useful and necessary, even vital, contributions of the Forest Service to the nation are: first, that it has made possible the perpetuation of the utilities and industries and comforts in our land dependent upon wood; second, it has secured for the people a great area of forest reserve and water supply and is securing more. These reserve areas have already been more than doubled during Mr. Pinchot's *régime* in the addition of 44,000,000 acres, or exactly 687,500 square miles; or an area nearly the size of Nebraska, or twice the total forest-area of France, which is eighteen per cent. of her total land-area; or thirty-six per cent. the total area of France. Mr. Pinchot has labored incessantly and sympathetically to teach the lumberman that there is no future to his business if there is no future to the tree. And here emerges one of the most valuable phases of his work: in the conversion, at least to some degree, of the reckless and self-seeking and destructive methods of the lumber interests to more or less an attitude of support of the government policy. Heretofore forest fires have been aiding the conflagrations of the feverish greed of irresponsible and devil-may-care and after-us-the-deluge lumber and other private interests of the species "land-skinner." It is estimated that forest fires

destroy 10,000,000 acres of timber-land every year. Leaving out of account the destruction of human life, this represents a great annual loss in money-value, and a secondary loss to the water-supply.

This is a tremendous addition to the waste of the reckless lumberman, and can only be mitigated by a government patrol.

While not much has been attempted to make of the lumber interests a charity organization society, they have been brought to see that the future of their business lies in the future of the tree, and that they must fall in line with the federal forest policy or go out of business for want of one.

The forests of the United States are not yet safe from destructive lumbering. But methods of conservative lumbering, which use the product of the forest without impairing its future productive power, have been demonstrated as constituting a business proposition, especially as to the protection of the young timber. This is perhaps one of the most practical and most splendid achievements of the Forest Service, for in this fact lie varied possibilities of future development of an industry that was strangling the goose that laid the golden eggs. And this is wholly the result of the work of the Forest Service and of the President of the United States.

No clearer note in the national forest policy has ever been struck than that in the words of President Roosevelt at the opening of the American Forest Conference in Washington, January 2, 1905:

"I ask with all the intensity that I am capable of that the men of the West will remember the sharp distinction I have just drawn between the man who 'skins' the land and the man who develops the country. I am going to work with and only with the man who develops the country. I am against the 'land-skinner' every time. Our policy is consistent to give to every portion of the public domain its highest possible amount of use."

These words outline the policy of this government toward the remaining public

domain. The President is determined that what is left shall at least not be the loot of spoilsmen, but that whenever the ground can be tilled, there shall be a home and that the public-lands shall have their forest cover protected.

The creation of forest reserves is a part of the public-land policy of the United States government and aims at the prevention of the waste of any of its resources and the best permanent use of all the land by all the people.

A single illustration from the multitude of economies instituted by this Service may be taken from the turpentine interests. The unbroken forest of long-leaf pine which once extended through the Southern states, practically from the Atlantic seaboard to Texas, had been so far exhausted that expert estimates gave the industry but fifteen years more to live. More than half of the original forest had been exhausted and much of the rest depleted from reckless and wasteful methods.

The service has introduced Dr. Charles H. Herty's "cup"-system, instead of the old destructive box-system, prolonging the life of the naval-store industry, which was threatened with immediate extinction. The "Herty" system produces not only higher-grade rosins than were possible to the other, but it increases the turpentine output by about forty per cent. At a cost of about \$14,000 all told, the Forest Service has in this one item added \$7,000,000 a year to the naval-stores products. But more important than this is the fact that it has not only saved the turpentine industry, but the turpentine forests from annihilation.

The Service has undertaken, as one phase of its task, the solution of the problem of floods in rivers. For instance: The Kansas river floods of 1903 destroyed \$20,000,000 worth of property and one hundred lives. One of the most fertile valleys on the continent, one hundred and twenty miles long, was partly destroyed. Here the rich soil was cut away; there it was covered with sand six and eight feet deep over the field; holes were

cut out and lakes left behind. Out of 250,000 acres of wonderfully fertile soil, ten thousand were completely destroyed; ten thousand more lost fifty per cent. of their value; and the uncertainty left behind depreciated the value of the whole valley.

The Forest Service has devised systems of tree-planting for the river banks, the sand-covered and deeply eroded lands. The object of the first is to prevent washing of the banks, to protect the whole area from the full force of the floods and in time of overflow to check the tendency to cut new channels. The last two systems are for ultimately reclaiming the now destroyed lands and making them productive. The useless sand-lands will grow cottonwood and reclaim the land for crops. A most interesting discovery was made after the flood. Where the protected growth of cottonwood which had not been cut away checked the rush of flood-waters, the land beyond was generally covered not with sand but silt, and is often more fertile than before. With extensive planting of trees another flood would bring back, instead of further desolation, a return of fertility to much of the land now barren.

There are practically but three classes of land left out of all the great North American forest and pampas, so short a time since the roaming-place of bison and Indian. These at present are all unsuitable to agriculture and mostly to human habitation. There is first the desert-land that can be reclaimed by water. There is the desert-land apparently forever irreclaimable for want of water. There are also the mountainous areas not amenable to agriculture. There is little hope of future utility in the land that lies in hopeless thirst. But between the other two classes of land there is close relationship—between the wooded mountain and the desert plain. High up in the forested cañons nature has built her great sponge-reservoirs and her dams of moss and fern. Above these yet the ice and snow. Here open thousands of tiny

sluiceways for the oozing waters that have been let loose from melting sun and falling rain. Soaking deep the sluggish and reluctant waters flow from their cool retreats down into the brooks—those into the larger streams whose replenished banks guide them from their natural reservoirs into the plain. How different the cañons and gullies of the treeless and arid regions, scenes of alternating forms of desolation. When it does rain, which is not often, a thousand streams pour like water off a tin-roof, to expand below into an inundation in an hour; to sweep swift destruction through the valley; to subside at once into a blister on the plains; to parch there like the forsaken victim of illicit love.

"All at once and all over with a mighty uproar,  
And this way the water comes down at Ladore."

A striking comparison of the types of water-supply was given by J. B. Lippincott, Supervising Engineer of the United States Reclamation Service, at the Forestry Congress, in Washington, last January. He says that Queen creek, Arizona, discharges through a barren, treeless drainage basin of one hundred and forty-three square miles, in violent freshets and flood-waves, subsiding almost as rapidly as they arise. During most of the year the channel is dry.

In contrast is Cedar creek, Washington, with the same drainage area. It is heavily timbered and in addition the ground is covered with a heavy growth of ferns and moss. The total annual rainfall in Washington creek in 1896 was eight times that of the Arizona creek, yet the maximum flood-discharge per second is only 3,600 cubic feet for the former, while that of the latter was 9,000 cubic feet per second. The mean discharge from the Arizona creek was fifteen cubic feet per second; that of the other, 1,089 cubic feet per second. He adds that the radical difference in their character is believed to be largely due to the difference in forest cover.

A fair question to ask, in estimating the value of any service, public or private,

is: "How would it have been with us otherwise?" What the country was without the Reclamation Service we have seen who knew the arid West years ago. What American agriculture would have been without national interference, one could imagine who knows what farming was a generation ago. What the land would have been without a National Forest policy the average man can not imagine at all.

It is impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of the menace to the business interests of the country in the possible failure of the lumber supply. Every human interest from agriculture, transportation, building, manufacture, commerce, on the land, to the sailing-vessel on the sea with her cargo of wooden nutmegs, is directly and vitally affected by the forest sources of the wood-supply at living prices.

We have not been accustomed to think of the wood industry as much an indispensable basis of our industries as iron. We have looked upon agriculture and iron as our two most important economic cornerstones. But our cities and our shipyards use more wood now than ever before the day of steamboats or steel-girders.

My attention has been called by Mr. Smith, Chief of the Editorial Division of the Forest Service, that while the census shows an annual output from the logging-camps of only about one-half of the iron-mines of three hundred and seventy millions, that this takes no account of the vast amount of timber not for the general market but for local consumption—worth probably in the aggregate at least as much more. Moreover, as we use iron we use it up. So it once was with the forest. Fresh supplies of lumber were available only in new territory. First the Northeast, then the Lake States, then the South were swept clean of any great reserve. Only the Northern Pacific coast was left. Soon this would have been gone under the awful warfare with which these private interests have

vandalized the future. No one who has read the history of the Forest Service, and, as well, that of the "land-skinner," can hesitate long as to whether "state interference," or *laissez-faire*—to use the larger meaning of the term—is the better politics, and as to whether competitive anarchy or patriotic nationality is the better guiding principle in public affairs.

It is pretty certain that, but for a national forest policy, and that with the nation behind it, the greed of the "land-skinner" would soon have laid bare our Western States as it has stripped the Eastern and Middle States, and deprived the arid region of the West of a stable water-supply.

Every true American has felt the elemental sorrow of Leatherstocking, driven to the Far West because the sound of the woodsman's axe which had driven him from his forest home,—still in the clearings,—hurt his ears; and a lonely old man with his silent laugh and his silent grief, sorrow-stricken still in the far prairie at the sound of a falling tree. There is real tragedy here. This is a common feeling. But this sentiment has never been organized. The financial interests opposed have been organized. This has been a necessity, for sentiment still rules the world. A growing national sentiment is behind the whole work of the Forest Service.

A national sentiment is not a national *sentimentalismus*. The pioneers of forestry, in creed or deed, have entertained no economic grief that the dryads are dead or that the wan shapes of the hamadryads are wandering like lost ghosts among the ragged and unroofed stumps

of so many a deserted waste; we entertain a sentiment—a patriotism—a religion—for the restoration of the beauty, the utility and the dignity of the land. But for the forest, which was the glory of the nation's youth, what would our land have been to-day? What would it have been to-morrow? Surely another domain. It furnished the settler and pioneer their meat and drink. It gave them the roofs over their homeless heads. It furnished the fortress to protect them from the arrow of a treacherous foe. The life of the nation's youth was nurtured in the forest. And more or less in every home on the continent to-day some forest-product furnishes shelter.

When those now middle-aged were children and went to school, and when Friday afternoon came and it was their turn to "speak," how many of us have idly drawled the hackneyed words:

"Woodman spare that tree;  
Touch not a single bough."

The United States of America facing to-day the practical destruction and possible annihilation of its mighty forest areas; recovering from its bewilderment, in turning from the past, with the illimitable forest line set against its horizon, to face the waste and desolation of a few more years of annihilating anarchy, has achieved a new meaning for words which might sum up a growing national sentiment toward what is left of forest primeval:

"In youth it sheltered me  
And I'll protect it now."

FRANK VROOMAN.

*Berkeley, Cal.*

## A SOCIALIST'S REPLY TO JOHN MOODY.

BY ALLAN L. BENSON,

Author of *Socialism Made Plain*, *The Confessions of Capitalism*, etc.

WITH the spirit of John Moody's article in the October ARENA, every lover of justice must be in sympathy. Entitled "The Conservation of Monopoly," its purpose was to point the way toward the destruction of the power that private monopoly now gives to a few to exploit the rest of the people. But here, the present writer at least, must cease his praise. For in the article mentioned, the distinguished author of *The Truth About the Trusts* falls into some of the most amazing errors in outlining the attitude of the Socialists toward private monopoly and their remedy therefor; and he also does strange things in the name of logic in trying to demonstrate that the Socialist plan would fail while the Single-Tax plan would succeed.

The first question that seems seriously to puzzle Mr. Moody is the source of monopoly-power. "It is not capital, labor, nor land," says he, and then he asks if it is a fourth factor in "production," or rather wealth-diversion, as he afterwards puts it. He says it *is* a fourth factor in trust parlance and the remainder of the article shows that this opinion is also his own.

"The 'scientific' Socialist," he adds, "holds that capital and monopoly are one, but he ought to know better."

The "scientific" Socialist not only "ought to know better," but he *does* know better than to hold that "capital and monopoly are one," notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Moody accuses him of such an error. He holds no such belief. On the contrary, he holds that there is a vast difference between competitive capital and coöperative capital. As an illustration of the Socialist view of this matter, the various plants that were afterwards merged into the United States Steel Corporation may be used. Before the merg-

er, these plants were in competition with each other, and the capital represented by them was not regarded by any Socialist as the equivalent of monopoly; and for the simple reason that there *was* no monopoly in the steel business at that time. *After* the merger the capital represented in every plant that entered the trust was regarded by every Socialist as *monopolistic* capital, for the reason that the capital thus merged was controlled by private individuals for the purpose of creating a monopoly of the steel business.

Is it not, therefore, plain that while monopoly-power, as Mr. Moody says, "is neither capital, labor nor land," it arises from the control of *all* of these factors to a greater or lesser extent, so far as concerns the purpose of a given industry?

Then again:

"While the majority of trusts possess monopoly-power in one form or another," says Mr. Moody, "yet all do not, and it is universally true that where a trust possesses no monopoly-power at all, it cannot be broadly or permanently harmful to the community."

And then he illustrates this statement by citing the careers of the coal-trust and the steamship-trust, so-called, the first of which has achieved a great monopoly success while the latter has not.

Is it not true that a trust achieves the full possibilities of the purposes for which it was formed only to the extent that it creates a monopoly in the line of business in which it is engaged? Are trusts formed for anything *else* except to curtail competition, and actually to destroy it if possible? *Of course*, the few trusts of which Mr. Moody speaks that have no monopoly power cannot be "broadly or permanently harmful to the community." They cannot be broadly or permanently harmful

to the community for the simple reason that having failed to secure a monopoly they are unable to practice the extortions that monopoly makes possible, because they are still in a competitive struggle with the others engaged in the same industries. According to Mr. Moody's own statement, the failure to secure a monopoly was the very reason why the steamship-trust fell so far short of its possibilities as a trust. "It was obliged to operate from the start on a competitive basis," he says. And why *was* it compelled to operate from the start on a competitive basis, when the coal-trust, which neither does now, nor ever has owned all the coal-mines, was enabled to whip its competitors into line and compel them to maintain prices even if they continued to operate as individuals? Is it not possible that the fact that the coal-trust owned all the railroads leading from the mines had something to do with it? If the steamship-trust had owned the oceans over which its competitors wished to sail, is there any reason to suppose that its success would have been less signal than that of the coal-trust? Then why seek to convey the impression that a trust may be eminently successful without the possession of monopoly-power, when all the facts point irresistably to the conclusion that such a trust has "gone wrong," so to speak, and has been a disappointment to its promoters? There can be only two reasons for the formation of any trust, to make possible more economical production by eliminating the wastes of competition and to exercise the powers of monopoly and extortion that an absence of competition gives. And thus far, the evidence is all to the effect that the latter is the more potent consideration in bringing about mergers.

Proceeding next to the subject of governmental regulation or supervision of monopolies, it is necessary only to mention Mr. Moody's statement that the Socialists are in favor of such regulation or supervision and that the monopolists really want to be regulated. In a foot-

note to Mr. Moody's article, the Editor of *THE ARENA* called attention to the well-known fact that the Socialists look upon "regulation" as an utter delusion, while in an editorial were given some of the abundant reasons for believing that the monopolists are *not* in favor of the regulation of their monopolies by the government. The present writer does not fully agree with either gentleman on the latter point. He believes that on general principles, no monopolist wants to be regulated, either by the introduction of new competitors into his field, or by the government. But he also believes that in certain emergencies, regulation is not only welcomed but sought, as a means of escape from apparently impending evils that appear even more menacing than regulation. It is sometimes safer to take the chances on regulation and name the "regulator" at Washington, than it is to keep before the legislatures of forty-five states the temptation to do the regulating themselves.

In discussing the present agitation for the governmental regulation of monopoly, Mr. Moody makes the point, and we think quite correctly, that monopoly can no more be eliminated by restrictive and regulating legislation "than the sunlight can be regulated by statute law." Paradoxical as it may seem, trace monopoly back to its origin and it is to be found in unrestricted competition. Unrestricted competition was possible so long as the machinery of production was inadequate to supply the demands of the people for the things produced. New plants were being erected to fill these demands and there was thus an opportunity for competition without the annihilation of the competitors. Competition was not fierce. But there came a day when the capitalists realized that too many plants and too much machinery had been brought into being; that the tendency was toward "over-production" and the periodical industrial depressions that accompany the inability of the manufacturers to find markets for their goods. And when that

day came, the era of the trust dawned. Instead of building more machinery with which to intensify competition, capitalists engaged in the same line of industry sought to pool their interests, *close* such of their superfluous plants as were not needed to supply the trade, and fight anyone else who wanted to build more. All of these things were done because the installation of more than enough plants to keep pace with the people's ability to buy their products had brought about a ferocity of competition that made production wasteful and profits infinitesimal. Thus was the trust born out of necessity—the necessity of killing death-dealing competition and supplanting it with life-giving coöperation; and having been born, the trust magntes, Yankee-like, at once proceeded to make a virtue out of necessity by putting to the fullest use their newfound powers of extortion that came to them through monopoly when competition died. The line of reasoning is therefore this: Unrestricted competition is no longer industrially possible; coöperation is the next step in industrial evolution, and being the law of nature, cannot be repealed by the act of an earthly legislature.

Now if the principle of industrial coöperation be accepted—and the great capitalists themselves are the most emphatic defenders of this principle—the only question is whether the coöperation shall be by a few for the benefit of those few at the expense of all or whether it shall be coöperation by all at the expense of none for the benefit of all. We now have in the trusts the *first* kind of coöperation, for the simple reason that industrial evolution has made competition impossible and in enforcing coöperation has created a situation—new and not understood by the people—that has given the private coöperators an opportunity to practice the extortion powers of monopoly until such time as the people shall understand the beneficent character of coöperation and apply its possibilities to their own use. Monopoly-power arising naturally

and inevitably through the enforced abandonment of competition, Socialists contend that the only question that is worth while to discuss in this connection is *not* whether we shall attempt the impossible by trying to make men compete at a loss, but how can we make coöperation, which we have and cannot escape, a public benefit instead of a public curse for the enrichment of a private few? Plainly, they say, the course is to supplant the private coöperators, who by virtue of their opportunities as monopolists become extortioners, with public coöperators in whose hands monopoly would not be an evil, since monopoly is not to be feared—notwithstanding Mr. Moody—unless it be used for extortion; and public monopolists could not use monopoly for extortion, for the simple reason that there would be no advantage in the people trying to extort money from themselves. In other words, the Socialist plan is to have all industry owned and managed by the people through the government for the benefit of all the people, with all products sold at the cost of manufacture and no profits for any private capitalist.

But this cannot be done, says Mr. Moody. In a qualified manner he expresses the opinion that governmental ownership of railroads would be of benefit to the people, but he balks at governmental ownership of the coal-mines, for instance, on the ground that the monopolists would certainly control the government and thus fry the fat out of the people in a different way.

“They (the monopolists) do not worry much about the programme of the Socialists,” says Mr. Moody. What the monopolist thinks of Mr. Moody's remedy of the initiative and referendum, combined with the Single-Tax, is difficult to discover from his article, for in the same paragraph he says that the referendum “will be ridiculed, cried down and poohpoohed by every monopolist,” while four lines later he says that “Propose the referendum plan and he (the monopolist) is up in arms at once.” Now while I do



not quite understand how the monopolist could have such instantaneous and widely conflicting emotions immediately upon the mentioning of Mr. Moody's plan of the initiative and referendum, it is the opinion of the writer that the monopolist is in fact thoroughly alarmed at the proposal of either the Socialist plan or the initiative and referendum plan. In fact, every well-informed capitalist knows that the initiative and referendum plan is an integral part of the Socialist plan; that it is in every Socialist platform, together with the demand for the right to exercise the imperative mandate; and that every Socialist speaker emphasizes the fact that governmental ownership is of no value if the government is to continue to be dominated by the great capitalists and not by the people; as he also knows that in this connection, Socialist speakers always instance the case of Russia where there is governmental ownership of the railroads, which is of no value to the people because the people do not control the government.

But to get back to Mr. Moody's plan of the initiative and referendum.

"This is the first thing," he says, "and until this is done, nothing is done. *This puts the power to do in the hands of the people as nothing else ever can.* Then, briefly, *having once gotten the actual power to do,* let the community not seek to preserve, conserve or cherish this element of monopoly, but rather seek measures to eliminate and wipe it out. The Socialist thinks you cannot do this; but the Socialist does not know, he only thinks."

The italicised words show plainly that Mr. Moody has no doubt of the ability of the people to wrest control of the government from the monopolists if they be given the initiative and referendum. In this every Socialist will agree with him, because every Socialist is preaching the same doctrine every day. But if this much be admitted, what becomes of Mr. Moody's objections to the Socialist plan of the public-ownership of *all* capital? He admits that he believes the public-

ownership of railroads to be correct in principle, but objects to the public-ownership of coal-mines and other industries on the ground that the monopolists would control the government and use their control for their own benefit and against the welfare of the people? How could they do it, when the Socialists have long advocated the initiative and referendum, which Mr. Moody says would leave the monopolists shorn of all political power and "put the power to do in the hands of the people as nothing else ever can"? Either the initiative and referendum would not be as powerful as Mr. Moody believes it is, and as we Socialists believe it is, or else it becomes necessary for him to discover new objections to Socialism if he wishes to continue to oppose it.

If Mr. Moody's logic be faulty, as the present writer believes it to be, his errors unquestionably arise from his desire to "eliminate monopoly"—to destroy it. And his error in this respect plainly arises from a confusion of terms. We submit that monopoly, in itself, is beneficial to the public and not harmful. *It is the power of extortion that may be derived from private monopoly that is a menace to the public interests.* Monopoly, in itself, means merely absence of competition. Absence of competition means the elimination of the tremendous wastes of competition and the effecting of the numerous economies that may be brought about by means of coöperation. All of these things would be of benefit to the public if the public were the monopolists and in a position to buy their commodities more cheaply. Yet these beneficent effects of coöperation become a positive injury to the public when the economies of coöperation are not only appropriated by private coöperators, but additional sums are also extorted through the exercise of the powers of extortion made possible by the existence of private monopoly.

Is it not clear, then, that it is the extortion made possible by private monopoly and not the monopoly itself that is harmful to the public? Mr. Moody says: "The

Socialist thinks you cannot eliminate monopoly; but the Socialist does not know, he only thinks." Wrong again. The Socialist does not think anything of the kind. On the contrary, he knows that it is within the range of human possibilities to "eliminate" almost anything except the earth, the air and the surrounding planets. Civilization itself can even be "eliminated"; it has been done before now, and it is therefore not an impossible thing to eliminate monopoly. But why should we want to eliminate monopoly, when it is only extortion that we want to kill? Why should we try to force men who say they can not do business on a competitive basis to return to it, when the facts plainly show that the time for competition is past? At the present development of industry it is a wasteful, suicidal, cut-throat method. Yet it is Mr. Moody's method, as it must be the method of everyone who would free the people of the effects of an extortion born of the power of private monopoly without adopt-

ing the Socialist plan of making all monopolies public monopolies and thus preserving their good features while destroying the possibilities for wrong use in private hands.

Yet the present writer can understand how Mr. Moody holds his acknowledged views. The same views are held by many men of the highest intelligence who need yield to no others in their love for their kind and their desire for their highest welfare. But the circumstance that is not so easy to understand is how a man of Mr. Moody's acknowledged standing as an expert on certain economic matters could err so grievously and so often in attempting to define the attitude of the Socialist party—a party that is worldwide in its scope, universal in its cardinal principles, millions strong in its adherents and a persistent circulator of hundreds of tons of pamphlets declaring that it does not advocate the things that Mr. Moody says it advocates. ALLAN L. BENSON.

*Detroit, Mich.*

## THE WHIPPING-POST FOR WIFE-BEATERS.

By R. W. SHUFELDT, M.D.,  
Trustee of the Medico-Legal Society.

RECENTLY there has appeared in several of the New York daily newspapers the statement that there are at the present time some sixty thousand wives in that city who have been deserted by their husbands, and that, owing to this state of affairs, there are no fewer than one hundred thousand children who are at this moment lacking all parental support.

Apart from all sentimental aspects that may attach to this truly unprecedented record, if it be really true, its causes are deserving of the closest study on the part of students of human nature, mankind, and sociology. This is all the more important when one comes to consider the

number of divorce trials in this same community which annually terminate in the dissolution of the bonds of marriage in the case of married couples. They, too, run far into the hundreds and perhaps thousands, and are calculated to lead any thoughtful and well-informed person to believe that there must be something radically wrong in the whole scheme of our marital relations, and, indeed, the entire institution of monogamic marriage. For, be it known, these desertions, be the case one of a man deserting his wife or *vice versa*, and these divorces, are by no means restricted to any particular plane of society, as they occur among people in all conditions of life.

Now the laws of cause and effect are just as applicable to a society composed of human beings as they are to any other large group of animals, and can be studied with equal precision. This is true throughout all nature and rests upon as delicate an equilibrium as the functional balance among the organs of the body in any living creature, or, for that matter, in the physical balance of the universe.

Further, it makes all the difference in the world, in so far as results are concerned, whether we undertake to induce any class of animals, from men to mice, to perform anything through the suasion of cruelty and ignorance or through that of kindness and intelligence. This applies as well to the individual as to a collection of individuals, or society. The truth of all this is so universally known and recognized that it is quite unnecessary to cite any examples here to demonstrate my several statements.

Before passing, however, to the main question, it will be as well to add that when in this world the course of nature ceases to run smoothly and the natural operation of many things in this life becomes distorted or perverted, it is, in the vast majority of instances, due to human interference. Again, people of ordinary perceptions in this world are very apt to be unable to distinguish between the normal and immutable operations of nature and those existing conditions which are, either in part or in whole, due to man's invention. Finally, when man in his ignorance does undertake to interfere in the normal operations or intentions of nature, either as such interference may affect his own conditions or environment or that of any other assembly of animals, and that disastrously, we may be very sure that there exist somewhere in the world one or more persons who understand precisely what has happened, and there is likewise in existence the remedy to correct the evil, whether it lie within the ken of man or not, or whether he has the power to apply it after it has been discovered.

In the light of all that has been said above, it may be stated with absolute certainty that the form of marriage in vogue among us is an institution of purely human invention; that if in a large proportion of cases it fails of its object, it is, as an institution, in violation of all that is natural, or of nature's intentions in that particular. If after marriage, in thousands—a great many thousands—of cases in this community, men are voluntarily deserting their wives or wives their husbands, or are seeking the assistance of the courts in order that parties to marriages or those married may be quit of each other, there has, beyond all peradventure of doubt, been violence done to nature in some manner or form, whether it be generally recognized or not. Moreover, if this be the case, which it undoubtedly is, there is somewhere in nature the proper remedy to remove it, even if the correction requires as long a time for complete accomplishment as it took man to bring about the abnormal and undesirable state of affairs.

As to the cause of these numerous desertions in New York city, and, incidentally, the cause for such an enormous increase of divorce suits, few seem to have advanced in the public prints any opinion about it. True, with respect to the desertions the Rev. A. E. Myers, of the Marble Collegiate Church, has stated that he believes gambling and drink to be the roots of the evil. In this he is entirely in error, and it may be said indirectly in passing that thousands of men in New York city who both drink and gamble are at the same time good husbands and fathers in their families; moreover, it would hardly apply to the women who desert the men they have married. Not that gambling in any form is to be countenanced, although its harmfulness in any community has been vastly overrated, nor is the fearful curse of alcoholic intemperance to be underrated; but neither one nor the other of these are at the bottom of the trouble.

The fundamental causes are of a very

different nature, more far-reaching, and decidedly more profound in character. Some of them may be directly traced to the unnaturalness of several of the requirements of the marriage contract, required on the part of both law and the church. Associated with this cause is another, and this refers to the still-existing and broad underlying vein of superstition still controlling the minds of the people in regard to the so-called sacredness of the marriage vow and contract. Still another cause is to be found in the infernal system of laws that have been enacted and are now in force, having reference to the entire question of sex relations of every description, marital or otherwise.

Above and beyond all these various causes, however, is one that completely envelopes everything having anything whatever to do with the matter of the conditions under which the two sexes can happily and profitably be mated and their offspring reared to become normal men and women and sound, intelligent and progressive representatives of the race. This cause is the utter ignorance of the science of sexology and a lack of a thorough understanding of human nature in its broadest sense. Now what makes the situation still more hopeless, not to say dangerous, is that we have permitted to grow up in this country, under federal protection, the most vicious system of censorship that has ever disgraced a civilization. Under its rulings, not only has it come about that it is practically impossible to introduce into the United States the works of foreign writers of the highest authority on sexology, but anyone attempting to publish, either in the public prints or in book form anything touching upon such vital subjects, not only places himself or herself in danger of fines at the hands of the courts, but of all other forms of legal persecution, including a term of years in prison. So with suppressing the information upon one side and ignoring the matter of crass ignorance upon the

other, of such matters, the result is precisely what the courts and the clergy are deploring. This highly important subject will bear a very considerable enlargement, but the limitation of space forbids it at this time.

A word as to the remedies suggested. Naturally these come from the courts and are not far to seek. When people do not understand things in this world, and their training is of such a nature as to preclude their ability to properly handle difficult problems, then they immediately resort to cruelty and violence to rid themselves of the annoying problem. The truth of this is seen in the present case in the fact that nearly all the law courts in New York city, and a very large proportion of her lawyers, are distinctly in favor of establishing the whipping-post as the sole remedy for the cure of this evil. For example, Magistrate Cornell, of the East Fifty-seventh Street Court, has said: "Reestablish the whipping-post and give these men who abandon their wives and families a good lashing with a cat-o'-nine tails, and there would be fewer complaints from wives who are left without means to feed themselves and their babies."

It is difficult for me to conceive of a more horrible and barbarous suggestion than this outrageous one. Without making any pretensions to being a Christian, it seems to me that this is in direct opposition to the very essence of the principles maintained by the Christian church. It is very much to be doubted, from what we know of him, whether Christ would have recommended any such procedure, and, if the tale be true, he even treated an adulteress with more compassion and consideration. Mr. Cornell evidently believes that sixty thousand American homes can be lovingly held together by man's dread of the cat-o'-nine tails! What a picture! And the whipping-post—what a moral example it would prove to be to our growing American youth! I suppose they would get used to it, just

as they get accustomed to other relics of savagery in our vaunted civilization. The Russians have become accustomed to their Cossacks and the knout, as well as to their censors suppressing the literature of science; and why not Americans?

Indeed, we are so nearly Russianized in some particulars, we may as well accept a similar situation; but if we do, America too will some day meet her Japan.

R. W. SHUFELDT.

*New York City.*

## RAY D. HANDY: ONE OF THE YOUNGEST OF OUR NEWSPAPER CARTOONISTS.

By B. O. FLOWER.

RAY D. HANDY, of the *News-Tribune* of Duluth, Minnesota, is one of the youngest of our American newspaper cartoonists whose work has been widely copied owing to the artist's aptness and felicity in humorously epitomizing or in hitting off present-day events and circumstances prominent in the public mind. Mr. Handy is only twenty-eight years of age, having been born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in the summer of 1877. He was educated in the public-schools of his native city and from them he entered the post-office in the capacity of special-delivery boy and clerk. During the three years he remained in this position, he attended the Minneapolis School of Fine Arts of an evening. Next he went to Columbus, Ohio, where he attended the Zanerian Art College, and still later he worked under the direction of the Art Students' League of New York, after which he returned to his native city, where R. C. Bowman, of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, gave him employment for four years. But in 1902 he accepted a favorable offer from the *News-Tribune* of Duluth, where he has since worked to the satisfaction of the management.

Up to the present time Mr. Handy has not come face to face with those great and solemn facts of life that touch the profoundest depths of our nature and awaken one to the deeper significance of life.

Nor has he yet personally felt the effect of evil conditions in government sufficiently to arouse him to a recognition of the high duty which devolves on all members of a free state—the sacred obligations imposed by the great republic on all her children—to exercise their reason in all things, to weigh ever-recurring questions in the scales of Justice and to follow the highest promptings of their being with a loyalty worthy of the Fathers who gave the world the noblest example of democ-



Handy, in *Duluth News-Tribune*.

WHERE DOES THE FARMER COME IN?

Handy, in Duluth *News-Tribune*.

Korea wants voice in peace treaty between Japan and Russia.—*News Item.*

JAPAN—"IF YOU DON'T KEEP OUT OF THE WAY I'LL MISS THIS SHOT."

racy known to history. In this respect he occupies the position of hundreds of thousands of our young men; most of us, indeed, while we remain upon the threshold of manhood, especially in times of peace and prosperity and before the graver problems of life are pressed home and we are compelled to see and feel the wrongs that flourish on every side, look at life in a superficial way and chiefly from the personal point-of-view. When, however, the young man who is at heart an idealist comes face to face with the great crises in life, or he becomes alive to the evil and injustice that flourish on every hand, he awakens or comes to himself, just as Wendell Phillips, the darling of the *élite* of Boston, suddenly awakened when he saw William Lloyd Garrison being dragged through the streets of Boston by a well-dressed mob and from the hour of that awakening consecrated his life and splendid talent to the cause of human freedom; just as Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia, when brought face to

face with a great issue—when forced to make a final choice, which on the one hand seemed to mean his political ruin, but which on the other hand carried with it his spiritual death and the continued moral degradation of his city,—chose so nobly that he instantly became one of the great aggressive, moral forces of the nation. At such moments the divinity that is latent in all of us asserts itself; "the idle singer of an empty day" becomes a *man* worthy of citizenship in the greatest of nations. Until these crucial moments and testing seasons come, however, the finest natures, especially among the young, frequently drift along, living the lovable life of the child—the life that can never come again after the graver experiences of life have impressed the soul.

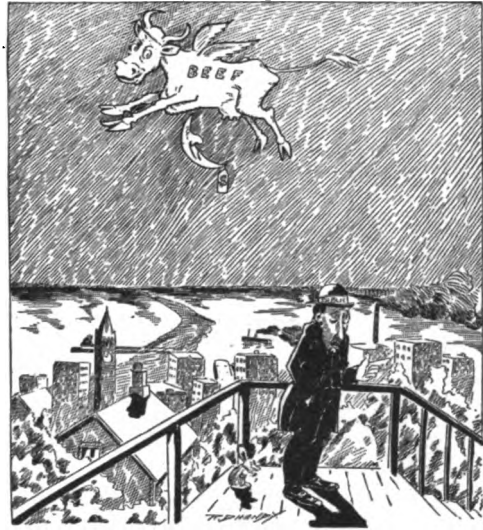
That such is the position of our artist is indicated from his reply to an inquiry asking for his views on public questions. "I," he said, "usually mould them to fit the paper I am working for." There speaks the young man who desires to succeed and to give satisfaction to his employer—both laudable aims if they do

Handy, in Duluth *News-Tribune*.

COMING DOWN.

not require the individual to throw his influence on the side of wrong, of injustice, of oppression and of corruption, or to do violence to his convictions of right on any question.

In the case of Mr. Handy, unless we wholly mistake the real man, his answer is merely the voicing of the youthful intellect not yet awakened to a recognition of the august duties and demands of life in a republic in a great crucial period like our own. He possesses the artistic temperament. From his countenance we should say without hesitation that he belongs among the idealists rather than among the sordid materialists to whom the vision never comes, to whom poetry makes no appeal, and to whom the voice of lofty patriotism or the clarion tones of duty are as an idle wind down the barren mountain-side. Unless we are greatly mistaken, the time is not far distant when the general awakening now in progress from the Atlantic to the Pacific will call to the service of justice and civic righteousness our artist, together with hundreds of thousands of America's young



Handy, in Duluth News-Tribune.

PUBLIC—"THAT ACT IS GETTING MONOTONOUS."

men who have hitherto drifted on the smooth-flowing currents; for we are entering another of those great crises such as called to the service of the republic in an earlier day Whittier, Lowell, Emerson, Longfellow, Phillips, Sumner and Thomas Nast,—one of those crises which compel the choice between moral integrity and allegiance to the highest interests of the state on the one hand and sordid personal desires on the other—a crisis such as Lowell thus admirably characterizes:

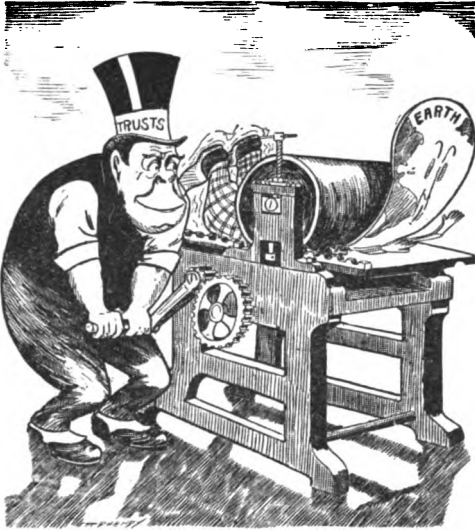
"Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 't is prosperous to be just."

We believe he belongs to the noble fraternity of artists whose innate nature is instinct with moral idealism—men like Thomas Nast, for example, who when offered a half a million dollars if he would go to Europe, perfect his art education and cease his campaign against the Tweed Ring, indignantly spurned the bribe, and like another of our great artists, one who is still with us and who a few years ago, after having met with financial reverses until his bank account had fallen to



Handy, in Duluth News-Tribune.

THE ONE-MAN BAND.

Handy, in Duluth *News-Tribune*.

A Minneapolis professor has discovered that the earth is flat.—*News Item*.

PERHAPS THIS IS THE REASON.

five dollars, was offered a princely salary by one of the metropolitan journals if he would devote his genius to drawing cartoons for the paper. He replied that he would draw cartoons favorable to the views of the publisher if he could select his subjects and present them as he desired, but that he would not draw cartoons that he felt would convey false and misleading impressions to the minds of the people, or that would represent in pleasing garb things that he believed to be inimical to the national welfare and the cause of justice. Though he knew not where he would get his next week's board, this man refused to prostitute his God-given intellect for the liberal salary that was offered. Both these men are typical of scores of our artists, poets, novelists and journalists who are already awakened and are moving forward in the interests of liberty, justice and the fundamental principles of democracy.

Sixty years ago the slave-power had completely dominated our government, and to many it seemed impregnably in-

trenched, yet throughout the entire North a tremendous awakening was in progress which called to its standard the highest, finest and truest natures in all walks of life, and especially among those who swayed the popular mind and moulded public opinion. To-day we are in a condition not unlike that of a half a century ago, only the benefits enjoyed by privileged classes come from different sources. For the past quarter of a century public-service companies, great corporations and trusts and other privileged interests have been gradually gaining more and more power in government precisely as the slave oligarchy for a quarter of a century prior to 1860 steadily advanced in political power; and with this increase in power abuses that have been rendered possible through the indifference, intellectual stagnation and recreancy to the high demands of democracy on the part of the people have grown with amazing rapidity.

Since the money-controlled machines have become dominant factors in municipal, state and national life, the public-

Handy, in Duluth *News-Tribune*.

SCHOOL OPENS TO-MORROW.





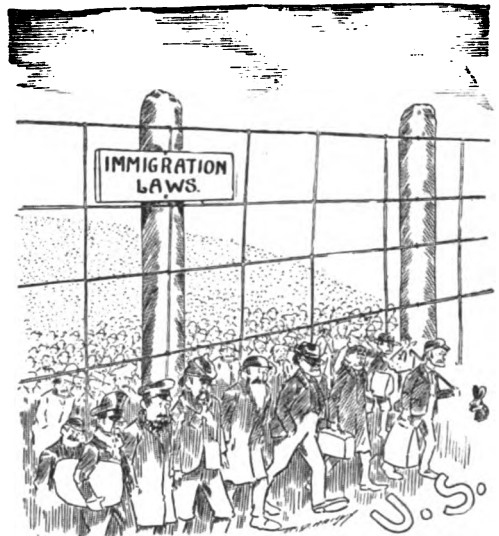
Handy, in Duluth News-Tribune.

PUBLIC—"WHAT A SUCKER I MUST BE!"

service companies and privileged interests have been able to reap hundreds of millions of dollars by extortion and indirection, while corruption—that moral leprosy that undermines individual character and destroys national life—has rapidly spread throughout all the ramifications of political and business life.

So oppressive have grown the extortions of the new feudalism of capital, and so flagrant the corruption that has marked the ascendancy of machine government over the old-time government "of the people, by the people and for the people," that the millions of America are being compelled to think and think most seriously. Into the consciousness of almost all the bread-winners the grim facts are in one way or another being slowly pressed home. Even our young artist has recently received one of these personal object-lessons, for, after giving his reply to our question which we have quoted above, as to his views on public questions, he added: "I have received a notice in this morning's mail from the New York Life Insurance Company that the premium on my policy will be due in a few days. I have some ideas along that line

I can tell you, but I do not think you would want to print them." Now, to Mr. Handy the frightful revelation of moral turpitude on the part of the officials of the great New York life insurance companies who have so long denounced reformers as demagogues and who have posed as "the safe, the sane and the ultra-respectable" guardians of moral integrity and national honor, has come home with the force of something that has a very direct and personal interest to him. It is safe to say he has thought on this question as he has never thought before, and having begun to think he will see that insurance corruption has been made possible by political corruption and that in a self-governing state every citizen is morally accountable for his duty to the public weal. He will see that indifference on the part of a citizen, and above all on the part of one who has it in his power to mould public sentiment, is a moral wrong, and he will more and more come to understand that the nation calls for men of conviction; that in a battle between reaction and freedom, between civic righteousness and corruption, between privi-



Handy, in Duluth News-Tribune.

SHOULD NOT THE OPENINGS BE SMALLER?

leged interests and the interests of all every true man must make a brave stand for the cause of the nation and the happiness and prosperity of the people, and when these truths come clearly home to him, he will, we confidently believe, be found shoulder to shoulder with all those who are fighting Humanity's battle, for the artist like the poet is naturally an idealist, a man of imagination, of fine feelings and possessed of an innate love of justice.

In all Mr. Handy's cartoons a little bear is seen somewhere in the picture. This might almost be said to be his trademark. In this issue we give a fine portrait of the artist and his little bear, which is, indeed, one of the most thoroughly

artistic photographs that has come to our office in many months. We also reproduce some of Mr. Handy's best pictures drawn during the recent unpleasantness between Russia and Japan, as well as some of the best examples of his political and general caricatures. His work is not so finished as some of our older artists', but the sketches show the presence of the quick intellect and the keen imagination which is of vital importance for the successful artist. Application and practice will improve the technique, and in a few years Mr. Handy's work should rank with the most finished drawings of his older fellow-craftsmen.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## WILSON L. GILL: THE APOSTLE OF DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

"With a mature generation there is never much to be done, neither in things material nor spiritual, neither in matters of taste nor of character. Be ye wise and begin in the schools."—*Goethe.*

FROM time to time as civilization toilsomely advances along the highway of wisdom there arise certain prophets of progress who formulate into a practical and intelligible message great truths that become the real marching orders for civilization in certain fields of activity. Take, for example, the educational world. Who can measure the far-reaching influence for good exerted by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and his illustrious pupil, Friedrich Fröbel, those apostles of the new education who insisted on a natural system of instruction—one training the sense of observation so as to bring out the fullest capacity of the children in such a way as to pleasantly engage the imagination while the intellect was being drilled, developed and enriched with knowledge, so that the child in the

school should grow unconsciously morally, mentally and physically, precisely as his life naturally unfolds in beauty in a well-ordered, love-illuminated home of culture?

These great educational revolutionists whose sane and practical theories have not only influenced the educational methods of all civilized lands, but whose views were so fundamentally sound that we find the measure of true educational advance the world over is in proportion to the degree in which their theories have become a living, animating influence in educational matters, were ignored and scorned by the slothful, superficial and reactionary educators of their day. Yet because their message imperaled a vital, fundamental truth for which an expanding and developing civilization was waiting, it took root and spread through all lands where liberty fosters human unfoldment. Pestalozzi lighted a torch and



**RAY D. HANDY**

held it aloft in the mountains of freedom's European cradle. The light-inspired Fröbel, stimulating him to go farther even than his master, while both these original thinkers awakened the spirit of free inquiry and fostered original thinking and research which is the hope of civilization.

Among those who came under the influence of Fröbel was Louisa Frankenburg. This remarkable woman, after serving several years as an assistant to the great German father of the kindergarten, removed to Columbus, Ohio, where she founded the first kindergarten established in the New World. Among her pupils was little Wilson, the son of John L. Gill. The child came under the remarkable influence of the German preceptress to such a degree that the charm of the early school-days and the spirit she imparted became a lifelong and precious heritage. Later, when his common-school education was over, he went to college, graduating from Yale in 1874. In addition to the regular curriculum Mr. Gill took an extensive course in social and political economy under President Woolsey, General Francis Walker and Professor William G. Sumner. After finishing his education he engaged in some large business enterprises in which he was eminently successful; but all the time his mind brooded over the subject of popular education, which, as a far-seeing patriot gifted with a statesman's vision, he discerned to be the supreme problem that confronted the world's latest and most important advance step in government—democracy. All the time a voice seemed to be calling him to the highest service in which a citizen of a free state can engage,—that of exalting and rendering efficient in the highest degree the noblest functions of a free state, to the end that individual development, prosperity and happiness may render permanent and ever sympathetic to progress free institutions. The lessons that were impressed on the mind of the child by the old co-laborer of Fröbel

had left their impress, and it was as though the spirit of the great master haunted the gifted young scholar, urging him to take up the work of enlightened education and carry it forward.

The aim and desire uppermost in the brain of Fröbel had been to a great extent defeated by the utilitarian spirit of our age which seized upon part of his thought and so developed it as to make it overshadow the master's plan to make educational development embrace the stimulation and education of the imagination and the training of self-government in the young, while at the same time so unobtrusively but effectively emphasizing moral ideals as to build up high, fine characters, making the school act in this way as a powerful supplement to a home of culture and refinement and making it supply in a large degree the deficiency of such home influences where they were wanting in a child's life.

It was not, however, the influence of Fröbel and his ideals that alone influenced Mr. Gill. Indeed, it is doubtful whether they were even a major factor. He was a true American, instinct with the moral idealism of the fathers of the republic, and a natural educator. He therefore could not fail to see the defects of all past educational methods in properly developing the character of the young and the striking failure of education in the United States to impress the child with the civic duty devolving on all persons who have the right of franchise. He knew how insistent the greatest of the fathers had been on the importance of education; how Jefferson held that popular education was absolutely essential to the success of a republican government; how he had labored to perfect a magnificent system of free schools, from the lowest grade to the university for the young of Virginia. But he also saw that while our public-school system was so magnificent in many respects as to entitle it to be regarded as a chief glory in the crown of our national life, it had failed to develop the civic spirit or to make the young the

self-governing, independent and initiating forces they should be in public life. They were intellectually trained; their minds were drilled; they were alert, shrewd and progressive in many ways. He saw what European investigators have lately noted, that America's preëminence in manufacturing lines and commercial affairs was largely if not chiefly due to our magnificent system of free public education that places knowledge within the reach of the humblest as well as the richest.

But in the presence of this fine showing he was confronted with the anomalous and at first inexplicable fact that the children of our public and private schools, of our colleges and universities, went forth from the educational centers to life's vocations, either so indifferent to politics that they failed to exercise the right of citizenship, or they immediately and usually without a protest came under the domination of political bosses devoid of high idealism and ready to prostitute their party and betray the people in the service of corporations and privileged interests in return for large campaign contributions for the political machines over which they presided. Many of the bosses would not have been allowed to enter the social circles of the young voters who unquestioningly followed their lead. Many of them were men of low and brutal natures; some were wholly wanting in principles of honesty; all, or almost all, were such vicious opportunists that they did not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of the nation for partisan success.

Now for a time the phenomenon puzzled the young student. Here were the direct descendants of Revolutionary heroes who had freely given their lives to emancipate the people and establish a genuine democracy, who were blindly supporting and serving unscrupulous, arrogant, despotic, un-American and reactionary bosses who betrayed the people, corrupted the public servants and defeated the ends of republican government while permeating political life with graft. How was it that educated young

men of good families, who should have led the political forces in the community, were either supremely indifferent or were the active allies of political bosses who defeated the interests of the people and the ends of good government?

This query led to a careful study of the school system, and then the young patriot discovered the key that explained the problem. Our school system was the reverse of democratic. It was an ideal educational system for a monarchal, aristocratic or other form of class-government, but it was inimical to democracy because it habituated the child to unquestioningly obey enthroned authority and do as he was bidden, because the teacher's word or rule was law, instead of making him an independent, self-governing individual who obeyed the law and rule of the school in which he had a voice and where the honor and the glory of the school depended on the degree of civic spirit and the high ideals of himself and his companions. Not only did the whole educational system fail to teach the scholars the principles of self-government and the duty devolving on the free citizen to exercise his sovereign rights for the honor, integrity, advancement and glory of the nation, to the end that freedom, justice and happiness might prevail, but it failed to day by day impress the principles of democracy by having the children exercise self-government and thus habituate them to the rights or functions of citizenship during the plastic period of youth in such a manner that they would become a part of life's recognized duties—one of the most sacred privileges and something never to be ignored or trifled with.

When this fact dawned upon the brain of Mr. Gill he saw at once the true explanation of the political lethargy and subserviency of the people, and he then understood how the old New England town-meeting, where the voters attended, discussed and legislated directly, became the great stronghold of freedom, the cradle of democracy and the nursery of

the most virile and practical republicanism the world had known. To make self-governing citizens or a nation of sovereigns one thing was needful. The young must be trained in the practice of citizenship, habituated to exercise their sovereign power, drilled to be self-governing and morally responsible citizens, and thus brought into that intimate, sympathetic, personal relationship to government in which its ties become as sacred, holy and lifelong as those of the family.

The more he considered the meaning of this new truth, the more the import of the democratic concept of education was borne home to his reason. He knew what all thinking men and women know, that nothing so tends to develop character as the imposition of a trust entailing responsibilities, and that nothing is better calculated to quicken the moral sensibilities than to be compelled to meet, think about and help solve questions of right and wrong, of good conduct, of just relationship and order; and all these things are fundamental to and present in any system of self-government.

It would be argued at once that children were not fit for self-government, that they could not be entrusted with it, that anarchy and disorder would rule were it attempted to lodge the conduct or government of the school with them. But had not similar objections been urged against the kindergarten? Had not conventional educators ridiculed the idea of teaching little tots, too small for the primary school, to make things? Had they not scouted the possibility of children of such tender age being guided by the teachers and so entertained as to look forward to school as older children under the old order looked forward to recess? And had not confusion overtaken the rash critics? Had not the kindergarten more than vindicated the claims of its friends?

Moreover, in the plan that began to formulate itself in the brain of Mr. Gill, of making school cities, he saw that the relation of the teacher to the school could

be made analogous to that of the state to the city; that the teacher, though not desiring to interfere and only acting as an adviser, unless the children failed in self-government, still reserved the right and power to step in when absolutely necessary. By this plan the needed safeguards were present which would render the experiment easy without any danger of demoralizing the old system if the new idea proved impractical. With these facts in mind he prepared to introduce a system of city government into the school, and it happened that an opportunity offered at this time for a practical test of his theory, the circumstances relating to which were as follows:

“The discipline had reached so low an ebb in a large primary and grammar-school on the outskirts of the city of New York, that a policeman was permanently detailed to keep order in the school-yard. Mr. Bernard Cronson, a teacher with a reputation of being a specially good disciplinarian and president of a chapter of the Patriotic League, was transferred from a down-town school to improve the conditions in this one. At the end of a fortnight he was in despair and described the situation to Mr. Gill, who suggested that the pupils be organized into a self-governing body with a legislative, executive and judge of their own election. This was done, the boys and girls were delighted with the responsibility, and under guidance of the new teacher quickly established excellent order.”

Encouraged by this success, Mr. Gill gave up his business engagements and devoted his entire time to perfecting the School-City idea, with a consecration and devotion similar to that which had been exhibited by Pestalozzi and Fröbel. With the aid of several leading educators, municipal chiefs and others interested in real progress, a simple yet comprehensive school-charter was perfected embracing the principles of the initiative and referendum, with proportional representation optional with each school. So armed





Courtesy of The Press Bureau, New York.

**WILSON L. GILL**

with this School-City charter, which represented the ripest thought of leading men in civic and educational life, the young apostle of democratic education laid his plan before the Philadelphia Board of Education, and later before the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania. Both these bodies received the theory favorably, and some of the public-school principals entered so heartily into the plan that Mr. Gill was enabled to organize over thirty of these School Cities in Philadelphia. The Franklin Institute awarded to Mr. Gill its highest distinction, the Elliot Crosson gold medal and diploma.

President Roosevelt observed the eminent degree of success that marked the initial experiment in New York city, and who had later followed with interest the success of Mr. Gill, who at the request of Military-Governor Wood had introduced his plan into the newly-organized public-school system in Cuba, thus endorsed the system:

“I hear with satisfaction that an earnest movement is well advanced in Philadelphia to establish in the schools of that city the teaching of civics by the admirable plan originated by Wilson L. Gill in the School City as a form of student government. I know of the work of Mr. Gill, both in this country and in Cuba, where Mr. Gill inaugurated this form of instruction upon the invitation of General Wood. Nothing could offer higher promise for the future of our country than an intelligent interest in the best ideals of citizenship, its privileges and duties among the students of our common schools. I wish for your efforts in this direction the utmost success.”

The School Cities have long since ceased to be experiments. They have been successfully operated in numbers

of cities in many of our states, and in all instances where the teachers have intelligently grasped the theory and have given it their hearty and enthusiastic support their efforts have proved magnificently successful, and this is true of all grades, from the primary to the high and normal school. The immense value of the system has been thus admirably summed up:

“Direct participation in the legislative, judicial, and administrative functions of these miniature republics awakens great enthusiasm among the children, and gives them a vital, practical knowledge of government and human nature.

“Civic training in early years forms habits of good citizenship that are invaluable in after life both to the individual and to society. Purity and efficiency in political life and high character in every relation of life are fostered and developed by the School City.

“The School City is to the child what the town-meeting has been to New England—a developer of thought and conscience and civic spirit.”

It is the latest and greatest step in educational advance, the perfect flower of democracy in methods as applied to the expanding mind of childhood. Nothing that has been attempted in recent years promises so much for pure democracy—promises to so successfully meet and overcome civic indifference and subserviency to bossism, or is so well calculated to develop a fine, self-disciplined character as the School City. It is the education of democracy, the education of the future, and as its originator and the one who has successfully introduced it Mr. Gill will occupy a high place among the great apostles of moral and intellectual advance.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*



## EARNEST MEN AND WOMEN IN THE WORLD OF LITERATURE, ART, THE DRAMA AND HUMANITARIAN ADVANCE.

### Mrs. Fiske on The Ethics of The Drama.

ON THE afternoon of December 12th, Mrs. Fiske delivered before the Harvard Ethical Society an address on "The Ethics of the Drama," marked by breadth of thought and fine discrimination. The first portion of the discourse was devoted to art in its broader signification and some of its uses apart from yielding pure delight and satisfaction to man's esthetic sensibilities.

"Ruskin proves," said the actress, "what any philosophy must admit, that life without art is brutal. Art has a function beyond that of affording pleasure for the moment. It should be an inspiration; and it should be potent—indirectly, of course, and by degrees—in mitigation of the terrors whose contemplation may induce a question as to its utility. True art in any form inspires esthetic feeling, and the psychologist will tell you that esthetic feeling, like any other feeling, may be a spring to action."

Moreover, art at times becomes a powerful weapon in arousing a public realization of colossal crimes that have come to us as a part of our heritage from a more brutal past, or which have grown up silently and subtly in civilization's midst without society realizing their enormities until the great artist, the man of transcendent imagination, uncovers the evil and so vividly reveals it that after the first feeling of horror men begin to systematically work for the abatement of the wrong.

"Verestchagin, the great Russian painter, whose work was so largely devoted to picturing war's inhumanity and terrors, and who lost his life in the midst of a carnage that his brush would have revealed to assist in the reformation of humanity, did not live in vain. Tolstoi, the great man and great artist, devoted his pen and life to a like end. The pen of Zola, like that of other artists whose purpose it has been to picture miseries that they might be cured, has wrought and is still working reform in life. The great dramatists of the modern school have aims higher than for the moment's amusement. They are striking at the root of

evils that mankind, if it progresses, must see decay."

From the consideration of art in its broader significance and its higher influence on human life, Mrs. Fiske passed to the notice of the theater in its relation to the ethical advance of man. She showed how powerful and deep-rooted was the dramatic instinct in the human breast and how great had been the influence, direct and indirect, of the theater throughout the past.

"An institution," she urged, "that has grown from human impulse must be related closely to every ethical idea. We know that for almost three thousand years the play in one form or another has been a factor in educating and delighting the world. Ever since man has been able to give voice to his impulses in song or to limn on flat surfaces his ideas or to make images of his conceptions—ever since melody, drawing, or painting, sculpture and living language have been known—drama, embodying them all, has been an inspiration to the world. What could have taken the place of the theater if it never had existed?"

While deploring the presence of plays "that shame the stage" and the "crazy dramatic miscellany" that flourishes under the present dominance of commercialism in the theatrical world, Mrs. Fiske insisted that:

"One great play, like the leaven of Holy Writ, may serve to save the theater for any season that may appear to be given over to the world, the flesh and the devil. And thus the theater survives, because always it may be found to project something on the side of ethics."

The actress held that any dramatic art, to be good, must be sincere, true and genuine. Plays that made false appeals to the audience, that were artificial and not true to life or to an idealism in alignment with the orderly development of life, were in her judgment essentially immoral. In referring to the great difference between the plays of the elder day and the best work of the leading modern playwrights, the lecturer said:



Photo. by Otto Sarony, New York.

MRS. MINNIE MADDERN FISKE.

"As to the masterpieces, we, of course, must eliminate Shakespeare's from any comparative analysis; and outside of Shakespeare the good old plays and the good new plays are so different in almost all things that we necessarily would have to enter upon a long series of dissertations to differentiate them clearly. Respectively, perhaps, they represent the romanticism, the sentimentality and the artificiality, withal, of the older time, as against the practicality, the greater seriousness in all literary treatment of the better class with reference to the ethics of life and the liberalism of thought of to-day. One thing we may be sure of, however, that artificial and elementary as the lower forms of the plays of the older time were, they were greatly superior to the lower forms of plays of to-day, if titles and billboards may be taken as an index. Good acting of to-day is so different from the good acting of the days that are gone that a comparison of the acting of then and now is as difficult as a comparison of the plays."

Mrs. Fiske is recognized as without a peer on the American stage in the intellectual grasp and interpretation of the plays of Ibsen, Suder-

mann and Hauptmann. Her view, therefore, on the intensely modern school of veritists are of special interest. "We have," she holds, "improved in the acting of plays that reveal modern life. We are beginning to be true, and in being true we are beginning to find a world of beauty hidden heretofore, a glorious new world opened to us by the new dramas of Ibsen and his followers and disciples." She holds, with Maeterlinck, that the old drama was exaggerated, artificial and untrue, and that the new drama, in which there are seldom cries heard and where blood and tears are rarely shed—the drama which reveals the crucial struggles of life "in a small room around a table close to the fire," is the true drama, because it reveals where the "joys and sorrows of mankind are decided."

"Have not many of our fiercest inward battles been fought quietly in our solitary room at night? Have not the most dramatic moments of our lives been lived out in silence and secrecy? There may have been no cries, no outburst, no noise, but the great moments have been lived just the same.

"We know that the great Norwegian has revolutionized the dramatic literature of every country. I do not know whether you are familiar with Maeterlinck's opinion of Ibsen. Very likely you are. Maeterlinck says: 'The highest point of human consciousness is reached by the dramas of Bjørnsen, Hauptmann, and, above all, of Ibsen. Here we touch the limit of the resources of modern dramaturgy.'"

Again, in comparing the artificial, exaggerated and superficial dramas with the great veritists' works, Mrs. Fiske has this to say:

"It is curiously interesting to study the differences between two such modern authors as Ibsen and Victorien Sardou—Sardou, the high priest of tricks, theatricalism and artificiality. In a Sardou play, climaxes chiefly composed of sound and fury, meaning little or nothing of moment, are led up to with purely mechanical skill. The theatrical objective is the sole object—and the sole value—of a Sardou drama. The Sardou drama makes no demand upon the intelligence of the actor, beyond the purely superficial excitement of the moment. It induces no thought or reflection whatever in the spectator—unless the spectator, after witnessing it, becomes ashamed that he has been so played upon without reason. There is no mental stimulus whatever

for the actor in studying the parts of dramas like those of Sardou. How different with the dramas of Ibsen and the best of his disciples! To the student, the best of Ibsen do not appear upon the surface as all they are. To properly conceive and perform one of the parts of Ibsen, the actor must study the part from the childhood of the character up to the time when it is revealed upon the stage. One need merely learn the lines of the objective playwright and, with some talent and temperament and a fair measure of technique, succeed, but the actor who thinks he can master an Ibsen *rôle* in this manner soon discovers his error. In nearly all the Ibsen plays you will observe that the drama reveals merely the final catastrophe. For example, take the plays, 'Rosmersholm' or 'John Gabriel Borkmann' or 'Hedda Gabbler.' In these plays we see the final moments in the lives of the principal characters. The whole mighty drama of 'Rosmersholm' has been enacted before the curtain rises on the first act of the play. The actors must of necessity have studied all that has, in the past life of these characters, led up to the final scene. In this way, the new psychological drama has been a wonderful stimulus. Ibsen and his worthy dramatic followers have made thinkers and students of those actors who, in the merely objective days, had little exercise of the brain. The old-fashioned 'emotional' or 'society' play seems, indeed, a very weak combination of milk and water to the actor who has once seriously begun the study of the Ibsen drama."

The address was worthy of our most finished and in many respects greatest actress—a woman whose serious, earnest and faithful work is doing much to redeem the stage from becoming little better than a Punch and Judy show in so far as stimulating fine, true or serious thought is concerned; for since the theatrical trust was formed the degradation of the stage has been more and more glaringly apparent. Men who are practically the masters of the dramatic field have placed the box-office above all other considerations. Therefore the high concern for art, education and moral upliftment has had little or no influence on their sordid natures, and the result is painfully in evidence on every hand. Against this degradation of the stage no one in the New World has fought so bravely, fearlessly and persistently as Mrs. Fiske, and for this brave action no less than for her own fine work she



Photo. by Barnett, London, England.

MISS EMILY HOBHOUSE.

deserves the high place she holds in the regard of discriminating friends of true dramatic art.

**Miss Emily Hobhouse: Heroine of Peace and Humanity.**

IN THE January ARENA we published an extended notice of the important humanitarian work inaugurated and being carried forward by the English heroine, Miss Emily Hobhouse. Through the kindness of Countess Evelyn Asivelli, of No. 8 Grand Pré, Geneva, Switzerland, we are enabled this month to give our readers a picture made from the latest photograph of this true exponent of the Golden Rule and leader of the civilization that civilizes. In a personal letter accompanying the photograph, Countess Asivelli, in speaking of Miss Hobhouse, says:

"When looking at her peaceful, determined, beautiful face, often have I thought of Byron's words:

"Around her shone  
The light of love, the purity of grace;  
The mind, the music breathing from her face;  
The heart whose softness harmonized the whole,  
And oh! that eye was in itself a soul."



Photo. by Rockwood, New York.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

Miss Hobhouse, as we have before observed, has thrown her means and her life into the work of founding schools and teaching the Boer women and girls how to spin and weave the wool and silk of South Africa into all kinds of fabrics. Never did the parched earth more eagerly drink up the grateful, life-giving rain than have the maidens and matrons of South Africa received this veritable God-send of opportunity made possible through this heroine of peace.

Miss Hobhouse has been warmly seconded and aided in her work by Countess Asivelli and a few other chosen spirits who have liberally contributed to buy spinning-wheels and looms, but the means at command are inadequate for the proper pushing of the work which is instilling new hope and courage into the daughters of South Africa, and which will do more than can be estimated toward lessening the bitterness that is necessarily felt by the Boers toward the English.

#### The Author of "The Menace of Privilege."

HENRY GEORGE, JR., whose masterly and timely work, *The Menace of Privilege*, has recently appeared, was born in Sacramento,

California, in 1862. Like so many of our brightest and strongest men and women, he was educated in our public-schools. At sixteen years of age he entered a printing office and since 1881 he has been engaged in journalistic labors. After the death of his father he prepared an exceptionally able and satisfactory life of the great economist. Like the elder George, he has ever evinced a passionate love for justice, freedom and the rights of the people. In recent years he has been one of the most virile and influential members in that fine group of young American patriots who are faithfully working for genuine democracy based on equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people, with much the same moral enthusiasm as marked the action of Jefferson and the young Virginian statesmen during the stirring months that preceded the inauguration of the Revolutionary war and which was the key-note and motive power of Young Italy in its memorable crusade for unification and constitutional government under the leadership of the exiled hero Mazzini. Mr. George's new book, *The Menace of Privilege*, will be given an extended review in an early number of THE ARENA. We will therefore merely say at the present time that in our judgment it is the most important contribution to the vital social, political and economic literature of America that has appeared within the past year—a book that no friend of republican government can afford to ignore.

#### Upton Sinclair and His Powerful Work "The Jungle."

UPTON SINCLAIR is, we believe, the youngest of the group of brilliant young American novelists of whom David Graham Phillips and Jack London are conspicuous representatives, who are leading the conscience-forces in the interest of juster social conditions for all the people. The work of all these young men is marked by sincerity and the true democratic spirit—a passion for justice and the triumphs of the people over class-rule and privileged interests.

Mr. Sinclair, who is the legitimate successor of Frank Norris, the brilliant author of *The Octopus*, whose untimely death robbed the virile literature of America of one of its most promising representatives, recently encountered one of those experiences which are by no means exceptional since the rise of modern autocratic commercialism. He had signed with a leading publishing house which was

to bring out his great book, *The Jungle*. The firm finally, however, refused to fulfil its contract unless he would permit the emasculation of his story. This the young author refused to allow, and as a result he appealed to the American public for advance orders that might enable him to publish the romance as it was written and in as fine a style as that which marks the best novels of the great houses. In fourteen days from the publication of his appeal he had received over one thousand dollars. It is expected that the book will be out the latter part of January or early this month. Of this story Thomas Wentworth Higginson says:

“It comes nearer than any book yet published among us to being the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the social tragedy of our great cities.”

From what we have read of *The Jungle* we believe it to be the most powerful novel written by an American since the appearance of *The Octopus*, by Frank Norris.

**Jack London at Harvard and Faneuil Hall.**

DURING the latter part of December Jack London, the famous author of *The People of the Abyss* and other social studies, *The Call of the Wild*, *The Sea-Wolf* and other popular fiction, delivered a notable address at Harvard University. The hall in which he spoke, which holds 1,500 persons, was crowded to its utmost capacity. During the two-hour address not a score of persons left the hall. The effect of the lecture was quite marked and a deep interest in the study of Socialism has since been evinced by a number of students who before had but a vague idea of its philosophy.

On Tuesday evening, December 26th, Mr. London spoke at Faneuil Hall. Long before the meeting was called to order the hall was crowded and numbers were unable to gain access. Mr. London spoke for two hours, answering objections to Socialism which had been made since he reached Boston, and though the lecture was on the order of an informal talk, almost the entire audience remained throughout the address, a large proportion of them being compelled to stand.

**The Intercollegiate Socialist Society.**

JACK LONDON's address at Harvard was given under the auspices of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. This organization was



Photo. by Marceau, New York.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

formed in pursuance with a call signed by a number of well-known and earnest citizens who deplore the policy of suppression and misrepresentation which is systematically employed wherever the articulate class comes under the influence of the plutocracy. It was felt that the time had come when it was important to foster a movement in our educational institutions where the old American idea of frankly investigating every subject, and especially all political, social and economic problems and philosophies, not in the spirit of hostility, but with an earnest desire to find out the underlying facts on the one hand and what the philosophies offered on the other, should be promoted. The call for the formation of this society was signed by some persons not identified with the Socialist movement, but who were free from the trammels of the present arrogant plutocracy which seeks to suppress honest investigation and to inaugurate, in so far as social and economic philosophies are concerned, a Chinese stagnation or “stand-pattism” in educational institutions.

It was to be expected that the organs and mouthpieces of plutocracy would be offended

at a movement favoring free thought and honest investigation of social questions, and the expectation was promptly realized when *Harper's Weekly*, under the direction of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's man, Mr. George Harvey, savagely attacked the veteran patriot, soldier, educator and scholar, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, for signing the call. Mr. Higginson replied in the following admirable words, which voice the true American and democratic sentiments so odious to corrupt and corrupting corporate wealth:

"To the Editor of *Harper's Weekly*:

"SIR—I observe in a recent number of your valuable journal an expression of surprise that my name should be united with others in the formation of an 'Intercollegiate Socialist Society' which 'aims to imbue the minds of the rising generation with Socialistic doctrines.' This last phrase is your own, for I at least am connected with no organization for the purpose you here state. As to the names with which mine is united I am not concerned; as Theodore Parker used to say: 'I am not particular with whom I unite in a good action.' As to the object in view it is clearly enough stated in the call itself; the movement does not aim to produce Socialists, but to create students of Socialism.

"It is based on the obvious fact that we are more and more surrounded by institutions, such as free schools, free text-books, free libraries, free bridges, free water-supplies, free lecture courses, even free universities, which were all called Socialistic when first proposed,

and which so able a man as Herbert Spencer denounced as Socialism to his dying day. Every day makes it more important that this tendency should be studied seriously and thoughtfully, not left to demagogues alone. For this purpose our foremost universities should take the matter up scientifically, as has been done for several years at Harvard University, where there is a full course on 'Methods of Social Reform—Socialism, Communism, the Single-Tax,' etc., given by Professor T. N. Carver. This is precisely what the 'Intercollegiate Socialist Society' aims at; and those who seriously criticise this object must be classed, I fear, with those medieval grammarians who wrote of an adversary: 'May God confound thee for thy theory of irregular verbs!'

"THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON."

Another alarmist cry was raised by Mr. Easley of the Civic Federation, who has been termed Mr. Belmont's "Man Friday." Mr. Easley's foolish fulminations remind one of Rojestvensky's panic in the North Sea, when he "saw things at night" and forthwith mistook the British fishing-smacks for the Japanese torpedo-boats which everyone else knew to be on the other side of the globe. Both these inane fulminations from reactionary sources, notwithstanding the industrious attempt of the plutocratic organs to give them circulation, fell flat, not being in keeping with the American spirit, and the work of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society for the sympathetic study of Socialism has gone steadily forward.

# EDITORIALS.

## LIBERTY IMPERILLED THROUGH THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE JUDICIARY.

### I. The Placing of Any Department of Government Above Honest and Just Criticism Subversive of Democracy.

THE CONVICTION of Senator Patterson for "constructive contempt" by the Supreme Court of Colorado early in December is one of the most sinister and alarming evidences of the advance of autocratic methods and the expression of arbitrary and despotic power that has been attempted in the titanic conflict now being waged between privileged interests and the forces of democracy.

For several years there has been an alarming extension of the use of the injunction by the courts in the interests of capital and against the laborers. The injunction power is potentially one of the most beneficent of provisions. Its abuse may become subversive of the rights of the people by abridging their rightful constitutionally guaranteed liberties and establishing an autocratic and essentially unrepresentative system of rule where the orderly processes of democratic government should obtain. Thus this provision, wise and necessary in itself, through its abuse easily becomes an engine of despotism, as will be clearly seen by anyone who carefully reads the masterly citations of the recent exercise of this power, in the chapter on "Government by Injunction" which appears in the new work by Henry George, Jr., on *The Menace of Privilege*.

While the American judiciary as a rule has unquestionably risen to the high demands imposed by the solemn obligations upon it, it is not astonishing that there have been exceptions here as in other lands. Nor is it perhaps surprising that among the many lawyers who for years have been the hired attorneys of privileged interests and have come to look at all questions of issue, where the interests of their clients have conflicted with the interests of the nation or the public at large, or with the interests of the employés, through the spectacles of their clients, there are some who when elevated to the bench have found it im-

possible to rise above their prejudice and habits of thought even if they are influenced by no other considerations, so as to manifest that degree of impartiality which is essential to the proper exercise of the high function of the courts, especially when their appointments have been due largely to powerful political bosses beholden for their dominance to the privileged interests. Hence there is everywhere among the more thoughtful people who are alive to the fact that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, a growing determination that the abuse of the injunction power, which is becoming a formidable engine of oppression in the interests of capital, shall be curbed.

Simultaneously with the undue extension of the injunction power we find a new and even more ominously sinister aggression being practiced by certain courts, in processes known as "constructive contempt," that if permitted to go unchallenged may easily become one of the most powerful and irresistible weapons of despotism, compassing for privileged interests or the new commercial feudalism precisely what the ambitious and unscrupulous men who were from time to time elevated to the judiciary by the more despotic monarchs of Great Britain, compassed for the throne in violation of the constitutional rights of the English Parliament and the people.

### II. The Case of United States Senator Patterson.

In recent years no man among the great editors of America, or among our prominent statesmen, has taken a more outspoken and consistent stand for the fundamental principles of democracy—the democracy of the fathers—than has the junior senator from the State of Colorado. His great daily papers, the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Times*, have been the chief bulwarks of freedom against the rising tide of politico-commercial corruption and oppression in the Rocky Mountain region. During the titanic battle between the miners and the corporate wealth of Colorado, the amazing action of the





Johnson, in *Denver Rocky Mountain News*.

THE GREAT JUDICIAL SLAUGHTER HOUSE AND MAUSOLEUM.  
The Lord High Executioner—"NEXT!"

This famous cartoon appeared in the *Rocky Mountain News* of Denver, June 25, 1905, and with Mr. Patterson's criticism of the partisan action of the Supreme Court, constituted the basis of the "constructive contempt" proceedings.

judiciary of the Supreme Court of Colorado called forth some frank criticism from Senator Patterson and was also the occasion for the drawing and publication of a cartoon which has become historic because of the part it played in the recent contempt proceedings.

Senator Patterson and those acting under him have been careful not to utter hasty or ill-considered criticism against the judiciary. Indeed, on one occasion a few years ago, one of the Supreme Court judges who joined in the majority report favoring the conviction of the Senator, complimented him on the uniform spirit of fairness and respect manifested toward the judiciary. And it was not until Senator Patterson felt assured, from facts and evidence which he deemed irrefutable, of the truth of his contention, that he inspired the criticisms which were published only because

he felt that the ends of justice, good government and popular rights demanded such criticism. On the publication of his strictures, however, and of the cartoon in question, the Chief Justice of Colorado had the Attorney-General institute proceedings against the Senator, who only asked the privilege of establishing the truth of his contention or proving the justice of his strictures. Apparently this was precisely what the court did not wish done, as it refused to allow the evidence to be presented and forthwith declared that: "The judgment of the court is that the respondent, Senator Patterson, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars and costs and that he stand committed to the common jail in the city and county of Denver until such fine and costs are paid."

When the court asked the respondent if he





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**THOMAS M. PATTERSON,**  
**UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM COLORADO**

had anything to say as to why judgment should not be pronounced finding him guilty of contempt, Senator Patterson made a magnificent stand for freedom of speech and of the press, against the assumption of power as autocratic as was ever arrogated by an oriental despot. This manly and wholly admirable plea places the eminent statesman among the brave men on history's roll of honor who have refused to play the craven when freedom and justice were at stake. With a superb courage, worthy of an Eliot, a Hampden, a Henry, an Otis, a Hancock or an Adams, he refused to stultify himself, refused to recant utterances which he not only believed to be true but which he was prepared to prove to be warranted. And for this magnificent stand, for this unselfish devotion to the most sacred cause, which is in fact the vital breath of democracy, he has been condemned.

In a personal letter from the Hon. J. Warner Mills relating to this case, the brilliant legal author and lawyer thus expressed his opinion—an opinion that we believe will be shared by all lovers of free government who realize how vitally important to the existence of popular rule is stern resistance to any form of despotism that may be attempted. There is no place where justice must be more carefully guarded than on the throne of the judiciary. Any injustice, tyranny or despotism here is more deadly than anywhere else.

"Senator Patterson's case," observed Mr. Mills in answer to our query, "does involve the right of free press and the new judicial tyranny. It will have a place, of course, in my article on 'Civil Liberty and the Courts.' . . . At the present time the situation is that he (the Senator) has a stay of judgment for sixty days, and he is utilizing that time to urge the Supreme Court of the United States to take jurisdiction in the premises and review the proceedings of the court here. Of course, if such jurisdiction is taken, which is possible though by no means sure, there will in my judgment then be no doubt but that the Colorado courts will be torn to pieces by the federal tribunal at Washington. Constructive contempt, such as charged against Senator Patterson,—that is, speaking or writing of a judge or court outside of its presence or hearing, is something that is unknown to the federal judiciary. That judiciary has never had such a feature engrafted upon its system of practice. . . . When the Senator was asked if he had

anything further to say why the judgment of the court should not be pronounced, he made a vigorous onslaught upon the tyranny involved in the doctrine of constructive contempt and pointed out the outrage involved in allowing any man or body of men to inflict punishment by fine or imprisonment because of something spoken or written of them, regardless of whether the same was false or true; and he justified his answer and took nothing back."

### III. Senator Patterson's Defense.

So momentous is this question and so strong, fine and statesmanlike was the Senator's defence of the vital demands of free government, that we publish his remarks below, omitting only some introductory paragraphs:

"I want to say to the court that I realize as keenly as any man in the United States the importance of an unsullied judiciary, and the importance of that judiciary ever maintaining the respect and the confidence of the people, for, if all else fails, it may be that the people of this country must depend upon the justice, the integrity and the patriotic spirit of our highest courts to preserve the liberties of the country.

"But, if your honors please, I have always felt that there should be reciprocity between courts and the people. While the courts should receive the respect and the confidence of the people, there is a duty devolving upon the courts to ever maintain the law and the integrity of the constitution, and to keep within the limits prescribed by the constitution and laws of the state and the country; and in every one of their judgments, as their consciences tell them, to do the very right, and nothing but the right. If these relations exist between the people and the bar upon the one side and the courts of the country upon the other, there will be little need of contempt proceedings, and there will be little provocation for criticism either of the courts, or, by the courts, of the public press.

"So far as these articles are concerned, I want to say that I never wrote or published articles in my life the justice of which I was more sincerely convinced of; not only convinced of the justice was I, but of the necessity for their publication, and when this citation was served upon me, as I said, I was confronted with the most serious situation in which I had ever found myself in all of either my public or my private life. From all the information I could obtain after careful investigation—from those whose word could

not be doubted—I felt that whatever was in those articles was justified, and the question was then up to me: Shall I, to escape the wrath of the court, say that I have been a slanderer, a libeler? Shall I proclaim to the public that I am infamous, in that I falsely charge the Supreme Court of my state with such things as are supposed to be contained in those articles? Or should I do what any true man ought to do, firmly believing that he spoke the truth, say, that he had spoken the truth and offer to establish the verity of the articles?

“That, may it please the court, was the reason for the answer I filed.

“The attorney-general tells the court that this court should not for a moment sit to investigate charges against its membership. I can only say, if your honors please, that is the most stupendous indictment that can be framed against this whole doctrine of constructive contempt; or, has it come to this in the United States, that the publisher of a newspaper, because men are judges, may not speak the truth of them as to their official actions, except at the peril of confinement in the common jail, the payment of heavy monetary penalties, or both?

“I realize, if your honors please, that, so far as the legislature of this state is concerned, it has done everything in its power to change that condition. It has declared what shall be contempt, and has omitted everything with reference to constructive contempt; therefore, so far as the legislature is concerned, it has eliminated proceedings in constructive contempt from the powers of the court. The legislature has further provided for answers in contempt proceedings, for investigations, for juries, has fixed a limit to the power of the court in assessing punishments for contempts; and, if constructive contempt is to be maintained as it has been maintained by this court, it can simply mean—and I speak it in a thoroughly impersonal way so far as the membership of this court is concerned, I speak it as though I were addressing an impartial jury with no duty devolving upon its membership except to find and declare the truth—if this is to be maintained, it simply means that we have in each of the states of this Union a chosen body of men who may commit any crime; who may falsify justice; who may defy constitutions and spit upon laws, and yet no man dare make known the fact.

“So far as I am concerned, if the court please I am unwilling to be bound by such a system,

and, therefore, if no other result is to come from these proceedings beyond my own punishment, than the arousing of the public to the danger of such a power in the hands of any body of men, a great good will have been accomplished; more, perhaps, than is necessary, to compensate for what I may suffer; and I only desire to say, further, before I sit down, that no matter what penalty the court may inflict, from this time forward I will devote myself—by constitutional amendment if necessary, and by the decisions of the court it has become necessary—to deprive every man and every body of men of such tyrannical power, of such unjust and dangerous prerogative, of the ability to say to publishers of newspapers: ‘While about everybody else you may speak the truth, no matter what our offenses may be, you speak the truth with the open door of the jail staring you in the face, or the depletion of what you may possess of this world’s goods, and probably, of both.’

“If the court please, I am now ready to receive the judgment of the court.”

#### IV. Why This Case is So Fundamental and Important in Character.

To create offices of whatsoever character and then to assume that the men who fill those offices, no matter what may be their character, are necessarily above criticism or infallible in wisdom and rectitude of purpose, to hedge them about with the divine right to be autocratic or arbitrary, rendering it treasonable or criminal to call their actions into question, is to strike an absolutely fatal blow at the heart of free government. This, indeed, is the crux in the contention of democracy against the outgrown, monarchical and despotic governments which ascribe divine right to the throne and which in extreme despotisms, such as Russia under the old *régime*, rendered it unsafe for men to question the words or deeds of the rulers.

If courts are to be allowed to trample upon the constitutional government of the people; if peaceable citizens armed with nothing more formidable than the flag of our country and quietly walking along the highway can be shot down while thus exercising a fundamental right guaranteed by the constitution, simply because of the arbitrary order of a court, and the right of the individual or the press to criticize is denied; if the giving of bread to peaceable but starving people who have committed no crime, but who have refused to work under

conditions considered by them to be dehumanizing, is rendered by the courts a crime, and if in the presence of this great wrong the press is to be gagged and the patriot made dumb because of a conveniently devised theory entitled "constructive contempt," which places in the hands of a class of officials as formidable a weapon as that wielded by an irresponsible czar or emperor, then have privileged interests and reaction gone far—very far—toward undoing the great victories wrought by the revolutionary epoch which inaugurated popular government; for an engine of despotism has been placed in the hands of privileged wealth that can,—nay, more, that inevitably will in time destroy free institutions and the blessings of democratic government as surely as did the judiciary under Charles I. and James II. substitute imperial despotism for the rightful will of Parliament and constitutional rule. The only difference will be that in the attempt of the Stuarts to destroy popular rights through a subservient judiciary that was one of the chief causes of the downfall of Charles and James, the offenders against popular rights were kings claiming divine right to rule; while with us, if this subversive theory is permitted to stand, the despotism of the future will be the princes of privilege acting through subservient tools who owe their places as actually though perhaps not as apparently to the representatives of commercial feudalism as did the discredited judges of the English despots owe their places to the Stuarts.

Hence it is perfectly apparent that if the new theory of "constructive contempt" is to obtain, the rulings of the courts must be held sacred from even criticism, no matter how cruelly despotic or unjust such rulings may be. Hence the imperative need of the people meeting this new form of despotism with the same spirit displayed by the fathers in resisting the far less significant effort at despotic rule put forth by the British crown in the Stamp Act

and the attempt to force tea upon the colonies. To remain silent at such a time would be to strengthen the arm of tyranny and permit the most vicious possible precedents to be established unrebuked.

#### V. The Duty of The People in The Presence of This Grave Menace to Necessary Freedom.

Should the Supreme Court of the United States fail to review this case, patriotic Americans everywhere should seize the opportunity to rebuke the court and express their righteous indignation at the attempt to create a new form of despotism in our midst. The people must not permit Senator Patterson to pay this fine. They owe it to the cause of freedom, to the republic and to their children to express their indignation and determined opposition to this new and deadly form of despotism. This can best be done by calling upon patriots everywhere to contribute small sums which in the aggregate shall meet the unjust fine imposed. The editor of the *Durango Democrat* has already suggested the raising of the fund by a popular subscription in which no citizen should be allowed to contribute more than one cent. This would be well under certain conditions, but it might require some time to acquaint the necessary number of persons with the facts, while the need to raise the money might not brook such delay. We would therefore suggest in the event of the Supreme Court's failure to review the case, that a committee for the defence of free government be formed to raise as expeditiously as possible, or to advance, the money necessary to pay the fine, after which the one-cent contributions could be made, and in due time the debt would be cancelled by more than one hundred thousand patriotic Americans whose contribution would be an expression of their abhorrence of the attempt to establish a precedent for despotic innovations that might easily become destructive to democracy.

## THE ARENA CLUB MOVEMENT: ITS PURPOSE AND POSSIBILITIES.

"Truth, honesty, the instruction of the masses, human liberty, manly virtue, conscience, are not things to disdain. Indignation and compassion for the mournful slavery of man are but two sides of the same faculty; those who are capable of wrath are capable of love. To level the tyrant and the slave,—what a magnificent endeavor! Now, the

whole of one side of actual society is tyrant, and all the other side is slave. A grim settlement is impending, and it will be accomplished. All thinkers must work with that end in view."—*William Shakespeare*, by Victor Hugo.

"Duty has a stern likeness to the ideal. The task of doing one's duty is worth undertaking."—*Ibid.*

"Let us consecrate ourselves. Let us devote ourselves to the good, to the true, to the just; it is well for us to do so."—*Ibid.*

"That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

"The authors of the Declaration of Independence meant it to be a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism."—*Ibid.*

### I. An Earnest Word to All Our Friends.

WE EARNESTLY ask every friend of THE ARENA to carefully read this editorial. In our September issue we published an outline sketch of the Arena Club of New Orleans, Louisiana, founded early in the nineties by Mrs. J. M. Ferguson, one of the most gifted, accomplished and earnest women of the South. This club, as we showed, has been a beacon-light of moral and intellectual activity during the years since its organization, stimulating and broadening the culture of all its interested members, securing important lectures from many of the strongest, most vital and eminent thinkers of the land, while through its compact organization it has been possible for the club to greatly aid the cause of moral advancement when burning questions were before the public mind.

In the November number we suggested the formation of Arena Clubs over the land, to be bound together with a common interest in the preservation of the fundamental principles of true democracy, which recognizes the people as the fountain source of government and the representatives as their public servants who are entrusted with the carrying out of their desires, needs and demands and who are pledged to the principles of the initiative and referendum, or Direct-Legislation, as the practical and effective remedy for preserving the democracy of the Declaration of Independence and overcoming the rapidly growing politico-commercial despotism of privileged interests under the corrupt party-boss and the money-controlled machine. We then announced the call for the formation of such a club at the office of the Hon. J. Warner Mills, of Denver, Colorado.

In the January issue we published a brief account of the successful formation of the first Arena Club of Denver, under the presidency of the Hon. J. Warner Mills, and with Judge T. B. Stuart, the Hon. W. W. Bates and other equally strong and determined patriots as prominent and active working members. At

that meeting, as our report showed, there were received numbers of letters from all parts of Colorado, expressing the gratification of public-spirited citizens at the formation of this club. The Denver club is the second strong Arena Club to be established. It is the first of the new Arena societies based on the definite demand for the preservation of democracy from the perils of plutocracy through practical democratic measures, and it will, we believe, prove the pioneer association among a number of similar clubs or leagues which will within the next few years do yeoman's work in the cause of freedom, just government, civic righteousness and individual development.

### II. The Demand for Such Organizations.

The nation has been passing through a period of moral lethargy, and now that we are being awakened by finding corruption and graft rife in political and business life; now that we are beholding the verification of all that the reform leaders have maintained in regard to the corrupt practices of the self-styled "safe and sane" pillars of society and leaders in commercial and political life; now that we are brought face to face with the practical overthrow of democratic government by the most sinister combination possible in a republican form of rule—the over-rich privileged interests, the political boss, the controlled press and the party-machine, uniting to prevent, defeat or render inoperative all well-considered or fundamental measures put forth by the people to break the bonds of oppression rendered possible by monopoly and privileged rights; now that on every side the great rank and file of the people are demanding that the wrongs shall be redressed, we behold the amazing spectacle of men who assume to represent reform elements advocating the most dangerous and reactionary remedies in lieu of the rational democratic measures that would instantly destroy the power of the "associated villainies," as the privileged interests, the political boss and the controlled machine have been happily termed—remedies that betray at once the most superficial and ill-considered conclusions on the part of their advocates—conclusions that reveal contempt for the fundamental demands of democracy.

Thus Mr. Jerome has recently most scathingly and sweepingly denounced the New York judiciary—a denunciation which in relation to some of the judges may have been just, but



which was certainly not true in regard to all; and as a remedy for the admitted evil of the political bosses' power over the selection of the judiciary, Mr. Jerome would revert to the undemocratic and reactionary plan of appointing the judges, being apparently ignorant of the fact that the bosses have been quite as influential in the appointment of the judiciary as they have been in the selection of men for the popular electorate to vote upon. Indeed, the influence of the bosses, backed by privileged interests, in the appointment of the judiciary in recent years has done more than aught else to shake the public confidence in our judiciary and has unquestionably been the chief source of the abuse of the injunction power. The *Boston Herald* well calls the attention of Mr. Jerome to the fact that Boss Platt and other politicians have been all-powerful in dictating the appointment of district judges. This attempt to have the judiciary appointed instead of elected is only one of many measures advocated by so-called reformers which are opposed to the democratic ideal and essentially un-American and reactionary in essence, but which are being industriously fostered by the Wall-street gambling element, the corrupt corporate magnates and other representatives of privileged or class interests.

A leading anti-imperialistic statesman of Massachusetts, seeing a failure on the part of the legislators to represent the people of the commonwealth by enacting needed measures which were opposed by the boss, the machine and corporate interests, recently came out in a recommendation that practically all power, legislative as well as executive, be lodged with the executive department of the state government. Now let it be remembered that such recommendations have been advanced, not from the camp of plutocracy and reaction, but from those pretending to represent reform elements; while on the other hand all the enormous power of corporate wealth, all the influence of the Wall-street high financiers, all the power of the political bosses who have grown rich as procurers for the corporations and privileged interests, and all the "kept" editors who are in the employ of plutocracy, are openly or covertly arrayed against Direct-Legislation, because it has proved itself to be at once the only practical and efficient method for restoring the government to the people and of breaking the power of corrupt boss-rule and the despotism of the controlled machine,

by giving to the people at all times the power to secure faithful service from their servants and emancipation from the extortion and oppression of the privileged classes.

We are in the presence of a life and death battle between democracy and despotism; between the rule of the people and the rule of privileged interests; between the prosperity of all the people and the enormous and fabulous enrichment of a few persons through special privilege and by indirection, at the expense of the millions. And against democracy are ranged the almost inexhaustible wealth of Wall street, that of the great public-service corporations and other monopolies, and the municipal, state and national political machines manned by conscienceless and daring "patriots for personal revenue." Hence if democracy is to be preserved, it must be by organization and systematic educational agitation that shall not only awaken but unify the people so that they can strike effective blows in unison. Only in this way can victory be achieved against such odds. But by organization and a systematic, rational educational campaign, with a cause so clearly in the interests of the people, the victory of democracy can be won within four years, provided unions can be rapidly formed over the nation.

### III. It Can Be Done.

At the very threshold we will be told that it is no longer possible to organize and carry forward successfully literary clubs or associations, and that even the public lyceum, once so powerful a factor in general educational work, has lost its hold over the popular mind.

Now this is doubtless true where there is no great moral ideal at stake, no great cause that summons the service of all noble-minded men and women, causing them to rally to its standard as the trumpet-call of freedom to the legions of light, no great principle at stake wherein the victory or defeat of civilization hangs on the issue. But in this great work we have the same cause and inspiring issue that led Jefferson and his high-minded comrades to stake all on the principles involved; the same cause that led Mazzini to choose exile and loyalty to the democratic ideal rather than fame, ease and temporary victory, and which made possible the organization of Young Italy, that in turn rendered the success of Garibaldi inevitable; the same cause that made Lincoln the greatest figure in the

world of nineteenth-century statesmanship.

This is no dilettante movement. The call is not to the egoists or to those who place aught before duty, justice and right. It is to those who like Mazzini hold that "Life is a mission," or with Hugo that "Life is conscience," that this appeal is made; to those who recognize the great peril that threatens free institutions and the power that is behind the anti-democratic movement; and to those who possess the seeing eye to discern how fundamental is the struggle now being fought between privilege and reaction on the one hand and democracy and justice on the other,—the eye to see and the understanding to appreciate the tremendous fact that we are in the presence of one of those fateful crises that Lowell described 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."

In the presence of such a cause and the wider recognition of the facts which the revelations of the past two years, and especially of the last six months, have made perfectly clear, there will be no difficulty in forming successful clubs where a few persons are determined to consecrate their best endeavors to the work, to faithfully and religiously devote a portion of their time and energy to the labor. The cause is one that will appeal to every high-minded patriot to-day as similar struggles between freedom and despotism have appealed to the noblest-minded since the days of Eliot, Pym and Hampden and the period of the great revolutionary awakening.

#### IV. What The Individual Can Do.

But, argues someone, I am not influential, I have little power. If I were in a prominent position I could and would do much. To all such we would say that far more of the really great work, the civilization-influencing and humanity-ennobling work, has been achieved by obscure and comparatively unrecognized persons than by those in high stations. Absolute devotion to a great cause, the sinking of all thought of self before the great moral issue involved, the consecration of life's best energies to a definite work,—this will give

compelling motive power to the humblest life. It will place it in sympathetic accord with the Soul of the Universe and make its achievements civilization-wide and eternal in beneficent results.

Do you question this? Go with me to Genoa. See that delicate youth just graduated from the university of his native city. Before him Literature stands beckoning and holds a coveted garland. His natural tastes, desires and inclination all lead him to follow her footsteps. But on the other hand he beholds Duty, stern-visaged and august, pointing to Italy in chains, the prey of numerous petty despotisms protected and rendered powerful by the might of Austria. On every hand is the ignorance of the masses and the oppression of the rulers. The youth beholds the great historic land—his fatherland—in the bondage of despotic rule, weakened and enervated by mutual hatred and long-fostered rivalries between the petty states, which seem to render the hope of liberty and progress for the people a chimerical dream. But he also sees that behind duty stalk poverty, privation and death. Yet he falters not. He dedicates his life to the unification of Italy and the emancipation of her people from the double night of despotism and ignorance. He is imprisoned and later exiled. He organizes Young Italy, and the movement spreads throughout the peninsula, in spite of all opposition, like forest fires in autumn. He flees to France and in Marseilles he gathers about him a few fellow-exiles, where he inaugurates the most astounding and successful propaganda agitation known to modern times. The city swarms with the emissaries of the Italian despots. The patriots meet in secret; they labor at night, their printing-press working when other men sleep, in a secret retreat known only to themselves. At length they have a large amount of literature ready for dissemination; but how to get it into Italy, that is the question. What they do shows what can be done when men sink all thought of self and consecrate life's best gifts to the service of freedom. Securely boxed and wrapped, the great rolls of contraband literature—the vital breath of democracy—are placed in barrels of pitch and of cement and addressed to various ports of Italy, marked with peculiar marks. The knowing ones in the fatherland visit the docks, see the marks and buy the barrels, open them, take out the precious literature and distribute it. And thus the cause is fostered. Later,

driven from France and Switzerland, the young patriot takes refuge in London, where he continues his campaign of education amid poverty and privation; and with what result? All Italy is in time leavened with his message. He has awakened the long dead passion for union; he has aroused again the deathless aspiration for freedom and constitutional government.

In Boston, in the thirties of the last century, was a very poor and obscure young man. He started *The Liberator*, inscribing as his motto these words, which carried with them the clarion note of victory because they showed that he had made the great renunciation in the highest service of justice:

"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest. I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and *I will be heard.*"

He was mobbed; his printing-office was destroyed; he was sneered at by the respectable classes of the Boston of the day, by a large proportion of the clergy, the lawyers and the merchants. He was socially ostracized by the pillars of society, but he faltered not. Soon he had aroused the sleeping conscience of the North and the great bell of the ages sounded the knell of chattel-slavery. To-day the statue of Garrison adorns the most fashionable boulevard in Boston.

In 1841, in Boston, a young woman, a school-teacher, quite unknown to fame, with small influence and with health broken, was induced by a young divinity student in Harvard College to visit the Cambridge jail. She found among the prisoners a few insane persons, with whom she talked. They were kept in rooms in which no fires were built during the cold winter. Indeed, the conditions she found were appalling and almost incredible. She immediately determined to examine into the condition of the insane throughout the state. She devoted the next two years to this work, collecting a vast mass of data revealing horrible and almost incredible conditions existing from one end of the state to the other. These facts she laid before the legislature of Massachusetts. They aroused a storm of opposition from the sleek, well-kept conventionalists and opportunists who denounced the report as hysterical and sensational, though as a matter of fact there was nothing hysterical or sensational about Miss Dix or her methods of procedure. She had merely

given a simple, unvarnished story of conditions as she had actually found them. Investigations confirmed the truth of all she said. As a result her revelations wrought a revolution in the treatment of the insane in Massachusetts. Next she journeyed to Rhode Island, where she accomplished as great a work as she had in the Old Bay State, and from thence she moved south and west, visiting states as far removed as Louisiana and Illinois, everywhere laboring for the cause of the insane and everywhere finding her labors, in spite of all opposition, crowned with success. Through her persistent labor New Jersey established the Dixmont Insane Asylum, the first of thirteen state asylums established directly through her efforts. She also succeeded in having the Worcester, Massachusetts, Providence, Rhode Island, and Utica, New York, asylums greatly enlarged and improved. In four years she traveled over 32,000 miles on her mission of love. She also visited England and Scotland, and from thence the continent of Europe, journeying as far as Constantinople. Everywhere she succeeded in improving the condition of the insane. She was a veritable angel of light whose influence for civilization can never be measured. And yet Dorothea Lynde Dix was practically unknown and in only moderate circumstances when she inaugurated her glorious revolution. She, if anyone, would have been justified in shrinking from attempting the revolution she wrought because she was naturally of a most shy, retiring and sensitive nature. From childhood she had been threatened with consumption of the lungs and her health was always precarious.

These cases are strictly typical. They are cited merely to show that men and women, obscure and without property or influence, can achieve great things if they will consecrate their lives to the advancement of vital movements.

You are not called upon to make any great renunciation like that made by these leaders and way-showers of civilization, but you can, by devoting a small part of the time at your command whole-heartedly and determinedly to the work of interesting friends and organizing a center for civic righteousness, become a positive factor in a great movement that by being nation-wide in influence will hearten and help to render invincible the apostles of freedom in the present battle between democracy and despotism. You can appeal to the



patriotic and civic spirit of your friends and neighbors and induce a few of these to pledge themselves to meet regularly at least once a month for the ensuing year. Form an Arena Club in your midst, send in the names of the officers, and date of meetings, that they may be entered on our roster. In this manner you will come in touch with other similar clubs and an educational center in your midst will be established.

#### V. Suggested Form of Association.

In answer to requests from friends for a form of association, we would suggest that the organization be simple; that the form of organization be somewhat like the following:

We, the undersigned, realizing the inestimable blessings of a free and just government and the sacred duties it imposes upon all citizens, and appreciating the grave danger of the present evils which are subtly but rapidly substituting the monarchical, imperialistic and class-rule ideals for the fundamental demands of democracy or the ideals of the Declaration of Independence, hereby form ourselves into a club or association, to be known as The Arena Club of —, and we pledge ourselves to be present, unless unavoidably prevented, at all regular meetings of this club, to be held at least once a month, during the ensuing year, and to do whatsoever lies in our power to increase the interest and value of such meetings. We promise to faithfully aid our fellow-workers in all legitimate efforts to arouse the people to the importance of maintaining the fundamentals of democracy against the rapid aggressions of privileged interests and class-rule, by seeking to secure those ideal democratic measures known as Direct-Legislation that most admirably meet the changed conditions of the present and render ineffective the corrupt influence of interested classes which threaten to destroy democracy while preserving its form. We furthermore promise to do all in our power to promote and render successful any public meetings which are arranged for under the auspices of our club.

All the officers that are necessary for such a club are a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer. As soon as such a club is formed the secretary should communicate with the editor of this magazine, giving the name of the club, its officers, date of meetings, and also a roster of its members with their addresses.

#### VI. Some Benefits.

The benefits that will attend the establishment of these clubs, when those who form them have that degree of consecration that shall make their success inevitable, are many and the influence resulting therefrom will endure long after the founders and workers have passed from the scenes of this life. Among these we may mention:

(1) The establishment of live centers for a rational educational agitation for the preservation of the democracy of the Declaration of Independence; for the making of our city, state and national government in fact what it is in theory—a government of the people, for the people and by the people, instead of a government of privileged wealth, for privileged wealth, rendered autocratic and all-powerful by political bosses and party-machines enriched and protected by the corrupt wealth of class interests,—centers that shall be in fact beacon-lights of democracy in every village, town or city where established and which shall be kept in touch with one another—a chain of clubs or leagues that shall become as powerful an agency for the reclamation and preservation of pure democracy as were the Committees of Correspondence vital centers that made the establishment of our republic inevitable. This purpose alone is one that should appeal to every high-minded man and woman and lead to that high degree of consecration,—that devotion to a holy cause, that moral enthusiasm, that makes failure absolutely impossible. Never did duty summon men and women to a nobler standard; never was need of faithful service and united action more demanded than to-day.

(2) While the work of bringing back the government to its true source—the people—and compelling the public servants to be servants instead of masters of the people and lackeys in the service of political bosses and privileged interests is the supreme object of the clubs, they will also prove of immense benefit to the members who faithfully engage in the work and to the community in which they are established. The members will hear at these meetings digests of great books carrying the message of freedom and justice, and outlines from authoritative works on what the initiative, the referendum, the right of recall and proportional representation really are, how they have succeeded, and how their introduction will give the voters again the power of administering the government in the

interests of all the people. Other subjects, such as direct primaries, the School City, and the success of democratic measures in foreign lands would be discussed from time to time. In a word, a broad, comprehensive programme for an intelligent, systematic educational agitation will be thus carried on, and this will inevitably broaden the culture, making nobler, finer and broader-visions men and women who by virtue of their having conscientiously accepted the high duty imposed by democracy or freedom upon all her children in the present crisis will have come into moral rapport with the apostles of progress in all ages, who through consecration and selfless devotion to the high demands of duty have blazed the pathway of civilization.

(3) The clubs will necessarily give moral and intellectual stimulation in every commu-

nity and become potent feeders of the flame of true democracy—engines for peaceful advance, for progress and for the maintenance of the priceless blessings of free government, thus successfully combatting on the one hand the oppression and exploitation of the people by the politico-commercial despotism of the hour, and averting the menace of revolutionary outbreaks, with their attendant slaughter, misery and waste, on the other.

Are not such results worthy of great sacrifice, worthy of high, faithful and consecrated service on your part? Are not the maintenance of democracy and the emancipation and elevation of all the people objects worthy of your best endeavors? And if so, will you not register a pledge to consecrate a portion of your time and life's energy to this work?

## THE RAPACITY OF THE THEATRICAL-TRUST.

**T**HE RECENT suit brought by David Belasco against leading members of the theatrical-trust revealed a condition of affairs that should arouse the indignation not only of every self-respecting member of the dramatic profession, but of the thoughtful theater-going public everywhere, to such a point that this sordid and rapacious trust would find its power at an end.

Trusts and monopolies operated by private parties always degenerate into sordid, rapacious and oppressive engines used by the privileged ones to extort unearned wealth from the people; but there is something peculiarly sinister about a trust that invades the provinces of education, literature and art and which, as in the case of the theatrical-trust, places the box-office receipts above all thought of moral elevation, artistic development or the culture of the people. In such a case the domain thus blighted becomes more often a poisonous swamp filled with moral and mental miasma than otherwise.

The theatrical-trust and its work furnish a striking case in point. Instead of developing a strong, wholesome and morally and mentally virile American drama and giving the people great works by great artists, it is starting a number of mediocre actors and actresses who, though they would appear fairly well in stock-companies, are wholly incapable of assuming great parts; while the plays produced are for the most part sensational and thoroughly ephemeral works, many of them distinctly morally enervating. It is also putting on great spectacles and anatomical shows void of true artistic value, innocent of any literary merit, and which tend to lower the moral ideals of the people; while by virtue of its control of the leading theaters of the land, the trust makes it well-nigh impossible for independent actors of genius to rise or succeed. Thus the effect of this sordid commercialism is anything but ennobling or educational, or rather, it tends to educate the people downward instead of upward.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## CITY, STATE AND NATION.

### The Ship Subsidy and Its Missionaries.

**T**HE HIGH financiers who are behind the ship-subsidy steal are industriously laboring and lavishly spending their money to secure the passage of a measure that will enable a few over-rich men to get their greedy hands into the public treasury and further despoil the farmers and the millions of wealth-creators of America. The money they are after must necessarily come from the tax-paying millions, and let it be not forgotten that the very rich pay proportionately very little of the taxes. They have various methods for evading the burdens which the poor have to meet. Frequently they succeed in having their property rated at a pitifully insignificant figure, wholly out of proportion to its value. At other times they cover up their wealth or swear it off, while the farmer, the man in moderate circumstances and the comparatively poor man are compelled to pay the full *pro rata* and far more than would be exacted if the rich men bore a just proportion of the taxes.

Nothing has been more clearly shown than that ship subsidies do not helpfully stimulate commerce. France furnishes a striking illustration of this fact. Her heavy subsidies, though draining the treasury, have utterly failed to produce the results anticipated; while the commerce of Norway in proportion to her wealth and inhabitants makes an exceptionally fine showing, without any subsidies whatever. If our cormorants of privilege who are seeking a ship subsidy succeed, the tax-payers will be called upon to meet a new burden, while another privileged interest will acquire millions of dollars from the treasury to further corrupt legislation and keep the corrupted in power. In speaking of this the *Boston Herald* well observes:

“If millions of dollars a year of the public money are to be paid indirectly to ship-builders, through ship-owners, then the money so obtained must be taken from somebody. The government has no funds except those which it collects by taxing the people, and the money which it obtains from these sources it can, of

course, devote to any legal purpose it sees fit, but such use is none the less a burden to those who are compelled to pay the tax.”

The *Herald* further points out the fact that not only is there an active and powerful lobby at work in Washington in the interests of the ship-subsidy promoters, but that they have their missionaries busily at work over the country. The case of Alexander R. Smith and his labors in the south is admirably discussed by this journal. We call special attention to this case because it is typical of how special privileges work to secure the enslavement, the exploitation and the oppression of the people for the further enrichment of multi-millionaires. The ship-subsidy steal is one of the most brazen attempts to break into the United States treasury of recent years. Mr. Smith, as the *Herald* points out, has recently visited Mobile and Birmingham, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana; Pensacola and Jacksonville, Florida; Savannah, Atlanta and other cities. Of his work and his masters the *Herald* says:

“Mr. Smith is an active worker, with an exceedingly persuasive tongue. In Alabama he told his hearers that he had good authority for believing that a ship-building company would shortly locate itself in Mobile bay, making an investment there aggregating several millions of dollars, for the purpose of building modern steel steamships upon a large scale—that is, this plant would be established there if the subsidy bill went through. However, this confined the range of operations rather too narrowly, hence Mr. Smith has added that he looks to see not only this Alabama plant in Mobile bay, but another one in Pensacola, and in Georgia, in North and in South Carolina ports, so that in ten years, if the payment of subsidies is continued, more steel ships will be built south than north of Mason and Dixon’s line, and cargo steamships will be running from every southern port to the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America and Europe.

"There is nothing picayune in Mr. Smith's outlook, provided, of course, you only give him a sufficiently generous subsidy to work upon. Is it at all strange that with the smoke of the future enormous ship-building plants filling in imagination both nose and eyes, with the clash of the rivet-hammers on ship-plates ringing in their ears, the members of the Commercial Club of Mobile should recognize 'the pressing importance of an American mercantile marine,' and should express 'the earnest hope that the bill will receive the support of Alabama's senators and representatives in Congress'? If there is any considerable amount of public bounty going around, Alabama wishes and deserves to have its share, just as much as the other states of the Union.

"Mr. Alexander R. Smith appears to be flattering our southern friends into a support of this method. These latter can see the injustice of high railroad rates or rates made high by artificial manipulation, but they somehow do not seem to realize that equally unfortunate results can come about if high transportation rates are imposed upon the water-carriage of that part of their products that they wish to sell in foreign countries, and that a hypothetical steel-ship-building plant in Mobile bay can hardly serve as an offset to this certain forced contribution imposed upon our export trade."

One of the best criticisms that has appeared recently on this latest scheme to plunder the nation's treasury for a privileged few is found in *Moody's Magazine* for December. The editor of this extremely able "review for investors, bankers and men of affairs," among other strictures observes:

"It is un-American to tax our self-supporting and prosperous industries and to turn the proceeds over to weaklings.

"It is unwise to legislate in opposition to natural economic laws. Neither is the constitutionality of such legislation fully settled.

"It yet remains to be proven that a merchant marine has ever been built up by subsidies or discriminating duties. It is certain that the countries that have been most liberal with subsidies, like France and Italy, have developed their shipping facilities much slower than have countries like Great Britain and Norway, that have given little or no subsidy.

"It has never been shown, and probably never will be, that subsidies ever lowered

freight rates or increased the commerce of any country. Our own sad experience with the Collins, Brazil and Pacific Mail lines is the experience of all other countries.

"As a business proposition, it is unwise for us to deliver our goods, when we can hire them delivered by others for half what it costs us to deliver them in our own vehicles. When we want to send a message, we call a messenger boy. Likewise, we should insist that our goods be delivered in the cheapest way.

"The absurdity of the whole proposition was well stated by Mr. James J. Hill, when he appeared before the Merchant Marine Commission, in May, 1904. He said that what we most need now are foreign markets; that there are plenty of ships to carry our products; that the ships that will transport our products cheapest should do the work; that we need not worry about what flag is 'at the peak of the ships'; that neither on account of military or naval needs is subsidy justifiable; that 'we could buy all the ships we want in time of war . . . cheaper than we could build them'; that 'if we have to buy a merchant marine and pay for it out of the general treasury it will not last long'; that 'no direct subsidy will result in building up a merchant marine'; that discriminating duties offer no solution of the problem; that 'anything that the government may offer to do would soon be absorbed by a comparatively small number of ships'; that 'mail subsidies and mail-carrying ships will furnish us very little relief in the matter of carrying our products,' for these ships carry but little cargo; that our inability to compete more freely in foreign markets is due to the high cost of production here; that subsidy in any form would tax our people, and especially our farmers, and put additional burdens upon production here; that 'if you admit foreign-built ships free of duty you will get a merchant marine quicker than in any other way.'"

#### Progress of the School-City Movement.

WE HAVE on several occasions called the attention of our readers to the School City as one of the most promising and practical movements for the developing of democratic citizenship. Elsewhere we publish a sketch and portrait of Mr. Wilson L. Gill, the founder of this great educational movement.

Last August the National School-City League was organized, with Mr. Wilson L. Gill of

Philadelphia as president, Professor Frank Parsons of Boston as vice-president, Ralph Albertson of Boston as secretary, and George H. Shibley of Washington as treasurer. Since then a systematic work of arousing public interest and of organizing School Cities has been pushed as vigorously as the funds at the command of the League have permitted. At our request Mr. Ralph Albertson, the able secretary of the League, has furnished a brief outline of some of the things accomplished since September first under the auspices of the National School-City League, which we epitomize below:

On September 22d, Mr. Gill organized the Southwestern School of Hartford, Connecticut, consisting of the primary and grammar grades. At the time of the organization a member of the City Council of the city of Hartford was present and took such keen interest in the School City that he invited the little School City Council, as a body, to be his guests as visitors at the next meeting of the Hartford City Council.

On September 26th, Mr. Gill, Dr. Parsons and Mr. Albertson, in response to an invitation from the Superintendent of Schools in Maynard, Massachusetts, organized all the children in the schools of that city into five School Cities. The school committee of Maynard had passed a vote providing for the adoption of the School City. The hearty coöperation of the officials and teachers in the Maynard schools has accomplished altogether satisfactory results there. Mr. Albertson visited Maynard about the first of November and found the organizations running smoothly, the teachers all testifying to many good results.

On September 29th, Mr. Gill organized the Hancock School in Boston, a school of 700 girls, largely of foreign birth or extraction. Under the direction of the principal of the school, Miss Sawtelle, and her sympathetic and able corps of teachers, this has been from the first a model School City.

On October 9th, Mr. Gill visited the new School City organized by Miss Jennie V. Terry, principal of the Wadsworth School at Rosebank, Staten Island, New York. This school is composed of 400 children in the first eight grades. Mr. Gill's visit was useful to this school in completing some necessary features of the organization, and the School City is doing well.

About October 1st, a School Town was organized in the public-school at East Willis-

ton, Long Island, a school of 69 children situated in a town, and therefore organized under the township form of government.

On November 15th, Mr. Gill organized one of the large schools of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where the work is proceeding most favorably.

On November 17th, Mr. Gill organized the fifth to ninth grades (325 children) of the Pickering School, Salem, Massachusetts.

On November 20th, he organized one of the rooms in a South Boston school into a little School City by itself.

Mr. Gill has since organized three School Cities at Norfolk, Virginia, and has reorganized two of the Philadelphia schools in which the organization had been dropped because of changes made in principals and teachers.

On December 6th, Mr. Albertson organized the School Street school at Haverhill, grades four to nine, into a School City, and at four o'clock of the same day addressed a meeting of all the Haverhill teachers at which deep interest was shown by both teachers and the superintendent in the subject, and additional schools are likely to be organized in Haverhill soon.

Apart from the public-schools, the School City organization has been adopted by various other organizations, such as boys' clubs, social settlements, Sunday-schools, etc.

Mr. Gill addressed the annual convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs, at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, on October 18th, and after his address the convention passed the following resolution:

*"Resolved, that the President of the Federation of Pennsylvania Women be and is hereby instructed to appoint a School-City Committee of three, to be increased when necessary, to coöperate with Mr. Wilson L. Gill for the introduction and efficient supervision of moral and civic training into all the schools of the State."*

#### **Enriching The Metropolis by Utilizing Its Waste and Refuse.**

ONE OF the most interesting illustrations of the practical utilization of waste products is found in the efficient system introduced by Major J. M. Woodbury, Commissioner of the Department of Street Cleaning of New York City. For years the cost of disposing of the waste products and refuse of the great metropolis was a great burden to the tax-payers. A

large portion of the refuse was loaded on boats, taken out to sea and there dumped, with the result that the major portion of it was washed on the Long Island beaches, making them unsightly, offensive and unhealthy. Now all this is changed. Under Major Woodbury's administration the garbage is disposed of by incineration. The ashes, that used to be dumped in the sea, are now utilized to raise the low lands adjacent to New York and thus bring into the market millions upon millions of dollars' worth of property. On Riker's Island, for example, since 1902, when the practical utilization of refuse was inaugurated, 83½ acres of land have been redeemed, the value of which is said to be in the neighborhood of a million dollars; while at the other end of the island a bulkhead is being built that will enclose 105 acres that will be filled in and that will be added to the area of Greater New York within five years.

In Brooklyn the same practical work is going on. Within the past three years nearly eighty acres have been thus reclaimed to the city.

Nor is this all. The rubbish of the city is now being partly sold so as to bring in a handsome revenue, while the balance is used for fuel to generate electric-lights by which the piers on North River in the vicinity of 47th street, and the city stable "B" are lighted. Another similar lighting-plant, whose fuel is dependent on the city's refuse, lights the Williamsburg bridge.

Great as has been the saving to the city since the inauguration of this wise system, the possibilities for the future along this line promise an ever-increasing revenue from what was long the source of enormous expense without any counter-balancing profit.

#### **The Abolition of Passes by The Pennsylvania Railroad.**

SINCE the publication by Mr. Blankenburg in *THE ARENA* of facsimiles of passes given by the Pennsylvania Railroad to legislators and other officials, and the merciless exposure of the corrupting influence of this form of bribery, and the fact further clearly brought out by Mr. Blankenburg, that the constitution of Pennsylvania prohibits the railroad from giving passes to any persons not in the employ of the company, the press of the state and of other states has agitated this question vigorously. Never had the sinister influence of

this form of corrupt practice on the part of the railways been so forcibly presented as in the exposures by Mr. Blankenburg, and never had the Pennsylvania Railroad been placed so pitilessly in the pillory. Evidently this publicity and the rebuke which the citizens of Pennsylvania administered to the great railway's servile tools, the bosses and the Republican machines of the state, at the last election, have had their effect, as the Pennsylvania Railroad has abolished all passes, even to senators and judges. "The possible exception," we are told, "will be the President of the United States." But, as the *New York World* so pertinently asks, "Why this exception?" Is there any more reason why the President of the United States should be beholden to the great public-service corporations than other public servants? The railroad pass, as we have frequently pointed out, has been the most fruitful and effective form of bribery in general practice by the railways. It more than anything else has rendered possible the systematic betrayal of the interests of all the people to the arrogant and law-combatting and defying railways of America. There should be a law making it a penitentiary offense for any public servant to accept a pass or any other favor of any description from a public-service company.

#### **Shameful Disclosures of The Condition of The Insane in The Philadelphia General Hospital: A Fruit of Machine Rule.**

ANOTHER frightful illustration of the result of the Republican machine-rule in Pennsylvania was brought to light on December 7th, when the committee appointed by Mayor Weaver to investigate the insane department of the Philadelphia General Hospital reported the result of its labors. The revelations are sickening and almost incredible, disclosing the fact that 1,800 insane patients have been crowded into accommodations that were only adequate for 900. They found these poor creatures compelled to sleep on benches and on the floors, and there was "an utter lack of clothing, many patients being compelled to remain in bed because they had no clothes to wear. Some have to remain in bed while their clothes are being washed. In one ward," continues the report, "100 out of 125 patients had no clothing," and the tuberculosis patients are not separated from the other insane, and this in the general medical hospital

of one of America's most opulent cities!

Last month we published the summary of the report of the experts on the result of the Ring's work on the filtration plant of Philadelphia, in which it was shown that the city had been looted out of millions of dollars for the benefit of the Ring and that the work had been delayed, with the result that over twelve hundred lives had been lost through typhoid fever. The disclosures of the inhuman treatment of the insane complement the story of the murder of the innocents by the Durham ring or machine, which it should be remembered has been held in power and rendered all but invincible by the great public-service corporations whose master-spirits are the leading citizens of Philadelphia who pose as representatives of civic morality and honor. Ring-rule or rule by the boss and the machine is rendered possible only by the corrupt wealth of public-service corporations and privileged interests. Either corruption and degradation of government and the brutalization of the people is to become progressive and as deep-rooted as in China, or we must overthrow the boss and the machine by destroying privilege and bringing the government back into the hands of the electors.

**Mayor Johnson's Victory for The People in Securing Cheap Street-Car Fares.**

THE public-service corporations of Ohio have so long practically owned the machinery of the Republican party, and that party has been so subservient to their demands, that the corporations had apparently come to think that their wishes or desires were law; and in the light of the enactment of recent legislation and court rulings, it must be confessed there seems substantial ground for their confidence. Mayor Johnson for years has been blocked and thwarted in every effort to secure relief for the city of Cleveland from the tyranny of the great corporations, by the action of the Republican bosses who controlled the legislature and by the judicial rulings adverse to the popular contention. Finally, however, Mayor Johnson's long battle for a three-cent car-fare has been won in the Supreme Court of Ohio, which reversed the judgment of the Circuit Court of Cuyahoga County in the case of the Forest City Railway Company and E. A. Greene *versus* W. J. Day, and dismissed the petition of the plaintiff. The franchise given to the Forest City Railway Company and Greene provides for a three-cent fare.

Slowly the people are coming to see who are their true and incorruptible friends, and slowly the rights of the people are being recognized. Their victory, however, over the princes of privilege, will not be won in any large degree until the people have overthrown the boss and machine which, as the tools of privileged interests, are all but supreme in accomplishing the demands of the real rulers of the nation—corporate and privileged wealth.

**The President's Strange Ignorance Concerning The Power of Wealth in Our Government.**

ONE OF the marked characteristics of the President's sermonizing, of which he is so fond, is his proneness to assume that what he thinks ought to be, is, though the reverse may be and frequently is the case; and regardless of what to him seems so small a thing as a false premise, he proceeds to seriously discuss the subject in hand as though he imagined the people were a great infantile kindergarten, incapable of reasoning for themselves and innocent of the power of ordinary observation. His latest deliverance concerning plutocracy and mob-rule, from his annual message, is a typical illustration of this character. Here is the President's positive declaration:

"This government is not, and never shall be, government by a plutocracy. This government is not, and never shall be, government by a mob. It shall continue to be in the future what it has been in the past, a government based on the theory that each man, rich or poor, is to be treated simply and solely on his worth as a man, that all his personal and property rights are to be safeguarded, and that he is neither to wrong others nor to suffer wrong from others."

It seems almost incredible that anyone in public life and acquainted with the power of privileged interests and corporate wealth in this country, should have the temerity to make such a statement as the above. No one knows better than President Roosevelt how completely, how absolutely and how corruptly Pennsylvania has been governed since the days of Simon Cameron by bosses who were always rendered all-powerful by virtue of the wealth and influence of the public-service corporations and privileged interests of Pennsylvania. No one knows better than the President how absolute has been for years the corrupt power of the street-car companies and the gas-lighting companies of Philadelphia.

They got whatever they wanted from the boss and the Republican machine, and by union with the corruptionists rendered the enslavement of the city from year to year inevitable in spite of every effort of decent citizenship to destroy the degrading and polluting condition. No one knows better than does the President how fearful have been the politicians when in the presence of this rule of privileged wealth and corrupt rings. It will be remembered that even Mr. Roosevelt himself became dumb when every friend of morality and decent government in Philadelphia was battling as patriots had never before battled, to break the power of the most corrupt, criminal and murderous political ring known to American public life, and when a word from the President would have meant thousands of votes for decent government and civic morality. Even after the battle was over and the people had won, though Governor Folk, who had bravely spoken in Philadelphia for civic righteousness, promptly sent his congratulations to Mayor Weaver, and Secretary Root also expressed his delight at the outcome, the President remained discreetly silent.

Pennsylvania and Philadelphia are not exceptional, but are typical illustrations of the power of the public-service companies and privileged wealth over cities and commonwealths. And what is true of municipalities and states is equally true of the national government. What real relief have the people secured through the national government in the past twenty-five years from the extortions and oppressions of the railroads, the express companies, the beef-trust, the steel-trust, or the hundred and one other corporations, public and private, that through legislative franchises, privileges or grants have been able to acquire monopoly power at a frightful expense to the people? The *Boston Herald* in commenting on President Roosevelt's words which we quote above, makes this very pertinent observation:

"These are truly noble sentiments, worthy of a veritable Joseph Surface in politics. But how do they square with the facts? How does the theory fit the practice? The President says that 'this government is not, and never shall be, government by a plutocracy.' Plutocracy is the rule of wealth. If a party succeeds in the election with the potent help of campaign funds ranging from \$2,000,000 to \$6,000,000, and if some, often largest, of

the contributors afterward go to Washington and, under the stress of a 'moral obligation' confessed by Senator Platt, write into the laws of the nation tariff schedules designed and calculated to enrich them at the expense of the consumers of the country, is not that pretty close to 'government by a plutocracy?' And if, through repeated contributions and renewed obligations, they are able to prevent any reduction of duties that are not only unnecessary to the public good, but are oppressive to the people, is that treatment of 'every man, rich or poor, simply and solely on his worth as a man?'

"Does 'the man on the street,' the plain average man, whatever his personal worth, suffer no wrong when he is compelled to pay tribute on nearly everything he eats or wears or uses to house and warm himself, not simply to support the government, but to build still higher the fortunes of the beneficiaries of the bounties which this government, 'based on the theory of equal rights,' licenses relatively a few men to collect?

"There are other matters in which the President's favorite theory of a 'square deal' is seriously interfered with by stacked cards and tricks of shuffling."

Does Mr. Roosevelt suppose for a moment that if this country was, as he would have us suppose it is, a government where "each man, rich or poor, is to be treated simply and solely on his worth as a man," instead of a government where privileged wealth exerts a preponderating influence,—that is to say, where a plutocracy obtains,—that the express companies, headed by United States Senator Platt, would be able to thwart, prevent and render impossible the establishment of a parcels-post in America? Does he suppose that if it were not for this power and the overweening influence of the banking interests in politics, this nation would be a camp-follower in the processions of nations, not only with respect to a parcels-post but also in regard to postal savings-banks? Does he suppose for one moment that if it were not for the tremendous power, direct and indirect, exerted by the railway companies, the post-office department would pay an annual rental for cars greater than the cost of the construction of the cars whose life is from fifteen to nineteen years, and that in addition to this the government would submit to a rate of payment to the rail-



roads for hauling mail matter, "fixed," to use the apt characterization of the *New York World*, "by a system so preposterous as actually to invite and reward the collusive defrauding of the government"? Is Mr. Roosevelt ignorant of the revelations made under oath at the insurance investigations, which have established the fact that the insurance system, or, in other words, the few unfaithful stewards who gain control of the vast sums of the policy-holders' money, have in connivance with Wall-street gamblers misused this wealth for speculative purposes and personal ends, after they had completely gained control of the state government of New York to such a degree that the safeguards of wise legislation enacted for the protection of the policy-holders were repealed and no legislation that was aimed at protecting the people's money was permitted to pass? Is this an example of a government where "each man, rich or poor, is to be treated simply and solely on his worth as a man," or is it an example of plutocracy in government,—that is, a government dominated by wealth?

Now the cases of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia; that of the protective tariff on which the *Herald* dwells; the case of the express companies, the banks and the railways *versus* the postal department; and the supremacy of the insurance exploiters in the government of New York, by which the policy-holders are robbed of their rightful protection, are merely a few typical examples of scores that might be cited that show clearly the absurdity of the President's position. This assuming a thing to be a fact when the assumption is palpably false, and the reasoning from the false premise, is an insult to the intelligence of the American people. It would not be surprising if it came from a hired attorney of privileged interests bent on an effort to throw sand in the eyes of the people or to lull them into a false sense of security, in order that privileged interests might still further entrench themselves; nor

would it be surprising if it came from the lips of a veritable Rip Van Winkle who had been marooned for the last fifty years. But coming as it does from the President of the United States, it is as difficult to understand as it is unfortunate for the interests of justice, democracy and peaceful progress.

#### **The Society of American Sculptors.**

ON THE afternoon of December 21st, we had the pleasure of attending an interesting reception given by the Society of American Sculptors in their rooms at 111 East 23d street, New York City, to Mr. George Cary Eggleston, the well-known author and journalist, who favored the audience with a brief address on the movement for a really great art in America. The speaker showed that until recently art had received scant recognition in our republic; that the great painters and sculptors of earlier days were compelled to go to Europe for recognition and a livelihood. All our earlier attempts at art were marked by extreme crudity, and there was a general sentiment for a long time in the republic against art. At the Centennial Exposition our nation seemed to receive the first real impulse in favor of art, and from that time forth there has been a steady growth in the direction of a true art for the New World, not only among the painters, sculptors, architects and artist-artisans, but a recognition and appreciation of the value and true worth of art on the part of the people or a large section of the people.

The Society of American Sculptors is doing an important work in fostering a strong, vital art for America, as is also the vigorous Guild of the Arts and Crafts whose rooms connect with those of the Society of American Sculptors. The work of these two important organizations will be noticed somewhat at length in an early issue of *THE ARENA* as among the important societies that are working along sound and fundamental lines to make a great and true art for the New World.

## THE MARCH OF EVENTS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

### **The Crushing Burden Which Militarism Has Imposed Upon The German People.**

ON THE sixth of December, Chancellor von Bülow addressed the Reichstag on the financial condition of the Empire. His

words merit the attention of all thinking people. For the last thirty years Germany has been the foremost exponent of militarism. Her government has during most of this time, as under the blood-and-iron policy of Bismarck and later

under the autocratic rule of the Emperor William, striven unremittingly to check all democratic advances, to limit the freedom of the press, while fostering reactionary ideals. The insanity of militarism that has affected the Emperor William has exerted a baleful effect on all other European nations. Because with the increase of armament on the part of Germany, other nations have felt compelled to increase the burden imposed upon the masses for the military and naval budgets. But nowhere has the appalling weight of oppressive taxation fallen so heavily as on the German people themselves, as will be seen from the facts given by the Chancellor in his address, and which briefly summarized are as follows:

(1) Thirty years ago, or in 1875, we are informed by the Chancellor, Germany was free from debt. (2) To-day the Empire owes \$875,000,000, requiring an annual payment of \$25,000,000 for interest on this sum. (3) If to the Empire's debt is added the debts of the various states forming the empire, we have the grand total of \$3,750,000,000 of indebtedness, or more than sixty-two dollars per capita. (4) The military and naval expenses of Germany have doubled within the last ten years.

It is well also to notice that simultaneously

with this onward march of militarism—this ascendancy of the mailed-fist policy which imposes such crushing burdens upon the people—there has been a steady and unremitting effort on the part of the government to defeat the democratic aspirations on the part of the people, and this has been accompanied by a high protection policy that has fostered the financial interests of the few and thus tended to augment the power of the autocratic sovereign and the titled classes by calling to their aid the influence of the new commercial feudalism thus being built up—a *third class dependent upon privilege for wealth and power*.

As soon as the public sentiment in civilized lands shall be educated up to that degree of wisdom and sanity wherein the people will demand the establishment of a great international parliament for the compulsory settlement of all disputes between nations through arbitration, this great burden of waste which is now oppressing the masses in every one of the great, so-called Christian lands will be lifted from the shoulders of the people, and the greatest fostering cause of racial and national hatred and the most fruitful influence in dehumanizing, brutalizing, and stimulating the murder-spirit among the people of the earth will be removed.

## ENGLAND'S BATTLE AGAINST REACTION.

### I. The Downfall of The Balfour Cabinet.

THE DOWNFALL of the Balfour cabinet and the entrance of a Liberal ministry, in which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman assumes the premiership, which occurred early in December, marked the latest phase of the battle of the people against the autocratic, militant and reactionary administration that has held the reins of government for a decade in Great Britain.

### II. The Three Counts Against The Conservative Ministry.

Three great counts have been made, and justly made, in the popular indictment of the Balfour cabinet. It has striven to undo much of that which had been achieved during the past sixty years for the promotion of world peace based on justice, for the progress and happiness of the whole English people, and for the furtherance of commercial, educational

and religious freedom. Small wonder is it therefore, that the rising tide of popular indignation has been so emphatically expressed in the by-elections as to leave no doubt as to the temper of the people.

In the dark record of the past ten years of reactionary rule, Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Hugh Cecil will go into history as the two evil geniuses of the cabinet; but Premier Balfour's responsibility is in no wise lessened by the fact that jingoism and the interests of privileged classes were especially championed by Mr. Chamberlain, or that the infamous Education Bill was the special charge of Sir Hugh. Mr. Balfour leaves the cabinet, discredited, as he was the responsible head of the ministry, and his opposition to the magnificent measures introduced since the forties of the last century, if successful, would have thrown Great Britain back into the column of reactionary, unrepresentative and unprogressive

nations under the immoral, unjust and subversive dominance of privileged or class interests. Only the sturdy democratic spirit, the moral virility and the love of justice, peace and freedom on the part of the British electors have saved England to Liberalism.

It was through the machinations of Joseph Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes and a few other jingo statesmen who were dominated by the insanity of modern sordid commercialism, that the unjust war was waged against the free republics of South Africa at a time when the English and the Dutch peoples were rapidly amalgamating and there was every prospect of a great, free, federated commonwealth, pledged to progress and liberalism. By the oft-repeated tactics of interested ones, the passions and prejudices of the multitude were for a time successfully appealed to under the cry of "patriotism," "Greater England," and by the conjuring up of visions of commercial gain to be acquired by the crushing of the weaker people who possessed the gold regions. After a season, however, when the frightful cost in life and treasure began to impress itself on the English mind; when in tens of thousands of homes were vacant chairs never again to be occupied by the loved ones who had been wantonly sacrificed to the fetich of military aggression; when the burden of taxes loomed large above the economic horizon, then the wisdom of the Liberal statesmanship that under Bright and Gladstone had stood for peace and justice was realized by the nation that had permitted itself to become intoxicated on words and phrases, noble and worthy in themselves, but which had been prostituted for the base ends of interested and reactionary statesmanship and classes. Men began to see once more that there was something higher and finer than material gain when the fruit of injustice and war.

A free and just England—such had been the ideal of Cobden, Bright, Gladstone and Morley, but this nation-exalting ideal had given place to the immoral creed of sordid and materialistic commercialism. The people had come to themselves again, but not so the reactionary government. A party that is pledged to militarism easily becomes reactionary all along the line. The spirit of criminal aggression may manifest itself as militarism, or in class favoritism, substituting privileged interests for equal and exact justice for all; or in intolerance and class favoritism in the domain of religion and letters. The spirit of one is the

spirit of all, and it is needless to say that the spirit of reaction is diametrically opposed to the genius and fundamental demands of the democratic revolution. Hence it is not strange that the jingo statesmen became the champions of high protection and the apostles of privileged interests and that they harkened to the spirit of religious intolerance and fanaticism, pushing through the infamous Education Law, though knowing full well that the Conservative statesmen were not elected to further any such reactionary legislation. They merely took advantage of the large majority to force legislation that the reactionaries knew did not represent the will of the people. Here, in ten years, are seen the lengths to which reactionary statesmanship could go in undoing the great work accomplished in the glorious morning days of Victoria's reign, when Cobden, Bright, Dickens, Carlyle, Hood, Mackay, Massey, and scores of other leaders of thought became apostles of justice, freedom and democracy,—a work that had been further carried successfully forward by the liberal and conscientious statesmanship of Gladstone and the great men he drew around him.

But the enemies of freedom, justice and progress misread the signs of the times. They believed the commercial feudalism that had become rank, corrupt, conscienceless and powerful in the New World, in Germany and elsewhere, would supply a sufficient reinforcement to the militant, monarchal and religious elements to defeat the ends of popular government and check the onward march of democracy.

Happily, about this time France came out from under the liberty-destroying spell of reaction and militarism that had overtaken her after her alliance with Russia, and had set her face toward freedom. Elsewhere also the democratic impulse began to stir within the breasts of the masses. The English people were not so soddan as the reactionaries imagined. Hence the liberal reaction began to express itself in the by-elections.

### III. The New Cabinet.

Unhappily for England, the liberal or democratic forces have had no great leader since the passing of Gladstone. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has an extremely difficult task before him, because the Liberal party is divided on many questions. On the subject of Free Trade, it is true, it is practically a unit, but on such issues as home rule and the

urgent demands of the Labor parties there is little unanimity of sentiment at a time when the union of all foes of reaction is imperatively necessary to a successful stand. A leader like Gladstone could master the situation. Will Sir Henry be able to do so?

In the selection of the cabinet he has, it seems to us, evinced rare judgment and discrimination, bringing together a number of the wisest, strongest, most influential and popular statesmen of England. A cabinet containing such men as John Morley, James Bryce, Sir Edward Grey, Herbert Henry Asquith, Sir Robert Threshie Reid and the Earl of Aberdeen, should inspire public confidence. It would, it seems to us, be difficult to bring together a stronger group of men, both politically and morally, than are found in the new cabinet. We are especially glad to see John Burns, the sturdy Labor leader, in this ministry.

Before this issue is printed a new election will have been held and the popular sentiment of the English people will have been ascertained, and we shall be surprised if the new Labor party shall not make a strong showing, gaining sufficient members to become a great political magnet in the next appeal to the nation.

All friends of free institutions, of free secular education, of enlightened democracy and of peace will hail with pleasure the overthrow of the Balfour reactionary ministry.

#### **The Separation of Church and State in France.**

ONE of the most important world events of the closing weeks of last year was the final passage by the Senate of the bill to separate church and state in France. The measure received almost one hundred more votes than were cast against its enactment, proving that the upper house, as thoroughly as the Chamber of Deputies, had determined on the wisdom and importance of the measure.

This separation will doubtless prove of great advantage to true religion no less than to the state. Indeed, some of the broad-minded Catholic thinkers of both Europe and America incline to the belief that the Catholic Church in France will be materially strengthened on account of this separation.

The Vatican, however, seems to be dominated by the old and baleful ideals which have long obtained. Thus we find Cardinal Merry del Val, the Cardinal Secretary of State, in an

interview given to the *Echo de Paris* early in December, advising aggressive opposition on the part of French Catholics, saying among other things:

“Now has come the time when you are to be put under foot. Do n't let them do it. Prepare practical defensive means adapted to your district and resources.”

This utterance, it would seem, is well calculated to foster a spirit of resistance to the government that might easily degenerate into violence, and it is surprising that the Papal secretary should give expression to such sentiments. The Boston *Transcript's* Rome correspondent published on December 9th a long letter relating to the matter. Of the attitude of the Pope this correspondent said:

“It is easy now to draw the conclusion that the Pope wishes French Catholics to organize in self-defense, and that he still hopes to influence French action by the threat that France will lose all rights to the protectorate of Catholics in foreign countries.”

Unless we greatly mistake the temper of the French people, this attempted meddling with the legislative enactments of the republic will be resented by the liberty-loving friends of free government in our sister republic.

#### **The Tramp of Democracy Heard on Austria's Throne.**

LAST month we described the liberal programme proposed by the prime-minister of Hungary, who was appointed without the concurrence of the Hungarian parliament by the Emperor Francis Joseph in his capacity as King of Hungary. This programme, it will be remembered, called for universal manhood suffrage for Hungary by direct and secret ballot. That the liberal proposal was made far more to win over the people from their support of the powerful Magyars, who do not favor universal suffrage but who pose as the Liberals of Hungary, than on account of any love of democracy on the part of the Emperor, cannot be doubted. But he must have foreseen that the demand made by him in favor of popular suffrage in one-half of his realm would lead to an imperative demand for the same privilege on the part of the Austrian masses. The people representing the great Labor and Social-Democratic elements were indeed not slow to take advantage of the opportunity presented; and at the assembling of the Austrian parlia-

ment in Vienna a monster Social-Democratic or Labor demonstration occurred in that city. As usual, the Conservatives circulated all manner of wild rumors calculated to terrify the propertied class by leading them to believe that the city would be in danger of being sacked if the people were allowed to express their wishes in the manner proposed, the object being, of course, to lead the government to forbid the gathering. This, however, the Emperor did not dare to do unless violence or disorder gave excuse for drastic action. However, the most extensive preparations were made for the use of the troops as well as the police if an excuse for such action arose. But the Labor leaders were men of wisdom who thoroughly understood the fact that all that the reactionaries desired was some outbreak or ill-advised utterances that would afford a pretext for brutally aggressive action. Hence they strictly forbade the workmen to either cheer or shout, and the great procession, numbering almost two hundred thousand toilers, carrying red flags and numerous banners imperatively demanding equal and universal suffrage, tramped through the streets to the parliament.

From the windows of the palace the Emperor Francis Joseph beheld this imposing procession, this stern embodiment of the resolute spirit of awakened democracy. Hour after hour he heard the ominous tramp of Democracy's hosts as they moved in orderly manner bearing aloft their flags and banners, making one of the most imposing and significant scenes of modern times—a scene worthy of the genius of a great painter of democracy.

In the presence of such a demonstration it is not strange that when the deputation from the mighty army of Labor reached the parliament house and presented their petitions to the prime minister and the presidents of the two houses, all the officials expressed deep interest and sympathy with the demands of the masses.

The outlook for universal suffrage in Austria was never so bright as it is at this writing. Wisdom on the part of the leaders, union and resolute determination, together with loyalty to the fundamental demands of democracy, will yet win for the people the complete fruition of the great blessings only partially achieved during and since the revolutionary epoch that ushered in the dawn of free government.

#### **The Battle of the Giants in Russia.**

AT THE time of the present writing, Russia is convulsed with a revolution more grim and

portentous than that which marked the end of the old cruel order in France. As the heartless despotism of France had sown to the wind for generations, even so on a far wider and more terrible scale has the despotism of Russia been inviting the day of bloody reckoning. Long have the highest, finest and truest men and women of Russia who dared to speak for freedom and for justice been rewarded with dungeons, exile and death. Long have the people been systematically deceived, played upon and tricked by the ruling class, and plundered right and left. They have been brutalized and systematically kept in ignorance by the state church, which has been the chief prop of the most soulless and degrading despotism of modern times. And thus under such conditions the slow years have rolled away until at last the hour of reckoning has arrived. Small wonder that the great ignorant masses, so long crushed, oppressed, brutalized and degraded, should exhibit something of the ferocity and essential savagery which the government has so long displayed in the treatment of the people.

Whether Russia is ready to pass from the night of ignorance, absolutism and despotism, through a baptism of blood, into the light of a freer condition under which education and the spirit of liberty and of justice may give new and grander meanings to life for the millions, or whether the present convulsion is to be followed by brutally repressive acts that shall for a brief time result in the "peace of Warsaw," is impossible at this writing to predict. Certain it is, however, that the revolution has gone so far that ultimately Russia's freedom is assured. The light of democracy has been kindled from the ice-locked shores of the Baltic to the glory-crowned peaks of the Caucasus. The clock of the ages has struck the hour for a change. The doom of the old order is sealed.

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#### **Magnificent Record of The Municipal Street Railways in Liverpool.**

THE RECORD of street-railway ownership and operation in Great Britain is one of the most striking stories of all-round success to be found in the pages of modern contemporaneous history. Wages of labor have been increased, fares have been reduced, the service has been improved, and handsome showings to the credit of many of the cities have been made. Such is the story of municipal-ownership.

Recently United States Consul Griffiths of Liverpool has reported on the present status of street-car service in that city. In 1897 Liverpool took over the tram-cars and the result of the seven years' of municipal-ownership and operation, according to our consul, is briefly as follows:

Three times as many passengers were carried in 1904 as in 1897.

The mileage has been doubled.

The receipts have been increased nearly ninety per cent.

Since the city has operated its tramways, the fares have been reduced almost one-half.

The length of the rides for which a single fare is paid has been increased three-fold.

The average speed when the city took over the car-service was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour; now it is eight miles per hour.

The tramway employés received about \$194,400 more last year than they would have received under the scale of wages that prevailed under private-ownership.

But this is only part of the excellent record:

The sum of \$2,846,186 has been set aside "as a sinking fund reserve, renewal, etc.," while the capital obligation has been reduced \$539,460 and the city has received for relief of local taxation \$490,860. And this, as Consul Griffiths points out, "has been accomplished concurrently with the reduction of fares, increase of mileage, and advance in wages referred to above, and the property has been maintained in good order."

#### Successful Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities in Guelph, Ontario.

CONSUL VAN SANT in a recent report on the result of municipal-ownership in Guelph, Ontario, shows that here, in a small city of about fourteen thousand, as in the great cities of Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, municipal-ownership is greatly to the advantage of the people. The city gas and electric-lighting plants during the past two years show a profit of \$26,172. The water-works and street-railways show profits, while the fares on the street-railway have been reduced from five cents to three cents when persons buy a dollar's worth of tickets. The city also owns the Junction Steam Railway which, according to Consul Van Sant, is "a profitable asset, each quarter showing increased net earnings, the last quarter's net profits amounting to \$3,840."

#### The Growth of Socialism in Sweden.

THE STEADY growth of Socialism in Europe is by no means confined to the great nations like Germany, France and Austria. At the recent election in Sweden the Socialists polled 30,000 votes, or one-seventh of the whole vote cast. At the previous election they had cast but 10,000 ballots. At that time they elected four members of the national House. At the last election they won fourteen seats.

#### England's Magnificent Postal-Service Record.

THE post-office department of Great Britain when compared with our own service, affords a striking illustration of the difference between a great public-service department operated in the spirit of republican government or in the interests of all the people, and the same service when it is made subservient to the express companies, the banks, and the railroads, or, in a word, when it is operated in the interest of plutocracy instead of that of the people. England encourages the use of the mails by her people and profits enormously thereby. We discourage the use of the mails and suffer thereby, in order that the great express companies may make a few multi-millionaires by robbing the people. England has immensely stimulated the saving of money by the poor through her admirable postal savings-banks and has thereby greatly benefited her people; but our banking institutions, like our express companies, have rendered abortive every attempt to give our people the same advantages the English enjoy in this respect. And more than this, while England compels her railways to submit to strict regulations, just as she would an ordinary citizen, and thus does not permit the railroads to impose upon the government, we pay every year a rental for mail-cars greater than the cost of constructing those cars, and at the same time pay transportation tariffs greater than the express companies pay for the same service, while our system of guessing at the weight of the mails favors and invites fraud on the part of the railroads. In other words, the railroads, like the express companies, as an integral part of the plutocracy that dominates the government, have the government and the people's interests sacrificed to the corporate and insatiable avarice of the privileged few.

Now let us look at the results. The British government, operating the post-office for the

benefit of all the people instead of for the benefit of a privileged few, makes a profit of \$25,000,000 on a total annual volume of business of \$75,000,000. We operate our post-office primarily as the express companies, the banks and the railways desire, dictate or demand, and as a result, on an annual business of \$150,000,000 we lose \$14,000,000; while under the incompetent and often unconstitutional and arbitrary action of the post-office department, publishers have in recent years been hampered and discouraged in the legitimate building up of their circulation, in regard to the sending out of liberal supplies of sample copies and the giving of premiums—the two most effective methods for building up circulations for new publications.

Moreover, our service is not nearly so good as and is far more expensive than that of England. Thus, for example, rural free delivery is universal in Great Britain, while with us it is only partial. There are daily deliveries of mails to the rural districts of England, excepting to farmhouses in extremely remote regions. There are six daily deliveries in even the small cities of Great Britain. A letter posted in any part of London will be delivered within the city within two hours from the time of posting. Letters within the Kingdom may weigh four ounces and go for two cents. We must pay two cents for one ounce. In Eng-

land a letter is registered for four cents; we pay eight cents. In England people can send eleven pounds in the mail by the parcels-post, at from six to twenty-four cents. Our express-company-owned government only permits four pounds to be sent and the charges for third-class are 32 cents for four pounds, and for fourth-class, 64 cents. Money orders also are much cheaper in England than with us. Yet we are running in debt every year, while with so much cheaper and more efficient service England is realizing \$25,000,000 annually on one-half the volume of business which we transact.

Of course there is to be taken into consideration the long railway hauls with us that make expenses heavier here than in the old country; but this and all other legitimate reasons that can be advanced to offset this amazing discrepancy, outside of the real causes, cannot begin to account for our deficiency or the inefficiency of our service.

So long as the express companies, the banks and the railways are more powerful in the government than the people, and so long as the campaign chairmen and master-spirits in frying fat out of the railways and the express companies are postmasters-general, the service will continue to be run in the interests of corporate wealth instead of for the benefit of the government and the people.

## PROGRESS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS.

### **The Progressive Income Tax in Victoria, Australia.**

**T**HE PARLIAMENT of Victoria, Australia, has published the income rates to be collected this year on incomes of the past year. This tax is divided into two divisions. Each has a sliding scale or is progressive in character. Incomes derived from personal exertion are taxed much less than are those derived from property. The tax on incomes derived from personal exertion is as follows:

Incomes not exceeding \$780 are exempt; but incomes from that amount up to \$2,500 pay 1.2 per cent.; from \$2,500 to \$5,000, 1.6 per cent.; from \$5,000 to \$7,500, 2 per cent.; above \$7,500, 2.4 per cent.

On incomes from property the taxes are as follows: \$2,500, 2.4 per cent.; \$2,500 to \$5,000, 3.2 per cent.; \$5,000 to \$7,500, 4.1 per cent.; above \$7,500, 5 per cent.

Corporations or companies not life insurance have to pay between 2.5 per cent. and 3 per cent., while life insurance companies have to pay 3.3 per cent.

In Australia the State is very vigilant and no capitalistic class is able, as with us, to escape a just share of taxation through perjury or by change of residence or juggling with their wealth. Unless we mistake the growing public sentiment with us, the hour approaches when the plutocracy will no longer be permitted to shift the burden of taxation onto the less opulent citizens.

**Fostering Home-Building in a Fraternal State.**

LAST month we called attention to the building of homes by the commonwealth of New Zealand for the toilers and the disposing of them on easy terms, such as long-time payments, so that each worker might have the opportunity to secure a home or a stake in the land who otherwise would be paying his subsistence for house-rent, having nothing in the end to show for it. One of the things that is greatly to the credit of the Liberal ministry of New Zealand has been its persistent effort to encourage all the people to become home-makers. Numerous wise laws have been enacted with this special object in view. The statesmen of the New England of the Antipodes recognize the fact that nothing save just rule makes a citizen love his land more than the knowledge that he not only has a voice in the government but also that he possesses a stake in the land. Again, a home-building people, other things being equal, will be far more temperate, industrious, wisely frugal and contented than people with no homes of their own. Great credit is due to Minister Seddon and his loyal co-workers, as well as to the liberal ministries that preceded the present government, for this steadfast purpose of fostering home-building among the people. It is one of the most striking examples of far-sighted, wise and enlightened statesmanship of modern times. The measure for state housing of the workers is merely one more step in the consistent and definite programme of this government which is working as are the statesmen of no other nation to establish a fraternal state under just rule.

**Extension of Old-Age Pensions.**

ANOTHER work which has engaged the serious attention of the statesmen of New Zealand during the recent legislative session in that commonwealth has been the extension of the old-age pension provisions. In a personal letter we have just received from an eminent and scholarly citizen of New Zealand, who is intimately in touch with public affairs, our correspondent informs us that the lawmakers have had "under consideration several super-annuation measures which will eventually (so it is promised) soon merge into a general system whereby no man in the colony will have to look forward with fear to the time when he can work no longer." "You will," continues

our correspondent, "be glad to hear that New Zealand has still pursued a course of steady prosperity with increasing exports, slightly diminished imports, and a revenue which allows reduction of taxation."

**How The Standard Oil Greed Has Recently Been Manifested in The Robbing of The Toilers of New Zealand.**

OUR CORRESPONDENT also, in speaking of the battle which New Zealand is waging to prevent the American trusts from gaining dominant power in the commonwealth, cites some facts in regard to the Standard Oil octopus which afford a striking illustration of the spirit which animates a fraternal state, such as is New Zealand, contrasted with the spirit that dominates our present-day commercial feudalism which has become the preponderating influence in the government of the United States. In this connection he says:

"Let me tell you a pregnant anecdote and one which helped us to the resolution to keep your great trusts out if possible. Most of our houses, at all events in the city, have electric-lights, but the poorer people and the multitude of scattered settlers use kerosene. To help these struggling ones the government took off the import duty on kerosene. Instantly Mr. Rockefeller kindly raised the price to within one cent of what oil was when the duty was on, thus mopping up the whole of the benefit intended to be given to thousands. A friend of mine who opposed this action was told that if he did not take Standard oil, no one in New Zealand who took the oil should be allowed to deal with him for goods of any kind. He was to suffer an entire boycott by all other agents, importers, storekeepers, etc., etc. So you perceive our danger."

Whenever an attempt of this kind is made on the part of the government to protect the people from robbery and extortion on the part of the protected trusts and interests, a great hue and cry is raised against paternalism by the beneficiaries of the most vicious form of paternalism known to government—the paternalism that protects the few and enables them, through the enjoyment of monopoly, which is the fruit of protection, to rob the millions.

The dominating spirit of the government of New Zealand is that of fraternal coöperation. The government at all times seeks to



promote the happiness, prosperity, independence and development of all the people. This is the ideal of the Golden Rule; it must be the ideal of any civilization that is to be permanent. Its animating spirit is justice. The animating spirit of the government of the United States at the present time is not unlike that manifested by the Standard Oil Company when it greedily seized the money which the government had remitted from duties in order to help the poorer people of New Zealand.

Almost any legislation can be enacted if privileged interests spend sufficient money on their lobbyists and missionaries who are sent throughout the country to get boards of trade, bankers' associations and other bodies that

are favorable to class legislation to favor the new scheme. A striking illustration of this kind is seen in the present ship-subsidy campaign. The Steel-Trust, charging American citizens from six to eleven dollars per ton more for steel than the purchasers in London pay for the same steel, manufactured by the same corporation, is another illustration of the criminally unjust spirit that animates our government, due to the nation being in the hands of privileged interests instead of being controlled by the people.

Such despotism and injustice will remain so long as protected interests are enabled to defeat the fundamental ends of democratic government through the maintenance of corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines.

## “FORTY THOUSAND MILES OF WORLD-WANDERING.”\*

### A BOOK-STUDY.

#### I.

**M**ANY books of travel are as tedious as they are accurate and detailed in character. Others are as fascinating as they are untrustworthy, owing to the author's allowing his imagination to run riot with facts or to color too highly the good or the bad he beholds. Only occasionally are we favored with a volume describing other races, lands or peoples, in which the author presents a faithful, unvarnished pen-picture of the lights and shadows of life as they appear to the traveler, in a bright, engaging and alluring manner, so vivid that the reader is made to see and feel what the author has experienced; so fascinating that the tale possesses the charm of romance. Such works are as valuable as they are rare. They so broaden and deepen the culture as to vitally supplement scholastic education, and when to these excellencies the author brings ethical enlightenment and the seeing eye of a morally awakened thinker, the work takes on new interest and value to friends of free institutions and higher civilization. Such a book is Helen M. Gougar's large volume entitled *Forty Thousand Miles of World-Wandering*.

\* *Forty Thousand Miles of World-Wandering*. By Helen M. Gougar. Profusely illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 482. Price, \$3.00. Chicago: Monarch Book Company.

#### II.

This is not saying that we agree with all the author's views, for in one instance, it seems to us, she fails to reflect the fine spirit that marks the work as a whole, and in another case we think she has made a partial appearance the basis for a too sweeping indictment. Thus, for example, she beholds the squalor and wretchedness of China's millions, the corruption that runs riot in government, and the inhumanity of the ancient laws. She notices vast stretches of territory given over to the graves of the dead, which if cultivated would save millions of lives from slow starvation. She notes the rich, indifferent, complacent mandarins, surrounded by every comfort and enjoying all the pleasures that intellectual culture untouched by moral illumination, and that wealth, can bestow; while a mighty pall of ignorance, degradation and superstition falls like an empire-embracing black cap over the millions of coolies. And seeing all these things she gives way to the militant impulse and exclaims:

“England, Japan or Germany could take hold of the Chinaman with an iron hand, compel him to take off his long shirt, cut his queue, unbind the feet of his women, tear down his cities, widen the streets, plough up his grave-

yards, put him out on his millions of acres of uncultivated land, open up his mines, burn his temples that sit on top of the sacred mountains, and compel general education."

The "iron hand" in our opinion is not the hand of true civilization. Certainly it is not the hand that was stretched forth by that One of whom it was said: "The bruised reed will he not break and smoking flax will he not quench." To us the spirit of Christianity and the spirit of civilization alike forbid the "iron hand" or mailed-fist policy on the part of so-called Christian nations in their treatment of other peoples. Violence necessarily begets hatred and violence, and hatred and violence destroy love, and love is the soul of true religion, the vital breath of civilization.

Commerce, guided by the ethics of the Golden Rule and not by the god of greed, and the slow processes of enlightened and tolerant education will accomplish almost as quickly and far more permanently the destruction of the evils in the old order and the introduction of that which is higher and finer, than will any movement carried forward by brute force and that necessarily engenders a nation-wide and implacable hate.

Who was it forced opium on China? Christian England, whom our author would now have destroy by the "iron hand" all that to her mind is injurious in China. When nations that pretend to march under the banner of the Cross resort to the "iron hand" in order to civilize the heathen, we find the saloon and the brothel invariably following the flag, and such infamies as the forcing of the opium trade on an unwilling nation, as did England against the pitiful protests of China. No, the "iron hand" is the hand of imperialism, despotism, reaction, hate, violence and murder, and from such a source it is as idle to look for the sweetness, sanity and light of civilization as to expect grapes from thorns or figs from thistles.

Again, our author after beholding the hideous degradation and superstition that envelop the minds of untold millions in India under the blighting influence of an interested priesthood; after visiting Benares the sacred and beholding the most revolting spectacles born of blind and ignorant superstition, makes a sweeping indictment against the religion of India. She bases her opinion on what she has seen, which has served to reinforce what has been told of India and her religion; and we doubt not but what everything she has seen

and pictured and all that has been told her is absolutely true. And yet it is not the whole truth. There are in India almost as many, and perhaps even more, creeds than with us, and some of the religions are entirely unlike the great dominant creeds. There are the ritualistic Brahmins and the more metaphysical Buddhists, who are little bound by the fetters of rite, ritual and form. There are the Jains, the Parsees and the Mohammedans, together with numerous lesser sects; and here as elsewhere

"There is light in all  
And light with more or less of shade in all  
Man-modes of worship."

Therefore, while we can thoroughly sympathize with Mrs. Gougar's thought based on what she saw and heard, reinforced by her life-long concepts of the religion of the Far East, we nevertheless believe her condemnation is altogether too sweeping and that it is unjust and misleading because it does not present the whole picture. The shadows but not the lights are here, and at best it is but a partial view. We remember several years ago conversing with a very scholarly Oriental, and during our conversation we expressed our abhorrence at much that is present in the religion of India and the life of Orientals in general. The Eastern scholar replied:

"Very many of your criticisms are just, but some of your views are distorted. The trouble, Mr. Flower, is here. No nation or civilization has yet reached a point where there are not present great wrongs, great injustice, and much darkness amid the light. Religions are all more or less turbid by reason of the presence of superstition, outgrown dogmas, passion, prejudice and the elements of the sordid that inhere in the human mind. The priesthood should be the most consecrated and holy order in life, yet in all lands history shows that it is human and subject to the frailties, weaknesses and sins of the common life.

"And what is true of religion is true elsewhere in the social organism. Even here we find crimes and wrongs occurring under the white light of your own civilization that if unduly emphasized could easily make your land appear most revolting and savage to all the finer natures of the Oriental lands.

"Then again, different civilizations seem to be afflicted with different kinds of vices, and often the weaknesses of one people will appear almost incredible to nations untainted by that

particular kind of evil. Now, when these things are unduly emphasized, the result is a frightful picture, often gruesome in character, and though nothing may have been stated but the strict truth, yet the ignorant reader who has long been imposed upon by a partial picture gets a wholly false idea of the civilization in question.

"Let me illustrate. You boast that yours is a land of law and order; that every citizen has the right and protection of the courts; yet only a few days ago your press was reeking with the gruesome details of the deliberate torture and burning to death at a slow fire of a passion-crazed negro who had committed a terrible crime. Here the negro had been apprehended by the officers and was on the way to prison, from which he would have gone to trial and suffered punishment by the forfeiting of his life; but over five thousand citizens, said to be the best citizens of the community in which the crime occurred, interposed, took the prisoner from the officers, led him to a public place and slowly burned him to death under the most revolting circumstances, in the presence of thousands of men, women and children. Now nothing was done by the machinery of law and order with any person connected with this outrage, so dehumanizing in its influence, nor did the press or pulpit raise other than a feeble protest, nor was this outrage a solitary example, for scores of lynchings, some of them almost equally barbarous, have occurred within recent years.

"Then look at your daily papers that fairly reek with the details of gruesome crimes and exciting murder trials, and with other matter that fills the imagination of the people with the most debasing mental imagery. Yet mental imagery or the things that fill the mind colors all life, as you know.

"Then take the daily press records for six months of the death and crime directly traceable to the licensed sale of strong drinks.

"Here are three examples of spots on your civilization. Numerous other shortcomings, weaknesses or crimes that are sanctioned or unchallenged might be cited.

"Now let a Mohammedan who is taught to abhor strong drink, or a Buddhist who is taught to regard all life, even that of the lowest animals, as divine, and who shrinks from flesh-eating as from something unholy, because it necessitates the taking of life, picture your civilization to his people, emphasizing only these and similar dark spots, and he might

tell absolutely nothing but the truth and yet wholly mislead his hearers or readers, as indeed is often done in regard to the real civilization of the United States, because the dark spots would be emphasized until they obscured that which is fine, beautiful and lovable. He would have told the truth, but the telling was equivalent to the telling of a lie, because he would not have told the whole truth, showing a picture which created a false concept.

"Now so it is with the missionaries. They dwell on the dark side of Chinese and Indian life almost exclusively, partly because their knowledge is limited, partly because they are intolerant and, I may say, fanatical in their religious views, and partly because they feel that it is necessary to keep the worst phases of life before the vision of those who sustain the missions, in order to secure the necessary money. They tell travelers all they know of the worst and the hasty visitor to India does not see the light in the picture or the good mingled with the shadows and that which is objectionable. He only gets a partial view of the religion of India and the concepts of her people."

Now we incline to believe that this statement embraces very much of truth and that Mrs. Gougar, while being thoroughly sincere and honest and while intending to be fair and just, has nevertheless presented but one side of the picture of Indian religion and life. We make these criticisms because they constitute what to us appear to be the two weak points in an otherwise admirable volume—the two places where the judicial spirit that is usually so prominent seems to us to give place to sentiments of righteous indignation at evils which are rife but which lead our author to the suggestion of remedies that are not in accordance with the ethics of Christianity or enduring civilization, and to wholesale condemnation from premises that are not sound because partial.

In other respects the work is so excellent that it is a pleasure to recommend it to our readers. Moreover, it is no blind religious prejudice or mawkish sentimentality based on pseudo-patriotism that inspires Mrs. Gougar's criticisms. She is fearless and outspoken in her denunciations of evils that have followed the flag in the Philippines and elsewhere. The saloons and other evils are scathingly rebuked, and at all points one feels that the author is absolutely sincere; that she is

actuated by a profound love of the best and an intense desire to see the condition of all the people everywhere improved.

## III.

The first glimpse we have of the Orient is seen from the deck of the "Empress of India" when our author, standing by the rail, beholds the green, temple-studded slopes of the sacred island of Kinkwazan. Next she beholds Fujiyama, "the most perfect mountain in the world, a sleeping volcano, fourteen thousand feet high and forty miles away, gilded with the morning sun."

Disembarking at Yokohama, our author begins the study of the Oriental lands and peoples. A most vivid and admirable pen-picture is given of Yokohama, followed by a chapter on Tokio, the seat of empire of the Mikado. Then follow descriptions of Japanese home-life, schools, factories, the dwarf trees, works of art, agriculture, theaters, floral *fêtes*, wifely duties, progressive women and women as drudges, or the loading of coal on the steamers at Nagasaki. Descriptions of the island of Japan and of Nagasaki, the chief commercial city of the southern part of the empire complete the chapters devoted to Nippon.

From Japan we follow our author to Shanghai, Hong Kong and Canton, receiving vivid impressions through her striking pen-pictures of these typical cities of the Celestial Empire.

From Hong Kong Mrs. Gougar visits the Philippines, and here are found some of the most interesting and, for Americans, important pages in the work—pages in which she gives some unsparing criticisms of the bungling attempt of a republican government to ape monarchical courts in ruling subject peoples. Here also she discusses with great power and lucidity the evils of contract labor—that vicious form of modern slavery which the greed of commercialism has introduced and which in some respects is more cruel and inhuman than the chattel slavery of olden times. She also dwells on the scandal connected with the purchase of the friars' lands by the United States. The evils of the saloon under American rule and of licensed prostitution are also dwelt upon. There is a most interesting interview with Aguinaldo and many other matters of general interest are touched upon.

From the Philippines Singapore is visited. Java and adjacent islands are explored, after which Ceylon is visited. Here we have an

extended and interesting description of this most beautiful and highly cultivated gem in the ocean.

From Ceylon Mrs. Gougar goes to India, giving this great empire extended attention. Landing at Tuticorn on the southern border of India, she journeys as far north as Darjeeling, perched on mountain peaks of the Himalayas, a city hung among the clouds. Madras, Calcutta and Benares the sacred all receive extended notice, after which Lucknow, Agra and Delhi are described at length.

A vast fund of information is given in the chapters devoted to India, and with the exception of the sweeping condemnation of the religions of India, which we have noticed and which, as pointed out, is not the fruit of prejudice or any intent to be other than just, but is rather the result of conclusions based on a partial instead of a full-orbed premise, this portion of the work is extremely valuable to the general reader, being at once informing and fascinating.

## IV.

After glimpses of Aden, the Red Sea and Port Said, we are taken to Cairo and from thence up the Nile as far as Assuan.

This section of the volume is also extremely interesting and informing, a narrative that cannot fail to add materially to the culture of the general reader who has not visited this land of ancient civilization.

Leaving Africa our traveler makes extended journeys through Austria, Poland, Russia, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The descriptions of these lands, accompanied as they are by numerous reproductions of photographs, are scarcely less interesting than the pages devoted to the Orient. From Denmark Hamburg and Bremen are visited, and our traveler returns home on the "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse."

## V.

We have now followed our author on a notable and informing journey during which she has girdled the globe. But Mrs. Gougar is not satisfied with the wealth of information she has gleaned and imparted. Hence we have a supplementary section embracing the results of an extended journey through the islands of the Pacific. On this trip three weeks are spent in the Hawaiian Islands, and during this time Mrs. Gougar labored as is her wont whenever she finds herself in the

presence of injustice, social evils or tyranny under the folds of our flag, for the betterment of the condition of the unfortunates. In Hawaii she was instrumental in achieving a great victory for civilization by compelling the liberation of over five hundred women kept for immoral purposes by a conscienceless band of greed-crazed and over-rich representatives of the imperial republic.

The Samoan islands are interestingly described, as are the Australian states and Tasmania, that little island gem, once the home of convicts, now one of the most prosperous, flourishing and progressive of the little island states of the world. But the chief interest of this portion of the volume lies in the chapters devoted to New Zealand and her ideal government. Mrs. Gougar traversed the island from north to south, making a painstaking study of the conditions of all the people and the practical operation of the government innovations that have challenged the attention of the world. Her conclusions are in alignment with those arrived at by Professor Parsons in his luminous *Story of New Zealand*. So interesting, concise and valuable is this summary that we reproduce a large portion of it:

New Zealand, our author holds, “rightfully boasts that hers is a ‘Government of Divine Justice,’ where ‘the welfare of each is the concern of all.’

“She has universal suffrage.

“She has the Australian ballot, alphabetic, and free from party designation.

“I give a summary,” she observes, “of the most progressive and beneficial legislation:

“Land management consists in resumption and division of large estates, and limitations of the area one man may hold. . . . Gradual nationalization of the soil is an established policy, the 999 years’ lease taking the place of private ownership. Suburban homes for workingmen at low rents, money advances to assist men in opening up farms and securing homes.

“Postal service includes parcels-post, postal savings-banks, telegraphs and title registration. She has national railways, telephones, waterworks, and state ownership of coal-fields. State railways are operated for service instead of profit, so at certain hours in the day school-children, workingmen and farmers are carried free.

“Progressive taxation of land values and incomes, with exemption of improvements and small incomes.

“Government loans at low rate of interest.

“Government management of the principal banks of issue.

“Nationalization of credit.

“Referendum on local land-value tax and on the license question. This latter has driven the liquor traffic well out of the island, but two provinces permitting the sale, and it is believed these will soon be brought under the ban of prohibition. This is attributed directly to the influence of the woman’s ballot.

“There are wise labor laws relating to factory, shop, mining, truck, and wages. Girls and boys, no matter how young, if regularly employed, must be paid not less than one dollar per week for their services. This prevents the pernicious system of apprenticeship, where the young are employed without compensation, to be discharged when worthy of good wages, that others may serve without expense to the employer.

“There is the eight-hour, half-holidays, seats for shop girls, ventilation, safety, and no sweat-shops.

“Direct employment instead of the contract system in public works; the minimum wage paid by the government, \$1.75 per day.

“Industrial arbitration has practically abolished strikes and lock-outs.

“There are state annuities for the aged poor.

“The public trust office serves at cost as executor, administrator, trustee, agent or attorney in the settlement and management of property of decedents; it draws up wills, deeds, manages estates for widows and minor children, and if parties are going abroad the public trustee will take charge of their affairs.

“The state is responsible for the conduct of the trustee and his numerous agents, and his office is administered with honor and ability. It is difficult to comprehend the great benefit to the people that this wise provision has been since its adoption.

“Government life insurance, as practiced in New Zealand, should become the policy of the United States, and I believe it will as soon as the attention of the people is turned to it and they understand it. New Zealand insures her own people, though private corporations have liberty to do business in the country. The experiment has been popular from the first. By the last report it has 42,570 policies,

covering \$51,000,000 insurance, against the New York Life and Equitable with less than 900 policies, after more than twelve years in the colony. The people prefer the government insurance because of its safety—it has the guarantee of the government behind it—because of its cheapness, the rates being lower than in private companies; because it is free from all oppressive conditions. The premiums must be paid, and the insured must not commit suicide under six months from the time he becomes insured. The policy is world wide, and the insured may go where he wills. If a man fails to pay his premium when it is due, he does not lose his insurance. The government pays the premium out of the surrender value of the policy, and does this until such value is exhausted. It has many other ways of helping an honest, struggling policyholder to make this provision safe for his family. Insurance is coöperative. The profits of the office go to the insured. Every three years the profits are divided up among the policy-holders. There have been five divisions, and \$35,000,000, the profits accruing from loaning and investing insurance money, have gone back into the pockets of the insured, instead of going to private corporations to make millionaires, as in the United States and other countries, which millionaires, in turn, use the vast sums to organize trusts, through which they further oppress the people. While we legislate to make millionaires, New Zealand legislates to make the masses comfortable by leaving in the hands of the toiler the results of his own toil.

"It is conceded that the department is free from spoils and is well managed by the experts who have made the institution a complete success. I became an enthusiastic advocate of this form of insurance when I understood its safety and justice and informed myself of its practical value in this interesting country.

"Education is free and compulsory. There are fewer illiterates than in England, Germany, France or the United States. It is claimed that all whites over twelve years of age can read and write. The best exponent of the English language in New Zealand is a native Maori.

"The government has been, and is, most just to its dusky natives.

"There is a lower percentage of criminals or drunkards than in any other country.

"New Zealand is the only country on the globe where I have met no beggars.

"There is a higher average of wealth, per capita, than in any other country, and a larger percentage of the population own their homes than in any other land.

"There are no slums in her cities.

"There are no political bosses, and political corruption is unknown. Premier Seddon says: 'My government is as pure as the falling snow.' I asked men, who had dealings with the government such as furnishing equipments for railways, if it was necessary to tickle the palms of officers with bribe-money in order to do business, and it was the universal testimony that an attempt to bribe an official would defeat dealings with him. There is not a tramp in the country, and millionaires are not wanted nor respected.

"Organized labor is especially strong and influential in New Zealand, and to this and woman suffrage the progress of the country in laws is largely due. Labor unions must incorporate before the government will recognize their demands. This makes the organization responsible for any damage should strikes occur.

"State ownership and management of coal-fields have brought great relief to the people, and prevent exorbitant prices for this necessity. The result of the experiments in government in New Zealand is to establish a true democracy. Physically and politically New Zealand is fit for man in his best estate, and she stands boldly out among the countries of the earth as an example of divine justice in government, under the honorable name of Christian Socialism.

"Hers is a government, not of Paternalism, but of Fraternalism, in which every citizen is a member of the great corporation, where the strong protect the weak, and where, in practice as well as in theory, the welfare of each is the concern of all.

"The same principles applied to 1,000,000 people will bring the same results if applied to 85,000,000, and many problems now asking solution at the hands of the people of the United States can be solved by following the teachings of this practical republic in the Southern Seas.

"We bade adieu to New Zealand, enthusiastic over her resources, beauty, grandeur, gentle people, and just government."

This volume will not prove disappointing, and we can heartily and conscientiously recommend it to our readers.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

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*Daughters of the Puritans.* By Seth Curtis Beach. Cloth. Pp. 286. Price, \$1.10 net. Boston: American Unitarian Association.

WE THINK it is not too much to say that this is the best volume of brief biographies of the past year. It contains short yet very graphic and informing life-sketches of seven eminent daughters of New England—seven of those fine, true lives that morally, even more than mentally, enriched civilization. Here we have an outline picture of the immense and civilization-wide work for humanity wrought by that noble, practicable and indefatigable toiler for humanity, Dorothea Lynde Dix—that angel of light to the insane of the world. And here is the story of that other moral heroine, Lydia Maria Child, who dared and did so much for the freedom of the black man, and whose broad thought contributed in no small degree to the more tolerant, charitable and reason-cultivating attitude of the American mind, and especially of the mind of New England in the field of religious thought. Here, too, is the life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, who with fiction did as much as Garrison with his editorial pen and Henry Ward Beecher in his pulpit to sting out of its comfortable and profitable lethargy the conscience of the North.

And companioning these high, fine, positive and more or less aggressive writers and workers in the larger field of human service we have the life-story of Louisa May Alcott, Mary Lovell Ware, Miss Catharine Maria Sedgwick and Margaret Fuller Ossoli. Each life has its message, and most of them form a brilliant record of consecration to exalted idealism and devotion to humanity's weal. Each life was victorious in the high sense of the word, because, from childhood till the evening shadows fell, the character in every instance gradually and splendidly unfolded into noble and still nobler proportions.

Mr. Beach has succeeded in a far greater degree than most biographers in revealing the soul or the true personality of his subjects by faithful study of the life, the letters and utterances, and by seizing only those things that are germane to the life in hand. He has told

\* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

his stories entertainingly and in such a manner as to bring the reader into the most intimate and sympathetic relations with his subjects. This is a rare gift which transforms biography from a dull, dry, and often profitless form of literature into something at once absorbingly interesting and of the highest possible value to the human mind. No one can read these lives without being renewed in spirit, and for young women we know of no works so instinct with spiritual virility or so potential for good as the *Daughters of the Puritans*.

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*The Boys' Life of Christ.* By William B. Forbush. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 318. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: The Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THE AUTHOR of this work has written one of the most fascinating stories for the young, apart from all consideration of the subject, that we have read in years. As an orthodox Christian, his view-point is of course different from that of liberal thinkers who regard the Great Nazarene rather as the perfected flower on the human stem than as incarnate Deity. But his story is very different from that of most orthodox writers in that he entirely passes over the alleged miraculous conception of Jesus and begins the life when the child is twelve years old. Moreover, this life deals chiefly with Jesus the man, for as the author says in his preface: "The miraculous is not emphasized because it is more helpful to boys to think of how Jesus resembles themselves than how much he differs from them."

The book is the fruit of exhaustive research and deep study. The atmosphere of Palestine in the time of Jesus; the physical characteristics of the land; the customs and habits, the labors and pastimes, the dress and general appearance of the people, are reproduced with such charm and seeming reality that the volume becomes in the highest sense realistic, because the author makes us feel and understand the life and times of Jesus even to a greater degree than have most of the master-minds who have written for adult readers.

Broad-minded orthodox Christians will receive this book with enthusiasm, and for liberals who may not sympathize with the au-

thor's theological views, it will nevertheless hold a peculiar charm, owing to the high and attractive idealism that pervades its pages and its beauty of style and fidelity to the general life and conditions that environed the incomparable Prophet of Nazareth.

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*Tales From Dickens.* By Hallie Erminie Rives. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 474. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THESE tales are prefaced by an excellent short sketch of the life of Charles Dickens. In the fifteen chapters that follow the biographical sketch the author has told in pleasing and interesting manner tales from the master-novelist's great romances. The book is admirably adapted for young people and will serve to interest them in the world of Dickens. Of course, for older heads that have come under the witchery of Dickens, these tales will hold no charm. If the mature reader would enjoy Dickens he must read Dickens; but to children or youthful persons not acquainted with the marvelous stories of England's greatest novelist this book will appeal and will lead them to read the master whose genius wrought so great a work for the betterment of the condition of the poor and the unfortunate of England.

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*Seffy.* By John Luther Long. Illustrated in colors. Cloth. Pp. 144. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a story instinct with human interest. It illustrates the fact that love is the same among all classes and conditions of men. The lovers here depicted are representatives of the rather illiterate rural population of Maryland. The central figure, a most strongly drawn character, is a Pennsylvania German with sordid instincts—so sordid, indeed, in the opening scenes that the humor of words and situations fails altogether to dissipate the feeling of repulsion experienced by the reader in the presence of young love, than which nothing in life should be more sacred. The bashful and discomfited lover; the high-tempered and high-spirited heroine who marries a drunken clerk out of pique and spite and bitterly suffers for the grave mistake; the terrible blow dealt by the irate father that all but kills the son who by failing to secure the heroine has lost for a time to the Baumgarten family the coveted meadow-land; the disappearance of the

boy; the passing of the night-time for the heroine with the death of her dissipated husband; the strong tie that draws into the sympathetic and affectionate relation of father and daughter the old German and the heroine; and the ripening and developing of their simple lives under the rod of affliction, together with the sunburst of happiness, the great joy-enwrapped calm of the closing pages,—all these go to make up a charming book, despite the sordid and rather coarse phases of life that are especially emphasized in the early chapters.

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*Hearts and Masks.* By Harold MacGrath. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 188. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

BRIGHT and light are the words that best characterize Mr. MacGrath's new mystery tale, *Hearts and Masks*. It is thoroughly artificial and as improbable as are most of the present-day mystery tales; but it is told in this writer's best vein and is therefore bright, witty and exciting for those who can become interested in tales wanting in elements of reality and probability.

The story recounts the stirring adventures of a young man and a very beautiful young woman, who though strangers at the opening of the fateful evening, are very well acquainted before the night is over, having been, through a whimsical fate, thrown together during a series of exciting adventures which promised at one time to land both of them in prison. The scenes of most of the episodes are at a fashionable masked-ball given by a huntsman's club in a suburban New Jersey town, at which the leading characters and the villain of the story appear without invitation or through indirection or subterfuge.

The tale is not so good a story as *The Man on the Box*, but it will doubtless prove almost as popular, as it is the kind of literature well calculated to prove diverting and restful to men and women under the pressure of modern strenuous life, who from time to time turn to light and artificial tales as they seek the musical comedies now so much in vogue.

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*A Little Garden Calendar.* By Albert Bigelow Paine. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 330. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS is one of the best children's books of



recent years. It is bright and entertaining, and while holding the interest of the young in the story that is told, it imparts a vast fund of information which every child should know, but which, unhappily, few children are taught—information that cannot fail to immensely increase the pure delight and happiness of life in all after days. Here, step by step, the child is led into the wonderland of plant life and taught it in such a manner that the witchery of nature is indelibly impressed upon the youthful imagination.

In his introduction Mr. Paine thus admirably sets out the aim of the book:

“The author has tried to tell in simple language a few of the wonders of plant life, and to set down certain easy methods of observation, including planting, tending, and gathering the harvests, from month to month, throughout the year. Along with this it has been his aim to call attention to the more curious characteristics of certain plants—the really human instincts and habits of some, the family relations of others, the dependence of many upon mankind, animals, and insects, and the struggle for existence of all. Simple botany plays a part in the little narrative, which forms a continuous story from chapter to chapter, interwoven with a number of briefer stories—traditions, fairy tales, and the like, all relating to plant life and origin. These are presented by way of entertainment—to illuminate fact with fancy—to follow, as

it were, the path of knowledge through the garden of imagination.”

This book merits wide circulation.

*The Girl and the Deal.* By Karl Edwin Harriman. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 350. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company.

THIS is a capital love romance written in the lighter vein. In it the son of a public-service magnate is sent west to snare a capitalist of the Pacific coast. On the train he meets a young lady with whom he is slightly acquainted, having met her in a social way on two occasions in Boston. The lady is a typical western girl, thoroughly unconventional and self-reliant, scorning a chaperon. She undertakes the task of supplementing the youth's Harvard education with a course of instruction on the West about which he is woefully ignorant. What more natural than under such a preceptress he should make rapid strides and soon come under the spell of the spirit of the West? And what more natural than that under such circumstances he of the bow should be busy with his arrows?

The story is written in an easy, pleasing style. It is light reading and will not require any great mental effort to follow the story; but it is a natural, wholesome love romance pleasing throughout,—the very kind of a tale to rest the overtired brain or to relieve the tedium of a long journey.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**MAURICE MAETERLINCK: SYMBOLIST AND MYSTIC:** In this issue we publish a remarkably discriminating and fascinating critical sketch of MAURICE MAETERLINCK, by Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON. It is a worthy companion paper to Dr. HENDERSON's admirable criticism of ROSTAND which appeared in a recent issue of this magazine. Professor HENDERSON is one of the strongest and most discriminating of our younger critical writers. His command of language is exceptionally good, which enables him to express the nice shades of meaning so important yet so seldom found in present-day critical literature. But besides this, and what is far more important, he possesses the rare power of entering by the magic key of the imagination into the thought-world of his subject, seeing his view-point and understanding his conclusions so as to reflect them much as the author himself would under similar circumstances. Our readers will be pleased to know that Dr. HENDER-

SON will be a special contributor to THE ARENA during the ensuing year, and some very notable papers from his pen may be expected.

*Hon. J. Warner Mills and the Associated Villainies:* This month we publish the first half of Mr. MILLS' powerful exposure of the Smelter-Trust. We greatly regret our inability to present the whole of this masterly arraignment in one issue, but its extreme length would have necessitated our omitting several papers that had been promised presentation this month. The concluding section will appear in our March number. We have on several occasions emphasized the fact that the history of the great monopolies, the privileged interests, or, to use Mr. MILLS' happy phrase, "the throne-powers," in Colorado is the history of the same predatory bands in other states. The injustice, robbery, oppression, corruption and domination of the government by the

associated villainies is essentially the same in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other commonwealths as in the Centennial State. Thus this most able and circumstantial historical treatment that has yet been accorded the privileged interests in the United States is of first importance to all thinking Americans. In his introductory words this month Mr. MILLS illustrates this fact by his timely reference to the Sugar-Trust and its master-spirit, who at the time of his writing was industriously doing missionary work in Colorado in the interests of the sugar-princes. Wherever we find special privilege and monopoly rights obtaining, we find political corruption and the oppression and exploitation of the people, leading to the rapid rise in wealth and power of the privileged ones and the corresponding loss of independence and wealth by the great army of wealth-creators. No democracy can long endure under such conditions. Hence the duty of all patriots to unite in active opposition in order that free government may be preserved and the blessings of equality of opportunities and of rights may obtain.

*The Forest Reclamation Service in the United States:* In this issue we publish the third and concluding paper devoted to the immensely valuable work being performed by the Agricultural Department of Washington, by our special contributor, Mr. FRANK VROOMAN. These papers have been as fascinating as they have been valuable. Never, we think, has the great work of the Department been so brilliantly and effectively epitomized and explained in the limit of three short papers as in "Uncle Sam's Romance With Science and the Soil." These papers will be followed by a discussion of "Spoils and the Civil Service," and by a striking paper devoted to the Congressional Library and its value to the nation.

*The Golden-Rule Mayor:* Our readers will find the sketch of the life and work of SAMUEL M. JONES as told by one who knew him, one of the most charming and helpful papers of recent months. The author is a well-known and an accomplished writer, but a person in no way connected with Mr. JONES' interests or works. As a friend of civic righteousness and high ideals of manhood, this writer was for years a close observer of the life and work of the simple, high-minded man. This tribute is one of our series of papers on men and women who have helped the world onward.

*A Socialist's Reply to Mr. Moody:* Our readers will be deeply interested in Mr. BENSON's very lucid discussion of Mr. MOODY's paper from the viewpoint of a Social Democrat. Mr. BENSON has long been one of our ablest journalists among the progressive democratic writers. His little work, *Socialism Made Plain*, is, we think, the best popular treatise on Socialism from the American viewpoint or the viewpoint of a progressive Democrat that has yet appeared. Nothing is more needed than this friendly interchange of criticism between sincere reformers and progressive thinkers. Hospitality of thought and frank discussion between men equally sincere and honest can be productive only of good.

*Papers Crowded Out:* We regret to say that a number of intensely interesting and valuable papers that had been scheduled for the February number

have been unavoidably crowded out for lack of space. Especially do we regret having to carry over President MILLER's third paper on "The Economics of Moses" and Mr. GRIMKE's second paper on "The Heart of the Race Problem." These papers, however, will appear in the March number.

*The Whipping-Post for Wife-Beaters:* Very timely is the thoughtful paper by Dr. R. W. SCHUFELDT, the well-known New York physician, on "The Whipping-Post for Wife-Beaters," since the President has become a champion of the attempt to resurrect a long-since discarded and brutalizing form of punishment and has thus arrayed himself with the reactionaries and superficial would-be reformers who imagine that by returning to outgrown, barbarous and brutalizing practices and forms of punishments, such as degraded the public imagination and fostered brutality on every hand in the past, we will check exhibitions of inhumanity among people who have come to hate each other, but who by a cruel and degrading law are compelled to live together in the relation of man and wife, even though such living results in the most loathsome form of prostitution. No greater fallacy exists than that society is benefited by seeing brutalizing exhibitions of punishment by governments supposed to be the representatives of the highest expression of civilization.

*An Open Letter to the Secretary of the Treasury:* We desire to call the special attention of all our readers to Judge T. B. STUART's extremely thoughtful letter addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury. Judge STUART is one of the ablest legal minds of the West. He has given much study to the money question, realizing, as do all thoughtful men not beholden to privileged interests, that the rapid concentration of the banking interests in the hands of the most powerful and unscrupulous commercial magnates of the age presents one of the gravest menaces to the business interests and the prosperity of the people. We do not expect the present government, beholden as it is to privileged interests, to look with special favor upon this thoughtful proposition of Judge STUART. The paper, however, will serve to show what might easily be accomplished by the government if its master-spirits owed their allegiance to the people rather than to small coteries of privileged classes. The proposition is not fundamental enough to suit our views, but it is certainly a step in the right direction and something that merits and should receive the consideration of all earnest men, no matter how conservative they may be, who appreciate the growing power of the privileged classes that hold the circulating medium of the nation in their hands.

We wish to say in connection with Professor PARSONS' admirable paper, "The Railway Empire," which appeared in the January number, that this important subject is greatly amplified and treated in a luminous and exhaustive manner in Professor PARSONS' new work, *The Railways, the Trusts and the People*, now on the press and being published by Dr. C. F. TAYLOR, 1520 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This work on *The Railways, the Trusts and the People* will be the most exhaustive and valuable book on the subject that has yet appeared, and should be in the possession of every reader of THE ARENA.





oto. by Stone, Georgetown, Texas.

**PROFESSOR ROBERT T. KERLIN, M.A.**

"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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## MAIN CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY PROF. ROBERT T. KERLIN, A.M.

### I.

MODERN thought, like modern life, is strikingly complex, flowing in innumerable channels, with diverse eddies and strange backward turnings and thwart currents. It suggests an ocean with vast ebbs and flows and mysteriously winding streams, tending definitely no whither, rather than a great river system into which all the fountains and rivulets of a continent pour their independent contributions under compulsion of one general inclination of the land. And yet a broad survey will reveal that the latter is the truer image, as believers in human progress will be predisposed to admit. There is a movement of mind in our great age, and it is not the movement of the seas, which but ebb and flow, raising vain expectations, and leaving only wreckage on barren shores, or which but rage impotently under the lash of the storm-demon, unable to conquer the coasts against which they break; nor is it the movement of that stream conceived by the ancients as encircling the *orbis terrarum*,—flowing, indeed, but from no source to no sea, like an ancient castle moat.

All progress, indeed, brings forth contradictions. Where there is much activity there will inevitably be conflict, opposition, reaction. Where there is vigor and

boldness of thought in one direction toward any goal, there will be aroused hitherto inert forces of opposition, of conservatism, of obstruction; and these will be taken by some to be the true signs of the tendencies of the age. It is as when a great inundation occurs and sets adrift the debris that for years has lain undisturbed in the mud of former overflows; but now a new high-water mark is registered; old deposits are broken up and carried into the main stream; only here and there a back-current gains a portion of the drift and carries it up stream and there leaves it ashore. Hardly would any one be found so foolish as to take the movement of this drift as an evidence that the river flowed toward the mountains, not toward the seas.

But in judging of the vastly complex movements of mind we are in far greater danger of being misled. Each observer is too apt to see what he desires and expects to see. His own thoughts are reflected in every book he reads; his own theories of life and the universe appear to be corroborated by every philosophical system; the events and births of time take their character from his imagination; the outward world is but the projection of his inward world. Against this predisposition we must be on our guard.

We must endeavor, in the true spirit of criticism, as Matthew Arnold expresses it, to see and understand things as they really are, not try to refashion them to accord with our wishes. An open mind, a large knowledge of literature and history, of what has been achieved in other ages of the world, a perfect confidence in truth,—these are of greater value to us in this undertaking than much ingenuity. Our task is mainly a mere setting forth of facts, with a very small amount of comment.

The manifold greatness of the nineteenth century is evinced by the answers that every profession, every vocation and trade, every science and department of knowledge, and every art will give when questioned on the matter. So conspicuous to all have been certain kinds of achievement that we probably, for different occasions, would designate it now the century of this, now the century of that distinction. We are told, and we all admit it, that it was the age of science, and no previous age can at all be compared with it in this regard. The careful student of our times will discern that the scientific spirit has entered into and dominates every sphere of life and thought that the results of science have had a bearing upon all our conceptions, our entire way of thinking.

The enormous machinery of farm and factory, the railroad, the telegraph, the electric light—these are only the more conspicuous evidences of progress in the common view. The scientist himself will say that the discovery of new forces and laws and elements in nature, not the mechanical applications and uses of them, is the great work of science and the great work of the century. The historian will tell us that it was a century of vast political changes and of great achievements in the art of government and marked progress in free institutions. The economist will tell you that it was a great commercial era, by far the greatest in human history; that wealth increased a thousandfold in three generations, and

that the comforts and conveniences of life multiplied in the same time so remarkably that we cannot quite imagine the pravity and simplicity of life of a century ago. Answering like the scientist, he will tell you also that in the organization of labor, in the growth of a new spirit among the working classes, in the rise of new social and industrial conditions, the really great and significant results of progress are to be observed. He will tell you that the nineteenth century is the age of democracy in an entirely new sense of the word, and that the growth of this spirit is the great feature of our age. Then the educator will tell you that it has been pre-eminent for educational advancement. He will show by statistics the wonderful growth of colleges and universities; the multiplication of libraries, newspapers and magazines. He will instance the creation of our free public-school system—a product of the new democracy and the corresponding theory of popular government. The religionist will affirm that in this age Christianity has achieved greater things than in any period since the Cross became the standard of Rome. He will cite the Christian conquest, by men of peace and love, of continent and island, of nation and tribe, in evidence that it was a great missionary age.

In other high realms of spiritual activity—in literature, art and music,—the age was no less great—though here many have thought the contrary. The musician, however, tells us unequivocally that the nineteenth was “the Musical Century.” It was the century of almost all the world’s great musicians: Beethoven, the Shakespeare of his art; Wagner, the Sir Walter Scott; Chopin, the Tennyson; Schubert, and Schumann, and Liszt, and Mozart, and Mendelssohn, and Rubenstein—how the list stretches out! It is really a most significant fact, for music is a high spiritual matter, very closely akin to religion.

But the student of literature will not be outdone by the musician in the enumeration of illustrious names. He will

hand you the thousand years' history of modern literature and let you see for yourself that a full half of its records belong to the last hundred years: many great historians, many great novelists, many great essayists, many great orators, many great philosophers, many great poets—I really must not undertake to mention even representatives of the several classes. But it is with these, especially with the men of letters, the poets and prophets, as strictly the true spokesmen and representatives of their times, that we shall here concern ourselves, with the intention of showing how the main tendencies of thought, the great intellectual movement, the tempers and traits of mind of the nineteenth century are embodied in their productions.

Byron, Shelley, Carlyle, Ruskin, Browning, Tennyson, Jowett, Matthew Arnold, Stanley, Emerson, Whittier, Lowell—I confine myself to the Anglo-Saxon race, and give but a partial list—these reflect, and more than reflect, they immortally express, the ideas, the aspirations, the fears and doubts, the beliefs and unbeliefs, the whole mind of the century in which they shine like stars.

The task I have in hand is, I am fully aware, a very large one, and I am sensible of the presumption anyone is apt to expose himself to the charge of in proposing himself as the interpreter of so vast a century. But it has for a long time been my business to study the poets and to interpret them to others; and a very little reflection will bring home to the dullest mind that there is no understanding of a poet apart from the general temper, speculations, and intellectual character of his age; therefore, if for no other reason—and other reasons have been irresistibly strong with me—I have made an earnest endeavor to appreciate what science and philosophy also achieved in the nineteenth century, and what the main lines of progress were.

On the very first day of the nineteenth century an Italian astronomer sweeping the heavens with his telescope beheld a

new planet speeding around the sun,—a world never before seen by mortal eyes. This discovery may be taken as grandly prophetic of the new worlds of thought that were to be revealed to the human mind in the following epoch. The enlargement of the mental horizon of humanity during the century was indeed commensurate with its marvelous astronomical discoveries and can be illustrated adequately only by their vastness and splendor. In truth there is a closer relation between such discoveries and men's thinking in apparently the remotest matters than is generally imagined. The influence of Sir William Herschel's revelation that the stars are suns, and these myriads of suns are the probable centers of planetary systems many of them greater than ours, begets reflections of momentous reach and import. Man's intellectual horizon expands under such revelations with the speed of light.

It was once atheistical to affirm that the earth moved and that it was but one of many similar planets that revolve about the sun as their center. For teaching this doctrine Galileo was imprisoned and Bruno was burned at the stake. But Sir William Herschel revealed that the entire solar and planetary system to which our earth, as but a minor orb, belongs, is only one of innumerable similar systems in an infinite universe of worlds, systems, and groups of systems.

In another respect, too, the same great astronomer's telescope had startling truths to reveal, which were to affect men's thoughts in unsuspected spheres. For the universe that he beheld through lenses perfected by his own patient toil was not a universe finished, uniform, and in repose, but a universe exhibiting in its various parts every stage of development from the formless eddy dust-cloud of worlds yet in the process of evolution to the dead satellites that have had their day and now with borrowed luster only make beautiful the night of the inhabitants of younger orbs. The sublime truth which rises in man's thoughts to

consciousness in view of this great disclosure is of a God who works hitherto, who displays the power of his hand, yet building and re-building, thinking in terms of stars and constellations, systems and galaxies that no mind less than infinite can measure. The song of creation is an eternal song, and the poem of Genesis is being written in act and material form, now and forever, through all the ages, in the heavens. This is the truth which the stars declare.

Another science, which may be said to have been born in the nineteenth century, the science of Geology, had, possibly, a still greater influence on speculative thought than Astronomy did. It would seem that the least harmless of all studies would be that of the homely earth; and yet the geologist has destroyed many of our inherited ideas, overthrown whole systems of thought, and started vast mental revolutions. The conception which now among all classes of educated persons prevails of the uniform operation of nature's laws and forces throughout all the ages, and the indefinite extension backward of those ages during which those laws and forces have been at work shaping this world and others like it, this conception of uniformity and of vast eons of time, had its birth in the nineteenth century. And its influence upon speculative thought has been incalculably great. It has modified men's ideas of the Creator and of His ways in bringing worlds into being. It has combined with other conceptions of like novelty and like greatness to enlarge our intellectual horizon and to emancipate the mind from traditional views in every realm of thought. It has introduced the idea of law and of uniformity—I recur to this as of chief significance—into all our thinking about nature and the power which is in nature.

A few instances of the previous way of thinking will sufficiently reveal its crudeness and simplicity. Far into the century fossils, for example, were generally believed to have all been imbedded in

their rocks at the time of Noah's flood. And, for that matter, all the rock formations themselves were supposed to have been the work of but the brief space of 5,000 or 6,000 years since the creation of Adam. No order in the earth's strata had as yet been observed, no succession of animal populations had been guessed. And without such conceptions of a continuous and regular order in the rock formations and of a definite, progressive succession of plant and animal species in the world, the old estimate of the earth's age was of course entirely adequate.

But an actual study of the earth brought forth startling results of most far-reaching consequences. The first great discovery in this field is accredited to a practical surveyor, a self-educated man of independent and unprejudiced ways of thinking, whom fate tried to conceal by naming him William Smith. It was this man for whom the earth waited, we do not know how many centuries, to make known the fact of the orderly arrangement of its formations and the fixed progression from lower to higher in the orders of its living creatures, as indicated by fossils. But his views, of course, did not immediately find acceptance. They were declared to be opposed to the plain account of Genesis and were therefore denounced as atheistical in tendency. But it was too late in the world's history for an unwelcome truth to be stamped out, or to perish for centuries with its proclaimer at the stake. Other investigators made discoveries, one after another, that tended to confirm the doctrine of the wise-headed surveyor. And as investigation proceeded there were propounded and established yet other revolutionary theories, dealing with other geological phenomena. The chief of these was that the forces of nature as at present seen in operation around us are altogether adequate to account for the configurations of the earth which had before been attributed to great and sudden catastrophes. According to this new doctrine, which was called Uniformi-



tarianism, the continents and seas, the mountains and plains, the rivers and lakes, all the features of the physical world were given their present shape, not in general by sudden and intermittent eruptions, but by long, slow and constant processes, such as are exhibited everywhere in present operation. In this view, again, the reign of law is affirmed as against chance, or unintelligible Catastrophism, on the one hand, and arbitrary unintelligible divine intervention on the other.

Sir Alfred Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, published in 1835, is the book that stands out with the greatest prominence in the history of this science. The service that it rendered to research in other fields, especially to biology, was also notable, as we shall see.

The science of biology belongs so exclusively to the nineteenth century that not even the word was used before that time. It was in 1802 that two writers first independently employed the term. To be sure it would be a very erroneous way of thinking to suppose that men had not before, had not always, indeed, given more or less attention to the phenomena of plant and animal life, to the development and modification of structures, and the like matters. But, while many facts had been observed, and while by Erasmus, by Darwin, by Lamarck, by Goethe, and other great students of nature, the biological theories of two generations later were anticipated just at the close of the eighteenth century, yet it was not until past the middle of the nineteenth century that their views, revised and corrected with larger knowledge, entered into the common thought of educated men. When Charles Darwin, in 1859, published his *Origin of Species* the world, even the scientific part of it, was startled as by something entirely novel. The grandfather, who had put the question, "Can it be that one form of organism has developed from another?" Goethe, who had definitely affirmed the development of one species from another and had

remarked the metamorphosis of structures; Lamarck who had boldly asserted the doctrine of one common origin for all animals, including man, explaining the transmutation of species as due to processes of self-adaptation to environment,—these investigators with their theories had apparently been forgotten, and their memories were revived by the truly epoch-making book of 1859, which restated and established the truth that was in their views, but which owed them no debt, beyond possible suggestions.

The extraordinary significance of Charles Darwin's work is in no degree diminished by a recognition of the honor which rightly belongs to his great predecessors. Their investigations and their reasonings based upon their investigations did not result, as Darwin's did, in breaking up the old foundations of their science and of laying them anew. Other realms of thought were still less affected,—although, beyond doubt, such views having once been published to the world could not but exert an influence on the human mind. Lyell's summary, in his *Principles of Geology*, of the doctrines of Lamarck is an evidence that those doctrines had not and were not to be wholly forgotten.

The battle that was waged, in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, around the *Origin of Species* bears testimony to the importance which all classes of thinkers attached to the inductions of Darwin. Their thoroughly revolutionary and far-reaching significance was at once discerned. If these inductions were true, if his main thesis—the origin of species by natural selection—was true, then history would have to be rewritten, every science that deals with living organisms, nay, with human life and human thought even, would have to be re-written from this point-of-view. With this doctrine of evolution as a guiding principle all future thinking must be done. This was perceived, and this has proved true. The name of Darwin stands for an epoch in the intellectual history of the human race.

If, now, we condense into a few sentences the combined results of Geology and Biology our summary would stand thus: The planet upon which we live was untold millions of years in forming and coming to its present condition. The several stages in its later history since it began to assume a permanent form, are indicated by its stratified formations whose order, extent, and origin can be definitely made out. By the study of the fossil remains and of extant species of plants and animals the development of life upon the earth has been traced and the successive orders of living creatures have been described.

The vast length of time, a period to be measured only by thousands of years, that man has been an inhabitant of the earth, and the long stages of his progress in civilization, address themselves to us here as the chief inductions of universal human interest. There is in this doctrine veritably a new conception of humanity, a new way of approaching the investigation of every phenomenon of man's life, all the institutions of society, all the creations of the intellect and soul of man. The key that unlocks every door is evolution, admitting, it is true, not, as bigoted sciolists might claim, to absolute knowledge, but to vaster and vaster mystery; explaining method and process, but not the power which thus works, not the ultimate purpose toward which all moves.

The leap that thought now took from the data furnished by a study of the earth and its creatures was analogous to that which occurred when Newton, observing the apple fall, conjectured the universal force of attraction, at one mighty sweep of thought conceiving that the planets and their attendant moons were held in their orbits and governed in their motions by the same attractive force that drew the apple to the earth. The cosmic philosophy of Herbert Spencer, the stupendous outlines of which were given to the world in the middle years of the century, was the product of the application of the

evolutionary hypothesis to all the phenomena of the universe. And this conception in its broad outlines has now become almost as general a possession of humanity as the wonderful induction of Newton.

A fact of interest to recall in this connection is that Newton's doctrine in the early years of its history was regarded with no less fear and hostility than Spencer's has been wont to be regarded. It was said that Newton "substituted gravitation for God," that he took away from the Supreme Ruler "that direct action on his works which is constantly ascribed to him in Scripture, and transferred it to material mechanism." For doing this the great and good philosopher was declared to be "heretical and impious." But, of course, we may admit that the fears excited by the doctrine of universal gravitation were foolish, and that time proved the hostility not only vain but unintelligent and mistaken,—this may be admitted, and yet it be maintained that nothing can be proved by this and that, though Newton's doctrine was not really "heretical and impious," yet Spencer's may be altogether so. The sober-minded student may admit that it is too early to pronounce judgment; but while doing so he will repudiate the prejudicial epithets "heretical and impious." A great hindrance to the general acceptance of Spencer's philosophy, is his theory of the unknowableness of God. But I recall that Charles Wesley begins one of his hymns with the line:

"Thou great mysterious God unknown."

If I am not mistaken Spencer had some Methodistic antecedents. At any rate, when we come to make up our verdict on the religious significance or bearing of his philosophy we should study carefully his own words in which he is explicit on this matter. For that purpose I take a few sentences from his essay entitled "Religion: A Retrospect and Prospect."

"The final outcome of that speculation

begun by the primitive man, is that the power manifested throughout the universe distinguished as material is the same power which in ourselves swell up under the form of consciousness."

This permits a spiritualistic interpretation of the universe, as likewise does this doctrine: "Phenomenon without noumenon is unthinkable." And here is his thought upon religion:

"The truly religious element of religion has always been good; that which has proved untenable in doctrine and vicious in practice, has been its irreligious element; and from this it has been ever undergoing purification."

But I hold no brief for any man or any philosophy. I seek to be but a faithful reviewer.

For metaphysics our era has not been distinguished. The genius of the age has not been distinguished. The genius of the age has been for investigation, the finding out of facts and laws, rather than for speculation upon the eternal mysteries. It has been a scientific age rather than a philosophic age. True it is, science comprehends the discovery of principles as well as of facts, the forming of systems and the making of large generalizations; and these are processes of what we ordinarily think of as the philosophic mind. But speculation has adhered closely, in general, to the verifiable; it has acknowledged a constant dependence upon the work of the physical laboratory. At the same time every result of science has acted as an incitement to fresh speculation.

It might be inferred from this acknowledged dependence that the philosophy of the century was materialistic. In reality it was not decidedly so, at least in the latter portion of the century. Even the philosophy of the great scientists was not materialistic. Huxley, upon whom fell the opprobrium meant for all, repudiated most emphatically the materialistic view of the world, "as involving grave philo-

sophical error." His rejection of the classification of himself which others insisted on making he declares as follows:

"Not among fatalists, for I take the conception of necessity to have a logical and not a physical foundation; not among materialists, for I am utterly incapable of conceiving the existence of matter if there is no mind in which to picture that existence; not among atheists, for the problem of the ultimate cause of existence is one which seems to me to be hopelessly out of reach of my poor powers. Of all the senseless babble I have ever had occasion to read, the demonstrations of those philosophers who undertake to tell us all about the nature of God would be the worst, if they were not surpassed by the still greater absurdities of the philosophers who try to prove that there is no God."

Spencer's philosophy, as greatly as it is denounced, can legitimately receive a spiritualistic interpretation. Undoubtedly he leaves an open door for this, else how are we to understand the following utterance:

"Amid the mysteries," says Spencer, "which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty, that he [man] is ever in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed."

Physical science itself has indeed tended to confirm the mind in the idealistic philosophy. For what are both the positive and the negative conclusions of Physics? First, as one of the great discoveries of the century, we have the doctrine of the conservation of energy and transformation and correlation of forces. Now, what does this doctrine mean? Simply stated, just this: that no force ever disappears; nothing acts, nothing is acted upon, no change takes place in the physical universe, without indeed an expenditure of force, but this force, though *spent*, is not lost, only altered,

transferred to reside in another state or another object. It is transformed but still conserved. The diverse forces, physical and chemical, are but so many manifestations of one and the same energy. Heat, light, sound, electricity, are only so many modes, not of some material substance, but of the motions of one energy. This is the doctrine of the correlation of forces. Beyond question it strongly supports the idealistic interpretation of the universe. The physicist will tell you plainly that he knows nothing that may be called matter; he knows but qualities or conditions, and these are but the manifestations of force. If you ask him, when he has made his final analysis of matter, what the molecule is, he will tell you, so far as he is concerned with it and so far as he knows about it, it is a center of force. He knows nothing whatsoever about any reality called matter. It may exist, it may not; neither the physicist nor the chemist ever came into direct contact with it; neither will affirm that he knows it. But, on the other hand, that there is an "Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed," their philosophy tends to prove. This is not materialism.

To another field I now invite attention, —a field of more universal human interest, for it is that of the historic past, the ancient records of humanity. How wonderful have been the discoveries here! and they belong exclusively to the last hundred years. The most renowned cities of the ancient world, cities whose very locations had been lost to human knowledge, were unearthed with all their treasures of art and literature; and the knowledge thus gained necessitated the rewriting of much history and the revision of much speculation. The documents discovered in the ruins of buried capitals, in the tombs of kings and the temples of gods, have revealed the antiquity of civilization in the world, as the human remains unearthed by natural scientists have revealed the enormous antiquity of man's inhabitancy here.

And these documents have vastly increased our knowledge of the universal modes of thought and of life which everywhere and always belong to man as man. Our knowledge of humanity has been no less extended in the last hundred years than our knowledge of nature.

X The antiquity of the civilization that flourished once in the valley of the Nile and left the Pyramids as monuments of its greatness and the Sphinx as a symbol of its mysterious origin and significance, is measured by thousands of years, and is still antedated, by yet other thousands of years, by the civilization that built the cities and founded the libraries of the Tigris and the Euphrates. We are not startled any longer by the discovery of codes of law, land deeds, hymns to the gods, prayers, inscriptions upon tombs, heroic legends, and myths of creation and of great natural occurrences, that date two and three thousand years before Christ. Nor are we disturbed by being told that in the clay-tablets of Hasurbanipal's library are to be read many of the narratives which we were accustomed to regard as the exclusive possession of inspired writers, and our faith takes no shock from the discovery that some of the laws which we supposed to have been handed out of the cloud on Sinai to Moses 1500 years B. C. were in reality contained in the code of Hammurabi 1,000 years earlier.

One truth from this research has been made especially impressive; namely, the universality and the prepotency of the religious sentiment. The oldest books are all sacred books—Bibles. The whole life of the people was religious, and the worship, including the ceremonies that grew out of the paying of homage to the higher Powers, was the most conspicuous business of man in his earlier stages of civilization. Temples and altars were his most imposing structures. Liturgies and levitical codes, hymns and prayers, and narratives of the marvelous doings of God and exhortations to reverence and obedience made up the greater portion of the

contents of his books. And everywhere we find the beginnings and are able in a measure to trace the development of a true morality and sound conception of a Supreme Being, of responsibility and of life beyond death. Thus, fresh apprehension of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man has been gained, and we now understand better than before the great teachings of the prophets and apostles regarding the universal dominion and providence of the God of all the earth.

Max Müller's labors in this field are especially distinguished. His work of translating and editing the *Sacred Books of the East* is truly a monumental achievement, the like of which no former generation ever conceived, much less undertook. It seems to me that the tendencies of speculative thought as influenced by the results of such study are truly indicated by this same scholar's conclusions set forth in his lectures and essays. His writings were one of the great educative influences of the nineteenth century and his views have told upon all our thinking.

The Hibbert Lecture foundation is one of the signs of the sounder spirit of investigation characteristic of our times. The score of volumes comprising the lectures of eminent scholars and setting forth the history and nature of the several most prominent religions of the world, or dealing with particular aspects of the general concepts of religion,—these volumes constitute a library that is as characteristic of our era as the scientific works of Darwin and Huxley or the sermons of Dean Stanley and Phillips Brooks. They testify to a broader spirit, a more open mind. The science of religion has coöperated with the other sciences to impress upon the common mind the conception of a universal cause and an all-inclusive providence. There has been revealed a wider application of the unity of nature and the invariableness of law. In the midst of circumstantial and accidental diversities a general essential agreement in the religious

sentiment, in the motive of worship, in the philosophy of conduct, in the interpretations of the moral law, in the conceptions of the divine order of things, has been shown to exist.

We have been made tolerant of the doctrine that every religion has served a divine purpose in the education of the race, that, despite impurities and deficiencies, every religion has contained a measure of truth, a temporary virtue, for discipline, comfort and enlightenment, a genuine though imperfect revelation of the eternal and God-like. On the other hand, by comparative study, we are enabled to perceive the errors, the defects, and the misconceptions, the moral shortcomings and the spiritual inadequacies, of all the religions of mankind before the appearance of that one perfect religion which was summed up in the two great Commandments of Love and the Golden-Rule, and whose essential message to mankind is the Sermon on the Mount.

One trait of the century, and its manifestation in literature, I have yet to notice. This is the growth of the humanitarian spirit. The spread of democracy, the prosperity of missionary work in heathen lands, the literature of common life, social settlements, the large philanthropies of the wealthy—these things all betoken a more universal human sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men than ever before was witnessed upon the earth. Schemes of social and political reform, utopian experiments upon transcendental theories, visions of a new industrial and economic democracy, the founding of all sorts of socialistic communities in the effort to realize in some way the conception of universal human brother,—these social phenomena are quite as characteristic of the century as those great mechanical inventions which have been commonly regarded as preëminent distinctions. The religion of humanity, represented in England by a small but respectable body of thinkers, is a significant birth of the era. But if we looked not back of this small

society, if we discerned not the broad general current of philanthropic feeling of which this sect is but a straw upon the surface, we should but poorly understand our age. In truth the religion of our time is the religion of humanity, for it is striving to become the religion of Christ.

Now, underneath such phenomena as these, and giving force and permanency to such a current of feeling, there can with certainty be inferred an originating trend of thought, a general fountain-head of ideas from which as sources flows the stream of sentiment. Such general conceptions I have already pointed out. They are not absolutely new, but they are newly comprehended. They have a new significance. The essential unity and brotherhood of the race is, I say, the chief of these ideas; and another, which science has given us, is the unbroken and uniform rise of humanity to ever higher and truer things, and, with this, a tolerance for the superstitions that once were helpful and practically true, but which, beyond the day of their usefulness and truth, cling to the customs of life.

In order to realize the full force of this disposition of our age let us narrow our consideration, for the sake of definiteness

to literature and reflect upon one of its most conspicuous facts. Unquestionably this is the age of the novel. To confine our view here, as generally in the other kinds of intellectual activity, to the English-speaking race, the century gave us in England, a Walter Scott, a Dickens, a Thackeray, a George Eliot; in America it gave us a Cooper, a Hawthorne, a Bret Harte, a Cable, a Harris,—What is the significance of these names? What the meaning of their work? Just this: that the supreme interest of our age is humanity. Our study is man. The nineteenth-century novel deals with human life in all its range, the essential and universal elements of life: its interest is in man, and nothing that belongs to man is foreign to it. Literature but reflects and embodies the life of a people. As the life is, so will be the literature.

Therefore I shall in my next paper attempt to show how the chief writers, the poets and sages, of the nineteenth century were influenced by and reflect the scientific and philosophic thought of their time.

ROBERT T. KERLIN.

*Warrensburg, Mo.*

## ECONOMICS OF MOSES.

BY GEORGE MCA MILLER Ph.D.,

President of Buakin University.

### *Part III.*

**I**N THE first article of this series something of the anatomy or structure of the economic law of Moses has been set forth, and in the second, something of its physiology or function, and prosperity attendant thereon. This article is to deal with the pathology of this system of Economics, or the suffering and diseased condition of the social body growing out of its violation.

The suffering from such violation was

only acute and intermittent until the establishment of the Monarchy; after that it became chronic and constant.

During the latter part of the period of the Judges, however, violations of the law became flagrant, and the political Democracy became corrupted by bribe-givers and bribe-takers who made the very conditions which they themselves produced the chief argument by which they induced the people to abandon their political polity as the shortest route to the total abolition of the economic de-

mocracy upon which the political Democracy was founded. (I. Sam., 8:1-5.)

The first great disaster which followed this dual departure from democratic principles was the first Jewish civil war. In this conflict 450,000 were in the field, 250,000 lives were sacrificed, and one whole tribe—the Benjaminites—was so nearly exterminated that 600 soldiers who escaped to the mountains, and 400 women saved from the wreck of Jabesh-Gilead were all that were left of one of the most powerful states of the commonwealth. (Judges, 19-21.)

Josephus, introducing this account of this civic tragedy, which ranks along with our late Civil War as one of the most terrible of all time, says:

“They suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted and did not ordain themselves a senate or magistrates, as their laws formerly required, but were very much given to cultivating their fields in order to get wealth; which great indolence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another.”—Josephus, 5-2:7.

The same historian, in giving account of the first subjection of the Jews to the Assyrians, which occurred prior to the Monarchy, says:

“For when they had once fallen from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves further in living according to their own pleasure, till they were full of the evil doings common among the Canaanites. God, therefore, was angry with them, and they lost their happy state, which they had obtained by innumerable labors, by their luxury.”—Josephus, 5-3:2.

Three things are evident from the two foregoing quotations; *viz.*, that a corrupt aristocracy had arisen; that economic inequality had become dominant, as no nation ever suffered from the luxury of its masses; and that idolatry, hinted at as “evil-doings,” was usually, if not always,

a result following violation of political and economic law, and never more than a secondary cause of national disaster in the life of this people.

All national calamities down to and including the establishment of the Monarchy, were the result of similar abandonment of the Mosaic system of government.

Under the reign of the first king the economic features of the Mosaic system seem to have been almost entirely abandoned, and the people were divided into two classes. Saul, with his headquarters at Gibeah, represented the official and propertied class, while David, with his headquarters in the Cave of Adullam, became the leader of “every one that was in distress, and every one that was discontented.” (I. Sam., 22:1-2.)

So numerous in time did the latter class become, that in the civil war that followed it put David on the throne.

During the reign of David the chief occupation of the able-bodied men of the common people was war. This, as is always the case, gave the ruling-class great economic advantage. The ecclesiastical power took advantage of this condition to collect tribute to the extent of almost five billions of dollars preparatory to the building of the temple, which was erected in the reign of Solomon. This with the royal extravagance of Solomon, which amazed the world with its dazzling splendor, as indicated in a former article of this series, laid the foundation for the revolt of the ten tribes from Rehoboam, his son.

That the cause of this fatal disruption of the Jewish empire at the zenith of its imperial grandeur was purely economic, is plain from the reply of Rehoboam to the delegation of the tribes that asked him to reduce their economic burdens:

“My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke: My father also chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.”—I. Kings, 12:14.

As violation of economic law was responsible for the division of the empire into two kingdoms, which made all the

tribes an easy prey to foes internal and external, the disasters that followed the division would be justly chargeable to this cause if there were no evidence of direct connection between such violation and the series of national calamities which form a descending scale of civic perditions, as in Dante's *Inferno*, "hell under hell"; but the connection is immediate and direct, and for convenience will be given for each kingdom separately.

The violation of the principle of equality in land tenure is assigned by the prophets as one of the direct causes of the downfall of the kingdom of Judah:

"Woe unto them that join house to house, and lay field to field, till there be no place; that they may dwell alone in the midst of the earth."—Isa., 5:8.

The effect of this condition of land monopoly upon the courts is given in the preceding verse:

"He looked for judgment, and, behold, oppression; for righteousness, but, behold, a cry."

This effect is further shown by Micah, who was a contemporary of Isaiah, in his description of mortgage foreclosures:

"And they covet fields and take them by violence, and houses, and take them away; so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage. Therefore, saith the Lord, Behold against this family do I devise an evil from which ye shall not remove your necks."—Micah, 2:2.

This was its effect upon the church.

"Prophecy ye not, say they to them that prophesy; they shall not prophesy to them that they shall not take shame."—Micah, 2:6.

The land monopolists would not hear any denunciations of landlordism. They supported the church and the priests, but this is what the church and the priests, and even some of the prophets became under this *régime*:

"Every one is given to covetousness, and from the prophet even unto the priest, every one dealeth falsely."—Jer., 6:13-14.

"His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant; they are all dumb dogs; they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving slumber.

"Yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand, they look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter."—Isa., 56:10-11.

The theme of the prophets in these passages is landlordism, and in close connection therewith they give the inevitable result of land monopoly:

"The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of His people, and the princes thereof, for ye have eaten up the vineyard, the spoil of the poor is in your houses."—Isa., 3:14-15.

"Therefore, shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps; and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest."—Micah, 3:12.

This was the effect of this landlordism upon the home and the social life:

"The women of my people have ye cast out of their pleasant houses."—Micah, 2:9.

To make a modern application,—out into the sweatshops, to break down their health; out into the department stores, to sell their virtue to make up for wages earned, but withheld, in selling goods for millionaires; out into the street to live on their shame; out, finally, into the potter's field, with no gravestone to mark the place, that their buried shame may the sooner be forgotten.

This verse continues:

"And from their children have they taken away my glory forever."

The glory of an education; twelve thousand children of the poor in Chicago with no place to learn to read. The glory of religious training; one hundred thousand



children of Chicago that never heard of Jesus Christ except from the profanity of the streets,—worse conditions in New York, and like conditions in all large cities. The glory of an independent home; twenty millions of children in this Christian land with no chance to inherit from their parents even a grave plat, and but scant chance of ever owning an acre by their own toil.

The laws regulating Tools were likewise violated by the Southern kingdom, and these violations invariably brought disaster.

The following gives a faint picture of their effect on the political life of the people and upon their public interests in general.

Nehemiah, who was to the Jews what Agis and Cleomena were to the Greeks, and the Gracchi were to the Romans, a prophet came in time to delay but not to divert national disintegration. In the fifth chapter of the book which bears his name he gives us a picture of the effect of interest which, for realism, is excelled nowhere in economic literature:

“And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren, the Jews. For there were that said, We have mortgaged our land, vineyards and houses, that we might buy corn. We have borrowed money for the king’s tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children: and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already: neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and our vineyards.”—Nehemiah, 5:1-5, condensed.

This would seem to be a picture of evils of land monopoly; but as if to emphasize the economic fact that all economic history has writ large, that Rent would be Samson shorn of his locks but for the coöperation of its twin brother, Interest, he gives

the complete diagnosis of the national disorder in one sentence:

“I rebuked the nobles, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every man of his brother.”—Neh., 5:7.

It had now been nearly a hundred years since the return of a large part of the Jewish people from Babylon. The mass of them came back poor. A few who had made money in Babylon had opened pawnshops and real-estate-mortgage offices, charging one per cent. per month, as appears from verse eleven of the chapter quoted. The collection of rents referred to in the same verse was only an incident of the loan business resulting from the unpleasant necessity of foreclosing mortgages on such land as could not pay twelve per cent. besides supporting the farmers and providing for the king’s tribute.

During this reign of Interest, by means of “Eastern money” generously loaned for the “development of the West,” not a stone had been relaid in the walls of Jerusalem or any other Jewish city, and the people were in “great affliction and reproach.” (Nehemiah, 1:3.) Private comfort for the masses was as rare as public enterprise among the rulers. The common people lived in shacks and tents, too poor to build houses; and beset on all sides by enemies, without city-wall protection, permanent houses would have been destroyed as fast as built. (Neh., 7:4.)

Ezra and Zerubabel, as their first task on the return of the Jews nearly one hundred years before, had rebuilt the temple and reëstablished the priesthood. If religious rites could ever bring popular prosperity without economic justice, good times should have been enjoyed by the Israelites when they first returned to their ancient heritage. But then, as now, the pawn-shop paralyzed the pulpit.

The marvelous prosperity which followed this period of debt and degradation when Nehemiah abolished usury and compelled the restoration of both interest

and rent that had been collected during this reign of robbery, mentioned in a former article of this series, reveals more fully the blackness of this century of economic night.

In spite of all efforts of statesmen like Nehemiah to reestablish permanently the economic system of Moses, and of prophets like Malachi to make religion and social justice synonymous, the trend of this people continued steadily toward the fulfilment of the prophecy of Ezekiel:

“There is a conspiracy of her prophets like a roaring lion, ravening the prey; they have devoured souls; they have taken the treasure and precious things; her priests have violated my law.

“Her princes in the midst of her are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood, and to destroy souls to get dishonest gain. And her prophets have daubed them with untempered mortar (modern vernacular—“whitewash”), seeing vanity and divining lies unto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord hath not spoken.

“The people (ruling class) of the land have used oppression and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and the needy: yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. And I sought for a man among them who should make up the hedge and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it: but I found none.

“Therefore have I poured out my indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way I have recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord God.”—Ezek., 22:25-31, condensed.

The evils of land monopoly cursed the kingdom of Israel as well as that of Judah, and the violation of the law of land tenure, especially in the matter of rent, is assigned by Amos as the cause of its downfall:

“Forasmuch, therefore, as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat; ye have built

houses of hewn stone and ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink the wine of them.

“Therefore wailing shall be in all the streets, and they shall say in all highways, alas! alas!”—Amos, 5:11-16.

The most specific charge against the Northern kingdom, however, was that of tampering with the currency and making a dear shekel, thus using the market for robbery:

“Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying, when will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? And the Sabbath that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small and the shekel great and falsifying the balance by deceit. That we may buy the poor with silver and the needy for a pair of shoes.

“Shall not the land tremble for this, and it shall be cast out and drowned as by the flood of Egypt.”—Amos, 8:4-8.

It will be noted that these “Captains of Industry” whose genius reduced the price of a man to a pair of shoes, were a pious folk so far as the observance of the Sabbath and feast-days was concerned, but on the market “business was business”; but Israel found, as we may yet find, that Sabbath observance is not religion, nor Fourth-of-July festivities patriotism of the kind that saves.

In connection with this degeneracy of Israel, were the debauching of the youth and the suppression of all the enthusiasm of the young for political purity, and the forbidding of religious agitation against public wrong, as already noted in connection with the same evils in Judah:

“And I raised of your sons prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites, but ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink; and commanded the prophets, saying, Prophesy not.”—Amos, 2:11-12.

The college that will not allow the truth on social problems to be taught to its

students, and the ecclesiastical muzzle designed especially for ardent young ministers, are not wholly modern institutions.

As to the effect of these violations of economic law on the social life, "race suicide" so much deplored by strenuous statesmen in recent times, was not omitted from this ancient catalogue of calamities having their root in economic law, as appears from the following:

"They have deeply corrupted themselves as in the days of Gibeah:\* Therefore He will remember their iniquities; He will visit their sins.

"As for Ephraim (used by metonymy for the northern kingdom), their glory shall fly away like a bird, from the birth, from the womb, and from the conception. Give them, O Lord: What will Thou give them? give them a miscarrying womb and dry breasts. Ephraim is smitten in their root and dried up; they shall bear no fruit. My God shall cast them away because they did not hearken unto Him: and they shall be wanderers among the nations."—Hosea, 9:9–17.

Not only in matters of land and money did Israel fatally sin, but there was a disregard of general commercial relations sufficient for national disintegration:

"For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; they pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek; and they lay themselves down upon clothes laid to pledge."—Amos, 2:6–8, condensed.

Other national sins, not strictly violations of economic law, are often referred to as causes of national disaster, but they will invariably be found on close examination to be conditions growing out of economic wrong; such, for instance, is intemperance:

\*Referring to the economic and social evils resulting in the first civil war mentioned in the beginning of this article.—(Judges, 19:1–30.)

"Hear this word, ye kine of Bashan, that are in the mountains of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy, which say to their masters, Bring, let us drink."—Amos, 4:1.

This passage tends to sustain the contention of the economic reformer that it is useless to waste social energy in the attempt to suppress intemperance while economic oppression creates conditions that make it impossible, that the chief cause of the drink evil lies deeper than the drink, and that the saloon will go only when the economic causes that make it inevitable shall go.

From the foregoing it should clearly appear that the downfall of the Jewish Democracy, the division of the Jewish Monarchy, the captivity of the kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians, and the utter dispersion of the ten tribes composing it into an oblivion so deep that all attempts of history to fathom it have failed, the captivity of the two tribes composing the kingdom of Judah by the Babylonians, their subsequent oppression by various nations, and their final obliteration by the Romans, together with innumerable minor disasters, are all chargeable to violation of the fundamental law of this people relating to Land and Tools.

The Jewish people, however, are not the only example which the Jewish literature furnishes of nations that fell because of the violation of economic law.

Ezekiel says to Jerusalem:

"Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister, Sodom, pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her and in her daughters (suburbs); neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy."—Ezek., 16:49.

Much has been said of the social abominations of Sodom, but seldom have they been referred to the extremes of wealth and poverty growing out of the violations of economic law, notwithstanding the plain language quoted above.

Jeremiah says of Babylon:

"O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures, thine end is come, and the measure (penalty) of thy covetousness."—Jer., 51:13.

The charge against Tyre was:

"By the multitude of their merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned, thou hast defiled thy sanctuary by the multitude of thy iniquity, by the iniquity of thy traffic."—Ezek., 28:16-18.

If the plain statement of social and economic laws, as given by Moses, and the prosperity that followed their observance, are not sufficient to convince readers of the Bible of their binding force, the woes that wait upon their violation, which are described in the passages quoted, and in innumerable other passages which we do not have space to quote, and which are seen to-day on every hand, in every so-called civilized nation, should be sufficient. Attention has been called to both, without censure or denunciation of those who profess to believe the Bible and teach its truth, and yet either ignore or apologize for the social wrongs which it condemns.

What has seemed to be the wiser course has been followed; giving by quoted reference Moses and the Prophets, with but little comment or argument; for, as was said to Dives who wanted Lazarus sent back to earth to warn his five brothers that they might not live in violation of the Mosaic law of social justice as he had done, "If they hear not Moses and the Prophets neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

He who uttered this sentiment in parable, who "knew what was in man" and who "spake as never man spake," realizing the hopelessness of curing economic ills by the mere letter of the law, sought the solution of the vexed economic problem with which Moses struggled, by giving to the world a spiritualized ideal of economic life.

While ratifying specifically every principle of the Mosaic system, this new Prophet announced a new Economic, and founded thereon a higher Ethic than was possible under the Mosaic régime. Of this we shall inquire in the articles to follow on the "Economics of Jesus."

GEORGE MCA. MILLER.

*Glen Ellyn, Chicago, Ill.*

## HUMAN LIBERTY OR HUMAN GREED?

BY EX-CONGRESSMAN ROBERT BAKER.

"I WOULD counsel the people to let the streets of Tucson run with the blood of martyrs as have the gutters of Warsaw!"

Strange language and strong, surely, for the mayor of a large American city to address to the people of a distant section of the United States. What great danger threatened the people of Arizona that the Mayor of Milwaukee should thus address them?

The meeting at which this language was used was held at Tucson, Arizona,

January 6th. We are told that the speech evoked "scenes of almost riotous enthusiasm." But what was the occasion?

Was the orator calling upon them to arise and defend themselves from an impending foreign invasion?

Was he enunciating some great doctrine of human rights and human liberty?

Was it to assert that human life must always be held sacred, no less for the Filipino than for the American?

Was it to express sympathy with an oppressed people—the Jews in Russia, for instance?



Photo. by G. V. Buck, Washington, D. C.

HON. ROBERT BAKER

MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE VI. NEW YORK DISTRICT



Was it a belated expression of sympathy with the Boers, who had yielded up their property and their lives in defence of liberty?

Was it to applaud the Campbell-Bannerman ministry for prohibiting the further importation of slaves—Chinese coolies—into South Africa?

Was it even an appeal for them to take measures to prevent their being still further despoiled by the trusts and other privileged interests?

Oh, no! Nothing so foolish; nothing so idealistic as that was the cause of the "riotous enthusiasm."

The occasion was a meeting to protest against "joint-statehood," *i. e.*, against the admission of New Mexico and Arizona as one state. This being what one of the speakers described as "an infamous plan to deprive Arizonans of their liberty."

"Scratch a Russian," it is said, "and you will find a Tartar."

With more unerring accuracy, it might be said, "Scratch a blatant patriot and you will find an exploiter." Forever and aye, this has been the record of history and it finds its exemplification in current affairs as in those of the past. To listen to these vociferous patriots one would imagine that the greatest and most fundamental principles of human liberty and human rights were involved in the question of joint or single statehood for Arizona and New Mexico.

What is this "infamous plan to deprive Arizonans of their liberty"? It is the plan of the Republican majority of the 59th, as it was of the same men in the previous Congress, to make two states of the four territories; Oklahoma and Indian Territory to form one, New Mexico and Arizona the other. The population of the two former approximating a million, while the two latter have about half as many.

"The use of the bayonet," we are told, "was urged by the leaders" of the meeting, and that "open rebellion will be encountered if consolidation is effected."

To whoever was not blinded by self-

interest or local prejudice, one might put the query: In what manner does admission to statehood with its right of suffrage and self-government "deprive you of your liberty," even though it be in conjunction with another territory?

Is human liberty a question of numbers? Is self-government a matter of area?

Do the people of Nevada enjoy self-government because there are but fifty thousand of them, while those of Rhode Island cannot possess it because they number half a million? Or, is it that the inhabitants of Rhode Island have self-government because that state has but 1,200 square miles, but the people of Texas can never possess it owing to that state being two hundred times as big?

If not, then why all this perfervid oratory? Why does Mayor Rose of Milwaukee declare that "the spirit of individual liberty is smothered"?

The same dispatch which brings us the account of this meeting reveals (unintentionally, I assume) the motives which animate those who are preaching sedition, threatening armed resistance by the people of Arizona, as it states that "Mayor Rose has extensive mining interests near Tucson."

While this suggests it does not throw the fullest light upon the underlying cause for the action of such men as Rose. It is, however, revealed in a Washington dispatch of the same date, wherein we are informed that "Speaker Cannon has a trump card," this being "nothing less than a warning to the railroad and mining interests in Arizona to haul off their lobbies here [Washington] or take the consequences." This dispatch goes on to say: "The consequences of failure to abide by this warning might be serious," as "the railroad and principal mining companies of Arizona are paying taxes on an antiquated assessment which has not been altered for sixteen years." It goes on to say: "It was made long before the railroads had attained anything like their present value, and when the mines, which are now paying their owners thousands

of dollars a day were mere pocket-holes."

What the Speaker has in mind according to this dispatch, is for Congress to legislate directly for the Territory to compel a correction of these antiquated assessments, so as to place the railroads and the mines on the assessment-rolls at something like their real value. This, however, it appears "would be more objectionable to their owners than joint-statehood."

This, then, is the Ethiopian in the wood-pile!

Mr. Mayor Rose and his *confrères* are not worried that the "spirit of individual liberty is being smothered"; what they fear is that the people of New Mexico, whom they dub "greasers," will insist that these enormously valuable mines, out of which such gigantic fortunes as that of Senator Clark's are being obtained, shall bear at least a part of the cost of government, instead of, as now, practically escaping taxation altogether.

It is not patriotism but pelf which animates these gentlemen. It is not human liberty but human greed they are contending for.

Let us hope that the Speaker will get more light upon the subject. It will be an excellent thing for the country if, not in a spirit of revenge against multi-millionaire mine and railroad magnates (although they deserve no sympathy) but with a desire to see that justice is done to all the people of Arizona, if he will exert the tremendous influence of the Speakership to secure legislation that will compel the railroad and mine-owners to pay their share of taxation, listing their property at its full value. This would probably relieve the other people of Arizona of fully fifty per cent. of the taxes they now pay, while increasing those of the rail-

roads by one or two hundred per cent., and those of the rich mine-owners five hundred to one thousand per cent.

But to return to blood-and-thunder Rose. This man is mayor of one of the most corrupt cities in the Union. It is a city where the public-service corporations hold complete sway. A city where these exploiters of the people have a free hand. A city where, so far as the equal right to the use of its streets is concerned, human rights and human liberty are nullified daily. Not only does Rose do nothing to conserve these rights, not only does he not protect its citizens in their equal natural right of use, but he has himself been the instrumentality through whom they have been robbed of their streets and turned over to be exploited by J. P. Morgan and his associates.

Instead of inflaming the passions of misguided Arizonans, who do not understand that Rose and all his ilk are using them to pull their chestnuts out of the fire (chestnuts in the form of special privileges and exemption from taxation) let the Mayor of Milwaukee return home and do his duty. Let him but use all the great power of the executive of that city to compel compliance with the law by those who are monopolizing its streets, make them pay taxes on the same basis of value as other citizens have to pay, let him but enforce every ordinance these notorious violators of law are constantly nullifying, and he will be rendering proper service to the people of Milwaukee, and there will be no need to declare that if the public-service corporations do not obey the law the streets of his city should "run with the blood of martyrs as have the gutters of Warsaw!"

ROBERT BAKER.

*Brooklyn, N. Y.*



# THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.\*

## II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS—(Continued.)

BY HON. J. WARNER MILLS.

*The Pageant of the Throne-Powers—The Smelter-Trust—A General Glance at The Trusts—(Continued).*

### PURSUIT OF MONOPOLY.

MANY good people are deluded into believing that the purpose of the trust is to promote the public weal by bringing down the price of its service or its product for the benefit of its patrons or consumers. Nothing is further from the truth. As an incident to the destructive methods employed to exterminate a rival, the price may fall for certain periods or places. But it is only an incident. The purpose of the trust is always to "water-up"—also to lessen the cost by cheaper methods, yet withal to maintain the price and generally to advance it by controlling the disposition of the product. When trust-prices are discussed, it is misleading to take the price for a short period or at a particular place. The business of the trust is everywhere, and the actual price it charges will show itself chiefly only in long periods and in numerous places. To keep up the price, while lessening the cost, insures large and steady profits; and profits as we know are the chief end of capital.

The more perfect the monopoly the surer is competition cut out, and prices then with a lessening cost are at the easy dictation of the trust, and profits are steady and unailing. The problem then simply becomes one of markets.

That the principal aim of the Smelter-Trust was to destroy competition and to create a monopoly is specifically avowed by its promoters and managers. Mr. Chapman testified before the Congressional Industrial Commission as follows:

"The evils of competition having been borne for years by the various smelting interests of the country had convinced the proprietors of those interests that some combination should be effected with a view to reducing expenses and eliminating such competition. These interests had been in frequent consultation (conspiring) but no satisfactory arrangement had ever been made for any combined operation that eliminated the competition complained of. Finally it was universally conceded that the only course open was a consolidation of the various interests."†

If, in the above quotation, "labor interests" be substituted for "smelting interests" and "laborers" for the words "proprietors of those interests," and the word "labor" be inserted before the last word, we would then have an exact statement of the trust dilemma, expressing as well the dilemma of labor.

When labor, however, tries to extricate itself from such a dilemma to cut out competition and to effect a monopoly, we will see in the following chapters some of the obstacles and penalties that confront it.

Ex-Governor James B. Grant, on the board of control of the Smelter-Trust, and who profited by the sale to it of two large smelters, one in Denver and one at Omaha, testified before the Congressional Industrial Commission as follows:‡

"Q. 'The main objects sought by these combinations, according to your method of reasoning, is the limiting of competition?'

"A. 'Yes, that is what I should say; limiting competition and cheapening certain methods of handling the business,

†Report Industrial Com., Vol. 13, p. 98.

‡Report Industrial Com., Vol. 12, p. 195.

\*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1906, number of THE ARENA.

and more certain control of the disposition of the product.'”

He further testified:\*

“The causes inducing combination in all cases, in my opinion, are to avoid excessive and ruinous competition and to enable the capitalist to get a reasonable interest on his investment by enlarging the capitalization [watering the stock]. I would say that when any man is engaging to spend a large part of his life in building up an industrial enterprise the first thing to be considered is to get an income from it, and the one cause, in my opinion, above all others that threatens that income, is competition.”

Quoting again from Governor Grant's testimony:†

“Q. ‘It seems to me that it is plain, according to your argument, that you regulate the law of supply and demand, when you control the supply and get a greater price than would otherwise be the case?’

“A. ‘Well I believe it is perfectly defensible, this power to regulate the supply and demand.’

“Q. ‘And the employé is pursuing the same course as that of the employer, that is, he is forming a trust or combination of his own?’

“A. ‘I look upon it as the same thing.’

“Q. ‘And his reasons are the same as yours?’

“A. ‘Precisely.’

“Q. ‘To increase his earnings?’

“A. ‘Yes, and to keep out competition.’

“Q. ‘To increase his earnings and to keep out competition?’

“A. ‘That is about it. Not necessarily to increase his earnings, but to maintain and to keep up the price.’

“Q. ‘There is no difference between the individual and the corporation, each is struggling for benefit?’

“A. ‘Well, there is the proposition presented by Mr. Ratchford [committee-

\**Id.*, p. 197.

†*Id.*, pp. 199, 201.

man conducting examination], that the corporation gets privileges that the individual does not.’”

Here is a plain and frank avowal of an economic dilemma that is common to both capital and labor. Both are floundering in the mire of unnatural competition. Capital, through the combination of the trust and the “water” and the monopoly it affords, has found a way out, but like Napoleon on his march from Moscow, it is “devil take the hindmost” and it offers no hand to its boasted “handmaid,” but leaves labor to still grope and flounder deeper in the mire than before. This is the unsympathetic selfishness of the trust, and it is plain that Mr. Havemeyer is not the only “captain of industry” that does not “give two cents for our ethics.”

#### OVERREACHING LABOR.

With an effective monopoly once on foot, the trust that enjoys it secures thereby an autocratic power to swing as it will its cudgel of coercion over the head of labor. Read the sworn confession of Governor Grant upon this subject:‡

“Q. ‘In the papers it is stated that by reason of the shutting down of the Durango Smelter—which was in the trust—750 men were thrown out of employment, that is, the men at the smelter and miners. [This reference is to a strike that is mentioned hereafter.] Is it your opinion that if the individual smelter had not gone in the trust, it would have shut down at that time?’

“A. ‘I do n't know. You cannot tell. As a consolidation we felt stronger than we did as individuals. The smelter corporation or company is not dangerous, but it has to be guarded in its actions. Not having generally a great amount of money we had to be very careful, but the combination, having plenty of money in its treasury, is more powerful.’

“Q. ‘Would it not be the natural tendency, having the power to do so, to shut

‡Report Industrial Com., Vol. 12, p. 202.

the smelters down and then settle with your men on better terms than if only one or two were shut down ?'

"A. 'I think so.'

"Q. 'If a combination owning say, seven smelters in this state, as you say your combination does own, all being under this one great power, could shut one of them down, say, at Leadville, and smelt the ores either here [Denver] or in Omaha or Durango, would not that make the men very timid about building homes and feeling that they were, in a way, a part of your institution ?'

"A. 'I guess that is so.'

"Q. 'Do n't you think it would make them less liable to build homes, and that takes the confidence out of your men ?'

"A. 'I think that has been the tendency, yes.'"

What does the reader think of lodging in a private corporation the tyrannical power here frankly confessed by Governor Grant to undermine the home-making spirit of our industrious toilers and to coerce them into submission at one point by starvation, while the trust uses other plants to still grind out its profits ?

Yet along with the other dangers from this undemocratic power so lodged, lurks also the complement of the "sympathetic strike." Note the sympathetic maneuver by the trust in diverting work from the plant involved in strike to another plant entirely free from such embroglio, in order to bring the trust success at the former by the help so given by the latter.

We shall see the tremendous operation of this dangerous power in the strikes to be examined later. This power was also in practical operation July 12, 1899, at the very moment Governor Grant was giving his testimony referred to above. The first eight-hour law was then being resisted by the Smelter-Trust and the smeltermen struck. The strike first began in Durango, as mentioned above, and finally spread to every trust-smelter in the state. The Guggenheims had not then been fished for with the proper bait, and

they were lauded to the skies for recognizing and conforming to the law, and for giving safe asylum to the men who wished another master than the trust.

The strike was brief, however, as the supreme court declared the act unconstitutional and the men, humbled though they were, but law-abiding withal, went back to work.

The Congressional Industrial Commission brought our two interesting phases of this eight-hour struggle that must not be overlooked.

*First.*—The Smelter-Trust was eager for the fray and determined to put its newly acquired industrial power to instant test and to try out issues with the smeltermen and miners from the very start.\*

*Second.*—But indeed as part of the accomplishment of the first, the Smelter-Trust refused to recognize the miners' union. Itself a union, just starting off on its industrial career, still it imperiously spurned to treat with the union of the miners. And this, too, in the face of the above admission by Governor Grant that the same cause that drove the smelters into combination operated equally upon the smeltermen and the miners. He might have added that its operation was more than equal, for when the "captains of industry" fled from unnatural competition, it was merely to save their profits, but the miners in their fleeing were trying to save their homes and their lives. We quote from Governor Grant again: †

"Q. 'Now, you spoke about the recognition of the union of your workmen. I understood you to state that you declined to treat with their committees ?'

"A. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Did you decline to treat with the committees because they were representing a union, or because the action of that union in this respect is not in keeping with a spirit of fairness ?'

\* Testimony of Governor Grant, Report Industrial Com., Vol. 12, pp. 207-8.

† Report Industrial Com., Vol. 12, p. 207.

"A. 'That is the way we look at it. We were afraid of the future.'

"Q. 'You were afraid of the future?'

"A. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Then you were not of the belief that their action at the present merits your refusal to treat with them, but rather the action you anticipate from them at another time?'

"A. 'Well, the action I anticipate from the knowledge of what has taken place in their councils.'"

Here again we have the ethics of the trust. Not what the union then was doing, but what it might do in the future, in cutting down profits and dictating to the trusts, was the reason it was spurned. If this reason is good, then the same fear for the future that the people have of all the trusts would justify their instant extermination. Governor Grant's idea of the labor union and the trust is the familiar idea of the lion and the lamb lying down together, but always with the lamb inside of the lion. Here is his euphemistic way of expressing this lion and lamb episode in speaking of labor organizations:\*

"If they operate wisely and judicially and are moderate in their dealings with the corporations, I think the organization a good thing. . . . I have no opposition to it unless it threatens my business."

Here is the economic struggle exposed in all its rawness. By one, too, who was at the time chairman of the "operating committee" of the trust in Colorado. By one, too, who by reason of his reputed fairness had been a member of the first board of arbitration in the state. Yet who now, when this board was appealed to by the miners, refused to arbitrate, and when the board went ahead he appeared with his witnesses and counsel and submitted his evidence. But when the board made its findings and recommendations here is the curt reply he sent:

\*Report Industrial Com., Vol. 12, pp. 205-6.

"The operating committee, after giving due consideration to the document, decline to accept the findings of the board as binding upon this company."†

Such was the conduct, too, of one who was so esteemed by his fellow-citizens that in 1886 he was elected governor of the state upon the Democratic ticket. He publicly announced himself an instantly converted Republican, however, in 1899 when Governor Thomas sent to the legislature the message on "Trusts," quoted from above, and especially directed at the Smelter-Trust then forming. Thus we see, too, how economics mould the political convictions of "captains of industry" as well as their ethics. It is easy to see now what a brusque adversary the Smelter-Trust and its allied mine-owners invite. Such adversary must certainly be lusty, alert, wary and determined. How well the Western Federation of Miners meets that condition we shall see further on.

#### CONTROLLING ORIGINAL SOURCES OF SUPPLY.

The Smelter-Trust does not own all the mines in Colorado and the other mining states in which it operates, but it certainly controls the chief producers among them, and through its subsidiary companies actually owns some of the most important. In Colorado it is developing the "Silver Lake" mines near Silverton on a scale of great magnitude. Contracts are made with certain mine-owners for their entire output of ores for various periods of time, —four, six and eight months or a year† or longer; and this method of dealing naturally brings the big mine-owners and the trust into close business relations, and puts a barrier between such owners and the independent smelter seeking to secure a foothold. Except for some particularly desirable ore used in fluxing or otherwise, the small mine-owner with but a

†Report Bureau of Labor, 1899-1900, p. 181.

‡Governor Grant's testimony, Report Industrial Com., Vol. 12, p. 194.

meager or uncertain output is of little interest to the trust. The big ones, however, are as good as partners to the trust, and, as we have seen above, they are special "pets" of our tax system and of course control the Mine Owners' Association.

The alliance between this association and the trust is so complete that they are practically one in all legislative, industrial or strike matters affecting the interest of either. Again, to enable the trust to monopolize the sources of ore-supply, it or its subsidiary companies have experienced experts constantly on the watch for the first hopeful signs of a new mining-camp or a new producing mine. Even the function of the time-honored prospector is being fast curtailed by the trust, and it has its own experts in search for promising mining-ground on which to make new locations.

The Standard Oil and other interests are also systematically engaged in the same sort of enterprise, and in this country, South America, Mexico and elsewhere, they already own the largest and best mines to be found or bought. Mr. Moody says there is a Standard Oil domination in the Smelter-Trust,\* which must mean that Rockefeller and the Guggenheims have close financial interests. When these interests are finally openly united, as in time they are bound to be, the Smelter-Trust will then actually own all the great gold, lead, silver, copper and zinc-mines in the western world. Indeed, the whole face of the once familiar form of the mining industry for precious metals is already seamed and seared by the trust, and the best things in any mining-camp, new or old, are soon in its hands or in the hands of its trusted friends.

In this way the Smelter-Trust effectively controls all the original sources of ore-supply, not only in Colorado but in all the mining states of the West; also in the lead-mines of Missouri and in South America and Mexico.

\* *The Truth About the Trusts*, p. 45.

#### FIXING THE RAILROADS.

It must be a burly business indeed that can "fix" the railroads. The fixing is generally done by the railroads themselves. With the Smelter-Trust, however, it is different. Mr. Chapman testifies† that this trust withholds from the railroads \$5,000,000 per annum that but for the Trust would go into their annual earnings.

The long haul of ores from Montana to Denver is now no more, and all ores are treated at the plant of the trust nearest the point of production. It is thus easy to see how the railroads must toady to the trust. If, for instance, the freight-rate from Leadville to Denver is unsatisfactory to the trust, it must at once be adjusted to its liking or it will seek its supply elsewhere. Meantime there is no danger from a rival and the ore will still be there when the trust is ready to use it. But with the railroad how different. It will meantime be running empty cars with no receipts. So the Smelter-Trust already has the power to dictate to the railroads. What it can do it does do, and we can easily guess that it secures for itself and its big shippers secret rebates of large and constantly growing proportions.

#### "WATERING STOCK" (OVER-CAPITALIZATION).

Among other reasons given above by Governor Grant why the Smelter-Trust was created, he informs us that "the causes inducing combination in all cases are to avoid excessive and ruinous competition, and to enable the capitalist to get a reasonable interest on his investment by enlarging the capitalization."

Every trust has this end in view. As we have seen above, "watered-stock" endows them with the governmental function of taxation. In addition to the capital they actually invest, this pseudo capital confers the power of extorting tribute upon capital they do not invest.

†Report Industrial Com., Vol. 13, p. 98.

The actual cash raised by banker Chapman to float the Smelter-Trust was but \$6,500,000.\*

Mr. Chapman further says that the \$27,400,000 of preferred stock represents the real values involved.† Yet outside of this was exactly the same amount in common stock, \$27,400,000, which represented only "water," but which Governor Grant says is "reasonable interest on the capitalist's investments." A. H. Danforth, for years general manager of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, mentioned in a previous article, and competent to express an intelligent opinion about the matter, says that \$16,500,000 is a liberal estimate of the total value of the entire property of the Smelter-Trust, even after the Guggenheims were taken in with all their belongings. He further says that the Guggenheims were given \$35,000,000 in stock for property that was not worth more than \$5,000,000. Robert S. Billings, late manager of the Independent Smelter at Golden and a mining and millman of large experience, tells the writer in a letter written under date of April 4, 1905, that "the entire Smelter-Trust property in Colorado, Utah, Montana and Idaho did not exceed a total valuation of \$20,000,000,—in fact, that was an outside figure." Yet the trust is now paying 7 per cent. dividends on its preferred stock and dividends also on its common stock, and the latter has already gone to a premium and is quoted to-day (November 23, 1905) at \$151 and the mining industry of Colorado and the West is required to pay tribute in the shape of dividends on more than \$100,000,000 of watered stock. And we are expected to look serious when one of the great "captains" dignifies this plunder as the "capitalist's reasonable interest on his investment." Let us remember this circumlocution, however, and always identify it with the "captain's" adroitness in concealing corporate power.

Governor Grant in his ethics finds no

\*Report Industrial Com., Vol. 13, pp. 94-5.

†*Id.*

trouble to justify this enormous trust extortion by invoking the principle of the "unearned increment" as applied to real estate, which he says is privately appropriated despite the doctrine of Henry George.‡ Justifying your own extortion by the extortion of some one else may not be a new idea in the ethics of graft, but it certainly is novel in social justice.

With nature's present overflow of gold and other metals the big shippers "stand in" and pay their tribute, and still are getting rich, and the little shippers get their mite but are fast passing to the wall. The end is not yet, but as yet complacency is the rule, but later—it cannot be avoided—there must be "wailing and gnashing of teeth."

#### EXTERMINATING RIVALS.

There were still subsidiary mills and plants for the Smelter-Trust to exterminate, despite the fact that with the Guggenheims in the trust it claimed to be doing 100 per cent. of the silver-lead smelting in the United States. When the trust moved on the reduction plants in Cripple Creek in 1902, its first step was to reduce the treatment charge from \$8.00 to \$7.50 per ton, and it was but a short time before the millmen were ready to capitulate. It was about this time, 1902, that Attorney-General Post asked leave to file in the Supreme Court of the state a petition in the nature of a *quo warranto*, seeking upon common-law principles to forfeit the charter of the American Smelting and Refining Company, because it was organized for the express purpose of creating a monopoly in the chief industry of the state.

Among other things he alleged that the company demanded and received extortionate and unreasonable charges for smelting and reducing gold and silver-ores; that it demanded and received rebates from the railroads; that it was partial and unfair in refusing to treat gold and silver-ores that were offered to it by

‡Report Industrial Com., Vol. 12, p. 202.

certain parties against whom it desired to discriminate; that with property and plants not exceeding \$25,000,000 in value it extorted for its services charges intended to pay a dividend on \$100,000,000; and, generally, that it suppressed competition, and was an awe and a menace to the mining industry of the state. But the court failed to grasp the meaning of a monopoly and saw no duty resting upon it to call the Smelter-Trust to account in the first instance in the highest judicial tribunal of the state; and in a scolding opinion, taking the Attorney-General to task for certain delays, and with innuendoes in bad judicial temper, the application to file the petition was denied.\*

In view of the Attorney-General's allegations we can now easily understand such a telegraphic dispatch as that sent from Leadville to the Denver dailies, under date of July 14, 1902, to the effect that the trust had limited the production of the oxidized iron-ore to 800 tons per day, that the capacity of the "Caribou" was reduced from 200 tons to 60 tons, the "Sixth-Street Shaft" from 300 to 100, and many of the Freyer Hill properties were shut off altogether. It is only recently that the story was afloat of the trust treatment of the "Greenback" mine at Leadville. Its sulphides were particularly desirable for the trust smelters. A price was offered for the mine, but refused by the owners. After that the trust had no further use for the "Greenback" ores. It thus appears that the mine-owners, as well as the smelters and mills, are made to quake and quail before the mighty strides of the Smelter-Trust. The only independent smelter now in the state is at Salida, and it is not at all independent in fact but only in name. The Boston and Colorado Smelter at Argo, suburb of Denver, uses a secret process, but it has lost its independence and is apparently tributary to and taken care of by the trust.

The last smelter to fall as victim to the trust was the Independent Smelter at

\*30 Colo., 275; 70 Pac., 413 (Sept. 1902).

Golden. It had a capacity of 300 tons per day and was under the efficient management of Robert S. Billings. This smelter was designed to treat especially the ores of Boulder, Clear Creek and Gilpin counties, and it made reasonable rates for treatment that were satisfactory to the miners. But in the familiar Rockefeller-Standard Oil style, the Smelter-Trust cut the price below the actual cost of smelting; that is, \$3.50 per ton, and intimidated the miners by threatening to refuse their ores when it succeeded in destroying the Golden Smelter.

The railroads also helped in the destruction by discrimination and in other ways, and the large banks of Denver declined to extend their usual accommodations and facilities, fearing the displeasure of the trust, and finally, and only a few months ago, this large and hopeful enterprise, only eighteen miles away from the capital city of the state, was obliged to bank its fires and shut down.

#### THE TRUST IN POLITICS.

The head of the Smelter-Trust is Simon Guggenheim. He recently secured the appointment of his brother Daniel as president of the company. Five of the seven brothers are already on the board of directors, and age alone is probably the only reason why the other two are still waiting in the ante-chamber on probation. Simon has long had an unsatisfied political ambition. He was nominated for governor September 8, 1898, by the anti-fusion faction of the Silver Republicans. This was one of the most memorable conventions ever held in the state. It convened at Colorado Springs, and in the fight between the "Anti's" and the Teller Silver Republicans for the possession of the opera house, 150 shots were fired and one man was killed and three were wounded.† Simon then stood on a platform that declared for "free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1"; also, for the "*retention of all territory taken whether by peaceful*

†Annual Cyc., 1898, p. 137, tit. "Colorado."

means or by conquest." It is thus apparent that the latter part of his political platform and his trust platform are one and the same. Like Mr. Havemeyer and the other "captains of industry" he cares nothing for "our ethics and does not know enough of them to apply them." But he does know how to squeeze liberty out of the Filipinos and dollars out of the miners.

Of course he was not elected. He is now and has long been a candidate for the United States Senate. In late years New York has been his home. But foreign residence seemed in no wise to weaken his candidacy as long as his "barrel" was on tap. His money has been in painful evidence at all recent elections, and his accredited political agents were the most active supporters last winter of the allied corporation cohorts seeking to seat Peabody despite his failure to reach a majority of votes, even after all the fraudulent ballots were thrown out. The pernicious and demoralizing part of the Smelter-Trust in legislative matters, especially in defeating the Eight-Hour Law, will receive attention in our next chapter.

#### CORRUPTING OUR SCHOOLS.

The trusts are now reaching out for our schools. Rockefeller's Chicago University is familiar to us all. We have seen academic freedom denied in the Leland Stanford University at Palo Alto. Recently Mr. Rockefeller gave \$66,000 to the University of Nebraska, and Chancellor Andrews' acceptance of the same has made an important issue in the politics of that state. Not long ago Mr. Carnegie tried to give \$25,000 to the University of Mississippi, but the rebuff he received from Governor Vardaman strikes such an important note that it ought to be sounded from the house-tops all over the land. The governor says:

"We have in Mississippi the purest and best stock of men and women under God's heaven, and we do not want them warped from the broad spirit of fairness

and integrity and purity which has made us the proud people we are to-day, by being taught to bow down in a thankful humbleness to such men as Andrew Carnegie and Rockefeller, and become subservient to the spirit of greed and commercialism which has bred the trust and fostered the slavery of the American workman. I would rather see the walls of our state university and our colleges crumble into dust and the buildings be battered and grimy than that they should be built up and handsomely painted and furnished by this money which has been coined from the blood and tears of the toiling masses, 'demanding the usury of self-respect,' which we cannot afford to pay.

"We may not have in Mississippi the scientific equipment for imparting knowledge and all the modern accessories that make up the great institutions of learning, but we have the means of making strong and stalwart men and women, who scorn the slavery of wealth and stand unequaled in their proud independence of thought."\*

Simon Guggenheim recently gave to the State School of Mines at Golden \$75,000, and on October 2d, last, occurred the elaborate ceremonies of the laying of the corner-stone of the "Guggenheim Hall." The railroads made special rates and all the politicians, including our governor and congressmen, were there and thousands of people besides, and all assembled on the momentous occasion to render homage to Simon Guggenheim, the donor,—the great head of the Smelter-Trust. There, facing the tall but silent chimneys of its latest victim, with the cry of misery and destitution audibly rising from a thousand throats, congratulations were extended, and the great Simon, son of Mayer, and king of the Smelter-Trust, was volubly commended to the favor and affection of the impressed and impressive assemblage of citizens and students. At last the ceremonies were ended, the people dispersed and the sun sank into a black

\**The Commoner*, August 25, 1905.



cloud that enveloped the smokeless smelter in a somber silence, and the sorrows and lamentations of the "out-of-works" were soon drowned in the whistling winds.

Another day was gone, but a day that marked with a multitude of witnesses the adding of a new department to the American Smelting and Refining Company.

How long will Colorado look kindly upon "Guggenheim Hall"? How long before political platforms will contain a demand that the money be returned and the name chipped off? How long before our people will too keenly appreciate the high privilege of coöperatively founding and rearing a great educational institution, by themselves and for themselves and their children, to tolerate such an imposing contribution of "tainted money" with all that it implies? How long before our parents and students will realize the wanton injury to high ideals in compromising at the very start the estimates and judgments of the great "captains of industry"?

But if the time ever does come when slumbering Colorado, awakened from her dreams, shall hand back the money and efface the brand of the Smelter-Trust from the State School of Mines,—may that welcome awakening not come out of a black nightmare of race prejudice and religious hate. May it only come when Colorado's eyes are opened to the wrong done October 2d last, to high ideals and right economic thinking. May the crown of glory on the head of the Smelter-Trust then no longer so shine as to dazzle and confuse the moral judgment and the industrial perception of the citizen and student. And may it then be clearly seen that the growing smelter-octopus in operating its new department of the school of mines can give employment and fat fees only to the few, while in its ruthless career it must utterly destroy so many rivals and natural opportunities that for the many it will ever prove a menace and a snare.

In the procession of the throne-powers

the Smelter-Trust has now gone by and we are left a moment to our own reflections.

The vise-like grip of the seven sons of Guggenheim are upon the entire mining industry of the country. It is not so much now as later that the fierceness of this grip will be felt. Placer-miners and those fortunate enough to have free-milling gold-ores can alone escape it. Metallurgy, with its constant improvements in the cost of reducing and refining ores, is but a handmaid of the trust. All science is its servant, and all industry its victim and its prey.

If, however, our study of this trust has not been in vain, we shall not despair. We may not assert that under the existing economy the trust is an unnatural product, however unnatural we may think it as a product of a right economy. Born of an industrial ancestry such as now exists, the transmitted tendencies manifested by this corporate offspring can be a surprise only to the careless observer.

It presents no phase of the oft-invoked analogy of a big business merely growing bigger. True, a business must be big to attract the attention of the trust, but it must be big in many places and generally in the hands of many disassociated owners. The trust does not initiate or develop, but like a wild animal broken loose from its tether, it roams through the country in search of the profitable and promising enterprises initiated and developed by others. Suddenly it functions as a vast legalized sponge sucking up and absorbing, here and there and over large areas, the competing businesses of hundreds of separate owners. Its career of monopoly and oppression then begins and that career will never end until its monopoly is destroyed. We may well say that at its birth it should be registered, regulated and subjected to publicity. That is but to give it good manners, discipline and breeding. But if it is not to exploit the people, to crush labor into hopeless despair, to feed upon rebates, to play favorites with producers, to sap

the life-blood from industries, to levy taxes through watered stock, to appropriate and hold out of use mines, lands, sites and other natural opportunities, and to control and corrupt legislatures, courts and schools,—then more than its publicity or its manners must receive attention. Its power to oppress, extort and corrupt must be analyzed and understood. At last, when its particular brand of special privilege and monopoly is so

clearly exposed that even "he who runs may read," a long-suffering and indignant people will then rise in their sovereign might and seize for themselves the citadel of power theretofore so destructively used against them, by the imperious corporations and trusts.

(*To be continued.*)

J. WARNER MILLS.

Denver, Colo.

## DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS: A TWENTIETH-CENTURY NOVELIST OF DEMOCRACY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

**A**MONG the positive factors that are destined to wield more and more a determining influence in the great battle of Titans that is now being waged in America—the warfare of corporate wealth and monopoly dominated by the great gamblers of Wall street, the princes of privilege and the bosses and controlled machines, and the forces of democracy—are the young men who with superb courage and moral enthusiasm are stepping out on the firing lines of freedom, spurning the bribe of privileged wealth and ignoring the sinister threats of the economic and political masters of the nation. Many of these young men have been born in homes of comparative wealth and luxury. They have been educated in leading colleges and environed by the influences that are so rapidly ranging on the side of reaction. But they have inherited the divine gift of imagination, which enables them to feel as well as to think. The man of reason untouched by the light of imagination and born and reared among the comfortable classes may and often does wholly fail to see, feel and understand the condition of those who are victims of injustice and inequality of opportunities. But he to whom Genius has given the supreme

gift—the seeing eye, the hearing ear and the feeling heart—cannot pass through life to-day in the republic, and be true to his higher self, if he ignores the fundamentally unjust conditions that obtain in our midst. He must become a traitor to his own soul if he closes his eyes to the poison that is eating into the heart of national life. Try as he may, he cannot escape the degradation of his manhood if he ignores the treason being committed in the name of free government or steels his heart to the injustice, oppression and exploitation of the multitude, rendered possible by the brazen prostitution of our political misrepresentatives by the "lords of land and money," by the princes of privilege and the master-gamblers of Wall street.

No young man of imagination, we repeat, can remain silent in the presence of the commercial and political degradation that is eating into the moral fiber of church, state and press and is sapping the independence and freedom of the people, without stultifying his higher nature and becoming recreant to America; and it is a glorious fact that to-day the finest natures among the young men are realizing the supreme peril and are an-

swering the summons of civilization in the name of justice and human rights. Like Jefferson and Franklin, Hancock and Adams, in the dawning days of the great epoch of democracy; like Lafayette and Young France in the days of Rousseau and the Encyclopedists; like Mazzini and Young Italy at a later period; like Garrison, Whittier, Lowell, Phillips and other young men who led the battle against chattel slavery in our midst; like John Bright, Richard Cobden and their co-laborers in the England of the forties of the last century, these young democrats of thought, of feeling and of action, successors to the torch-bearers and way-showers of freedom in every battle since the dawn of the age of reason and of man, are overmastered by the moral enthusiasm and passion for justice that more than anything else speak of the divine origin and the eternal persistence and onward march of the human soul. As in the earlier day, so with us, these young leaders cannot be bribed or browbeaten into silence; for, as Hugo described their compatriots of the former time: "Freedom was the nurse that bent over their cradles; that ample breast suckled them all; they all have her milk in their bodies, her marrow in their bones, her granite in their will, her rebellion in their reason, her fire in their intelligence."

They possess the idealism of lovers of justice, the poet's finer feeling and the philosopher's keen intellectual penetration. They feel as men should feel while exercising their God-given reason. They realize what modern democracy has done for humanity. She has been the world's great emancipator. The eighteenth century beheld her august advent; the nineteenth century was flooded with the light of her despotism-dispelling torch. Gladstone declared that the keynote of the nineteenth century was "Unhand me!" That was democracy articulating her mandate through the voice of society. Her mission was to liberate man, that he might grow; that all that was finest and truest in his being might express itself;

that all the children of earth might be true to the best in them, be free and unafraid. Her mission was to liberate humanity from the triple despotism of injustice, ignorance and superstition and to teach man the law of solidarity.

These things are clear to the twentieth-century apostle of freedom—clearer, indeed, than to the masters who wrought in the gray dawn of the coming day. Our young men who have taken their places on the outposts of progress recognize the great law of solidarity and realize the duty that is imposed on manhood. They know that without justice and a full recognition of the fact that the happiness, prosperity and development of each is and must be the concern of all, the ends of the great revolution will fail of fulfilment. They know that the ideals of the new order—liberty, justice and fraternity—will if realized change the face of the world and that in proportion as they have been realized, the happiness, growth and prosperity of all the people have been furthered. They know that in proportion as democracy has been introduced into the life of the nation and has been maintained in its purity, the government of the people has been advanced. There never was a truer utterance than the observation of the profound Frenchman, De Tocqueville, that "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy." And they know that though popular government has achieved great things for the people, it has failed to secure the equality of opportunities and of rights or the blessings of liberty, justice and fraternity that would have followed the advent of democracy if she had come full-statured in our midst; that the fathers, though achieving so much, failed in one vital point—failed to safeguard freedom from the stealthy advance of privilege, which is fatal to democracy.

In the old time the vicious dogma of the divine right of rulers and the supposed sanctity of an hereditary aristocracy led to privileged classes that enslaved and exploited the masses through the long

centuries of civilization, until the day of democracy when these things were overthrown in America, in France, in Switzerland and some other lands. The new revolution gave political independence for all the people and safeguarded them from the old forms of privilege that had enslaved them. But while giving political independence or emancipation, the leaders of the republican movement failed to complement this with provisions for economic independence or emancipation, and through this failure at a vital point it became possible for a commercial feudalism to arise and for another despotism of privilege based on monopoly rights and special favors to come into existence and to rapidly grow in power, influence and prestige until it became a master-class, ruthless, sordid and despotic in spirit and quite as powerful in government and in the economic world as an hereditary aristocracy, while its actions became more dangerous because less direct or obvious. Like the Di Medici family, which absolutely ruled Florence for a long period of time without ever holding any office or interfering with the machinery of the republic, the new plutocracy based on privilege has become more and more the master in democratic lands. Thus the failure to secure the people against the enslaving influence of monopoly and privilege necessarily left them exposed to the despotism of plutocracy,—an evil that has developed with startling rapidity during the past generation and whose reactionary, imperialistic and oppressive influence is nowhere so marked as it is to-day in the great American republic.

Now seeing all these things and realizing that democracy demands the overthrow of the new despotism—that her slogan is "Back to the people!" who are the true source of government and arbiters of law, and that she furthermore imperatively demands that economic independence which shall secure equality of opportunities and of rights, these young men are following the example of Jefferson and of Lincoln in the two supreme crises

of our earlier history, and are throwing their influence for democracy based on freedom, justice and fraternity; democracy that shall utterly destroy the despotism of privilege; democracy that shall recognize in fact as well as in theory the people as the source and arbiters of government.

## II.

Among the young men who are foremost in this irrepressible conflict between freedom and despotism, between justice for all and the tyranny of privileged wealth, is David Graham Phillips, the brilliant author of *The Cost*, *The Plum-Tree*, *The Deluge*, *Golden Fleece*, *The Social Secretary*, and *The Reign of Gilt*.

Mr. Phillips was born in Madison, Indiana, in 1867. His father was a banker, an old-time Republican who had joined the party when it stood for human freedom and lofty moral idealism; when it fostered freedom in thought and speech and set moral values high above all sordid considerations. He entered the party when the spirit of Lincoln dominated, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, permeated it. In that early day no political body since the time of Jefferson so perfectly reflected the true democratic spirit which ever demands and welcomes free and full discussion of all great questions that arise in the nation. The Republican party at that time was the party of moral ideals, of ethical advance, of freedom of the press, freedom of thought and freedom of speech. Few men in those days would have dreamed that that great party would soon become the bond-slave of privileged interests and corporate greed, or that the voice of her noblest statesmen, those who had refused to wear the corporation collars, would be silenced when they demanded free discussions which might expose the graft or the unjust advantages being enjoyed by the masters of the machines who substitute for free discussion, intellectual activity and educational agitation, the Bourbon declaration of "Stand pat."

Now this old-time Republican father, who believed in free thought, free speech and just action, took his son into his ample library while David was still quite young. "Here are many books, my boy—books that you should read. Here are histories of the great events of civilization, and especially I commend to you the story of your own country—the struggles, privations and heroism that marked the founding and maintenance of the republic. No true American youth should be ignorant of any of these details. Read much, and then think for yourself."

Thus the wise father led the boy into the world of thought and stimulated his reason. The youth became an omnivorous reader.

His home influence was the best, being fundamentally democratic in character and atmosphere and permeated with moral virility and broad culture. His early schooling was equally fortunate, being gained in the public schools of Madison. Now the public-schools of Indiana, for more than a generation at least, have been justly famous for efficiency, thoroughness and a high standard of ethical conduct. We believe that to this more than to any other single influence is due the fact that Indiana has in recent years taken such a preëminent place in the world of letters and has not inaptly been termed the Massachusetts of the Middle West. In early times the general intelligence of the people and their schools left much to be desired, and the term Hoosier conveyed anything but the idea of intellectual brilliancy. In the seventies, however, the schools were greatly strengthened in many cities. New England teachers, thoroughly equipped to instruct and inspire the young, entered the work with an enthusiasm that became contagious. We remember very distinctly the marked degree in which the teachers in Evansville, Indiana, when we were attending the public-schools of that city, succeeded in imbuing a large proportion of the scholars with mental and moral enthusiasm.

Now it was in the public-schools, which

are at once the cradle and the bulwark of democracy, that David Graham Phillips received his early education. Thus in home and school, during the formative period, he had a thoroughly wholesome and truly democratic environment. In answer to our question as to his early schooling, Mr. Phillips recently said:

"Yes, I went to the public-schools in Madison, and I do not know of anything I am more thankful for. If I had my way, there should not be any other kind of schools, high or low. It is not fair to the child to handicap it in this country with a training at 'exclusive' schools and colleges."

From the public-schools he went to DePauw University, then known as Asbury College, and from this well-known western institution he went to Princeton, where he was graduated in 1887. Selecting journalism as a profession, he secured a position, first in Cincinnati. Later for several years he was on the staff of the New York *World* and New York *Sun*.

Now, journalism may easily be the making or unmaking of a young man. If he is well grounded in intellectual integrity; if he has learned to think broadly and fundamentally; if he has been taught to be honest with himself and to understand and prize at their true worth the moral verities, then there are few professions so rich in educational value or which better tend to broaden and enrich the alert and receptive mind than journalism. But for youths whose characters have never been properly strengthened and developed, for superficial thinkers and those who have not learned to appreciate moral values, journalism is one of the most perilous of professions, leading to cynicism and contempt for the high things of life and oftentimes deadening the finer and higher sensibilities, because the spirit of our materialistic commercialism has come to exert so tremendous an influence over the press that its blight not unfrequently extends to all departments of the paper. Moreover, the journalist sees life

as it is; his eyes are constantly being opened; he has many rude awakenings. Here, for example, he sees men who have stood high in the councils of state, men who have been regarded as ultra-respectable and the pillars of society; yet their lives, both public and private, underneath the highly-polished surface are loathsome and corrupt. So on every hand the young journalist constantly finds his idols shattered. Then, too, he sees crime in all its multitudinous phases, vice and degradation, and the falling away of that idealism that is the vital breath of true civilization, before the soul-withering influence of modern business life. He sees on every hand in society confusion in regard to things fundamentally or conventionally right and proper, and varying standards of justice and right applied to the different classes in the community.

With the foundation which the home environment and public-school education had given Mr. Phillips, and with a keen appreciation for the rugged Americanism or democracy that made our nation the moral leader of the world, journalism proved a great help instead of a handicap to the young writer. It was a supplementary education which broadened his mental vision and enriched his knowledge of the fundamental movements and the significant events of the ages.

Journalism alone, however, did not satisfy him. He soon began to write novels and essays. His style is always bright, epigrammatic and fascinating; on occasions it is bold and trenchant. He possesses the rare power of instantly arresting the attention and holding the interest of the reader. This is as true of his essays as of his novels. His latest work, *The Reign of Gilt*, is made up of a series of chapters dealing with plutocracy and democracy. In the hands of many writers these essays, however important in their facts, would be dry reading. Under Mr. Phillips' treatment each chapter is as absorbingly interesting as a well-written short story. Indeed, we believe that for the intelligent readers, even

among those who delight in stories, most of these chapters will prove more compelling in interest than nine out of ten of the short stories that are appearing in our leading literary magazines.

It is, however, through his long stories that our author is best known. Here he is doing his greatest work for the cause of democracy and here also he is, we believe, destined to do some work that will place him among the greatest of our novelists and give him a permanent place in the literature of the world. His early novels, *A Woman Ventures* and *The Great God Success*, were promising but immature. They showed the pen of a man of imagination with brain trained to alertness, and here also was the human quality and the ethical impulse; but though they promised much they lacked the finished touch of the master. All his later books, *Golden Fleece*, *The Cost*, *The Plum-Tree*, *The Social Secretary* and *The Deluge*, have, however, showed a steady advance in many respects; and what is still more significant of greater things in the future, each evinces in a marked degree some special excellence which illustrates the versatility of the author and his capacity to do great work.

Should you enter the studio of a young artist and see a canvas on which were displayed wonderful effectiveness in light and shade or striking results in foreshortening, such as marked the paintings of Correggio, while beside this canvas were others, some revealing a master's knowledge in color effect, genius in depicting human qualities and an imagination suggesting colossal concepts such as were found in Angelo's work, you would say at once: "If all these canvases are the unaided creative work of the young artist, he will some day do some distinctly great work; some day he will paint a canvas which will reflect the varied excellencies in such a degree that he will take rank among the master-artists of the world."

Now the work of David Graham Phillips impresses the critic in a similar manner. All his best writings reveal the

requisites of a great novelist. First, he possesses the imagination that enables him to project his consciousness so as to see, feel and understand precisely what his typical creations are cognizant of, in all the varied walks of life. This seeing eye, this hearing ear, this feeling heart, constitute the first and supreme requisite for the novelist of the first rank. In the second place, our author possesses idealism, a sense of moral proportion and the rationalistic intellect that enables him to see great problems in a fundamental way. Furthermore, he possesses the human quality; he knows how to touch the heart-chord, to give to fiction that interest that appeals compellingly to the popular imagination. His style is plain, direct, attractive. Often his sentences are as epigrammatic as were Hugo's. He throws out thoughts that stick like burrs in the mind. He is versatile—very versatile. In *Golden Fleece* we have the finest satire that has appeared on the craze of the newly-rich and the American snobs in general to marry into the broken-down aristocratic families of the Old World, while incidentally with a master-hand he hits off the peculiar characteristics, and especially the weaknesses, of the rich and fashionable in such leading cities as New York, Boston, Washington and Chicago.

In *The Social Secretary* he gives a vivid picture of the undemocratic trend of life in our national capital under the imperialistic administration of the present incumbent, with a striking picture of the morally enervating and anti-democratic general conditions that are transforming the republic into a class-ruled government. All this is presented with charming realism through the vehicle of a pleasing story.

In *The Cost* we find the human and love interest very strong. This story displays the development of powers essential to great novels and which have only been foreshadowed in his previous romances. It also gives some splendid examples of character drawing in which colossal typical figures are introduced. Dumont and Scarborough represent the incarnation of

the forces that are struggling for supremacy in the republic to-day. On the one hand is a powerful individuality overmastered by a sordid egoism, by a craze for gold and for the ease, comfort, gratification and power which it will give the individual, unattended by any recognition of moral responsibility or the dignity and duty of life. Here is the typical modern money magnate, crazed by the materialism of the market, insane with the gambler's frenzy. And in juxtaposition to this great typical character we have in Scarborough the type of the clean-souled, high-minded nature, touched, illuminated and glorified by the highest idealism—a man dominated by the spirit of freedom, democracy and human enlightenment, as were Jefferson and Lincoln; incorruptible and true, yet withal very human.

In *The Plum-Tree* a startling and compellingly realistic picture is presented of the overthrow of democracy and the enthronement of plutocracy or privileged wealth, and the degradation of the political life of the nation through the corrupt party-boss and the money-controlled machine. It is a powerful story of contemporaneous conditions, almost as compelling in its influence as the later novels of Zola, such as *Truth, Labor and Fecundity*.

*The Deluge* is a companion romance quite as strong as *The Plum-Tree*. It tears away the mask from our American Monte Carlo, the gambling hell of Wall street, and introduces the reader to the money-mad princes of privilege who pose as the pillars of society while playing with stacked cards and loaded dice and oppressing the masses of the nation and debauching the business and political life of America.

Now each of these works reveals some special excellence, some element of strength, power and popularity less marked in the others, and shows the power of the author to handle life in all its phases and in such varied manner as to make a distinctly great novel when the hour arrives in which the author will be able or wise enough to retire into some secluded

fastness of nature and there amid solitude and natural grandeur permit his imagination to create a rich background for a cast that shall be as full of great living, typical figures as *Les Misérables*, *Vanity Fair*, *David Copperfield*, or any other of the supreme works in the world of fiction.

Mr. Phillips possesses all the elements essential to the creation of great and immortal fiction. All that is necessary is time and patience in the composition of some great work.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## THE MENACE OF PLUTOCRACY.

### A CONVERSATION WITH DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

WE WERE seated at a window in the Manhattan Club. Below us the tide of metropolitan life was surging up and down Madison and Fifth avenues and Broadway. Here were the carriages and automobiles of the very rich mingling with the cabs, herds and street-cars in the most cosmopolitan center of the nation. That magnificent equipage in which were seated two richly-robed ladies, that passed down Madison avenue, contrasted strangely, and to the democratic eye unpleasantly, with the poor women and men—human derelicts—seated on the benches of the square beyond the avenue. These latter were fractions of the great army of the defeated among the struggling human beings, merely typical of tens of thousands who, hampered by heredity and unfortunate environments, have battled, oftentimes bravely and sometimes long, for a footing among the struggling army on the precipitous heights of present-day business life, for independent, self-respecting manhood and womanhood, only in the end to fall into the abyss. As our eye wandered from the wealth in the magnificent equipage to the flotsam and jetsam of human life in the square, we found ourselves asking whether or not this was the republic of Jefferson and Lincoln, the republic which had been founded on the idea of equality of opportunity and of rights, and

which, until privileged interests and monopoly rights had gained ascendancy in government, rendered success and happiness possible to all industrious, struggling and ambitious sons and daughters of the land, while furnishing the environment favorable to human development instead of inimical to the normal expansion of the best in man. These scenes without the window, so thoroughly typical, impressed us with the tremendous significance of the present battle against the multitudinous agencies which are transforming our republic into a class-dominated and practically a class-ruled nation, being waged by the friends of democracy who hold firmly to the ideals of Jefferson, Lincoln and the great men of their stamp; and with this thought in mind we turned to Mr. Phillips with the question:

“Is it not true that the march of privileged interests has been steady and uninterrupted for the last quarter of a century?”

“For a much longer time than that,” replied the novelist. “You see, before the Civil war the privileged class that exercised undemocratic influence in government and society was the slave-holding oligarchy of the South. A large number of the citizens of the Southern States were opposed to slavery long before the war, many of these holding the views of the great Southern statesman, Thomas Jef-



erson. Some opposed the 'institution' because of the ethical influence it exerted; but a still larger number, a body that was rapidly increasing as trade increased and cities grew, opposed slavery because of the autocratic and intolerant attitude of the privileged class toward all white men within their borders who labored for a living. The tradesmen were increasing all over the South, but on every hand they were treated as inferiors by the planters and the large slave-owners who looked down on manual labor, precisely as the privileged aristocracies of the old monarchical régimes regard trades-people and toilers.

"How widespread was this sentiment against slavery, largely because of the growing democratic protest against the arrogance of a privileged class, was strikingly illustrated in an election in the fifties, when Jefferson Davis ran for governor of Mississippi on a pro-slavery platform. His antagonist advocated the gradual abolition of slavery, and Jefferson Davis was defeated in Mississippi—the heart of the slave-power. When, ten or twelve years ago, I ran across this tremendously significant fact, I sat up straight and began to do some thinking. Here was a fact little noticed by historians, and yet it was one of the most significant happenings of the period. I at once began to study the situation, and I soon found that everywhere in the South the sentiment against the privileged class and in favor of a democracy, that cannot exist where privileged classes are separated from the people by wealth, power or social distinction, was rapidly growing prior to the spread of the radical abolition sentiment in the North. Of course when the passions and prejudices of the North and the South were aroused and the issue became one of sections, the South stood on the whole solidly in opposition to the North.

"But the Civil war, while it destroyed one privileged class, gave birth to a modern commercial feudalism of wealth more potential for evil and more general in its

enslaving power than chattel slavery, because it permeates all sections of the nation and has its ramifications in every opinion-forming center of society. When the war was raging, the harpies gathered at Washington and began laying the foundation for privileged fortunes, often by the most infamous conceivable methods—methods that entailed the loss of the lives of numbers of the true-hearted men who had hastened to the front to save the Union. Paper-soled shoes, substitution in clothing, substitution of the gravest character in medicine, and so on through the whole line of governmental war supplies. The soldiers were victimized, wronged and often killed through criminal substitutions.

"Then, too, when the nation was absorbed with the great question of saving the Union, we behold the crafty commercial corruptionists, the promoters of great corporations such as the railways, with eyes riveted on the vast stretches of rich public land and the nation's wealth, and, with graft and greed blinding them to sentiments of honor, justice and integrity, beginning their systematic and colossal schemes of plunder and the exploitation of the public for the enrichment of the few, for the building up of enormous fortunes at the expense of the government and the masses.

"When the war was over chattel slavery was destroyed. One form of privilege had been overthrown, but other forms had arisen, and the pioneers and promoters had gained a firm footing in the republic. Their advance has been steady, uninterrupted and accelerated."

"Is it not true," we asked, "that this onward march has been characterized by the introduction into government throughout all its ramifications of ideals that are reactionary, imperialistic and anti-democratic—innovations which are in alignment with monarchical government and entirely inimical to the fundamental principles upon which popular rule or democracy rests?"

"Undoubtedly," replied Mr. Phillips.

"This you see on every hand. It matters not which way you look. Nowhere is it more noticeable than in Washington official society where the mania for imitating monarchical customs and usages is even more striking than the reactionary overt acts in the government. There is at the present time in the national capital and among the plutocracy of New York and other centers of wealth a veritable craze for aping the aristocracy of England, and at the same time dust is being thrown in the eyes of the people by representing England as democratic. I have no patience with this talk about Great Britain being virtually a democracy. It is in essence and fact a monarchy, cursed with caste-distinction. Talk of England being a democracy merely under the guise of a constitutional monarchy, where one in every six of her citizens is a pauper; where the king and the royal family and the hereditary aristocracy are all sitting on the backs of the people; where the citizens are compelled to educate their children in schools under the supervision of the state church or are taxed for the maintenance of these schools, even though a large proportion of the people repudiate the religion thus forced upon the young; where the iron caste-distinctions of feudalism have come down even unto the present day, not merely intact but monstrously exaggerated; where snobbishness is not only part of the statute law, but deeply imbedded in the vastly more potent customary law, and is even incorporated in religious ceremonials, being read from the pulpits every Sunday and piously echoed by the congregations! Now this reactionary, caste-bound, pauper-burdened monarchical country is everywhere being held up as an ideal for us, and in Washington and among the parvenue plutocracy that yearns to become an aristocracy in the New World, England is being taken as a model.

"Why, it is not only at the White House and in political and social Washington that this new bondage born of reaction is in evidence: it is perhaps nowhere more

marked than in the domestic establishments of the plutocracy that aspires to become an aristocracy. In Europe, as I have on one occasion observed, the upper-class and its servants are born to their lofty stations, but here the upper-class is manufactured, largely out of watered stocks and bonds and stolen franchises, and its servants are imported.

"When rich Americans first began to go abroad the servility of English servants offended. But custom soon changed that. Servility is insidious. The Americans, longing to feel themselves the equal of the complacent and secure upper-class in England, and realizing that they could never hope to get deferential respect from their fellow countrymen—even from those willing to go into domestic service—began to import servants. 'The English servants are so much better, you know; understand their business and their place.' But the English servant's 'place' in the social hierarchy is dependent upon his master's place. Whoever seeks to lower the master in the social scale seeks to lower the servant. On the other hand, whatever raises the master socially raises the servant. Your Englishman who is a servant born and bred is even more incapable of understanding and warming up to Democracy than his king would be. He loathes Democracy—does it not lower him in the social scale by putting all men on the same level; does it not take away his dear gods of rank and birth and leave him godless and adrift? He wants none of it. It may be good enough for foreigners, but not for an Englishman.

"Thus we see, from the White House, where nothing short of a reactionary revolution has taken place, where we find a democratic president with the ceremonial of a king—'a ceremonial more rigid than that of the court of the Czar,' according to the wife of one of the ambassadors—down through the servants' world of the plutocracy, a new social order as insidious as it is progressive in character and as congenial to monarchical rule as it is fatal to democratic government. Privileged

wealth has become the dominating power in official America; that is to say, its servants are the masters of the people and privileged wealth has set its heart on an aristocratic instead of a democratic government."

"Has not this ascendancy of privileged interests," we ventured to observe, "or the dominance of the commercial despotism already resulted in overthrowing for the time being at least the ideals and concepts that made the republic of other days the moral democratic leader the world over, and has it not resulted in a condition which, if continued, will automatically and inevitably result in autocratic class-rule or a despotism of plutocracy more sordid, oppressive and destructive to equality of opportunities and of rights than the constitutional monarchies of Europe?"

"Certainly. Who can doubt the presence of a powerful, determined, autocratic plutocracy that is steadily growing more and more arrogant and arbitrary. Look at the courts; notice the steady encroachments of the judiciary—a judiciary made up chiefly of corporation attorneys; note that the extension of the injunction power is now being complemented by a new engine of despotism,—so-called 'constructive contempt'; look at the steady and rapid centralization of government, the assumptions of new and undreamed of powers by the president, the usurpation of legislative and judicial functions by the bureaux or departments; look at the present autocratic character of the once great educational forum and popular legislative department of government, the House of Representatives. It is to-day the creature of the Speaker and the Committee on Rules. And a glance at the personnel of the Senate will reveal to the most cursory optimist the real power behind the throne. The Senate is to-day the creature of plutocracy and perhaps the most powerful engine in the nation for defeating the true interests of the people on all vital measures that affect corporate wealth. Unpleasant as the fact

may be, it is nevertheless true that the real power in government to-day is privileged wealth acting systematically and often corruptly through the agencies of the party-boss, the controlled machine and its minions in official life."

"Do you believe," we asked, "that the wealth of privileged interests united with the controlled machines, under the political bosses, will be powerful enough to maintain this practical usurpation of power which is destroying democratic institutions?"

"Things will be worse before they are better," replied the novelist.

"What makes you think so?"

"Because the plutocracy to-day controls in a large degree the articulate class of the republic. The leaders are theirs. Not all, of course, but the great majority, and more will be bought over; some by money bribes; more by the lust for power and the still more effective social bribe. This last is the most subtle, insidious and, I think, powerful weapon in the hands of plutocracy. Here, for example, is a Congressman or a United States Senator who has come from a free and sound community. He is a man of idealism and would spurn the money-bribe, and, indeed, for himself he would unhesitatingly decline power or place if they involved the sacrifice of mental integrity or fidelity to the interests of his constituents. But his ambitious wife and daughters find themselves outside the charmed circle. They are eager to get into the social swim, but the gates are closed against them. He naturally enough desires to meet their wishes; often at first he is taken completely off guard, and before he realizes the fact he has slipped the rope and left the old moorings. Now the plutocracy or privileged class is every day winning over by some of its agencies more and more of the articulate class or those who influence the public mind. The lawyers are largely its hirelings, and they become judges, secretaries and senators.

"The colleges in most European lands are the hotbeds of freedom and democracy;

with us their voice is being quietly but effectively silenced by bribes and the hope of bribes. The patronage of plutocracy is corrupting and morally and mentally degrading. And what is true of the college and university is equally true of the church.

"Again, men that are useful are paid—well paid—by the triumphant, dollar-worshipping class, but they must be subservient. They sacrifice their manhood, they become the virtual lackeys of the privileged class, its mouthpieces and defenders. The old democracy is thus undermined, and what is more, the children of such men also swiftly become dependents in habits of thought; they are no longer free, thinking, liberty-loving democrats, and every man thus won over to the plutocracy strengthens its power and weakens the forces of democracy.

"Moreover, the plutocracy, which ever seeks to exalt its own, is not slow to drive when possible the incorruptible leaders into retirement. Its weapons are numerous and it uses them without hesitation.

"So I believe that for some years to come the buying up of the articulate class will continue. The war against democracy will be steadily and aggressively waged; despotic and undemocratic precedents will be everywhere established. But though the king is on the throne; though plutocracy is rampant in politics, in business, in society; though its ascendancy is undeniable in the republic to-day; and though I believe it is so firmly entrenched that it will increase in power and arrogance for a few years to come, there are forces at work that will ultimately bring about its inevitable overthrow."

"On what do you base your belief in the final triumph of democracy?" we asked.

"There are several reasons. Here are some of them:

"First, the mass of the people are not prosperous. Wealth is becoming more and more concentrated, and with that concentration the people are becoming

the helpless victims of monopolistic extortion and oppression. Their condition, in a country where there is as much education and general discussion as with us, is in the long run fatal to privilege. The people are slow to think and very slow to act. They are naturally conservative; they love peace; they are long-suffering; but the economic argument in the form of diminished opportunities and diminished incomes is very effective.

"Second, outside of our great centers of wealth only a few of the great multitude of intelligent people have come in a marked degree under the influence of reactionary and undemocratic ideals, and there are counter-currents at work that will ere long appeal strongly and compellingly to this host of people who at heart hate graft and the sordid ideals of the plutocracy.

"Third, our popular and free education is the veritable dynamo of democracy. Our free schools are not yet what they ought to be, but they are giving the children the training that renders it possible for the brain to quickly grasp a truth, and multitudinous agencies are at work which tend to stimulate reason. The true function of education in a democracy is to teach the young to think for themselves, to reason freely and independently on all questions, and despite the reactionary influences in the colleges, the common schools, where the millions are instructed, are opening the doors of the mind to the voice of reason.

"Fourth, immigration."

"Immigration," we ventured to remark, "is the 'black beast' of many of our friends who staunchly oppose plutocracy. Only a day or two ago a gentleman was deploring the coming of immigrants as being destructive to democracy. We assured him that we feared the masses, who were fleeing from despotic and caste-cursed lands to enjoy the freedom of democracy, far less than our cynical 'safe and sane' grafters who pose as pillars of society while robbing widows and orphans, exploiting the multitudes, acquiring unearned wealth, and systematically cor-

rupting the people's representatives."

"No," replied Mr. Phillips, "the immigrant who comes to us from the terrible oppression of militarism and of autocratic and aristocratic despotisms, the age-long victim of class-rule and oppression, quickly becomes a passionate lover of democracy."

"We are constantly being told," we replied, "by those who voice the opinions of privileged wealth, that the immigrant will become an element of peril to the government—a lawless element, ever ready for mob-rule and anarchy."

"Ah," replied the novelist, his candid face lighting up with a very winning smile, "nothing is more amusing than this talk of the 'unruly class,' especially when it comes, as it almost always does, from the respectable anarchists of wealth whose lawlessness and unjust acts constitute the greatest crimes as well as the most serious perils of the hour. Now let me repeat what I have often had occasion to observe. This phrase, 'unruly class,' is glibly used to designate some vague element in the masses that is naturally turbulent and ever looking about for an excuse to 'rise' and 'burn, slay, kill.'"

"You may search through history page by page, line by line, and you will find no trace of the doings of this alleged 'unruly class.' The more you read the more you will be struck by the universal and most tenacious love of quiet and order in the masses of mankind. You will see them robbed, oppressed, murdered wholesale upon mere caprice, the victims of all manner of misery. Your cheeks will burn and your blood run hot as you read. And you will note with wonder that they endured with seemingly limitless patience until they were eating grass by the wayside. Then, once in a while, but only once in a while, they 'rose.' All the machinery of law and order was in the hands of the oppressors, so they were compelled to resort to violence. But even then they established new machinery or patched up the old as quickly as possible.

"Every society that has been overturned

from within has been overturned by misrule; never by the unruly.

"No; the real 'unruly classes' are these 'respectabilities' with the 'pulls,' and these governmental officers who are 'pulled';—they violate the laws; they purchase or enact or enforce unjust legislation; they abuse the confidence and tolerant good nature of the people; they misuse the machinery of justice."

"You were in Europe last summer, Mr. Phillips. What facts most impressed you?"

"Perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon in Europe to-day is the steady growth of social-democratic ideals among the people. One hears very little of this in the press, even of Europe, and practically nothing of it in this country. But to the close observer of political, social and economic conditions nothing is more astounding than the rapid spread of Socialism throughout France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy, and to a less degree in other European countries."

"You have no special admiration for the English government. What was your feeling in regard to France?"

"France is under the compulsion of the democratic ideal. The marching orders of civilization, given in the slogan 'Liberty, Justice and Equality,' has become the master-ideal in France. True, after ages of despotism, ignorance and servitude—after centuries of slavery to the throne, the church and the aristocracy, it could not be expected that the nation could successfully ward off the continued assaults of the old monarchical party, the imperial adherents of the First Empire and the reactionary church. After Napoleon Bonaparte the old monarchical party climbed to power. Then came the *coup d'état* under Napoleon III., and thirdly the reactionary church stealthily advanced to control. Here the three great agencies of reactionary despotism—political, economic and intellectual slavery—successively found the people off guard and gained ascendancy. But so deep and firmly grounded are the ideals of the Revolution,

so firmly implanted is the democratic principle, that in every instance the moment the people found the opportunity to overthrow the reactionary and undemocratic power, they were prompt to act.

France is democratic at heart and is moving from political independence to economic independence."

DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

New York City.

## ECONOMY.

BY STUYVESANT FISH,

President Illinois Central Railroad, Vice-President National Park Bank of New York.

**I**N ORDER that we may clearly understand each other, permit me to define the word Economy. The Century Dictionary derives it from the Greek word "*oikonomia*," which meant "the management of a household or family, or of the state, the public revenue"; and in turn derives "*oikonomia*" from two other Greek words, "*oikos*," a house, and "*neomein*," to deal out, distribute, manage. Economy also means "the internal, and especially the pecuniary, management of any undertaking, corporation, State, or the like"; and "the system of rules and regulations by which anything is managed"; and it is only latterly that the word has acquired the meaning of "thrifty and frugal housekeeping; management without loss or waste, frugality in expenditure; prudence and disposition to save." Webster's Dictionary gives the following synonyms:

*Economy* avoids all waste and extravagance, and applies money to the best advantage; *frugality* cuts off all indulgences, and proceeds on a system of rigid and habitual saving; *parsimony* is frugality carried to an extreme, involving meanness of spirit, and a sordid mode of living. *Economy* is a virtue, and *parsimony* a vice. *Frugality* may lean to one or the other, according to the motives from which it springs.

The sense in which I shall use the word Economy is well defined in Edmund

Burke's "Letters to a Noble Lord," written in 1796, where he says:

"It may be new to his Grace, but I beg leave to tell him that mere parsimony is not economy. It is separable in theory from it; and in fact it may not be a part of economy, according to circumstances. Expense, and great expense, may be an essential part of true economy. If parsimony were to be considered as one of the kinds of that virtue, there is, however, another and an higher economy. Economy is a distributive virtue, and consists, not in saving, but in selection. Parsimony requires no providence, no sagacity, no power of combination, no comparison, no judgment. Mere instinct, and that not an instinct of the noblest kind, may produce the false economy in perfection. The other economy has larger views. It demands a discriminatory judgment and a firm, sagacious mind. It shuts one door to impudent importunity, only to open another, and a wider, to unpresuming merit."

Burke might have gone further and quoted from the Book of Proverbs: "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth."

I wish to call your attention to the lack of, and the necessity for economy in the household, in the state, and in corporate management. It is now, in this era of unbounded prosperity, which is so especially marked at the South and in the

West, and which, given good crops and peace, seems so sure to continue, that I wish to preach the Higher Economy.

### I. HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY.

As to the household, no one will question that our people are spendthrifts, earning money freely and wasting it to such an extent as to make it proverbial that what is thrown out of our kitchens would support a frugal people in almost any country of Europe. While we have in recent years become in no small measure manufacturers, we are still essentially an agricultural people, producing from the soil more than we consume and exporting the surplus; hence any sum, however small, which on the average is saved by each citizen, redounds to the benefit of all by increasing our accumulated capital. During the bad times which followed 1893, I had occasion more than once to draw attention to the fact that we were then getting rich rapidly, because our people had then recently learned frugality in the hard school of adversity, and were at that time saving. This daily saving by the people, however small it may be, amounts to an enormous sum annually. Whether our 85,000,000 of fellow countrymen save or waste, it is hardly imaginable that they can save or waste less than five cents per capita per day. This would amount to \$4,250,000 daily, and \$1,551,250,000 yearly. While it is impossible to state exactly how much is at any given time being wasted or saved, it is to my mind just as clear that as a people we are to-day wasting, as it was in 1894, 1895 and 1896 that we were then saving. This is the first fact which I desire to emphasize, leaving it to the future, and the reasonably near future, to point the moral.

### II. PUBLIC ECONOMY.

Turning now to our general, or public economy: No one can examine the appropriations made by Congress, by the

State Legislatures, and by our municipal governments, without appreciating that there is in each a conspicuous and growing lack of economy. There is not only waste and extravagance in administration, and what is now commonly called "graft," which is a combination of bribery and larceny, but, what is economically worse, the laws are so framed as not to get the best use out of the taxes paid by the people. What we have to fear is not so much the magnitude of the appropriations as that our laws require that an uneconomical and therefore bad use be made of them.

By way of illustration, permit me to cite some figures from the recent report of my very good friend, Postmaster-General Cortelyou, on the department which, so far as existing laws admit, he is administering most admirably.\* The Postmaster-General's report for 1905 shows a deficit of \$14,572,584, against a similar deficit in the preceding year of \$8,779,492. Government free matter carried in the mails constituted full one-eighth of the entire weight carried, and involved a loss of nearly twenty millions of dollars.

\*[We take it that Mr. Fish does not mean to say that the post-office department as administered to-day is free from censure on the score of wastefulness. Where does the responsibility rest for the arrangements with the railway companies through which the government annually pays an excess in mail charges over the rate charged express companies for similar service—an excess far greater than the deficit of the department? This excess charge, that has been for the most part winked at by the department during recent administrations, has for years constituted one of the gravest scandals of our national government. When it came to limiting newspapers and periodicals in employing the two chief means for introducing their publications and building up large circulations—the distribution of sample copies and the giving of premiums—the department made arbitrary rulings to cover legislation which Congress had in its wisdom refused to enact, while manifesting a singular indifference to the expenditure of over five million dollars for mail-car rentals, in addition to excessive charges for carrying the mails, and to the scandals which have come to light through investigations of the padding of the mails during the weighing period. The legislative departments of the national government have sins enough of their own to answer for and should not be made the scapegoat for sins of omission and commission which at most they are only partially responsible for.—Editor of THE ARENA.]

Had this been prepaid, the postage thereon would have far exceeded the deficiency. Regardless of any other consideration, this is bad economy, and for it the responsibility rests with the laws and not with their administration.

Rural free delivery cost \$20,819,944, and the loss in rendering this service is safely and conservatively estimated at more than fifteen million dollars. In like manner, in the carriage of second-class matter—newspapers, etc.,—at rates lower than other printed matter, which return to the Government from one-fifth to one-

\*[In this illustrative case introduced to show the wastefulness and extravagance of the national government, Mr. Fish has done, it seems to us, precisely what many public officials frequently do when discussing the appropriations,—that is, he has confused the justifiable and rightful expenditures with unjustifiable expenditures, and he has also omitted to mention one of the chief, if not, indeed, the chief cause of the deficit in the postal department. Few persons will, we think, take issue with our author in regard to the unjustifiable expenditure of nearly twenty million dollars a year for franking and government free mail, though we think it would be perfectly proper to set aside a reasonable sum for the government's use in the distribution of educational matter,—let us say two million dollars a year or ten per cent. of the present expenditure. That the franking privilege is one of the great scandals and abuses of the present time few thoughtful people will question. When, however, we come to the rural free delivery we have an expenditure entirely different in character and one which we believe the vast majority of the American people will agree is thoroughly justifiable. The rural free delivery, like the postal department itself, and like the public-school system, is a wise and beneficent provision in the interest of the public. It is the extension of the benefits and privileges of the department to that section of society that has heretofore been denied such advantages while it has enormously added to the nation's wealth by faithful productive service, and among the many benefits of the rural free delivery one of the most marked is that it is stimulating the development of the outlying idle land resources of the nation so as to further materially increase our wealth products. These two cases illustrate the difference between justifiable and unjustifiable expense.

But the most striking illustration of unjustifiable expense is the one to which we have referred and which our author omits to mention; yet it is so impressive in its character, and its existence, in addition to the great drain upon the government, constitutes such a grave scandal, that no mention of extravagance or shortcomings in our postal department should be made without reference to it. We refer to the extortionate prices paid to the railroads for the transportation of mail. Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D., author of *The City for the People* and *The Story of New Zealand*, is probably the most

eighth, only, of the cost of rendering the service, there was a further loss which can not be figured below twenty-seven million dollars. The free delivery of newspapers in the county of publication costs the Government more than one million. In these four items we find a loss exceeding sixty-three millions of dollars (\$63,000,000) per annum. Is it surprising that, under laws which not only permit but require such waste of the public revenues, there is a deficit, and that the deficit should be growing rapidly?\*

authoritative and careful author on railroad affairs in the United States to-day. After several years of exhaustive study of the railways of America and Europe, this writer in an extended discussion of the relation of the railways to the post-office department in his forthcoming work on *The Railroads, the Trusts and the People*, points out that:

"There has been no year in which the excess railway mail pay would not have covered the deficit and left many millions of surplus besides—surplus enough to have justified the large extension of the free delivery system, the gradual establishment of the postal telegraph, and the introduction of the parcels-post, such as the nations of Europe enjoy."

He shows that the government pays the railways a far greater sum than the express companies pay for similar service, and in addition to this the government pays over five million dollars a year rental for cars whose average life is over fourteen years and which cost to construct about four million dollars. On this point his observations are so startling and suggestive that we quote his exact words from advance proofs:

"In addition to the regular mail rates, the government pays an over-charge for postal cars averaging \$6,250 per year per car, although the cost of construction of cars is but \$2,500 to \$5,000 each.

"For the sixty-foot postal cars, with an average load of two tons of mail, heated and lighted . . . the roads receive \$6,250 special car rent in addition to the full rate for the weight of mail carried. This means \$5,368,000 a year for rental of cars worth about \$4,000,000.

"So we have, besides excessive charges in the ordinary mail rates, enormous extra payment for postal cars, covering the whole cost of the car, with a profit of three hundred to four hundred per cent. beyond.

"The total pay received by the railways from the government on account of the mails was \$44,499,732 for the year ending June 30, 1904.

"The express companies do not pay rental for the use of the express cars. Neither does the government pay for the use of postal apartments.



Nor is it avoidable that under such methods of carrying on business, there have come to the surface, even in the administration of the Federal Government, which we had been disposed to look upon as honest and thorough, a condition of inefficiency and dishonesty in various branches, which, to say the least, calls for a halt. I am not one of those who, here or elsewhere, would be disposed to criticise the Federal administration for this. On the contrary, Mr. Roosevelt's well-known character, and the vigor with which he has over and again taken up matters of this sort, is one of the most helpful, and by all means the most hopeful, consideration which we have for the future in this regard.

Let us also look into our fiscal system. We hold not only the largest stock of gold of any country in the world, and are, with the possible exception of South Africa, the largest producer thereof, but our supply per capita, though somewhat smaller than that of France, is larger than that of Germany, and very much larger than that of Great Britain. So also of silver. And when we come to consider the stock of money of all kinds—gold, silver and paper—we find that we have per capita about as much as France, half as much more as Germany and nearly twice as much as Great Britain. And yet we have within a month seen money lending in New York at one hundred per cent. per annum. It is obvious that we make a very poor use of abundant means.

Here again the trouble is not in the administration of the laws, but in their being of themselves economically bad; and I could cite many other instances.

To the curious on this subject I would recommend reading Herbert Spencer's

There is no reason why it should pay rental for postal cars. The whole of \$5,368,000 should be cut out. As the remaining thirty-nine million is paid on the basis of a rate at least two or three times greater than that received by the railways for the carriage of express, it is clear that the total railway mail pay should not exceed \$20,000,000, and probably should be less than \$14,000,000 a year."

Here we have what Professor Parsons concludes

chapter on "The Sins of Legislators," which will be found in the later editions of his "Social Statics" under the general heading, "The Man vs. the State."

The Spanish war has entailed on us Colonies and the duty of governing them and policing the sea with a great navy. With this there has arisen, and will remain, the constant danger of new foreign wars, which the experience of all other nations so situated warns us to expect. Moreover, any of the Latin-American Republics may, under the extreme and growing interpretations which have of late been put upon the already overstrained Monroe Doctrine, involve us in a calamity of this sort at any time; for as Mr. McKinley did not, despite his honest efforts, keep us out of the Spanish war, it is safe to say that no President will in the future be able to guard us from war. In the words of Mr. Cleveland: "We are confronted with a condition, not a theory." All of which emphasizes the need of strictly watching and thoroughly reforming our public economy in all its branches—Federal, State and Municipal.

### III. CORPORATE ECONOMY.

I need not repeat that the country is prospering and likely to so continue. While fully appreciating these facts, we can not shut our eyes to the trouble that has been going on in the center of our financial system. Much has been said in the press, not only at the West, but even in conservative Boston, which reminds us of the old fable of the quarrel which the various members of the human body had with the stomach, for after all, it is in Wall street that securities are "digested." With most of what has been

to be at the most moderate estimate \$20,000,000 a year paid in unjustifiable excess charges—charges in excess of what the railways would charge the express companies. If the government was not in any way beholden to the railways, the post-office department, even though bearing the almost twenty million dollar burden for government free mails, would show a profit of from five to eight million dollars a year rather than a deficit.—Editor of THE ARENA.]

said in violent denunciation of anything and everything in Wall street, you and I can have no sympathy, although on the other hand we must admit that much is wrong there. The situation may be illustrated by a rather unpleasant simile. Throughout all time men have had trouble with their digestive processes, until in our day much from which our fathers had ignorantly suffered as pain or inflammation in those parts, has been distinctly diagnosed as coming from the appendix vermiform, and modern surgery has in thousands of cases succeeded in safely removing that rudimentary and useless organ, to the great relief of the race. Having looked into the matter myself somewhat carefully of late, I beg to say to you in all seriousness that not only in

\*It seems to us that Mr. Fish's remedy is obviously inadequate for the wrongs which he frankly admits exist in Wall street. There can be no question as to the presence of the great evils or about the need for treatment as drastic as he suggests by the simile of the surgeon's knife. His specific suggestions, however, advanced to meet the evils, do not in our judgment approximate even a radical method, much less the extreme of surgery. That permitting a few men to practically operate the various great corporations, banks and insurance companies, behind an imposing screen of prominent and influential names, is wrong, none will deny; but is it not apparent, even to Mr. Fish, that a law compelling directors to direct would in the present stage of commercial and political conditions be very much like applying a soothing poultice to a virulent and eating sore? Is it not true that under present conditions when a few masterful spirits innocent of the old-time scruples of honesty and moral rectitude have forced themselves into places of vantage, bulwarked themselves behind almost unlimited financial resources, surrounded themselves with a retinue of the shrewdest and most intellectually acute lawyers of the land, and have gained control over the political leaders commonly called bosses, and over the partisan machines in city, state and nation, as well as to a great extent over the people's representatives, the reform he suggests, however practical and effective it might have been in an earlier day, would now be as ineffective as an attempt to bail the great lakes dry with buckets? No, we submit the question to all thoughtful and patriotic men, whether in Wall street or elsewhere, who are great enough to rise above prejudice and personal interests and view the large questions of our business and political life impartially: Have we not reached a pass when such reforms as our author suggests are at once impractical, because impossible of realization, and inadequate because they but partially meet the urgent demands of the situation? Does our author imagine that the master-spirits of Wall street and the great trusts would submit to the great insurance

the insurance companies, but in many other corporations, there is need of the advice, and probably of the knife of the trained surgeon. There is wrong in the management of many corporations, and it should be removed, cost what it may, for the benefit alike of the patient and of the community. Without pretending to any superior knowledge on the subject, but having given to it thought not only of late, but for years past with respect to corporations generally, I think that the root of the evil lies in too few men having undertaken to manage too many corporations; that in so doing they have perverted the powers granted under corporate charters, and in their hurry to do a vast business have in many cases done it ill.\*

While the evil applies to corporations

companies, for example, being managed in such a manner that the policy-holders' funds should be as carefully guarded as are the savings-banks deposits in Massachusetts? Does he suppose that any board of directors appointed, who should stand like a stone wall for such rightful and necessary protection, would long remain in service? Would not the master-spirits of the public-service corporations and the trusts—such men, for instance, as Messrs. Ryan, Rogers, Rockefeller, Belmont and Morgan—with their unlimited resources and means for making their power felt, drive from the board or into silence and submission men who sought to thwart their rapacity? Surely he cannot be ignorant of the means at their command or the disposition of these men in the presence of those who seek to thwart the realization of their cherished plans for further augmenting their already enormous fortunes and increasing their power. No, however much high-minded financiers of the old school might desire and strive to prevent any recurrence of the riot of corruption, speculation with other people's money and extravagance that has recently come to light in the insurance investigations, the most they could do would be to curb personal extravagance. The masters of Wall street will brook no committees or action that will keep the people's millions out of their reach. They have become drunken on other men's gold. They know their power and they will not relinquish their hold at the command of would-be faithful directors. What is true of the insurance companies is true of these master-spirits in regard to other great aggregations of wealth.

Furthermore, there is another factor involved in the issue at stake which must be taken into consideration. That boards of directors should actually direct, should meet frequently and conscientiously fulfill their duties, is not only important but imperatively demanded in the interests of the stockholders. This we all freely grant. But the element of personal interest, that is so frequently a controlling factor in great corporations, is frequently, to state it moderately, directly antagonistic to the general

generally throughout the whole country, my meaning can perhaps be best illustrated by taking the case of the three great life insurance companies of New York—the Mutual, the New York Life, and the Equitable. A year ago these three companies had, as shown in the "Directory of Directors," published by the Audit Company of New York, ninety-two (92) trus-

tees or directors who lived in New York. Of them one was a member of seventy-three (73) boards; another of fifty-eight (58); another of fifty-four (54); another of fifty-three (53); another of forty-nine (49); another of forty-seven (47); another of forty-three (43); and another of forty-one (41). And, to sum up, those ninety-two gentlemen held fourteen hun-

interest of the people and the state. This fact may be illustrated by a typical case. The late Mr. Yerkes acquired millions of dollars through the acquisition and operation of the street-railways of Chicago. The influence of this gentleman on the people's servants in the Illinois State Legislature and in the city government of Chicago was inimical to pure government or the integrity of free institutions, however profitable his success in getting measures passed might be to the stockholders. Mr. Yerkes used furthermore laughingly to assert when the public loudly complained at having to hang on the straps in lieu of seats, that the dividends were in the straps. Here again we see the comfort of the traveling public sacrificed to swell dividends on watered stock—dividends made possible only through the unpaid-for use of the people's public highways.

Now the point we make is that besides the interests of the stockholders, in which the directors are supposed to have a special concern, the rights and interests of the state and the individual must also be considered, and the remedy suggested by our author does not touch this larger demand. More than this, Mr. Fish does not seem to realize the increasingly imperial sway which the men who at the present time may be termed the Warwicks of Wall street are exercising in the control of the city, state and nation on the one hand, or the rising tide of angry discontent at their usurpation and sinister influence on the other—a nation-wide discontent due to the systematic betrayal of the interests of the people on the part of their servants at the behest of the Ryans, the Rogerses, the Rockefellers, the Harrimans, the Belmonts and the Morgans. The upheaval in the late election was merely symptomatic of a growing and deep-rooted indignation on the part of the more thoughtful of our people—a righteous rage which it is fatuous for those who have the real interests of the nation at heart to ignore. To the student of history and economic events this nation-wide and slow-growing discontent is as ominous as it is significant, because the present is a time of abundant crops and general prosperity. It shows that the public restlessness is the result of general education and a far-reaching recognition of widespread injustice and discrimination in favor of privileged wealth rather than the result of the pressure of hunger and the blind and oftentimes ill-considered rage it begets.

It is well that Mr. Fish recognizes grave wrongs that call for the surgeon's knife—wronges that must be cured "at any cost," and it is still more important that he has the manhood and courage to draw attention to the peril. May we not hope that, realizing the danger and loving the nation, he may rise to the heights demanded by the peril of the present? We believe that imperilled democracy to-day calls to her loyal sons as clearly and as imperiously as she

has called at any moment since the fathers refused to bow to the injustice and despotism of the Old World. The men of influence and wealth to-day have it in their power to render a service to the cause of free government as great and important as that rendered by Washington and Lincoln when they were confronted by the gravest evils that could beset a struggling people or a distracted nation. As these great men unhesitatingly rose to the high demands of democracy and won for themselves eternal glory in the saving of the Republic and the Union, so they who lead the people to-day will deserve equally well of the Republic, because he is blind indeed who does not recognize the fact that the nation is between two deadly perils. On the one hand we think every thoughtful student of present-day political and economic conditions will admit that we have the sinister advance, the growing power in business and political life, and the steadily increasing oppression of the masses by the feudalism of privileged wealth,—an agency that is becoming so confident of its control of government throughout all its ramifications that its insolence and arrogance are only matched by its steady and remorseless exploitation of the producing and consuming millions. On the other hand the people are becoming increasingly enraged at the systematic betrayal of their interests and their powerlessness to right wrongs, owing to the subserviency of political machines and their creatures in government to the rapacious masters of privileged wealth. Either the despotism of a commercial feudalism or a revolution of force must and will ensue unless men of high principle and purpose resolutely unite to preserve the principles of democracy by effective and peaceful measures. No man worthy of our flag and nation desires to see either the despotism of privileged wealth or the ruin of revolution. Yet there is but one way to avert one or both of these real dangers, and that is to get the government back into the hands of the people, to reëstablish democracy, and this can be done in a peaceful, orderly and civilized manner by the introduction of the initiative and referendum. They afford a sane, practical and simple method of restoring the government to the people, of quickly and effectively quieting the rising tide of popular indignation, and of securing freedom and justice for all without the shock of force and without wronging any man.

If Mr. Fish loves his nation as we believe he does and will study these grave dangers in their larger aspects, we believe that he will be convinced that along this pathway lie peace, justice and civic righteousness; and if he comes out for this simple demand of democracy he will find around him a host of the most thoughtful and conscientious men and women of the nation—those who in all crucial moments have been the backbone of national life and power.—Editor of THE ARENA.]

dred and thirty-nine (1,439) directorships in corporations which were sufficiently well known to be recorded in the directory above referred to.

I submit that the intention of the state in granting corporate charters was that the directors of each corporation should meet frequently, have full knowledge of its affairs, discuss them deliberately, and then exercise the best judgment of the whole body. That this can be and is done to-day is shown in a letter recently written by President Taylor, of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, from which it appears that its board meets at least once a week, and more frequently when necessary, and that they have not delegated their powers to any committee, but that the board transacts all the business themselves, sitting as a committee of the whole. To which I can add my personal experience in a large National Bank and in a Railroad Company, where the same sound and law-abiding practice is followed except that the bank directors meet twice a week and the railroad board held only eighteen meetings last year.

How, then, is the business of the other companies managed? Their charters provide substantially, and in general, literally, as follows:

“All the powers of the corporation shall be vested in a board of directors (or trustees), and shall be exercised by them and such officers and agents as they may appoint.”

It goes without saying that the officers are required to report their acts, and are held to a very strict accountability; so also as to the individual agents. But the practice has arisen and is very generally followed of assuming that the insertion in such charters of the word “agents” has given to the board created thereby the power to delegate to “Executive Committees” of their creation, all the powers which the law has vested in those boards and requires them to exercise, except on the rare occasions when such boards may be in session. To make matters worse, such boards meet at very rare intervals,

quarterly or annually, chiefly, if not solely, to ratify and confirm the acts of their committees. Herein lies the root of the evil, and it is my firm belief that if this shall be brought distinctly to the attention of the courts it will be corrected, except in cases where the original charter, or articles of association, explicitly provide for the creation of an executive committee having such power.

Do not understand me as saying that corporate boards lack power to appoint committees or to delegate to them power to act in particular instances, or even on particular classes of subjects, making full reports thereon; but I do say that with charters worded as above, I, for one, fail to see any power in the board to permanently abdicate the whole or any part of the discretionary powers vested by law in them to a committee of their creation.

#### CONCLUSION.

I have pointed out briefly and I trust, not unkindly, some of the evils which now affect for ill the economy of the household of the state, and of the corporations. In each, we, who—as breadwinners, as taxpayers and as stockholders—provide the wherewithal, suffer because we have set others to rule over us without holding them to that strict accountability for the discharge of their trust, which the common law and common sense alike demand. Indeed, things have come to such a pass that in certain quarters it is now considered indecorous and ill-bred for us, the many, to even discuss, much less to correct, the shortcomings of the elect few. Such was neither the theory nor the practice on which our forefathers ordered the economy of this Republic.

Without going the length of those who, from motives of personal vanity or of personal gain, are so freely preaching and writing vain doctrine, let me ask you who have so long stood for sound doctrine, to join with all our intelligent and conservative fellow countrymen in demanding sound, patient and discriminating Economy.

*New York City.* STUYVESANT FISH.

# THE MARCH OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION.\*

BY ELTWEED POMEROY, A.M.,  
President of the National Direct-Legislation League.

**W**ITHOUT any blowing of trumpets, without any noisy conventions, with scant press-notices, and against the silent but increasing opposition of politicians and corporations, the Direct-Legislation movement has made steady progress during 1905.

The organizations through which Direct-Legislation is effectuating itself are true to its democratic, decentralizing spirit. There is no highly centralized organization of its increasing adherents; no organization that one man or a small group of men can dominate; no organization whose dues come from the circumference to support the center; no organization which develops and fosters the partisan spirit, the love of an organization for itself and not for what it can do; no organization building up a hierarchy to grow into a despotism, a danger to free institutions.

In the fall of 1904 the people of Missouri defeated the almost unworkable Direct-Legislation amendment submitted to them by the most corrupt legislature that Missouri has ever known. It was an exceedingly poor form of Direct-Legislation, and it was probably well for the cause that it was defeated.

At the same election the people of Nevada adopted a very good Direct-Legislation amendment, modeled on the one in operation in Oregon. Nevada is the fourth state to embody a Direct-Legislation amendment in its constitution.

The winter of 1905 saw the defeat of the unsatisfactory Initiative constitutional amendment which had passed one Mas-

\*[At the request of Dr. Josiah Strong, Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy prepared a digest of the results of Direct-Legislation work in 1905, for the forthcoming number of *The Social Progress Handbook* for 1906. Through the courtesy of Mr. Pomeroy we are able to give the above facts as prepared for this work. Lack of space compels us to omit some passages that are not directly concerned with the progress of the movement.—Editor of THE ARENA.]

sachusetts legislature. It was said that the entire corporation lobby was arrayed against the second passage of this amendment, poor as it was.

In Maine, Wisconsin, Illinois, Colorado, California, and some other states, amendments were defeated in the legislatures, but with fewer votes against them than ever before.

In Delaware the Single-Taxers, finding that they could not attain their chief aim, very sensibly decided to work for Direct-Legislation, which would attract more people than the Single-Tax and hence be easier to gain, and also when gained would be the method by which the Single-Tax could be brought before the people for their acceptance or rejection. It was found that it would require six years to obtain a Direct-Legislation constitutional amendment; hence it was decided to work for something else. An act was gotten through the legislature and signed by the governor, submitting to the people the question of establishing the advisory Referendum and Initiative in Delaware. This measure will be voted on next November.

The great victory of 1905 for Direct-Legislation, however, was in Montana, where, against the silent opposition of the corporations but with the ardent support of the working people, a Direct-Legislation amendment passed both houses of the legislature and will go to a vote of the people next November. This is not as good as some of the other amendments, as it requires a majority of two-fifths of the counties of the state, as well as a two-fifths majority in the whole state, to pass a law, but this will usually be accomplished, and when it passes the people, as it almost surely will, Montana will be the fifth state to have embodied Direct-Legislation in its constitution.

The Texas legislature has passed a

curious law carrying Direct-Legislation in party management. By this law, whenever delegates are elected for any party convention, ten per cent. of the party voters of that district, by filing a petition, can secure a vote on any matter, and if the majority vote for it, the delegate is pledged to that course.

The greatest advance in Direct-Legislation has been in municipal affairs, and in this direction the Direct-Legislation League of California has been most successful. San Francisco, Los Angeles, Pasadena and Vallejo have Direct-Legislation embedded in their charters, and within the last two years Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego, Eureka and Fresno have been added to that honor list. The Recall has been incorporated in the charters of San Bernardino, San Diego and Pasadena, while Los Angeles had and used it most effectively in the summer of 1905 in recalling a councilman who deliberately misrepresented his constituents. The Recall was attacked in the courts, and was sustained, although later the way in which it was used in one instance was declared improper. There was also a minor unimportant decision against the Referendum in San Diego.

The people of San Francisco defeated a high-license Initiated proposition, but by such an unexpectedly small majority that it will probably soon be submitted again.

At the city election in Portland, Oregon, in June, 1905, seven charter amendments were voted on; five carried and two were lost. For months a telephone company tried to obtain a franchise from the common council of Portland and could not. At last it drew up a very fair franchise, circulated an Initiative petition for it, got it signed by a sufficient number of voters, and the people voted on it and carried it by 13,213 to 560. This shows that when a corporation proposes a fair franchise, the people almost unanimously grant it.

In Oregon a Referendum petition was

filed in May, 1905, against a million-dollar state expense-bill, and it will be voted on in June, 1906. The Equal Suffrage Association has filed a petition for a constitutional amendment giving woman's suffrage. The People's Power League has filed petitions for four constitutional amendments and an anti-pass law. The first amendment gives the people the Initiative and Referendum on all local, special and municipal laws, and on parts of legislative acts. The second gives cities and towns exclusive power to make and amend their charters, subject only to the constitution and criminal laws. The third removes restrictions in dealing with the state printing and binding. The fourth allows one legislature to propose constitutional amendments; it has required two in the past. These will all be voted on next June. In addition, many cities and towns have voted on municipal-ownership of water-works, electric-lighting and power-plants, etc., and municipal-ownership has usually won.

By the Rush constitutional amendment to the Colorado constitution, Denver was secured a charter which must contain Direct-Legislation, but the drawing of the form was left to a charter convention. The first one framed had very good Direct-Legislation provisions, but it was defeated, or rather counted out, by the corporations, and a second one was drawn with Direct-Legislation provisions that were purposely made almost unusable. The whole charter was adopted.

Probably the best work in popularizing Direct-Legislation has been done in Illinois by the Referendum League of that state. The Public Opinion Law has been used with telling effect, submitting three questions to the people of Chicago in the spring of 1904, and three to the people of the state in the fall of 1904. In that fall Mr. Harrison, the then mayor, taunted the League about another Referendum, and the Hearst papers secured a petition with a large number of signatures, which went to a vote in April, 1905. The de-

mands of this petition were worded in the negative and were overwhelmingly voted in the negative, and at the same time Judge Dunne was elected mayor. The dominant question voted on was in regard to the granting of street-railway franchises, and these votings have rapidly educated the people and have exercised so strong an influence that the council has not dared to pass franchises, and it is now probable that no franchise will be granted unless the Referendum clause is attached.

There was no legislative session in Ohio in 1905, but an active Direct-Legislation League was formed and has done much educational work and has pledged the Democratic party and many legislative candidates. It could not secure a pledge from the Republican party, and now it naturally looks to the incoming Democratic legislature to redeem its pledges. The League is active, has influential members, and will secure an enactment of some sort.

The Buffalo, New York, League has been very active. Its bills were defeated in the legislature of 1905, but it secured the passage of an advisory Referendum and Initiative ordinance in the common council, and after a hot legal fight it got one question onto the ballot last fall. This was the question of the municipal-ownership and operation of an electric-lighting plant, and it was carried by a large majority.

Toronto has had a hot fight. The Federation for Majority-Rule pledged the mayor and most of the council, before their election, to submit matters petitioned

for. This they reluctantly did on the question of exempting seven hundred dollars of house-value from taxation; but when it carried both the mayor and the council said they would not even attempt to carry it into effect.

Among other cities that have secured Direct-Legislation by charter amendment are such widely separated ones as Fort Worth (Texas), Memphis (Tennessee), and Grand Rapids (Michigan). The latter city has a peculiarly strong and good form. Norfolk (Virginia), Lancaster (Pennsylvania) and other places have endeavored to secure Direct-Legislation, but the result is uncertain as yet.

Outside of the United States and Canada, Direct-Legislation is making slow but steady progress. Switzerland is continually extending, enlarging and strengthening its use and scope. Australia and New Zealand are doing a little more with it. France is extending its municipal use. But its most spectacular use was in Norway, when the people by a Referendum vote almost unanimously decided to separate from Sweden, and later chose a king by the divine right of a popular vote. England uses it occasionally, and in the remodeling of Russia, now so turbulent, it looks as if the local Referendum of the Russian *mir* might be the only substantial foundation on which the new scheme of government might be laid.

No one can be conversant with the facts of the Direct-Legislation movement without becoming very optimistic as to the future of this great democratic growth.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

*East Orange, N. J.*

# THE HEART OF THE RACE PROBLEM.

BY ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE, A.M.

## Part II.

**I**N MONOGAMOUS countries where two races live side by side, one dominant, the other subject, the single legal standard, the single moral standard, yields in practice if not in theory to double standards in law and morals in respect to the sexual question. In the ensuing confusion of moral ideas, of moral obligations, the male instinct gains in freedom from restraints of law, of social conventions, and reverts in consequence and to that extent to a state of nature, of natural marriage. The legal and moral codes which regulate the relations of the males of one race with the females of the same race are not applicable in regulating the relations of those self-same males with the females of the other race. Marriage in such a country has regard to the males and females of the same race, not to those of different races. The crime of adultery or of fornication undergoes the same gross modification. For in such a land the one-wife idea, the one-wife institution, has reference to individuals of the same race only, not to individuals of opposite races. The "Thou shalt not" of the law, public opinion interprets to refer to the sexual conduct of the males and females of the same race in respect to one another, *i. e.*, a male member of the dominant race must limit his roving propensities wherever the females of his own race are concerned. (He need not under this same law, interpreted by this same public opinion, curb to the same extent those roving propensities where the females of the other race are concerned.) He may live in licit intercourse with a woman of his own race, and at the same time in illicit intercourse with a woman of the other race, *i. e.*, without incurring the pains and penalties made by the state, by society, against such an offence, in

case the second woman be of his own race. Neither the law nor public opinion puts an equal value on the chastity of the women of the two races. Female chastity in the superior race is rated above that in the inferior race. Hence the greater protection accorded to the woman of the first class over that accorded to the women of the second class. The first class has well-defined legal and moral rights which the men of that class are bound to respect, rights which may not be violated with impunity. Here we encounter one of the greatest dangers attendant upon race segregation, where the two races are not equal before the law, where public opinion makes and enforces one law for the upper race, and practically another law for the under race.

Under these circumstances a male member of the dominant race may seduce the wife of a member of the subject race, or a daughter, without incurring any punishment except at the hands of the man wronged by him. Such a wrongdoer would not be indicted or tried for adultery or seduction, nor could the wronged husband or father recover from him damages in a suit at law, nor yet could a bastardy suit be brought by the girl against him with any show of success for the support of his child, were issue to be born to her from such illicit union. (The men of the dominant race find themselves thus in a situation where the law, public opinion, provides for their exclusive possession the women of their own race, and permits them at the same time to share with the men of the subject race possession of the women of that race. The sexual instinct of the men of the first class approaches in these conditions to a state of nature in respect to the women of the second class. They are enabled, therefore, to select wives from the superior race, and mistresses from the inferior one. The natu-



ral law of sexual selection determines the mating in the one case as truly as in the other, *i. e.*, in the case of concubinage as in that of marriage. The men of the upper class fall in love with the women whom they have elected to become their wives, they fall in love also with the women whom they have elected to become their concubines. They go through all those erotic attentions to the women of each class, which are called courtship in the language of sexual love. Only in the case of the women of the first class this courtship is open, visible to the eye of the upper world of the dominant race, while in the case of the women of the second class it is secret, conducted in a corner of the lower world of the subject race.)

These men build homes in the upper world where are installed their wives, who beget them children in lawful wedlock; they build likewise homes in the lower world where are installed their concubines, who beget them children in unlawful wedlock. The wives move, have their being in the upper world and sustain to the husbands certain well-defined rights and relations, social and legal. The children of this union sustain to those fathers equally clear and definite rights and relations in the eye of the law, in the eye of society. The law, society, imposes on them, these husbands and fathers, certain well-defined duties and obligations in respect to these children, to these wives, which may not be evaded or violated with impunity. These men cannot therefore disown or desert their wives and children at will. Whereas, such is not the case, the situation, in respect to the unlawful wives hidden away in a corner of the under-world, or of that of the children begotten to those men by these unlawful wives, but quite the contrary. For them the law, society, does not intervene, does not establish any binding relations, any reciprocal rights and duties between those women and children and the men, any more than if the men and the women were living together in a state of nature and having

children born to them in such a state, where the will of the natural man is law, where his sexual passion measures exactly the extent and duration of his duties and obligations in respect to his offspring and the mother of them. When he grows weary of the mother he goes elsewhere, and forgets that he ever had children by her.

This is the case, the situation, in the under world of the under race. For down there, there is no law, no public opinion, to curb the gratification of the sexual instinct of the men of the upper world, such as exists and operates so effectively to curb those instincts in that upper world. In the upper world these men may have but one wife each, but in the lower one they may have as many concubines as they like, and a different set of children by each concubine. They may have these women and children in succession, or they may have them at the same time. For there is in that under world no law, no effective power to say to those men, to their lust of the flesh: "Thus far and no farther." In the upper world they are members of a civilized society, amenable to its codes of law and morals; in the lower one, they are merely male animals struggling with other male animals for possession of the females. On the dim stage of the under world this is the one part which they play. In this one sensual *rôle* they make their entrances and exits. They may have in the upper world achieved distinction along other lines of human endeavor, but in the lower one, they achieve the single distinction of being successful male animals in pursuit of the females.

So much for the males of the dominant race. Now for those of the subject race. How do they conduct themselves at this morally chaotic meeting-place of the two races? What effect does this sexual freedom, spawned under such conditions, produce on their life, on their action? Like the men of the upper race, they, too, live in a monogamous country. But unlike their male rivals, these men of the

under world are not free to seek their mates from the women of both races. The law restricts them, public opinion restricts them, the men of the dominant race restrict them in this regard to the women of their own race. Around the women of the dominant race, law, public opinion, the men of that race, have erected a high wall which the men of the other race are forbidden to climb. What do these men see in respect to themselves in view of this triply-built wall? They see that while they share the women of their own race with the men of the other race, that these same men enjoy exclusive possession of their own women, thanks to the high wall, built by law, by public opinion, and the strong arms of these very men. What do the men of the under world? Do they struggle against this sexual supremacy of the men of the upper-world, or do they succumb to circumstances, surrender unconditionally to the high wall? We shall presently see.

This racial inequality generates heat in masculine breasts in the under world. And with this heat there ensues that fermentation of thought and feeling which men call passion. Those submerged men begin to think sullenly on the subject, they try to grasp the equities of the situation. As thought spreads among them, feeling spreads among them also. About their own women they see no fence, about the women of the other race they see that high wall. They cannot think out to any satisfactory conclusion the justice of that arrangement, cannot understand why the women of the upper race should belong exclusively to the men of that race, and why these self-same men should share jointly with the men of the lower race the women of this race.

(The more they strike their heads against this one-sided arrangement, the less they like it, the more they rebel against it. And so they come to grope dimly for some means to oust their rivals from this joint-ownership of the women of the lower race. And when they fail, feeling kindles into anger, and anger into resentment.

Against this inequality of conditons a deepening sense of wrong burns hotly within them. Dark questionings assail their rude understandings. Have the men of the upper race their exclusive preserves, then ought not the men of the lower race to have their exclusive preserves also? Is it a crime, has law, public opinion, the men of the upper race made it a crime for men of the lower race to poach on those preserves? Then the law, public opinion, the men of the lower race ought to make it equally a crime for the men of the upper race to poach on the preserves of the other race. But law, public opinion, refuses to make the two acts equal in criminality, and the men of the lower race are powerless to do so without the help of equal laws and a just public sentiment. Baffled of their purpose to establish equality of conditions between them and their rivals, they thereupon watch the ways of these rivals. They see them descending into the lower world in pursuit of the women of that world by means that are crooked and by ways that are dark. A few of the men in that lower world, profiting by this villainous instruction, endeavor to ascend into the upper world by the same crooked means, by the same dark ways. For they affect to believe that what is sauce for one race's goose, is sauce for the other race's gander. Thus it is attempted craftily yet futilely, to strike a sort of primitive balance between the men of the two races in respect to the women of the two races.

Now no such balance can be struck by the unaided acts of the men of the lower race. Without the coöperation of the women of the upper race these men are helpless to scale the high wall, or to make the slightest breach in it. The law, public opinion, the men of the upper race, render such coöperation very difficult, well-nigh impossible, did there exist any disposition on the part of the women of the upper race to give aid and comfort for such a purpose to the men of the lower race. But as a matter of fact, and speak-

ing broadly, there exists no such disposition. The law of sexual selection does not operate under the circumstances to make the men of the lower race attractive to the women of the upper race. It is possible that in a state of nature, and under other circumstances, the case might be different. But under present conditions the sexual gravitation of the women of the upper world toward the men of the lower world may be set down as infinitesimally small, practically nothing. Everything in the state, in society, in deep-rooted racial prejudices, in the vastly inferior social and economic standing of the lower race, and the ineffaceable dishonor which attaches to such unions in the public mind, together with the actual peril to life which attends them, all combine to discourage, to destroy almost entirely any inclination in that direction on the part of the women of the upper race.

Now while this is true, speaking broadly, it is not altogether so. For in scattered individual cases, in spite of the difficulties and dangers, the law of sexual selection has been known to operate between those two worlds. A few women of the upper world, on the right side of the high wall, have been drawn to a few men in the lower world, on the wrong side of that wall. By the connivance, or cooperation of such women the men of their choice have climbed into the upper world, climbed into it over the high wall by means that were secret and ways that were dark. As one swallow does not, however, make summer, neither can these scattered instances, few and far between, be cited to establish any general affinity between the women of the upper race and the men of the lower race. On examination they will be seen to be exceptions, which only prove the rule of a want of sexual affinity between them under existing conditions at least. Practically a well-nigh impassable gulf, to change the figure, separates the men of the lower world from the women of the upper one. The men as a class can-

not bridge that gulf, and the women as a class have no desire to do so. This, then, is the actual situation: the men of the upper world enjoy exclusive possession of the women of that world, while the men of the lower world do not enjoy exclusive possession of the women of their world, but share this possession with the men of the upper world.)

The effect that is produced in consequence of this state of things on the morals of the men of the lower world, is distinctly and decidedly bad. Such conditions, such a situation, could not possibly produce a different effect so long as human nature is what it is. And the human nature of each race is essentially the same. (The morals of the men of the two worlds will be found at any given time to be almost exactly alike in almost every particular. For the morals of the men of the lower world are in truth a close imitation of those of the men of the upper world,—closest not where those morals are at their best, but where they are at their worst. This will be found to be the case every time. So that it happens that where the morals of the men of the upper world are bad, those of the men of the lower world will be not merely bad, but very bad. There follows naturally, inevitably, under these circumstances and in consequence of these conditions, widespread debauchery of the morals of the women of the lower race. And for this there is absolutely no help, no remedy, just so long as the law and public opinion maintain such a demoralizing state of things.)

If there exists no affinity between the men of the lower world and the women of the upper world, there does exist then a vital connection between the masculine morals of the two worlds. These morals are in constant interaction, one upon the other. When the moral barometer falls in the upper world, it falls directly in the lower one also. And as the storm of sensuality passes over both worlds simultaneously, its devastating effects will always fall heaviest on the lower one

where the women of that world form the center of its greatest activity. Whatever figure the moral barometer registers in the lower world, it will register a corresponding one in the upper, and this whether the barometer be rising or falling. If the moral movement be downward in the lower world, it will be downward in the upper, and if it be upward in the upper, it will be upward in the lower, and *vice versa*.

In view of the vital connection then between the morals of the two races the moral regeneration of either must of necessity include both. At one and the same time the work ought to start in each and proceed along parallel lines in both. The starting-point for each is the aboli-

tion of the double moral standard, and the substitution in law and in public opinion of a single one, applicable alike to the conduct of both. Otherwise every reformatory movement is from the beginning doomed to failure, to come to naught in the end. For the roots of the moral evil which exists under present conditions and by virtue of them cannot be extirpated without first changing those conditions.

The morals of the two races in default of such change of conditions must sink in consequence from bad to worse. They cannot possibly rise in spite of such conditions.

(*To be continued.*)

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE.

*Boston, Mass.*

## AT THE TOMB OF WALT. WHITMAN.

By ROSCOE BRUMBAUGH.

(See Illustration, "Tomb of Walt. Whitman.")

DEAR Old Walt.! And all I can see is the simple but majestic tomb, the afternoon sunshine touching it with prophetic splendor. On the little knoll the wind in the trees is playing the softest monotone—sad, sweet dirge for a departed comrade.

It seems the very birds must know the way to find his place of rest and come back with every returning spring to sing for him. The song-sparrow is trilling its "Bitter Sweet-ee-et" in a little clump of bushes by the lake; the cardinal flits back and forth along the hill, and keeps calling, calling. Even a wood pewee, whose song is extremely sweet and plaintive, must have its home near by. But above all other voices floats serenely the leisurely golden lay of the wood-thrush. What a calm that song brings to the waiting, questioning heart. No, the birds have not forgotten!

The slander and abuse that were heaped on him in life cannot reach him here. To me it seems that all the struggles, trials

and hardships of his life have only served to make the trees and grass grow a richer green. Only reverent footsteps fall here now; only the voices of them that wish him well are heard. Pity his enemies, if there are those now living. Hate, malice, envy, scorn,—all were hurled at him from the seats of the mighty; but now it can only sound like a story heard long years before of "Crucify Him, crucify Him!"

Dear Old Walt.! As I turn to go the tears blind me. Have I not seen you and understood? Have I not heard your voice? Even now the wood-thrush is singing and in its evening hymn you speak to me. Blow softly, wind. Tap lightly, rain. Lo! the gods will guard the sanctity of this peaceful spot. And though we would call "Hurry back" to you, your rest must not be disturbed. "Gone," moan the pines; "Here," calls the thrush.

So long, Old Walt., so long!

ROSCOE BRUMBAUGH.

*Wilksburg, Penna.*

## WHEN COCHRAN QUIT.

BY WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.

**T**HERE was very little chance in the bright autumn days to think of anything but football. You heard it at every turn of the street, ate it down with your breakfast, and the cry: "Rah! rah! rah!" like a sharp bark wakened you six nights out of seven. The usual overstatements of everything concerning football were listened to and approved. Ours was a small college, but in October, we believed, or pretended to, that it was good for any of the "big six." There was never such a captain as Cochran and never such an end as Ketchem!

The college, as was its custom, yelled itself into an hysterical emotionalism that would put to shame an old-time revival meeting. The football-squad was entertained by the faculty and the faculty-wives, and the young women of the college marked their dance-cards with a red star for every dance they had with a football man.

Jean Davenport, who was a freshman, looked on with wondering eyes.

"I would much rather dance with David Abbott than with any of the football-squad," she said emphatically. She was talking to a Senior Kappa girl, but everyone in the women's parlor turned to listen with ill-concealed disgust at anyone who would express such sentiments.

"Mamie Gilpatrick will *squelch* her fast enough," one girl said softly to her neighbor. "The very idea of a freshman talking like that! It is n't likely that she 'll ever get a chance to dance with a football-man."

"You have a great deal to learn!" It was the Senior Kappa again, and her tone and manner seemed to say, how small and countrified you are, to be sure. "Abbott is a nice steady grind, but you 'll be quite out of things if you take up with men like that!"

"Well," and Jean spoke gaily; it was very evident she had n't taken the manner of Miss Gilpatrick to heart at all; "I never have minded being left out with

good company. But I must finish this French exercise; you 'll not mind, Miss Gilpatrick? My French comes the next hour and I 'm not quite sure of some of the constructions," and she turned to the table and opened her dictionary.

The Senior Kappa sat biting her lips; she was plainly very much annoyed. To be dismissed by a freshman, and for a lesson, too. The Kappas have a reputation for not caring for lessons. "Plainly Jean Davenport was hardly a suitable person for the Kappa Sorority," she thought as she turned around, casting her keen eyes up and down the room looking out for more promising freshman material.

Jean was n't left out of things. At first, it was her beauty that attracted both the men and women of the college, for she was a feast for the eyes—a slim brown thing, with dusky hair and eyes of true Irish blue and a slender straight neck set well back on rounded shoulders. Once arrested, every one was held and charmed by the girl's personality. The breath of her mountain-home seemed always about her, and even in the crowded college-walks, she looked a free wild thing, with the joy of the hills in her walk and in the ring of her childish laugh.

Cochran met her first at a moonlight picnic up by the Falls. The Hall girls were entertaining the football-squad with a beefsteak supper. There was very little in the way of a feast, for all the men were under strict training-rules, but the tables looked very fine in the moonlight, with their double rows of candles and their great blue bowls of yellow chrysanthemums. The girls were in soft light dresses and the men wore their white sweaters marked with blue and gold, as a martial hero would wear his most-prized decorations. Chinese boys in white caps and aprons gave the finishing touch to the scene, as they moved slowly about preparing and serving the food.

Over all were the great old pines and cedars, and far away the gleam of snow on the mountain-tops. It was a gay supper, indeed, with much laughter and great enjoyment of the simple fare.

There were little informal speeches after the supper, when they were all gathered about a blazing fire of pine-knots and cones.

Cochran told how he was bound to win the championship of the West, and Ketchem told how he was bound to help. A senior girl spoke for the women of the College, and said that nothing would be left undone that the women could do to bring victory to the old college colors.

A junior told some good stories about football heroes, and a sophomore pledged the honor and purse of her class to the football-squad. Jean had been asked to speak for her class, but when her name was called the President, who was near her, said: "Our young friend asks me to say for her that she will tell you what she thinks on her violin—and what she wishes for you."

"Awful rum notion that," Cochran whispered to the girl beside him, and the crowd stirred uneasily, for a crowd of college students hates the unusual above all things.

"Who is she, anyway?" Ketchem asked his companion.

"A freshman from a mountain cañon," was the answer. "A very peach for looks!"

The President threw an extra log on the fire, and the flames leaping up brought into relief against the roughened bark of an old tree a childlike figure with half-closed eyes.

Cochran will never forget that music. It breathed of the hills and of the sea; it spoke to the very soul of the listeners, of a life rich in ideals and abundant in fruition.

At the close there was the quiet hush of appreciation, broken after a time by the President's voice, almost querulous in its insistence. "But where did you learn to play like that, child?"

"My father taught me," the girl ans-

wered simply. "He is a wonderful musician, sir. I wish you could hear him play."

"Why have n't I? Where has he played?"

"Never in public in this country," and there was a soft, sad tone in the girl's voice; "he is an invalid since twenty years or more. He was sent here from North Germany, and he found my mother in the cañon. She is an American, but she loves music, too."

"You must take me home with you," the President began, but he could not be heard for the cries of "More! More!"

For an hour Jean played gay martial airs, hunting songs, and finest of all, perhaps, a rich spring melody. At the close of that the President called out: "Come, fellows, we must be off, or the trainer will have every last man of us before the Athletic Committee."

There was a big 'bus for the Dean, and such of the girls as wished to ride, and poor Johnson, who had a sprained ankle, was tumbled in, of course, but the other men, the President's wife and many of the girls thought the six-mile tramp home, on the moon and starlit path, the pleasantest part of the evening.

The walkers started out in little groups, and Jean found Cochran beside her. His eyes were full of honest admiration, and his voice had a wealth of good comradeship as he spoke about her music, and asked to carry her violin, so that she liked him at once in spite of her prejudice against football men.

They talked at first of the moonlight and of the weather, as is the manner of young people. Then they talked of their college and its ideals and that brought them into the supreme intimacies of life, whither a man always drifts when he is alone with a girl who has touched him by her beauty or her charm.

"Tell me of your home," he said to the girl, as he took her hand and placed it within his arm, explaining: "I must take care of you, you know, for the sake of the violin."

Jean told of her cañon home, with its glorious summer-days and their riot of

flowers and ferns, its beautiful blue and yellow butterflies and bees glistening like rare jewels in the flower petals.

"That is how you came by your wonderful music," the man said softly. "That splendid spring melody you played was like a bird's song, only finer."

"I had thought of that," the girl answered. "It has always seemed to me the song of some glad free thing, whose feeling was its life. I am very proud that you felt that, too; I must have put some of it into my playing.

"I must remember to tell daddy that—he will be pleased. Last summer when he gave me that piece to play, he was much displeased with me at first. I remember how he tramped about, and mother came and sent me away because the excitement was bad for him.

"But the next morning, just at sunrise, I heard his voice at my window. He told me to put on my riding-clothes, and then for three days we rode out across the range. We stopped to hear the birds' songs and the call of the wild things to their mates or their young. Once we surprised a beautiful brown deer at its morning drink, and we rode past a sheltered nook where a tiny fawn was hiding. We saw the wild red grass blown in waves across the hillside, and at night we slept in the open, and looked at the stars. O the stars are so wonderful," and the girl stopped with a contented sigh.

"Please go on," the man begged.

"Well, I must n't try to tell you all I thought and saw, those marvelous days, but when we reached home, father brought my violin. 'Play that spring melody,' he commanded, and I knew then something of what he wanted, and I tried to put the spirit of the spring in it, and the feel of glad free life."

All along the line the crowd was singing college songs, and Cochran's deep voice took up the air, seconded by the girl's childish treble:

"My bonny is out on the ocean,  
My bonny is out on the sea,  
My bonny is out on the ocean,  
O bring back, my bonny to me."

"Tell me of yourself, now," the girl said when the last echo of the song died away. "Tell me of your college-life; it is all so new and strange!"

Cochran told her of his struggles to get on the team, and of how he won out in his freshman year. He told her of his ideals for himself and his men. "I like to think," he said, "that it is the modern representative of the old tournament. We struggle to show the perfection of our bodies, but there is more to it than that, for we try out souls, too—it is n't easy to fight fair within the rules, when you are in the heat of the play. It is most hard not to retaliate when the other fellow plays foul."

"I am glad you told me that," the girl said meditatively. "I shall always like football better after this. I had n't felt any real enthusiasm over it before. It seemed so ox-like, the way you charge, pounds against pounds, but this is better, more worthy of men; I shall always try to think of it so."

Cochran swallowed. "You must n't think we live up to our ideals always," he said. He hoped she had n't heard the speeches the night before the Wilson game. He remembered that Ketchem had said: "We'll get the best men off the field, trust us for that," and the College had cheered, cheered like a great mad thing, and he had helped carry Ketchem about and had never hinted by word or manner that he disapproved. Well, it stung him now. This girl and her music had lifted him, somehow.

He saw Jean often after that night. Sometimes it was only a word, as they passed in the Quad.; sometimes he walked in the flickering light and shadow of the old oak avenue with her; sometimes it was at a dance or party, but always it was with the same intimate friendliness that they had begun that night on the hillside.

It might be because he knew little of women that she charmed him so, for his had been a boy's life with boys, yet already he half-divined that no girl would ever hold and sway him as this girl did.

It was no far-away niche in which he placed his idol. His every-day business, its work and play, he felt himself reading through those clear Irish blue eyes.

When he rushed into the chemistry laboratory almost an hour late, kept to decide some football questions, and copied up the results of the day's experiment, carried conscientiously through by his partner, he felt like a sneak. All the football men do just so, had been enough excuse for him before, but now things looked different.

"Bah!" he said to himself, "it's very little chemistry I'll get at these licks, and the old Governor won't like it. But he takes life too seriously."

It was the habit of thought of three years, but he blushed now and went through the day very much sobered. He told Jean about it in the evening. "It's the style among many of the fellows," he explained, "but I do n't understand how I ever got in the way of it. My old man is such a brick!

"Why, Jean, he looks after every old tramp just as though he were a millionaire. Last year he was called to Chicago for a consultation, with a big fee attachment and all that, but he would n't go because he had a very serious case of pneumonia that he was pulling through—a working girl in a public hospital!"

Tears were in the girl's eyes. "And you are to work with him afterwards; that is what you are planning? What a blessed prospect!"

"Dad says I must do things much better than he does, since I have advantages for study that did n't exist in his days. But I am afraid," he added ruefully, "that I have n't taken much advantage of things. You'll hardly believe it, but I have n't been inside the new medical library!"

"You'll have more time after Thanksgiving," the girl suggested.

"No; we're to play Jameson December the second, and there will be almost two weeks right out of the heart of things, and then it'll be all I can do to plug up for the finals, and the first semester will be over and no real work done. Whew!

I had n't realized how black it looked. Yet the thing has been just so for three years; only once we played Wilson at Christmas, and then I flunked most of my finals."

Thanksgiving day found the men in splendid form, with great pads of muscles on their backs and loins. Cochran looked on while the rubbers got them into shape. The team had never shown such perfection of training, he thought, and he was quite sure, too, that it was not overdone, for in that last practice they had shown a pliancy of muscle and a certain irrepressible spring in their movements that shows the high-water mark of training. It had cost a load of money, though, and he wondered a bit if it paid.

The men were impatient to be away, and already the wild cheers and the swaying and straining of the ceiling and walls of their little dressing-room told them that the other team was on the field. The coach held them for a last word: "The honor of their college was at stake," he said. Cochran had heard it all so many times before, and now with his mind concentrated on the game he meant to play, he scarcely heard what was being said.

But even not listening, he heard, and felt himself stung through and through. The coach had said: "You're sure to win except for their quarter. He's the fastest thing in the West, and it's up to you to put him out, and mighty sudden, too."

Cochran raised his hand and the men turned toward him. "Fellows," he said, and his face was strained and white, showing how difficult a thing it was to speak up in that way, "we play fair ball."

"What do you mean?" asked the coach, fairly choking with his anger.

"I mean what I said." Cochran's voice was steady and clear. "We play fair ball, or I'm out."

"Hell you are! You would n't dare. The college would pull you to pieces," the coach sneered.

"What's struck Cochran?" the end asked of the fullback. "You'd think he'd turned Sunday-school supe." But a sharp



whistle sounded outside, and the men bounded out upon the field like a pack of bloodhounds, long leashed back. A terrible uproar greeted them, an uproar that expressed hope, confidence and pride. It warmed them up, filled them with patriotism for their College, which was giving them the first place in its life. How much it would mean if they could hold their own against this team of a larger school! Something of this seethed through the minds of the men as the preliminaries for beginning were arranged. What it might mean in men and money,—for rich men have gifts for those who get ahead. They must win!

The kick-off gave Cochran's team the ball, and painfully, with heavy pushing they forged ahead. The lines were nearly matched in strength,—that was evident before the game was on three minutes,—and for fifteen minutes one side pushed back what the other side gained. There was almost no fumbling on either side. Cochran's men responded to the signals like a great machine, but they were met and baffled by teamwork just as perfect.

Then the teams engaged in a punting duel, but this ended in a deadlock, and Cochran's men began to buck again, hammering and pounding away they gained twenty yards, but lost the ball on downs, and then they were pushed and pounded back over the ground they had so painfully won.

Cochran kept a cool head through it all. Sharp and steady, he gave signals, and all the craft he had mastered in a hundred games, and all the new ideas he had mastered from the season's coach he used now, but his science was met by science, as the weight of his men had been met by weight on the other side.

As he fought and planned, he kept the little quarter in sight. Mostly he was snug behind his heavy line, and it was evident that he was being guarded by the men of his team.

Twice they tried to play him, but Cochran had downed him before he was fairly started, though the long bound at the start, the almost lightning response when

the ball was thrown him, showed Cochran that the quarter was, as the coach had predicted, likely to be their finish.

The whole line felt it: the strain of watching that little fellow in the red sweater; and Cochran had double duty, for he must down the quarter at every turn, and he must see that none of his own men played him foul.

The whistle of the referee called the end of the first half, and neither side had gained an apparent advantage. Cochran's men, limp and dazed, now that they stood up in the sunshine and heard the roar of the multitude, ran to their dressing-room.

Then the rubbers got busy again. The men's mouths were sponged with water and lemon, and they all had a suck at the dirty sponges from the buckets of oatmeal-water. Belts were loosened and stomachs were well rubbed. The accidents of the field were carefully looked after. Two men had fingers dislocated; these were skilfully taped by the doctor. One man had a great piece of skin torn from his leg; this was replaced and carefully bandaged. Another man had a great torn place in his scalp and his neck and shoulders were caked with blood and dirt; he was cleaned up, and a stitch or two taken to close the gaping wound.

The coach was abusing them as the work went on. "They were poor things," he said; "curs and quitters. They had n't fought with half their strength."

Cochran listened to it all. He was resting flat on his back on the floor. The men had done their best; he knew that, and the coach knew it, too, but this was supposed to be the way to rouse the men to action for the second half. Cochran had sometimes taken a hand at the thing himself, but he had no stomach for it now.

"They're laying for you with their quarter," the coach went on. "You'll see. He'll be down the field twice before this half is over. You've got to put him out. Do n't you have the sand? Are you too weak-bellied to do the right thing? You'll let your college-colors be trampled in the dirt." He looked at

Cochran, and his eyes shifted, as they met the steady gaze of the enigmatic eyes, watching and studying him. He was n't sure he had downed the man, and he was sorry he did n't speak up again. He thought he could put him to shame before the men, and lessen the influence of the earlier scene. But Cochran lay still. He had made his protest and he meant to stick by it. There was no use of more talking.

In a tent, decorated with red flags and bunting, the visiting team were getting their instructions, too. When they had been on the field but a few minutes, Cochran knew what they had been. With the call of the first signal, the whole red line threw itself against him. The end threw himself across his legs, the tackle charged him like a mad bull, and someone struck him with great open palm, made desperately effective by a steel thumb-guard.

He went down under the blow, but it dazed him for only a minute. His own men had seen the blow, and were wild as tigers at the unfair play against their captain.

"Steady, boys; keep your heads!" It was Cochran's usual clear tone, though the blood was washing a dirty stream down on his shoulder-guards from a cut near his temple.

"You 'd better try that again," Ketchem was saying to the men opposite him, grinding his teeth with rage. "Two can play at that very game!" The men looked unconscious, down through the assemblage of blue stockings and shin-guards.

With the next signal-call, an unspoken signal passed among Cochran's men. He felt it, so keen had his insight become into what the other fellow would do, and he knew what it portended, and threw himself toward the little quarter with all the power of his mighty body, but another blow and a jab just under the chin from a knee laid him prone, but he saw the quarter bound forward, and then go down under two men. Then he saw, with sickening dismay, that the first man was throwing all the weight of his own and the other man's body toward the

point of his great hob-nailed shoe, and the toe rested on the quarter's neck and shoulder. Cochran was near enough to hear a crunching of bone as two other men threw themselves on the pile. The mass was slow in unraveling itself, and the quarter lay limp and unconscious at the bottom.

The doctors ran in from the side-lines; a stretcher was brought, and the college cheered as he was carried off the field.

The professor of German jammed the man ahead of him with an umbrella. "Gad, is n't it fine! That ends their show of beating us!"

A girl in red was softly crying. She was the little quarter's sister, but she sat quite still, for Jack would be disgraced if she even ventured to ask how bad was his hurt.

The college was venting its frenzy now in the wild song:

"What have we done,  
What have we done,  
We've broke the back of Sunny Jack,  
That's what we've done!"

The lines were quickly in place again. A football game no more than a battle waits at injury or death. Cochran said a word or two to the umpire, and then walked off the field.

The college stopped in dismay. "What is it? What has happened?" passed from mouth to mouth.

The umpire explained to those near and the word quickly spread: "Foul play, foul play—he won't stand for it," and the college frenzied with anger, called and yelled for it knew not what.

"Our men played foul," the word went on and on.

"Bah, what matters," and the college called wildly: "Cochran, Cochran, get into the game!"

But Cochran saw nothing of their frenzy and hate; he saw only the tearful, frightened face of a girl, which exulted even in its fear for her knight, suffering loss of power and place for fair play!

WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.

*Boulder, Colo.*

# "GREAT JAPAN."\*

## A BOOK-STUDY.

**T**HIS is a volume of great value to thoughtful men and women of western civilization. It is a large work, containing over five hundred closely-printed pages, but its perusal is richly worth the while, and happily for the reader and the subject-matter, the author possesses a pleasing style at once direct and lucid. He has mastered his subject and his heart is in the work.

Considered merely as an up-to-date history of Japanese civilization by one who has intimately studied the nation by extended personal intercourse with the Japanese, the work is entitled to rank among the best books of the character that have appeared. But in preparing this work Mr. Stead has had a very definite and practical purpose in mind that gives to it a special interest and value. Beyond all else *Great Japan* is "a study in national efficiency"—a treatise which aims to aid western nations, where governmental efficiency, largely because of the sordid egoism which marks the supremacy of modern materialistic commercialism, is greatly needed. His study is therefore directed to ascertain the source and wellsprings of efficiency, and in the course of his investigations he sets before the reader one of the most comprehensive and faithful pictures of Japanese life, ideals and in a word, her civilization, that has been written.

Of the twenty chapters that constitute the body of the volume those that will hold particular interest for the general reader in western lands are the ones entitled, "A Nation and Its Head," "Bushido, the Japanese Ethical Code," "True Religious Freedom," "The Simple Life," "Education: The Foundation of the Nation," "Building Up Industries in an Agricultural Country," "Preserving Agriculture," "Humane War," "The Position of Women," "The Moral Question," and "Socialism and the Condition of the People."

The volume opens with a thoughtful discussion of the nation and its head. The reverence with which the Japanese regard the Mikado is in part the inheritance of centuries of fealty to the ruling head of a people who for twenty-five hundred years have uninter-

edly pursued their national life, without ever having suffered defeat or enslavement. But more than this, we think, at the present time, their love and reverence are due to the fact that the present Mikado, in a degree more marked than that exhibited by any other ruler of modern times, has been the radical leader of his nation, the foremost promoter of progressive and enlightened policy as relating to government, education, religion, and the demands of industry, trade, commerce and civilization in general.

Most peoples have had to wrest constitutional rights from the ruling powers by force. The present Mikado freely granted his people a constitution long before there was any general or insistent clamor for one. "In no other country," says Mr. Stead, "has so great a change, affecting the very foundations of the State, been brought about without bloodshed, and for that very reason it is an example worth following."

On ascending the throne the Emperor took a solemn oath, since known as "The Five Articles of the Imperial Oath." In this covenant the Emperor solemnly swore:

"(1) That deliberative assemblies should be established, and all measures of government should be decided by public opinion.

"(2) That all classes, high or low, should unite in vigorously carrying out the plan of government.

"(3) Officials, civil and military, and all common people should, as far as possible, be allowed to fulfil their just desires, so that there might not be any discontent among them.

"(4) Uncivilized customs of former times should be broken through, and everything should be based upon the just and equitable principle of nature.

"(5) That knowledge should be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the empire might be promoted."

Nor is this all. The Mikado has striven to faithfully carry out the solemn pledge and at every step he has anticipated the wish of the majority of the people; not merely in government matters, but in education; in the moral and mental development of women; in the

\* *Great Japan. A Study in National Efficiency.* By Alfred Stead, with Foreword by the Earl of Rosebery. Cloth. Pp. 506. Price, \$2.50 net. New York and London: The John Lane Company.

promotion of moral education and industrial training throughout the entire empire; in searching other lands for knowledge and information that might aid Japan to take her place among the foremost nations of earth and that would contribute to the moral and material wealth of the realm. As far back as 1871 the Mikado, in a public address to the nobles of the realm, thus evinced his enlightened concern for the advancement and uplifting of his people:

"After careful study and observation, I am deeply impressed with the belief that the most powerful and enlightened nations of the world are those who have made diligent efforts to cultivate their minds, and sought to develop their country in the fullest and most perfect manner.

"Thus convinced, it becomes my responsible duty as a sovereign to lead our people wisely in a way to attain for them beneficial results, and their duty to assist diligently and unitedly in all efforts to attain these ends. How, otherwise, can Japan advance and sustain herself upon an independent footing among the nations of the world?

"If we would profit by the useful arts and sciences and conditions of society prevailing among more enlightened nations, we must either study those at home as best we can, or send abroad an expedition of practical observers to foreign lands, competent to acquire for us those things our people lack which are best calculated to benefit this nation.

"Travel in foreign countries, properly indulged in, will increase your store of useful knowledge, and although some of you may be advanced in age, unfitted for the vigorous study of new ways, all may bring back to our people much valuable information. Great national defects require immediate remedies.

"We lack superior institutions for high female culture. Our women should not be ignorant of those great principles on which the happiness of daily life frequently depends. How important the education of mothers, on whom future generations almost wholly rely for the early cultivation of those intellectual tastes which an enlightened system of training is designed to develop!

"Liberty is therefore granted wives and sisters to accompany their relatives on foreign tours, that they may acquaint themselves with better forms of female education, and on their

return introduce beneficial improvement in the training of our children.

"With diligent and united efforts, manifested by all classes and conditions of people throughout the empire, we may successfully attain the highest degrees of civilization within our reach, and shall experience no serious difficulty in maintaining power, independence, and respect among the nations."

Nowhere have the wisdom and true statesmanship of the Mikado been more strongly evidenced than in his insistence on a broad, comprehensive and universal system of education; and what is of special interest and value, the education of Japan is not partial or warped, as with us, where intellectual training is made the end and all of practical instruction; where moral training is treated perfunctorily and industrial training receives quite secondary attention. Japan gives quite as much emphasis to moral instruction as to mental training, and her system of industrial schooling is far more thorough and practical than with us.

Another peculiarity of Japanese education is its complete divorce from religious training. Japan gives, according to our author, the most perfect example of true religious freedom. She encourages and treats with deference and respect all creeds and faiths that seek to ennoble man, believing, apparently, with the old-time Mogul, Akbar, that,

"There is light in all,  
And light, with more or less of shade, in all  
Man-modes of worship."

But while granting this freedom and encouragement to all religions, she refuses to allow any special creed or dogma to be taught in her schools. On the other hand, she is more insistent on the inculcation of ethics or the great fundamental verities than any other civilized nation. For this purpose the ethical code of the Samurai has been modified, amplified and adapted to the ethical development of the nation. The key-note of this moral instruction is found in the Mikado's famous address on education, "which is read regularly in all the schools of Japan." The principal paragraph of this address is as follows:

"Do you, our subjects, be filial to your parents, kind to your brothers, harmonious in your relations as husbands and wives, and faithful to your friends; let your conduct be courteous and frugal, and love others as yourselves,

attend to your studies, and practise your respective callings; cultivate your intellectual faculties and train your moral feelings; foster the public weal and promote the interests of society, ever render strict obedience to the constitution and to the laws of your empire; display your public spirit and your courage on behalf of our country whenever required, and thereby give us your support in promoting and maintaining the honor and prosperity of our empire."

The essential principles of the Bushido code, according to our author, are as follows:

"Rectitude or justice," which is taught to be "the power of deciding upon a certain course of conduct in accordance with reason, without wavering; to die when it is right to die, to strike when to strike is right. Rectitude is the bone that gives firmness to stature."

Courage, which, however, it is always taught is useless unless employed in a righteous cause. With the Japanese great valor means moral courage. The essence of the teaching of this people in regard to courage is found in the following utterance of a Samurai prince:

"To rush into the thick of battle and be slain in it is easy enough, and the merest churl is equal to the task; but it is true courage to live when it is right to live, and to die when it is right to die."

"Following courage comes benevolence and the feeling of piety. Love, magnanimity, affection for others, sympathy and mercy were always recognized by the Samurai as supreme virtues, the highest of all the attributes of the human soul."

Bushido also emphasizes the importance of truth or veracity. The Japanese teachers never tire of quoting the following aphorism from an old poet: "To thyself be faithful; if in thy heart thou strayest not from truth, without prayer of thine, the gods will keep thee whole."

Stoicism, politeness and consideration for the feelings of others are also among the virtues that are regularly instilled into the young from the time when at six years of age they enter the primary school.

In addition to a comprehensive intellectual curriculum, which after the first four years includes the teaching of either the English, French or German language—usually English—the children are all instructed industrially.

The girls are taught, among other things, to sew. In agricultural regions the boys are carefully trained in the tilling of the soil, the planting of trees and in all things relating to obtaining the best results from mother earth. In the cities and manufacturing towns the youths are instructed technically. The Emperor and the Empress alike have been persevering in promoting the education of girls, both morally and mentally, and Mr. Stead shows quite conclusively, we think, that seldom has a people been more misrepresented by certain writers who, blinded by prejudice or thoroughly licentious themselves, have striven to represent Japanese women as loose of morals. On this point he cites the testimony of some of the ablest missionaries to confute the slanders of certain writers. The chapters on "The Position of Women" and "The Moral Question" are of absorbing interest and merit the careful reading of all intelligent persons who would know the truth on these great questions. In passing it is, perhaps, well to observe that no nation could have reached the degree of efficiency, civilization or enlightenment that Japan has reached, with a degraded or corrupted womanhood.

One of the most pleasing chapters in the volume deals with the simple life of the nation. Here our author shows that one of the great wellsprings of Japanese power lies in the simplicity and naturalness of the people. By living so close to nature they have become genuine and nobly idealistic. Their life is simple and true. They are uncursed by the artificiality or the sordid materialism of western civilization.

"In no country in the world," observes Mr. Stead, "at the present stage of civilization, does a whole people live so close to nature and spend so much time in communing with it. The Japanese people love nature, and they have a love and sense of beauty about all things impregnated by this understanding of it. This appreciation has been, perhaps, the greatest of national characteristics, and given to the nation that fine touch of artistic culture and refinement which is lacking in more materialistic peoples. It would be idle to argue that centuries of intelligent study and admiration of the beauties of nature could fail to affect the development of a people.

"In no nation," says one writer, "is there such a profound poetic sympathy with the

Spirit of Nature as in Japan; and nowhere have an entire people, for so many centuries, shown such practical respect for and joy in their marvelously beautiful and infinite applications of energy and feeling to labor and skill. Nowhere has labor, for itself and for its joyous and beneficent uplifting of feeling and intelligence to the laborer, been so appreciated and applied.'

"Two outward signs are given to the world of the profound effect of nature upon the Japanese in their love for children, those human beings nearest nature and divinity, and their love for flowers and growing things. Japan is a paradise for children, and all such are sure of a kindly treatment from all. Simple in their innocence, the children resemble to the Japanese mind rather products of nature, human blossoms, than material dwellers of earth. For flowers the Japanese have a passionate love, and Japan is a bowyer of flowers and foliage all the year long."

In concluding his discussion on the simple life our author observes:

"The Japanese people are the happiest people in the world, and they derive their happiness from their innate simplicity of nature, which they have obtained from their long association with, and loving study of, the beauty of the universe, of the sky, and of the world. Gradually the eyes of the people, accustomed to look at and to enjoy beautiful things, instinctively seek out the beautiful, and the best points in the new things which come into their lives, and thus attain tranquility, if not happiness."

Another chapter of special interest is entitled "Humane War." It should be read by every Christian the world over. There can be no question but what Japan has done an important work in the interests of humanity through the wonderful exhibition of kindness, wisdom, skill, system and efficiency displayed by the Japanese in the conduct of their war with Russia.

Perhaps the chapter that will be of greatest interest to our readers is entitled "Socialism and the Condition of the People." Mr. Stead holds that a modified form of Socialism, in all probability, will be ere long introduced by the national government. Indeed, he inclines to believe that Japan will be the first of the nations to practically enter upon a Socialistic

*régime*, and in arriving at this conclusion, which will naturally impress those who possess but a superficial knowledge of the nation as strange, he does not ignore the fact that the government has employed drastic measures against the labor unions when their strikes threatened to arrest the commercial development of the nation, and against Socialist editors and leaders when their language and recommendations have been regarded as intemperate, abusive and overstepping the rightful limits of free discussion, or when their demands have been regarded as tending to incite the people to hasty exhibitions of the lawless or mob-spirit. The repressive action Mr. Stead holds to be due to the fact that the government, while positive and bold in action along the lines desired by the majority of the people and prompt to inaugurate innovations when they promised to increase the prosperity, development and happiness of the nation, will not act on the initiative of a small minority, especially when the innovations have not been well considered and the lines of action clearly marked out. However, from the consistent course of the government in promptly meeting the wishes of the majority of the people, and often in going far in advance of them in radical innovations along democratic lines, and from the further fact that different forms of Socialism have been in successful practice in parts of Japan for centuries, and finally because the attitude of the government has been strongly favorable to communal and Socialistic experiments, as has been amply shown, he believes that the hour approaches when the government will decide upon a modified form of Socialism, and that at such a time Mr. Katayama, the foremost Socialist leader, will be called to the cabinet and entrusted with the working out of a scheme along general Socialistic lines; but Mr. Stead is confident that, owing to the deep-rooted love, veneration and reverence on the part of the nation for the Mikado, no form of Socialism will be entertained by the people that should seek to eliminate the head of the nation from the position he holds.

Mr. Stead holds, however, that "the idea of modern Socialism is not objected to; in fact, the idea recommends itself to many of the thinking Japanese. But just as everything else has been altered and adapted before obtaining full acceptance by the people, so Socialism in Japan is likely to develop along lines vastly different to those followed in other lands. Japanese Socialism will have less of the de-

structive, and more of the improving, idea as its base."

He insists that the government has no "decided objections to Socialistic ideas in themselves." "Japan presents the paradox of being at one and the same time the most communistic of nations and a modified absolute empire. It has solved the problem of preserving the rights of the people and of the sovereign. There are even at the present moment in existence several Socialistic communities within the empire. These are recognized and not interfered with. So interesting are these communities that a somewhat detailed account of the conditions there is of value to give guidance and instruction to those anxious for the age of practical Socialism."

In this connection Mr. Stead gives detailed descriptions of three Socialistic village communities, as published by the Home Office of the Government for the purpose of leading other communities to imitate the model villages. Very interesting are the descriptions of

some of the Socialistic communities that have flourished for centuries in this land of paradoxes.

To notice this work as we could wish, and as its interest and importance merit, would require far more space than is at our command. Enough, we trust, has been said, however, to lead many of our readers to secure the work for their own edification and for the enrichment of their libraries, as it is a standard work worthy of a place in the libraries of all thoughtful people. We close this notice with the final paragraph of Mr. Stead's volume:

"The Japanese feel, in the words of one of their writers, that 'we have been raised by Providence to do a work in the world, and that work we must do humbly and faithfully as opportunity comes to us. Our work, we take it, is this: to battle for the right and uphold the good, and to help to make the world fair and clean, so that none may ever have cause to regret that Japan has at last taken her rightful place among the nations of the world.'"

## LIFE AND ART.

### J. F. HANLY: INDIANA'S ANTI-GRAFT CHIEF MAGISTRATE.

#### I. The Governor's Exposé of Corrupt Practices by The Railways and a Prominent State Official.

**A**MONG the leading statesmen who during the past year waged aggressive war on civic immorality, the Governor of Indiana deserves more than passing notice; for though, like Mayor Weaver, he was somewhat slow in taking his stand for honesty and public morality, when the crucial moment arrived he did not flinch, in spite of the fact that the railways and other powerful corruptors of government, as well as the enormously influential gambling class, strove valiantly to retain in office the grafting, defaulting and gambling state auditor, David E. Sherrick.

The facts of this scandal, which came to light last autumn, were described at length by Governor Hanly in an address delivered at the soldiers' reunion on September nineteenth. In the course of his address the governor showed how railway passes could be used, and were used, for the double purpose of bribing legislators in the interests of the railways, and

also in the personal interests of corrupt state officials. Thus, according to the governor, the state auditor wrote the managers of the railway corporation before the assembling of the legislature, asking them over his own official signature to send all passes intended to be distributed to the legislators to him to be handed out, stating in substance that he expected to have some measures of personal interest before the legislature, and if they would send the transportation to him he would see that their interests and his were cared for at the same time. "For three weeks," said Governor Hanly, "the office of the auditor of the state was made a broker's office for the distribution of passes to such members of the General Assembly as would receive them."

Here we have an impressive illustration of how the railroads bribe the people's representatives to betray their constituents by the gift of passes. Whenever corruption crops up in government, be it in the municipality, the state or the nation, we almost invariably find, if we look far enough, the public-service

companies as prime factors in the debauching of the public servants. In the case in question the railroads threw their powerful influence to try and retain in office a known defaulter, gambler and grafter, and in his closing remarks Governor Hanly thus described the efforts made to save Sherrick:

"On the evening of September 13th I was informed by one who had been aiding him and in whom I have confidence, that he could not make payment on the 15th. I sent him a verbal demand for his immediate resignation. His resignation did not come, but some of his friends did come, and informed me that the money could be raised only upon condition that the defalcation be kept secret and that he be retained in office. I learned that some of the men who were to furnish the money were the representatives of large railroad interests. I could make no such bargain as that."

## II. How Governor Hanly Rose From Extreme Poverty to The Gubernatorial Chair in a Great Commonwealth.

Governor Hanly was born in a little log-cabin near St. Joseph, Champaign county, Illinois, in 1863. The family was very poor and the boy from early life had to toil early and late. His mother taught him the alphabet and how to spell out words, and when he was six years old his father purchased a history of the Civil war. This was one of the very few books in the little home, and it held for the child a great charm. He read and re-read it when he had to spell out most of the words, and so great was its attraction for him that erelong he knew the contents by heart. At intervals, when he could be spared, he attended school, and like Lincoln he utilized

every spare moment in acquiring knowledge. When sixteen years of age he started in search of work in order to aid the family and also to earn enough money to permit him to attend normal school. He walked most of the way to Warren county, Indiana, where he secured work sawing wood during the winter, and in the spring he found employment on the farms in the vicinity. Later he was able to attend the Eastern Illinois Normal School, at Danville, after which he taught school during winters and worked on the farm or dug tile-ditches in the summers.

During all this time, however, he was carrying on his studies as opportunity permitted. He was a natural orator and inclination led him to select the legal profession. He was admitted to the bar in 1889. A year later he was elected to the State Senate, where his ability as a debater and forceful speaker placed him among the strong men of that body. In 1894 he was elected to Congress. His ability as a popular speaker was such that in all recent campaigns his services have been in great demand. He came within a few votes of defeating Mr. Beveridge in the Republican caucuses for United States Senator, and in 1904 he was elected Governor of Indiana by 85,000 plurality—the largest vote ever given a gubernatorial candidate in that state.

Though not so aggressive or pronounced as has been Senator LaFollette, he has taken a stronger stand on the railroad question and for public morality than most Republican governors. If in the incoming period of national awakening Governor Hanly should develop the same strength and aggressiveness as were shown by Governor LaFollette, daring to brave the public-service corporations and the party machine, it is highly probable that he may become a great popular leader—a commanding figure of national importance.

## J. SIDNEY CRAIGER: AN IOWA CARTOONIST.

**F**AR LESS than in the days when Lincoln was a lad is this great Republic a land of opportunities for the ambitious but poor young man. The rapid concentration of wealth has resulted in a steady narrowing of opportunity. A great army of employés have taken the place of the once large army of independent initiators, and these employés are expected to obey

the dictates of the master-spirits, regardless of the ideal of justice, equity or integrity. Hence too frequently they become idealless opportunists, slaves of corporate cupidity and avarice. If they display special ability in diverting money to the tills of the privileged few, they are highly paid, but to obey the mandates of the princes of privilege is to





Photo. by Baker, Columbus, Ohio.

**HON. J. F. HANLY,**  
**GOVERNOR OF INDIANA.**



Photo. by Thorson, Des Moines, Iowa.

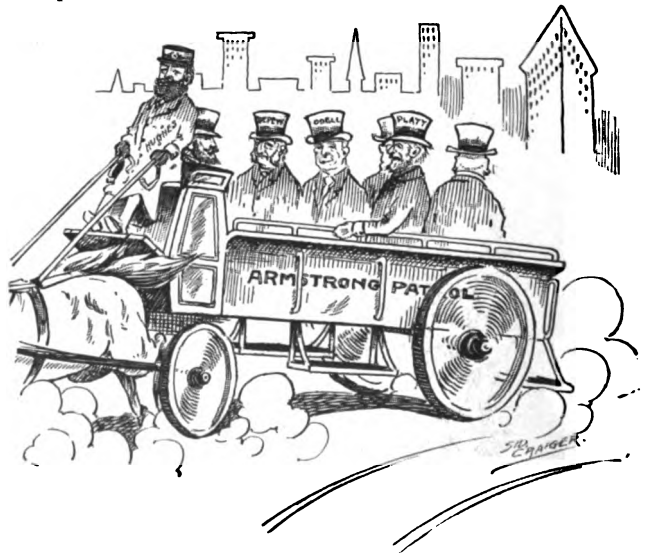
J. SIDNEY CRAIGER.

lence the higher and finer promptings of their own souls. This condition is most favorable to the production of men of intellectual shrewdness who are innocent of moral convictions and whose opportunism enables them to place all conscientious scruples in abeyance. The legitimate fruit of this condition has recently been seen in the insurance exposures, in the personages of the McCalls, the McCurdys, the Perkinses, the Ryans, the Hydes, the Alexanders; in the political world in the Quays, the Gormans, the Murphys, the Durhams and the Addickses; and in the financial and commercial world in the Morgans, the Belmonts, the Rockefellers, the Rogers and their ilk. But for the high-minded youths overmastered by lofty ideals, the present offers far fewer openings for employment than in the earlier days.

In the newer fields of work, however, there have been positions where the young have been able to gain a foothold and, in a degree

at least, to deal effective blows for civic righteousness, without the loss of positions which afforded them livelihood. Especially is this true of the profession of the cartoonist. It is only in recent years that the great daily papers have begun publishing daily cartoons, and since then a number of our most ambitious young men with pluck and ideas have forged to the front from obscure homes, and others are on the way. One of the youngest of these claimants for a place among the new pictorial historians of the daily press is Sidney Craiger, some of whose recent drawings are published for the first time in this issue of *THE ARENA*.

Mr. Craiger is an Iowa boy, born twenty years ago at Clinton. From his early youth he displayed a taste and aptitude for drawing. When twelve years of age his blackboard portraits of Longfellow, Holmes, Byron, etc., excited the admiration of his fellow-scholars in Norfolk, Iowa, where he at that time resided. In 1898 his father moved to Des Moines. There the son was in too delicate health to attend school, and with the earnest determination to do something which characterizes the typical Western boy, he began to systematically practice the drawing of cartoons. To use his own language recently given to the writer, "not wishing to be idle I turned my attention to copying newspaper cartoons. I copied scores and scores of Charles Lederer's cartoons from the *Chicago Chronicle*. My uncle sent me the papers, and I would draw every one of



THE "HAUL" OF FAME.

the cartoons and be out watching for the postman to bring another bundle. I was practically wrapped up in Lederer's cartoons. I used the backs of father's letters. Next year I began to think about being a cartoonist. I could not originate pictures, to say nothing of a cartoon. I wanted to take lessons, and my eye caught the advertisement of a correspondence school, and all the instruction I ever received was obtained by mail. I have tried to study and solve the rest myself. In 1902 I presented some of my work to Tyler McWharter, a well-known American cartoonist. He was drawing cartoons for the *Register and Leader* of this city (Des Moines) at that time. He is now on the *St. Paul Dispatch*. He told me I would be an artist some day, and from the day I met him I worked under him for about a year (until he left). I made a number of cartoons for this paper in Des Moines after he left, some of which were reproduced in other papers. The *Register and Leader* now gets all its cartoons from the other papers, a syndicate deal (you know what that means). I then had to shift for myself in this work. Not being discouraged, I took up commercial designing, making advertising designs and cover pages, and made good sales for my work. The



NO WONDER THE RUSS. AND JAP. KISSED AND MADE UP.

next year I illustrated college annuals, all the while making cartoons and pictures for our high school paper."

We have reproduced this frank statement in the exact language of Mr. Craiger, as it illustrates better than any description we could give, the pluck, determination and laudable ambition of the youth. It is this spirit that in large part is responsible for the greatness of America. The original cartoons which we publish in this issue taken in connection with the facts relating to Mr. Craiger's battle for a place among the cartoonists, promise much for the future, for they reveal elements necessary to complete success in his chosen profession. The cartoonist who wins a name and place must possess artistic aptitude and the mental alertness that enables the artist to quickly see a picture in the news of the day and express it in a striking manner. He should have a wide knowledge of literature and be thoroughly acquainted with familiar quotations as well as the common terms and phrases of the hour, as these may be employed to give special emphasis to his drawings or to make them instantly arrest and hold the reader's attention. And to these things should be added



"Life's a poor player  
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage  
And then is heard no more."

a love of the work, ambition to succeed and that resolute determination and persistence that will brook no defeat. Now all these things are, we think, indicated in the story of our young artist's efforts and in his work.

"The Haul of Fame," "The Poor Player" and "The Village Blacksmith," which are contributed by Mr. Craiger to this issue of *THE ARENA* are much better cartoons than many dealing with the insurance rascality as recently exposed by the New York Legislative Committee, and the President's expressed determination to secure effective railway-rate regulation. In the peace cartoon the artist employs the well-known face of the President in a manner very similar to some of Mr. De Mar's effective work. These drawings are but a few of some excellent outline cartoons submitted for *THE ARENA* by Mr. Craiger which we think promise much for the young cartoonist in the future.

Unless we greatly mistake his character, he will steadily grow in efficiency, and if he secures positions with journals where the higher patriotism or moral idealism is allowed to have full play, we believe he will do far more than clever work of the order that meets the wishes of the secret sustainers of the organs of special privilege.

The young man to-day who is an effective cartoonist, if he is true to the high demands



THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH.

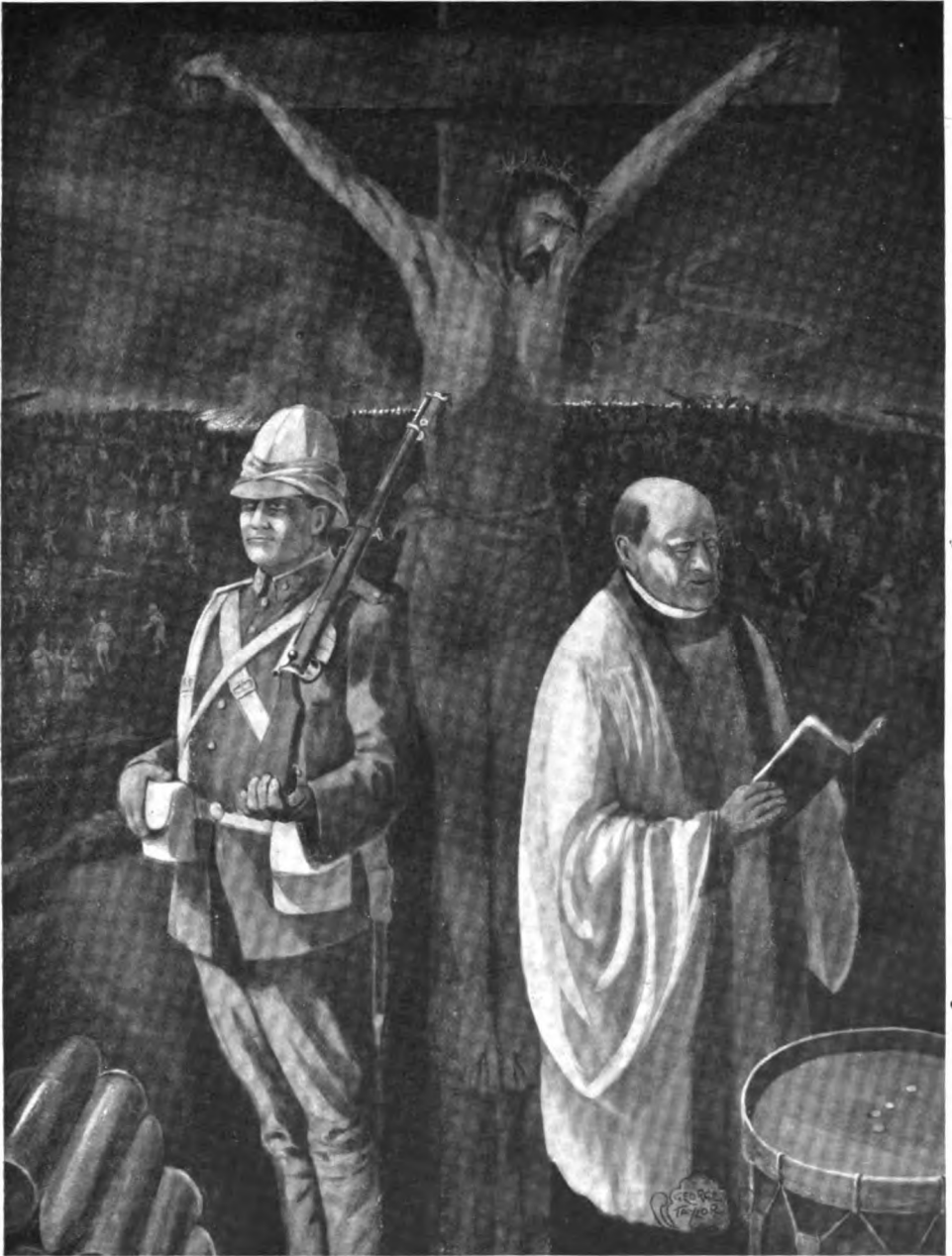
"Thus on its sounding anvil shaped  
Each burning deed and thought!"

of democracy, if he is loyal to the cause of the people and the mandates of justice, can and does exercise a tremendous power for freedom and human advancement. We trust that Mr. Craiger will do valiant service for the cause of the people in the present conflict between corrupt plutocracy and fundamental democracy.

### EDUCATIONAL ART PICTURES.

**M**R. C. M. TAYLOR of Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, has originated a series of educational art prints. Each picture will impress some great lesson or emphasize some crime of omission or commission on the part of our civilization. The first of this series of pictures we reproduce in this issue. It is entitled "Why Hast Thou Forsaken Me?" and vividly pictures the horrors of the battle-field, strongly suggesting the waste of human life, the untold misery and the want and woe that ever follow in the footsteps of

war. Among the early subjects in this series of art prints will be "But the Son of Man Had No Place to Rest His Head," "As It Was in the Beginning," and "The King is Dead, Long Live the King!" The price of the first six prints announced will be five shillings in Australia. Four pence or eight cents additional should be added for each picture on any orders sent from this country. Such prints cannot fail to prove real educators, stimulating thought and arousing the blunted moral sensibilities of our greed-grossed civilization.



"WHY HAST THOU FORSAKEN ME?"





**"JUNE," BY CHILDE HASSAM.**

**Awarded Carnegie Institute Medal of the Third Class (Bronze), with Money Prize of \$500, at the Tenth Annual Exhibition, 1906.**

### **CHILDE HASSAM AND HIS PRIZE PICTURE.**

**A**MONG the pictures by prominent American artists which were greatly admired at the recent annual exhibition at the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh, was Childe Hassam's painting entitled "June." This large canvas was awarded the third prize, five hundred dollars in gold and a bronze medal. Above we reproduce this painting through the courtesy of the Carnegie Institute.

Mr. Hassam was born in Boston and educated in the public schools of that city. He studied art, first in Boston and later in Paris, and for some time has been a resident of New York City. His paintings have won numerous medals and prizes in the representative art exhibitions both in the New World and the Old.



THE TOMB OF WALT. WHITMAN.

(See article "At the Tomb of Walt. Whitman" on page 278.)

## IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

### LIGHTS AND SHADOWS IN THE POLITICAL. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NEW WORLD.

#### **Our Most Dangerous Class: Its Method of Procedure and How It Threatens Free Institutions.**

**F**OR OVER a quarter of a century there has been a persistent attempt, which has steadily grown in its insistence and in aggressive character, to create in the minds of the unthinking and that large class of people who driven by business perplexities and arduous toil, are compelled to depend largely on the opinions of others, a deep-rooted distrust of the people. The prime movers in this remarkable campaign have been the princes of privilege and the great gamblers of Wall street who have delighted to pose as the "better element" or the "safe and sane" pillars of society, and the methods by which they have wielded their power over the opinion-forming agencies

and have paralyzed the once great moral forces that were long the fountain-head of national virility, have been as systematic as they have been multitudinous.

To the thoughtful man acquainted with the philosophy of history, who has made a study of the public, business and social life of the Republic during the past thirty years, the increasing insistence of this clamor against the "dangerous element," "the masses," "the ignorant class," and "the unruly members of society," on the part of the satraps of the commercial feudalism, suggests two facts very disquieting to friends of free institutions: first, the inevitable creation in the most insidious and subtle manner of a class-prejudice which is inimical to the spirit of democracy; and secondly, the persistent and systematic at-

tempt to center the public mind on a certain so-called "dangerous class" as a menace to society, government, business interests, property, law and order by another element indicates a wish to divert the attention of the masses from those who are posing as the representatives and the embodiment of law, order, national honor and business integrity, and a fear on the part of this element that a day may come when its own acts will call forth the righteous wrath of the people.

Some years ago a bank-thief in a populous American city, at the noon hour when the streets were thronged with people, boldly seized a large package of bills from the cashier's desk in a well-known bank. The cry of "Stop thief!" was instantly taken up by the real thief, who with the bills concealed under his coat rushed down the street crying "Stop thief! stop thief!" and finally disappeared in the throng.

Now the action and voicings of the great Wall-street financiers, the master-spirits of the trusts and corporate wealth, through their army of defenders, emissaries and apologists, have created an increasing conviction that they may have adopted the bank-thief's tactics, and their increasing alarmist cries against the peril of the masses may have been stimulated by the guilty knowledge of their own infidelity to sacred trusts and all sentiments of honor, integrity and probity, and their consciousness of their secret but morally criminal and lawless actions. Recent investigations have more than verified this suspicion on the part of the more conscientious and thoughtful of our people.

#### **Concrete Illustrations of Methods Employed to Discredit High-Minded and Incorruptible Statesmen.**

MANY of the methods employed by the possessors of privilege and the great financial gamblers to cast discredit upon and to drive into private life all incorruptible and able statesmen and others whose influence they dread, are now well known; but a few typical illustrations may be helpful in emphasizing one of the most ominous facts of recent years. No source of danger to predatory wealth has been left unassailed by its retinue of paid servants. The maxim attributed to Cardinal Richelieu—"First all means to conciliate, and failing in that, all means to crush and ruin"—has been the unvarying rule of privileged interests. In politics and political econ-

omy, every leader known to be not only absolutely incorruptible but aggressively honest, conscientious and sincere, every great thinker recognized to be under the compulsion of lofty moral idealism, and especially every fundamental thinker who has been loyal to the basic demands of democracy, has been mercilessly assailed as an anarchist, a demagogue and a dangerous character.

Take, for example, the treatment accorded Mr. Henry George in the eighties of the last century. No unprejudiced thinker can read *Progress and Poverty, Social Problems* and other distinctly great works of this social economist without recognizing the transparent sincerity and noble moral idealism of the author, or the further fact that he was a fundamental thinker, a philosopher of keen penetration, of relentless logic, and possessed of a simple yet luminous literary style. The individual may not agree with all Mr. George's conclusions; he may oppose his theory; but if he is broad-minded enough to rise above selfish considerations and prejudices, so as to treat the writer with the degree of fairness that he demands for his own thought, and *if he has read the works*, so as to be competent to judge, he will frankly admit that Mr. George was sincere, consistent and intelligent; that he was, moreover, the reverse of an anarchist, a demagogue or a person who sought to set class against class. Yet during the eighties no man in America came in for more ignorant and indiscriminate abuse or was the victim of more systematic misrepresentation than he. The most studied attempts were made to discredit and destroy his influence by the possessors of privilege and their army of hirelings. And why? Simply because since the days of Thomas Jefferson no man in the New World had sounded the message of fundamental democracy so clearly as did he; no man had shown so unmistakably how economic injustice had destroyed that equality of opportunities and of rights that had been the crowning purpose of democracy; no man had demonstrated more convincingly that free institutions, the happiness, prosperity and uplift of all the people, demanded that political freedom and justice be complemented by economic freedom and justice; that so long as the land, the great and (with air and water) vital gift of the Common Father to His common children, was monopolized by the few, and so long as special privileges were given to the few in other ways, which placed the



multitude in their power, there could be no such thing as economic independence. In his great works Mr. George carried forward the teachings of Thomas Jefferson and the fathers of political democracy into the domain of economics, along the line insisted on by Mr. Jefferson himself, who, it will be remembered, was no less than Mr. George the foe of special privilege; and even on the land question, with prophet's vision the sage of Monticello had caught a glimpse of the great economic verity that Mr. George so luminously amplified, for in writing to James Madison in 1789 he declared that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living; the dead have neither powers nor rights over it." And to the father of James Madison in 1785 he wrote as follows:

"Whenever there are in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for men to labor and live on. If, for the encouragement of industry, we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be provided for those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed."

The treatment accorded Mr. George has been meted out to all social philosophers who



Sullivan, in *New York American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

HOW HENDRICKS INVESTIGATED.

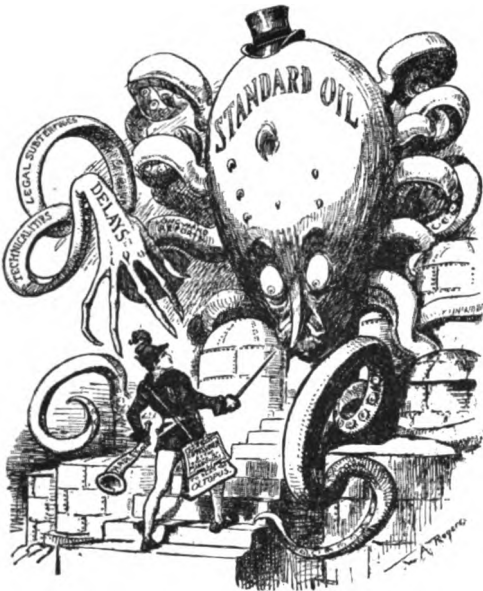
have demanded fundamental reforms that have menaced privilege and the new feudalism of wealth that is the fruit of privilege, in precise proportion as the thinkers' work has been basic in character and its influence has threatened to check the rapid growth of plutocracy in the business and political world.

When Mr. Bryan was nominated for the presidency, it was not his views on the silver question that alarmed and called forth the united opposition of corporate wealth, leading the great trusts and Wall-street gamblers to contribute millions of dollars to overcome the overwhelming popular sentiment in favor of him. No, the silver issue was seized upon as the most effective thing to secure the concerted aid of the banking interests throughout the land and as an alarmist cry that could be used as a cudgel to frighten the business interests. The truth of this is shown, among other evidences, in the fact that equally vicious attacks have been made on other political leaders who were never believers in free silver, when the privileged interests felt that the leader was incorruptible, aggressively honest and democratic in character. The fact that Mr. McKinley had a few years earlier been almost if not equally as outspoken in favor of silver as Mr. Bryan did not in the least prejudice him in the eyes of the great trust magnates



Opper, in *New York American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

AT OUR NATIONAL AUTO SHOW.  
One of the Prominent Exhibits.



Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

GIVING HIM THE GLAD "LONG HAND."

and Wall-street gamblers. But the possessors of privilege and "the great and good men" of the McCall and Depew brand dreaded, as all the mighty predatory bands of Wall street today dread, any man who will take his oath of office seriously and who will wage unceasing warfare against undemocratic, unjust and immoral conditions that flourish and feed the rapidly growing power of corporate wealth, political bossism and reaction; and it was primarily because Mr. Bryan could be counted on to fight the un-American, corrupt and subversive influences that the master-spirits of the feudalism of wealth poured out their millions to defeat him. That this fact and not the circumstance that Mr. Bryan favored free silver was the chief motive power that actuated the relentless opposition of privileged interests, was illustrated in the savage and persistent attacks that were made by the same elements against Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Johnson, so long as he ignored politics and devoted himself to making money, was one of the most "safe and sane" of men in the eyes of the possessors of privilege. Why? Because he, too, was acquiring millions through special privileges. The public franchises for street-railways and the protective laws on iron and steel were enabling him to acquire a co-

lossal fortune. But the day came when Mr. Johnson, seemingly by chance, read Henry George's *Social Problems and Progress and Poverty*. The moral idealism of the author exerted a compelling influence over the mind of the prosperous business man. To him henceforth democracy meant something. Justice, freedom, the rights of man, and the happiness and uplift of all the people were infinitely more than the sordid acquisition of gold through special privileges that gave the individual an unfair advantage. Mr. Johnson unhesitatingly accepted the new social evangel and liberally aided the Single-Tax propaganda. He became one of the most outspoken friends of public-ownership and foes of protection, though in so doing he attacked the sources of the wealth he was acquiring. Through Henry George's urgent influence he very reluctantly entered politics. In Congress he proved himself honest, sincere and unflinching in his advocacy of what he conceived to be the fundamental principles of democracy. No personal motives, no claim of expediency, no opportunistic partisan appeals were able to swerve him from the advocacy of the political and economic principles that he believed would destroy privilege and foster the prosperity and happiness of all the people. After leaving Congress he ran for mayor of Cleveland and has been honored with that office ever since, with the result that, as Mr. Lincoln Steffens after an exhaustive examination declared, Cleveland is the best-governed city in the Union. Here as elsewhere Mr. Johnson has placed the weal of the people above all other considerations. He has been absolutely true at all times to what he conceives to be the basic principles of justice and democracy. In Ohio he was confronted in his own party with the determined opposition of one of the most corrupt political machines in the nation, while without the party he had the savage and alarmed opposition of a political machine only less powerful than the Quay machine of Pennsylvania and one that was backed by every privileged interest. When Mr. Johnson ran for governor it was against the formidable opposition of the corporations and the tools of privileged interests in both parties. He did not expect to win in the battle, but he aimed to drive the commercial harpies from the control of the Democratic party in Ohio, and he succeeded. His work during that campaign made possible the recent triumph of democracy in Ohio.

Now against Mr. Johnson during the Ohio gubernatorial campaign precisely the same tactics were employed as were advanced to destroy Henry George in the eighties and to defeat Mr. Bryan in 1896. Abuse, calumny, misrepresentation, the questioning of motives, the charge of demagoguery, all these were advanced by the class of which Senator Depew, John A. McCall, Thomas F. Ryan, George E. Perkins, Richard H. McCurdy, August Belmont and James Hazen Hyde are conspicuous representatives.

These examples show the character of the systematic attacks made by the commercial feudalism to destroy all great thinkers and statesmen whose ability, aggressive honesty and fundamental democracy are feared.

### The Power Exerted by Privileged Wealth Over The Press.

TACTICS no less pronounced have been employed in the press. Papers that have resolutely fought for the people have suddenly found the advertising patronage upon which their life depended withdrawn or imperilled, or stock has been bought up largely by beneficiaries of public-service corporations, or the party-boss has been brought to the rescue of privilege and has aided in silencing the paper; and when all these measures have failed, a great hue and cry has been raised against the journals that privileged interests and the lawless acquirers of wealth have not been able to control. "Yellow journalism" has been the frantic cry of the black journals and all interests fighting under the pirate flag of privilege and spoliation. Space prevents our citing numerous instances to illustrate these facts. One or two cases, however, will be useful as emphasizing methods long employed.

One of America's leading editorial writers gave us some details of his experience in editing a leading paper in one of America's most populous cities. The editor was fighting the beef-trust, when one morning the proprietor informed him that he must desist. "Why?" he inquired. "We are not beholden to the Big Four."

"No, not directly," replied the proprietor, "but you know the large contract we have secured from — for advertising for next year? Now — of the beef-trust is financially supporting this firm, and if we do not let up on our attacks on the trust, that contract will be cancelled."

At the time the Income-Tax bill was up

this daily strongly espoused the measure. "Now in our city," explained the editor when giving us these facts, "there are certain large advertising houses that have a gentleman's agreement. They act in unison if any measure is up that is objectionable to one or more of them. Well," continued the editor, "shortly after I began to hammer away in favor of the Income Tax the proprietor came to the office and said: 'You must stop your advocacy of the Income Tax. I have received an intimation that the combination will withdraw all their advertisements if we do not, and you know what that means.'"

Here are typical cases. Numerous similar ones could be cited illustrating one way in which the press is muzzled. Another is, as we have said, by the bosses of the money-controlled machines silencing the editors of party-organs. The silencing of the press through stockholders in public-service companies becoming stockholders in the dailies is another very effective means much employed by the plutocracy. Then the hue and cry against any paper or papers that cannot be bought, bullied or cajoled into silence is the carrying out of the same tactics that are employed to discredit or destroy all incorruptible and aggressively honest statesmen and reformers.

Last winter, when the gas-trust of Boston sought to secure through the legislature a bill to increase its capitalization from nine million to fifty-three million dollars, everything was moving smoothly. The master-spirits in the



Warren, in Boston Herald.

HARD TO REACH.



Cory, in *New York World*.

#### THE JOLLY ROGERS.

trust had long been on the most cordial terms with the legislators, who too often seem to imagine they are elected to be the servants of public-service corporations. There seemed little doubt but what this infamous measure, that would have fastened dollar gas on the city of Boston for an indefinite period, would be pushed to a successful issue, and with the bill once a law the "widows and orphans" among the stockholders would have to have their dividends on the watered stock, even though to do so every consumer of gas should be robbed. Just at this juncture Hearst's *Boston American* entered the fight. It sent to Cleveland, Ohio, and secured the services of Professor Edwin W. Bemis. It employed able counsel and at length forced an investigation that proved that the gas officials who had deliberately declared that they could not furnish gas at a profit for less than one dollar, were falsifiers. The *American* at length aroused such a storm of public indignation that the gas-trust, after a tremendous battle, became thoroughly alarmed and was glad to agree to a bill allowing it to increase its capitalization to fifteen millions and providing for the furnishing of gas at ninety cents instead of one dollar. But since that time every influence that is beholden directly or indirectly to predatory wealth has vociferated against this "yellow" journal. Now this work of the *Boston American* is but one of scores upon scores of similar victories won

by the Hearst papers for sound morality and civic righteousness, usually waged at an enormous expense against corrupt and strongly entrenched wealth and it is noticeable that after every such victory the wail goes up against the pernicious influence of the "yellow journals."

#### The Pressure of Privilege on College and Church.

THE INFLUENCE of privileged interests over the press has of late been complemented by a systematic, determined and insidious attempt to bribe into silence, where it cannot win over to open advocacy, the two great educational influences, the school and the church. Colleges have been endowed or made the recipients of princely bequests; other institutions have been passed over when officials or teachers obnoxious to corporate wealth or privileged interests are retained on the faculty. In more than one instance high-minded and incorruptible educators have been dismissed when they have offended the class interests that so largely control the government and exploit the people. The effect of this campaign is becoming very marked. Colleges desiring the aid of predatory wealth or the favor of politicians that are the tools of privilege are becoming sycophants in the presence of plutocracy, reminding one of the servile attitude of the colleges of England at times under the reactionary rule of the Stuarts. The professors in these institutions sneer at fundamental democratic demands and all statesmanlike and practical measures aimed to preserve free institutions from the domination of plutocracy and class-rule as "half-baked" and "theories born of agitation." Few more pitiable exhibitions of moral decline can be imagined than a great educational seat of learning in a democracy assuming such a degraded and degrading attitude.

The effect of tainted gold on the church is too well known to call for extended notice. Sufficient to say that up to a comparatively recent period no church in America was more bravely outspoken against all forms of injustice, corrupt practices, commercial dishonesty and unethical business methods than the Baptist church, and it was closely seconded by the Congregational fellowship; but during the past few years, and especially during the past year, how many clarion voices have rung out against crimes in high places and the corrupt practices of the great trusts and corporations? Dr. Washington Gladden, Rev. George F.

Pentecost, Rev. Herbert S. Johnson, Rev. Philip S. Moxom, and a few other men of national reputation have spoken most bravely, but their isolated voices have served to emphasize the moral paralysis that has overtaken the pulpit in the presence of the Standard Oil blight.

**How Privileged Interests Have Increased Their Power In Government by Rewarding Their Servants With Places of Trust.**

STILL another, and in some respects the most effective, method employed by corporate wealth to advance its interests is found in the enormous campaign funds that buy the outspoken advocacy of class interests while at the same time giving the privileged interests the power to indicate who shall and who shall not be entrusted with office. The political boss would be a Samson shorn of his locks if it were not for the power of the public-service corporations and other privileged classes that stand behind him. This is the covenant of the pit that has degraded and corrupted American political life.

What was the secret of Quay's power, and what is the secret of Penrose's power to-day? Does anyone suppose for a moment that if Matthew Quay had broken with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the steel interests, the coal-trust or the street-car companies, he would have been able to sneer at every protest of decency, honesty and rectitude year after year while dragging the great state of Pennsylvania in the lowest depths of political degradation and corruption? Again, the faithful lawyer who has proved ever efficient in counselling and defending corporations and great favored interests, has for years been steadily pushed to the front. Attorney-General McKenna was appointed to the high office, and later elevated to the Supreme Court, after having faithfully served the great corporate interests of the Pacific, in spite of the almost unanimous protest of the bar of the western states against his appointment. Justice Shiras, who will be long remembered on account of his somersault on the Income-Tax, was enjoying a princely revenue from the great corporations of Pennsylvania when appointed to the Supreme Bench. Attorney-General Knox was likewise receiving the revenue of a prince for services to corporations when he was selected for Attorney-General, and later it was the great corporations that selected him and or-

WOULD N'T IT MAKE YOU MAD—

If, after reading this bulletin, and congratulating yourself on your delivery,



Opper, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. E. Hearst.)

You were suddenly to be confronted with this? Would n't it JAR you?

dered his appointment to the United States Senate. Secretary Root, since the days when he accepted a brief for the defence of Boss Tweed, has been continuously in the employ of the great corporations, excepting during the very brief periods when he has been in the cabinet at Washington.

These are merely typical illustrations of how men who have for years been engaged in counseling and defending public-service corporations and other privileged interests are being systematically pushed to the front in present-day political life.

**Our Most Dangerous Class.**

FOR YEARS with tedious monotony and increasing insistence, the agents of privileged interests have dwelt upon the menace of the masses in our cities and the impossibility of the people owning and operating their enormously valuable public utilities, because of the corruption of the voters. These things have been iterated and reiterated so long that many parrots in all communities are taking up the cry and echoing it, and thousands and tens of thousands of busy people who are conscien-

tious and sound at heart are coming to accept these claims at their face value.

It was Mr. Lincoln Steffens, we believe, who in *McClure's Magazine* first gave wide currency to a fact that thoughtful students of political life in the Republic had long since taken cognizance of. He showed that the great fountain-head of civic corruption in our metropolitan centers was not found in the poor and ignorant masses, but in the so-called "best element" of the cities, the "pillars of society," the "safe and sane" leaders of the business interests, who were ever ready to descant upon political and business morality but who as officers of public-service corporations and other organizations seeking special privileges were the great corruptors of the people and the responsible agents for the betrayal of the cities by the creatures of the money-controlled party machines. He showed that, malign as had been Boss Butler's influence in St. Louis, without connivance on the part of the officers of the great public-service companies and the free use of their corrupt wealth spent to acquire the enormously valuable franchises that belonged to the people, the boss would have been comparatively powerless.

Precisely the same phenomenon has been presented in every city and state government that has been debauched. Commonwealths and cities have been turned over to the insatiable rapacity of greed-crazed corporations officered by the so-called "best element" of society. In Philadelphia it was shown that

the well-nigh invincible power of Durham lay in the fact that the men seeking the colossal gas steal were persons who posed as the ultra-respectables, the very leaders in society and business in the Quaker City. So to-day the Pennsylvania Republican machine is as powerful as it is corrupt, simply because it has behind it the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and other great public-service corporations, the steel-trust and the coal barons. And what is true of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia is true of New York state and city, of New Jersey, of Rhode Island, and of various other commonwealths. Happily for the Republic, recent events have served to disclose the real character of these "safe and sane" multimillionaires and princes of privilege.

#### **The Insurance Revelations: Their Significance and Lessons.**

UNTIL very recently the master-spirits of the great insurance companies enjoyed a degree of public respect and confidence accorded no other class of men in the realm of modern business affairs. They were the custodians of the most sacred trust; they were the guardians of the hard earnings, toilsomely accumulated and often only given at the expense of great personal privation, of the true-hearted husbands and fathers of the Republic in order that in the coming years their loved ones might not suffer. The moral obligations imposed on these officials were so holy and sacred in character that something of the sanctity of the office attached to the officials in the imagination of the people; just as in the olden days the high priest who alone was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies of the Jewish temple, was invested in the popular mind with peculiar sanctity, inspiring a reverence that would not have been felt but for the exalted character of his office. And this popular respect and confidence were sedulously fostered and promoted by the leading insurance officials themselves, who at all their banquets and whenever occasion offered extolled one another and descanted on the sacred character of the trust held for the widows and orphans of America. Moreover, the master-spirits in the circle of "high finance" and the influential press controlled by them greatly aided in promoting this general feeling of profound respect if not of reverence for the supposed honorable and great men who were the custodians of the people's earnings. The leading spirits in the great insurance companies, known later as the



Cory, in *New York World*.

**THE NEW JUGGERNAUT.**

"system," stood in public esteem high above the better-known and more restless financial magnates in metropolitan life. To be a director in the Equitable, the New York Life or the Mutual Life was accounted an honor; and this simple trust and loyal faith accorded them by the sturdy American people gave great weight to any opinions they vouchsafed to utter.

We remember very distinctly during 1896 that many friends expressed fear of general business collapse in the event of Mr. Bryan's election, because of the convictions expressed by the great insurance chiefs, some of whom were nominally Democrats. They said: "These men are not moved by any partisan considerations. They are not exploiters of the people or beneficiaries of privilege. They are not even bankers, who might imagine they would sustain personal injury in the event of Democratic victory. But they are men who, though they may be mistaken, are certainly actuated only by the highest and most disinterested motives." And these friends voiced the general feeling of the American people toward the men who managed the great insurance corporations.

We believe that no one thing had greater weight with the more serious and conscientious voters, on the farms as well as in the urban homes, than the solemn appeals made in behalf of "national honor," business integrity and rectitude by Chauncey M. Depew, complemented by the outspoken utterances of men like John A. McCall. He was indeed a brave man who would dare even to cast a shadow of suspicion on the motives of any individual within the charmed circle of the custodians of the trust fund of widows and orphans, not only because of the almost unshakable confidence felt by the people, but because of the financial and political power wielded by the community of wealth represented by the four great insurance companies that after the rise of the Prudential became identified as the "system." Men who knew the facts also knew and dreaded the power of the "system." Thus the confidence of the people and the power to crush critics made the position of the insurance officials well-nigh impregnable.

More than a year and a half ago a brilliant scholar, who is one of the best-versed insurance men in the country and who through long investigation had followed the trail of insurance corruption to the citadels of political and financial power, proposed to a well-known

editor to prepare a series of papers revealing facts that were susceptible of proof. "But," said he, "let me frankly warn you that if this exposure is made you may expect that all the power that enormous wealth and political influence can control will be invoked to crush you. I believe the 'system' will readily spend a million dollars to discredit or destroy your publication."

When young Mr. Hyde and Mr. Alexander fell out, the whole nation was amazed at the charges and counter-charges. When the high-priests of the "system," the "sleek and alipery" men, otherwise known as the "safe and sane" leaders, insisted that all differences be immediately harmonized; that the scandal be hushed up, and that general explanations be sent out to quiet the alarm of the people; and when Chauncey M. Depew read the riot act to the indiscreet ones while to the world he pointed out that all was now harmonious, it was hoped by the guilty ones in the insurance system and their confederates of Wall street that the peril had been averted.

But the New York *World*, seizing on the opportunity for the unmasking of the festering moral corruption, began a series of editorial leaders devoted to the *exposé* of the true inwardness of the company, that have seldom if ever been equalled for boldness, lucidity or persistence. Governor Higgins and the corrupt party-machine of New York, no less than



Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE NEW CHAUFFEUR.

His Employer's Are Delighted with Him.



the recreant insurance department of the state, presided over by the discredited Hendricks, shrank from investigation until the *World*, the *New York American* and a few other influential journals created such a storm of public indignation that the governor could not resist the pressure and reluctantly consented to permit the legislature to appoint an investigating committee.

The results are now known to the world. We have seen that the great men of the insurance system and their confederates, who have been so long posing as the pillars of national honor and business integrity, were common gamblers who speculated with the sacred trust funds; that in league with the most daring speculators and trust promoters of Wall street they were, by the use of the vast funds at their command, making the favored ones enormously rich through systematic gambling with loaded dice and stacked cards; that through access to the insurance funds the most dangerous public-service magnates and franchise-grabbers were able to obtain funds to acquire the enormously valuable public utilities that if operated by the people would yield them untold millions of dollars, and thus the hard earnings of the people, saved for the widows and orphans, were being expended to permit a few men to levy extortion to the amount of millions on the public placed at their mercy. It was further shown that vast sums of the people's money had been systematically used to influence legislation and that by the corrupt use of this wealth safeguards once placed around the policy-holders' money had been removed for the benefit of the false stewards and their confederates; that the insurance department of the state had passed practically into the hands of the recreant and faithless officers of the insurance companies. It was shown that the master-spirits of the corporations, in addition to giving themselves princely salaries, were so manipulating other people's money entrusted to them that they were acquiring colossal fortunes.

Nor was this all. Not only did the investigation reveal this riot of dishonesty and corruption, but it disclosed many of the master-spirits as utterly lacking in all regard for veracity. The most solemn and deliberate statements of many of these men were proved to be false. Master-spirits on the witness-stand deliberately swore to certain facts, and then, when the papers showed that they were admissions laden with criminal liability, returned

to the witness-stand and asked to be permitted to contradict the statements they had previously sworn to. Perjury was rife. Leading spirits and their most intimate associates in the wanton misuse of the people's money swore to the falsity of the sworn declarations of each other in the most bewildering and amazing manner; while the "yellow dog" or corruption funds, like puddles of mud on a country road after a drenching rain, appeared at every step.

These things have all been brought to light through the official investigation. At last the world has seen the true character of the class of men who have for years traduced and slandered high-minded and incorruptible statesmen who refused to be a party to graft or to wink at the wickedness of the princes of privilege; and the value of this exposure is greater than men yet imagine.

#### **Has The Unholy Alliance Between The Insurance System and The Politicians Been Destroyed ?**

THE IMMEDIATE result of the exposure is the reverse of inspiring to friends of democracy and pure government. Some of the discredited ones have been forced to resign, but from the investigation three sinister influences—we may say the three of the most sinister influences of modern business life—issue as masters of these great gold mines. Thomas F. Ryan, the public-service cormorant, J. Pierpont Morgan, of the water-logged ship-trust fame, and the Rockefeller interests appear as the controlling power of the insurance companies.

In the course of the warfare of the commercial bandits for the rich spoils Mr. Ryan and Mr. Harriman came into savage conflict. On the one hand was Mr. Harriman, with his intimate friend Odell, the boss of the Republican party of New York. On the other hand Mr. Root had been Mr. Ryan's attorney, and the relationship was most intimate between them. Mr. Ryan also had relieved the President of the prince of rebaters, Mr. Paul Morton, when he became the Old Man of the Sea to the administration. Harriman refused to be harmonized. He made dark threats that warned Mr. Ryan that if Mr. Odell remained boss of New York there might be trouble in store for him—trouble that might threaten the furtherance of his bold plans. Suddenly as a thunderbolt from a clear sky, the weight of the administration's hand fell on the boss of the state of New York. Governor Higgins deserted his political creator and made common cause



with the Ryan-administration combination. Odell was dethroned; Ryan became the great power in the metropolitan insurance world, and the Roosevelt-Root-Higgins machine displaced the Odell-Harriman combination.

Governor Higgins at this writing refuses to remove Hendricks from the position of state superintendent of insurance, in spite of the fact that Hendricks testified on the witness-stand, as the *Boston Herald* pertinently remarks, that "he had knowledge of some of the worst abuses in the management of the big life insurance companies which he neither exposed nor sought to stop, and to incredible ignorance of other matters which it was his business to know." And what is more, the governor also refuses to allow the legislature to investigate the state departments. Clearly he, Mr. Ryan and the new machine dread the revelations that such investigations would bring to light, and there is little prospect of any real or vital legislation that will safeguard the funds of the policy-holders as the funds of the savings-bank depositors are safeguarded. Still the investigation has been the most propitious event of recent years, because it has revealed clearly and authoritatively the depths of moral depravity and the almost inconceivable extent of the business and political corruption that permeates the financial citadel of Wall street, even in the holiest of holies of the world of corporate and privileged wealth.

The people now know the facts. They also know the character of the men who have so long cruelly deceived them. They will have their reckoning; they will right the wrong.

#### The Standard Oil Company at The Bar.

Almost incredible as have been the shameful revelations of moral depravity on the part of the insurance grafters and their confederates in the gambling world of Wall street, another revelation quite as typical and significant of the new order, since the government has passed virtually from the hands of the people into the hands of the masters of corporate wealth, was exhibited when the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri ordered certain officials of the Standard Oil Company to testify relative to charges of law-breaking on the part of the oil-trust. The action of the officials of the most powerful corporation in the land serves to emphasize the claim of reformers who charge that the multimillionaire princes of privilege either control legislation and gov-



Morris, in Spokane (Wash.) *Spokesman-Review*.

"THE CAT'S GOT HIS TONGUE."

New York dispatch: "To most of the important questions bearing directly on the question of Standard Oil stock-ownership Mr. Rogers declined to give any answer."

ernment, or else they evade or defy laws and attempts to enforce the law.

As soon as it was ascertained that the Supreme Court of Missouri had determined to summon Standard Oil officials to testify in regard to certain charges, there was a hasty flight of the multimillionaires. Among the men wanted who suddenly exiled themselves from their places of business to evade summons-servers are the following, as reported by the *New York American*:

"John D. Rockefeller, William Rockefeller, H. M. Flagler, James R. Taylor, Robert H. McNoll, Charles R. Nichols, Richard P. Tinsley, Walter Jennings, C. M. Pratt, Silas H. Paine, W. C. Teagle, Wesley Tilford, H. M. Tilford, W. E. Bemis, Charles T. White, George B. Wilson, M. H. Van Beuren, H. R. Payne, W. P. Cowan and H. Clay Pierce."

The *New York American* of January 16th gave a detailed account of the flight of several of these men who dared not face the attorney-general of Missouri. It also described briefly the high-handed tactics of John D. Rockefeller in protecting himself from the summons-servers acting for the Supreme Court of Missouri. After describing how Mr. Charles M. Pratt suddenly cancelled his extensive social programme for the winter and hastily fled from Brooklyn, to avoid answering questions that would establish the criminality or innocence of the master-spirits of the Standard Oil Trust, the *American* continues:

"Mr. Jennings was not quite as lucky as Mr. Pratt in the manner of his escape. Somehow there was a hitch in underground wires that ran from No. 26 Broadway to Cold Spring, and the process-servers were actually at his door before he got the tip. At midnight, in a hired boat, he fled across the Sound, and since has been practically an exile in Fairfield, Connecticut.

"John D. Rockefeller, much as he likes to spend Christmas in the city, decided this year that the Pocantico Hills were more comfortable. There, in the heart of his domain, surrounded by detectives and with pickets on guard before every approach, he has been a prisoner since November 1st.

"Time and again process-servers in various disguises have succeeded in passing the pickets, but never have they penetrated beyond the inner guard of detectives. When discovered they have been handled roughly and promptly ejected by the oil king's minions."

Just here it is well to consider what would have been the result if instead of multimillionaires these parties who fled from the summons-servers or surrounded themselves with a guard to prevent service ordered by the Supreme Court of Missouri had been members of labor unions or poor men. From the Atlantic to the Pacific every great newspaper owned, controlled or in any marked degree beholden to corporate interests would have thundered against the indignity offered one of the highest tribunals in the land. They would have frantically demanded that the strong arm of government—the militia, if necessary—be summoned to enforce the dignity and authority of the courts. We should have been treated to long disquisitions on anarchy and the threatened overthrow of law and order by these brazen defiers of the higher courts. But as the offenders are the high-priests of the plutocracy that controls the party machines and largely the party press, the matter is ignored or, if treated at all, is touched upon in a flippant manner.

#### **The Action of The Colorado Senator and The Standard Oil Magnates Contrasted.**

IN PASSING it is well to note the difference between the action of the distinguished Democratic senator, Hon. Thomas M. Patterson of Colorado, and that of the Standard Oil magnates in the presence of the State Supreme

Courts. Mr. Patterson, exercising the guaranteed right of free citizens and in performance of the most sacred duty of an editor who is true to his high trust, criticized the amazing and almost incredible action of the Colorado Supreme Court; whereupon that court, going to lengths never recognized by the Federal judiciary, concocted what is termed "constructive contempt," by which it aimed to arrogate to itself a sanctity that if generally recognized would make it possible for the courts to become as absolute engines of despotism as is the Czar of Russia. Senator Patterson was summoned to appear to answer the charge of contempt. Did he seek flight or take refuge in his home and order his servants to eject all officials who sought to serve a summons or to arrest him? No, he bravely met the charges, only asking what a man conscious of his own innocence would ask—the right and privilege of demonstrating the truth of his charges and the warrant for his inferences.

Now the course of Mr. Patterson and the action of Mr. Rockefeller and his confederates in the gigantic conspiracy to crush competition and through a monopoly to practice extortion against all the people, illustrate the difference between a brave patriot, conscious of his innocence and profoundly convinced that he has done his duty, and guilty conspirators who dread to face an incorruptible official and reply to questions which if they were not law-breakers they would gladly answer.

#### **How Mr. Rogers' Buffoonery and Openly Insolent Contempt For The High Court Alarmed His Associates.**

MR. ROGERS, the present fighting front of the Standard Oil Company, was less fortunate than some of his partners. He was caught before he could escape and was haled before the commissioner appointed to take evidence. Then it was that the American Republic and the world beheld an amazing example of the insolent contempt which this money-mad representative of the most corrupt and corrupting system entertained for the authority of the higher courts of the land. Mr. Rogers alternately played the buffoon and the insolent money-lord who feels himself above law and the courts. He sandwiched his positive refusal to answer the questions asked with cheap jokes and gibes, making a spectacle that alarmed his confederates. They were evad-

ing the court summons; they were to all practical purposes fugitives from justice, and they were giving the country a dangerous example of the lawlessness of corporate wealth when it cannot make the laws and control the courts. But Mr. Rogers' contempt for law and the high courts was a little too obvious. It might be well to let the people understand that the courts could do nothing with the Standard Oil Company, but it was not wise to be blatant in imparting the information. Hence on one day we find those three conspicuous organs of corporate and privileged wealth and reaction, the *New York Sun*, *Times* and *Evening Post*, remonstrating with the indiscreet high-priest of plutocracy.

The Hearst newspapers published an extended editorial dealing with Mr. Rogers and the three newspaper critics, and it would be well for America if it could be circulated by the millions, as it is one of those illuminating and highly suggestive exposures of facts that the people are only beginning to realize but which the trusts, through their control of legislation and their contempt for the machinery of justice, are forcing the masses to take cognizance of. It is written in the bold, incisive manner for which Mr. Arthur Brisbane is justly famous and probably came from his pen. After noticing the criticisms of the *Sun*, *Times* and *Post*, usually so ready to applaud the action of any of the master-spirits in the trusts or the world of high finance, this editorial points out that the surprising course of the journals in question was probably due to a suggestion from Mr. Rockefeller himself, and to the word of caution from the corporation journals the editor of the Hearst papers adds his warning as follows:

"The advice which cool Mr. Rockefeller has given to hot Mr. Rogers through the three tame newspapers is good, wise advice—from the Trust point-of-view.

"It is foolish of Mr. Rogers to act as though he thought the nation's laws a farce and its judges jokes.

"It is unwise of Rogers to let all the people know what jokes and farces the laws and the judges really are—where Trusts are concerned.

"We shall add our voice to the remonstrances of Mr. Rockefeller's editors.

"Mr. Rogers, does it not occur to you, as you laugh at the Supreme Court and sneer at the people's judges, how much you depend on those courts and judges?

"Do n't you know what would happen to you, and your millions of money taken from the people, if you should finally succeed in destroying public respect for the law?

"You have no respect for courts or judges? Certainly not. We all know that. John D. Rockefeller, the man that made you rich, has no respect for laws either. But he knows too much to let the people know how he feels.

"It is easy to start a ball rolling, Mr. Rogers—hard to stop it, sometimes.

"You laugh at the law to-day and insist on your right to continue plundering the people.

"Suppose the people, in their turn, should take a notion to laugh at the law and to begin plundering you. It would not seem so amusing, would it?

"Mr. Rogers, you and the others like you—forceful, arrogant, inflated by money's passing power—are the real hope of the anarchists and the enemies of public order. They build



Robert Carter, in *New York American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

DEFYING THE LAW!

"Henry H. Rogers, the executive head of the Standard Oil Company, on the witness stand yesterday in the proceedings brought by the State of Missouri against this, the greatest trust in the world, afforded the most amazing spectacle that any law court ever witnessed. For three hours he exhibited a monumental disregard for law and legal exactions. Sneering and cynical in speech, insolent and defiant in retort, he lolled in his chair in an attitude of amused tolerance of the proceedings, apparently serenely confident in his own mind that no law of State or nation could reach him or his company."—*News Item*.

upon you their hopes of discord, of revolution. And they build wisely.

"You laugh at the law to-day. You cannot conceal the sardonic grin as you realize that the law which forbids the people to plunder you is powerless to stop your plundering of the people.

"Take care, Mr. Rogers. Your dollars are faithful servants. They can buy legislatures, buy laws, bully some judges and purchase others.

"But, Mr. Rogers, your dollars cannot fight. They, and you, their asthmatic owner, would look rather feeble and foolish in the anger of a mob, if such a mob should finally be convinced by you that the laws, judges and courts do not deserve respect.

"Take the hint that is given to you by old Rockefeller, your financial maker. Listen to those paid editors, who advise you for the good of other public rascals—do n't irritate the people uselessly.

"Give the people time. Let them proceed gradually, and in orderly fashion, and legally, to eliminate you and your kind."

#### **The Standard Oil Company More Powerful Than The Government of The United States.**

THE ACTION of the Standard Oil magnates in the present case gives emphasis to the recent declaration of the well-known Republican organ, the *Daily Eagle* of Wichita, Kansas, which recently published the following as coming from a member of the Standard Oil Company:

"We are bigger than the government. Standard Oil is stronger than the United States. We own the senate and the house. If you pursue your investigations beyond the point necessary to fool the public we will have you removed. We can secure the instant deposition of the secretary of commerce and labor, Mr. Metcalf, and the commissioner of corporations, Mr. Garfield. If you persecute us in the slightest degree you will be out of your job, and if you keep at the business you will find what we say is absolutely true. Rockefeller is a bigger man than Roosevelt."

Like the revelations of the insurance investigation, the high-handed stand taken by the Standard Oil Company is of immense value at the present time, demonstrating anew the growing insolence and presumption of the despotism of wealth—an insolence and pre-

sumption that suggest in a striking manner the spirit evinced by Charles I. and James II. of England, which resulted in the decapitation of the one and the flight of the other; the spirit evinced by George III. toward the Colonies, which led to the founding of the American Republic; and the spirit evinced by the Bourbon kings toward the people of France, which resulted in their overthrow and the establishment of the Republic of France.

The American people to-day are in the presence of a commercial despotism quite as arrogant, heartless and oppressive as the political despotism which resulted in the birth of modern democracy. If free institutions are to be preserved; if the happiness, prosperity and development of all the people are to be the master or controlling aim of government; if freedom, justice and fraternity are to be aught but empty words, *the feudalism of wealth built on privilege must be overthrown. Economic emancipation must complement political emancipation.*

#### **Light In Dark Places.**

THE ARENA publishes in this issue an article of Mr. Stuyvesant Fish of New York on the subject of Economy.

Mr. Fish is of a family that is well known in the history of this government and in the history of New York and New Jersey. He is and has been for many years President of the Illinois Central Railroad; an active president. He was the President of the International Railway Congress. In bank circles he is equally known: he is the First Vice-President of the National Park Bank of New York and one of the Trustees of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, and this we say as bearing upon the article in question, Mr. Fish, although his associations in business have led him into connection with the modern financiers, has always stood out as a representative of the old sturdy moral ideals, in striking contrast to the low and corrupt ideals of the high financiers in Wall street to-day. In these modern days of political and financial corruption, Mr. Stuyvesant Fish has not been named either privately or publicly as a corruptionist or one who loaned himself to corruption, although he belongs to the class of rich men.

His views, therefore, are of importance as evidence that men in power are ready to repudiate the so-called friendship and to face the antagonism of their associates, the men

who have headed this country for oligarchy or its dread alternative.

Mr. Stuyvesant Fish is a member of the Investigating Committee of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York and it is said that he has long stood against the Rogers group of financiers in control of the Mutual Life Insurance Company through its Finance Committee, who would be willing to see that Investigating Committee be merely a means to their own end.

The paper which we publish is one of many indications that light is breaking in dark places; that the men of honest fiber and of integrity and intelligence belonging to the class in power, are not willing to stand for the trend of affairs of to-day, but demand a declaration of independence from systematic robbery, systematic corruption, systematic fraud that run in high places; recognizing the fact that the so-called modern prosperity is to a perilous and large extent bottomed upon an over production of fraud and sham; that dishonesty, corruption and graft enters into the situation of to-day; that men who become powers—financial, political and social—abuse their powers and use them for their own selfish aggrandizement, even to the destruction of their neighbors.

It means much for men like Mr. Fish to antagonize the strong and unscrupulous Wall street masters of corruptly or unjustly acquired wealth; for none know better than men in his position that any bold stand for civic and business integrity invites an insidious and determined warfare against them by their former associates.

The stand taken by Mr. Fish is not, as we have elsewhere pointed out, nearly as radical as we could wish, but coming from one occupying such a position as he does it will probably bring attacks, privately, politically, financially and socially from the "criminal rich"; but unless we misjudge Mr. Fish, he is big enough, is strong enough, and above all things is independent and honest enough to stand for and with the American people and against "the enemies of the Republic."

#### **Wholesale Robbery of the Poor By False Weights.**

**CORRUPTION** at the summit soon leads to corruption at the base. Dishonesty and graft in the world of high finance and in the government soon spread through all the ramifications of business and social life and lead to the

rapid moral decline of the whole people. Recently we have had startling illustrations of how the spirit of corruption and graft that has been rife in the great insurance companies and in Wall street has reached and infected the retail merchants and marketmen, so that the poor have become the victims of the most despicable kind of robbery.

Patrick Derry, of New York, the Chief of the Bureau of Weights and Measures, in his annual report recently published, makes a startling revelation of the wholesale and systematic robbery of the poor by false weights and fraudulent scales. Frequently, the report shows, the poor receive but 10½ ounces for a pound. The frauds are among the grocers, butchers, fish, poultry and coal dealers and produce merchants. The report thus describes some of the methods of these robbers:

"By removing the glass front of his spring scales and loosening a little screw, adjusting the hand a trifle, tightening the screw again and replacing the glass front, the butcher may rob hundreds of people out of an ounce or more in every pound.

"Some butchers have been reported as requiring their henchmen to make their wages in short-weighting the customers. This they do by means of well lubricated slides on the spring scales, which keep the pan jumping quickly up and down when meat is dropped upon it, and catching the weight at the lowest drop of the pan, quickly take off the meat, announce the false weight to the customer and pass meat and ticket to the proprietor, who weighs it upon a scale not subject to customers' scrutiny, and credits the henchman with the amount he had defrauded the customer.

"Some butchers attach a strip of fat or a slice or two of salt pork or bacon to the underside of the pan of the scale; some 'artists' use putty. Some butchers with neat looking places have a sheet of paper on the scale and under it a dozen or so ten-penny nails or a couple of S-hooks."

#### **George Foster Peabody's Outspoken Stand For Public Ownership of Public Utilities.**

MR. GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY, widely known on account of his activity and prominence in furthering educational work throughout the Republic, and as one who has fostered true American art, no less than as a consistent enemy of militarism and imperialism and an advocate of international arbitration, pub-

lished a ringing letter in the *Brooklyn Eagle* of January fifth, well calculated to create consternation in the ranks of the upholders of privileged interests and unfair taxation. Mr. Peabody's position as one of the leading business men of New York city makes his outspoken utterances of special interest and value at the present time.

The editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, who is a prominent leader of the reactionary or plutocratic wing of the Democratic party, had praised Mr. Peabody as a "safe and sane" representative of Democracy. Now while Mr. Peabody was quite willing to be regarded as "safe and sane," if the words were used in their true signification and not in a Pickwickian sense, he was not willing to allow them to be applied as the defenders of privileged interests have been wont to use the term. Hence his letter, which in part is as follows:

"To the Editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*:

"My attention has been called to a complimentary reference to me in your editorial columns of December 15th, which issue of the paper I did not see.

"I thank you for your designation of me as 'safe and sane.' May I venture upon your further courtesy to presume upon the patience of your readers who, though not interested in personal views, are rightly interested in the attitude of Democrats to the subtle and grave dangers that now confront the country? I am in sympathy with the position of those Democrats called by the *Auburn Citizen* 'the liberal element' in the party; with the exception that I think the party should go farther than some 'liberals' may now be ready to go.

"I trust and believe that I am both 'safe and sane' in my Democracy, but I gather from the article that there are differences of interpretation of that phrase. It is, I think, both 'safe and sane' for party managers to be true to the platform and honestly advocate the principles proclaimed. I believe it is 'sane' to look facts in the face and strive to deal with the dynamics of the matter in hand, and that it is always 'safe' to trust the people to manage all of their affairs. Especially 'sane and safe' is it to trust the people about rights granted by the community—such as the use of the public streets on and above, as well as below, the surface, and corporate claims based on the grant of the public right of 'eminent domain.'

"I believe that the time has come for the Democratic party to be true to its foundation principles of human liberty and personal rights. I believe these include the common rights of the whole community, and we should find the righteous method of now applying them to the conditions created by the present enormous production of wealth by the brains and hands of men made more efficient through education.

"A patent fact in the social structure of today is that the average man does not have continuous employment, and further that the whole surplus production beyond the daily consumption, is to so large an extent divided among the few who may not unfairly be called 'possessors of privileges.' I think that three sources of privilege will account for this: First, franchise privilege granted by representatives of the people; second, taxation of the many for the benefit of the few, the so-called protective tariff; and third, increasingly concentrated control of land, the foundation source of all wealth. The special fact under the third clause is the almost invariable valuation of land for taxation on a basis of favoritism for the holders of unimproved land, and also to the great advantage of those holding large tracts of land.

"Holding these convictions, I favor an early organization of the rank and file of those Democrats who believe that personal and public rights can be now enforced with due regard to property rights; Democrats who mean to make the fight to do this on definite lines of principle, win or lose, at the next election. I favor, therefore, a simple and short and frank platform, that is radical in saying what it means. Such a platform will drive from the party those who have been in the past so skilful in explaining away the indefinite platform attacks upon the Republican protective tariff as put in for effect; that is to say, in bad faith. I believe that with such a platform the party will be practically single-minded if it shall find a leader who will be trustworthy because he is experienced and of known character and capacity and believes in the platform.

"I would assert in such platform government ownership as the future policy for all businesses based on rights to use of streets or roads or the exercise of eminent domain as the only equitable solution of this greatest modern problem. I would assert the necessity of municipal operation of street railroads and

lighting facilities as of water distribution as the only sure reliance for pure politics in our vast centers of population and to offset the serious hindrances caused by street mains and railroad construction and operation, and to avoid unnecessary duplicate and competitive construction, always in the end paid for by the people. I think a sound Democratic platform should oppose the proposition of the Republican President to have railroad rates fixed by a commission who will deal with the managers of what is still private property; such power must in the nature of the case produce a crop of scandals, and the most compact machine for political influence the world has ever known.

"The private toll-roads of early days were made public highways free to all travelers and commerce. A score of years of practical experience in official relation to the modern highway of commerce, the railroad, convinces me that neither economy nor efficiency will permit the use of these highways by separate owners of engines and cars, and that consolidated and coöperative management is essential to their largest usefulness. I have for ten years or more held the confident opinion that government ownership of all railroads was the one final solution; but the details must be worked out patiently and the steps taken conservatively.

"I believe that economic laws (although hidden) are as sure in their working as the law of gravitation. The concentration of control of the railroads of the United States into comparatively few hands was not the definite conscious purpose of these few, but has in effect been forced by business conditions and the economic competition which, because of the instinctive even though unconscious hunger for land monopoly, built railroads both too fast and too poorly. The combination of the protective tariff and the land monopoly, as in the case of the United States Steel Corporation, adds force to the argument that these few but great corporate interests when concentrated will practically control the government unless the government now deals with the evident dangers on some basis of economic law. The new compact Anthracite Coal Combine which has the double strength of land monopoly and railroad corporation, is another instance in point.

"The temptation is perhaps natural to consider these stupendous aggregations of corporate wealth which so challenge both admira-

tion and antagonism as the cause of many evils—they are an effect of the cause—legislation based upon false economic standards. We should be careful to seek for the basic and not the superficial remedy. The true remedy must be found through righteous and equitable taxation of all corporate values—and until the government shall recover for the people the franchise values they should be taxed as is the case in the State of New York.

"Do the officials of any of these monopolies ask that the tax assessor place their properties on the tax list at the value quoted on the market for the securities? A former president of the Steel Corporation stated under oath that the iron ore lands were of sufficient value to justify the full par issue of the common stock. Would the directors welcome the assessment of those lands at the value their president swore to? Again the present price of the Great Northern Railway stock is believed to be based upon the confidence that the iron ore lands held by the company will in the future prove of untold value. Would that company, organized to operate a railway as a public carrier, retain these lands unused if they were taxed at the value indicated in the market price of the stock?

"I hope that the Democratic party will in this matter follow the lines indicated by the Liberal party of England in its advocacy of the principle of ground rent taxation.

"The Democratic party can and should deal with the dangers that confront the country and promptly propose a sound economic remedy with righteous principles of taxation and the return to simplicity and economy by an immediate reduction of our army and navy.

"GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY.

"Lake George, N. Y., January 3, 1905."

We desire to call the special attention of our readers to Mr. Peabody's observation in regard to the three great sources of wealth which is now being so rapidly concentrated in the hands of the few, to the detriment of the many: "First, franchise privileges granted by representatives of the people; second, taxation of the many for the benefit of the few (the so-called protective tariff); and third, increasing concentrated control of land, the foundation source of all wealth." We believe with Mr. Peabody that "economic laws (though hidden) are as sure in their working as the law of gravitation," and that "we should be careful to seek

for the basic and not the superficial remedy."

We also wish to call the special attention of our readers to Mr. Peabody's observation in regard to popular ownership of railroads. We incline to believe with him that "railroad rates fixed by a commission who will deal with the managers of what is still private property" will "produce a crop of scandals and the most compact machine for political influence the world has ever known." Any rate legislation that will be secured from a committee over which Senator Elkins presides will, we believe, be found a distinct victory for the railroads. Mr. Elkins is a past-master in giving the people "the shadow and not the substance" of what they demand and need. Any rate legislation passed by the present administration will, we believe, be heralded to the world, as was the Elkins Law, as a great victory for the people and "the best thing that could be obtained under the circumstances." But the results of such legislation we believe will in the end be disappointing to the people. So long as the enormously valuable railroad industries are the plaything of a few men who have through them been enabled to exploit the producing and consuming public so as to acquire fabulously large fortunes and at the same time augment these fortunes through speculation in the stocks and bonds of these securities, the railroad companies will exert the same baleful influence in government, both state and national, as they have in the past, corrupting the people's representatives, largely influencing public opinion-forming agencies, defeating incorruptible statesmen, and in the end triumphing. We believe with Mr. Peabody that the only true solution to the great railroad problem lies in public-ownership. Moreover, we believe that the dangers that confront the Republic to-day, through the enormous and rapidly increasing concentration of wealth, are so grave in character that it is of the utmost importance that all serious-minded and patriotic citizens unite in demanding measures sufficiently radical and fundamental in character to bring actual relief instead of the makeshift compromises that in the end will leave the privileged interests more powerful than ever.

**A Practical Object-Lesson From Providence, The Bond City, and Detroit, The Free City.**

A PRACTICAL illustration of the results that follow a city falling the prey to the bosses, the

controlled machines and the public-service corporations, or the league of spoliation and degradation, has been recently afforded by the shameless and brazen action of the officials of Providence, who have consulted the interests of the private corporations instead of those of the people, whose interests they were sworn to promote. These officials seek to justify their treason to their trust by misrepresenting facts as they relate to the results of public-ownership as it is found in Detroit. A recent issue of *The State*, of Providence, has thoroughly exposed the falsity of the claims advanced by the officials. The mouthpieces for the private companies claimed that the apparent low prices at which the citizens of Detroit secured their municipal-owned and operated lights were due to the fact that the interest and depreciation had not been counted in, nor yet the amount the city lost in taxes that would be realized if a private company owned the works. This false statement was promptly exposed by the editor of *The State*, who shows that on pages 12 and 13 of the annual report of the Detroit Public Lighting Commission for the year ending June 30, 1905, we find the following:

Depreciation on account of lamps, lines and machinery discarded.....	\$15,827.19
Depreciation on investment.....	26,991.53
Interest on investment.....	32,960.85
Lost taxes.....	8,705.00
Total.....	\$84,484.57

Now after deducting \$84,484.57 for depreciation, interest and taxes, Detroit furnishes her citizens with light at \$59.34 per arc-light per year. In spite of the splendid showing of Detroit under municipal-ownership, the city officials of Providence have deliberately turned the city over, bound hand and foot, to the rapacity of one of the great modern free-booting corporations, by giving a contract to the private company for six years, at the exorbitant figure of \$104.75 per lamp.

There is one thing favorable to the Providence company in comparison with the municipal-owned plant of Detroit. Providence has a schedule of 4,000 hours of lighting against Detroit's 3,774.5 hours. That is to say, Providence enjoys light for almost 37 minutes more each twenty-four hours than Detroit, or six per cent. more than does the Michigan city. But with this point in favor of the private company, we find a six years' contract given to it at \$45.41 per lamp more than the citizens



of Detroit pay. In six years the citizens of Providence will pay \$272.46 on every lamp, more than the citizens of Detroit will pay.

No wonder private corporations rapidly acquire millions upon millions of dollars. No wonder they are a unit in fighting Direct-Legislation and insist that every community and state must be the bond-slave of men whom the corrupt party-bosses and the controlled machines select to misrepresent the people and betray the community by turning it over to the avarice of conscienceless bands of commercial harpies.

If free institutions are to be preserved, the people everywhere must unite in organizations pledged to the reclamation of the government of city, state and nation from the spoilers that have debauched the public service, plundered the tax-payers, and are now, through money-controlled machines, establishing in fact, but not in theory, class government in the place of free government.

#### A Successful Co-operative Experiment.

THE *New York World* recently published a dispatch from Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, stating that the coöperative store recently established by the United Mine Workers of Coaldale had declared a dividend of four per cent. as a result of its first three months' operation. The success of the experiment, it was stated, would probably lead to the establishment of coöperative stores throughout the coal region.

The remarkable success of coöperation in Great Britain, where there is annually divided among the members about fifty million dollars that would otherwise go into the pockets of the middlemen and the trust magnates, has clearly demonstrated the practicality and wisdom of coöperation.

With us there have been several unfortunate experiments, owing to the flighty character of the promoters and the fact that people rushed into the movement without properly understanding or mastering the subject so as to render success possible. But in spite of the many failures, there is a still greater number of eminently successful coöperative movements in America. On the Pacific coast there are between sixty and seventy successful coöperative stores carried on on the Rochdale plan, with a large wholesale distributing house at San Francisco. The California fruit industry is now chiefly controlled by coöperators. In

the Middle States coöperators in the grain business have been eminently successful in many localities, and in the Mississippi Valley there are several successful coöperative stores. In the East the Coöperative Association of America operates the largest department store in New England outside of Boston, at Lewiston, Maine. Here for two years a liberal sum has been paid to all of the operators or workers in the store. There are also some successful coöperative stores in the East, while coöperative banks and insurance companies have been eminently successful throughout the United States.

The coöperative movement, like many other great advance steps, moves slowly in its initial stages. At length, however, it gains sufficient momentum to overcome the inertia of the average man who would be benefited. Then the movement sweeps forward like a great river that flows through a level plain. Such is the present condition of coöperation in Great Britain.

#### The Liberal Triumph in Great Britain and Its Meaning to Democracy. The Master-Spirit of The Conservative Cabinet.

THE GREATEST Liberal victory in the history of England since Liberalism became synonymous with advance toward democracy was won in the recent election when the Liberal and Labor candidates were swept into power by a veritable tidal wave. The triumph will strengthen and inspire the friends of popular government and moral idealism throughout the whole world.

The Salisbury and Balfour governments that have been in power during recent years will be remembered as the most reactionary and unrepresentative ministries since the accession of Queen Victoria, and singularly enough, the dominating spirit in both cabinets was not the prime minister, but the Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, the most perfect representative of modern sordid commercialism and imperialistic reaction in English political life.

Mr. Chamberlain is a man of commanding intellectual power. In his early political career he was a Liberal and seemed to be under the high idealism that marked the statesmanship of Gladstone and Bright, but later he came in a compelling way under the power of the materialistic commercialism of the American plutocracy. There was a time when it seemed not improbable that he would become

the successor of Gladstone. He was a power in the Liberal councils and as Mayor of Birmingham he became a bold innovator in municipal-ownership and the development of the city for the benefit of the citizens instead of for the enrichment of the few. His successful labors in municipal-ownership and for improving, beautifying and making more healthy and comfortable the city over which he presided with such distinction, constitute one of the bright pages in the history of modern municipal government. He demonstrated in a thoroughly practical manner the falsity and absurdity of the claims of the hired journalists, educators and other paid mouthpieces of corporations operating public utilities for private enrichment. He has justly endeared himself to Birmingham by his services for the municipality.

His large commercial interests, however, seemed in time to blunt his moral idealism in regard to the larger affairs of national life. After his break with Mr. Gladstone his attitude on public questions changed more and more markedly at every step. He became a thorough reactionary. His great business

interests may have served in part to blunt his once high idealism, as the rapid acquisition of wealth is so liable to do when the enriched does not possess a mind of the highest order. Certain it is, he exchanged the broad, just spirit which under the guidance of Gladstone and Bright had made the liberal party pre-eminently a party of moral ideals and democratic advance, for the sordid commercialism and materialism that place material gain above moral worth or the ideals of justice, freedom and right.

The Boer war was the first overt act of the new Bourbonism. Here Mr. Chamberlain's influence in the cabinet of Lord Salisbury triumphed and we see the governing ideal in the nation's policy wrenched from the domain of morality and justice, where it had long remained, and to which England's greatness during the past sixty years was so largely due, and lowered to the plane of greed for material gain, though the cost be the freedom of two sturdy, liberty-loving peoples and the lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent men of two great nationalities, laying waste vast tracts of fruitful land and enormously increasing the burden of English taxes. From the day when England engaged in the war of spoliation and aggression the course of the Conservative government was steadily and progressively reactionary and oppressive. Injustice, despotism and criminal aggression practiced against other peoples are invariably followed by injustice, oppression and despotism at home. And it was so in England. Salisbury died. Arthur Balfour became prime minister, and Mr. Chamberlain up to the hour of his withdrawal, to even a greater extent than heretofore, became the master-power in the cabinet.



From *The Free Trade Union*.

#### WHAT I HAVE SAID.

"He must be a very foolish person to imagine that the people of this country will ever again submit to the terrors of the small loaf."

Mr. Chamberlain at Hull, August 5, 1886.

"I believe there never was a greater imposture than the cry of the dear loaf."

Mr. Chamberlain at the Constitutional Club, June 26, 1903.

#### Reactionary Legislation That Aroused The Democratic Spirit of England.

THE South African war was undertaken with loud outcries against those contemptuously denominated "Little Englanders." To place morality and justice above lust for gold was a sign of mental imbecility in the eyes of the would-be exploiting class in England, as it is to-day in America. The people were told that English labor was not being fairly treated in the rich gold districts of the Transvaal, and the lure was thrown out to the poor of Great Britain that under the English flag the mines would give employment with rich returns to the English laborers who desired to earn a

competence. And simultaneously with this base bribe, the cry was raised for more land for the people, a mightier empire for exploitation, and a demand for a greater army and navy. In vain did the truly wise statesmen show the iniquity at the heart of the attempt to destroy the free Republics of South Africa; that acts of injustice and oppression must necessarily in the long run weaken England, sap her moral virility and burden her with a frightful debt. For a time the current ran strongly toward imperialism, militarism and reaction. Catch phrases, such as "thinking imperially," hypnotized the popular mind in the interests of the "big-stick" policy, and the nation returned a Conservative and Unionist majority of over one hundred to the Houses of Parliament.

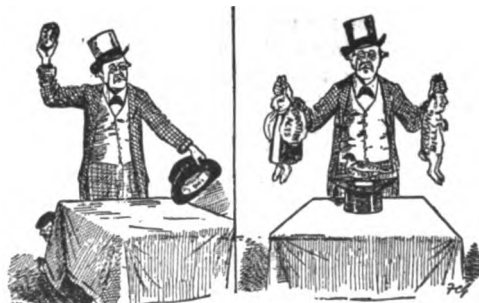
Entrenched in power, the reactionaries were not slow to show the cloven foot. It was not a labor market for England that the war-party had in mind, but the enormous enrichment of a few over-rich mine-owners. Hence coolie labor, that vicious form of degrading modern slavery, was introduced into Africa to work the mines of the privileged few. Here was a great victory for the growing plutocratic element.

But reaction never moves along a single line. If one class is favored, other classes are quick to demand privileges also. So if the Transvaal mine-owners were to have coolie slave-labor, the masters of the tools and of the bread desired protection that would place the people again in the power of the few and enable the landowners and other princes of privilege to become multi-millionaires, just as the protective tariff in America has made the master-spirits of the American trusts and monopolies multi-millionaires by forcing our people to pay vastly more for food, clothing and all manufactured goods than the same monopolists sell the same articles for to Englishmen and other foreign peoples. If the citizens of the great Republic could be made to pay from six to eleven dollars a ton more for steel than the Steel Trust charged for the same steel delivered in London, thus enabling a few men to become powerful enough at the expense of the American users of steel to corrupt government and hold their privileges secure, why might not a few English protected ones levy the same princely tribute on the masses of England? Hence Chamberlain, employing all the oft-exploded sophistries of the hired advocates of high protection in this country, began his

campaign for the privileged ones, his campaign for a "dearer loaf."

The would-be princes of privilege in the commercial world, however, were by no means the only classes clamoring for special privileges. The English Church, as has ever been the case with dogmatic hierarchies when they have seen an opportunity to gain political power, demanded a sectarian educational act that would inject a religious creed hateful to a large proportion of the people into the popular education, or which would compel the Non-Conformist fellowships to support the Church of England education. This vicious blow at popular secular education was bitterly resented by the people and would not have been attempted by the recreant and reactionary government had it not been for its overwhelming majority in Parliament. In vain did the people protest and insist that the Parliament was elected to adjust the conditions following the war in South Africa, and not to meddle with education or other home issues known to be offensive to the people and which the government had not dared to broach before the election. The iniquitous sectarian educational bill was, however, forced upon the people, and religious bigotry and intolerance triumphed as had militarism and criminal commercial aggression triumphed in South Africa. While France was breaking the soul-shrivelling and anti-republican bondage of clericalism and was making her educational system truly free and worthy of a democracy, clericalism triumphed in England through the Bourbon ministry.

Nor was this all. The government had



From *The Liberal Publication Department.*

HANKY - PANKY.

"I will put this egg" (the khaki egg) "into the hat which the gentleman has kindly lent me. There is no deception, ladies and gents!"

"I am quite sure the gentleman who lent me the hat had no idea what was inside it." (Education and Licensing Acts).

boldly entered on a policy of fostering class-interests in defiance of the will of the people and at their expense. Now the great brewing interests of England were able to contribute enormous campaign funds, and since the Chamberlain-Balfour party had committed itself to the policy of promoting privileged classes and fostering plutocracy, it was very natural that the lure of the brewers' gold should be as tempting to the apostles of commercialism as similar lures have proved irresistible to the political bosses of the party machines in America. Accordingly Mr. Balfour forced through a bill that was greatly to the financial interests of the liquor trade, over a popular protest almost as pronounced as the storm raised by the Educational Bill.

These are some of the things that the Balfour-Chamberlain party has achieved or sought to accomplish, against which England has registered her protest by the overwhelming victory of Liberalism at the polls over imperialism, militarism, reaction and protection.

#### **The Liberal Democratic Programme.**

SIR Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in bold contrast with the shifty policy of Mr. Balfour, frankly announced the Liberal programme before the canvass opened. Among other things he boldly declares for free trade; for a rate to be imposed on ground values; for the abolition of the importation of coolie labor into South Africa, unless the South African people by a referendum vote agree to such importation; for the subordination of military authority in India to civil authority; for popular control of the educational and licensing policies; for the reduction of armaments; for greater freedom and security to the farmer in his business; for the overhauling of the poor-law and bringing it into harmony with new conditions, so as to mitigate the evils of non-employment; and for the protection of freedom of combination and security to trades-unionists. In a word, he has outlined a programme which promises for England a speedy return to the paths of moral and mental sanity; to the highway of democracy and justice, of freedom and progress.

England has not voted for the Liberal party without knowing for what it stands, and the fact that her people have registered such an unparalleled vote for Liberalism and the rights of labor will be of inestimable benefit to the cause of democracy the world over. Here,

employing orderly and constitutional methods, a great nation has placed its seal of condemnation against the party of privilege, plutocracy and reaction and has endorsed moral idealism and democratic advance in so positive a manner that it will serve a notice on the reactionaries everywhere that it is unsafe to defy democratic demands or to seek to overthrow the fundamental principles upon which the freedom and moral greatness of a people depend.

#### **Labor a New Factor in Politics.**

A JUDICIAL decision in perfect keeping with the general reactionary and plutocratic attitude of the Conservative government practically robbed the Labor Unionists of their power and awakened the workingmen to the fact that unless they wisely united at the ballot-box instead of leaving to others the shaping of the government's policy in a line with the interests of privileged wealth, they would soon be in a condition of economic servitude worse than had been their lot since the birth of the era of democracy. They were forced to the conclusion that their hope and salvation lay in uniting at the polls, placing their representatives in government in such numbers as to compel rightful consideration for the interests and needs of the laborers. As a result a large number of the Liberals elected are pledged to the chief demands of labor, while the distinctly Labor candidates for the first time in the history of England have become a commanding power in Parliament.

#### **England's New Premier's Noble Plea For Disarmament.**

ONE OF the striking illustrations of the contrast between the reactionary militarism and sordid materialism of the Balfour-Chamberlain government and the noble moral idealism and democracy that mark the statesman-like programme announced by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is found in the Premier's plea for peace through the general reduction of armaments. Militarism in some form is the key to the arch of reactionary class-rule or despotism and injustice in government. International peace through courts of arbitration is part of the evangel of democracy. Ever since the birth of the modern democratic era the noblest statesmen no less than the loftiest moral idealists and reformers have striven to foster peace and avert hate-engendering and savagery-inciting war, not merely because—

sugar-coat it as you may—war is murder, but also because the philosophic statesman knows that always and at all times war proves the supreme opportunity for despotism, corruption and reaction to fasten their destructive talons on national life. It is therefore a happy augury at the threshold of his premiership and before the people have voted on the incoming Parliament, to find the new Prime Minister ranging himself on the side of peace. In his address, which astounded that element of the press and public that is under the compulsion of commercialism, and which greatly offended the upholders of militarism and despotism in England and elsewhere, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said:

“As the principle of peaceful arbitration extends, it becomes one of the highest tasks of statesmen to adjust these armaments to the new and happier conditions. No nobler *rôle* could this great country have than at the fitting moment to put itself at the head of a league of peace through whose instrumentality this great work could be effective.”

If the Liberal party will set its face squarely towards the ideal of true Liberalism or democracy that for the most part was its guiding star from the days of the Anti-Corn-Law and Free-Trade victory in the forties; if it will be as true to moral idealism and the cause of liberty and justice as were its great high-priests of the preceding sixty years—Cobden, Bright, Gladstone and Morley—then England has before her a glorious dawn in which she will again take her place as a moral leader in the procession of civilization.

#### The New French President and What He Stands For. The Election of M. Fallières a Triumph For Progressive Democracy.

THE ELECTION of M. Fallières to the presidency of the French Republic demonstrates anew the hold which democracy has taken on the imagination of the people of our sister republic. His opponent received the support of the reactionary clerical, imperialistic and military elements, while the Republicans, Liberals and Socialists supported the victorious candidate, with the result that he received 449 votes, while his opponent, M. Doumer, received 371.

M. Fallières, like M. Combes and so many other of the leading progressive statesmen of the republic, received his liberal inspiration

from Gambetta, he being an ardent adherent of the great French Liberal. He is not so aggressive or bold as M. Combes, but he is said to be a genuine democrat, in sympathy with the programme of progress and enlightenment that has marked the France of President Loubet.

#### An Unpromising Youth Who Blossomed Into a Brilliant Manhood.

The new President was born at Mézin in 1841. Few friends or neighbors, even by the most daring flights of fancy, could have found it possible to imagine the idle boy and roystering youth, Clement Armand Fallières, as a future head of the French nation. Least of all did his father picture so illustrious a future for the boy for whom he was often well-nigh in despair, as according to all reports he was easy-going and inclined to be lazy at school, something of a devil-may-care lad, and later a ringleader among a group of “roystering blades” who had managed to pass examinations and obtain their degrees.

M. Fallières, though in his early years accounted idle, was never regarded as dull. When he set his mind to mastering a subject, he succeeded, and after completing his studies for the bar he spent some time in a law-office in Paris, gaining a practical knowledge of law. After a time he moved to Nérac where he began his professional career. From a rather indolent and gaiety-loving youth he soon developed into a hard student and one of the most brilliant speakers at the bar.

It was natural, perhaps, that one so gifted with the power of oratory should drift into politics, and for thirty years the new president of France has been a prominent figure in political life. He has been, it is said, minister of France oftener than any other living man, and although always a consistent Republican, he has avoided creating the antagonisms of his less tactful associates. Even during the bitter controversy between the clergy and the State, though he steadfastly resisted the claims of the Church, he escaped the condemnation which was meted out to M. Combes and other leaders of the opposition. During his parliamentary career he has been thrice Minister of the Interior; on two occasions he was Minister of Justice; twice also he was Minister of Public Instruction; and once he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Thus between 1880 and 1899 he was eight times a member of the cabinet. Since 1899 he has been President of the

Senate, taking Loubet's seat when the latter was called to the Elysée.

#### **His Simple Life and His Love For The Soil.**

He is a man of simple tastes and possessed of a passionate love for the soil. Loupillon, his chateau near Mézin, is extremely plain in interior and exterior. His library betrays the owner's tastes, and here are found the works of Diderot, Montaigne, Thiers, Guizot, Michelet, Balzac, Hugo and Louis Blanc. Among the few pictures that adorn the home is the Hugo of Puvis de Chavannes engraved by Waltner.

It is not, however, in the chateau that according to all local accounts the statesman finds his chief pleasure, but amid his extensive and beautiful vineyards which for twenty years have been the subject of loving personal care and direction whenever M. Fallieres could enjoy a vacation. These vineyards were started a score of years ago by the statesman, after the phylloxera had devastated the region, destroying the vines almost as completely as the great frosts in the nineties destroyed the extensive orange-groves of northern Florida. He personally selected the vines, grafts and fertilizers and superintended the planting and cultivation. His friends and neighbors shook their heads at the unwisdom of the great statesman in putting all his eggs in a single basket, but M. Fallieres only smiled. He loved the soil, he loved the smile of nature, and best of all he loved his vines. The fragrance of their bloom, the beauty of their ripening fruit, their almost human response to tender and loving care, the luxuriance of growth

and wealth of fruitage made them very dear to him. His vineyards, once his fad and hobby, long since became his chief source of revenue, as in good years they yield him as much as a thousand barrels of wine; in poor years he has a yield of from five to six hundred barrels.

#### **His Ideals in Regard to The Duties and Responsibilities of a Statesman and a Citizen of France.**

It is well for M. Fallieres that he has something that yields him a good revenue, else with his ideals of the duties of a statesman he would find himself poor indeed, for, as M. Jules Huret in the course of a charming sketch of the new President in *Le Figaro* observes: "It is his theory that whatever he receives from the State he must repay to the State. He lives up to this principle consistently."

Thirty years in continual service of his country in positions of grave importance, and during all this time he has spent the money received from the State for the State or for the benefit of the unfortunate and needy ones among his countrymen. Such is the honorable record of the new President.

Among his friends and neighbors in his southern home he is idolized because of his hospitality, his genuine friendship, his unflinching generosity, and his simplicity of life.

Since the hour when he awakened to the duties and responsibilities involved in the citizenship of a free state and the obligations imposed by responsible public trusts, he has striven to honor himself by honoring the great republic, which has in turn exalted him to the highest position in the gift of a free people.

### **MUNICIPAL AND SOCIAL ADVANCE IN ENGLAND.**

#### **Municipal Lighting In Edinburgh.**

**T**HE RECENT report of United States Consul Fleming of Edinburgh, Scotland, on municipal lighting in that city, affords another example of the excellent results that follow municipal-ownership. In 1896 the electric lights were in the hands of a private company which charged the citizens 12 cents per unit for lights and 7 cents per unit for power, and the city paid \$97.33 per arc-light. Under municipal-ownership the citizens obtain their light at 7 cents per unit and power

is furnished at 2½ cents per unit. This, as will be noted, is but little over one-half the amount paid for lighting and less than one-half that paid for power under private-ownership; while the city gets its lights for \$53.53 per arc-light, or \$43.80 less than it paid under private-ownership.

But this is only part of the good record made by municipal-ownership; for according to the report of our consul, last year the net revenue was \$578,867. "The counter-charges and other figures for the same period were costs,

excluding interest and sinking-fund payments, \$235,886; interest on capital expenditure, \$104,079." The sinking-fund was \$136,018. The net profit was \$102,884. Of this \$83,192 was placed as a reserve fund.

The result in Edinburgh is typical. Only the enormous corruption funds employed by the public-service corporations, directly and indirectly, in influencing bosses and controlled machines, in influencing the people's misrepresentatives in government, and in subsidizing public opinion-forming agencies, prevent the American people from demanding and enjoying the benefits of municipal-ownership.

#### Municipal Street-Railway Profits In Manchester, England.

THE *Municipal Journal*, in commenting on the result of the street-railway service of Manchester, England, which is owned and operated by the municipality, says that "there is, after allowing for interest and depreciation, an actual profit of \$675,000, which in the case of a private company could be distributed amongst the shareholders." Yet this, as the *Journal* points out, does not represent all the benefits the people derive from the service in the hands of the city, for it observes that "the Corporation has made concessions to the men in uniform, holidays, and shorter hours, at an estimated cost of \$250,000 a year," while its concessions to the traveling public, in reduction of fares, etc., amount annually to another \$250,000.

It is easy to understand why Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, J. Pierpont Morgan, and other public-service magnates are anxious that the city should not incur "the risk of squandering money" by taking over the franchises and operating the service for the benefit of the public, and it is also easy to understand why the corrupt political bosses are opposed to public-ownership. The corrupt public-service companies keep the bosses in power and corrupt the whole service. Without the tremendous backing of the public-service corporations, the bosses would be as Samson shorn of his locks and they are fully aware of this fact. Happily the public, in spite of the controlled editors and educators, is everywhere coming to see that private-ownership of public utilities is a double curse. It results in the most shameful spoliation of the people and the corruption of their servants, as well as of the public opinion-forming agencies. It

robs the millions while it degrades manhood and corrupts public morals. Therefore we find everywhere the leagues of spoliation and degradation on the defensive; but they must follow the insurance grafters, and they will follow them.

#### A Movement For The Reclamation of Submerged Manhood Through Cultivation of The Land.

A VERY interesting and hopeful fact in connection with many of the great movements of our time which are being systematically pushed forward and which are palliative rather than fundamental in character, because they do not strike at the root of unjust conditions, are the splendid labors of men like the late Dr. Barnardo, through whose work numbers of homes have been opened in the congested centers of England for homeless waifs who are educated and later are placed in good positions throughout the world, and the earnest efforts of the Salvation Army to place out-of-works, who are starving because they can find no employment, on the land under conditions which will enable them not only to earn a good livelihood but in time to secure homes for themselves.

This movement has recently been stimulated by the gift of half a million dollars by Mr. George Herring, a wealthy Englishman, to General Booth to be used in placing men on five-acre lots, with implements and a loan of sufficient funds to give them a chance to make another start in life. The money advanced is to be paid back to the Salvation Army treasury on instalments when the men are able to do so. When the sum has been paid off the homes will be theirs. The success of such a work will depend, of course, largely on the character of the men selected for home-building in the country. They must have knowledge of farm-life and work or be under wise direction. What, it seems to us, is needed to complement this admirable movement is an extensive agricultural training school and experiment station in which men and women could be trained in every branch of country life, all receiving some special training such as dairying, poultry-raising, gardening, small-fruit culture, the cultivation of orchards, etc. With such schools as these and systematic placing of competent persons on five-acre lots, with sufficient money advanced to enable them to get a start, we believe great good would necessarily follow.

The experiment is not new. As far back as the days of the Grecian statesman, Pisistratus, a very similar experiment to that being put in operation by General Booth was tried. Pisistratus on becoming the absolute ruler of Athens found the city thronged with beggars, and amid so much want and poverty crime necessarily flourished. He instituted an inquiry to find out why the men were everywhere begging. They told him they could find no employment. "Why do you not cultivate the stretches of land lying idle around the city?" inquired the ruler. "Because we do not own the land and others would drive us off. Besides, we have no seeds or implements." Pisistratus thereupon condemned the idle land for public use, divided it into small parcels and apportioned it to the out-of-works. Tools for the proper cultivation of the land and sufficient seeds to plant were given to each man. Then the ruler promulgated an edict making it a crime to beg. The result was that the hitherto barren fields around Athens soon blossomed in gardens and the Queen City of Hellas entered upon a period of prosperity that made the time ever after memorable, fre-

quently being referred to in subsequent days as the Golden Age of Pisistratus.

It is believed by many who have given the movement to create an army of peasant proprietors such as has made France one of the richest nations of the world, that the success of the experiment will be so marked that the English government will ere long give it substantial aid and thus hasten the movement to transform the flotsam and jetsam of society into the strong bone and fiber of a progressive civilized state.

As we have said, the movement is palliative rather than fundamental, but we have reached a point where all agitation for fundamental social and economic changes such as will result in just conditions—in that equality of opportunities and of rights that will lead to economic independence—should be complemented by such noble palliative efforts as Dr. Barnardo inaugurated and as General Booth is carrying forward. These, however, should not be advanced as solutions to the great social questions confronting civilization, but rather as humane efforts to save the drowning ones while the vessel is being finished which shall bring relief to society as a whole.

## THE AWAKENING OF INDIA.

### **How The Indian National Congress Is Arousing The Patriotism and Ambition of The Indian People.**

**T**HE long-dormant Orient is awakening as nature after the sleeping time of winter. The sap of new life is rising. For more than one people the signs of a renaissance or rebirth are daily becoming more and more apparent. The wonderful florescence of Japanese civilization, though by far the most impressive manifestation of this awakening of the Orient, is by no means the only indication that the age and hour approaches when the Far East will arise in the strength and glory of a new civilization, ready and competent to contribute much to enrich the sum total of man's spiritual, mental and material wealth.

Next to Japan, nowhere is this awakening so marked as in India. In that land of ancient civilization movements are in progress and yearly gaining increased momentum that will shortly work great changes. Recent issues of the *Indian Review*, under the able editorship of G. A. Natesan, contain some extremely

interesting and illuminating facts and data bearing on the new movements that presage this coming renaissance.

For twenty years there have been held annually in India national congresses which have exerted a steadily increasing power over the mind of the nation. Here, year after year, the Hindu, the Mussalman, the Parsee and the Christian have assembled to discuss common grievances and to consider measures for the "promotion of common aims and aspirations." A high moral idealism has been present which was recently admirably summed up by the eminent Indian leader, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, in these words:

"Public life must be spiritualized. Love of country must so fill the heart that all else shall appear as of little moment by its side. A fervent patriotism, which rejoices at every opportunity of sacrifice for the motherland, a dauntless heart, which refuses to be turned back from its object by difficulty or danger, a deep faith in the purpose of Providence that



nothing can shake—equipped with these the worker must start on his mission and reverently seek the joy which comes of spending oneself in the service of one's country."

The influence of the Indian congresses has been increasingly perceptible during recent years. The distinguished Indian writer, Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, late editor of *The Hindu*, holds that they have created "the feeling of national unity" and have greatly promoted personal intimacy and friendships among all the more earnest workers in all parts of the empire. They have, he claims, fostered "moderation by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country." More than this, the congress "has taught the Indian people the greatest of any lesson that a people can learn, the lesson of self-respect. It has besides succeeded in imparting to our rulers an idea of the full moral and intellectual capacity of our race whom they no longer recognize as a multitude of semi-civilized incoherent atoms, but whom they feel they must respect and conciliate. The Indian National Congress, finally, is the one living emblem and proof of the unity of India, and the hope and guarantee of her future."

#### The Swadeshi Movement.

Side by side with the moral idealism, the national patriotism and the work of obliterating race and religious prejudice, there has gone forward another movement which of late has made rapid strides. This is called the Swadeshi movement. It is an "association for the advancement of scientific and industrial education," aiming "to promote self-reliance and to improve the condition of the people." Its purpose is economic. It seeks to better the material condition of the millions,

which is at present so deplorable, through systematic, rational and practical education that shall enable the agricultural and manufacturing population to accomplish the greatest possible results for their labors, to excel in work along all lines, and to patronize and develop home industries and native talent.

Thus hand in hand there have been going on from year to year and steadily gaining in momentum and volume, these two distinctive movements; one addressing itself to the spiritual, intellectual and idealistic side of life, to patriotism and the long-stifled aspirations of the people; the other to their economic well-being and advancement.

The great victories of Japan and her industrial and commercial advance are naturally stimulating the awakening activities of the Indian people. Great changes are on the way, and if England under the wisdom of truly broad and just statesmanship—such statesmanship as we believe will be displayed by Mr. Morley—shall meet the reasonable demands of the advanced representatives of the nation in a broad, just and enlightened spirit; if England will patiently and sympathetically give her ear to the grievance of the Indian and generously aid in furthering the rightful demands of the people, that India should be more fully represented in the nation's affairs, for moral education to be given to the young, and for a liberal policy that shall hearten and stimulate the people in their industrial efforts and their higher aspirations,—we say, if England has the wisdom to manifest this spirit, the awakening of India will be attended by peace and mutual gain. If, on the other hand, she persists in a narrow, selfish policy and remains indifferent to the cry of the ablest representatives of the Oriental people, there will be serious trouble in store for great Britain; for, we repeat, India is awakening, politically, industrially, morally and mentally.

### A LESSON FROM JAPAN.

#### The Single-Tax For Centuries In Practical Operation, and Its Result.

IN HIS large and important work entitled *Great Japan*, Mr. Alfred Stead treats many interesting and successful examples of Socialism, using the term in its broad significance, that have long been in practical operation

in Japan. In one division of the Japanese empire, as will be seen by the following statement, the Single-Tax has been in operation for centuries. Here the community, instead of taxing land values and leaving the land undisturbed, as advocated by Henry George, levies all the tax on the land, but every eleven, thir-

teen or seventeen years the land is impartially apportioned among the people. Mr. Stead in speaking of this subject observes:

"There are even at the present moment in existence several socialistic communities within the empire. These are recognized and are not interfered with. So interesting are these communities that a somewhat detailed account of the conditions there is of value to give guidance and instruction to those anxious for the age of practical socialism."

And in giving a description of the special community to which we have referred above, our author quotes a detailed account as given by Mr. Katayama, the leading socialist writer of Japan:

"We can show a most convincing proof of socialism fully and actually in force for centuries in a land once a kingdom and now one of the prefectures of our empire. This prefecture is Okinawa, formerly the kingdom of Riukiu. Riukiu comprises thirty-six islands, with 170 square miles and 170,000 people. Here in these islands we have a complete and well-developed socialism that has had long practice. The peace-loving islanders have been living under the system of socialism undisturbed for several centuries. They have their own land system; one that may surprise the world in this age of competition and greed. It has been a long and time-honored institution with these people that every eleventh year, in some cases thirteenth or seventeenth year, the whole land is divided equally into as many as there are able-bodied persons in the community. During this term each is obliged to pay nothing but a tax imposed upon him for the section of land allotted to him. Besides these allotments the community owns a large tract of land as common land, where they plant banana trees. These plants are cultivated and preserved carefully to feed all the people

on them in time of famine. Thus these islanders are assured of their means of subsistence as long as they are willing to cultivate their allotted piece of land. The taxes on the land are very light, and they are secure of attacks from greedy capitalists or landlords. There is no landlord in the whole of the islands. No one owns the land, but every one is entitled to get an allotment and live on the fruits of his own labor. There is no anxiety for him to increase his portion by acquirement or by intrigue or by purchase, as is so common a fact and a miserable burden in the so-called civilized communities. They do not own land, therefore they cannot mortgage or sell the land which they cultivate, but they are fully assured of possessing the results of their own labor. Thus every one owns his own income, which is the result of his own work. Private property is not in the land, but in the income from the land; there is no rent because there is no landlord, and there is no capitalist who may squeeze and exploit the poor, because there are no poor in the whole community. Every one can live by his own labor because he owns a piece of land to cultivate so long as he is a member of the community. They have not lost individuality or independence, but maintain fully their own personality. The very absence of poor in the whole island is the strongest argument in favor of socialism. There are no poor there, and at the same time there are no rich, because private monopoly consists of income only. It is said that the richest in the island is no wealthier than 200,000 yen (£20,000). In spite of some attempts to encroach upon their institutions, so far the people have been able to maintain the land system. They are opposed to change, lest the happiest and best form of socialism should be done away with within a few years. But be this as it may, it is the undeniable fact that there has existed for centuries the workability of socialism."

## THE ELECTION IN NEW ZEALAND.

### The Signal Victory of Premier Seddon's Party.

**T**HE PEOPLE of New Zealand have endorsed the administration of Prime Minister Seddon in no uncertain voice. In the recent elections the Government won an

overwhelming victory, electing more than two to one over the combined opposition.

No nation on the face of the earth, with the possible exception of Switzerland, has made so splendid an advance along the pathway of progressive democratic government as has

New Zealand. We say with the possible exception of Switzerland, because while New Zealand has rapidly advanced along almost every line in seeking to make a government based on justice and in which every citizen shall be aided to be strong, independent, self-sustaining, prosperous and happy, and though she has striven as has no other nation to establish conditions under which economic independence should complement political independence, she has been slow to bulwark herself against the peril of reactionary influences by establishing methods in government that would guarantee the preservation of democracy or a government of the people, by the people and for the people, in spite of autocratic and reactionary or class influences, should such influences gain control in government.

The great evils under which the American people are suffering to-day from monopoly and trust oppression or the despotism of privileged interests and acquired wealth, were rendered possible only because the American people had failed to adopt democratic methods to meet changed conditions. The people had not safeguarded themselves against the cunning of interested parties and the power of corrupt wealth operating through unscrupulous leaders or bosses by means of money-controlled political machines.

Now in this respect, so vital to democracy, so fundamental to free government, Switzerland leads the world. Through the popular initiative, referendum and right of recall, and through proportional representation, she has provided a simple, direct and thoroughly practical or workable method by which not only is democratic government preserved and rendered effective, but whereby minority parties and principles can be properly represented in government.

In New Zealand we grant that the government has steadily advanced measures for the development, happiness and prosperity of all the people, but until New Zealand adopts the initiative and referendum the commonwealth will not be safe; for in any hour of stress, when some great but fleeting peril or issue arises which completely absorbs the thoughts of men, such as the danger of war from without, reactionary influences or influences susceptible to the lure of wealth or class desire, may gain a firm hold and steadily advance, as has privileged wealth in America since the period of our Civil war. We hope and trust that the government of New Zealand will at an early date place the commonwealth distinctly in the lead of all free peoples in all fundamental ways by the adoption of Direct-Legislation and proportional representation.

## THE MOST SIGNIFICANT RECENT STEP TOWARD CHURCH UNITY.

### **The Movement For Church Union In Canada.**

**L**EADING Protestant denominations are taking the lead in what may and, considering the fact that the master-note of the incoming age is union or coöperation, doubtless will become a great civilization-wide movement for the union of Protestant Christendom, or that part of the Protestant world that holds to the Trinitarian tenets.

A little more than a year ago one hundred and fifty leading representatives of the Methodist, the Presbyterian and the Congregational churches of Canada met at Toronto to take steps looking toward organic union. Committees were appointed and the agitation for union was carried on by those who felt that

the hour had arrived for the various leading religious bodies to unite in aggressive work. In December of last year the committee met and perfected a plan of union which is to be submitted to the fellowships, and if accepted will result in the union of these denominations under a name which will probably be the United Church of Canada.

If, as the friends of this union confidently expect, the work is crowned with success, it will, we believe, prove the initial step in a movement that will grow rapidly in popularity and which may ultimately result in one of those great religious revivals such as in various periods have swept with compelling power over all nations where great religions have become firmly rooted.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

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*The Heroes of Defeat.* By William Jackson Armstrong. Pp. 600. Half-morocco, gilt top, price, \$3.50. Cloth, \$3.00. Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company.

### I.

THE APPEARANCE of Mr. Armstrong's brilliant and authoritative work, *The Heroes of Defeat*, is one of the most important literary events of recent years in the New World. It not only enriches our literature with a work unique in character and able and authoritative in content-matter, but the fact that a leading publishing house should undertake so expensive a work as this, and the further fact that orders for the greater part of the first edition were received before the book was issued from the press, together with the high and unstinted praise that has been accorded the volume from scores of the most profoundly thoughtful citizens, afford another strong indication of the awakening of the people from the Stygian slumber into which the gold mania has lulled them during recent decades.

In the early days of our Republic, as in all times of moral awakening and permanent growth, a high and inspiring idealism dominated the imagination of the people. A noble cause and the lofty heroism displayed by its representatives were sufficient to attract and hold the interest of the general reader. The element of success was not essential to public interest. It was enough to know that the highest aspirations and ideals dominated the leaders and that they acted up to the lofty demands of their causes for the subject to hold the interest, thrill the pulses and inspire the reader with a desire to imitate those who sank all thought of self for the higher interests of society or civilization.

With the rapid aggregation of wealth, the formation of great corporations and the rise of the utilitarian spirit, subtly but progressively came a striking change in the mental attitude of the American. The utilitarian spirit, like man's passions and appetites, like wealth itself and many other potential blessings, is benefi-

cent and a source of advancement if made subordinate to idealism; but when once it became a dominating influence and with it came the passion to acquire gold and the power and position which gold could give, we find a sordid materialism rapidly taking the place of the moral idealism that made the early history of our land one of the most inspiring pages in the annals of mankind. Egoism, often gross and sordid, usurped the throne of altruism, and with the triumph of commercialism over moral idealism in our business and political worlds, the great god Success became a fetich, and not only this, but a most degrading fetich, for the success measured by the new materialistic standard is dependent on the acquisition of gold and on the attainment of places of power without regard to the methods by which the ends were obtained.

Now no nation, society or civilization can persist or become perennially youthful and powerful if it is not fed from the springs of moral idealism or spiritual life. Materialism, whenever made the dominant note in the life of a nation, invariably exhibits, first, a splendid exterior and the florescence of physical power and brute force, all of which are mistaken by the shallow and ignorant as signs of real strength and growth, but which are in reality the autumn splendor that announces death at the source of vitality. Only by a return to the old paths, by the opening again of the springs of spiritual life and moral enthusiasm, can the rejuvenation of a nation thus affected be rendered possible. Nothing has been more painfully apparent during recent years than the inability to rouse the moral idealism or to stimulate broad, just and fundamental thinking among the masses of our people. The question, Will it pay? has taken the place of the demand, Is it right? And by payment is meant, Will it result in the acquisition of material wealth, power or the immediate personal success of the individual? The history of earth's noblest children who failed to achieve victories during their lives, though oftentimes they laid the foundation for a higher civilization, have held little interest for the masses. The fact that before and since the time of

\* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

Christ the moral leaders who have effected the noblest victories for the race have as a rule apparently failed in their day and generation, has been ignored by our people under the spell of sordid commercial materialism.

Happily there are now everywhere evidences of a change—signs that the soul of the nation is awakening; that moral values are again to count in national life; that the genius of democracy and progress, companioned by idealism, is again to assert itself in so compelling a way that the materialism of the market, the reaction that has set in to reënslave the children of the democratic revolution, and the death-dealing spirit of imperialism and militarism shall again give place to justice, freedom and that spirituality that is the oxygen of national life. The favorable reception of *The Heroes of Defeat* is one of many striking evidences of the return of sanity and moral health to the heart of the nation.

## II.

The author of *The Heroes of Defeat* is peculiarly fitted to handle his subject. He has ever been a stalwart champion of the oppressed and the down-trodden. He possesses that large measure of humanity or the heart quality that is essential to the adequate treatment of such themes as he has essayed. In early youth, after his common-school education, Mr. Armstrong went to Antioch College and was there at the time when Horace Mann was the master-spirit. The sensitive youth was strongly attracted to the great educator. From him he caught that moral contagion, that passion to make men wiser, better and happier, that was so marked a characteristic of Horace Mann, and this enthusiasm has never left him.

During the Civil war, Mr. Armstrong became one of the many brilliant press correspondents. Possessing the idealism and imagination of a true poet, he was able to portray what he witnessed so vividly as to bring before the reader's mind the scenes as he had beheld them. This rare power, together with his fine command of English and the elevation of thought that is a marked feature of all his work, easily explains his popularity as a newspaper correspondent. During the war he met and won the confidence of a number of our leading statesmen and generals, and during General Grant's administration he was entrusted with the responsible position of inspector-general of the consulates of Europe.

He performed his work in an eminently satisfactory manner and was also enabled to gain through his extended journeyings a liberal supplementary education, for from youth he had been a deep student of history and classical literature. Here he was brought face to face with the world of which he had long studied and dreamed, and he improved the opportunity to the best possible advantage, visiting the various scenes made memorable in the brave struggles of the great Old World heroes of defeat whom he describes in the present work and otherwise familiarizing himself with places and subjects of historic and literary interest in Europe, Africa and Western Asia.

While in Europe he also closely observed social conditions and noted how despotism, ignorance and superstition in their manifold manifestations enslaved and made craven the masses of men. On his return he delivered a brilliant, powerful and illuminating lecture entitled "Siberia and the Nihilists." This brought forth a defence of Russia by George Kennan, who later, to substantiate the truth of his assertions, made his personal investigations which led to his powerful exposure of Russia's cruelty and despotism. Mr. Kennan's investigations more than substantiated the truth of all he had questioned when uttered by Mr. Armstrong.

For many years our author has been one of the most eloquent, interesting and informing lecturers on the American platform. After we founded THE ARENA he became one of our valued contributors during the stirring years of the early nineties. All of his work is marked by a thorough scholarship, the enlightened feeling of the true democrat and humanitarian, the rich imagination of the poet and the intellectual daring of the prophet who places truth and justice above all other considerations.

## III.

In *The Heroes of Defeat* the author has given us a series of magnificent pen-pictures of great men who have for the most part been ignored by historians and biographers because the causes for which they fought were doomed to defeat. Six typical heroes of defeat who have led forlorn hopes and who fell at duty's post with their armor on are here described with all the vivid and picturesque power of a Froude, a Macaulay or a Hugo. To the read-

er the title of this volume will suggest an army of earth's chosen souls who in the opinion of their contemporaries failed ignominiously. Socrates, Jesus and Epictetus all, in the eyes of the powerful ones of their ages, were failures; yet they have exerted an ever-increasing influence over humanity, while the rulers, the rich and the honored who imagined that they were winning immortality and who would have scorned to notice these heroes, have long since been forgotten, save where their infamy has won for them an evil fame.

There is another army of heroes of defeat whose labors seem to have been in vain, because they not only went down before the irresistible forces opposed to them, but the causes for which they struggled were apparently lost. Here again, however, we err if we regard such heroes as failures. They ever live in the legends, traditions and poetry of the land for which they strove and are an eternal fountain of inspiration leading the children of all after-generations in all civilized lands to nobler aspirations and higher endeavors.

In the volume we are considering Mr. Armstrong has selected lofty characters which are for the most part little known to the general reader or those who have received scant justice at the hands of contemporaneous writers.

The volume opens with a study of the life of Schamyl, the soldier-priest and hero of the Caucasus. Seldom have the grandeur and picturesqueness of the Caucasus been so vividly pictured as in the graphic passages in which our author takes us into the mountain fastnesses of this ancient historic domain between Europe and Asia and paints in glowing colors the natural splendor of the theater upon which the hero-priest, who seemed to bear a charmed life, long held the mighty armies of Russia in check. The story of Schamyl is intensely interesting and highly dramatic. It is the record of a marvelous man under the compulsion of a love for liberty and his native land and of a religious faith that amounted to fanaticism.

The next subject which engages the attention of our author is Abdel Kader, the Sultan of Algeria, whose struggles against the French form one of the most striking and dramatic passages in the history of the heroes of defeat. Here again is a rich historic background, for the theater of this struggle "was the Libya of remote antiquity, the Numidia and Carthage

of the conquering Roman. The whole land is redolent with tremendous and stirring memories. The rage of human passions has swept over it through a dozen historic periods like a desolating tempest. For three centuries preceding the Christian era, it witnessed the transcendent victories of Roman arms and the saddest misadventures of Rome's defeated enemies; the most brilliant characters of antiquity serving as actors in these unsurpassed dramas. During five hundred years it was the supply province to Roman hunger and the training ground of Roman legions. Over its surface, as over Italy itself, rose Rome's magnificent monuments and cities."

The story of Abdel Kader is, if possible, more interesting than that of the hero-priest of the Caucasus; but both these thrilling tales of dauntless heroism pale before the story of the achievements of Scanderbeg, the Albanian hero, who for a quarter of a century held the might of the Ottoman Empire at bay, even at the time when the Turks were the terror of all Europe. This wonderful man, with a small army of from eight to twenty thousand men, successfully repelled fifteen invasions conducted by the greatest generals of the Ottoman Empire and with the picked soldiers at their command—armies that sometimes numbered over one hundred thousand men.

The fourth sketch is devoted to the consideration of Tecumseh, the great Shawanee chief and hero of the forests of North America. In the opening pages of this sketch we find the most just and discriminating description of the Indian with which we are acquainted. With the broad vision of a true philosophical student of men, nations and history, he characterizes the Red Man in general and the great warrior chief in particular in a manner that leaves little to be desired. This sketch, which occupies over 120 pages, would alone make this work a notable contribution to literature.

Vercingetorix is the next subject considered, and it is perhaps enough to say that Mr. Armstrong's treatment is much fuller and more authoritative while quite as brilliant as that of Froude and other writers who have attempted to portray this great hero of the Gauls who went down before the might of the Roman legions.

For many readers the most interesting chapter in the volume will be the closing sketch, which is devoted to Kosciuszko, the great hero of Polish freedom. Here is an extremely

valuable pen-picture of the history of Poland, showing the internal causes that rendered the rape of this nation by the three international robbers possible. In this paper, with the brilliancy of a Macaulay and with far greater regard for historical proportions and accuracy than frequently marked the writings of the great English biographer and essayist, Mr. Armstrong marshalls facts that heretofore would have required the searching on the reader's part through many volumes, and we are clearly shown why Poland fell; how the internal evils, the social injustice, the ignorance and slavery of the masses, which after the entrance of the Jesuits were complemented by religious persecution, rendered the state hopelessly weak when assailed by the three conspirators,—Catharine the Corrupt of Russia, Frederick, called the Great, of Prussia, and Maria Theresa, who wished to be called the Pious, of Austria. After the first partition, the nobles who dwelt in the territory that remained to the nation suddenly awakened to a realization of the higher demands which liberty, justice and civilization imposed upon them. A revolution, in many respects unparalleled in history, followed which resulted in the founding of a free government, the establishment of which was made the excuse on the part of the spoilers for a second rape of Poland, and in time the whole nation passed under the dominion of the three international robbers. Kosciuszko's whole life and splendid achievements are here given with the rich imaginative power that is so marked a characteristic of Mr. Armstrong's work and with the breadth of vision and wide knowledge of the philosophical historian, united with the glowing power of the moral enthusiast who worships with his face toward the mountains on which the light of justice ever shines.

The volume is one that should find a place in the homes of all thoughtful men who are building libraries where the contents of the volumes are of first consideration. It is a real acquisition to our literature, a work of permanent value.

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*In and Out of the Old Missions of California.*  
An Historical and Pictorial Account of the Franciscan Missions. By George Wharton James. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 392. Price, \$3.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

FEW WRITERS possess in so eminent a degree as does Mr. James the rare power of investing a somewhat dry and statistical subject with the charm of romance. *The Indians of the Painted Desert Region* and *In and Around the Grand Canyon* were wonderfully fascinating volumes; but in these two instances the subject-matter was such as to appeal more strongly to the general reader than in the case of his latest work on the old missions of California. Yet such is Mr. James' skill in presenting facts that the interest increases with each succeeding chapter.

*In and Out of the Old Missions* is an extremely valuable work on a subject with which Eastern readers are little acquainted, although all intelligent Americans should be interested in the preservation of what still remains to us of these ancient landmarks of Southern California. The author has given us a clear and concise description of the different missions, their architecture, interior decorations and furnishings, together with an extremely interesting account of the condition of the Indians at the time of the coming of the Spaniards, their condition under the padres after the missions had been founded, the changes which took place with the secularization of the missions, and their condition at the present time.

Mr. James is a firm believer in an original art developed along simple, fundamental lines. Therefore his remarks on the early mission architecture and decoration are of special value, inasmuch as he shows clearly that so long as the Franciscans relied upon themselves and adapted their work to the conditions which surrounded them and to the uses for which it was intended, they met with brilliant success, as in the case of their architectural achievements; but when they ceased to be original and attempted to copy work which they had seen in the Old World, as in the case of their mural decorations, the result was a dismal failure from an artistic point-of-view. On this point Mr. James says:

"We cannot to-day determine how the Franciscans of the Southwest decorated the interiors of their churches. Some of these buildings have disappeared entirely; while others have been restored or renovated beyond all semblance of their original condition. But enough are left to give us a satisfactory idea of the labors of the fathers and their subject

Indians. At the outset, it must be confessed that while the fathers understood well the principles of architecture and created a natural, spontaneous style, meeting all obstacles of time and place which presented themselves, they showed little skill in matters of interior decoration, possessing neither originality in design, the taste which would have enabled them to become good copyists, nor yet the slightest appreciation of color-harmony. In making this criticism, I do not overlook the difficulties in the way of the missionaries, or the insufficiency of materials at command. The priests were as much hampered in this work as they were in that of building. But, in the one case, they met with brilliant success; in the other they failed. The decorations have, therefore, a distinctly pathetic quality. They show a most earnest endeavor to beautify what to those who wrought them was the very home of God. Here mystically dwelt the very body, blood and reality of the Object of Worship. Hence the desire to glorify the dwelling-place of their God, and their own temple. The great distance, in this case, between desire and performance is what makes the result pathetic. Instead of trusting to themselves or reverting to first principles, as they did in architecture, the missionaries endeavored to reproduce from memory the ornaments with which they had been familiar in their early days in Spain. They remembered decorations in Catalonia, Cantabria, Mallorca, Burgos, Valencia, and sought to imitate them; having neither exactitude nor artistic qualities to fit them for the task. No amount of kindness can soften this decision. The results are to be regretted; for I am satisfied that, had the fathers trusted to themselves, or sought for simple nature-inspirations, they would have given us decorations as admirable as their architecture. What I am anxious to emphasize in this criticism is the principle involved. Instead of originating or relying upon nature, they copied without intelligence. The rude brick, adobe, or rubble work, left in the rough, or plastered and whitewashed, would have been preferable to their unmeaning patches of color. In the one, there would have been rugged strength to admire; in the other there exists only pretence to condemn."

Not the least charming part of the volume is the dedication, which I give below as it reveals the broad, kindly, humane spirit toward

all living creatures which is a characteristic of the man:

"To Scraggles,

"My Pet Sparrow and Companion

"Saint Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order, without whom there would probably have been no missions in California, regarded the birds as his 'little brothers and sisters.' Just as I began the actual writing of this book I picked up in the streets a tiny song sparrow, wounded, unable to fly, and that undoubtedly had been thrust out of its nest. In a short time we became close friends and inseparable companions. Hour after hour she sat on my foot, or, better still, perched, with head under her wing, on my left hand, while I wrote with the other. Nothing I did, such as the movement of books, turning of leaves, etc., made her afraid. When I left the room she hopped and fluttered along after me. She died just as the book was receiving its finishing pages. On account of her ragged and unkempt appearance I called her Scraggles; and to her, a tiny morsel of animation, but who had a keen appreciation and reciprocation of a large affection, I dedicate this book."

AMY C. RICH.

*The Orchard and Fruit Garden.* By E. P. Powell. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 322. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: McClure, Phillips & Company.

THIS work, which is a companion to Mr. Powell's *The Country Home*, reviewed in THE ARENA last year, is, like his former work, the best volume of the character that has appeared. We have refrained from noticing this treatise earlier because we desired to call the attention of our readers to the book at a time when they would be most interested in a treatise on the orchard and fruit garden, as it is a work that is so exceptionally valuable that we desire to see it given the widest possible circulation. For the shut-ins of our great cities it will, of course, hold far less interest than for the more favored ones who have room for plants and trees; yet so fascinating is our author's treatment of his subject that the book will hold a charm for all lovers of the good and the beautiful, and it will tend to stimulate that normal hunger of man, the land animal, for the wealth of nature that awaits her loving and diligent children who cultivate the soil. We are of those who believe that every aid possible



should be given the dwellers in the cities who desire to secure little homes in the country where they can have at least a good garden and a few fruit trees, and we hail with pleasure all books like the present volume which are clear and practical treatises so written as to stimulate the reader's desire to flee to the country.

We know of no author of the present day who can invest any subject relating to country life with such fascination as Mr. Powell. He is a genuine lover of the flower, the fruit and the vegetable. The earth is dear to him, and her beauty and bounty in his hands become a poem no less than a practical treatise.

Mr. Powell has for many years been an eminently successful fruit-grower. He was educated for the Christian ministry but was compelled by ill-health to retire to the country. Here he set to work to earn a livelihood by farming and fruit-growing in a scientific manner while making his home beautiful with the wealth of nature. He succeeded far beyond his own expectations and for many years he has been an authority on all matters pertaining to the garden and orchard.

There are three divisions in the present work. The first is concerned with "The Orchard"; the second is devoted to "The Fruit Garden"; and the third is devoted to "Cultural Directions."

Under the general heading of "The Orchard" Mr. Powell devotes thirteen chapters to the apple, the pear, the plum, the cherry, the quince, the peach, the apricot, the grape, citrus fruits, figs, dates, oranges, pineapples, bananas, etc. One chapter is devoted to "Undeveloped Fruits," in which the persimmon, the paw-paw and the mulberry receive attention. Another chapter is given to "Nuts and Nut Trees." In this general division the fruits are described and their habits, likes and dislikes are dwelt upon. The cultivation best suited for each, the best varieties and the sections where each thrives receive attention. In a word, Mr. Powell gives all the practical information the general fruit-grower needs to know, and gives it in so clear a manner that no one can fail to understand precisely what he means.

In a like manner in Part Second the cultivation of small fruits receives attention. Here the currant, strawberry, raspberry, blackberry, gooseberry and cranberry receive adequate consideration. A chapter is given to "Ne-

glected Berries," such as the blueberry, barberry, buffalo berry, elderberry, sand cherry, etc.

The last six chapters are devoted to "Cultural Directions" and will be of special interest to home-builders and farmers. Here such subjects as windbreaks, drainage, irrigation, pruning, fertilizing, cover-crops, spraying, harvesting and marketing, and plant-breeding receive careful consideration.

This book should be possessed by every farmer in the Republic and by all persons who have land for a few trees and berry bushes.

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*A Prince to Order.* A Romantic Novel. By Charles Stokes Wayne. Cloth. Pp. 318. Price, \$1.50. New York: The John Lane Company.

THE HERO of this novel, one Carey Grey by name, awakens in a richly furnished but to him strange apartment. The last he remembers he was in New York engrossed in the many financial ventures which had made his firm a power in Wall street. Now, however, when attempting to rise, he is overcome with vertigo, and for some time is compelled to remain in bed. At length he manages to get to the window where he discovers that instead of being in his bachelor apartments in New York he is in a well-known and fashionable part of Paris, and instead of the season being winter as it was when he last remembers anything, it is now high summer. On putting his hand to his face he is further startled by finding that he has a beard, and in looking into the glass his amazement knows no bounds at finding that his hair and beard are light blond whereas his hair had formerly been dark.

He goes out into the city and cables his mother, his *fiancée* and his partner that he is well and will return on the next boat, giving his Paris address. Next, he meets a New York acquaintance, who listens somewhat incredulously to his peculiar tale of mental lapse, after which the friend urges him to countermand the cable if not too late, as he tells him he left New York "under a cloud." The particulars of which he will find by consulting the files of the New York *Herald* in the office of the Paris *Herald*.

Hastening to the newspaper office he finds that he suddenly disappeared in January and with him securities vanished which were held by the firm and valued at \$110,000. On re-

turning to his hotel he is addressed as Max Arndt by an obsequious servant who tells him that his uncle, Herr Schlippenbach, is dying and very anxious to see him. Mystified he enters the chamber of death where the old man, who is almost at his end, tells him the key will unlock the box and the proofs are there that the throne is his and to take it.

Later, it develops that, through the connivance of his man-servant in New York, Grey's coffee had been drugged and old Schlippenbach had hypnotized him so completely that he had entirely lost his own identity. While drugged, his hair had been rendered blond. His mind was impressed with the idea that he was the old gentleman's nephew and a German of rank. By keeping him drugged and hypnotized his old identity was completely submerged, and he lived the life of an automaton, the creature of his alleged uncle. It was the purpose of the uncle to bring him to the throne of a petty German state, but now the old man was dead and Grey was himself. At the time of his awakening his *fiancée* and her father were in Paris and to them Grey's friend who had discovered him tells the strange story.

From this point there is no end of complications and exciting episodes. A bright Irishman, a friend of Grey, becomes his good angel, and in the end all turns out happily.

To fiction readers, who do not care for the element of probability, and to whom artificiality is not objectionable, this book will be enjoyable, as it is bright and full of action and excitement if one can become deeply interested in a story that is wanting in the important element of probability.

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*The Enchanted Woods* And Other Essays on the Genius of Places. By Vernon Lee. Cloth. Pp. 322. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: The John Lane Company.

THIS is a delightfully restful book, containing over thirty chapters, largely descriptive but possessing as its chief distinguishing characteristics the idealistic musings of a finely attuned poetic nature who sees and feels the mystic vision and witching spell only given to men and women of imagination as they tread the aisles of the temples of Nature or linger in earth's historic haunts. Many of these chapters have to do with famous forests of Europe, or are concerned with points of interest in and around famous cities rich in history and

legendary interest, and it is needless to say that such themes in the hands of an idealistic dreamer are rich in that subtle charm that soothes the tired brain and gives rest to the overworked nervous system much as does the lullaby of the forest or field-fragrant breeze of spring. The sordid mind, concerned only in the material things of life and eager for exciting pastimes when free from the stress and strain of daily business, will perhaps find little interest or charm in these pages, though for such a one, as for few others, they would prove a veritable boon had he the eye to see and the soul to appreciate, yielding possibly the rest so insistently demanded by the higher nature of man, and perchance they might unlock some closed doors in the chambers of the soul, so that he might catch, ere it is too late, glimpses of the realities of true life—the great and glorious things that only the poet and idealist feels and enjoys.

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*The Long Day.* The true story of a New York working girl as told by herself. Cloth. Pp. 303. Price, \$1.20 net. Postage, 18 cents. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is an extremely valuable contribution to the social literature of the day, because it presents a vivid pen-picture of the life of the working girls in the factories, the sweat-shops and laundries of our great cities—the life of hundreds of thousands of girls in America to-day who are for the most part comparatively ignorant but who are battling for a livelihood, many of them fighting with finer heroism than that shown on the battlefield where the emotional nature is stimulated and intoxicated by excitement amid the encouragement of officers, the flying of flags and the stirring strains of martial music.

That multitudes of young girls do go wrong amid the trying circumstances of their hard life and the absence of wholesome social conditions in the evenings is not strange. The wonder is that so many wear "the white flower of a blameless life" through all the hellward pressure of environment, associations and the multitudinous temptations that lure the young and unsophisticated to the gates of perdition.

The writer of this work possesses the rare power of presenting her facts with charming simplicity, directness and force, while investing them with a peculiar interest born of that dis-

criminating realism which tells its story so that the reader feels he is following a truthful guide and yet one who understands how to impress the imagination with the gruesome and hideous facts that are the scandal and shame of our so-called civilization, without awakening morbid sensibilities even in the mind of the most susceptible reader.

This book will do good. It presents a section from the social life of to-day with pathetic fidelity which must move many readers to a resolute determination to actively assist in movements which will render possible conditions that make for justice, morality and a healthful expansion of the best in the lives of those who, having enjoyed few opportunities for a successful battle against poverty and vice, are nevertheless thrown upon their own responsibilities and exertions for a livelihood.

*The Storm Signal.* By Gustave Frederick Mertins. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 425. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

*The Storm Signal* is an intensely dramatic and exciting story of a negro uprising in the South. It is written in a spirited manner and all the characters are living, breathing flesh and blood creations. It is unfortunate, however, that Mr. Mertins should have chosen to make the novel the vehicle for such extremely reactionary and undemocratic views in regard to the negro as are expressed in almost every chapter in the work. So long as the negro race is kept in subjection, he holds, so long will things go well; but as soon as the negro is educated or lifted up in any way from his old-time ignorance and degradation, there will immediately be friction and inharmony between the whites and the blacks, and the white race will suffer in consequence while the black will in no wise be benefited. The whole doctrine of the book is the doctrine of imperialism—of the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon and his God-given right to conquer and rule over all so-called inferior races. *The Storm Signal* is a work that is bound to foment racial hatred and to arouse the evil passions of both whites and blacks. Its influence cannot be other than unfortunate.

AMY C. RICH.

*The Queen's Page.* By Cornelia Baker. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 320. Price \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

VERY enjoyable and at the same time instructive is this story of the adventures of Pedro and Petronilla, the twin-children of a French father and a Spanish mother, who lived in a quaint old castle in the southwestern part of France in the days when Francis I. was king. The father had died when they were quite small and had left his wife and children with little but the half-ruined old castle; but the beautiful Spaniard had brought the twins up very carefully and they were remarkably well-educated for the times, being able to read and write and to speak both Spanish and French. Their beauty and good-breeding attracted the attention of a titled French woman who wished to take Pedro with her as a page to the court of Francis, and as the twins could not be separated Petronilla went too. At the court they saw many strange and interesting things and had some exciting adventures.

The book gives a vivid and entertaining picture of the manners and customs of the period, both among the nobility and the common people; the kinds of food eaten, the amusements, the methods of traveling and the modes of dress. *The Queen's Page* is one of the most delightful children's books of the year.

AMY C. RICH.

*The Bird-Woman of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.* By Katherine Chandler. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 109. Price, 36 cents net. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

THIS is an extremely valuable supplementary reader for first and second grades. It has been prepared by Katherine Chandler and is printed in large type and well illustrated, but its chief merit lies in the admirable manner in which the author has described how the famous Indian woman, Sacajawea, guided Lewis and Clark over the pathless prairies and mountains on their memorable trip to the Pacific. The tale is told in so interesting a manner that the children will call for more at the end of each chapter, and all the time they will be unconsciously learning the facts of one of the most interesting and important episodes in the story of the American pioneers.

It is an admirable book for either the home or the school and we heartily recommend it to parents and teachers.

*Justin Wingate, Ranchman.* By John H. Whitson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 312. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

It is difficult to conceive that the author of *The Rainbow Chasers* has written *Justin Wingate*, the latter work is so far superior to the former in every particular. It is, indeed, one of the best stories of the West of recent years, strong, virile, spirited; and though it contains several intensely exciting episodes and not a few strongly dramatic situations, it is freer from the element of improbability than are most novels of this kind, while the pictures of the life of the cattlemen and the farmers on the Colorado plains and their jealousies and bitter struggles for supremacy are vividly realistic. The author has also succeeded in picturing nature in her varied moods, which form the background of his drama, in a faithful and convincing manner; while above and beyond all this is the fine, humane and gentle spirit that pervades the lives of the lovable characters in the romance. The novel represents a blending of the romantic with the realistic and is therefore stimulating to the imagination while sufficiently true to the life and the land that is the theater of action to invest the story with that seeming reality that is necessary to the highest enjoyment on the part of the discerning reader. It is a capital story of the West and well worth the reading.

*Deerfoot on the Prairies.* By Edward S. Ellis. Second volume of the New Deerfoot Series. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 366. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

*Deerfoot in the Mountains.* By Edward S. Ellis. Third and last volume of the New Deerfoot Series. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 363. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

THESE two stories constitute the second and third volumes in the New Deerfoot Series, the first volume of which was recently noticed in *THE ARENA*. The books contain the story of Deerfoot and his two adventurous boy companions who journey with the young Indian to the far-away Pacific along a trail very similar to that traveled by Lewis and Clark at about the same period. Each book is complete in itself. In these volumes the young

travelers meet with no end of exciting adventures and are frequently in the gravest peril, but the resourceful young Indian is equal to the greatest emergency. The fact that one exciting episode follows another in rapid succession will greatly enhance the interest of the books for the young who are enamored of stories of adventures in the wilds. The special value of these tales, apart from their interest for the young, lies in their portrayal of the hardships and perils of the early pioneers who blazed the overland pathway to the Pacific.

*The Broadbent Booklets. A Treasury of Love; A Russell Lowell Treasury; An Emerson Treasury; and A Treasury of Consolation.* Published in neat pamphlets bound in heavy paper stamped in colors. Price, 10 cents each. Philadelphia: The Broadbent Press.

THESE four little booklets, which are published at the nominal price of ten cents each, will make beautiful little gifts to friends who love the best poetic and ethical thoughts in literature. Every year there are tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of dollars spent in America on Christmas, New Year and Easter cards. Some of this money might be wisely expended on these little booklets, as they would serve as a beautiful little remembrance and at the same time would add materially to the mental delight and true culture of the recipients.

The selections in *An Emerson Treasury* are particularly fine. Those in *A Russell Lowell Treasury* would please the general reader, but we could wish that more of his ethical and reformative verses could have been included. *A Treasury of Consolation* and that containing poems of love both evince exceptional discrimination and wisdom in their selection.

#### LITERARY NOTES.

WE HAVE just received *A Great Iniquity* by Count Leo Tolstoi. This is the publication in full of the remarkable paper on property in land published by Count Tolstoi in the *London Times* in the latter part of last summer, and noticed at length in a recent editorial in *THE ARENA*. It is one of the ablest defenses of the philosophy of the late Henry George that has appeared. The Public Publishing Company have served the cause of social reform a real service in publishing this

remarkable paper in full and putting it before the people in a convenient form, bound in heavy paper and carrying a frontispiece of Count Tolstoi. (The Public Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill. Price, 10 cents.)

*Sabbath Laws in the United States.* The National Reform Association, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has recently published a compilation of the Sabbath laws in the various states of the Union, compiled by the Rev. R. C. Wylie. This work is one of the propaganda publications of the National Reform Association, a body of religionists who doubtless with good intention are nevertheless, we think, in many instances doing much more evil than good by their narrow views of religious questions—views which are in our judgment far more in harmony with the old Mosaic idea of the Sabbath than with that of the founder of Christianity.

*The Hand* is the title of a new cloth-bound volume by Lewis D. Burdick, which contains

a survey of facts, legends and beliefs pertaining to manual ceremonies, covenants and symbols. The work contains sixteen chapters in which the author considers historically the hand as "The Executant of the Brain," "A Symbol of Life," "A Symbol of Authority," "An Indicator of Fortune," "Trial by the Hand," "The Hand in Lustration," "Laying on Hands," "Lifting the Hand," "Taking an Oath," "The Social Hand," "The Healing Hand," "The Hand of Evil," and other kindred topics. (Pages, 238. Price, \$1.50. The Irving Company, Oxford, N. Y.)

A VERY valuable little vest-pocket volume has just been issued, compiled by Thomas H. Russell, Editor-in-Chief of Webster's Imperial Dictionary, and entitled *Faulty Diction; or, Errors in the Use of the English Language and How to Correct Them*. It is a thoroughly practical book which should be possessed by everyone. (Pages, 150. Bound in embossed Russia leather. Price, 50 cents. George W. Ogilvie & Company, Chicago, Ill.)

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**M**AIN CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: Seldom is it the fortune of readers of periodical literature to find so much important information of general interest luminously presented in the confines of a magazine essay as are found in the distinctly noteworthy paper by Professor ROBERT T. KERLIN, A.M., which appears in this issue of THE ARENA. Professor KERLIN is one of the most brilliant educators in the Methodist Church of the South, a student of religion, science and philosophy, and a professor of literature. He has in his paper marshalled in a striking manner facts of special importance and significance to all students of the mental and moral movements of the past hundred years. In the next number of THE ARENA we shall present the second and concluding division of this noble essay. It treats more specifically of the thought of the master-builders in the moral and mental world of Anglo-Saxon life and is if possible more interesting than the present paper. This discussion will be one of the most helpful and informing magazine contributions of the year and we suggest that all our readers loan THE ARENA to at least two young peo-

ple, who may thus be materially helped by the perusal of Professor KERLIN's great work.

*Mr. Phillips on the Menace of Plutocracy:* No single feature of THE ARENA, excepting "The Mirror of the Present," seems to be more popular with our readers than our conversations with leading representative thinkers. Last month EDWIN MARKHAM voiced the demand of present-day democracy. This month the brilliant and popular novelist, essayist and journalist, DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS, discusses "The Menace of Plutocracy" in his clear, incisive manner. In response to an oft-expressed wish on the part of our subscribers, we preface these conversations with a brief sketch and pen-picture of the subject giving the conversation.

*Economy:* Under this title Mr. STUYVESANT FISH contributes to this number of THE ARENA an article that will attract wide interest because of Mr. FISH's high reputation for rugged honesty and because of the fact that he is a millionaire railroad

president and a vice-president of the National Park Bank of New York. It affords another striking illustration of the fact that even among those of our great financiers who are under the compulsion of moral idealism and the old concepts of justice and democracy, there is apparent on every hand a growing realization of the imminent peril to the people and to free government from the uncurbed rapacity of privileged wealth under the guidance of arrogant, insolent, determined and essentially lawless masterminds. Like Mr. GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY, whose recent outspoken utterances appear in "The Mirror of the Present" in this issue of THE ARENA, Mr. FISH realizes the necessity for action. The remedies, in so far as our author offers any, are not as fundamental in character as, in our opinion is necessary to meet present conditions or as practical at the present stage in the advance of corporate power. Yet the frank recognition of dangers and the earnest determination evinced to find remedies for admitted wrongs make this paper by Mr. FISH a significant contribution, apart from its own excellence.

*The Blight of the Trusts:* Every American citizen ought to read the exceptionally strong and clear presentation of the trust evil as illustrated in the typical case of the Smelter-Trust, given by the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS in this issue of THE ARENA. Here in a concrete manner the trust evils are clearly marshalled. This paper ought to be used with telling effect in every community. We suggest that every subscriber induce ten friends to peruse it. It is by the circulation of such literature and the reasoning together with your friends that you can become a positive factor in furthering better social, political and economic conditions. All friends of peaceful progress should aid in such educational work.

*The March of Direct-Legislation:* Our readers will be deeply interested in the brief statement of the progress of Direct-Legislation given in this issue by President POMEROY of the National Direct-Legislation League. This movement more than any other present-day effort will preserve to the people the blessings of democratic government and cause a halt in the efforts of plutocracy to firmly establish, under the term imperial republic, a government of privileged interests through political bosses and money-controlled machines, by which the people shall continue to be the victims and the bond-slaves of monopolies and corporations resting on privilege or class laws. There is a steady and increasing opposition to Majority-Rule being exerted by privileged interests and their minions on every hand; but the more the people are coming to understand the secret of their enslavement and their inability to secure relief from government for admitted evils and oppressions from the great law-defying commercial organizations, the more they are determined

to right the wrong by a simple, effective, constitutional, peaceful and rational method. Such a method is offered by Majority-Rule or Direct-Legislation.

*President Miller on the Economics of Moses:* In this issue we publish the concluding part of President MILLER's deeply thoughtful paper on "The Economics of Moses." This contribution will be followed by a very strong and interesting consideration from President MILLER's pen on "The Economics of Jesus." It is difficult to understand how people who regard the Bible as inspired or a divine revelation can be so indifferent as many churchmen are to the great fundamental economic truths emphasized by the master law-giver of the children of Israel and by the Great Nazarene.

*The Heart of the Race Problem:* Mr. ARCHIBALD GRIMKE's second paper on "The Heart of the Race Problem" appears in this issue. There is one more instalment from the pen of this distinguished colored scholar, the whole making one of the strongest contributions to the literature of this much-discussed question that has appeared from the view-point of the colored man.

*Our Story:* We are pleased to present this month another charming story of Western life from the pen of WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL, the talented author of "The Spirit of the West" and "On the Battle-Line." Mrs. COCKERELL is doing some excellent work. Her tales are full of human interest and are ethically sound.

*Human Liberty or Human Greed?* Mr. BAKER in this issue opens his series of regular contributions on timely topics which will be a feature of THE ARENA during the ensuing year. This month he discusses human liberty *versus* human greed in his direct, trenchant and suggestive style. Our readers will remember that it was Congressman BAKER who a few years ago directed the attention of the public to the railroad-pass bribery, by refusing a free pass. At that time he was ridiculed by the great newspapers that are beholden to corporate interests. However, since Secretary BONAPARTE and some other prominent statesmen have followed Mr. BAKER's example, several of these same journals have discovered that the taking of passes is a form of bribery and highly immoral.

*The Coming Exodus:* This paper by ARTHUR S. PHELPS is unavoidably omitted in this number for lack of space. It will appear in our next issue and will, we think, be read with more than ordinary interest by our subscribers.



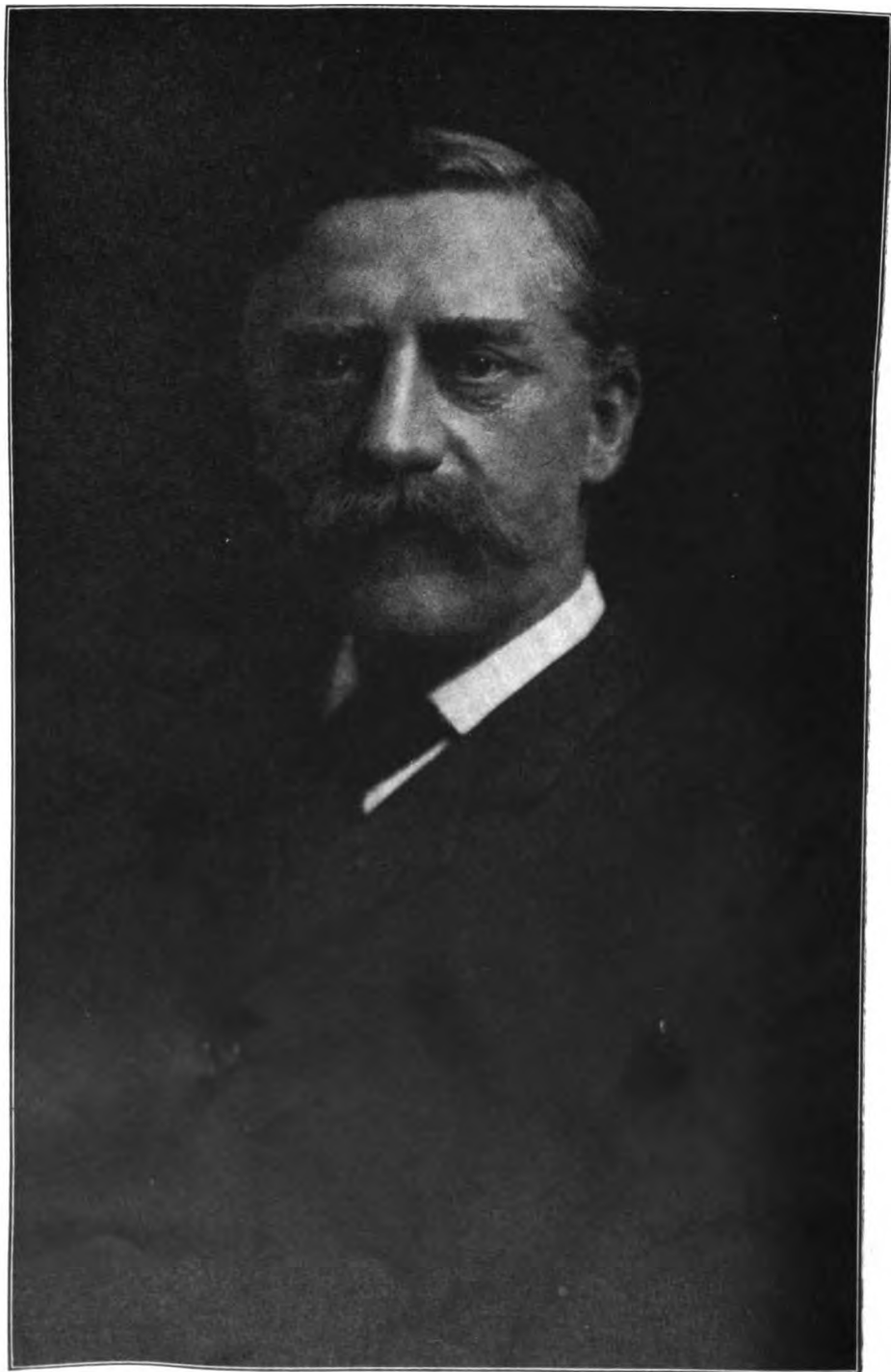


Photo. by Puffer, New York.

**STUYVESANT FISH**



*"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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## TRAFFICKING IN TRUSTS; OR, PHILANTHROPY FROM THE INSURANCE VIEW-POINT.

### A NEW PHASE.

BY HARRY A. BULLOCK.

**I**T IS not surprising that such enlightened philanthropists as Henry H. Rogers, George F. Baker, Edward H. Harriman and Thomas F. Ryan should have entered the mission field of life insurance hard upon the departing footsteps of the Messrs. McCurdy, John A. McCall, James W. Alexander and James Hazen Hyde. For despite the great work accomplished by that devoted band before a sensational press, an unappreciative public, and Hughes the Persecutor drove them untimely from their labors, much remains yet to be done ere the beneficent gospel of the deferred dividend shall be brought to its fullest fruition. There is, therefore, cause for genuine public rejoicing that the ripening harvest will not be left for wild birds to devour or for frosts to spoil because no reapers are at hand to gather it into the storehouse. The coming of the newly-found philanthropists finds its clear explanation in a high conception of public duty, and all fair-minded persons, one may be sure, will give to them the measure of credit that they so richly deserve.

One of the encouraging facts about

American life, whether political or financial or religious seems, indeed, to be that wherever a great situation is developed, a great mind is at hand to grapple with it. And it has not infrequently happened that there has been an embarrassment of riches in this respect, as was evidenced last Spring when the doctrinal differences in the Equitable Life Assurance Society brought that institution to a point where it seemed plainly impossible to reestablish the degree of self-sacrificing and harmonious coöperation necessary in order that it continue its Heaven-ordained work. In vain had the elders in council debated among themselves how they should persuade the original disputants to have done with bickerings over mutualization and to behold again with a single eye the vision of an ever-increasing surplus, swelled by the contributions of 600,000 policy-holders, but belonging to no one.

Of no avail was the argument that it mattered little how the elders were chosen, or by whom, so long as the Insurance Law held that no individual contributor, nor all of them, could obtain an account-

ing of the funds that were being administered benevolently for the good of all. Disgraceful scenes transpired. The committee of which Elder Frick was chairman, appointed to harmonize the discordant elements, became itself embroiled when some declared that it gazed at the surplus with too wistful an eye, and Elder Schiff and Elder Bliss and Elder Ives got even to the point of blows because one of them had told another that he lied. It was truly a great situation, and demanded the great mind. This was not wanting. Within the council arose Elder Harriman, and without it, one greater than he—a new disciple, eager for the toil. So it happened that Missionary Ryan came to save the Equitable, and the factional dispute, by convenient device of Lay-worker Root, was disposed of, to the end that all might have a voice in the choosing of elders without disturbing the head missionary in his appointed task of caring for the surplus.

Recent events in that other great eleemosynary institution, the Mutual Life Insurance Company, give us fresh illustration of the situation developing the men. For a generation the work had been entrusted to a prince of missionaries, Richard A. McCurdy. His watchfulness over the surplus had been unceasing; steadily the great fund had grown, and its administration had been so wise and just that the corrupting influence of dividends to policy-holders had been brought to what may be fairly considered an irreducible minimum. The company's income was being distributed so that it would do a maximum of good with a minimum of danger. The policy-holder on the one hand was so protected that he need not fear having \$7.29 forced upon him at the year's end to squander on cigars and billiards; while the missionaries, on the other, were quite as sure not to be disturbed in the syndicate profits, salaries and commissions that constituted their legitimate "great rewards for great achievements." To speak in more detail—if a bit of ecclesiastical terminology

may be pardoned—the salaries and commissions were so large that they exceeded the loading of premiums by an amount sufficient to consume also all the mortality gains, while the investment of the assets was so well ordered that the interest earned barely came up to the four per cent. required for the reserve.

Then Hughes the oppressor came and all was changed. The master-missionary and his devoted family were rudely driven forth. It was a question who should follow him. Again there was a wonderful demonstration of self-sacrifice. Disciple Rogers and Disciple Baker, who, with their lesser followers had been watching the work with clasped hands and uplifted eyes, volunteered to take up the custody of the surplus and to direct the spread of the gospel.

"Let the unbelievers rage," cried they, "we have become anointed of the Lord to perform this task. Even with consecrated standard oil are we anointed, and who shall stand before us?"

It appears, therefore, nothing less than a calamity that any short-seeing or ill-intentioned persons should stand in their way, or public officials seek to mar their exhibition of devoted service by talk of suits and prosecutions. Fortunately, the District-Attorney of New York County has not yet shown a disposition to meddle. How much less should Trustees of the Mutual Life strive for aught save to make the path easier and the way plainer for these new workers in the mission field!

Seriously, however, it is a question that may well be considered by thinking people what is to be the final disposition and control of the billion and a quarter of assets represented by the three great insurance companies, the Mutual Life, the New York Life and the Equitable Life. The glamor that attended the purchase of the majority stock in the Equitable and its transfer to the three trustees, Grover Cleveland, Justice Morgan J. O'Brien and George Westinghouse, has faded, and it is possible to look with un-

dazzled eyes at the Society in its present situation. It has a reorganized Board of Directors whose personal and collective honesty is not to be questioned and a financial administration that has effected substantial economies as well as the restoration of upwards of a million of dollars from individuals and institutions whence it had been diverted to serve the dubious purposes of the old *régime*. It is entirely creditable to President Morton in comparison with performances in certain other companies that he forced the payment of the \$685,000 "yellow dog" loan that was carried in the Mercantile Trust Company in the names of James W. Alexander and Thomas D. Jordan, and persuaded United States Senator Depew and his associates to pay back the \$250,000 that was borrowed from the Equitable by the Depew Improvement Company on real property of speculative value. The same may be said for the restoration of syndicate profits, the general reduction in salaries and unnecessary expenses, and the contemplated suits to establish the responsibility for the improvident leases of space in different Equitable buildings.

But when all this has been said, the fact remains that most of the well-advertised activity of the Equitable's new administration applies to the past, and not to the present and future.

The thing that is going to determine the ultimate verdict upon the Ryanization of the Equitable is the result to policy-holders, and this, subject to such restrictions as the Legislature may impose as the result of the Armstrong committee's report, will depend pretty largely upon whether the company is going to continue to be forced on and on in the rush for new business, still farther past the point where it is possible to put new insurance on the books without positive loss to those already insured.

On the one side of the proposition, the evidence consists of President Morton's recent letter to policy-holders in which he declares that the largest company is not necessarily the best one.

On the other side evidence may be drawn from the testimony of Equitable officials on the stand in the investigation by the Armstrong Legislative Committee that the time had not yet come when bounds need be fixed, either through annual limitation of business to be written or a limitation of the gross business to be carried. In view of this declaration it is not surprising that recent circulars to Equitable agents have been found to contain the same old doctrine of bigness, bigness, bigness and that Equitable officials have joined those of the Mutual and New York Life in protesting against the limitations suggested in the Armstrong committee's report.

In the face of admissions by officers of all three of the great companies during the investigation and the findings of the Armstrong committee that the point had already been reached where new business ceased to be productive of anything but enormous expenses and a swollen surplus, these things are significant. To the financier who wants a life insurance company for a club with which he may lay low his enemies the proposition is of the simplest order. The bigger the company, the heavier the club. It is not here contended that Mr. Ryan wanted the Equitable that he might sell to it immediately new issues of his traction, gas, tobacco or other personal properties. There were plenty of other people who would handle these stocks, however the respectability badge of life insurance investment might be lacking, provided always that they were sufficiently impressed with the necessity of keeping in the good graces of the self-declared philanthropist of 32 Nassau street; and such prospective purchasers were for the most part bankers interested in railroad and other issues for which the life insurance company endorsement was a *sine qua non* of successful flotation. It was as broad as it was long. It made the Equitable a bargain at \$2,500,000 and furnished a quite satisfactory explanation of the unusual concern that Mr. Harriman exhibited when he discovered that his neighbor Mr. Rya-

had got the control of the Society. "It was rather startling to think of Ryan buying the Equitable," quoth Harriman naïvely to the Armstrong investigators, and he was keen enough to realize that Mr. Ryan's nomination of a President as a condition of his purchase, carried with it the kind of control he desired to exercise regardless of the honesty of the men whom his trustees might nominate for the Board. The result has been what was expected. Save for the elimination of the Alexanders and young Mr. Hyde, the complexion of the executive committee of the Equitable has not changed. In it sit the Presidents of the three subsidiary companies, the National Bank of Commerce, the Mercantile Trust Company and the Equitable Trust Company, and in their boards, in turn, have been placed Mr. Ryan's men, the President of the Equitable; Charles S. Allen, Vice-President of the Morton Trust Company and Paul D. Cravath, chief of the Ryan lawyers now that Elihu Root has gone to advise Mr. Roosevelt. Some proportion of fifty-two Directors of the Equitable meet once a month, but the executive committee meets three times a week, and it is at such meetings as these that Wall street's business is done in most instances.

Bearing in mind, now, the probable use of the \$416,000,000 of Equitable assets, it becomes interesting to see what the situation is in the Mutual and New York Life Insurance Companies. In the Mutual Life, a committee from which Stuyvesant Fish, President of the Illinois Central Railroad, eventually withdrew, undertook to conduct an investigation leading to a reorganization of the company on an insurance, rather than a Wall-street, basis. This involved bringing out various unpleasant details of past management and no doubt would have confronted the trustees with the duty of filling several vacancies in the Board. Whether the investigation would have laid upon the State for an indefinite period the care of certain individuals who had helped manage the company was a ques-

tion that was seriously being considered when it became apparent how far the committee was prepared to go. There was reason for consternation, not only on the part of those who did not want to become wards of the State, but among those whose Wall-street affiliations prevented them from sympathizing with the insurance idea of an insurance company.

And in this latter class were Mr. Rogers and Mr. Baker, the first, the reputed head of the speculative contingent known as "Standard Oil," the latter, long chairman of the Mutual's finance committee, the president of a bank important enough to be a welcome ally to any party in the financial community. They had long watched the McCurdy administration as members of the "inner circle." They allowed themselves to be affectionately termed by the former President of the company, "my trustees." It was he and not they who controlled the proxies and the proxy-collecting organization, and he primarily was the chief beneficiary of Section 56 of the Insurance Law which prohibited a policy-holder, without the consent of the Attorney-General, from bringing suit to force an accounting of the trust funds. Obviously the wisest policy in the past was to keep in on the graft as well as possible and to wait until death or some other manifestation of divine providence should remove the strong old man who had ruled for many years.

The providential thing happened when the revelations before the legislative investigating committee incited a degree of public indignation that made it impossible for Mr. McCurdy to continue in the presidency or in the Board. The very trustees who had claimed membership in the "inner circle" and had for years fattened upon the syndicate largesses passed out from the gilded office on the eighth floor, voted on October 26th last, for an investigation of the company by a committee of their own number. Mr. Rogers and Mr. Baker and William Rockefeller voted for it also, and they put at the head of the Committee William

H. Truesdale, President of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, a man who enjoys personally a degree of respect that Wall Street accords to few of its workers, but who is employed by a railroad in the board of which sit William Rockefeller, George F. Baker, James Stillman, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. It needs no demonstration that men of this variety do not sit in corporations for nothing; and they compel obedience from all in their employ, whether as Presidents of their great railroad systems or as footmen on their carriages. The other members of the committee were John W. Auchincloss, a wealthy and genial cotton-broker, and Effingham B. Morris, of Philadelphia, a banker of standing in the Quaker city, who had, however, little familiarity with Mutual Life affairs. Mr. Morris declined to serve, and, as a concession to public demand, Stuyvesant Fish was appointed to his place. Mr. Fish accepted and the fun began.

It would be too long a tale to recite at length the course of events in the Mutual Life from that time until Mr. Fish resigned, on February 15th, from the investigating committee. But it is possible to get at a glance an idea of the work the committee at first intended to do from a paragraph from the instructions it gave to its accountants on November 11th. This was:

“To make a thorough examination into and report on: (a) The relations existing or that have existed between the company and trust companies, banks, safe deposit companies, and other institutions with which the company is or has been affiliated by stock ownership or otherwise; (b) any or all of the books, records, and accounts of any or all of the subsidiary companies that may be necessary for a proper understanding of existing relations so far as the Mutual Life Insurance Company has, or can obtain, the right of access thereto; (c) the relations, personal or otherwise, of trustees, officers, employés, and agents of the com-

pany with trust companies, banks, or other institutions with which it may be affiliated; (d) all syndicate participations entered into by the company, with the resulting profit or loss as to each; (e) syndicate participations or other profits, if any, enjoyed by trustees, officers, employés, or agents of the company through or as a result of, their connection with the company.”

It was plainly not the kind of an investigation that the “inner circle” had counted on, but the time had hardly come for open opposition and the committee was allowed to proceed temporarily. Its first report was necessarily directed at the most obvious forms of graft, the outrageous salary paid to Richard A. McCurdy, the equally criminal contracts with the firm of Charles H. Raymond & Company, whereby President McCurdy’s son and son-in-law had profited to the tune of \$100,000 a year each for a decade, and the theft of unknown amounts of the company’s money through the instrumentality of Andrew C. Fields for the avowed purpose of buying legislation at Albany. There is no use in mincing words in characterizing these features of Mutual policy, for the penal code of the State of New York expressly provides that the crime of grand larceny shall include any unauthorized or illegal expenditure of trust funds whether the individuals concerned in the misuse of them profit personally thereby or not. Just twelve days from the adoption of this report President McCurdy resigned.

The “lid” was now ready to go on. Andrew C. Fields had disappeared; the records of the Supply Department and of other Departments where an investigation would not be relished by the “inner circle” had disappeared; the McCurdys had gone, and the other executive officers were reduced, for the fear of losing fine, fat jobs, to a state of mind where they were quite as subservient to the “inner circle,” now become the “innermost circle,” as they had been to Richard A. McCurdy in the days of his autocracy.

It was time to choose a successor to Mr. McCurdy; and the man of all men for the position was Charles A. Peabody, personal representative in this country of William Waldorf Astor, counsel for George F. Baker and the First National Bank, a director in the Union Pacific Railroad, which Standard Oil controls, and—be it said gently—counsel for the estate of Stuyvesant Fish's father, Hamilton Fish, and a Director of the Illinois Central Railroad. Stuyvesant Fish, indeed, had been the making of Mr. Peabody. He had introduced the candidate of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Baker into the railroad world, he had established his connection with the Astors and had accepted him as among his closest personal friends for a score of years. Truly this was an ideal gentleman to put at the head of an organization bent upon striking down the one man in the Mutual who had the honesty of vision which enabled him to see the need of reform and the courage to come out and fight for it.

But enough of that phase of the matter; it would lead to a digression interesting enough as an illustration of how a useful tool serving in the Board of two railroads may sell out the benefactor who placed him in both positions but would have no direct bearing upon the present phase of Mutual Life matters. It may simply be remembered as an illustration of one way in which Standard Oil does its work.

In the Mutual there were at first a few trustees who joined with Mr. Fish in opposing the election of any man to the Presidency of the company until the investigation had gone its course; but their numbers were limited and their courage a steadily diminishing asset, so that it was but a week from the time when Peabody's name was first proposed until he received a unanimous election. And this was the end of "reform" in the Mutual. A strangling process began, directed in Board meetings by Mr. Rogers and one Julien T. Davies, a gentleman who was believed to have good reason for desiring

the "lid" to remain on, and executed between meetings by Mr. Peabody himself. In vain did the investigating committee, in the intervals in which Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss could be galvanized into action, demand information about the doings of the "inner circle" and recommend suits; the one was refused flatly by Mr. Peabody and the "legal questions" involved in the other were referred to Joseph H. Choate on an *ex parte* statement of the facts made by President Peabody and known to no one save Mr. Choate and himself even to this day. Mr. Fish, in disgust, resigned from the investigating committee, and the other members, faintly protesting that a "thorough investigation" would be carried on, bended their heads while the final rivets were put in the collar they had somewhat uncomfortably worn since the committee was appointed in October.

In the New York Life the work of "reform" has been prosecuted somewhat more judiciously than in the Mutual. The election of Alexander E. Orr to be President of the Company, while it carried with it the confession that there was no intention to push through an executive reorganization during his incumbency, was nevertheless not so "raw" an undertaking as the election of Charles A. Peabody. The New York Life's investigating committee, with Thomas P. Fowler, the President of a controlled railroad, as chairman, stamped rough-shod upon the prostrate forms of John A. McCall and Andrew Hamilton, offered gentle reproaches to George W. Perkins, lately Vice-President, for paying out \$100,000 of the policy-holders' money without other authorization than the behest of Mr. McCall, and finally adjourned until after the annual election of trustees, which was scheduled for April 7th. Mr. Perkins remained still a trustee and member of the finance committee, as did Charles W. Fairchild, and E. D. Randolph was still Treasurer of the company, so that it went without saying that the deals whereby these three gentlemen and others

allowed the New York Life's money to be used in various questionable stock operations had not been probed beyond the attention given them by the Armstrong committee. Meantime New York Life agents the country over were being told "proxies are business," and the "bigness, bigness, bigness" cry was stilled for a few weeks that the shout of "proxies, proxies, proxies" might be heard the louder by the policy-holders and the public.

By the report of the Armstrong committee to the Legislature on February 22d, the proxy campaigns of both the New York Life and Mutual Life Insurance Companies have now been halted in view of the virtual certainty that a special act will be passed postponing all insurance elections until November 15th and canceling all existing proxies. But this is only a postponement, and it will be a credulous policy-holder who believes that because the companies are not now to seek proxies before September 15th, they will be any the less ready to avail themselves of the entire agency organizations that were turned to the work during the first two months of this year, or to push without diminution of vigor the campaigns for the tickets they may name on July 15th. Of course the policy-holders, either individually or in the organizations now made possible by the compulsory publication of the policy-holders' lists five months prior to elections, will have an even, or, perhaps, more than an even chance, inasmuch as they do not have to nominate until a month after the companies name their tickets. Thus policy-holders will have opportunity to profit by whatever criticism the administration nominees arouse; but that will not elect their own candidates if they do not see to it that their nominations are effectively supported, and it is all too well known to need emphasis here that delays of five or seven months in bringing about a crisis in a great public movement are as a rule more favorable to those who hope

for an abatement of public interest than for those who are striving to keep it at a point where it can be employed to regulate and to punish. The Armstrong committee has given to all policy-holders a wonderful opportunity to exercise an "effective voice" in the management of the companies by decreeing a general election of all trustees for the 15th of next November. The policy-holders of the New York and Mutual Life Insurance Companies may be sure that if they fail to profit by it, the companies will make no similar mistake.

To the other features of the committee's report a more extended discussion ought to be given than is possible within the scope of this article. Its comprehensiveness, and the grasp that its framers have demonstrated of their subject is sufficiently attested by the fact that the "Big Three" companies, against which particularly it is directed, have been utterly unable to find a basis for a general opposition that they themselves believe will be of the slightest avail before the Legislature. Instead, they have been filling such newspaper space as they can obtain by wails of the injustice that the report will do their agents, and of the impossibility of writing under its provisions anything like the volume of business that they have been putting on their books each year under the old *régime*.

It may not be amiss, therefore, to consider here very briefly this single feature of the Armstrong committee's report to see if it has not a fundamental bearing upon the question raised at the outset as to the final disposition of the assets of the "Big Three." It is apparent, of course, that whatever restrictions the great companies may be placed under as regards new business will not diminish existing assets unless by the very gradual process following a decision to stop writing new insurance entirely. The Equitable, Mutual, and New York Life, therefore, are all left to be dealt with as investing institutions having upwards of a billion and a quarter of dollars belonging to nearly

two millions of policy-holders the world over. The Armstrong committee, in its prohibition of stock and collateral trust bond investments and of syndicate operations of all kinds and in its demand that there be an annual accounting by which even existing deferred dividend policy-holders may see what the companies are earning on the funds held in trust, has attempted to meet this situation as best it may, and, judging from the complaint of the companies against prohibition of stock and collateral trust bond investment, it has done a pretty good job. But the discussion of these things may be left for another writing. The fundamental part of the report, as meeting the problem of the future, is that which has to do with the limitation of new business and the prohibition of the deferred dividends.

Remembering now the way in which bigness appeals to the financier who wants a life insurance company for a club, it requires no great degree of imagination to picture what the new school of life insurance philanthropists think of the Armstrong committee's basic proposition that there is a point beyond which life insurance companies ought not to be allowed to grow, and that the "Big Three" have passed this point long ago. The most irritating thing about the committee's performance is that it has not attempted special legislation which might be attacked on constitutional or other grounds, but has taken up the simplest of all economic propositions. This is that in any life insurance company managed in the interest of its policy-holders, business which is put on the books by borrowing from surplus earnings in any year which otherwise would be distributable to policy-holders already in the company, is not business that is worth having. "Let the new business pay for itself," is what the Armstrong committee recommends, and to this end it proposes that the cost of writing it shall be limited to that part of the first premiums applicable to expenses, which is known as the loading, plus the mortality gains of the first five years,

when investment expenses have been deducted. The committee would amend the reserve law so as to allow the companies to utilize these mortality savings, on the theory that in reckoning for the first five years of a policy, the per cent. of mortality is so far below the average for later years that the full reserve is not required.

The reasoning at this point may be gone into with some detail, because of the very common device employed by the larger companies to confuse the layman who seeks to question the expense of getting new business. The argument of the companies has been something like this: All business—particularly the deferred dividend kind—contributes to the surplus, since the borrowings necessary to make up the excess of first year's expenses over first year's loadings are paid back out of renewals in later years; the surplus (in theory) belongs to the policy-holders; therefore all business contributes to the funds belonging to the policy-holders. The argument was very plausible, like many other insurance arguments, but it had one fundamental trouble. The proposition that the surplus belonged to the policy-holders was like that advanced to the small boy to whom an affectionate aunt at Christmas gave a beautiful vase. His parents put the vase on a high mantelpiece and told the boy that it was his but he could n't have it. It may not be carrying the parallel too far to say that under the old *régime*, Section 56 of the Insurance Law, which the Armstrong committee would now repeal, was the mantelpiece.

What the companies have failed absolutely to do has been to distinguish in their heart to heart talks with policy-holders between general surplus, being the difference between general liabilities and assets; net surplus, being that part of the general surplus over and above the sum held as applicable to existing deferred dividend policies, and annual surplus, being that part of the premiums collected from policy-holders in excess of the amount required for the reserve and for all the



expenses of the company. What the Armstrong committee has done has been to point out that the general surplus, or net surplus, as the case may be, is approached through the annual surplus, and that in a mutual company, while a reasonable net surplus should be maintained against unforeseen contingencies of the business, the balance of the unused portion of the premiums ought to be paid back to the policy-holders from whom it has been collected, not as a distribution of largesses by the beneficent managers, but as the refund of an overcharge for a commodity which the policy-holders have the right to get at its net cost.

Whether this repayment shall be made annually or at the expiration of a period of years, is a detail; the committee has declared for the annual distribution on the ground that the policy-holders have nothing to gain and disingenuous managements everything, by the other method. That does not affect the fundamental proposition that business which in any year is put on the books by borrowing from that year's surplus otherwise distributable to existing policy-holders, is written at their cost, regardless of whether it eventually contributes to the general surplus of the company, if on a deferred dividend basis, or to the net surplus, if deferred dividends are prohibited. And the excess cost is just as much an unnecessary expense as an extra \$50,000 a year put on a President's salary by a finance committee that goes on a "you tickle me and I'll tickle you" basis.

But all this reasoning of the Armstrong committee means a system of insurance in which the size of a company is merely an incident and subject to certain economic limitations; and the size of surplus, or amount of assets depends, of course, upon the value of business carried. As a matter of theory, therefore, as well as of concrete conclusion, the new school of insurance philanthropists have reason to make such outcry as they may be able against the Armstrong committee's report.

And what is to be the result? If reform, genuine reform, is impossible from the inside, how can it be brought about from without? By such legislation as is now proposed? Yes, partly, but there is a variety of corporation lawyers of great ability who have built up their social station and their fortunes *pari passu* by devising means whereby laws intended to protect the people may be circumvented. And the greatest of these is Elihu Root. So we may conclude that laws will not do it alone. Is it to be by litigation? Yes, perhaps,—but with a District-Attorney who has slumbered peacefully through twelve months of the worst revelations of corporate corruption that the country has ever seen, the people of New York county have not reason for overmuch hope from that quarter. Is it, then, to be through a policy-holders' movement? Perhaps so, yet the best intended campaigns of this character have been brought to naught through failure of the public officials to act or through failure of the courts to extend their protection.

Yet legislators and prosecutors and judges are all creatures of the people and their sworn servants—in theory, at least. It remains, therefore, for the people the country over to say whether it shall be so in practice, and the series of explosions that have uprooted in the past twelve months the old life-insurance ring, thought to be so firmly entrenched that even the powers of Wall street would not openly attack it, furnishes an impressive lesson of what an outraged public opinion can do when it undertakes to compel attention of those who have long defied it. Mr. Ryan has some appreciation of this when he inveigled an ex-President of the United States to become the figurehead of his scheme for running the Equitable. Henry H. Rogers and George F. Baker and William Rockefeller and James Stillman, with all their armies and camp-followers seem to be thus far quite lacking in similar keenness of perception.

HARRY A. BULLOCK.

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# FEDERAL REGULATION OF RAILROAD RATES.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.,

*Author of The City for the People, The World's Best Books, The Story of New Zealand.*

**I**N THE early railway charters, both in England and America, the rates to be charged were carefully prescribed by legislative authority, just as was the case with the turnpike companies that preceded the railroads. In England and in many of our states maximum rates have been fixed by law for many years. The principle of regulation is thoroughly settled in our law; the right and the need for it are clearly manifest. The only questions relate to the extent of the regulation and the methods to be adopted.

The President and his supporters believe the best way is to enlarge the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission so that it may fix a reasonable rate, or at least a maximum rate in place of one found, upon complaint and hearing, to be unjust, unreasonable, or discriminatory. They claim that the railways do not deal justly; take all they can get; discriminate unfairly between persons and places, etc., and that experience has abundantly shown that they cannot be trusted to make rates without strict control. The railroads say that it would not be fair to put the control of rates in a government board; that no such board could understand the special conditions in all parts of the country which enter so largely into rate-making; that the power to make rates is the essence of ownership in the case of railroads, and to transfer that power to a public board is practically to take the roads for public use without compensation; that railway managers have as much right to fix the price of the transportation they have to offer for sale as the storekeeper or manufacturer has to fix the price of the goods he offers in the market.

Both parties appear to be perfectly correct in their fundamental positions. If the railroads make the rates, the public

is not treated fairly. If a public board should make the rates, the railroads might not be treated fairly. There is some justification for this view in the history of the decisions of the Commission, though not nearly so much as the railroad attorneys allege. But it is clear that somebody must make the rates. And it is equally clear that there is no system of rate-making that will do perfect justice. I know of no railway minister or traffic manager in Europe or America who even dreams he knows of any method of rate-making that will do justice all round under present industrial conditions. The post-office principle may ultimately be applied to diffuse the burden of distance over the whole community, but it is not practicable at present. If then a certain amount of injustice is unavoidable, and we must choose between injustice to a small group of stockholders, or to eighty millions of people, which alternative shall we accept? If there is no way to solve this problem that will not work injustice somewhere, shall it be to the little group of profit-makers or to the great public, the people of the United States?

Besides this quantitative comparison there is a qualitative comparison that is still more weighty. Such injustice as may be done to the railways is merely a matter of diminished dividends on stocks, a very large part of which is water, while the false rates and unfair discriminations made by the railway managers not only affect property interests many times greater than railway stocks, but deny equal opportunity and undermine morals, manhood, government, civilization, and progress,—values far higher than any financial items whatever. Moreover, it is not unlikely that a board constituted somewhat differently from the present one might eliminate most of the errors

of the Interstate Commission as well as those of the railway managements. What are the causes at work in the case? The reason the Commission has made some injurious rulings is that they lack the thorough acquaintance with traffic conditions that the railway managers possess. And the reason the railway managers make rates that are contrary to public policy, is that they are more or less influenced by motives that are antagonistic to the public interest. The Commission is disinterested; it has no wish or personal interest leading to unfairness either to the railroads or the public; its motive is right, but its knowledge is imperfect. The railway traffic-managers, on the other hand, have a more perfect understanding of the transportation business, but their interest is not altogether in harmony with justice and the public good. Is it not possible to create a board that shall have the thorough knowledge of first-class railway experts, together with the high motives and unmixed interests of an honorable public commission or court, and so remove the chief causes that have worked injustice in the past?\*

The railroads say: "About 93 per cent. of the decisions of the Commission which have been passed upon by the courts have been held to be erroneous."†

This statement gives too strong an impression of the capacity of the Commission for mistakes. About 3,726 informal complaints have been made to the Commission, nearly all of which, perhaps 3,400, have been disposed of by correspondence or some mild form of arbitration; very many have been settled satisfactorily, some have been abandoned and some have crystallized into formal complaints. The total number of formal complaints has been 854. "From 1887 to October, 1904, the Commission rendered 297 decisions; some 43 suits were in-

stituted to enforce the orders of the Commission and 34 of these were finally adjudicated." The Commission claims that 8 cases of excessive rates and unjust discrimination have been decided in its favor, while President Willcox says that the courts have sustained the Commission on the merits in only 3 cases. Mr. H. T. Newcomb who appeared before the Senate Committee as the representative of several railroads gives a table showing that in the circuit courts the Commission has been sustained 7 times and reversed 24 times, the circuit court of appeals has sustained the Commission 4½ times and reversed it 11½ times and the United States Supreme Court has partly sustained the Commission in one case and reversed it in 15.

On the facts as they stand we find: First, that about ¼ of the Commission's decisions have been right on the railroad's own showing. They only claim 32 reversals out of 170 orders—nearly all the rest have been accepted by the railroads or enforced upon them by the courts. Second, the reversals have been based on questions of law in respect to which the courts disagreed among themselves. Third, the points in respect to which the Commission has been overruled are very few. The decisions have gone in bunches. For instance, while the Alabama Midland long-and-short-haul case was pending in the courts a number of other long-haul cases were decided by the Commission and when after several years the Supreme Court gave final judgment, a whole block of the Commission's rulings on this point were discredited and subsequent reversals were simply repetitions involving no new error. So the question of power to fix rates covers a cluster of cases all thrown down in reality by one ruling. And these two questions represent nearly the whole difference between the courts and the Commission. The 15 reversals in the Supreme Court do not mean 15 errors even in respect to legal points but only a very few errors, if any. Fourth, the higher court reversed the

\*See pages 66-68 of *The President's Railroad Policy*, Ginn & Company, Boston.

†David Willcox, President of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad; Hearings Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1905, page 3,644.

lower in 9 out of the 17 cases that went up from the circuit court, and in three of these cases the Supreme Court reversed both the Circuit Court and the Court of Appeals. Fifth, it is by no means certain that the Commission was wrong and the court right. The fact is that the Supreme Court has not interpreted the law according to its manifest and well-known intent, but in a narrow, technical way that has defeated in large part the real purpose of the act. It is an absurdity to rule that the law is valid and then to decide that the railroads may escape from the long-haul section by means of dissimilar circumstances created by themselves. And many believe it to be an equal absurdity to declare that the Commission may order the discontinuance of an excessive rate or unjust discrimination but cannot fix a reasonable rate. Take the Kansas oil rate for example. The railroads at the dictation of the Combine raised the rate from 10 to 17 cents. Suppose the Commission had ordered the roads to cease charging 17 cents, that being found to be unreasonable. The railroads could appeal and if after several years the case went against them they could make a rate of 16½ cents. Then a new investigation could be begun, the Commission could make a new order, and after years in the courts the rate might come down another half-cent perhaps. And so on. Even if all the decisions went against the railroads it would take 105 years to reduce the rate to 10 cents again, calculating on the new basis of the average period of 7½ years required for final litigation. Why not sum up the process in a single order for the ten-cent rate and if objected to by the railroads have one judicial contest and finish the business? By the indirect method of declaring one rate after another to be unreasonable the Commission has now the power at last to fix the rate. The proposition to allow it to name a reasonable rate is only putting in direct, brief, effective form the power it now has in indirect, diffused, and ineffective form.

The railroads might not act in the way described, but the point is that they could do so; there is no power in the law as it stands to-day to compel them to adopt a reasonable rate within a reasonable time.\*

The Hepburn Bill, which has passed the House by a large majority, provides that the Interstate Commission, on complaint and proof that any railway rates or charges, or any regulations or practices affecting such rates are unjust, or unreasonable, unjustly discriminatory, or unduly preferential or prejudicial, may determine and prescribe what will, *in its judgment*, be the just and reasonable rate or charge which shall thereafter be observed as the maximum in such case; and what regulation or practice in respect to such transportation is just, fair, and reasonable to be thereafter followed. The order is to go into effect 30 days after notice to the carrier. And any company, officer, or agent, receiver, trustee, or lessee who knowingly fails or neglects to obey any such order is liable to a penalty of \$5000 for each offense; and in case of a continuing violation each day is to be deemed a separate offense.

It is provided that the Commission may establish maximum joint rates or through rates as well as rates pertaining to a single company, and may adjust the division of such joint rates if the companies fail to agree among themselves. The Commission may also determine what is a reasonable maximum charge for the use of private cars and other instrumentalities and services, such as the switching services of terminal railways, etc. No change is to be made in any rate except after 30 days' notice to the Commission, unless the Commission for good cause shown allows changes upon shorter notice.

The Commission may petition the Circuit Court to enforce any order the railroads do not obey. And if on hearing "it appears that the order was regularly made and duly served, and that the carrier is in disobedience of the same,

\*See *The Heart of the Railroad Problem*, Little, Brown & Company, Boston.

the court shall enforce obedience to such order by a writ of injunction, or other proper process, mandatory or otherwise, to restrain such carrier, its officers, agents, or representatives, from further disobedience of such order, or to enjoin upon it or them obedience to the same." Appeal may be taken by either party to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Commission may in its discretion prescribe the forms of all accounts, records and memoranda to be kept by the railways, and provision is made for inspection as follows: "The Commission shall at all times have access to all accounts, records, and memoranda kept by carriers subject to this Act, and it shall be unlawful for such carriers to keep any other accounts, records, or memoranda than those prescribed or approved by the Commission, and it may employ special agents or examiners, who shall have authority under the order of the Commission to inspect and examine any and all accounts, records, and memoranda kept by such carriers."

This law, if passed by the Senate and put in force, promises to operate as a serious check upon the abuses connected with private cars, terminal railroads and midnight tariffs, but it does not touch nine-tenths of the methods of discrimination. Between 60 and 70 different methods of unjust discrimination between persons and places are in use in our railway business to-day. The fixing of a maximum rate cannot prevent either secret rate cutting or favoritism in facilities and services, nor even open discrimination in the arrangement of classifications and adjustment of rates between different localities.

No doubt this law in the hands of an able and honest Commission would do much good, but it cannot reach the heart of the railroad problem which, as we saw in the February number, is the unjust discrimination between persons and places. No amount of maximum rate fixing nor prescribing of regulations can destroy discrimination so long as we have

the pressure of great private interests driving the railroads into the practice of favoritism.

The history of railroad legislation in this country shows that the railways do not respect or obey the law when it conflicts with the fundamental financial interests and orders of the railway owners and trust magnates, whose gigantic power represents the railways sovereignty and control in America to-day.

On page 3 of the House Report, 59th Congress, 1st Session, No. 591, January 27, 1906, accompanying the Hepburn Bill, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce says: "It is proper to say to those who complain of this legislation that the necessity for it is the result of the misconduct of carriers. . . . If the carriers had in good faith accepted existing statutes and obeyed them there would have been no necessity for increasing the powers of the Commission or the enactment of new coercive measures."

What reason is there to believe that the railroads will accept a new statute in good faith and obey it any more than any former law? On the contrary, the probability is that if the Hepburn Bill becomes a law the main effect will be to compel railway managers and counsel to sit up nights for a time planning methods to evade and overcome the new provisions. Even if Congress gave the full power at first demanded by the President, the power to fix the precise rate to be charged, the general effect would probably be, as affirmed by the railway president quoted in the February issue, that the railways would exert themselves to control the Commission. They have always at hand the weapon of practically interminable litigation, and it is very doubtful whether the railroad representatives in the United States Senate will permit any law to pass until it is amended so that the review in the courts shall go to the merits of the Commission's order in each case. Powerful interests are opposed to any provision that will permit the fixing of a rate, even a maximum, to go into effect before

it is approved by the Federal courts.

We are heartily in favor of the Hepburn Bill and would be glad to see far stronger regulative measures passed, but nothing more than a moderate palliation of the railway evils under which we suffer must be expected from such legislation. England with her rigid control has not been able to stamp out railroad abuses, and the lesson of English railroad regulation is that the subjecting of private railways to a public control strong enough to accomplish any substantial elimination of discrimination and extortion takes the life out of private railway enterprise along with its evils. Even Germany with all the power, its great government was able

to exert, could not eliminate unjust discrimination until it nationalized the railways, and so destroyed the root of the evil, which lies in the antagonism of interest between the public on the one hand, and the owners of the railways and associated industries on the other. In this country, where the railroads exert much more control over the government than the government exercises over the railroads,\* there is not much hope of eradicating fundamental evils with the toy-whip of the regulative measures now pending and likely to be enacted by Congress.

FRANK PARSONS.

*Boston, Mass.*

## JUDGE LINDSEY: A TYPICAL BUILDER OF A NOBLER STATE.

### AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

#### I. FUNDAMENTAL WORK FOR THE REDEMPTION OF THE ERRING YOUNG.

A SHORT time since we called the attention of our readers to the great educational reform being inaugurated by Mr. Wilson L. Gill in the School City movement—a reform as basic in character as that of Pestalozzi and Fröbel and more pregnant with promise for democracy than any advance step that has been taken since the dawn of the era of popular education. This month we invite the attention of our readers to the work of another true builder of a nobler civilization, a fundamental thinker who has brought brain and heart to bear upon solving one of the gravest and most important problems of society.

The work inaugurated and carried forward with splendid success by Judge Ben. B. Lindsey of Denver, Colorado, is of such a nature as to commend itself to

every true man and woman, to every believer in democracy. And just here we wish to point out a fact which cannot be too impressively or too frequently emphasized: Every great world-movement possesses a dominant or vitalizing ideal or master-thought which, however hidden it may be, is the mainspring of action. Now the master-ideal or moving and vitalizing spirit of democracy *is justice illumined by love*—it is altruism as contrasted with egoism. Its passion is for humanity, for the all, for the elevation, the prosperity, the development, the advance and the happiness of the whole people. The true democrat must of necessity be a lover of the race. He must be ready to work, to sacrifice, and if need be to suffer for others,—work, sacrifice and suffer that all the people may enjoy the same opportunities and rights that he enjoys.

\*See *The Railways, the Trusts and the People*, Equity Series, Philadelphia.

Whenever we find true democrats—men who understand the great principles underlying democracy, who believe in them and live them as did Jefferson and Lincoln—we find men with a passion for the rights of all the people, men whose hearts go out in loving kindness to all, but especially to the unfortunate, the weak, the oppressed and the down-trodden with the same great love and yearning that were manifested by the Prophet of Nazareth.

On the other hand, whenever we find men who stand for class-government and privileged interests, we find men in whom the secret wellspring of action is egoism, men who exhibit that infidelity in regard to moral idealism that is fatal alike to the cause of justice, to the rights of man and to the triumph of democracy. Hence in proportion as commercialism advances; in proportion as privileged interests become dominant in business and political life; in proportion as reactionary concepts and class-rule ideals permeate government, we see indifference to the rights of others and especially callousness in the presence of the weak and the helpless if they stand in the way of the advance in wealth or power of the representatives of privileged interests and reactionary ideals. Moreover, when egoism flourishes we see little attention given to fundamental reasoning along social, economic or ethical lines. There may be a great show of interest in palliative and superficial remedies for acknowledged wrongs and widespread misery, and much ostentatious charity, but there will be little earnest work for justice, little of that love of man displayed that sinks all thought of self for the weal of the people.

When we find workers for a nobler civilization who are fundamental philosophers, we find men who are at heart altruists, apostles of justice, democrats, using the term democrat in its broadest and noblest signification as meaning one who opposes class-rule, privileged interests and whatsoever is inimical to free institutions.

And so it is with Judge Lindsey. He is a true democrat in that he places the interest, the happiness and the uplift of all the people above all considerations of self or of any class; and he is preëminently an apostle of justice, with the breadth of vision of a true philosopher instinct with that all-consuming love that has marked the lives of earth's noblest and greatest benefactors.

Some years ago his attention was called to the methods pursued by the state in the treatment of juvenile offenders. The more he studied the matter the more thoroughly he became convinced that the attitude of the state toward offending children was marked by a brutal indifference to its most sacred charge and an ignorance or shortsightedness that represented the extreme of folly, because it fostered crime and thus entailed great expense on society while lowering the morals of the community. He believed that an entirely different course would save to the nation annually thousands of boys and girls who under the prevailing treatment were becoming hardened criminals—a curse to themselves, a menace to society and a great expense to the state. He believed that while every consideration of economy and of ordinary business wisdom imperatively demanded a radically different method of treatment, above and beyond all this there rose the demand of justice to the child, to the state and to civilization, which the old treatment of the young offenders ignored. He saw that where property was concerned the state was zealous in protecting the interests of the child, holding that the child was irresponsible till he arrived at his majority and appointing guardians for his property interests; but at the same time, in most commonwealths, the child of ten who committed an offense against the law was held accountable and punished for the same, while the parents whose carelessness and indifference in many instances made them the responsible criminals were ignored by the department of justice. His experience in deal-

ing with crime showed him that the young were in a vast majority of cases the victims of environment, the plastic instruments whose downward inclination was due largely if not chiefly, to improper, careless or negligent home influences; bad associations on the street and careless indifference on the part of government and society together uniting to make them transgressors before they had arrived at the age when the character is formed or they have any adequate realization of moral relations. More than this: he was satisfied from a study of the problem, supplemented by close personal observations, that children around whom home and state threw their combined protecting care in a loving manner would rarely become other than honorable and useful citizens. The great need of the child was the correcting so far as possible of environing conditions, reinforced by moral stimulation authoritatively yet lovingly enforced by the state. Crime cannot be justified and society must be protected, but if the children be regarded as victims rather than as responsible moral agents, and the state keeps in mind the awful responsibility devolving on it in the presence of a human soul, and if it recognizes the wisdom and policy as well as the duty of saving the child as a self-respecting member of society instead of through an indolent, short-sighted, brutal and ignorant course making him an enemy of society and a curse and expense to the state, one of the greatest and to civilization most fundamentally important victories of modern times will be won.

Now to demonstrate the truth of his enlightened conclusions, which it will be noted are in perfect alignment with the ethics of Jesus, Judge Lindsey consecrated his life. Legislation was secured necessary to make the parents responsible for the misdemeanors of the children. This was a great victory. Next the Judge addressed himself to the attitude of the state toward the offending child, introducing an innovation that was thoroughly revolutionary in character. Keeping in

view the fact that the young are largely irresponsible victims, he has made the School Court a genuine state confessional, where the young have learned to know that they will receive loving, sympathetic and strengthening counsel and advice in all efforts to atone for wrongs and to become strong, brave, self-respecting men and women. The Judge never lets the child feel that crime is to be justified, but he also always makes him see that in him, the representative of the state, the weak or offending one has a loving elder brother who understands the trials and temptations that beset the offender and who stands ready to save him from disgrace and prison and to help him upward and onward.

Heretofore the state has been concerned with the reclamation of stolen property and the punishing of criminals, without any due regard to the salvation of the little offenders. As a result children have been arrested, disgraced, imprisoned and allowed to mingle with hardened criminals; and often the slight offender has through this cruel and unjust process become a confirmed law-breaker, a menace to society, a constant expense to the state, and a curse to his family and to himself.

All this, so far as Denver is concerned, is past, and the results that have followed have more than justified the most sanguine expectations of Judge Lindsey and his co-workers. Hundreds upon hundreds of children have been saved to the state without the humiliation and degradation attending the old methods. Hundreds of children are to-day among the brightest and most promising of Denver's young citizens who under the old system would have been in reform-schools or prisons, or Ishmaelites of civilization, embittered by the deep conviction that the state was their enemy and with the feeling that they had little or no chance of a fair show in life.

The course pursued by Judge Lindsey has demanded work, patient, tireless, loving service such as only an apostle of





**HON. BEN. B. LINDSEY**



humanity would devote to the experimental effort for the redemption of the unfortunates of society and the ennoblement of manhood. Judge Lindsey has had to convince the young that he was their friend, entitled to their confidence; that the state was their loving protector and not their enemy. He has shown them that the state must protect all the people; that it cannot permit wrong to be done and take no notice of the offense; but that it wishes to be just and to lift, help, support and sustain the child who has gone astray; that its purpose is twofold: to protect society and to help the unfortunate and the erring to be strong, fine helpers of civilization and the state.

And it is wonderful to see how wholeheartedly the young have responded to this call to the divine in their souls—to this call of the human to the human, pitched in the key of love.

The work inaugurated and carried forward by Judge Lindsey is epoch-marking and in many respects analogous to the splendid work inaugurated by Philippe Pinel more than a century ago in the treatment of the insane, which changed the whole age-long method of dealing with insanity and turned the face of medical science from the night of the dark ages to the dawn of a love-illuminated civilization.

## II. SOME FACTS AND ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES SHOWING THE RESULT OF THE NEW SYSTEM.

Some idea of the success of Judge Lindsey's efforts may be gained from the fact that during one year three hundred children voluntarily came to the Judge, confessed to wrong-doing and asked for his aid and discipline to help them become what they wished to be—good boys and girls. One little fellow, taken on suspicion of having committed a serious offence, confessed to the Judge his wrong-doing. Later he induced five or six companions to voluntarily confess and give themselves up to the Judge. One little

chap came into the court one evening and inquired if Judge Lindsey was there. On being taken into a private apartment he said: "Judge, I've been swipin' things, and I want to cut it out, and I want you to help me." The Judge asked what brought him there. He mentioned a companion who had been on probation. "He told me to come," continued the little fellow. "He told me if I did n't *cut it out* and do what was right, it would only be a little while before the cop would get me and I would go to prison, but if I'd cut it out and come to you, you would help me."

Six years ago many of the boys in the state industrial school were seen in the yards with balls and chains attached to prevent them from running away. Under the new order all this has been changed. When the Grand Army encamped at Denver the boys in the reform-school naturally longed to be present to see the soldiers, to hear the music and to behold the city in gala dress. Judge Lindsey proposed to give them the opportunity to spend the day in Denver under no surveillance and with no pledge other than their own word given to him that they would return voluntarily to the school at a certain hour. The believers in the old order were horrified at the proposition. They deemed it reckless. They did not understand the new spirit that had come with the inauguration of a system of divine justice or justice illumined by love. The Judge went to the boys and said: "Boys, how many of you would like to go to Denver and spend the day?" Of course the whole school was eager for the great holiday. Then the Judge told them that he believed in them; he believed that no boy in the school would give him a pledge and then break it; and believing that, he had given his pledge that every boy would be back in his place at a certain hour if they were allowed to go. All the boys promised and the school of over two hundred went to Denver, and every boy returned at the appointed time. Boys sentenced to the reform-school

are frequently sent alone and unattended, bearing their commitment papers, and none have betrayed their trust.

Do you say that this is simply owing to the power of this wonderful man? The Judge will tell you, No, and in proof he will point to the system which, patterned after that of Denver, has been introduced and brought into practical operation in Salt Lake City and in Omaha. He will tell you that in the former city the boys sentenced at the reform-school are given their commitment papers and sent unattended to Ogden, and in only one instance has a boy attempted to run away, and for that the court-officer was responsible. The boy had given his word that if trusted and sent unattended he would go to the reformatory, and he went to the depot, bought his ticket and was waiting for the train, when all at once he discovered a court-officer shadowing him. He felt at once that he had been betrayed and lied to; that he was being followed and watched. Now if the game of the court is to follow, the game of the accused is to fly, and the boy threw away his ticket and fled. When caught he declared that he had no thought of attempting to run away until he saw the court-officer and found that the state was not keeping its plighted word or faith with him.

For some years Judge Olmstead in New York City has conducted a most successful children's court, and other cases might be cited.

One of the very important phases of Judge Lindsey's great reformation in behalf of the children is found in the compelling of parents to recognize in a measure at least the solemn responsibilities that devolve upon them. The result in this direction has been most positive and salutary. It has forced the parents to recognize the obligations they owe the child and the state. They have brought children into the world—future citizens, human souls facing an eternity of glory or of gloom—and upon them devolve obligations of the holiest and most sacred

character. If through ignorance, thoughtlessness, indifference or wilful selfish absorption they have evaded their duties, then the state owes it to the child and to society to compel them to perform those duties, and in cases where parents' environment is such that they are unable to cope with the problem, the state under the new *régime* becomes a potent assistant in the work of saving the child to society. Here are some typical cases:

Three girls between twelve and fifteen are found walking the streets after ten o'clock at night, without a chaperon. The probation officer takes them in charge. The mothers are summoned and the Judge gives them a lecture showing them what will almost surely come as a result of this morally criminal negligence. He shows them that they are the real offenders and fines them twenty-five dollars each, but suspends the payment of the fine until the children are again found on the street at unreasonable hours. The result is that the children are rescued from threatened evils that might easily lead to their ruin before they realized their peril.

A boy is brought before the Judge. He has been caught in the commission of a grave misdemeanor. He is the son of a wealthy father—a man who has become so crazed by the mania for gold that all his finer and nobler sensibilities are blunted. He is absorbed in heaping wealth. At night he comes home, sometimes the worse for wine drunk at his club, usually irritable and self-absorbed. He makes everyone in his home miserable without realizing what he is doing. Instead of gathering his little ones to him around the evening lamp, entertaining them and leading them by love's sweet way onward and upward, he neglects them. They are barks laden with precious treasure, set adrift on a treacherous sea without compass or rudder, without captain or pilot. Now it is not long before the Judge has the recreant, gold-drunken father on the carpet. He is brought face to face with his delinquent conduct and

its fearful results. He is made to see that he, not the neglected boy, is the greater criminal, and he is fined and warned that far more serious consequences await him if he continues to neglect his boy.

There are other cases where parents are themselves victims of unfortunate circumstances. Here the state is a good angel to them and the children. A single incident will illustrate this fact.

It is eleven o'clock at night. The Judge is returning from a banquet. He is in one of the great hotels of the city. A scrub-woman is washing up the marble floor. She sees him and rising comes timidly to him, saying: "Oh, Judge, I can never express my gratitude to you for what you have done for my boy. You see, I have to support the family with my hands; I cannot give him the attention he ought to receive. He got among wild boys, but you have saved him. He goes to school regularly now; he has come to like the teacher and to be ambitious to succeed."

"Yes," replies the Judge, "the teacher tells me he is one of the most regular attendants and one of the best lads in the school."

Often children innocent of some offense charged against them, but with a questionable record, are haled before the court. Under the old system they were quickly examined, judged and punished, with the result that the child was disgraced for a crime he did not commit. He thus hated the state because the state had been unjust to him. He went forth from the reform-school ruined. Henceforth society had an Ishmael to deal with, while under just and loving treatment he might have become a high-minded and useful citizen. Let us illustrate with a typical case:

One day a boy was brought to court by a judge and a physician who lodged the complaint. The judge insisted that the prisoner had thrown a stone through the car-window as the car passed the school-yard. The judge's face was badly

cut, and both he and the physician insisted that they saw the boy who had been arrested commit the offense. Judge Lindsey examined the boy in private. The lad freely confessed to many misdemeanors, but stoutly affirmed that he was not the one who threw the stone. As a result of a thorough questioning Judge Lindsey became convinced that the boy was telling the truth. He returned to the accusers and amazed them by telling them that he was morally certain that the boy was innocent. They immediately demanded that he find the guilty one. He set out for the school which was the scene of the offense. Here he explained to the boys that he was in trouble; that he was not willing to have an innocent boy judged guilty of an offense that he believed the prisoner did not commit; and he appealed to the youths present to help him out of his trouble. He asked the one who really cast the stone to confess. After this heart to heart talk one little fellow rose and said: "Judge, I heaved the stone."

Scores of other cases could be cited showing that under the old method the innocent child would have been judged guilty, all because of the criminal indifference of judges and of society to the tremendous importance of punishing only the guilty and of saving the young to the state instead of making them enemies of the state and a curse and an expense to society. Here is another example of this character:

A little girl with an ugly wound on her thigh prefers a charge against a boy of about her own age, claiming that he had inflicted the wound. The boy stoutly denies the offense. The Judge examines them separately. He finds out that the two mothers have recently had a hair-pulling argument which led to their being haled into court. The result of his investigation convinces him that the boy is not guilty. He then examines the girl by herself. She finally confesses that she had fallen and the tongue of her little cart had inflicted the wound. The par-

ents are summoned. The Judge strives to show them the absurdity and the criminality of hate. He reasons long and earnestly with them, appealing to all that is noblest and best in their natures, for their own sake, for the sake of their children, and for the sake of society. In the end they shake hands and become friends.

These cases, as we have noted, are typical. It would require a whole magazine to give anything like an abstract of the instances that might be cited which have been followed by the redemption of the young from evil and the peril of evil environment through the labor of this great-hearted, wise, constructive statesman—this just judge and true democrat who has shown once and for all that the path of wisdom, true statesmanship and human advance is the path of justice illumined by love—the path marked out by the great Nazarene—the way he walked two thousand years ago.

Moreover, the practicability of the great work wrought by Judge Lindsey and his associates in Denver has been further demonstrated elsewhere, in Salt Lake City, in Omaha, in New York City and other centers.

Slowly, but we believe surely, we are moving toward the light, and though the clouds of egoism, sordid materialism and reaction lower darkly over government and business life, though moral anæsthesia seems to have settled over many of the great public opinion-forming influences, there are numerous agencies, fundamental in character, that are working for the furtherance of democracy and the rights and upliftment of the common man. The School City and the School Court are two of these agencies that are leagued with the light of a brighter day, because a juster and a freer day. Moreover, the great heart of the people is sound, and while we who love our nation and our race must not relinquish one whit our bold and insistent battle against corruption, the injustice of privilege or the night of reaction, while we must not close our eyes to the evils that threaten and strike at the heart of free government, let us not become disheartened or faithless, for our cause is the cause of God. The eternal uplift of life is dependent on the triumph of the moral verities. We are fighting under the glorious light born of justice, freedom and fraternity, and the eternal day is ours.

## MAIN CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY PROF. ROBERT T. KERLIN, A.M.

### II.

**T**HE DISTINCTIVE mark of the first years of the nineteenth century was unrest. The French Revolution had just occurred, and that had broken up the foundations, had severed connections with the past, had started all men to thinking in new ways and to conceiving new orders of society, new eras of progress, new forms of government, new systems of thought. A discontent with

things as they were, a desire to destroy and to rebuild on other foundations, a radiant hope that a new day was about to dawn, seemed to possess all minds.

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,  
But to be young was heaven! The whole earth  
The beauty wore of promise, that which sets  
The budding rose above the rose full blown.

New ideas and new forces were indeed rife, and, as a result, literature had a new

birth in almost every country of Europe. In England, one of the brightest constellations of poetic geniuses since the Elizabethan era rose in the first years of the century. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Scott, are but the most brilliant of the galaxy, and they are all herald stars of a new day.

Goethe is the European representative of the intellectual conditions, the spiritual conflicts and aspirations of that era: the man of most universal culture, of the largest natural endowments, of the clearest aims, of the deepest insight, of the firmest equipoise; yet betraying, at any rate in his earlier years, which came before the Revolution, the very state of intellectual unrest and seeking for better things out of which the Revolution sprang. The questioning and the rejection of traditional authorities, the critical attitude toward all things, the adoption of an independent standard of judgment—all this implying freedom of the individual man—this was characteristic of the representative minds of that era, and pre-eminently characteristic of Goethe.

What, we may therefore ask, were Goethe's views on the eternal objects of all thinking men's thoughts; his conceptions of God, Man, and Nature; his religion? To give a complete answer concerning any one of these matters is to answer regarding all, for all constitute one system—the universe and the Power that animates it. Carlyle's account of Goethe's religion will bring the subject fairly before us,—and here we have need of all the intellectual fairness we are capable of. It is the man's doctrines with which we are concerned, not his irregularities of conduct, which are so ineffaceable a blemish. "Goethe," then says Carlyle, "has not only suffered and mourned in bitter agony under the spiritual perplexities of his time; but he has also mastered these, he is above them. At one time, we found him in darkness, and now he is in light; he was once an Unbeliever, and now he is a Believer; and he believes, moreover, not by denying his unbelief, but by following it out; not

by stopping short, still less turning back, in his inquiries, but by resolutely prosecuting them. This, it appears to us, is a case of singular interest, and rarely exemplified, if at all, elsewhere, in these our days. How has this man, to whom the world once offered nothing but blackness, denial and despair, attained to that better vision which now shows it to him not tolerable only, but full of solemnity and loveliness? How has the belief of a Saint been united in this high and true mind with the clearness of a Sceptic; the devout spirit of a Fénelon made to blend in soft harmony with the gayety, the sarcasm, the shrewdness of a Voltaire?"

If we ask definitely what Goethe believed, seeing, in Carlyle's estimation, that he is a believer, we shall find the greatest degree of satisfaction in letting him answer for himself. This then is his first belief: "No one now doubts," he says, "the existence of God any more than his own"; but "what do we know of the Highest Being?" Like the wisest men of all ages he is silent in the presence of Him whose ways are past finding, of Him who inhabiteth eternity. But of God's relation to the world that He has formed and rules this is the poet's conception:

"What God would outwardly alone control  
And on His finger whirl, the mighty Whole?  
He loves the inner world to move; to view  
Nature in him, himself in nature too.  
So that what in him works, and is, and lives,  
The measure of his strength, his spirit, gives."

Regarding immortality, the second great natural and universal conception of mankind, he has this to say: "I could in no wise dispense with the happiness of believing in our future existence, and, indeed, could say, with Lorenzo de Medici that those are dead for this life even, who have no hope for another." "To the unseen but not unreal world," therefore, as Carlyle says, Goethe did bear witness, and was an influence against materialism and unbelief. Goethe's own final estimate upon himself was that he had been an emancipating force in the world, he had contributed to the liberation of the

German mind. But his influence extended far beyond Germany; it was European, and it was, as he deemed, beneficent, conservative, making for the union of knowledge with reverence.

In Byron and Shelley the spirit of revolt against institutions that seemed to have no other support than ancient custom, voiced itself in poetry that still throbs with passion. They strove against the world, against tradition, against authority, against convention, against all the existing order of things, because they believed all this was wrong and cruel, not founded upon justice and nature, not consistent with the idea of the brotherhood of man. Ineffectual, indeed, was this passionate revolt, ineffectual and tragic. The individual who leads such an attack must always go down, as the opposer of society in the Greek tragedy goes down, before the general sweep of sentiment, the resistless stream of national habit. But the protest has gone forth, has been uttered, and in years to come it shall be heard and pondered and so become an element of reform.

Of Byron scarcely can it be said that he had a clear idea of what new order he would have supplanted the old: he appears upon the stage as a Mephistopheles, a denier and destroyer,—

"He taught us little, but our soul  
Had felt him, like the thunder's roll."

But Shelley is a genuine reformer, he is transported by the vision of a new society, a society in which the titan, Humanity, shall be unbound and set free from the tyranny of fear and superstition; free from all usurped and arbitrary authority; free from the enthroned idols of thought. Freedom is his magic word,—Freedom, then Justice, then Power, then Joy. Concluding the sublime drama of "Prometheus Unbound," in which the sufferings of humanity in revolt against the unauthorized and doomed tyranny of Jove are represented, he utters the thought that was the inspiration of all his passionate verse:

"To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;  
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;  
To defy power which seems omnipotent;  
To love and bear; to hope till hope creates  
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;  
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;  
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be  
Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free;  
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory!"

His conception of God, nature, and the human soul finds expression in the following stanzas from "Adonais"—one of the most splendid passages of poetry our entire literature can show. Of his dead brother-poet, Keats, he thus writes:

"He is made one with Nature. There is heard  
His voice in all her music, from the moan  
Of thunder to the song of night's sweet bird.  
He is a presence to be felt and known  
In darkness and in light, from herb and  
stone,—  
Spreading itself where'er that Power may move  
Which has withdrawn his being to its own,  
Which wields the world with never-wearied love,  
Sustains it from beneath, and kindles it above.

"He is a portion of the loveliness  
Which once he made more lovely. He doth  
bear  
His part, while the One Spirit's plastic stress  
Sweeps through the dull dense world; compelling  
there  
All new successions to the forms they wear;  
Torturing the unwilling dross, that checks its  
flight,  
To its own likeness, as each mass may bear;  
And bursting in its beauty and its might  
From trees and beasts and men into the heaven's  
light.

"The splendors of the firmament of time  
May be eclipsed, but are extinguished not;  
Like stars to their appointed height they climb,  
And death is a low mist which cannot blot  
The brightness it may veil. When lofty  
thought  
Lifts a young heart above its mortal lair,  
And love and life contend in it for what  
Shall be its earthly doom, the dead live there,  
And move like winds of light on dark and stormy  
air."

Wordsworth, no less than Shelley, had the vision of a new earth, and the contemplation of it, amid the quiet scenes of pastoral England, gave an elevated if not a rapturous joy. After the failure of the French Revolution, turning from the world of feverish strife, of false aims and ill-spent energies, to the healing influences and sure, calm workings of all-sufficient Nature, and to the simple, unspoiled lives of shepherds, he found, in solitary meditation,



“ . . . . . that blessed mood  
In which the burthen of the mystery,  
In which the heavy and the weary weight  
Of all this unintelligible world  
Is lightened.”

There he learned of Nature, that she “never did betray the heart that trusted her”; there he learned to reverence humanity and to “recognize a grandeur in the beatings of the heart”; there he found God, a universal presence and power,

“That in the unreasoning progress of the world”  
works for us and is

“Most prodigal  
Of blessings, and studious of our good,  
Even in what seem our most unfruitful hours.”

He, too, like Shelley, had his dreams of a new condition of society in which man should live after the simple, healthful ways that nature teaches. Men were to return to virtue by returning to truth, which they would find in nature. The spirit of a new democracy, a genuine natural democracy, therefore, utters itself in Wordsworth’s poetry; a spirit that had its birth in reflections upon the natural virtues and the unfailing “worth and dignity of individual man.”

Never before did a poet of the same gifts deal in his poetry so exclusively and so impressively with the common experiences of humanity. Never had poet before affirmed with such reiteration and emphasis the doctrine that:

“There’s not a man  
That lives who hath not known his godlike hours  
And feels not what an empire we inherit  
As natural beings in the strength of Nature.”

In Carlyle the conflicting forces of a passing and a coming era were in a state of volcanic confusion and violence. His soul was like chaos, dark, mighty, full of blind fury and tempest. The bewilderment, the struggle, the passionate outcry, the giving up and the gaining, the ultimate victory—all are described, as never before nor elsewhere such a conflict was described, in *Sartor Resartus*, one of the most original, thoughtful, and impressive books ever written. In a memorable chapter of that book (Book II., chapter VII.) he tells us what the nature of the

main conflict was. And as there is something universal in it, being not one man’s conflict only, but more or less all thoughtful men’s, we doubtless all have dwelt upon the tremendous words in which it is stated. “To me,” he there writes, “the Universe was all void of Life, of Purpose, of Volition, even of Hostility: it was one huge, dead, immeasurable Steam-engine, rolling on, in its dead indifference, to grind me limb from limb.” But after “dim years” of “mad fermentation” one day in Rue de l’enfer “there rushed like a stream of fire over my soul, and I shook base Fear away from me forever. I was strong, of unknown strength: a spirit, almost a god.” This experience the dour Scotchman calls his spiritual New Birth. In our parlance it is called conversion, and his description of it we would call his testimony. The words, to be sure, are rather strange-sounding, but the nature of the case is not at all unique. The everlasting No, saying, “Behold thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine [the Devil’s],” had pealed through all the recesses of his being, and then, in native, God-created majesty, with indignation and defiance, his whole being stood up and answered, “I am not thine, but free and forever hate thee!”

“Sweeter than Dayspring to the Shipwrecked in Nova Zembla; ah, like the mother’s voice to her little child that strays bewildered, weeping, in unknown tumults: like soft streamings of celestial music to my too-exasperated heart, came that Evangel. The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house filled with specters; but god-like, and my Father’s!”

Of Wordsworth, Arnold says he attained peace by putting by the problems of his time. And I will add, the resolute and firm confidence with which he did this was itself heroic, and exerted a wholesome, helpful influence on other minds. But Carlyle was not so constituted—he must meet the enemy in the open for a deciding conflict: to the strongest, victory. And this was Carlyle’s first great

service to the age: he clearly stated the issue, he unflinchingly admitted the opposition of answers to the riddle of the universe. There is a touching passage in the *Iliad* where it is related how the Greeks, in the midst of doubtful battle, fighting in darkness, prayed to Zeus for light—only for light, that they might distinguish foe from friend, and might not perish striking wildly and vainly in the dark. So prayed Carlyle; and God said: "Let there be light." The battle henceforth was in the open, the fighting was to visible issues.

But, hard thinker that he was, the sage of the North did more than state the problem and proclaim the conflict. He waged the strife and won certain trophies, some sure conclusions, which remained. To Wordsworth's recognition of the presence of God in man and in nature, an eternal spirit of life, and power, and beauty, Carlyle added the emphatic affirmation of God in human life, in history—an eternal ordering Power that loves only righteousness and will have righteousness; justice, and truth prevail in the world. To Carlyle the universe remained always a vast, an overpowering mystery. But on this conception of it, as the Everlasting God's, he never lost his grasp. It was his religion, the faith that dominated his whole thinking. From this conception springs his doctrine of "natural supernaturalism." What simplest thing can we wholly explain? We understand not the commonest occurrences; they are marvellous, miraculous. How, understanding nothing, can we partition God's universe, and speak of this portion as natural and that as supernatural? The universe is one, and not mechanically divided. All is supernatural, all is natural. "The universe,"—this is the ever-present thought with Carlyle, and to Goethe he was indebted for it—"the universe is but one vast symbol of God; nay, if thou wilt have it so, what is man himself but a Symbol of God?"

*Sartor Resartus*, which contains the whole of Carlyle's philosophy, is, I re-

peat, one of the century's books of greatest import, a book of wonderful suggestive and stimulating quality, of marvelous insight and force. Its influence is to be traced in every thinker of note of the century. For poet, philosopher, preacher it has been a veritable seed-plot of ideas. Browning, Ruskin, Tennyson, Emerson—the greatest have been the greatest borrowers from this little book. And each in some way advanced beyond the master and enlarged the territory of faith and strengthened the positions already gained. Carlyle's conception of God is that of a Hebrew prophet—a stern, just lawgiver, infinite Power. Browning's conception is Christian. Like Wordsworth he has a clear and constant recognition of God's love; he discerns that the eternal spirit is not only the author of moral order of righteousness but also of beauty. Beauty, love, and goodness he finds united everywhere in the order of divine providence.

"O world as God has made it! All is beauty!  
And knowing that is love, and love is duty."

It could not be otherwise, if we accept Browning's fundamental conception. The immanence of God in the world—a conception to which he gives frequent and distinct utterance.

In "Paracelsus" he says:

"God dwells in all  
From life's minute beginnings up at last to man."

And again in "La Saisiaz":

"God is seen God  
In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul, in  
the clod."

So run his utterances of this doctrine. The significance of this view of God's relation to the world and the world's relation to God, is set forth in the words of Dr. Edward Caird in his *Evolution of Religion* (Vol. I., p. 196):

"We cannot, indeed, think of Him [God] as external to anything, least of all to the spiritual beings, who, as such, 'live and move and have their being in Him.' This idea of the immanence of God underlies the Christian conception; and if

we look below the surface, we can see that it is an idea involved in all modern philosophy and theology."

I accept that with all its implications and corollaries as true. It is fundamental, far-reaching as the universe of thought, illuminating as the sun. Browning therefore affirms that "all is right with the world." And of evil in man, he makes the sage Ferishtah sum up the results of his studies, which have encompassed the whole range of humanity, in these words:

"Of absolute and irretrievable  
And all-subduing black—black's soul of black  
Beyond white's power to disintensify,—  
Of that I saw no sample."

This is Browning's much-talked-of optimism. It is thorough, unqualified, all-inclusive, and based upon a philosophical conception of the universe.

"The three men who did most abhor  
Their life in Paris yesterday  
[Have] killed themselves . . .  
I thought, and think, their sins atoned."

That is uttered in *propria persona*,—it is Browning's own conviction. He continues:

"My own hope is, a sun will pierce  
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched;  
That after Last, returns the First,  
Though a wide compass round be fetched;  
That what began best, can 't end worst,  
Nor what God blessed once, prove accurst."

To be sure Browning recognizes the fact of pain, but what is it but a bond uniting man to man in sympathy and mutual helpfulness? It is discipline, also, and a "sting that bids us nor sit nor stand but go!" Therefore he cries "Be our joys three-parts pain!" Hindrance and obstacle—they lie in every path, to be sure, but by them we mount nearer to God.

"Then welcome each rebuff,  
That turns earth's smoothness rough."

But does not evil meet us on every hand? Yes. No. Not an absolute, positive force, or entity. What we call evil is deficiency, the absence of good—it shall vanish, while the good shall increase.

"There shall never be one lost good! What was,  
shall live as before;  
The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying  
sound;  
What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so  
much good more;  
On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven, a per-  
fect round."

These are the doctrines of Browning, reiterated in numberless poems.

"God 's in his heaven,  
All 's right with the world."

The doubts and fears raised by the science of the century find nowhere a more consummate and telling utterance than in Tennyson's "Two Voices" (published in 1842). Every reason which man has entertained for believing in a future existence is there, as with the intellectual superiority and logical masterfulness of a devil, taken away by the unsparing Voice of Skepticism. The soul in helpless defeat is driven from trusted stronghold after stronghold till at last it flings itself upon inward conviction:

"A little hint to solace woe,  
A hint, a whisper breathing low,  
'I may not speak of what I know.'

Like an Æolian harp that wakes  
No certain air, but overtakes  
Far thought with music that it makes:

Such seemed the whisper at my side:  
'What is it thou knowest, sweet voice?' I cried.  
'A hidden hope,' the voice replied."

And to all the First Voice's cunningly insinuating suggestions of self-delusion, to all its triumphant arguments coming so pat and sneeringly, this is the ultimate response of the Voice of Faith: "A hidden hope." And yet though it speaks not from knowledge, not out of fixed assurance, only of "a hidden hope," yet it is a voice

"So heavenly-toned that, in that hour  
From out my sullen heart a power  
Broke, like the rainbow from the shower,

To feel, although no tongue can prove,  
That every cloud that spreads above  
And veileth love, itself is love."

Huxley paid Tennyson the high compliment of being the only poet since Lucretius who had a thorough comprehension of the drift of science. Whether we agree

or not that Tennyson alone had such a comprehension, we can still perceive that he at least had it as fully as anyone of the century. He has undoubtedly given expression to all the great results of science or reflected the influence of those results in his poetry. And more than this, he seems to have anticipated the scientists in many matters of first importance. "In Memoriam" is, of course, the production in which Tennyson's views find their most perfect expression. "In Memoriam" is the record of Tennyson's spiritual conflicts, of his wrestlings with doubts, and of his victory over them, as "Sartor Resartus" is Carlyle's.

"He fought his doubts and gathered strength,  
He would not make his judgment blind,  
He faced the spectres of the mind  
And laid them: thus he came at length  
To find a stronger faith his own."

Remembering that "In Memoriam" was published in the exact middle of the century—that it was being written during the first ten years that Darwin was at work upon the *Origin of Species* and was published nine years in advance of that book—let us note a few of the correspondences between the thoughts of the poem and the conclusions of contemporary science. Above all let us see what answers are made to the newly-raised doubts,—newly raised, but not new; for what doubts are not as old as Job or as Adam? And the really valid answer,—is that not as primeval, being native to the soul as the doubt is to the mind? Then, of immortality, the theme of the poem, thus he speaks:

"My own dim life should teach me this,  
That life shall live forevermore,  
Else earth is darkness at the core,  
And dust and ashes all that is."

Those who have read the late Professor Fiske's *The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin* will recognize this as substantially the argument of that very powerful monograph. If man is not to endure beyond death, so runs the philosopher's reasoning, then what purpose can be assigned to this world? If the universe is a rational system, a pur-

pose there must be in every part of it. The purpose, therefore, of our planet must be fulfilled, if at all, in the highest creature, man. Otherwise, "the mind is put to perpetual confusion." Tennyson's language, as he continues, expresses this very idea:

"This round of green, this orb of flame,  
Fantastic beauty; such as lurks  
In some wild poet, when he works  
Without a conscience or an aim."

What recognition do we find of the fact of evil, of suffering of the perishing of millions of lives in the vain struggle for existence? What answer to the doubts raised by such disturbing facts? It is in lyrics 54, 55 and 56 of the poem:

"O, yet we trust that somehow good  
Will be the final goal of ill,  
To pang of nature, sins of will,  
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood;

That nothing walks with aimless feet;  
That not one life shall be destroy'd.  
Or cast as rubbish to the void,  
When God hath made the pile complete;

That not a worm is cloven in vain;  
That not a moth with vain desire  
Is shrivell'd in a fruitless fire,  
Or but subserves another's gain.

Behold, we know not anything;  
I can but trust that good shall fall  
At last—far off—at last, to all,  
And every winter change to spring.

So runs my dream; but what am I?  
An infant crying in the night;  
An infant crying for the light,  
And with no language but a cry.

The wish, that of the living whole  
No life may fail beyond the grave,  
Derives it not from what we have  
The likeliest God within the soul?

Are God and Nature then at strife,  
That Nature lends such evil dreams?  
So careful of the type she seems,  
So careless of the single life,

That I, considering everywhere  
Her secret meaning in her deeds,  
And finding that of fifty seeds  
She often brings but one to bear,

I falter where I firmly trod,  
And falling with my weight of cares  
Upon the great world's altar-stairs  
That slope thro' darkness up to God,

I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,  
And gather dust and chaff, and call  
To what I feel is Lord of all,  
And faintly trust the larger hope.

“So careful of the type?” but no.  
From scarpèd cliff and quarried stone  
She cries, “A thousand types are gone;  
I care for nothing, all shall go.

Thou makest thine appeal to me:  
I bring to life, I bring to death;  
The spirit does but mean the breath:  
I know no more.” And he, shall he,

Man, her last work, who seem’d so fair,  
Such splendid purpose in his eyes,  
Who roll’d the palm to wintry skies,  
Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer,

Who trusted God was love indeed  
And love Creation’s final law—  
Tho’ Nature, red in tooth and claw  
With ravine, shriek’d against his creed—

Who loved, who suffer’d countless ills,  
Who battled for the True, the Just,  
Be blown about the desert dust,  
Or seal’d within the iron hills?

No more? A monster then, a dream,  
A discord. Dragons of the prime,  
That tear each other in their slime,  
Were mellow music match’d with him.

O life as futile, then, as frail!  
O for thy voice to soothe and bless!  
What hope of answer, or redress?  
Behind the veil, behind the veil.”

What application has the doctrine of cosmic evolution? What bearing upon the soul?

“Eternal process moving on  
From state to state the spirit walks,  
And these are but the shattered stalks  
Or ruined crystal of one.”

The great law of physics announced first in the nineteenth century as “the Conservation of Energy,” lends support to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

The last stanza of “In Memoriam” is the grandest in its summary of philosophic thought that the literature of the century affords. It sums up the ultimate conceptions of the faith and science of our time in a few great words:

“That God who ever lives and loves,—  
One God, one law, one element,  
And one far off divine event  
Toward which the whole creation moves.”

“One law, one element,” that is the unity

of nature, the prevalence and harmony of law; “one event,” that is the rational design, the purpose of the whole; “one God who ever lives and loves,” that is the assertion of eternal providence. It is a remarkable fact that Tennyson was aided to this triumphant conception of the world by that very science which first caused his perplexities.

George Eliot, when asked what influence had first unsettled her faith, replied, “Walter Scott’s.” This must seem to most persons a surprising answer. How could the romancer whose delight it was to idealize the past be an unsettling influence? It was rather Sir Walter’s mission to glorify the faith, the heroism, the manners and institutions of by-gone ages and so to increase reverence for antiquity, for authority and tradition. His influence, apparently, should be the opposite of that attributed to him. What explanation, then, do we find of George Eliot’s answer? It is given by her latest biographer, Mr. Leslie Stephen, in the following language: “Scott shows as little sectarian zeal as Shakespeare. The division between good and bad does not correspond in his pages with the division between any one church and its antagonists. The qualities which he admires—manliness, patriotism, unflinching loyalty, and purity of life—are to be found equally among Protestants and Catholics, Roundheads and Cavaliers. The wide sympathy which sees good and bad on all sides makes it difficult to accept any version of the doctrine which supposes salvation to be associated with the acceptance of a dogma.” Now, every reader of Scott will at once admit this to be true of that great man. He was truly catholic in sympathy, and he was too sane a thinker to make dogmas the controlling forces in human character. A man’s destiny springs not from these, but from far deeper sources. These are but badges and decorations. Inevitably one thinks of a later countryman of Scott’s—“Ian Mac-laren”—and his charming sketches of Scottish life, and straightway remembers

that the "doctor of the old School," this writer's favorite and chief creation, was not a member of the Kirk,—not a "Christian," and yet the most Christ-like of all his characters. Such a fact as this is immensely significant. The world's great free writers have not applied the figments of theologians as tests of men or women. They have looked directly at the life. Sect and creed have counted for nothing.

The explanation that Sir Leslie Stephen gives of Scott's influence on George Eliot, therefore, explains every true and great artist—explains George Eliot herself, one of the profoundest intelligences of the century. As soon as she had recovered her equipoise after her revolt from orthodoxy, she began to feel that broad and generous sympathy with "any faith in which human sorrow and human longing for purity have expressed themselves," which characterized her more and more throughout life and which pervades all her books. By virtue of this sympathy and the profound intelligence that accompanied it, the century has not a better interpreter of human nature, from the central point-of-view of religion, than George Eliot. She has penetrated more deeply into the secret chambers of the average soul and has more faithfully represented its workings than any other writer of her time. Whoever would understand the full scope and force of religion in the lives of common people, let him read George Eliot. As an interpreter of the lives that so deeply interested her, she has written some of the most philosophical chapters of the natural history of religion. And the spirit by which she was moved in all this was precisely the spirit of Sir Walter Scott, of Shakespeare, of every true and great artist—the catholic spirit of humanity.

Religious thought in the last century, lost much of its materialism, its crudity. For example, a material hell—a common teaching of the pulpit within my own youthful memory—is no more believed in to-day than a material heaven: a spir-

itualistic conception of both is found adequate. But this conception needs to be more firmly grasped and more powerfully presented in accordance with present-day science. The conception of rewards and punishments has been transformed and purified and greatly corroborated by a deeper study of law, both physical and moral, in these times. But a material heaven and a material hell have vanished from men's thoughts.

The mechanical conception of inspiration has likewise yielded to a view in keeping with the doctrine of divine immanence. "The human race is inspired," as Dr. Jowett says. No longer does the question of miracles greatly engage the thoughts of the educated. Agreement upon what constitutes a miracle being found impossible, and proof and disproof alike impossible, the whole matter has dropped out of discussion and practically out of men's thoughts. Faith has a truer foundation than miracles. God in nature and in man transcends the whole question infinitely.

The age in which we live is thoroughly skeptical on this matter. Many of the most religious minds have rejected them altogether. Not that they deny the supernatural—a power transcending nature—but for them, "God is all in all," "God worketh all in all." He fills all with his presence and power. As this doctrine of divine immanence has come to obtain, all partial conceptions of God's self-manifestations, the views that limit His appearing and reigning to particular times, places, and circumstances, have yielded, proving inadequate. The doctrine of an incarnation in one unique person, for example, has lost much of its hold upon the general mind, but the idea of God in humanity has strengthened. It appears very difficult for the mind, in the present stage of thought, to conceive the God of the universe as entering into the womb of a woman, being born as a child, and living and acting in the world as a man. Such formulas are still held to by professional theologians, but the

educated lay mind is no longer moved by them. It is either passively indifferent, emphatically unbelieving, or impatiently scornful,—the particular attitude depending upon temperament, education, experience, or other circumstances. For example, what a strange and far-away sound has such language as this, found in a recent book on *The Incarnation*: “Jesus Christ is the only man of our race who ever chose to be born into it.” Now, that is striking rhetoric, worthy of Tertullian, or the author of *Cur Deus-Homo*: but it sounds strangely to a modern ear. Equally strange, equally foreign to our present thinking, is this language taken from a companion volume on *The Personality of the Holy Spirit*:

“Perhaps the most notable proof of the personality of the Holy Spirit is his contribution to the literature of the world. He was the author of letters; and the earliest of the world’s literature, as certainly the most influential, was that which came to us from the world’s first and greatest Thinker. His first theme was what we might expect—the poem of creation, as he sings of what none other can more than imagine, but of what he was witness.” (Page 85.)

These utterances, I am confident, do not represent the thinking of educated preachers in general.

The century’s leaders of thought in the Church, the scientists, the poets, the critics,—all held substantially the same liberal views, for they were the children of one age, and were breathed upon in their cradles by the same spirit. But there was this difference: the poets and scientists were untrammelled as the churchmen were not; they could utter the thing they thought. True, there was, even for them, a price to pay, but they had the moral courage and nobleness to pay it, for the boon of being free and speaking truth. They all—poets, preachers, scientists and historical critics alike—

abandoned the theory of a specially inspired and authoritative book; they all gave up miracles; they all came to rest finally—if rest they found—upon the assurance of their own consciousness. The Bible was for them but literature—a book among books. They appealed not to it as a final authority, they reasoned altogether independently of it. “Revealed religion” and “natural religion” there was for them no such distinction. All genuine religion was natural to the human heart, sprang out of human life, was the expression of human needs and the counterpart of human nature. There was no division of truth into “inspired” and “uninspired,” “divine” and “human.” There was no division of events into “natural” and “supernatural.” Such conceptions of necessity vanished in the era of science and enlightenment. The doctrine of evolution, potent before the day of the *Origin of Species*, swept away these fictitious partition walls.

In America all our leaders, our poets particularly,—Emerson, Whittier, Lowell and Longfellow,—were representatives of the new era of freedom. The inheritors of a sturdy type of religion, they retained but its moral character, its staunch independence,—they utterly repudiated its theology. Eternal goodness, and Christ as example and master—their faith encompassed but these two doctrines. The influence of their attitude and of their spirit of faith without dogma has told immensely upon the religious thought of our country. A movement toward freedom and a purer and nobler faith was led by them, and we all have in a measure followed, seeing truth in a new way. They are the chief glory of America, these men of light and leading, our emancipators. The future belongs wholly to them, when the truth shall make us free, like them.

ROBERT T. KERLIN.

*Warrensburg, Mo.*

# THE SINGLE-TAX.

BY JOHN Z. WHITE.

**A**LL HUMAN things do require to have an ideal in them," said Carlyle. This is true. But, like the sayings of so many philosophers, it is but partial truth. Human things, like all other things, require poise, balance, equilibrium; that is, a due proportion of their essential constituents. Without oxygen we have no water. Without ideality we have nothing human. Just as surely, with oxygen, minus other essentials, we have no water; and with ideality, minus other attributes, we have nothing human.

Things human must contain an ideal; as certainly they must involve emotions; just as emphatically, they must be practical. Without ideality, justice will be wanting—and justice alone is permanent. Power is requisite to all achievement, and power is found in emotions alone. Still, no matter how great be the power, no matter how just the cause, failure will be the certain issue in the absence of practical method.

Most appeals for a better adjustment of social forces, because of over-emphasis of one essential, have failed of success through lack of equilibrium.

For example, consider the tariff agitation. Emotion was excited, to be sure, although it was the emotion of wrath against oppression, not the emotion of joy or pleasure aroused by contemplation of the normal or beautiful. When presented in the guise of free trade, this appeal has always lacked the essential of practicability, for free traders of the usual sort have not proposed a rational method for providing an adequate revenue. When presented in the guise of tariff reform the appeal has lacked ideality, for it proposed a distinctly dishonest plan for raising public funds. Not only did tariff reform propose to continue a dishonest system, but, to maintain its own

position, it was under the necessity of itself demonstrating this dishonesty. The tariff reformer is compelled to show the essential dishonesty of a high tariff, and to do this must advocate the principle of free trade. Having proved his case, he proceeds to assure his hearers that he has no intention of practicing honesty, but would utilize the theory he has just overthrown—pleading, however, that he will be content with a less amount of plunder.

Free coinage of silver, with gold at a given ratio, is not so bad as gold monometalism, but is it anything more than to say to the mine-owners: "You shall have a market, maintained by law, for all you may dig from the earth; but those who dig vegetables must take the chances of traffic"? What ideal is here presented other than the ideal involved in tyranny? The reader will perceive that the criticism applies with still greater force to the gold-standard policy.

In spite of the manifest insufficiency of most proposals offered for social relief, some will insist that our troubles find their source in the limitations and perverse tendencies of human nature. To this oft-repeated assertion one can only reply, Human nature, so far as we know, is as it always was and will always be. People will act differently in different circumstances. To a degree we control our environment. Let us give our attention to that same environment and accept human beings as we find them. If there is anything wrong with them, you, my friend, may rest satisfied that you did not make them. You did not know enough. Therefore in that direction you are not responsible.

We make articles of food, clothing and shelter. Therefore, we know how. Therefore, again, it is possible for us to examine the processes by which they are



made and to arrive at a conclusion which shall be based on assured knowledge—not guessed at.

Looking over the field, we find that for many years the press has furnished tales of public wrong, involving, of course, private misfortune and often misery and wretchedness—even death. Some years ago we were told of Tweed; riders on river and harbor bills—not to inquire too particularly as to the bills themselves; credit mobilier; whiskey frauds; later of Carnegie armor-plates, Cuban post-office steals, embalmed beef, etc. Just at present it is the System, whether as unearthed by Folk, defeated by LaFollette, Dunne or Douglas, or exposed by Miss Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens or Lawson.

For relief what are we offered that will comply with the requirements of "things human"? Populism is suggested, and besides being aggressive, it has polled many votes. It tells us that bankers charge too much interest; therefore the government must become a money-lender. Oil refiners exact too high prices; therefore the state must become an oil refiner. Warehouse managers speculate in and falsely grade cereals; therefore the government—but why continue? This is merely patchwork. It is the adoption by populists of the socialistic method of cutting knots they are unable to untie.

Even Mr. Roosevelt, in his late message declares that "the question of transportation lies at the root of all industrial success." He seems wholly unconscious of the fact that things must be made before they can be transported. Are there no essential conditions to this "making"?

Nor is this mental attitude peculiar to socialists and populists. The whole mass of restrictive laws with which we are burdened is of the same parentage. Legal attempts to regulate interest; to improve morals; to promote trade; to compel posterity to pay part of the expense incident to making public improvements, are all exhibitions of the same sort of stupidity. Law can keep the peace, or, in other words, prevent some men from

interfering with the legitimate industry of other men. Law can also establish and maintain an honest system of land-holding. Beyond these, law can do nothing other than to hamper and hinder industry.

In order, therefore, that we may obtain a comprehensive view of industrial affairs, let us call to mind those fundamental facts of human life which we all know, but usually choose not to admit, even to ourselves. The constitution of the State of Illinois very truthfully expresses the thought that a frequent recurrence to first principles is necessary for the preservation of liberty.

The most obvious fact of human existence is that each man, woman or child must consume certain physical things—or die. (There is always the alternative suggested by Epictetus and endorsed by Schopenhauer.) These physical things are known as food, clothing and shelter. Each of these articles is a product of human toil. But human toil alone cannot produce. The toiler must be in possession of the elements (or some of them) of which the earth is composed. This simple, obvious fact is overlooked (or evaded) by nearly all who complain of, or attempt to explain, existing social conditions. It is vastly to the credit of Carlyle that he neither overlooked nor evaded. He said: "It is very strange, the degree to which these truisms are forgotten in our day."

In short, land (meaning the elements of which the earth is composed) and labor (meaning human energy expended in making articles of food, clothing and shelter) are the factors of all physical wealth. All physical things passing through the markets of the world are results of labor applied to land. Most people will agree that land is used at the beginning of all processes of production, but seem not clearly to perceive that it is vital at every step. To make bread we must use land to grow grain. Just as surely we must use land to transport it, to grind it, to bake it. The same is true in all forms of production. Labor and

land are absolutely necessary at each point in every productive process.

If each individual had equal opportunity to join in the processes of production it would seem that just distribution would certainly follow. But here is the rub. Each individual has not this equal opportunity. Land is private property. Production is absolutely impossible without land. It inevitably follows that those who own land are able to demand from laborers a part of the product in return for permission to use their land. For this payment by laborers land-owners make no return—save permission as noted, and it will doubtless be admitted that this payment might possibly be great enough to leave workers with a very small remainder, a remainder so small, in fact, that they could properly be classed with the “worthy poor.”

That part of the product that is paid to the land-owners is called “rent.” The balance is known as “wages”—being the return for industry, of whatever grade. It should be noted that payments made for the use of buildings are not rent—are, instead, wages.

The term “wages” is used in common speech to indicate the reward of employed men. But when considering industry in general it must be given a wider meaning. To illustrate. A man rents a farm, paying one-third of the crop to the owner. The remainder is the reward of his toil, and is therefore his wages. He may have employed others to aid him, but his reward, as well as theirs, is wages. Again, the Deering reaper concern is helping to gather grain, and therefore is a producer, and so is a receiver of wages as truly as is its modest employer. Again, to produce one thousand bushels of wheat worth one dollar per bushel is, through exchange, to acquire capacity to secure a diamond worth one thousand dollars. That is, to produce wealth in one form is equivalent to producing it, to like value, in all forms. So, a man raising wheat in Dakota is in effect catching fish on the banks of Newfoundland, provided, of course, he wants

fish. If he prefers a carriage, then his toil at producing wheat is equivalent to mining iron and coal, making paint, manufacturing all the various articles included in the finished vehicle. The growing of wheat is thus equivalent to making the carriage, because such toil secures, through exchange, possession of the vehicle, just as would the direct application to the making of the conveyance.

Wealth, then, is one, although of many forms, and is produced by the application of labor to land, and is divided between producers and land-owners.

Rent is payment for the use of natural opportunity—for land. It follows from this division of wealth between producers and land-owners that the less of the total product of industry be taken as rent, the more will be left for wages; and conversely, the more be taken as rent the less will be left for wages. Those who own land upon which production occurs divide rent among themselves in proportion to the value of land held by each. Those who produce divide wages among themselves in proportion as each has contributed to production.

The ownership of the land thus having the same effect as the doing of work, that is, ownership of the product, all are trying to become land-owners. As a result of this endeavor, land is bought and held vacant in anticipation of future demand. (This is characteristic of every city in the United States.) If, now, we observe the necessary conditions of production, we shall know how very simple is the industrial problem. Men must use land—or die. Land is private property, with the necessary result that product is divided between land-owners and land-users. Holding some land vacant reduces the effective supply, and of course increases the value of that used—thereby artificially raising rent and reducing wages.

It is perfectly clear that the portion of wealth paid to land-owners is not theirs by right of toil—others did the work. Because of this plain fact most of the social reformers of history, under one or



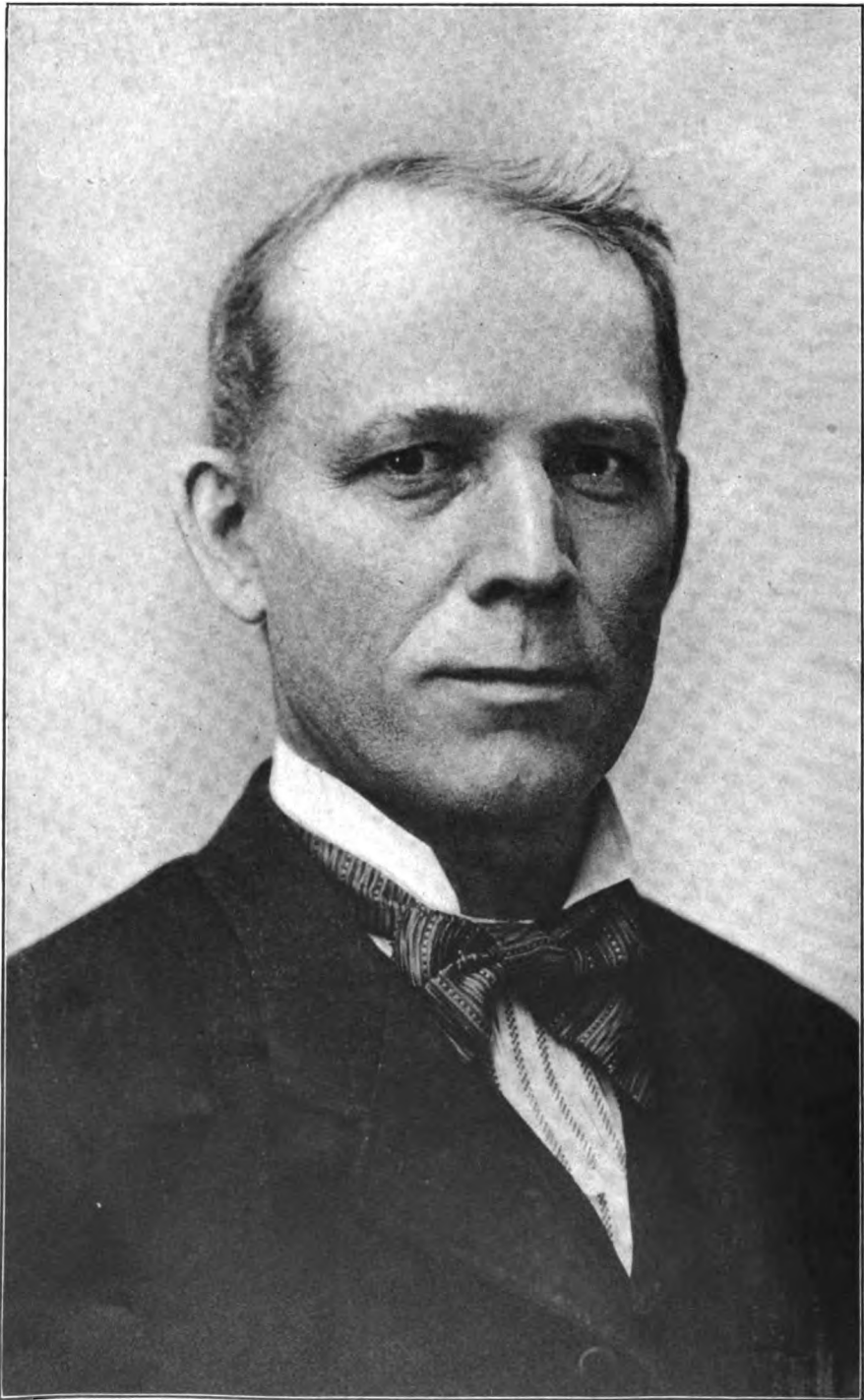


Photo. by Monfort, Chicago

JOHN Z. WHITE

another form, have proposed to make land common property. They have supported the demand by arguments based on both expediency and equity, but the great utility of private possession of land has been sufficiently powerful to resist their efforts.

Henry George has been widely charged with the desire and intention to make land common property, in spite of his statement in *Progress and Poverty*, Book VIII., that, "I do not propose either to purchase or to confiscate private property in land."

The difficulty with the proposal to make land common property is that while it conforms to justice—is ideal and satisfies the emotions, whether of wrath at present conditions or of joy at prospective ones, it does not meet the need of practicability. If the public owns and rents all land possessing value, we are immediately confronted with contractual relations between public officials and private parties—the condition precedent to all "graft." This arrangement might be very much better than that now obtaining, but would undoubtedly be "patchwork," and soon necessitate another remodelling. Taxing land values alone secures permanent possession and involves no contracts between officials and citizens. It will occasion no change of existing forms.

Single-Tax men call attention to the fact that ownership of land is not important, save as it leads to ownership of products. The owner of land is able to secure products as rent. May it not be possible to recover these products without destroying private property in land?

This inquiry raises the question of the right to property. On what does the right to property justly rest? What ought to be the basis of possession? What is "ideal"? The irksomeness of toil must be endured in order that anything be made. Who ought to receive the benefit, or become the owner of the product? Surely one may be forgiven if he is inclined to assert that the individual, or group of individuals, who do the

necessary work ought to receive the reward. If there be other equitable basis for the institution of private property, it has not been promulgated; and yet newspapers have credited Carnegie with saying that the greatest surprise of his life was when he "realized that the man who did the work was not the man who got rich." Mr. Carnegie perceived the certain effect of the private appropriation of rent, though very likely without apprehending the nature of the thing perceived.

If work is the rightful basis of private property, or, in more sounding phrase, if tenure be the prerogative of toil, and our Scotch friend found that to become rich he must do something other than work, may we not fairly claim that existing property relations are in a degree defective?

It would appear, then, that common property in land is ideal, but impracticable; that private appropriation of ground rent is wholly lacking in ideality, but seems at first to be unavoidable, as it apparently is a consequence of private property in land. Here is the paradox.

It is, nevertheless, easy of solution. Any large group of people—as the United States—living in a civilized condition, must maintain government. They must keep the peace,—that is, exercise police power. They must maintain some form of land tenure. Whatever be decided upon as the better mode of holding land—whether in common or in severalty—only government (*i. e.*, the majority of the people) is competent to its enforcement. Instituting and administering the police power and the tenure of land are the "necessary" acts of sovereignty. Otherwise civilization is not possible.

Public or governmental functions are carried into execution only by men, and these must be compensated by those who receive the benefit. To secure the wherewithal to make such payment, a public revenue is necessary. In short, taxation (that is, the collecting of a public fund) is an inevitable condition of civilized life.

As indicated, all wealth is distributed

as rent or wages. It follows that all payments must come from one of these funds. Taxes, therefore, must be paid out of one or the other; or, of course, be derived partly from each. The proposal of Single-Tax men is that public revenue be taken wholly from the rent fund. This plan is believed to be ideal, forceful and practical.

It is ideal in that it secures each one in the ownership of the wealth his labor may produce, with no burden or tribute in any form, save the one subtraction of ground-rent (and this only when he occupies land possessing value). And this is true whether he toils alone or in voluntary association with others. If, then, rent be recovered by taxation and used for the common benefit, it would seem that none would be able to possess wealth not equitably acquired. It is ideal in that it strictly conforms to the only concept ever put forward as the rightful basis of the institution of private property.

The question arises: Does each contribute equally to the rent fund, and thereby become equally entitled to share in public benefits? As before stated, land tenure is one of the functions of government. It is an unavoidable expression of sovereignty. Each man in a community is bound to support its sovereignty—even though he does not agree with the majority. It is only by virtue of this assertion of sovereignty that any one in a community can enjoy peace and security of property. Nature compels us thus to associate. We hold, then, that the benefits of that common association, which nature compels, should be shared in common. The Single-Tax will secure to each that which is his individual product, whether his effort be made alone or in voluntary coöperation and it will secure to the public that to which no individual or voluntary association can establish just claim. It is ideal.

The Single-Tax appeals to the emotions because it reveals a beneficent order in society. It confirms belief in a divine

order. It points the way whereby tyranny may be dissipated from among men. It destroys the fear of want, and thereby allows men to be free in fact. Thus it makes the field of natural opportunity a reality to each and all. When we realize that just as we have more air than we can by any possibility use, so have we more land than many times the present population of the earth could utilize, we may form some concept of the mighty possibilities the Single-Tax would open to the race.

Are not the glories of the modern world wholly due to the overthrow of old forms whereby the native impulses of humanity were suppressed? Have we not freedom of conscience as a result of the overthrow of feudal power? Is not equal participation in government a like result? Is not freedom of the person from serfdom and chattel bondage a like achievement? Is not all of which we may fairly boast in the modern day due to the breaking of the feudal lord's grip? That grip still holds the land. The Single-Tax will break this, his last hold. With its inauguration will vanish the curse that has blighted the earth—the power of some men to control the lives of others. With the advent of “the simple yet sovereign remedy” will come an era of peace, good will, kindness. No longer will any one be able truthfully to say, as did Robert Burns: “We are placed here amid so much nakedness, and hunger, and poverty, and want, that we are under a cursed necessity of studying selfishness in order that we may *exist!*”

The Single-Tax appeals to the imagination; it excites the emotions, both against wrong and for the right; it is forceful, and it will come.

It is practical for many reasons. It is in accord with our civilization. Land is held now in fee-simple, which is a lease—or holding in perpetuity, subject to such tax as the state may levy. This tenure the Single-Tax would continue—thus it is not a change in social institution, but in the administration of institution.

Most men appear not to realize the fact that nearly all fundamental law is now in agreement with Single-Tax ideals. In *Providence Bank vs. Billings* (4 Peters, 562), Chief Justice Marshall—who surely will not be credited with prejudices favorable to the great plain people—said, “the power of taxation may be carried so far as to absorb these profits” (referring directly to rent), and then asks, “Does this impair the obligation of contracts? The idea is rejected by all,” etc.

It is practical because it is in operation now, partly by the public and partly by land-owners. Rent makes its levy with certainty. To say that it is not practical is to decry the acumen of every land-owner in the world. It is practical because it is the one plan that conforms to the accepted canons of taxation,—namely, that a tax bear as lightly as possible upon production; that it be easily collected, and fall as directly as may be upon the ultimate payers; that it be certain; that it bear equally.

The Single-Tax does not bear upon production at all, for the land-owners collect rent whether or not the public tax them. It is easily collected, for the land lies out of doors, and so cannot be hid, and its value is the only value that can be arrived at with approximate truth. It is the only tax capable of producing sufficient revenue that “falls directly upon the ultimate payers.” It cannot be shifted, for rent is a monopoly price. That is the chief reason many have for opposing it.

It is related that one Irishman said to another: “The Single-Tax ’ud stop tax dodgin’.” The other replied: “Then what’s the objection to it?” “It ’ud stop tax dodgin’.” “Oi understand, then why not adopt it?” “It ’ud prevint tax dodgin’.” “That’s three toimes ye’ve tould me that. An’ Oi understood ye the furst toime, an’ Oi understood ye the second toime, an’ the third toime. Now, since ye’re so sure it would prevint tax dodgin’, what the divil’s the raison they do n’t put the Single-Tax in opera-

tion?” “Oi big your pardon, but Oi understood ye to ask me why do n’t they adopt the Single-Tax?” “An’ what the divil else did Oi ax ye?” “Well, then, for the fourth time—count ’em—Oi’ll answer ye that the raison they do n’t adopt the Single-Tax is because it ’ud prevint tax dodgin’.”

It is certain, because if all other sources of revenue be cut off, public officials cannot neglect this—they need the money. It will bear equally because each man is either land-owner or tenant, and in either capacity pays in rent just what the social advantage he enjoys is worth.

It is practical because our forms of government lend themselves to its easy adoption. Any state in the Union may adopt home-rule, or local option, in taxation; that is, enact a law whereby any city or town may levy taxes for its local revenue in such manner as it may choose. This is the measure already adopted in New Zealand with such happy results, and is in reality the only legal measure Single-Taxers ask for. Such act would permit any locality to try in a moderate way the value of our proposal, and its practicability would be demonstrated as is being done in New Zealand.

It may be observed that there is here no proposal to force this measure upon any community. There is only provided a method whereby any community may utilize the plan if it so desires. What honest man can say he does not believe in permitting a community to conduct its own affairs in its own way; but on the contrary believes that some communities need the benefit of his superior wisdom?

The Single-Tax is practical because nothing else can successfully meet existing monopoly conditions. If we secure relief at any other point in the field of production, rent will increase, and by this means the whole gain will disappear, so far as producers are concerned. When we cheapened transportation by substituting the steam-railway for the canal-boat and the ox-cart land values increased. If we make public utilities commou prop-

erty, and thereby again reduce the cost of transportation and other public services, will the result be different? It is impossible to afford permanent relief to industry while the landlord's privilege remains unchecked.

The Single-Tax is absolutely in harmony with natural justice, as between man and man; it accords with those eternal and self-evident principles of

freedom that are the foundation of our American society; it is ideal; it is forceful; it is practical. It will make possible of realization the hope of the poet who sang:

"Then let us pray that come it may,  
As come it will, for a' that;  
That man to man, the warl' o'er,  
Shall brithers be, for a' that."

JOHN Z. WHITE.

*Chicago, Ill.*

## W. A. ROGERS: THE CARTOONIST OF CIVIC INTEGRITY.

### I.

**T**HE CARTOONIST, to be a power, must have some dominant, definite or master-thought instinct with the higher aspirations of humanity or those moral verities upon which the permanency and growth of national life depend. The really great American cartoonists have all consciously or unconsciously yielded to the compulsion of moral idealism. They have instinctively fought the battle of the people to the extent that their enviroing limitations permitted, and they have left or are leaving the impress of their individuality and idealism on the brain of the nation. They are among the most effective influences for civic righteousness and popular rights and justice in the present battle between the powers of greed and sodden selfishness and the higher aspirations of national life. Here, as in journalism and literature in general, there must be sincerity and high purpose to achieve any real greatness and leave a lasting and beneficent influence on the life of the age. The men who have been real factors for human advance and better government have not been those who merely studied to please the management of their journals, but in addition to filling the requirements of their positions they have thrown into

their work the aggressive moral element that has carried conviction to the minds of millions. In not a few instances they have declined lucrative positions because they would not prostitute their high talent in the service of interests they believed to be contrary to the welfare of their country.

If we mention any of the workers of the first rank, some well-defined mental picture or pictures will arise before the mind's eye. Thus the name of Thomas Nast suggests unceasing warfare against enthroned municipal greed; those of Davenport and Opper bring before the mind the warfare against the brutal tyranny and oppression of the present-day commercial feudalism. In like manner the name of W. A. Rogers, the famous cartoonist of the New York *Herald*, suggests the unrelenting foe of the grafters and corruptionists in city, state and national government. We see the black-horse cavalry invading the temple of legislation, polluting the citadel of popular rule. We see Albany, that should be the throne of just law and the glory of the Empire State, a shame and a by-word, a sink of corruption; Albany with its venal legislature, the creature and tool of corrupt corporations; Albany, with its re-





Photo. by Pach Bros., New York.

**W. A. ROGERS**

Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

## FEEDING THE HEATHEN.

sort of degradation known as the "house of mirth," the headquarters for the distribution of the "yellow-dog soup"; Albany, where lobbies gather over a morally dead and corrupt body as vultures and birds of prey gather over the carcasses on the plains.

One idea has ever dominated Mr. Rogers in his work. He has battled resolutely for one great object—common honesty—something more needed to-day than ever before in our public life. We think it is quite safe to say that no less than eight-tenths of his cartoons have to do with graft, corruption and the betrayal of the people in the interests of privileged wealth. He has been the uncompromising, determined and tireless foe of all forms of civic dishonesty. His ideal of statecraft is high, and his realization of the fact that there is a cancer at the vitals of the nation, eating away the fabric of free government, destroying public morality and draining the resources of the millions, is so keen that his pictures speak volumes. In the columns of one of the greatest news-gatherers of the world and one of the most negative editorial papers of the age, Rogers' pictures are the most virile moral note present—the note that more than aught else compels the reader to take cognizance of the grave perils that are threatening national integrity.

Mr. Rogers' cartoons are usually calculated to provoke a smile, even when the picture cuts as a keen lance into a loathsome mass of corruption in the body politic. The artist believes that this is the most effective method of driving home the truth he seeks to impress on the public mind. On this point he recently said:

"My general idea of a cartoon is to hit cleanly and without undue exaggeration either in the idea or the drawing. If one can make a cartoon that the side ridiculed must laugh at in spite of themselves, then he has made the best kind of a cartoon and the most effective."

We are not altogether convinced that Mr. Rogers' conclusions are sound. We incline to think that it was some of the most brutally savage of the cartoons of Nast that compelled the citizens of New York to take cognizance of the wholesale and systematic corruption of the Tweed Ring. So we believe that when Davenport was with the *New York Journal and American*, making his powerful but brutal and somber cartoons, he was a greater power for moral progress than any other cartoonist of that day. There are times when the bludgeon is more effective than the rapier. Still, each method has its place and serves its purpose in the hands of men of high ideals and strong convictions.

Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

"A FEW UNDIGESTED SECURITIES."—J. P. MORGAN.

II.

"The idea of drawing came to me as about the first thing I can remember. My mother was a skilful artist and taught me the simple elements of drawing at the same time that I learned my letters," remarked Mr. Rogers recently when in a reminiscent mood and in reply to a question from us. "I remember," he continued, "when I was fourteen years old I drew a number of small cartoons on wood, and an engraver in Dayton, Ohio, engraved them for a syndicate. So far as I know these were the first cartoons to be syndicated in the daily papers. They were drawn with a pen directly on the block."

In answer to the question, "What artist or art work exerted the greatest influence on you during your childhood?" Mr. Rogers replied:

"The first real impetus given to my ambition came at about this time, when a friend loaned me an excellently engraved set of Hogarth's works. The sturdy honesty of his characterization appealed to me at once and has been an inspiration ever since."

Mr. Rogers was born in Springfield,



Rogers, in New York Herald.

HE STRIVES TO PLEASE.



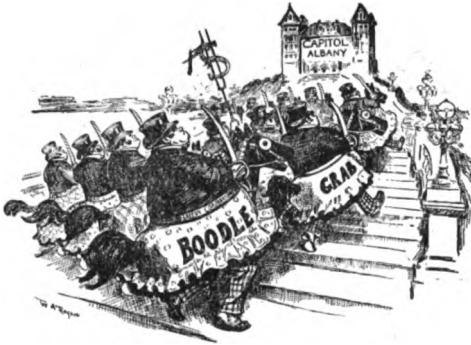
Rogers, in New York Herald.

BEGINNING TO BE AFFECTED BY THE ALTITUDE.

Ohio. His father was a prominent lawyer at a bar conspicuous for the ability and brilliance of its practitioners. Among the men of marked ability who were frequently opposed to or associated with the elder Rogers in cases before the Ohio circuit courts were Salmon P. Chase, Thomas Corwin, John Sherman and Samuel Shellabarger. At the time of his death, which occurred when he was only forty-four years of age, he was on the bench.

"I have always felt," said Mr. Rogers, "that my deep interest in public questions was a direct inheritance from him."

From the high-minded father, imbued with the sturdy spirit that marked so many of the strong men of the meridian period of the last century, the artist early learned to honor and respect fidelity to public trust and to abhor dishonesty and venality in every form, and especially when the corruption affected those in public life; for the elder Rogers had ever striven to impress his son with the idea that a public office was a trust doubly sacred in character: it was a position in which the honored individual had been confided by trusting citizens with their own interests, in the faith that they would be administered for the true benefit of those he was chosen to represent, while at the same time fidelity to the trust was imposed by the high demands of democratic government. So long as the people's representatives spurned all forms of

Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

THE "BLACK HORSE CAVALRY" IS IN POSSESSION.

bribery, remaining faithful in the service of the people, the Republic would be the great moral and political beacon-light in the world of government. These great truths were impressed on the mind of the son ere the father died. They have lived in his imagination and are the vital moral power behind his pen.

In 1872 Mr. Rogers took up illustrating as a profession, and in 1873 he became a member of the staff of the *New York Daily Graphic*. Later he entered the employ of *Harper's Weekly*, where he contributed a number of excellent drawings, and in 1880 he drew a cartoon, during the Hancock campaign. It made an instantaneous hit. Since then, though he has made hundreds of drawings depicting passing events and illustrating stories, his cartoons have been in such

Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

A HELPING HAND.

demand that he has found it impossible to devote his entire attention to illustrating.

### III.

Many of Mr. Rogers' most effective cartoons have been directed against the riot of dishonesty that has made Albany almost as notorious a seat of corruption as Harrisburg has been since the public-service corporations and privileged interests of Pennsylvania gained complete control of the Republican political machine of the Keystone State. The battle between the friends of New York State, who strove to save the splendid forests of the Adirondacks, and the paper-trust

Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

"AN INVESTIGATION NOW WOULD BE A PUBLIC CALAMITY."

whose lobby was so perniciously active in Albany, called forth some telling cartoons fixing cleverly in the public mind the responsibility where it belonged—with the legislators at Albany and the rapacious trust.

The insurance scandals have served in recent months to show, as did the railway investigations of several years ago, how completely the most powerful and corrupt financial magnates of the great corporations control the legislature, through the bosses, the lobby, and by the selection of servile tools as candidates for the legislature. Several years ago, in the railway investigation, Jay Gould described how he paid liberally to secure the nomi-



Rogers, in *New York Herald.*

UNANIMOUS!

nation and election of representatives that would be favorable to the Erie Road. He contributed liberally to the fund for the election of any persons who would wear the Erie collar. In Republican districts, he declared, he was a Republican; in Democratic districts he was a Democrat; in doubtful districts he was doubtful; but, he added, "I am an Erie man all the time." And in that brutally frank confession the voters of America had given to them one of the master-keys to the amazing phenomenon of the systematic betrayal of the people by those sworn faithfully to represent their interests.

Mr. Platt recently confessed in the insurance investigation how he received contributions from the great insurance companies and admitted that the taking of the money implied a moral obligation to the insurance harpies; not to the policy-holders, it should be remembered, as the old safeguards that protected them were removed by the legislature at the instigation of the Wall-street insurance cormorants and gamblers who wanted to use the trust-funds of the policy-holders recklessly and wastefully, and who were ready to contribute vast sums to what is popularly known as the "yellow dog" fund, to debauch the people's servants and render themselves immune from punishment.

Naturally enough the insurance revelations afforded an admirable opportunity for Mr. Rogers' pen.

In a lighter vein are other cartoons, such as the one representing Uncle Sam pointing to the Monroe doctrine and addressing England and Germany, warning them that it is a live wire.

Another humorous cartoon that was very widely copied at the time was called forth by President Roosevelt assuming the entire management of the Republican nominating convention, when he indicated his choice for temporary chairman and permanent chairman and the general management of the convention, and when it was stated that he carefully scrutinized Mr. Black's fulsome eulogy of the president in his nominating speech, before it was delivered. Mr. Rogers hit off this matter in a cartoon representing Mr. Roosevelt as the whole convention from start to finish.

Several of his best cartoons have been directed against America's great gambling world and trust spawning-ground, Wall street. A typical drawing of this class was entitled "Undigested Securities" and was called forth by the famous remark of J. Pierpont Morgan when defending such notorious water-logged corporations as the ill-starred ship-trust.

In 1902, when President Roosevelt appeared to be desirous of having the



Rogers, in *New York Herald.*

PREPARED FOR THE WORST.

Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

WILL THE TAIL WAG THE ELEPHANT?

tariff revised and was also vigorously pressing other measures for the relief of the people from the tyranny and oppression of the great trusts and monopolies, he encountered the fierce opposition of Depew, Hanna, Platt, Frye and other master-spirits of the Republican party. This suggested Mr. Rogers' famous cartoon representing Mr. Roosevelt on the elephant, following Uncle Sam out of the monopoly wilderness, but the elephant is retarded by the trust friends in the Senate and House who are represented as holding onto his tail and trying to prevent his advance. Under the picture is the query, "Will the tail wag the elephant?" In passing we may say that it certainly will so long as the Republican party depends on the trusts and the public-service corporations for enormous campaign funds.

Another notable cartoon of a national character was called forth when it appeared that President Roosevelt was going to push the postal fraud investigation to the very top of the department with sufficient vigor and alacrity to prevent the statute of limitation expiring before certain guilty ones could escape. In the cartoon the elephant and the post-master-general, as they ascend the mountain of postal frauds, become seriously

and alarmingly affected by the height of the altitude.

Such are some typical examples of Mr. Rogers' excellent and suggestive work. His drawing is better than that of most of our cartoonists, though his pictures are not so powerful or compelling as have been some of Nast's, Beard's, Davenport's, Oppenheimer's or Bush's. One reason for this doubtless lies in Mr. Rogers' theory of what constitutes the best cartoon. "One of the ideas I have followed as consistently as circumstances would permit," he recently observed, "is to make my points with a certain reserve; not to exaggerate the bad points of the enemy so much that on looking at the picture one instinctively says: 'No, he could n't possibly be as bad as that.'"

There is doubtless much to be said in favor of this position. Still, in times when moral turpitude is rife; times when free institutions are in peril from a rapidly growing plutocracy; times when the multitude are being exploited for the enormous enrichment of the few, whose power to plunder has been gained by corrupt practices, the strongest and boldest pictures are called for in order to arouse the public as a tocsin or alarm-bell in olden times aroused the sleeping populace in hours when a great and deadly danger appeared.

Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

UNCLE SAM—"THAT'S A LIVE WIRE, GENTLEMEN!"

# COLLEGE COÖPERATIVE STORES IN AMERICA.

BY IRA CROSS.

ONE OF the most perplexing questions to the one hundred and thirty thousand students now attending the colleges and universities in the United States, is that old question of "How can I cut down expenses?" This problem has been partly solved in a most unique manner by the students of Yale, Harvard, Cornell, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Northwestern University and the State Universities of California, Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas and Wisconsin. In each of these institutions a "College Coöperative Book and Supply Store" has been organized, from which everything needed by the collegeman can be purchased. Books, stationery, athletic goods, college pins and pennants, drawing tools and photographic supplies are always to be found in stock in large quantities, while in some instances notably at Yale and Harvard, wood, coal, furniture and a complete line of men's furnishings are also handled.

Membership in these associations is obtained by the purchase of a participation card, the price of which varies from 50 cents to \$5.00. At the close of each college year, the profits of the company are usually divided among the holders of the membership cards upon a basis of the amount of goods purchased. It often happens that this dividend rises as high as 10 per cent. in cash and 13 per cent. in trade, which in addition to the low prices of the Coöperative Society means quite an annual saving to each member of the organization. Several of these associations sell goods at cost and declare no dividends. Yale, Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology have a system of "Affiliated Tradesmen," *i. e.*, retail dealers, who by special arrangement sell goods to members of these coöperative stores at a discount of from 5 per cent. to 40 per cent.

Harvard was the first university to experiment with a Students' Coöperative Society (1882), and so successful did it prove to be in operation that Yale followed her example a year later, while in 1885 the students of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology fell into line and organized a similar association. In the meantime some good Samaritan had carried the seed of coöperation far to the westward, with the result that a students' store was started at the University of California in 1884. From that day to the present time, the establishment of College Coöperative Societies has made slow but solid progress. To be sure there have been some failures, and the coöperative stores of the University of Indiana, Oberlin and Syracuse have been temporarily abandoned, but these failures have been due to the lack of efficient management and to the fierce competition of local merchants. When one realizes that the annual business of the largest and oldest of these stores amounts to more than \$200,000, while that of three others averages more than \$50,000, it is easily seen that even the skeptics have no grounds for doubting their marvelous success.

## HARVARD COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

As stated above, the Harvard Coöperative Society is the oldest and the largest of these institutions. Established in 1882 in the little Drury Office and employing but one clerk, it has grown with tremendous strides until to-day it owns and occupies a commodious four-story building on Harvard Square, the old Lyceum Hall property, and regularly employs a force of forty-two clerks, although during the rush of the first few weeks of each school-year this number often rises as high as seventy-five. In the twenty-three

years of its existence it has handed back to the members over \$100,000 as dividends, in spite of the fact that most of its goods are sold at almost cost prices.

The organization of the society is similar to that of any other business firm. A board of directors and other officers are elected annually by the members of the association and control its policy. Membership in the Society is open to any student or professor of Harvard University, Radcliffe College, and the Episcopal Theological School, as well as to the graduates of these institutions, and is obtained by the payment of an annual fee of \$1.00. This enables the holder of the membership card to share in the annual dividends of the Society and to enjoy the advantages of trading with the "Affiliated Retail Dealers." The latter feature alone induces many of the graduates residing in Boston and Cambridge to renew their membership in the Society each year in order that they may have the benefit of trading at reduced prices with these city merchants.

During the last year the association had 2,513 members and sold goods amounting in value to the enormous sum of \$238,315.14.

A veritable department store is this old Lyceum Hall!

The basement is fitted up with a complete line of men's furnishings, laboratory coats and rubber aprons, together with an extensive assortment of sporting and athletic goods, while the first floor is taken up with the offices of the company and the book and stationery departments. Books of all kinds and descriptions are to be found attractively displayed, ranging from current fiction, fancy-covered gift-books and standard literature to the heavy leather-bound volumes of the law-student and the costly imported treatises upon scientific subjects. If the book for which you are looking is not kept in stock, a daily messenger to Boston will bring it back with him, or if it has to be imported, one of the foreign correspondents of the Society will forward it to you from Lon-

don, Paris or Leipzig. What Harvard graduate does not remember the excellence of the "Coöp's" stationery, notebooks and punched covers! So high-class are these articles that the Society does a wholesale business in them. Engraving, steel-die cutting and stamping are carried on in this department, as is also the sale of photographic supplies and toilet articles.

A display of furniture occupies the second floor. This portion of the company's business has become so large that it has been found advisable to issue an annual "Furniture Catalogue." The top-floor is taken up with the workshops of the Tailoring Department, which are under the supervision of an experienced manager.

Coal and wood are sold to the students in large or small quantities and last year resulted in \$17,653.93 being added to the income of the association.

The following table gives one an idea of the great amount of business transacted by this student organization during the last seven years.

STATEMENT OF THE HARVARD COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Year.	Sales.	Amount of Dividends.	Rate of Dividends.
1899	\$170,477.36	\$.....	6.9 per cent.
1900	.....	.....	7.0 " "
1901	246,337.49	8,692.55	7.0 " "
1902	259,815.21	10,956.15	8.0 " "
1903	289,218.04	12,426.33	8.0 " "
1904	245,517.59*	5,294.70*	4.0 " "
1905	238,315.14	8,565.21	7.0 " "

\* Decrease in the receipts of this year due to the sale of the Medical Branch. The cost of fitting up Lyceum Hall was taken out of the net profits, which accounts for the decrease in dividends.

#### YALE COÖPERATIVE CORPORATION.

One year following the establishment of the Harvard Coöperative Society saw the beginning of the Yale Coöperative Corporation. Its growth, like that of its predecessor, has been very rapid, until to-day it has become an indispensable part of University life. A complete line of athletic goods, gymnasium supplies, toilet articles, text-books, knives, station-



ery, flags, pennants, etc., etc., is carried in stock and sold to members at cost, the receipts during the last college year amounting to \$60,504.72. Membership in the Corporation is obtained by the payment of \$2.00 for a one-year ticket, \$4.00 for three years, and \$5.00 for four years. This ticket also permits the members to trade with any of the thirty-five "Associated Tradesmen" who give a discount of from 5 per cent. to 30 per cent. upon all purchases. Ten clerks are regularly employed by the Corporation to serve the 1,200 members and all other persons who frequent the Society's store located in South Middle College.

#### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Four hundred and fifty members, sales amounting to \$54,651.58, and an annual dividend of 8 per cent. is the record of the Students' Coöperative Society of the University of California. This association was started in 1884 by the students and faculty members of the University because of the exorbitant prices charged them by the local merchants. Ever since its beginning it has had to meet the determined opposition of the latter. So bitter did this become last year that there were threats of introducing a bill in the legislature at their request calling for the abolition of the "Coöp."

This society is located in the basement of Old North Hall and is the daily rendezvous for many of the students. An annual fee of \$1.00 is charged which permits the member to share in the annual dividends of the Society and to purchase his school-supplies from the store at a reduction of about 8 per cent. below market prices. Six clerks are regularly engaged in serving the customers of the association.

#### THE M. I. T. COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

The Coöperative Society of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, located

in Boston, was begun in 1886. It does not directly own a store or stock of goods, but throughout the year purchases supplies needed by members, and sells them at a small margin. The profits of the Society, as well as the money gotten from the sale of membership cards (50 cents) are placed in the "Coöperative Scholarship Fund" and given to needy students who are working their way through the Institute. Similar to the system used at Harvard and Yale, the membership ticket of the Society also enables one to trade with any of the thirty-five "Affiliated Tradesmen" in all lines of business at a discount varying from 5 per cent. to 40 per cent.

#### COÖPERATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

In 1892 the first steps were taken at the University of Wisconsin to start a Students' Coöperative Society. The prices charged by the local merchants for books and stationery were so exorbitant that the students were determined to endure it no longer. It was not until 1894, however, that anything definite resulted from this growing discontent. A mass-meeting was called in Library Hall, and the active support of over two hundred students was pledged to the proposed organization. The beginning was so small that at first all of the business was transacted on the steps of Library Hall, the stock consisting solely of lead-pencils and the historic "Blue Books" of Wisconsin (a blue-covered eight-page notebook used exclusively in quizzes and examinations). The first year's business amounted only to \$800, while at the present time more than three times this amount is handed back to the students each year in the shape of dividends.

For the first few years the opposition of the local merchants was exceedingly bitter and many underhand methods were used by them in their efforts to kill the young enterprise. But the "Coöp." had come to stay. To-day it occupies

## STATEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Year.	Sales.	Amount of Dividends.	Rate of Dividends.	
1897.....	\$9,534.52	\$210.72	5 per cent.	in Trade.
1898.....	13,090.44	404.68	10 "	" "
1899.....	16,199.43	788.33	12½ "	" "
1900.....	25,303.78	1,602.36	12 "	" " 10 per cent. in Cash.
1901.....	33,805.99	1,803.77	12 "	" " 9 " " "
1902.....	35,009.14	1,830.99	12½ "	" " 9 " " "
1903.....	40,320.05	2,082.02	12½ "	" " 9 " " "
1904.....	46,070.29	2,366.45	12½ "	" " 9 " " "
1905.....	48,762.07	2,720.45	13 "	" " 10 " " "

the largest store-room in the vicinity of the University, sells more than \$48,750 worth of goods, hands back about \$2,720.45 in dividends to the 1,600 members, employs five regular clerks, and best of all, has an exceedingly high financial rating.

The payment of \$2.50 for a share of stock entitles the holder to a life membership and to a fountain-pen of standard make, the value of which is equal to the cost of the share of stock. With each purchase a member is given a slip of paper upon which is his number and the amount of the sale. At the close of the college-year, these slips are brought in by the students, and added up by the clerks of the store who return to the members their share of the dividends in accordance with the total amount of their year's purchases. The rate of dividends thus declared in June, 1905, was 10 per cent. in cash and 13 per cent. in trade.

The "Coöp." is headquarters for all college supplies, including books, stationery, military uniforms, gymnasium and athletic goods, shoes, room decorations and student sundries. New students, who have difficulty in being identified at the city banks, as well as many others, find the "Coöp." a convenient place to cash checks and drafts. More than \$300 worth of negotiable paper is cashed each day by the Society, while at the beginning of each semester this amount often rises as high as \$800.

Annual meetings are held for the election of a board of directors and other officers of the association.

The Society has published several text-

books of current use and has charge of their sale upon the market.

The above table is helpful in presenting a statement of the association's business for the last nine years.

## UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

The Coöperative Society of the University of Texas is different from other organizations of a similar nature because of the fact that at the close of the college-year it returns to the members of the association their membership fee amounting to \$1.00, together with their share of the profits of the company, based upon the amount of goods purchased. The store of the Society is located in one of the rooms of the University, which has been set apart for it by the Board of Regents.

Organized in 1896, to-day it has 249 members, hires five regular clerks, transacted \$19,449.30 worth of business during the last year and declared dividends amounting to 5 per cent. upon purchases, in addition to handing back the membership fee of \$1.00 to each person sharing in the profits of the business.

The table below shows the rapid and

STATEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS  
COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Year.	Sales.	Amount of Dividends.
1897.....	\$6,031.34	.....
1898.....	7,424.54	\$101.35
1899.....	7,729.39	25.30
1900.....	8,830.86	280.26
1901.....	11,427.49	247.00
1902.....	11,728.82	275.90
1903.....	13,266.08	286.00
1904.....	14,202.00	517.50
1905.....	19,449.30	413.10

COLLEGE COÖPERATIVE STORES IN THE UNITED STATES. JUNE, 1905.

Society.	Date of Starting.	No. of Members.	Sales 1904-1905.	Rate of Dividends.	Employés.
Cornell University, . . . . .	1898	150	\$45,000.00	8 per cent.	7
Harvard University, . . . . .	1882	2,513	238,315.14	7 " "	49
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, . . . . .	1886	573	5,000.00	.....	1
Northwestern University, . . . . .	*	.....	.....	.....	..
University of California, . . . . .	1884	450	54,651.58	8 per cent.	6
University of Illinois, . . . . .	1905†	522	5,000.00	5 " "	2
University of Missouri, . . . . .	1900	500	27,000.00	10 " "	3
University of Tennessee, . . . . .	1902	7	7,000.00	8 " "	2
University of Texas, . . . . .	1896	249	19,499.30	5 " "	5
University of Wisconsin, . . . . .	1894	1,631	48,762.07	{ 10 " " Cash, } { 13 " " Trade, }	5
Yale University, . . . . .	1883	1,176	60,504.72	†	8

\* Store just being organized.  
 † This store was begun in January, 1905, and the returns are for the succeeding five months.  
 ‡ Declares no dividends but sells all goods at cost.

consistent growth in the sales of the Society from its establishment to the present time.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

A Coöperative Society similar in many respects to that of the University of Wisconsin is to be found at the University of Missouri. This store was started in 1900 and has been so successful in operation during the last five years that it already has a membership of 500, with sales amounting to \$27,000 for the last college-year. Dividends of 10 per cent. were declared upon purchases made by members of the association, while the prices of books have been reduced more than 25 per cent. from their former cost. Three to six clerks are needed to take care of the rapidly increasing business.

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE.

The Coöperative Society of the University of Tennessee, established in 1902, is rather unique in that all of the stock is held by seven professors and officers of the university. Dividends of 8 per cent. are annually paid upon the capital stock,

all the surplus above this amount being given over to the University Annual, the Y. M. C. A., Athletics and other student activities. Sometime ago it was proposed that the prices of all goods sold by the Society be reduced 5 per cent. and that there be no division of the surplus. This matter was vigorously opposed by the students, however, and subsequently dropped.

The coöperative stores of Cornell, the University of Illinois, and Northwestern University are so closely similar to those already described that no further mention of them need be made here.

The above table presents the status of the "College Coöperative Store" at the close of the last school-year (June, 1905). These figures are a living testimonial to its success. Thousands of students have materially reduced their expenses. There is room for one of these societies at every university and college throughout the country. Why should there not be more of them in the United States?

IRA CROSS.

Madison, Wis.

# HELEN M. GOUGAR: A NOBLE TYPE OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICAN WOMANHOOD.

## AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

### I.

THE CIVILIZATION of the nineteenth century in the New World was enriched by the influence of the most illustrious group of public-spirited women that up to that time had appeared in the life of any nation. Indeed, they may be said to have been the advance guard that ushered in the larger and freer day for woman. The voices of most of this chosen band are silent now, but their splendid work and influence live and blossom in all that is best in our civic, social and domestic life, and their names will be revered more and more as the years vanish and the greatness of their work and the heroism of the stand they so courageously took in the face of a frowning conservatism is more and more appreciated.

Dorothy Dix is only to-day beginning to be valued at anything like her worth. She wrought far more than any score of men in the nineteenth century to improve the condition of the insane in America and in Europe. Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Julia Ward Howe and Mary A. Livermore are only particularly brilliant lights among the historic coterie of American women who dealt Herculean blows for the emancipation of the black man while ever working for the elevation of the moral ideals of the people. Lucy Stone Blackwell, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were noble representatives of the woman's suffrage movement in its earlier days, as they were also effective defenders of democratic ideals and the vital demands of an expanding civilization.

Later came a noteworthy group of younger workers who fought none the less ably or valiantly for humanity's weal and the moral progress of the people.

Among these apostles of emancipated womanhood Frances E. Willard and Helen M. Gougar stand preëminent. Miss Willard has passed from view, but her great work for temperance, for social purity and for juster social conditions has left its imprint on the nation and will be felt for good for generations yet to come.

### II.

Mrs. Gougar alone of all this chosen band remains strong with the vitality of a fine intellect in its rich maturity. She alone of the group we have mentioned is carrying forward the battle for progress and freedom—the warfare of true civilization, with all the power and energy of youth. She is a woman of splendid ability, of superb moral courage, and richly endowed with that passionate love for humanity, for justice and the higher development of the people that more than aught else is demanded by civilization from her leaders to-day.

She was born in Litchfield, Michigan, and was educated at Hillsdale College. After graduating she taught school in Lafayette, Indiana, where she became the principal of one of the public-schools—the first woman to hold that position in the city.

One day Mrs. Gougar was summoned to the home of a neighbor where she beheld one of those frightful tragedies that are frequently witnessed in all Christian lands. A woman had been murdered by her husband while he was insane through strong drink. The horrible picture presented by the dead wife, the blear-eyed husband and the crushed and terror-stricken children, roused the young woman as a trumpet-call from heaven.



**HELEN M. GOUGAR**

Photo. by Phillips, La Fayette, Ind.  
**THE ARENA**



By temperament she belonged to that class, all too rare in our age, who when they hear the voice of duty unhesitatingly obey. No thought of ease or popularity, no consideration or self-interest or the pleasant applause of the world will deter these royal natures to whom duty is divine and her call the command of the Infinite.

Hence we find Mrs. Gougar soon among the most eloquent, logical and convincing temperance advocates of the land. For many years she was in the very front of the fight, nowhere being more effective than when appearing before legislative committees, for she was, we think, the only prominent temperance worker who possessed a thorough legal education. This she had acquired after coming to Indiana. Possessed of a natural aptitude for study and not content with her achievements as a teacher, she determined to master the law. After careful preparation she passed the requisite examination and was admitted to practice in all the courts of the state. She enjoys the distinction of being the first woman lawyer to argue a case before the supreme court of Indiana. The circumstances attending this famous appearance are interesting.

Mrs. Gougar was for twenty-three years President of the Woman's Suffrage Association of Indiana. The courts had admitted women to practice law, making a ruling that logically would sustain them in the exercise of the right of franchise. A "test vote" case was therefore pushed forward and Mrs. Gougar appeared as advocate for the woman voters. When the case reached the supreme court she made a legal argument which called forth the highest encomiums from the bench, bar and press for its strength, clarity of reasoning, consistency and logic. A writer thoroughly conversant with the facts of this well-known trial makes the following observations in regard to it:

"Her contention was and is that the law of Indiana is sufficient to allow women to vote, basing her claim on the decision

of the supreme court in the 'Leach case,' which admits women to practice law in Indiana. Many able jurists claim that she sustained her contention; at least she made the two decisions look exceedingly inconsistent on the part of the court. In the Leach case the chief justice writing the opinion declared: 'That which is expressed [in state constitution] does not make that which is silent cease.' In the test-vote case the same chief justice writing the opinion declared: 'That which is expressed *does* make that which is silent cease.'"

Mrs. Gougar more than anyone else was responsible for securing municipal suffrage for women in Kansas. She has also waged a winning warfare in many states to secure school suffrage for women, her knowledge of constitutional law being of great aid in these battles for a wider recognition of the inherent rights of women in a free state.

Unlike many temperance and women's suffrage reformers, Mrs. Gougar is not narrow-visioned. She recognizes that these great issues are but two of the many grave problems that the moral obligations impose upon free governments—obligations that should be bravely met and settled in alignment with the fundamental demands of democracy. She has fought a splendid battle for a wider meed of justice for all the people. She has eloquently opposed the despotism of privilege and the anarchy of corporate wealth. She is the only woman on the National Executive Committee of the Anti-Trust League of the United States.

Perhaps her greatest influence has been exerted on the platform, but she has also wrought effectively and with great ability through her pen. She is a strong, incisive and logical writer, possessing the power of presenting her subject in an engaging manner not unfrequently enhanced with wit, humor and satire, while sincerity, earnestness and clarity of thought are marked characteristics of all her work. Those who read her writings feel instinct-

ively that they are following the thoughts of one who would not prostitute her God-given powers for gold or for policy or expediency. She has contributed to many of our leading magazines and daily papers and has recently published a monumental work of travel presenting a vivid picture of the races, nations and peoples with whom she and her husband came in contact during their extended travels around the globe. We thus briefly refer to this work as it forms the subject of one

of our book studies, but in passing we can truthfully say that it is the most satisfactory and informing work of travel we have read in a decade.

We trust the years may deal kindly with this strong, fine representative of twentieth-century womanhood, this champion of a higher standard of manhood and womanhood and of a nobler ideal of nationhood.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## AMERICA IN THE PHILIPPINES.

### A CONVERSATION WITH HELEN M. GOUGAR.

*Author of Forty Thousand Miles of World-Wandering.*

“**M**RS. GOUGAR, as a prominent representative American citizen who has personally visited the Philippines, I should be very glad to have you give me some facts touching the condition of the Filipinos under the imperialistic rule of America in Manila. In the first place, what is your impression of the Filipinos of Manila?”

“The Filipinos are by far the superior race of the Malays. Many Filipinos are finely educated, have handsome, well-furnished homes, are patrons of art, music and literature. The women are agreeable, cultured and well-treated by their husbands. Many of these homes have suffered loss of works of art and furnishings from looting by American soldiers. Many able men are holding positions of honor and trust in the civil government which they are serving with credit and ability. All of these things indicate the worthiness of these people to be given self-government under American protection from outside interference, and this at no distant day. Give the Filipinos a chance and they will make a fine race in education, art and industry and will become capable of self-govern-

ment in a very short time. If we are unjust, if we care more for the dollar than for the man while administering affairs in the transition state through which these people are passing, then they will fall before the march of the white man as the Indian has fallen, and the white man, true to every experiment he has tried in the tropics, will become degraded and fall from his temperate zone estate.”

“Often one can, I think, gain a better idea of a strange people by seeing them together in public gatherings, especially when the intellectual and moral sensibilities are being stimulated. Did you have any opportunity for such observation while in the Philippines?”

“Yes, on two very different occasions; once at a theater and once in a church. Through the courtesy of the author of a comedy and its translator into English, I was privileged to witness a play by a Filipino and presented by Filipinos. The large auditorium of the National Theater, which is much like the great rink buildings at home, was packed on Sunday night, fully one thousand being present. The women were in evening dress. Men came with their wives and



children and all conducted themselves with much decorum. Smoking was not allowed, even between the acts. The music was excellent. The Filipinos are natural musicians and interpret with taste and feeling. The stage scenery was artistic, appropriate and well-managed. The acting was excellent, women taking an equal part with men. There was no lack of dramatic action and enunciation was clear and distinct. While I could not understand the language, I followed the play with perfect comprehension by the aid of the translation in my hand. The dress of the actresses was modest, artistic and appropriate. The play was entitled 'Not Wounded' and was supposed to reproduce Filipino history and arouse the passions of the people against the much-hated friars. Four Spanish friars were killed off during one act, when the audience went wild with cheering and would not be satisfied until the curtain was raised and the friars were killed over again four times. The play was to reproduce the cruelties of former Spanish rule and show how retribution from an outraged and long-suffering people was finally administered. The most gifted American actors could have made no more out of the play than did the Filipinos. It was a very agreeable surprise to me, for I had heard and read so much unfavorable criticism of the ability, character and undertakings of these people. Apart from the interest of the play it was highly suggestive as showing the strength of the hatred that is deep-seated against the friars on the part of the masses of the most intelligent Filipinos.

"The other occasion on which I had an opportunity to observe this people when congregated was under the combined auspices of the Independent Church and the Socialist Labor party. I had a very urgent invitation extended to me to address the Filipinos on social questions. At five-thirty in the afternoon, the usual hour for public gatherings, a great audience of the better class of Filipinos assembled in the National Theater auditorium.

The room was profusely decorated with American flags. On the platform were General Lukeborn, Aguinaldo's leading general, Dr. Lukeborn, private physician to Aguinaldo, and a score or more of other notable men who had been leaders of the Filipino cause. They are now loyal, believing and hoping that American rule will prove best. Several said to me: 'We want America to stay with us until we are educated, united, and the jealousies of war forgotten, and we are capable and strong enough for self-government. Then we want self-government.' These people had never before heard a woman speak from a public platform. It was an affecting scene to witness these people who such a short time before had been shooting at the flag now decorating the hall with our national emblem and listening to the words of an American with courtesy and respect. I explained to them the methods of educating the young in our free schools and urged them to send their children to the schools established for them instead of to the parochial schools. I encouraged them to learn the English language, to read the Bible for themselves and follow its precepts. At this point they cheered enthusiastically, for one of the things that the Independent Church stands for is reading the Bible, which has hitherto been denied them by the friars. I entreated them to practice temperance and virtue, educate their women, and in every way make them equal and respected with men. I assured them that whether or not it was the policy of the present administration to give them self-government, I knew it to be the policy of the people of the United States to do so, and that they would yet be granted full freedom according to the principles of the American Republic. At this declaration the great audience went wild with enthusiasm, for these people are as determined to secure their freedom as ever were our forefathers and mothers when they fought their would-be imperial rulers."

"I should not think," I suggested,

"that the recreant American government that had suppressed the Declaration of Independence as a treasonable document in the Philippines would have approved of such just, sane and wholesome democratic doctrine."

"You are right. Because of this apparently innocent and American declaration the imperialistic press of Manila denounced me and said I ought to grace a cell in Bilibid prison. It is certainly a strange state of affairs when in any place under the stars and stripes a person should be denounced for declaring in favor of the supremacy of free institutions; but such is the spirit of imperialism in the Philippines where Americans are being taught to have contempt for the principles upon which our government is founded and for freedom of speech. One of the sad features of our occupation of the Philippines is that we are instructing so many, especially of our young soldiers, in a contempt for free institutions. In the olden times wherever the flag went, there went with it the principles of the Declaration of Independence, a sacred regard for the political rights of others, and, in a word, the moral idealism born of the principles of democratic government. I found this spirit subordinated to the lust for power and the lust for gain which have wrought such havoc in the political idealism of the Republic at home in recent years. By our conduct in the Philippines we have brought down upon ourselves the contempt of other governments that charge us with inconsistency because we have repudiated the principles upon which our government was founded."

"You spoke of the strong public sentiment evinced at the play against the friars, from which I should infer that the intense popular feeling against the orders has not perceptibly diminished since the days of the Spanish rule."

"No indeed. The Filipinos are desperately in earnest in throwing off the control of the friars and the Pope of Rome. They demand 'an independent church for the Filipinos by the Filipinos.' Arch-

bishop Aglipay is the head of this movement and counts his adherents by three million. These Independents, in my judgment, are right, and the masses can never take their proper place in their country until the blight of the friars is removed root and branch. And just here let me record my protest against the great wrong perpetrated on the American people that hold their peace and let the government filch from them seven million dollars with which to pay these friars for land to which they had no right or title and never had more than a temporary lease, and which already belonged to the American government if the twenty million dollars paid to Spain for the islands bought land instead of men. The most astonishing part of all this has been the silence on the matter maintained by the religious and secular press of the United States. It was a bold and high-handed robbery of the people for a most unjust purpose. It went to swell the coffers of the Pope of Rome and in return carried a large vote for the political party that perpetrated the wrong."

"What impressed you as the most beneficent influence so far exerted by the United States in the Philippines?"

"The American free schools are the bright particular spots in Manila and do American occupation most credit and honor. They are only fairly well attended, owing to the pronounced and aggressive opposition of the Roman Catholic priesthood. If the United States supports the free schools, there should be compulsory attendance, notwithstanding the opposition of the priests, and this would be if the best interests of the people were considered in handling the educational proposition instead of the possible political influence of the church in this country."

"What was the result of your personal investigations in regard to the attempt to introduce contract labor in these islands?"

"There is a movement on foot, and it is in Congress with a strong lobby behind

it, to impose on these islands, as well as the Hawaiian, the coolie or Chinese contract-labor system. To this scheme the Filipinos are bitterly and fanatically opposed, and justly so. These people say that under Spanish rule they were never taught industrial arts or agricultural pursuits; that they have not had the opportunity to develop their country; that they have been taxed and robbed, and that every noble aspiration has been discouraged by the blighting rule of Spain. And these things are true. Now it is argued with equal truth that if the Chinese contract-labor is permitted by the United States, it means nothing less than the poverty, degradation and destruction of the Filipinos and their enslavement. One leading man said to me: 'If the Americans impose this upon us it will lead to revolution in which our people will be destroyed, for you are strong enough to whip us, but we may as well die before your guns as to become industrial slaves. We want a chance to show the world what we can do.' It was a pitiful patriotic appeal and one that the United States should heed. If the imperialistic government of the Philippines shall lead to human slavery through the so-called contract-labor, God knows that there should be insurrection at the American ballot-box against any party that would be guilty of making such a law. There is great danger of this law being enacted at a time like the present, when dollars count more than men. Ex-Governor Taft is giving it his support, be it said to his everlasting shame. Its enactment would be a crime not second to that of African slavery, if such a measure should be adopted for any of these islands. My open opposition to this infamous scheme aroused the antagonism of men who are interested in buying up large tracts of land, as many are doing; in securing railway franchises and promoting public enterprises. Among those who are most interested in the scheme for contract-labor are American syndicates of capitalists who are interested in securing fran-

chises for street-railways, electric-lighting plants, water-works and railways for the islands. They claim that the Filipino will not work, and to this claim a leading Filipino said to me: 'I will pledge any contractor who needs workmen and who will pay a living wage, that I can secure from one thousand to one hundred thousand men, all Filipinos, to work for him within a month's notice.' But the exploiters do not wish to pay a living wage.

"If the Chinese are to come into the Philippines and Hawaii, let them come as free men, work as free men, go as free men. Let there be no slave-labor under the whip of capital in any corner of the earth over which the stars and stripes wave. This proposition for contract-labor is the legitimate evolution of the trust system of finance and imperialism in government. Let it apply to the islands of the Pacific belonging to the United States, and how long before it will apply to the coal fields, the factories and industries of the United States. Better that not a pound of sugar be raised in the islands, that not a foot of railroad be laid or an electric light be strung, than that these things should be done under the whip of industrial slavery as proposed by the exploiters of these new possessions. It is far easier to prevent the adoption of slave laws than to get rid of them when once adopted. Shall virtual human slavery follow imperialism under the flag? Let the American people answer No, with no uncertain sound, for contract-labor is the most degrading form of human slavery."

"What has been the general moral influence, in your judgment, of the American occupation?"

"It has lowered the moral status of the natives and made them drunken with intoxicating liquors. The pernicious system prevailing at home, of receiving a money consideration for vice and licensing it, thereby strengthening it, prevails wherever American men have gone. On a prominent brick-structure in the heart of Manila, painted in large letters, is

'The only bar open when the American troops arrived.' Now there are over nine hundred places in Manila where intoxicating liquors are sold, and the natives are rapidly taking on the drink habit. The steamer upon which we sailed from Vancouver carried twenty thousand kegs of beer for Manila.

"American men soon assume a contempt for virtue and accept Oriental ideas and practices. I am safe in saying that two-thirds of the small children seen on the streets of Manila and Cavité are half American blood.

"It is the old story told by France and Great Britain in all their attempts to colonize and govern tropical islands, of degradation of the conquerors as well as the conquered. America is merely repeating the story in the Philippines."

"Has the moral effect of religious missionary efforts, that have followed the flag, in your judgment counteracted the evil influences that have been introduced?"

"Not by any means; neither upon the natives nor the invading Americans, and never will."

HELEN M. GOUGAR.

*La Fayette, Ind.*

## THE COMING EXODUS.

BY ARTHUR S. PHELPS, A.B.

WHEN any work of man reaches a high degree of elaboration, a reactionary tendency manifests itself. Ruskin applies this psychological principle to Gothic architecture. It is equally conspicuous in the external forms that poetry adopts in different ages, in the subjects of art, in the playhouses built by children. Elaboration precedes decay. Civilization is a revolving light. Better is the beginning of a thing than the end thereof. It is more interesting to ask than to receive, to knock than to enter. "I have seen all the works that are done under the sun, and behold all is vanity." The desire fulfilled is weariness to the soul. We may even ask whether the entire evolutionary process, from nebula to dissolution, has not been wrought over and over again, only ever on a higher cycle,—a spiral evolution. "Dust thou art, to dust thou shalt return."

This familiar law of reversion to type finds its most striking illustration in our day in the exodus, now only in its beginnings, from the city to the country. Prophecies of limitless increase in urban population during the new century have

not reckoned with the counter-current. A mighty immigration from town to country has begun. Who can say where it will end? Will sky-scrapers become rookeries, and banking-house and cathedral spire become abodes for the owl and the bittern? Will the doom of one splendid temple be the doom of all: "There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down"? There are now no Goths and Vandals to bring nature in, but there are automobiles and trolley-cars to let civilization out. Mankind is coming to think that "life simplified is life glorified." Realism is the coming, romance the parting, guest. Millet in art, Tolstoi in fiction, Edwin Markham in poetry, have superseded Rembrandt, Scott, Keats, and their ilk of the cloud-land. Even real sin has become, in the extreme passion for reality, more readable than ideal virtue. Conventionality leads to the grave, nature to the resurrection. The biographer of the one is Hardy the pessimist, of the other Ernest Thompson Seton, the animal lover. "God made the country, and man made the town."

"It seems to be agreed," wrote Charles Dudley Warner, "that civilization is kept up only by constant effort. Nature claims its own speedily when the effort is relaxed." To this agrees Helen Hunt in a favorite passage which, in the absence of "Ramona," is thrown into verse:

"Nothing proves better the primal intent  
To bring blessing to man—this is what nature  
meant,—  
In spite of an arrogant civilization,  
Which strives to abort its realization,  
Than the quick and sure way she reclaims his affection  
When by weariness, chance, or depressed by dejection,  
He returns for an interval to her embraces.  
How soon he shakes off the bits and the traces,  
The base subterfuges of habits so called,  
Social caste, and adornment, the customs that galled!"

Forces no less fierce than Kipling's animal folk are letting in the jungle to the heart of man. An overwrought artificiality, simpering in a stuffy boudoir, arrayed in tawdry finery, feels the breath of heaven sweet on the flushed cheeks, through the open window, and soon answers the call of the fountains and groves as Wordsworth did:

"I only have relinquished one delight  
To live beneath your more habitual sway."

The merchant, cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd, learns that there is a pleasure in the pathless woods. Man is an animal that does not thrive long in captivity.

These observations afford an answer to the problems put by Mr. Warner in his *Camping Out*: "The instinct of barbarism that leads people periodically to throw aside the habits of civilization, and seek the freedom and discomfort of the woods, is explicable enough; but it is not so easy to understand why this passion should be strongest in those who are most refined and most trained in intellectual and social fastidiousness." And Hamilton Mabie says: "Simplicity is always a note of the highest culture." This class forms the vanguard of the new movement. What a pleasurable start it gives one to read the names of Professor George P. Fisher of Yale, C. D. Warner, and others equally illustrious, cut in the logs of a cabin in the Adirondack woods!

Hardly second to the professional class in enthusiasm for nature life are now the foremost business men of the nation. Travelers of a decade or two ago wrote that the farm-houses of New England were falling to decay, not able to compete with the western farms. These abandoned farms are now the country homes of the rich. The office-seeker is not the only one that adulates the farmer. "Tell of it, ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit on rich carpets," the most successful farmers in Pennsylvania are President A. J. Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Mr. Clement A. Griscom. These millionaires have outstripped the other ten members of the Philadelphia Farmers' Club in the race for prizes in butter-making, gardening and agriculture. Long Island, for generations a wild waste in the heart of civilization, now blossoms like the rose with the broad farming lands of the New York capitalist. The explanation given for this new exodus, in a recent journal, is that men have been too busy making money to have the leisure for country life. But we must seek deeper than this for a cause, and find it only in the will of that freaky sprite, the *Zeit Geist*. Mankind flees as a bird to the mountains, not because he can afford it, but because the tide of material refinement is already in the ebb. The watchword of the nineteenth century was "Forward!" that of the twentieth century is "Backward!" Segregation is reaching its limit, and disintegration is in progress. Anabolism, the female element in nature, is yielding to katabolism, the male element.

Yet, alas, nature is a luxury! The poor can enjoy it as yet only by permission of the fresh-air fund. Crowded tenements, blazing streets, raging fevers, attend to the problem of the elimination of the unfit. While the colonization schemes of the Salvation Army and kindred organizations give promise of a better day, yet those who need most to leave must be longest exposed to the unnatural conditions of our overcrowded centers.

ARTHUR S. PHELPS.

*Redlands. Cal.*

## DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE.

By HENRY F. HARRIS.

**B**ISHOP Thomas F. Gailor, of Tennessee, recently delivered some remarkable utterances in a Sunday newspaper article on the subject of the remarriage of divorced people, which should not remain unchallenged. Bishop Gailor's views are shared by a large and influential body of ecclesiastics and are therefore worthy of serious consideration. Moreover, the question which he raises is an important one and bears directly on the social status of many men and women, who, after having passed through the fires of a deep experience, have found the peace, the joy and inward satisfaction which right living and the consciousness of a true and consistent relation to their God, to the world and to society, bring. Their children dwell in an atmosphere of love and devotion rather than hatred and contention. The little ones daily hear words of tenderness and affection instead of vexation and bitterness.

And yet, Bishop Gailor says: "Hundreds of little children who are to be citizens and voters in Tennessee, are every year condemned to the homelessness and the immoral environment of a life where the father or mother is living with a new partner while the first wife or husband is still living."

Is it possible that the people of Tennessee are the creatures which this assertion would lead us to infer? Children "condemned to homelessness and immoral environment" forsooth! Not a word about the immoral environment which indeed exists in a home where mutual love and respect have flown or never existed, except in some misshapen or mistaken form. Not one sentence from the Bishop regarding the utter "homelessness" of a home where children must listen to language and observe conduct on the part of their parents which proves all too well that home to the older

ones has lost every semblance of sacredness. To bring children up in *such* an atmosphere and with so degrading an environment is to rob them of all sense of the sacredness of marriage or the beauty of an ideal home life.

The good but sadly mistaken people who allow ecclesiastical training and dogma to shape their utterances, if not their thoughts, on this question, are helping to perpetuate this very condition. They are urging and imploring unhappy people to live together as man and wife even though that association be abhorrent and distinctly immoral in its effects upon both themselves and their children.

Bishop Gailor, go with me to the home of a refined and sensitive woman whom I know. She is the very essence of virtue and goodness. When a mere child of eighteen she married a man whom she loved and trusted with all the wealth of a first love. He was her knight-errant, her king, yet an hour after their wedding he confessed to her a life of lewdness, extending to the very night before their marriage, which was appalling. The respect which she had for him fled at that moment, but she remained a true wife in spite of her breaking heart. In a few years the brutality of her husband became unbearable and she "left his bed and board" never to return. In due time this man procured a divorce on the ground of desertion, and a year later the divorced woman became the wife of a widower with several children. He is a good man, a devoted father and husband, while the children simply idolize their step-mother. Go to their home and you will find it radiant with joy and loving tenderness, all that makes home a "fore-taste of heaven." Is there any "immoral environment" there? And yet, this is typical of hundreds upon hundreds of homes (and no doubt they exist in Ten-

nessee) where the husband or wife has been divorced from a former companion.

The ideal marriage is the one which is dissolved only by death, and where mutual love and tenderness exist to such an extent that no other agency can cause a separation. But such marriages are only too rare and their number is likely to decrease in proportion to the efforts of influential people like the Tennessee Bishop, who apparently see nothing wrong in a marriage if it be a first union, or no former partner of either party is living.

Bishop Gailor has not a word in his article against the crying evil of youthful and reckless marriage which is so prevalent everywhere and which usually leads to divorce. Legislators fear to handle this evil and there is no organized moral force to impel the lawmakers to act or to uphold preventive laws after they are on the statute books. Much can be done by systematic educational work, by teaching the young the sacredness of marriage in its highest sense and the wisdom of choosing wisely, waiting in patience until such time in life when blind and unreasoning impulse, combined with selfishness, will give way to nobler feelings and more sublime intent.

Bishop Gailor says: "Christianity declares that marriage is not a contract but a state of life, the most intimate, the most sacred into which men and women may enter, and *only the most complete and vile dishonor* can disrupt or cancel it." It is this interpretation of Christian teaching that sometimes drives mismatched people to crime in order to loosen their galling bonds. We may well pause and ask: Is this the doctrine that Christ taught?

It is not an act of dishonor to withdraw from any degrading association; not discredit to separate from that which crushes hope, stifles ambition and destroys the highest aspirations; not debasement to be divorced, if that condition means a purer life, renewed hope and greater helpfulness. It is dishonor to remain in a state of marriage wherein

the soul cries out in agony of despair, and the bondage robs life of all its sunshine.

The laws of the Roman Catholic Church relative to divorce and remarriage are well known, but the recent action of the Right Rev. Bishop Richard Scannell, of the Nebraska Diocese, in excommunicating a number of prominent and wealthy members of his church for attending the wedding of Congressman Kennedy and Miss Pritchett seems to demonstrate that the Roman Catholic Church is not growing less intolerant on this subject. Mr. Kennedy is a divorced man. He is a Presbyterian and his present wife is an Episcopalian. Bishop Scannell declared that the members of his church who participated in the wedding ceremony and those who attended the reception which followed, are alike culpable and have excommunicated themselves by their action. He further stated that the attendance upon this wedding was an act of sin on the part of his parishioners and that any attempt to justify it on the ground of modern usage could not stand, because the law of morals never becomes antiquated and that "the divine prohibition to put asunder those whom God has joined together is as binding to-day as it was twenty centuries ago."

In commenting on this action by Bishop Scannell, the *Catholic Columbian Record*, of Indianapolis, said:

"Well done, thou angel of the church in Nebraska! It is time that our rich were taught that they have no more rights in religion than the poor. It is time that we lived apart from the world and its way, a holy people, fearing the Lord and observing His commandments. It is time that we gave public and solemn testimony of our horror for the sacrilege of divorce!"

And so the innocent Roman Catholics who attended the Kennedy-Pritchett wedding have excommunicated themselves!

"Henceforth they may have no part in the communion of the saints; they may not approach the sacraments and 'their souls are dead.' If they were to expire as they are, unrepentant and unshriven, Christian burial would be denied them!"

It is difficult to believe that this exposition of the workings of the law of excommunication will add to popular respect for the Roman Catholic Church—a church which has accomplished a great amount of good, yet which denies freedom of individual judgment and the guidance of an enlightened conscience if these conflict in any degree with her immutable laws. The claim that it was "an act of sin" to attend the wedding of Congressman Kennedy and that the "law of morals" was violated thereby will meet with scant approval on the part of thinking members of the Roman Catholic faith.

That marriage is not so much a contract as it is a state of life, is sound Christian doctrine, for the ceremony, the legal records, the publicity and the seal of the church, together with the vows of the contracting parties are as nothing in the scales against the tiny God of Love—a love so constant, so self-sacrificing and true that right living must be the result. Such love exists in stronger degree, in greater measure, in one who has been unfortunate in a past relation and has found at last the blessed contentment for which his heart longed.

And yet representatives of religious

bodies meet and declare that the Christian law admits only one possible cause for divorce. The weakness of this statement is apparent by its constant reiteration. Comparatively few of the laity believe it. If only perfect people existed such a law would not be thought of, and as humanity at present is made up of those who err, and whose judgment is fallible, many matrimonial mistakes are certain to occur. Shall these unfortunate people be compelled to resort to the "one possible cause" in order that they may become free when they finally determine that life together is impossible? Or shall they be obliged to separate and live a life of self-denial, deprived of the blessings of home and love and remain the constant objects of suspicion and distrust?

There are many who cannot see Divine Mercy in this. An all-wise Father judges our lives by the manner in which they are lived. He interprets our ideals and measures our aspirations. He deals in realities. "God is not mocked."

The most beloved life is the one which is happy and makes others happy; the most useful life is the one devoted to helpfulness, teaching others how to help themselves; the noblest life is possessed by one devoid of selfishness, whose influence goes out daily for cleaner living, purer homes and a better race.

HENRY F. HARRIS.

*Indianapolis, Ind.*

## THE COLOR-LINE IN NEW JERSEY.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

ONE OF the striking developments of very recent years is the recrudescence of the prejudice against people of African descent, as expressed in official action. In some states this revival of color antipathy is manifested by statutes avowedly intended to keep the white

and colored races apart in schools, in travel and in other matters. An interesting phase in this development is presented in New Jersey, where a way seems to have been found of satisfying the apparently growing repugnance to contact with colored people on terms of legal



equality, while at the same time keeping on the statute-book a law so sweeping in its insistence on absolute equality that it can be shown to the most zealous opponent of race distinction as proof that perfect justice between the white and colored races is the cherished policy of the state. It would appear from the case whose history is here given that New Jersey has, in the matter of its schools, evolved a system of theoretical admission of colored children to white schools by terms of legislation and simultaneously of actual exclusion by method of administration. Such an achievement can hardly fail to be of general interest, since it may well invite emulation in other states.

The case has its more serious aspect in that it is another instance—of which we have had so many of late—of disregard in high places of obligation to observe the law, a sort of official and high social anarchy which cannot but tend to breed contempt for law among the humbler classes.

The present school-law of the state provides that "no child between the age of four and twenty years shall be excluded from any public-school on account of his or her religion, nationality or color," and provides penalties for violation of this provision. This clause is a reenactment of a similar provision adopted many years ago and which gave expression to the then existing sentiment in favor of "equality before the law."

The concrete case which reveals the system by which all "mixed" schools may be converted into "white" schools by exclusion of colored pupils is furnished by the city of Burlington. That city has six public-school buildings, three of which are of the grammar grade, one of the latter with high-school grades. One of the combined primary and grammar-grade schools is the William R. Allen School, which is used exclusively for colored children.\*

This colored school-building was in existence and maintained as now in 1888,

when a colored minister, Rev. J. H. Pierce, made application to the trustees of the public-schools of the city for the admission of his four children of school-age to the public-school nearest his residence. This application was denied, but the school authorities offered to place the children in the colored school, then conducted by an admittedly competent teacher. Mr. Pierce insisted on his right, under the provision of the then school-law—substantially the same as above quoted—to the admission of his children, under terms of equality with the children of other citizens, into the public-school nearest his residence, and secured counsel to present his claims to the Supreme Court of the state on an application for a writ of mandamus, compelling the school authorities to receive his children as demanded by him. The matter was submitted to the court and argued on an agreed state of facts, and the court decided† that the relator "was entitled to have his children educated in the public-school nearest his residence, unless there was some just reason for sending them elsewhere." The court proceeded further to state that the children, being excluded because their father was a mulatto, that ground of exclusion was not, under the statute, permissible.

This decision, then, settled the question whether the school authorities could, under the law as it then was and as it now exists, exclude from a public-school any child because of color, even where a separate colored school, reasonably easy of access, is maintained as part of the public-school system. Accordingly, from that time until January 4, 1904, colored children were admitted to the "white" public-schools of the city of Burlington, although nearly all the colored school-children attended the colored school, which was conducted by colored teachers.

The school authorities of Burlington,

\*Ground for this school was donated by the man whose name it bears that there might be in Burlington a school for the education of colored youth. The school now is part of the public-school system.

† 46 N. J. Law Rep., 76.

however, evidently determined upon the policy of separating the races in the public-schools, in spite of the law as thus construed. At the close of the school-year of 1903, two colored girls were ready for promotion from the colored grammar-school to the high-school, and received certificates to that effect from the principal, but they were refused admission to the high-school and the principal of the colored school was directed to educate them in the high-school grades in addition to the conduct of the grammar-school. Counsel made application to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and pressure from that source induced the local authorities to reconsider their action and to receive the two colored pupils into the high-school classes.

The colored principal of the colored school, who had filled that position for more than fourteen years and who had championed the right of his pupils to admission to the high-school, was about the same time "given notice" and a new principal—a colored woman—substituted. Opposition to the Board of Education's transparent policy of exclusion was not assigned as a cause for removal, but the new appointee had abundant notice that her tenure of office would be secure in proportion to her acquiescence in the new policy, and her testimony in subsequent proceedings to be presently mentioned showed that she was not too dull to profit by that notice.

On January 4, 1904, the supervising principal, by orders signed by him, transferred all the colored children in the city of Burlington—some eight in number—who were attending "white" schools to the William R. Allen or colored school. Among these were two, aged thirteen and eight years respectively, the children of one James R. Stockton, a taxpayer and real-estate owner of Burlington. The younger child had attended for three years a primary grade school nearest her father's residence; the elder had attended the same primary-grade school for three years and the nearest grammar-school

for the succeeding three years. There was no grade in the colored school corresponding to the grade of the older child. The father of these children resented the transfer as an infringement of his rights, and more specifically because the colored school was much farther from his residence, necessitating the crossing of a railroad, and because the educational advantages for his children would be less in the colored school than in the schools from which they were transferred.

Counsel was consulted and it was conceived that the exclusion, for no assigned reason, of these children from the public-schools where they had attended, but presumably because of their color, was directly in line with the case of Pierce above referred to.

The state school-law contains a provision that "The State Superintendent of Public Instruction shall decide, subject to appeal to the State Board of Education and without costs to the parties, all controversies and disputes that shall arise under the school-laws."

The petitioner's counsel, assuming that here was a "controversy or dispute" arising under the school-laws, applied on the petitioner's behalf to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and February 16th submitted a formal statement or petition asking for an order directing the reinstatement of petitioner's children. Two days later the State Superintendent addressed a letter to the petitioner's counsel, D. Cooper Allinson, stating that the action complained of was the act of the local supervising principal, acting within his discretion, and saying: "I beg leave to advise you that the said complaint can not be entertained nor any legal action taken in connection therewith by this department until presented as an appeal from a decision of the Board of Education, the governing body of the schools of the city of Burlington."

Thus politely bowed out of the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to whom the statute was thought to direct, the petitioner promptly

proceeded to endeavor to procure from the Board of Education a "decision" from which an appeal might properly be taken. That the reader who is at all interested in this story of an improved method of establishing the color-line, a method very likely to invite imitation elsewhere, may understand the difficulties encountered by the petitioner in this case in his unsuccessful effort to secure—not the vindication of what he claims to be his rights—but even *any adjudication at all* on his claim, the subsequent proceedings are given in somewhat tedious detail. Without this full presentation, however, the final outcome could not be so well appreciated. A consistent policy, like a golden thread, runs through the entire conduct of the case, indicating that there is much more involved than the question of admission or rejection of the applicant's children to the particular schools in question, that a deeply-laid plan for separation of the races is here revealed.

On February 24, 1904, written application was made to the Board of Education for a restoration of the children to their former positions in the public-schools. The secretary of the board, on February 26th, stated by letter that the communication had been received and referred to the Committee on Teachers. March 1st inquiry by letter was made of the board whether the committee was instructed when to report. The secretary replied that there were no instructions as to time. March 3d the petitioner addressed a letter to the president of the board asking that he exert his power to secure an early report on the petition. On March 7th the president of the board replied that he did not feel that "a reasonable time had elapsed" for a report on the case. March 24th the Committee on Teachers made their report to the board, stating that the supervising principal had made the transfers "for the purpose of more nearly equalizing the number of pupils in the classes and grades" and to add to the efficiency of the work, etc., and they rec-

ommended that the petitioner be furnished with a copy of the report and that he be advised to confer with the supervising principal regarding the matter. A copy of this report was sent to the petitioner. May 9th petitioner's counsel addressed a letter to the secretary of the board asking whether he was to understand from the report of the committee that the reinstatement of the children was refused. The secretary replied, May 9th, that the report "covered all the issues raised." May 25th the petitioner addressed a letter to the supervising principal, giving in detail his reasons for objecting to the transfer of his children and setting forth his belief that they were transferred on account of color. To this letter no reply was received. June 6th the petitioner again wrote asking for a reply to his letter of May 25th. To this letter no reply was vouchsafed by the supervising principal. June 22d the petitioner again addressed the board, recounting the letters to the supervising principal, the latter's failure to reply, and again requesting the board to take up the consideration of his petition of February 24th, and to grant to him the reinstatement of his daughters in the public-schools from which he claimed they had been illegally transferred. June 29th the petitioner again addressed the board a communication, asking that the board take "speedy and definite action" on his application, to the end that he might know his status as a parent and the status of his children "as pupils in the public-schools of the city of Burlington." To this communication the secretary of the board replied, July 26th, that "the supervising principal will doubtless make reply to the communications, which you state that you addressed to him, in due season. Until his reply is made known to the board and a report on the allegations which you make is submitted by a committee, it is not likely that the board will take any further action."

The board took no further action. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction had officially informed the petitioner

that until the local Board of Education should act he could not entertain a complaint, nor "could" any legal action "be taken in connection therewith by his department." Here, then, was such a situation of affairs that, to all appearances, the petitioner was without a remedy, unless some power could be found to compel the board to act in the matter and to reinstate his children if they were, under the law, entitled to such reinstatement.

The petitioner, then, through his counsel, had recourse to an application to the court for a writ of mandamus—the precise remedy which proved effective in the Pierce case above alluded to.\*

A rule to show cause why a writ of mandamus should not issue was allowed September 21, 1904. In accordance with the established practice, which might seem to have been devised to prevent persons of small means from having recourse to the courts for vindication of violated rights, witnesses were examined before a commissioner, the depositions were written out and printed to be submitted to the court which could much better hear the witnesses direct on the argument of the rule. This involved an expense almost prohibitive to one of the petitioner's means, but the case, with counsel's briefs, was printed.

In the taking of the testimony it was

\*One word of explanation here may be of service to the lay reader. A writ of mandamus issues out of the Supreme Court to compel subordinate officials or bodies to do certain things which the court shall have decided ought to be done. It is a rule established in New Jersey that this writ will not issue where the applicant has another specific remedy, *i. e.*, can secure his specific relief by some other means. Thus it was held where mandamus was applied for to compel a road overseer to repair the roads and objection to the issuing of the writ was made on the ground that there was a remedy by indictment of the official for non-performance of duty, that the remedy by indictment was not specific, that the recalcitrant official might suffer imprisonment as a punishment and still the roads remain unrepaired. Accordingly the writ was granted and the overseer was commanded to perform his official duty. Now the New Jersey State Educational Law provides no means of enforcing obedience by local school authorities to the orders of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction or of the State Board of Education, beyond the

shown that the colored school, which petitioner's children had been ordered to attend, did not offer the same educational advantages as the school from which they were removed, since the increased number of grades in the school required fewer recitations per week and shorter periods of recitations in a number of the branches taught. It was claimed on behalf of the local board that the transfer was made to equalize the classes, since the total number of pupils of the various grades in attendance at the colored school was small, while, on the other hand, it was disclosed that if the truant-law should be enforced the colored children out of school would fill the colored school without a transfer of those in attendance at the "white" schools.

The case was submitted to the Supreme Court, November Term, 1904. In due course the court announced its decision not to pass at all on the questions raised by the application for a writ of mandamus and which had been at so great expense submitted to it, on the ground that the applicant for the writ should first have proceeded by appeal from the action of the local Board of Education to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and from his decision to the State Board of Education. As a precedent to support its decision the court cited a then recent case, in which the court had refused to power of withholding the part of state funds which might otherwise be apportioned to the district of the offending local officials. Counsel reasoned, following the analogy of the road official's case, that this power of withholding money was not a specific remedy since it was conceivable that the local authorities, in a given case, might prove obstinate and suffer the schools to be closed if need be, for want of the state funds, or, if the community's prejudices were sufficiently strong, the local schools might be kept open by private support rather than obey the order of the State Board. In such a possible case, the aggrieved individual would be as completely without a remedy as in the road official's case. Thus reasoning, and relying on the Pierce case, where the facts were identical with the facts as alleged in this case, counsel asked in the usual manner for a writ of mandamus. But the workings of the judicial mind are sometimes disappointing and one who relies solely on what he conceives to be logic and the rules of ratiocination to forecast judicial action in a given case, is liable to go astray.

grant the writ to the applicant until he should have first exhausted his remedy through the State educational authorities. But in this last-mentioned case, which now became in the eyes of the court a precedent for refusing to consider the merits of an application for mandamus where the charge is exclusion from a school because of color, the court justified its action on the ground that the case at that time before it was distinguishable from the *Pierce* case, where the question of exclusion for color was involved and in which a mandamus was allowed. Inasmuch as the case we are considering is, if the facts alleged are sustained by the proofs—and whether they are so sustained or not was what the court was asked to pass upon—precisely such a case as the *Pierce* case, it is just a little puzzling how the court could refuse to hear this case on the ground that it had refused to hear a former case because that former case was not like the *Pierce* case and, consequently, not like this case, since according to the old mathematical formula, “things equal to the same thing are equal to each other.”

By this deliverance of the Supreme Court the petitioner found himself, in the game of shuttlecock and battledore, back where he was at the beginning, and, nothing daunted, he again applied to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, resolved to follow up his decision, if need be, by an appeal to the State Board of Education, and the latter's decision, if adverse, by a second application to the Supreme Court, which might then, perhaps, consent to hear him.

Accordingly an application was made to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the sworn testimony taken by both sides for presentation to the Supreme Court was submitted by the petitioner's counsel. This was on April 7, 1905, and the Superintendent, not unnaturally, took time to consider the matter. Nothing further was heard of the case and the petitioner's counsel addressed, July 6, 1905, a letter to the State Super-

intendent of Public Instruction respectfully asking for a determination of the case. No response by decision or otherwise was made to this letter. On August 22d, counsel again addressed the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, stating that their client had started the proceedings in good faith for the maintaining of his rights; that as a citizen and taxpayer he was entitled to have the question of his right passed upon by the regularly constituted tribunals of the state of which he was a citizen and taxpayer and that the circumstances of the case were such that further delay was practically a denial of a hearing. To this application and to these communications no response has been made. With this long and seemingly unwarranted delay, the conclusion would appear to be justified that no decision is intended to be made.

If a decision adverse to the petitioner could, on the facts, be made, there is no apparent reason why it should be delayed. Thus, after an expenditure of money which he could ill afford, a citizen and taxpayer guaranteed certain rights by the law of the state cannot find a tribunal to adjudicate his charge that he has been deprived of those rights solely on account of prejudice of color. Thus is established in New Jersey, by what seems like official hocus pocus, the color-line in the public-schools, without any change in the statute and without incurring the inconvenience of opposition involved in an effort to amend the law.

That the spirit of this article may not be misunderstood, it should be stated that the writer believes in separate colored schools, where there are enough colored children to warrant their maintenance, for the two-fold reason that such schools, taking in the greater part of the colored school-children in a community, avoid the practical difficulties arising from race prejudice, and that they offer a career of usefulness for the more ambitious people of color as teachers—a career they could not hope to have in white or

mixed schools. In nearly every community—and it is so in Burlington—the colored population is largely grouped together, and the vast majority of the colored school-children can be assigned to such a school without violating either the letter or the spirit of the law which, according to the court's interpretation, entitled the citizen to have his children attend the school nearest his residence. But where the exceptional case exists and the "colored" school is farther removed, the statute is plain that no discrimination because of color shall be made. If, however, it is the public sense that this provision of the law is unwise, if it is desired that local Boards of Education shall have the power to compel all colored school-children to attend the colored school, where one is maintained, then the just, the fair thing to do, would be to

amend the statute in the sight of the world. Such action might command popular approval. It might be capable of support as being entirely just. This would be a proper subject for argument and no opinion upon it is meant to be here expressed, further than to say that it is not obvious what objection there can be, save from sheer prejudice, to the presence of a few decent colored people among whites engaged in the pursuit of knowledge.

But to blazon before the world a statute proclaiming absolute impartiality of treatment, and then to discriminate by refusing to recognize the statute in the local bodies or to enforce it in the higher official circles is of a piece of hypocrisy which should cast contempt upon a state.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

*Trenton, N. J.*

## MAYOR JOHNSON ON MUNICIPAL CONTROL OF VICE AND THE CHIEF CAUSES OF THE SOCIAL EVILS.

### AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

#### I. THE CLERGYMEN OF CLEVELAND INTERROGATE MAYOR JOHNSON.

**E**XHIBITIONS on the part of public officials of candor, sincerity and an earnest and conscientious desire to further the highest interests of society are all too rare at the present time; and when in addition to these things a public servant evinces the profound insight of a philosopher and the broad vision of a true statesman, which enable him to distinguish clearly between fundamental causes of evil conditions and remedies that must necessarily be applied to reach the tap-root of crime, vice, poverty and moral deterioration, and apparent immediate causes and remedies that are essentially palliative or partial in character, the phenomenon calls for special consideration.

For to-day, next to the exhibitions of moral turpitude and intellectual cunning and daring on the part of privileged interests and their vast army of retainers that constitute the supreme menace to democracy, nothing is more discouraging to the friends of free institutions than the spectacle apparent on every hand of earnest and true-hearted men and women devoting all their energies to the promotion of measures that at the very best can merely prove partial or palliative, while often their only result would be to relieve temporarily the hurt—in other words, something anodyne in character, soothing, affording brief relief, which might easily lull society into a dangerous sense of security while the evil more firmly rooted itself in the body politic.

The reply given a short time since by

Mayor Tom L. Johnson to the Ministers' Union of Cleveland affords a striking exhibition of the seeing eye, the feeling heart and the broad intellectual vision of the truly philosophic statesman so sorely needed in public life to-day.

The Ministers' Union of Cleveland addressed a communication to the Mayor relative to municipal control of vice in that city. In reply Mr. Johnson entered into a somewhat extended examination of the subject of vice and its effective treatment, dividing the subject into a consideration of the immediate repressive measures needed and the fundamental treatment required to reach the chief causes of vice, crime and poverty.

## II. MAYOR JOHNSON'S REPLY.

With a broad, generous spirit that is a marked characteristic of the man, Mr. Johnson freely grants the disinterested motives and praiseworthy desires of the clergymen, at the same time claiming for himself and his administration the same earnest and sincere desire "to make Cleveland a good place to live in, to promote the happiness of the people, and to surround them with such freedom from temptation and such encouragement in right living as will discourage vice and promote morality."

The aim of the city administration in coping with the extremely difficult problem, he asserts, is precisely the same as that of the clergymen. The only difference, in so far as any difference may exist, lies in the best method for dealing with the evil.

"There are three courses or policies," observes the Mayor, "which may be followed with respect to public dances, wine-rooms, disorderly houses, gambling, and the liquor traffic: First, official toleration; second, attempted suppression by crusade; third, administrative repression. The first course, we would agree, could not be followed by an administration seeking the end which you and I have in view. It is usually accompanied by

blackmail, graft and official corruption, which no possible foresight can prevent, and it cannot be adopted by a decent administration."

He then passes to a careful examination of the result of the attempted suppression by crusades and that of administrative repression. The attempted suppression by crusade he believes under present social conditions to be at once ineffective and fraught with very serious evils, in that it results in dispersing the moral pollution throughout the municipal body, thereby starting new centers of corruption in quarters hitherto unpolluted—centers that in the nature of the case frequently become pest-holes whence contagion becomes widespread long before the evil is suspected by or known to the authorities, because hidden in sections regarded as ultra-respectable. The Mayor's views in this respect are in agreement with the conclusions of many of the most earnest social reformers whose deep study of the grave problem entitles their views to serious consideration. In the second place, Mr. Johnson insists that experience has amply proved that this method is thoroughly ineffective. It has failed, and signally failed, wherever it has been tried, and "I doubt," he observes, "if there is a city in the country in which there has not been, at one time or another, a formal crusade against vice; but I equally doubt if a time or place can be named where such a crusade has effected even temporary betterment." Moreover, "it invariably results in blocking the courts." He then gives the results of the last attempt to carry out this plan in Cleveland, which ended in a dismal failure.

"Six years ago our police court dockets were choked and the courts themselves paralyzed by the liquor cases alone. At that time some sort of a crusade was being made. Saloonkeepers were arrested wholesale, many of them arrested many times. The result, however, was that by uniting and securing legal counsel at a very small

cost to each defendant, the laws you cite me and which seem so simple and appear to afford such adequate remedy, were found ineffective. Nor does this involve a criticism of the law. The administration of justice is not mechanical, but human, and when the law is made with enough safeguards to protect the rights of the innocent, it of necessity affords technical refuge and delay to the guilty. Every defendant demanded a jury and exhausted every dilatory privilege in its selection, so that at one time there were so many jury cases pending in the police court that trials were continued for six months and longer, only to be recontinued because of the inability of the courts to deal with the multitude of cases; and in the end all of the cases were dismissed. There was no other practical result than a demonstration of the inefficiency of this method of enforcement.

"If the same method has been used in many cities besides our own and we can find no city in which an actual and permanent victory has been won, are we not justified in doubting the advisability of going back to it in Cleveland?"

The theory of administrative repression by direct police intervention is next noticed at length. It is the method systematically employed by Mayor Johnson, and the results, he believes, fully warrant the contention that it has proved the best method for the morals of the city that has yet been attempted. Under it he claims that "gambling has been practically wiped out in Cleveland." "Wine-rooms have been abolished," and "the most dangerous class of saloons, namely those with the bar in front, connected directly with a disorderly house in the rear, have been stamped out by means of this policy."

"In regard to the liquor laws," he observes, "our policy has been to repress in cases of flagrant violation; that is, where a place was open at forbidden times and where brawling or disorder was permitted or where men were allowed to

drink to intoxication. Beginning with the worst of these, we struck at them by stationing uniformed officers at their doors until their trade was driven away, and the idea was forced upon their proprietors that it was better 'business' to limit their excesses than to try to run in disregard of order and decency."

He argues that indiscriminate suppression would result in general resistance and evasion.

"It would create, what does not now exist, a community of interest and purpose between orderly and disorderly saloon-keepers. It would open the way, moreover, for the resumption of business by the indecent and disorderly saloons which are now repressed. These considerations suggest to me the desirability of continuing the present distinction between orderly and disorderly saloons."

The Mayor does not defend administrative repression as a general principle, but has resorted to it because after the deepest and most earnest and conscientious study of the problem he has become convinced that it is the only practicable method of general enforcement under conditions that now obtain and is the method that will best promote the moral welfare of the community.

"I do not claim," he says, "that conditions in Cleveland are ideal, nor that there is not much yet to be done; but I do believe that this policy of repression, operating as it does directly upon the persons guilty of excesses and untrammelled by long drawn out and technical court proceedings and delays, has been successful. My belief in this regard rests upon the fact that Cleveland is freer now from gross forms of vice and law-breaking than at any previous period. And comparison of the conditions in Cleveland with those of any other city of her size, where either the first or second policy to which I have referred is followed, will satisfy you that the results of the policy of this administration are good.



It is the determination of this administration that vice and crime shall not be protected in Cleveland, and equally that there shall be no blackmail, graft or corruption attendant upon official dealings with it."

III. THE MAYOR'S MESSAGE TO THE CLERGYMEN.

Mr. Johnson is not content, however, with frankly meeting the question of the clergymen and justifying his course by citing results as they are exhibited in Cleveland as superior to those that have followed other courses of procedure in the city in the past and in other municipalities; for he is profoundly convinced that there is a far "deeper and more fundamental condition" which imperatively demands the most thoughtful consideration on the part of clergymen and others in positions to influence public opinion, because it lies at the root of a vast amount of vice, crime, poverty and misery. And it is to these views of the Mayor that we wish especially to call the attention of our readers. They are the utterances of a true statesman—the ideas of a genuine apostle of true democracy who not only thinks deeply but who dares to speak his thoughts and live the truth he believes holds redemptive power for society.

"Crime and vice," he observes, "are not the natural consequences of normal human impulses. They are largely if not almost wholly products of environment. Society itself creates the economic condition in which the people live, and the pressure of the means of subsistence upon opportunity is such that men are driven out of their true course as a result of the despair caused by inequality of opportunity and the hopelessness of an unequal struggle. More men drink because they are miserable than are miserable because they drink; and the unfortunates who lead lives of vice do not choose that occupation from natural preference or waywardness of disposition, but are forced to begin and to persist in

such lives by the pressure of conditions which make the earning of an honest and adequate livelihood difficult and sometimes impossible. I do not believe that the whole penalty of society's aggregate sin should be visited upon its weakest sinners, nor that wholesale arrests and indiscriminate fines can do more than harden the lives and condition of those who are driven to vice and crime as a desperate resort. That society must protect itself and restrain law-breaking goes without saying; and this administration, by the direct pressure of the police force, and by the arrest and punishment of those who in their wrong-doing pass beyond technical law violation, and foster the growth of worse forms of crime, is attempting to do that thing. I earnestly invite you, however, to join with me in an effort to do the larger thing—to alleviate the hard social conditions which produce the environment out of which this crime and vice grow. *To remove causes is better than to deal only with effects.* As a temporary measure and until the fight on the causes shall be won, direct repression must be applied to the effects; but we must never regard these measures in the light of remedies, for back of it all lies the source of the evil—involuntary poverty.

"When I became Mayor of Cleveland, it was with certain very definite aims directed to the accomplishment of this larger good which I have pointed out. I have never lost sight of that as the main thing. Yet the critics of this administration are forced to admit that as an incident to the accomplishment of these larger things, good government even in the ordinary sense of honest and efficient administration has been achieved. By following the policy which I have outlined, the conditions in Cleveland have been vastly improved. We found it a city of unregulated vice and crime, and now gambling has been driven out, the wine-room closed, the combination saloon expelled and a far better condition of

public order created. But this has been incidental to our efforts for the larger objects we had in view.

"We are both seeking to exterminate crime and vice and misery. These are for the most part but consequences of involuntary poverty, resulting from the existence of law-made privilege whereby some men get more than they earn, while the vast mass of mankind earns more than it gets. It is the existence of this legalized privilege in society which creates the slums of a great city and condemns a large portion of every city population to lives of vice and crime, by depriving them of that equal opportunity in life which nature accords and which our fundamental law theoretically recognizes. This is the central point of the great problem, to which the specific evils to which you refer, vast and degrading though they are, are only as effect to cause.

"Powerful interests, misleading phrases and forms of law too often serve to blind us to the real immorality of privilege. But when we shall have thoroughly realized what I believe to be a final truth—that involuntary poverty is the most menacing fact in modern society, and almost the sole cause of vice and crime, and that involuntary poverty itself is but the logical and necessary result of law-made privilege, all good men will unite in attacking it. When privilege has disappeared, the problems which you gentlemen present will in large measure be solved.

"It too often happens, when genuine efforts at fundamentally remedying such conditions are made, that the more superficial are emphasized for the purpose of dividing those of us who at such a time should be united. This usually results in frustrating honest effort in both directions. In such emergencies it behooves men with the responsibilities that you and I have to bear, to be upon our guard.

"In your philosophy of life there is the idea of the Fatherhood of God. So there is in mine. In yours, as in mine, therefore, there must also be the idea of the brotherhood of man. I appeal to you, then, to give me your encouragement and support, not only in enforcing as best we can such laws of our statute books as are provided for the maintenance of order and decency in our community, but also in bringing as near to an end as in our power it lies, the unbrotherly legal conditions, which, by giving valuable privileges under the law to some, thereby deny just natural rights to so many others and consequently make so much of the poverty and misery from which indecency and disorder proceed."

IV. THE RESULT TO CHURCH AND STATE IF CLERGYMEN SHOULD ACT UPON THE MAYOR'S MESSAGE.

Mayor Johnson's message to the clergymen is big with potential power for good, both to the church and the state. If any considerable number of clergymen should take up the serious study of social and economic conditions with a view single to finding out the fundamental facts touching the natural rights of man to the resources of nature—to the common gift of the common father—that must be recognized before we can enjoy equality of opportunities and of rights; if they should determine to find out the great tap-roots of vice, poverty, crime and human misery, instead of contenting themselves with the superficial appearances and effects, they would see and feel as never before the meaning of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man and the law of solidarity that imposes certain high and holy obligations which, if fulfilled, would lead to the transformation of the world; because the great corollary facts following from the recognition and acceptance of these truths, which necessarily embody justice, would exalt mankind, illuminate reason, develop the soul side of life, and foster love in

every heart, thus bringing on earth the kingdom of God. And with this new view of age-long truth illuminating their lives, they would go before the world with lips touched with divine fire, with hearts burning with the love that places the rights and the weal of humanity above all baser things, and with brains aflame with a passion for justice, so that no thought of material wealth from questionable sources, for church or school, and no thought of personal ease or comfort could influence them or swerve them from their high mission, any more than Jesus, the prophets or the apostles could have been swerved from their mission by the temptation of material wealth or power.

If clergymen should awaken to this new demand of our wonderful age and become the apostles of justice, human rights and love, a marvelous transformation would result. In the first place, they would find their empty churches crowded to overflowing. They would find to-day as in the earlier days the poor—the great surging masses of the poor—would hear and hear gladly the gospel of truth and justice, and they would soon find themselves again the moral leaders of the age and in the very center of a great new spiritual renaissance such as has ever been witnessed when the pulpit has placed justice, love and the rights of the people above dogmatic theology, churchly rites and creedal theories. They would find the church again that great moral power that it was in the infancy of Christianity, while it was yet pure and uncorrupted by the lure of wealth and power (when the words of James relating to the acquirers of tainted gold weighed as living truth with the ministers of the gospel). For the heart of the people yearns for that spiritual truth that expresses itself in the Golden Rule; it yearns for that religion that translates itself into a life of consecrated service to mankind—a life that contrasts with the lives of those who devote themselves to abstract and general issues, to

theological dogmas and creeds, even as the life of service and ever-present helpfulness and the teachings of human love and world-wide justice of the great Nazarene contrasted with the endless disputations and dogmatizing about the Mosaic law and questions of theology of the religious leaders of Jesus' day.

We believe most profoundly that if our clergy, or any considerable part of them, should experience this new spiritual birth which awakens a deathless love for humanity, for the poor, the crushed, the weak and the defenceless ones, we should see in the brief space of a decade as great a change as that which marked England when Whitefield and the Wesleys galvanized the nation with spiritual life.

#### V. THE MORAL LETHARGY OF ENGLAND IN THE DAYS OF WALPOLE.

There is a striking resemblance between the England of Horace Walpole's administration and the Republic to-day—so much of a similarity indeed, that a glance at the period that preceded the advent of the great founders of Methodism will, we think, serve to emphasize the thought we wish to impress.

In the days when Horace Walpole was at the zenith of his power, the business, economic, political, social and religious life of England was under the spell of a soul-deadening materialism. Then as now political corruption was rife. Low moral ideals had taken the place of the austere concepts of the Puritan period. The bitter religious and theological controversies of the earlier time had given place to nation-wide religious indifference, very noticeable in the life of the people in every stratum of society, though many whose lives gave the lie to the ethical teachings of Jesus still outwardly conformed most punctiliously to the rites and observances of the church and posed as its supporters and defenders. Everywhere was seen that moral lethargy always apparent when the civic life of a nation is at a low ebb; when the eternal

moral verities of justice and equity on the part of government in its relation to the people are held lightly and subordinated to the selfish interests of privileged classes; when man counts less than money.

The historian Green, himself an ardent churchman who could not be accused of having undue sympathy with the Non-Conformists, has not only given us a vivid picture of the state of business, political, social and religious life preceding the advent of the great Methodist clergymen, but he has also shown how society, hungering for the bread of life, for justice and love, quickly responded to the message of Whitefield and the Wesleys in such a manner as to change the whole face of national social and religious life.

It was in the midst of the long and masterful political sway of Walpole that we see English life come compellingly under the spirit of materialistic commercialism. A craze for the quick acquisition of gold became a master-passion, drying up, as is ever the case when the insanity of the gambler infects society, the wellsprings of that spirituality that is as essential to the upward sweep of civilization as oxygen is essential to physical life.

"The sudden increase of English commerce," observes Green, "begot at this moment the mania of speculation. Ever since the age of Elizabeth the unknown wealth of Spanish-America had acted like a spell upon the imagination of Englishmen, and Harley gave countenance to a South Sea Company, which promised a reduction of the public debt."

In return for special privileges desired, a band of promoters and speculators, after the manner of the Wall-street gamblers and public-service franchise grabbers of our day, held out promised benefits never to be realized. Only in a period of civil decadence and moral lethargy would the nation have yielded to the lure. "It was in vain that Walpole warned the Ministry and the country against this 'dream.' Both went mad; and in 1720 bubble Company followed bubble Com-

pany, till the inevitable reaction brought a general ruin in its train. The crash brought Stanhope to the grave. Of his colleagues, many were found to have received bribes from the South Sea Company to back its frauds. Craggs, the Secretary of State, died of terror at the investigation; Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent to the Tower."

When moral idealism is eclipsed by the gambler's greed, when the materialism of the market obscures the cause of justice, exalting the dollar above the man, corruption in government as inevitably follows as night the day. Hence we find, according to Green:

"The wealth of the Whig houses was lavishly spent in securing a monopoly of the small and corrupt constituencies which made up a large part of the borough representation. It was spent yet more unscrupulously in parliamentary bribery."

Nor was this all, or even the worst. Whenever the mania for gambling dominates the public imagination and the demands of commercialism weigh more heavily than those of justice and equity, there is a rapid drifting downward seen in every stratum of society. Religion—the pure and undefiled religion of the apostle James—is everywhere at a discount. Hence it is not surprising to find these conditions prevailing among the educated and wealthy classes.

"In the higher circles 'everyone laughs,' said Montesquieu on his visit to England, 'if one talks of religion.' Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives. Drunkenness and foul talk were thought no discredit to Walpole. A late prime minister, the Duke of Grafton, was in the habit of appearing with his mistress at the play. Purity and fidelity to the marriage vow were sneered out of fashion; and Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to

his son, instructs him in the art of seduction as part of a polite education."

If such were the conditions at the social zenith, those at the nadir were scarcely more hopeful.

"At the other end of the social scale," observes Green, "lay the masses of the poor. They were ignorant and brutal to a degree which it is hard to conceive, for the increase of population which followed on the growth of towns and the development of commerce had been met by no effort for their religious or educational improvement. Not a new parish had been created. Hardly a single new church had been built. . . . A Welsh bishop avowed that he had seen his own diocese but once, and habitually resided at the lakes of Westmoreland. . . . In the streets of London gin-shops at one time invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny, or dead drunk for two-pence. Much of this social degradation was due without doubt to the apathy and sloth of the priesthood. A shrewd, if prejudiced, observer, Bishop Burnet, brands the English clergy of his day as the most lifeless in Europe, 'the most remiss of their labors in private and the least severe of their lives.'"

Such was the England of Walpole. But as his long term of power neared its close, we see society everywhere stirring as one in a troubled sleep. On every hand signs of a general awakening were visible.

#### VI. THE SPIRITUAL RENAISSANCE IN- AUGURATED BY WHITEFIELD AND THE WESLEYS.

Pitt, then young and uninfluential, led a band in Parliament whom the cynical Walpole called the "boys." They thundered against the venality and corruption of government and for a time their words fell on dull ears or were ridiculed and the statements denied. Later, however, we find this political protest against ministerial corruption everywhere taken up.

"New moral forces" were at work. "A new sense of social virtue," "a new sense of religion," was stirring "however blindly in the minds of Englishmen."

"The stir," says Green, "showed itself markedly in a religious revival which dates from the later years of Walpole's ministry; and which began in a small knot of Oxford students. . . . Three figures detached themselves from the group as soon as, on its transfer to London in 1738, it attracted public attention. . . . Each found his special work in the task to which the instinct of the new movement led it from the first, that of carrying religion and morality to the vast masses of population which lay concentrated in the towns or around the mines and collieries of Cornwall and the north. Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was above all the preacher of the revival. Speech was governing English politics; and the religious power of speech was shown when a dread of 'enthusiasm' closed against the new apostles the pulpits of the Established Church and forced them to preach in the fields. Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where in the pauses of his labor the Cornish miner listens to the sobbing of the sea. Whitefield's preaching was such as England had never heard before. . . . It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down from the top of the green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears 'making white channels down their blackened cheeks.'"

On the long-neglected and ignorant masses—the disenfranchised and socially exiled multitude—the effect of Whitefield's preaching and that of his co-workers was indescribable; but it quickly aroused the scorn, hatred and spirit of

persecution on the part of smug conventionalism.

"Their lives were often in danger, they were mobbed, they were ducked, they were stoned, they were smothered with filth. But the enthusiasm they aroused was equally passionate. . . . Charles Wesley, a Christ Church student, came to add sweetness to this sudden and startling light. He was the 'sweet singer' of the movement. His hymns expressed the fiery conviction of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared. . . . A passion for hymn-singing and a new musical impulse were aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England.

"But it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the new movement, but the movement itself. Even at Oxford, where he resided as a fellow of Lincoln, he had been looked upon as head of the group of Methodists. . . . In power as a preacher he stood next to Whitefield; as a hymn-writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while combining in some degree the excellencies of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient; an indefatigable industry, a cool judgment, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life indeed almost covers the century; he had besides a learning and a skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed. He was born in 1703 and lived on till 1791, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight.

"The great body which he thus founded numbered a hundred thousand members at his death, and now counts its

members in England and America by millions. But the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival. Its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy; and the 'Evangelical' movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible."

VII. THE DEMAND TO-DAY UPON THE CLERGY GREATER AND MORE EXACTING THAN EVER BEFORE.

Conditions to-day are so strikingly similar in essential particulars to those which preceded the great moral and spiritual renaissance described above, and the signs of heart-hunger on the part of the people and the general symptoms of the awakening of a new civic spirit are so much in evidence that we feel justified in predicting precisely such a moral awakening, if any considerable number of our present-day clergymen should lead a crusade for the restoration of the ethics of primitive Christianity,—for the enthronement of the Golden Rule as the rule of life. But the demand on the ministry to-day is far greater than that of any earlier day, because we are living in a world in which the intellectual horizon is more extended than ever before—a world in which science, education and discovery have broadened and changed the concepts of mankind, making it necessary for clergymen to study the fundamental laws that underlie social progress and the obligations imposed by the law of solidarity. The gospel of to-morrow, to be effective on the imagination of man, must incorporate in a living, practical way the idea of the brotherhood of man that necessarily follows the concept of the fatherhood of God. It must address itself to the reason as well as the heart. It must meet the high demands of justice and of equity. In a word, it must insist upon making the new ideal of emancipated manhood—the watchword of de-

mocracy, justice, freedom and fraternity—a living reality instead of an empty shibboleth. The church of the future, to be a power, must imitate the life of Jesus by ministering first to the needs of the perishing body, and through the door of justice and love lead the people to the heights. Whenever the sick came to Jesus, he first healed their bodily afflictions. When the multitude were a-hungred, he fed them. And so all through his ministry he made the door of active

present-day service the passageway by which he led the wanderers to the heights. So in his teachings, the parable of the Good Samaritan emphasized the crowning and summing up of his ethics enunciated in the Golden Rule. The church of to-morrow can become powerful, we believe, only through appealing at once to the brain, the heart and the sense of justice in the people, and by making social justice the subject of immediate concern.

## INCURABLE!

BY ALBERT R. CARMAN,  
Author of *The Pensionnaires*, etc.

### I.

MRS. MORTON stepped quickly from her carriage and came as near to hurrying up the steps of her sister's house as she would permit herself to do while her coachman watched. An annoyed puzzlement lay in her eyes, and her chin had a pugnacious set. The maid let her in without a word and she went straight up stairs to her sister's boudoir.

Ethel heard her coming, but did not follow her natural impulse to meet her in the hall. She did not care to risk having their first words carry down the open staircase to a servant's ears.

"Well?" said Mrs. Morton as she stepped into the boudoir and swung the door to behind her.

"Well," began Ethel with a firm mildness that seemed habitual to her; "things are not going right—and I thought you ought to know."

"Oh, I knew something had happened from your voice on the telephone; but what is it?"—impatiently.

"The marriage may not be—may be postponed."

"Never!"

Ethel was silent; and the two women looked straight into each other's eyes. First there was shocked enquiry in Mrs.

Morton's eyes and half-fearful confirmation in Ethel's; and then there was pain in both.

"He told her himself, did n't he?" asked Mrs. Morton presently.

Ethel nodded.

"And she——?"

"She fainted, and he had to summon the family."

"She was unworthy of his confidence," declared Mrs. Morton decisively, plainly finding relief in a mental movement in some direction.

The pain came back into Ethel's eyes. "It was a terrible shock to the poor girl," she said simply.

"But his frankness—his manliness in telling her before marriage—when so many men would let her find it out afterward," protested Mrs. Morton, her excitement growing. "She should have risen to that."

"She is prostrated, I learn," said Ethel, her mildness becoming more obviously firm than usual.

"And Paul?" cried Mrs. Morton, turning quickly on her sister.

"He has not been home since," returned Ethel, her eyes wide with pain.

"He has n't gone back, surely—after having broken off with the creature,"

exclaimed Mrs. Morton, almost hysterically.

"I do n't know," said Ethel in little more than a whisper.

"He shall not! It is infamous!" cried Mrs. Morton, moving about the room aimlessly as if to relieve the tenseness of the strain on her. "He has dragged us in disgrace for years—us, his sisters!—there are times when I can hardly look my own husband in the face—and now if Stella does not take him and save him, he will go back again. It will be she who pushes him back——"

"Oh, Carrie!" and Ethel turned a reproachful face to her maddened sister.

"Yes, it will," declared Mrs. Morton with fierce determination. "He had broken it all off—and it was all over—and if he has gone back again!——"

"I do n't believe he has."

"Well, he will—if she persists—Ethel! I am going to see Stella and show her her duty—her duty to him—her duty to us!"

## II.

Mrs. Morton had to wait sometime in the Norwood drawing-room before Stella came down. And then it was a pale Stella with tremulous eye-lids, and soft lips that would stay quiet in no position for more than a moment.

Mrs. Morton went to her quickly, took both her hands and kissed her lips. And Stella was still clinging to the kiss when Mrs. Morton withdrew her face.

"I am so sorry for you, my poor girl," said Mrs. Morton.

Stella stood without speaking.

"The sorrow that many women bear has come to you very soon," said Mrs. Morton; "but you must be brave."

Stella turned her eyes on the healthy, firm-chinned, confident-looking woman before her as if she were trying to take an interest in what she was saying but was not quite sure that she did.

"Paul had the manliness to tell you before your marriage," went on Mrs. Morton. "He might have left you to find out afterward."

Stella looked up quickly and stepped

back. Another blow had fallen on her sensitive consciousness.

"But he had given it all up for you," continued Mrs. Morton. "And now he has not been home since he left here."

Stella stepped quickly forward.

"Where?" she asked.

Mrs. Morton shook her head. "We do not know," she replied to the eager eyes. "But it is for you to say where he will spend his life," she added significantly.

Again Stella stepped back, and, turning, sank into a chair. Mrs. Morton quietly followed her example, and waited for her to speak.

"He was here again last night," remarked Stella shortly, her listlessness coming back again.

"Paul?"

"Yes."

"Did you see him?"

"No—I could not."

Mrs. Morton pressed her lips firmly together, and her round chin seemed to come forward a trifle.

"Are you going to take the responsibility of driving him back to—to disgrace?" she demanded hardily of the stricken girl.

Stella sat up quickly; her eyes dilated. "But he said—he—would not go—" she began.

A flash of contempt played across Mrs. Morton's direct eyes.

"You—think he will——?" went on Stella.

"I think he is a man," said Mrs. Morton steadily.

"But he promised me!"

Mrs. Morton's face visibly whitened. "The disgrace of it killed his mother, and he knew it—and he did not stop," she said.

"But——" began Stella again; and then, with a quick look at Mrs. Morton to see if she knew what she was about to say, she sat in nerve-strained silence.

"Yes; he would give it up for you," said Mrs. Morton, answering her unspoken protest. "He has set his heart on being worthy of you. But you must take his sacrifice. He will not give it up—and you too."



## III.

The heavy Parker carriage was making its slow way up from the wharf some six months after the November day on which Mrs. Morton learned from her sister that the longed-for marriage of their erring brother might not take place, and then drove over to Stella Norwood's to "show her her duty." Mr. and Mrs. Paul Parker were just home from a honeymoon in Europe, and Ethel and Mrs. Morton had been down with the carriage to meet them. A dress-suit case covered with foreign labels sat on the box beside the coachman; a smaller bag lay between the feet of the quartette in the carriage; and each held something fragile and precious which could not be left to come up with the trunks.

Stella wore a face submerged in content, and looked out the carriage windows with glad eyes on the familiar streets.

"I can never help feeling," said Mrs. Morton, "that paying duty is like paying blackmail."

"I do n't mind paying it," said Paul, some remnants of a late annoyance still audible in his voice. "But I can't stand the offensive way in which the officials assume that you may be a perjurer and a thief."

"I am afraid," laughed Mrs. Morton, "that I am both every time I come back from abroad."

"I do n't admit it," declared Paul. "I'm a sudden free-trade convert—that is all."

"Well, you had a good time anyway," said Ethel, addressing Stella.

"Very!" exclaimed Stella, her face lighting up. "I am not quite sure that I wanted to come home"—and she tried to look shocked at the enormity of her remark.

"Oh, you are to be forgiven that—on a honeymoon," Ethel assured her.

Paul's eyes traveled with amused fondness over the erect figure of his bride, up to her smiling face with the sea-tan still on it.

"When I tell you that Stella has learned

how to go into raptures over those wooden old Italian paintings with the wry necks and the splay feet—you remember them—look as if they had been done by the drawing-class of a Brobdingnagian kindergarten—"

Here Stella's gloved hand thrust suddenly over Paul's mouth stopped his satirical drawl, and he dodged laughing into his corner.

"I did get to love them," declared Stella, a girlish seriousness mingling with the mischief in her face. "We were a long time in Siena, and I used to go over nearly every day to the *Belle Arti* to look at their curious old saints and Madonnas. You must n't think of them as modern paintings at all"—the seriousness was now in full possession of her face—"the artists had to do everything in a conventional way; but you can see them actually struggling to express themselves inside of their limiting conventions—"

"Like a society woman who has discovered an idea in her head," broke in Mrs. Morton with a round, low laugh she had.

"I had to listen to that sort of thing day after day," said Paul from his corner, shaking his head pathetically.

"You had begun to like them, too," said Stella to him with sweet reproachfulness. "You know you had—you admitted it."

"Under torture," shot in Paul, sinking farther into his corner.

"Incorrigible!" breathed Stella at him; and as her eyes shone over at him, they grew more and more tender until she forgot to look away.

Mrs. Morton moved a little uncomfortably in the mild light of this stray beam from the honeymoon, and looked pointedly out of the window; but Ethel looked at Stella's radiant face as an elder sister might at a happy girl.

## IV.

Ethel and Mrs. Morton were walking among the flower-beds of the Morton summer-place. When they lifted their faces to look to the east, they could see

across wild fields, and green rounded hills with white gashes in them, to the shining gray of the sea. When they looked to the west, their own spacious gray-stone summer "cottage" with its gay awnings and irregular complement of verandas and wide-swung windows filled the view; while here and there to the north and south were other hedge-defended gardens and luxurious, misnamed "cottages." There was a sharp touch in the air, and even the vegetation by the sea showed that autumn was well advanced.

"I suppose you know," said Mrs. Morton, "that Paul has not been at his office for over two weeks."

"No; I did not," replied Ethel in a low tone.

For the next few minutes they moved among the beds in silence, but it was plain they were both thinking of something else. Mrs. Morton twitched sharply at the flowers she stooped for, and moved rapidly from place to place. Ethel would disengage a blossom from its foliage and lift it into the light, and then stand or stoop staring at it, forgetting what she was looking at.

"I thought," said Ethel presently, "when the baby came that he would take his old interest in his profession."

"H'm!" snorted Mrs. Morton impatiently. "That man seems to have lost all proper pride. If he were not my brother, I could almost despise him."

"Oh, Carrie!"

"Well, look at him! There is no more brilliant lawyer in New York than he is. He might be at the head of his profession. His firm have kept his name all these years because of what he promised to be. And now he does nothing!"

"But he did go back to his office for a while."

"Yes; until they began to give him some real work to do"—and Mrs. Morton was off again, briskly snipping here and jabbing there.

v.

Paul Parker sat at a downtown restau-

rant table where he could command a view of the street. He was taking his luncheon alone, for none of his friends knew that he was in the city that day. He had not been to the office, though he had kissed Stella and "the boy" good-bye in the morning on the understanding that "Daddy was going to work." Stella had even made a great play of pretending that she was telling "the boy" where to carry his dinner-pail at noon.

A waiter who had been regarding him from behind over the top of a screen, with open contempt on his smug, vulgar face, now came to his side.

"Ah!" said Paul with satisfaction, "Is n't this your table?"

"No"—with disgust—"the immigrant that runs this place has moved me to another room."

"What room?"

"The pink."

"I'll remember."

"Dutchy may move me again"—in restrained resignation.

"Oh, well!—Any news?"—looking up at the shifty eyes that were set well back in the pallid, greasy-skinned face of the man who vulgarized his evening dress.

"She is livin' with a chap called Dan. Steacy—a broker—over in Jersey; nice little villa—a maid—credit at a livery—" The waiter stopped, and glanced with a familiar, "we-understand-each-other" sort of expression at Paul.

Paul caught the look fairly in the face and shrank from it with a disgust at himself which he hid with difficulty.

"Thanks," he said shortly.

"Want the address?"

"You might give it to me."

The waiter grinned at his assumption of carelessness, and slipped him a card. Paul dipped his finger into his vest-pocket, and when his hand went to that of the waiter, there was a crinkle and a glint of green.

"Thank you, sir!" said the waiter with habitual obsequiousness and turned slowly away.

"A moment," said Paul, looking over his shoulder. "Did she see you to know you?"

"Yes."

"Speak to you?"

"Yes."

"Well?"

"Oh!—asked after my family, you know—and how I was getting on—and how the kid was—and if you were back yet——"

Paul's slow-growing disgust came to attention at the last phrase.

"I said you were back—and at your law again——"

"Did she say anything more?"

The waiter shifted uneasily on his feet. "Oh, nothing much," he replied presently.

"What?" insistently, from Paul.

"Oh!—some woman's tommy-rot. Said she was glad to hear it—that you were a great man, and well rid of the likes of her." And the waiter grinned to cover his discomfort in repeating so much womanish sentiment.

Paul sat perfectly still looking through the window out into the street until another waiter awaked him by asking for his next order. And that afternoon, he went into the offices of his firm, and sat until closing hour at his old desk.

## VI.

Paul grew quite assiduous in the practice of the law, though his partners soon learned that it would not do to burden him with too much detail. The overmastering appetite for work which had characterized him in the first days, long ago, had not returned; but he came to the office doggedly, and had flashes of brilliant insight and inspiration in discussing difficult cases with them.

One morning, not long after the Christmas holidays, Stella was in a great state of excitement. She had got up an hour earlier than was usual with her; and, going to the kitchen, had superintended herself the making of Paul's coffee and had put the cook into quite a temper making sure that every detail of the breakfast would be exactly as Paul liked it.

For Paul was to plead a case in court that morning. It was an affair of such

importance that Paul's picture had been in the papers twice in connection with it already.

Anxiously she regarded him from behind the cream-jug and breakfast cups as he ate his orange. She feared that he looked pale; but she would not let him know it for worlds. She must be cheerful and send him off in good spirits.

"Will you have time for luncheon, do you think?" she asked as if it were a matter of the gravest importance.

"Sure!" said Paul gaily. "The court eats, you know."

"Yes; but I was afraid you might be tempted to read up then"; and her eyes pleaded with him to do nothing so foolish.

"Oh, no. Henderson is fagging out the law."

"Now"—with brisk importance—"will you just try that egg, Paul, and see that it is not too hard. If it is the least bit hard, you must n't take it. I'll have another boiled."

Paul tapped it gently. "It's prime!" he said with anticipatory enjoyment in his tones.

"Let me see!"—with playful tyranny.

Paul held it up for her inspection.

"Yes," she said, gravely. "I think that will do."

"You must remember, darling," he said, protestingly, "that I am suffering from no mortal disease just now."

"But it is so important that you should feel at your best this morning," she explained with an effort not to be too serious.

When he was ready to go, "the boy" was held up to kiss him "good-bye," and then to kiss him "good luck," and then to kiss him a wish that "Daddy would win." And then two wifely lips were held out to him, tremulous and passionate; and while they pressed against his, he was conscious that the voice behind them was whispering—"Success! Success! Dearest, Success!"

When addressing the court, he had the pleasurable sensation that he was doing well; but when the counsel for the other side replied, he knew that he had lacked

for detail. He knew that he should have worked harder and got the detail. But why should he? It was drudgery—But, damn it all! that fellow was winning the case because he had been a drudge. He had a poor style about him, too; but he must have searched the law-libraries of the world for so many parallel cases. Paul knew from the way his partners looked at him that they thought he was losing his grip. But he was n't. He was just as good as he ever was—only he did not make a slave of himself any longer. He could see a point twice as quickly as any of those chaps—their minds were dray-horses. But they cared nothing about living—they worked—worked—worked—

The opposing counsel was now entering upon quite a new field which Paul had left entirely unexplored. He could have made a good deal out of it, too, for his side; but he had not had time while at the office to look it up properly. Jove! there was a slip; and Paul was up calling the attention of the court to it. The court ruled promptly with him, and Paul looked triumphantly at his partners. There was a gleam of relief on their faces; but it was such as the partisans of a beaten player might wear at a chance good shot which, however, could not affect the final result. Again the stream of fact and precedent flowed from the dull opposing counsel, and the court took notes industriously. Paul knew that he was being beaten. It was not enough in this field merely to be brilliant.

And for years he had been king in his world without an effort!

Bah! These grubbing lawyers! What did they matter? What did their opinion of him matter? A woman, the blue-veined snow of whose shoulder was worth them all, called that elder partner of his "four eyes"—and a good name it was!—and the other partner was—let me see!—oh, yes!—"spindle-shanks"; and a derisive smile lay on Paul's face which had no reference to the pertinence of the case which the opposing counsel was just then quoting.

## VII.

Judgment in the case was delivered two weeks later; but Paul was not in court. He read about it that evening in the *Evening Journal* which was thrown into the porch of a little villa in Jersey.

"See you've got your name in the papers again," said Someone.

"Yes"—drily.

"Thought you were n't going to bother with law any more."

"I'm not."

"Lawyers are a bad lot"—emphatically. "They cheat their living out of honest people."

Paul smiled. He liked to see those great eyes flash indignation.

"Why, they even cheated you out of this case, I see."

"I lost it."

"Oh, they'll do you. They'll take all your money if you bother with them."

## VIII.

Again Mrs. Morton waited in the Norwood drawing-room for Stella to come down. It was one year after Paul had lost his "case." Again, she was going to appeal to Stella to do her duty.

Stella came into the room with a firm step, her head held erect, her eyes storm-swept but resolute.

"Stella," said Mrs. Morton. "I've come to beg of you to reconsider."

"I have considered, and re-considered, and re-re-considered," returned Stella.

"I know you have been long-suffering," admitted Mrs. Morton.

"Long-suffering!" cried Stella. "My heart has been torn out in fragments. If it had not been for my boy, I never would have endured it half so long."

"And for your boy's sake now——" began Mrs. Morton.

"It is for my boy's sake that I am enduring all this publicity," said Stella. "I want no blackguard to have a father's claim to him."

Mrs. Morton looked at her with level eyes. "I shall not dispute that epithet," she said, "although it applies to my own

brother. But you are not the only woman he has made suffer. He killed his mother—"

"Yes," broke in Stella. "That is what you said when you came here years ago—years ago—and told me that I could save him—told me that if I did not save him, it would be my hand that would push him back into disgrace."

"I thought you could," breathed Mrs. Morton.

"My God! What right had you to *think* about a thing of that kind. You ought to have been sure—*sure* before you sacrificed my life on—on the chance."

"I?—Sacrificed your life?"

"Yes"—firmly, her eyes blazing right upon Mrs. Morton's—"You were the married woman—the woman of experience—you pretended to know men—and he was your brother. I was a young girl who knew nothing—*nothing!* 'Duty' was a big word to me; and you used it pitilessly—*pitilessly*. And I gave my very soul to him." Her eyes flooded with tears of self-pity, and she moved away toward the window.

"Then it is no use to plead?"

"None!—He is dead!—Do you think"—her voice steadied with an earnest scorn—"that the flaccid creature, without ambition, without honor, who quarrels with another man for a woman they have both had, like dogs in the street, is the husband I married?"

Mrs. Morton did not answer, but said after a moment: "Well, I have made my last effort to save him." It was plain that she made a virtue of it, and thought that she might well wash her hands of him now.

"Yes," said Stella, her tones growing deeper. "And your last effort was to 'procure' a maiden for him."

"Stella!" Mrs. Morton's face was red with anger.

"What right had he to marry me?" demanded Stella, never giving a step. "You knew that he had no right. You

were older and wiser—and I was a child. I would know now."

"I won't listen to such insulting talk," rapped out Mrs. Morton ineffectively.

"If there is a bar of justice in the universe, you will!" returned Stella.

"Yours was a criminal conspiracy against me. It could never have 'saved' your brother, and you knew it. It might have kept him outwardly a respectable married man, and saved *you* from disgrace. It might have induced him to abandon a woman he had no right to abandon! But after years of living on her level—seeking the approval of her world—he never could have been made such a man again as my young girl's heart thought him. Our home could never have been more than the refuge of a crippled man—"

"But you knew—all that," Mrs. Morton managed to say.

"My girl's instinct did," said Stella; "but you—*you* talked it down. You made me believe there was still a Paul Parker to be saved."

"The worst of sinners are saved," said Mrs. Morton, steadying herself by taking hold of a theological rock.

"Yes," said Stella; "but not by committing a greater sin. If he married that woman—"

"Shocking!" cried Mrs. Morton, feeling that Stella was now delivering herself into her hands. "You cannot mean that."

"God has so made it," said Stella solemnly, "that when a man and a woman mate, their souls marry whether they will or not, and grow more and more like each other. There may be no ceremony, but there is marriage. Your brother and I married, and my soul is sick yet with the dirt he left on it."

"It is well," said Mrs. Morton, turning to go, "that all women are not so high-strung as you are."

"I am not so sure," said Stella; and they bowed to each other in farewell.

ALBERT R. CARMAN.

Montreal, Canada.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE BATTLE FOR CIVIC RIGHTEOUSNESS AND SOUND MORALITY IN THE EMPIRE STATE.

**Stuyvesant Fish: The Man Who Refused to Prostitute His Mental and Moral Integrity at The Behest of Wall Street "High Financiers."**

**N**O MAN in America has been more in the public eye of late than Stuyvesant Fish, whose discussion of "Economy" in THE ARENA for March has been so widely and favorably noted by the press. Mr. Fish has long been president of the Illinois Central Railroad and one of the leading practical railroad men of the nation. He, however, has enjoyed a distinction as honorable as unique among the great railway and financial leaders of modern times, in that he has resolutely refused to join the band of Wall-street gamblers who have brought such discredit upon American financiers by making the great utilities and natural monopolies the stakes in colossal games of chance—or rather, in schemes for enrichment through gambling with loaded dice. For the years have long since passed when the great Wall-street financiers who reap millions from long-planned and carefully-worked bull and bear measures in railway, mining and other securities took any serious chances in their speculative or gambling games. The master-spirits have long played with stacked cards. The people have been deliberately deceived by a vast and skilfully manipulated campaign of deception, with the result that going and coming the inside ring, or the "high financiers," reaps millions of unearned wealth by methods that at heart are not different from those employed by the disreputable gambling sharks who play with loaded dice.

From this community of the criminal rich Mr. Fish has resolutely held aloof, while in common with all thoughtful Americans he has regarded with increasing alarm the growing business and political subserviency to powerful interests in the hands of the modern Corsican financiers who are as shrewd intellectually as they are innocent of conscientious scruples or the old ideals of moral rectitude and business integrity.

When last autumn Mr. Fish accepted a position on the house-cleaning committee of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, he did so with the distinct understanding and pledge in advance that the investigation should be at once thorough and honest; that the motto should be "Let no guilty man escape." When, however, the Standard Oil interests found that Mr. Fish insisted on a full and complete exposure of the criminal methods and of the criminals; that he refused to allow any wrong-doers to be screened; when they found that he would not stand for a report that would make scapegoats of two or three who had already been exposed and thoroughly discredited, while shielding and protecting others guilty of flagrant crimes, they gave him to understand that he must be silent or be crushed.

Here a great business man was brought face to face with a serious situation. On the one hand was the most powerful and most unscrupulous financial organization in the nation. To expose its members or friends meant war to the death in the business world. No man knew better than did Stuyvesant Fish the significance of a threat from the Rogers-Harriman-Peabody combination. It meant that all the vast power of the Standard Oil oligarchy, reinforced as it is in every part of the political, business and social world, would be set at work, outwardly or surreptitiously, to injure, discredit, crush and destroy him. Moreover, to break with the investigating committee meant alienation and the antagonizing of a large number of business associates who were in various ways entangled in the Standard Oil web. But to remain silent in the presence of such criminality as was here revealed would be to prove recreant to his nation, to the business world and to his own higher self. It would be to prostitute his brain and moral nature, and by his silence to lend the aid of his name to the forces of dishonor and dishonesty in the great battle between sound morality and criminal "high finance." Mr. Fish, knowing full well what



Macaulay, in *New York World*.

THE WRECKERS.

the decision would probably mean, deliberately elected to stake his standing, prestige and business life on the hazard rather than be false to the demands of common honesty and prove himself a traitor to the policy-holders of the great insurance company. He felt, as he himself observed, that he would rather go down in a business way with clean hands than to sanction, even with silence, corrupt and dishonest practices.

Immediately all the resources of the enemy were called into requisition. At first the warfare was in the open. It was bruited abroad that there would be a reorganization of the Illinois Central Railroad or that that great system would be consolidated with the Union Pacific, Harriman's road, and that the probability was that Mr. Fish would be asked to resign from the presidency of the road. It was even intimated that so desirous were his enemies of showing their displeasure at his exhibition of honesty and incorruptibility that they would drive him from his position before the annual meeting of the stockholders.

But so outspoken and unmistakable were the editorial utterances of the great uncontrolled dailies of the land that the Standard Oil Company evidently became alarmed, and since then the conflict has been less open, a systematic guerrilla warfare being substituted.

The issue raised in this titanic conflict is far more than a battle between men. It

involves a principle about the issue of which no honest American, no high-minded citizen, can be indifferent. Simply stated, it is: Have we reached a point in the business life of our nation when any man who is aggressively honest, who refuses to screen criminality and protect corruption, can and will be destroyed by the oligarchy that already seems to believe itself to be above law, more powerful than government and the supreme arbiter in American business affairs? Shall the criminal rich successfully demonstrate upon the person, the property and the good repute of Stuyvesant Fish that the crime to be punished is *not* the taking of the property of another *but rather the denunciation of the thief?*

The defeat of Mr. Fish in his battle would mean that the criminal rich are the dominant or controlling factor in the business world of America to-day. There can be no escape from this conclusion. Hence no American worthy to be the citizen of a free state, no friend of civic honesty or business rectitude, can be indifferent to the issue raised in the courageous stand taken by Mr. Fish.

The Armstrong Report.

The Armstrong Committee's report, given to the New York legislature, on February 22d, was just such a clear, strong, statesmanlike document as citizens of a republic might reasonably expect from clean, high-minded, honest public servants in the presence of the corruption, graft, infidelity to trust and conspicuous inefficiency that had been revealed by the sworn testimony before the committee. Its beneficent recommendations for radical legislative reforms are not a whit more fundamental than the situation imperatively demands. To the big thieves, the grafters, the misappropriators of trust funds, the gamblers of Wall street, the corruptors of the people's servants and the destroyers of commercial honesty who have in the past dissipated these funds or who hope in the future to get control of the enormous sums of this most sacred trust for personal enrichment, they appear drastic, but not to honest men who wish the insurance business carried on honestly for the purpose for which it was created.

The public hearings on the committee's recommendations are to begin on March 9th, after we go to press, but already the chiefs of the "Big Three" companies are massing their

Macaulay, in *New York World*.**WHEN THE SLEEPER WAKES.**

forces to defeat or emasculate the measures advocated and clearly so urgently demanded by public policy, no less than the interests of the policy-holders.

The battle is essentially a battle between plutocracy on the one hand and civic interests and the protection of the insured on the other. On the one side we have the Standard Oil coterie marshaling their almost limitless resources to defeat the ends of fundamental morality, of governmental purity and the rightful protection of the most sacred of all trust funds. True, these interests are somewhat handicapped at the present time, as the arch corruptionists are silenced or are in enforced exile and the public attention is so aroused that it will be more difficult to corrupt legislators than in past years. There will be no "House of Mirth" and the lobby will be compelled to work more under cover; but let no man suppose for a moment that the elements that in the past have controlled the legislative and executive departments of New York, making the state a partner in a carnival of corruption that has spread over years and decades, will leave one stone unturned in their battle to defeat the most vital and needful recommendations of the Armstrong Committee. As Mr. Bullock shows elsewhere in

THE ARENA this month, the great companies are practically under the same management that they were before the upheaval. True, in some respects what changes have been made are of a sinister and disquieting rather than of a confidence-inspiring character. The entrance of Ryan and the coming to the front of the Standard Oil chiefs are circumstances that should convince the public that at no time in the past have the insurance companies been under the direct management of influences more inimical to the public weal than they are at the present time.

Moreover, the three great groups which represent the high financiers of New York and which now control the "Big Three" insurance companies, have their ramifications throughout the entire state—in all the public-service corporations, in many of the banks and elsewhere; and it is safe to say that every pressure possible will be brought to bear upon the legislature to render ineffective the battle against the radical reforms proposed.

Moreover, for years, as has been pointed out, the ablest, keenest and most brilliant lawyers of the country have been systematically employed by the plutocracy in its effort to gain special privileges, to emasculate legislation aimed to protect the interests of the people, and to further the corrupt practices that have prevailed in the insurance world and which prevail in the world of Wall-street

Bush, in *New York World*.**A VALENTINE.**





Carter, in *New York American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

WILL IT KEEP THEM OFF?

finance. For decades these master-minds have deliberately prostituted their God-given talent in the basest manner, and there is every reason to believe that at no time in the past have they been so active as this same element will be from now until the close of the legislative battle in the service of their masters.

On the other hand the legislators are beginning to realize that the people are awake as they have not been awake in decades and that a swift and certain reckoning will come if they are recreant to their duties. A realization of this fact, however, should be reënforced by the people throughout the state; by petitions, by public meetings and by agitation in the columns of all daily, weekly and monthly papers not beholden to the privileged interests or to the criminal rich.

The honor of New York, the cause of sound morality and civic rectitude, no less than the protection of the policy-holders call for the enactment of every beneficent recommendation put forward by the Armstrong committee, and the legislators should be warned that the people expect the carrying out to the letter of the programme that has been proposed and that they will scrutinize their acts with a view to seeing whether or not the emissaries of privileged interests have been able to induce the legislators to give the people the shadow and not the substance of relief or to introduce

“jokers” that might be prejudicial to the interests of the policy-holders and the integrity of the state.

### Judge Kellogg's Blow at Entrenched Rascality.

The decision of Justice Kellogg of the Supreme Court of New York in the case of *Mary S. Young versus the Equitable Life Assurance Society* is so vital in character, so far-reaching in its potential scope and so important to the despoiled policy-holders of the great insurance companies, that it affords us great pleasure to present below a brief summary of the most salient points of this ruling, prepared for *THE ARENA* by an able thinker intimately acquainted with the facts relating to the plundering of the policy-holders through the criminal officers, made possible by the control of the legislators and other public servants by the rich thieves and their confederates. The points emphasized are so important that they should be read by every policy-holder in the United States.

The element in power and control of the great New York life insurance companies, which the *New York World* has characterized as “entrenched rascality” must receive a severe shock, and an intimation of an earthquake to follow, in the decision of the Supreme



Carter, in *New York American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE WATCHERS.

Court, handed down by Justice Kellogg of the Supreme Court of New York at Saratoga, New York, about February 1st. The "Walls of Jericho" which the insurance control had so carefully constructed around itself, made of financial masonry and legislative cement, to protect the insurance grafters from any attack, or even inquiry, at the hands of the policy-holders, were breached when the Supreme Court of the state of New York decided that Section 56 of the Insurance Law of New York in no way protects the officers and directors from suits by policy-holders, where the policy-holders sought to charge the directors with wrong-doing. As one of the New York dailies editorially and wisely said:

"Justice Kellogg's decision in the Young case shows how to batter down the monstrous provision known as Section 56 of the Insurance Law. This is one of the acts whose passage was procured by the Hamiltons, Fieldses and Depews, with the corrupt use of money stolen from the policy-holders, in order to defeat the best interests of those policy-holders and erect statutory fortifications around the extravagance and rascality of the insurance grafters.

"Section 56 purposed to prevent a policy-holder from suing for an accounting and from procuring the appointment of a receiver *except with the consent of the Attorney-General*. Thus if the Equitable had used \$100,000,000 to finance a thousand comic operas and another \$100,000,000 in betting on the races the policy-holder would have no redress unless the Attorney-General consented to the action. The 'Big Three' did not squander the trust funds in exactly such ventures as these, nor in such sums. But with French balls, rebates and commissions, 'counsel' fees and 'Houses of Mirth,' immense salaries and skindicates, dinners to Ambassadors and bribes to legislators, special cars, \$10,000 stenographers and gardeners and such, the millions of the policy-holders were dissipated quite as immorally and illegally as if the Equitable had been the 'angel' for a whole heaven of chorus girls and the backer of an army of touts in an effort to make their fortunes at the race-track.

"All that was necessary for the 'Big Three' to deny justice to the complaining policy-holder, under this law as it was interpreted for many years, was to own the Attorney-General. It is not of record that the Attorney-General ever gave active sympathy to policy-holders who knew they were being robbed, and the

insurance grafters were well warranted in their belief that Section 56 would save them from the annoyance of giving an account of their stewardship to the courts. Section 56 was the stronghold behind which the McCurdys, McCalls and Hydes laughed the disarmed policy-holder's attacks to scorn.

"The admirable reasoning of Justice Kellogg, however, shows that the insurance lobby left a great breach in this wall."

This decision is of widespread importance. It is in effect a Declaration of Independence in behalf of every policy-holder in a New York insurance company wherever the policy-holder may reside.

When it is considered that in every hamlet, village and town of almost every state in the United States of America there are men who are depriving themselves of the necessities of life, in many cases, to pay their premiums into the treasuries of these great insurance companies, it will be seen that this decision strikes the supposed shackles from their hands and permits them, by suits in their own states and localities, to compel restitution where wrong has been done. This decision in effect holds that the commission of actual wrongs by some of the directors or officers warrants the bringing of a suit by any policy-holder, not only against such offenders, but against the entire body of directors, who are charged with responsibility for the damage directly occasioned by the active misdeeds of a few, on the ground that the same were by them negligently permitted and suffered to be done. Justice Kellogg says:

"All the directors of a corporation owe to it a duty of care, attention and watchfulness. If damage result from their lack of care and attention to duty and to the affairs of the corporation, with the management of which they are entrusted, they are liable. That liability does not accrue merely because they have performed some act and performed it carelessly, but rather because of a total failure to act at all. Inaction of those owing a duty of activity is in itself a ground of liability."

The court holds, indeed says, it is "entirely clear that in any mutual company the whole body of policy-holders at any given time, whose policies are not yet matured, have a *quasi* ownership in all the assets of the corporation and are, like stockholders of an ordinary corporation, in fact, its *cestui qui trust*."

The court further holds that the trustees and directors of any insurance company are

merely the agents of the policy-holders to see that the funds are honestly administered and that the policy-holder has a right to inquire through the courts and call the trustees to account. The effect of this decision, as we have already said, is more than far-reaching. Any trustee or director may be served in any state by any policy-holder resident therein and must be obliged to account to the policy-holders for wrong-doing.

This will tend to prevent the continuance of the present graft régime in insurance circles. When it becomes apparent first to the grafters that their grafting will render them personally liable, perhaps to imprisonment; and, what is more important, when it becomes apparent to the non-grafting members, the honorary members of the board, that they are responsible for the sins of the others, then they will take alarm, and so-called "house-cleaning committees" will be unnecessary, because all of the trustees will be constantly on guard to see that their neighbors commit no crime for which the rest may be hanged.

#### Privilege Unchecked Will Sound The Doom of The Republic.

DEMOCRACY can no more exist without the compulsion of moral idealism than the plant-world can live without the light and warmth of the sun. Moral principles—the great, eternal ethical verities—must constitute the soul of any republic destined to live, grow and bless mankind. Privilege is inimical to democracy. Its influence is death-dealing. It is the child of sordid selfishness, the product at once of corruption and oppression. It matters not whether it dons the ermine and lifts aloft the scepter under the false claim of divine right; whether it arrogates to itself superior rights and the power to oppress the weak and defenceless, on the claim of birth and the possession of lands that in the nature of the case justly belong to the common children of the common Parent; or whether it appears as a commercial class that through monopoly rights and systematic corruption of the people's servants and the control of public opinion-forming influences is able to arrogate the power to oppress while steadily advancing in influence through the wealth that rightfully belongs to the millions. Always and at all times privilege is at once inimical to the florescence of justice, to the proper development of all the people and to the freedom and growth of man, and is thus contrary to the spirit of true religion or the ethics of the

Golden Rule and to the life of democracy.

We have to-day reached a stage in the history of our government where a solemn duty confronts every man who loves the Republic, who cherishes true religion and who is a friend of humanity,—a duty that no man can evade and be quit of guilt. As in the olden days a great moral leader of Israel called to the people to choose between God and Mammon, between the true and the false, so the Republic to-day calls on all her children to become the servants of light, the soldiers of the democratic renaissance; she calls upon each one to battle against privilege and for civic righteousness.

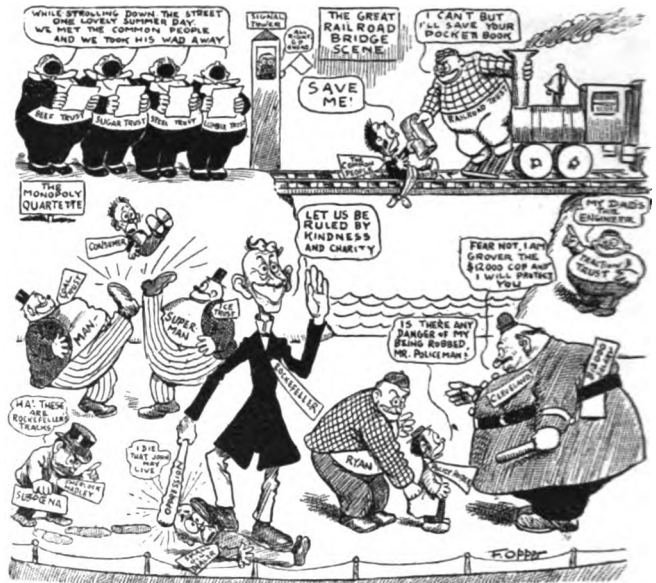
#### Some Notable Recent Cartoons.

RECENTLY there have appeared a number of exceptionally strong cartoons by New York caricaturists illustrating things that are uppermost in the minds of the citizens of the Empire City and which also concern Americans generally. The amazing indifference to the public interest on the part of District-Attorney Jerome, both in regard to the insurance criminals and in the presence of the great merger outrage, has called forth cartoons that well voice the indignation of the people at the recreancy of the district-attorney who made such loud pledges and professions when he clamored for the people's franchise. "District-Attorney Jerome has slumbered peacefully," as Mr. Bullock points out in this issue of *THE ARENA*, "through twelve months of the worst revelations of corporate corruption that this country has ever seen." Moreover, recently the district-attorney has declared emphatically according to one of the leading New York newspapers, that, "You can't blow me off my perch," in referring to the insistent clamor of the press and public that he should act against the insurance thieves. This suggests Tweed's famous declaration when Nast was exposing his corruption: "What are you going to do about it?"

Up to the present writing many of the great dailies of New York have been vainly calling upon the district-attorney to make good his solemn ante-election pledges, to bring the great insurance grafters to justice and to honestly guard the interests of the city. Three cartoons bearing on this amazing inaction are worthy of special notice. One is by Robert Carter in the *New York American*; the other two are by Bush in the *New York World*.

Mr. Carter's drawing is entitled "The Watchers" and portrays the sleeping sentinel

and the rape of a great city. It represents a huge owl with the face of Ryan standing on a dome. In his talons is Father Knickerbocker as representative of the city of New York. The great bird of prey has its cruel claws in the victim's legs, while his head is hanging under the dome. Under the sheltering wings of the evil bird stands Belmont, the man who with Ryan is seeking to consummate a scheme for plunder so colossal and almost incredible in character that it would have staggered Boss Tweed in the palmiest days of his reign of graft and thievery. In the background District-Attorney Jerome, the man elected to guard the citizens' interests, is soundly sleeping in comfort, while the municipality is being despoiled — sleeping when public indignation is expressing itself in impotent rage at the shameful inactivity of the responsible officers. "The Watchers" is a cartoon that would make the reputation of Mr. Carter if he had drawn nothing else.



Opper, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

MONOPOLY LODGE GIVES A DRAMATIC SHOW.

The First Number on the Programme is That Sterling Melodrama, "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; or, More to Be Pilted Than Scorned."

The two cartoons by Bush on Mr. Jerome are apt and telling. The first is entitled "A Valentine." It represents the district-attorney as Cupid, asleep with an arm resting on the penal code. Behind him is a heart on which is the famous "yellow dog" with a can tied to his tail. The can bears the legend, "\$1,500,000 for Andy," the reference of course being to the corruption funds of the insurance companies. Over the head of the sleeping Cupid are the words:

"If you love me as I love you,  
No law can cut our love in two."

"When the Sleeper Wakes" represents the sleeping district-attorney snowed under by evidences of crime and wrong-doing. On the one hand Father Knickerbocker is calling loudly to him, as well he may, with the city in deadly peril from the merger bandits. On the other hand the gong of the Armstrong insurance report is being loudly beaten, but to little purpose beyond making the sleeper yawn.

Another most admirable recent cartoon by Mr. Bush is entitled "Allee Samee!" It rep-



Bush, in New York World.

"ALLEE SAMEE."

resents the members of the Chinese Commission on their tour of inspection. They have come across Father Knickerbocker pinioned to a dead wall. His legs are bound by the merger. One arm is tied by high finance and the other by politics. The shrewd commissioners, after a careful examination, find that all the bonds that hold the captive are the same—a sage conclusion. The high financiers' debauchery of the people's servants is the chief source of graft and corruption and the robbery and oppression of all the people. Who imagines for a moment that without the influence exerted by the Ryans, the Belmonts and their confederates over the people's misrepresentatives, that such an outrage as the merger would be possible? Happily the people are rapidly coming to see and understand that the supreme peril of the nation is found in the high financiers operating through political bosses and party-machines for the absolute mastery of government in city, state and nation. The tidal wave in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania last year was only one of many evidences of a nation-wide awakening of the conscience-element of society, regardless of party—an awakening which we believe will develop into an irresistible popular wave which all the wealth of the criminal rich will be powerless to prevent.

In regard to the insurance scandal a number of excellent cartoons have recently appeared. Robert Carter in the *New York American* complemented his remarkable drawing entitled "The Watchers" with another entitled "Will It Keep Them Off?" representing Ryan as the great owl and Rockefeller as a vulture, seated on a limb gazing intently at the Armstrong Report scarecrow placed in the financial field.

Another excellent drawing appeared in the *World* by C. R. Macauley, entitled "The Wreckers" and referring to the attempt of President Peabody, Harriman and the Standard Oil group to depose Mr. Fish from the Illinois Central Railroad because of his stand for common honesty and the carrying out of his pledge as an investigator of the Mutual Life Insurance corrupt practices.

Mr. Opper has been contributing to the Hearst papers a series of pictures representing Monopoly Lodge and its master-spirits engaged in various pursuits and pastimes. We reproduce one of these cartoons in which Monopoly Lodge is pictured as giving a dramatic show.

### Mr. Amory's Indictment of District-Attorney Jerome.

MANY of our readers will remember that during the heat of the municipal campaign last autumn in New York City, Mr. Clarence Shearn, the candidate of the Municipal-Ownership party, boldly charged Mr. Jerome with evading his duty in prosecuting the great criminals. He showed that he had exhibited a most laudable spirit in vigorously prosecuting the little criminals and offenders—those who had no great wealth and large political influence behind them. Against such he was relentless. Against the great thieves, however vigorously he might be in protestations and promises of what he intended to do, his activity invariably ended with his denunciations of the offenders and his promises to act. Mr. Shearn further showed that a number of the attorneys for the trusts and the great insurance grafters, as well as many persons connected with the great insurance scandals, had come out publicly in favor of the election of Mr. Jerome. On the other hand, however, the district-attorney boldly promised that the great offenders should suffer no less than the weaker criminals, if the people would once again entrust him with the power to execute the law. As a result he was given the power, and since then, as the *New York World* has pointed out on numerous occasions, he has done precisely what Mr. Shearn declared he would do—avoided any aggressive action against the wealthy and the influential law-breakers.

It was shown in the Armstrong investigation that perjury, forgery and various other crimes had been committed by men high up in influence. The evidence came out under oath and is unmistakable in character; yet week after week and month after month passes and the district-attorney remains silent. Even the stinging editorials of the incorruptible newspapers of New York and the apt and telling cartoons alike fail to spur him to action.

On the 15th of February the *Boston Herald* published an Albany dispatch in which William M. Amory, formerly treasurer of the Third Avenue Railway Company of New York made the following bold and circumstantial indictment against Mr. Jerome:

"If Mr. Jerome were honest enough to fulfil his campaign pledges of 1901 and 'follow the trails of wrong-doing and corruption into the office of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company' (I quote his own words), if he possessed

the courage to 'arraign against himself the most dangerous, the most vindictive and the most powerful influences at work in the community,' (and again I quote his own words), the necessity for an investigation by the legislature of the acts of this band of heartless criminals would not exist to-day.

"I declare that Jerome is fully advised of the guilt of the Metropolitan managers. I declare that he has in his possession legal evidence sufficient to convict them of grave crimes. I declare that he told James W. Osborne and I that he was satisfied as to their guilt and that the evidence was sufficient to convict. I declare that his chief assistant also admitted as much to Eugene A. Philbin and myself. I declare that Jerome subsequently entered into a conspiracy to allow these criminals to escape. I declare that in furtherance of this end he suppressed facts, and deliberately issued an official statement which is proved by the records to have been wilfully false.

"If the Metropolitan managers saw fit to offer me \$200,000 in 1903 to withdraw the charges I had filed with the district-attorney, which they did, what would be their inducements to Jerome to suppress those charges and whitewash them, which he did?

"If the grievance committee of the bar association should subsequently convict a Metropolitan attorney for the attempted bribery, which it did, where shall we search for Jerome's motive in his neglect to prosecute the guilty under section 118 of the penal code?

"These are some of the problems which an investigation of the merger will solve."

It seems incredible that any man, much less a prosecuting attorney would have let pass such a damning indictment, made with such pitiless directness, without instantly instituting suit for criminal libel. How, indeed, can any innocent man remain passive when a prominent and reputable citizen makes the gravest charges that can be framed against a public official? Yet instead of demanding a prompt retraction or a vindication in court, Mr. Jerome on the 15th of February met the above indictment by Mr. Amory with the following statement:

"I have known Mr. Amory for a good many years, and while there were some facts that in the minds of many have thrown doubt upon the integrity of his motives, I always believed that the primary motive which has controlled his conduct has been other than a selfish one.

"He has for a number of years had his mind exclusively concentrated upon street traction matters in the city of New York, and whatever charges or allegations he has made in regard to me, I believe that he is sincerely convinced of their truth, and that they are not made from any motive of personal hostility or for any political reason.

"The proposition with which he is dealing seems to him so plain that he cannot understand how anybody can differ from him except from sinister motives."

## VARIOUS PHASES OF THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT IN OTHER COMMONWEALTHS.

### **The Slaughter of The Innocents by Commercialism's Juggernaut in Pennsylvania.**

ONE OF the most damning indictments that can be justly brought against the modern commercial feudalism that so largely dominates our government to-day, is the deadening influence it exerts over the finer sensibilities or ethical idealism of the people. Precisely in proportion as the commercial spirit gains ascendancy we see moral and spiritual anaesthesia, like creeping paralysis, advance over church, school and press. As the materialism of the market throws its spell over the public imagination, the fatal spectacle of the

exaltation of property rights and interests over human rights and requirements becomes more and more potent and compelling in its baleful influence. The infamy of child-labor in this opulent republic and the moral obloquy of its apologists are but two manifestations of the presence of the genius of spiritual death in our midst, which if not speedily overcome by an awakened public conscience will stifle that idealism which is the oxygen of free government and national life.

The reckless disregard for human life as manifested by the money-mad heads of corporate wealth to-day should call in trumpet tones to every man and woman to whom re-

ligion is anything more than an empty word or in whose brain justice and human love hold sway. Look, for example, at the wanton slaughter of life in a great mining and manufacturing center like western Pennsylvania. The editor of a leading New York magazine informed us recently that up to a few years ago in certain of the great steel mills the management was not accustomed to permit the stopping of the machinery in any department, when an accident occurred, long enough to remove the mangled fragments of the victim caught in the machinery; and as a special concession at length the workers secured a provision in the contracts requiring the management of any department in which an accident occurred to allow the machinery to stop long enough to remove the injured or slain victim.

From a recent article in the *Kansas City Star* it would seem, however, that this concession was by no means lived up to by the corporations. The Pittsburgh correspondent of this well-known journal, after a vivid and realistic description of the wholesale slaughter of human beings in the great steel-mills of the Steel-Trust, recites the following specific example illustrating the methods pursued by the multi-millionaires who so own Congress that they are able to maintain a tariff on steel which permits them to charge Americans from six to eleven dollars a ton more than they ask for the same steel laid down in London.

"Within the past couple of months," says this journal, "a foreigner was sent aloft to do some work about the roof-trusses of a crane-shed in a Pittsburgh mill. He lost his hold and fell in such a way that he became jammed in a doubled-up position, with one leg over the track on which runs the big crane. His position was such a peculiar one that there was no way to release the victim except to take the crane apart or crush his leg. When it became evident there was no other way to get him out the foreman ordered the laborers out of the way. To take the crane out of the way meant several hours' work and the stoppage of the plant. The foreman gave a signal to the craneman, the big crane rolled forward and there was a scream of agony as the wheels rolled over the foreigner's leg. He was taken out minus one limb but the mill had saved several hundred dollars. There was no damage suit, for witnesses cannot be obtained, as the workers know too well the power of the blacklist. That is how much regard is paid

to one of the despised 'foreigners' in the Pittsburgh mill-district. Only a couple of weeks ago a craneman deliberately ran down and killed a foreigner. It was denounced as murder, but no action was taken for he was only a 'Hunkie,' and he had no friends this side of the Atlantic."

According to the New York editor to whom we have referred above, the loss of life in the Pittsburgh mills and foundries was simply appalling. "But," he said, "the officials are so completely under the control of the great interests that the facts are kept from the public." The truth of this statement has recently been confirmed by some startling revelations made by the *Washington Post*. This journal calls the attention of the public to the wholesale slaughter of the workers in and around Pittsburgh that is going on at the present in order that the princes of privilege, the Steel-Trust magnates, the iron-masters, the coal barons and the railway chiefs—the Schwabs, the Coreys and their companions—may heap up millions upon millions of gold and be able to further control government and enslave and exploit the people. In the course of the *Washington Post's* discussion of this subject it makes the following startling statements:

"Statistics of Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, for the past year show that there were killed and injured in the iron and steel mills and blast furnaces 9,000. In other mills, shops and factories, 4,000 were sacrificed, while the coal mines swell this figure by 400, and the railroad victims include an additional 4,300, making up a grand total of 17,700 who were slaughtered or injured in one year. . . . Of all the injuries and deaths in the county last year, only ninety-two cases came under the notice of the state factory inspector."

Mr. Schwab is building a six-million-dollar palace at the present time. How many of the slaughtered workmen and how many of those maimed for life would to-day be caring for their loved ones, now helpless widows and orphans, if a little less gold had flowed into the treasury of Charles Schwab and if Corey and his companions had had less money to lavish on actresses?

We hear much about the sacredness of property from the agents of privileged interests who are corrupting the municipal, state and national governments and packing our educational institutions with the advocates and special-pleaders of privilege. Men of Amer-

ica—you who glory in being descendants of the heroes of the Revolution—has the hour not arrived when you should take a bold stand on the side of those who represent the principles of the builders of this Republic and insist on the sacredness of human life and the rights of man? Has not the hour struck for you to enlist against the feudalism of wealth that for gold and the power of gold is destroying the soul of the church, the life of the nation and the moral rectitude that more than aught else lifts man above the brute and makes life worth the while?

### **The Victory of The People Over The Machine in Pittsburgh.**

THAT the tidal-wave of enlightened public sentiment which swept over Philadelphia and Pennsylvania last year was no mere sporadic or temporary protest but the beginning of a revolution waged by the conscience-element of all parties, found fresh confirmation on the twentieth of February when, after the most desperately fought municipal campaign ever known in western Pennsylvania, the ring or machine-candidate for mayor was defeated by a majority of over eight thousand votes. The successful candidate was George W. Guthrie, a Democrat and the first Democrat to be elected since 1893, when the Republicans lost owing to a split in their party.

Pittsburgh has been boss-ridden and ring-ruled, and the present conflict was a fight of decent citizens, regardless of party, against the machine and its corrupt practices. The Republican candidate was A. H. Jenkinson, the son of a multi-millionaire cigar and tobacco manufacturer. He was strongly supported by H. C. Frick, the steel-trust magnate, and by the Pennsylvania Railroad. But despite the fact that the city was in the hands of the machine organization and that the Republican candidate had unlimited capital behind him and all the interests working with the bosses for his success, the aroused friends of clean government were triumphant over the party of Quay and Penrose, of Pennypacker and Durham.

This victory is merely another battle won by an awakened people over the might and wealth of corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines backed by the privileged interests. It is another straw showing the current of the wind. The people are everywhere becoming aroused as they have not been aroused in fifty years. They have waited long and patiently

for the promised relief from their mis-representatives, only to find that they have been systematically betrayed and plundered, while corrupt and conscienceless corporate wealth and interests dependent upon special privilege have uninterruptedly marched from vantage-ground to vantage-ground.

Many forces have been working to enlighten the people, not the least of which has been the brazen arrogance of self-confident corporation magnates—the merciless rapacity of criminal wealth. This, together with the numerous exposures and the systematic educational agitation which has been quietly going forward for many years, is at last bearing fruit. Unless all signs fail we are in the opening years of one of the greatest political and civic revolutions known to our nation. All signs would seem to indicate that the day of the people is dawning.

### **A Railroad Object-Lesson From Michigan.**

THAT the railroads have been the chief cause of political corruption and graft and the systematic betrayal of the people's interests on the part of national and state legislatures, is a fact that we think has been borne home with convincing force upon all unprejudiced minds who have seriously studied our national and state governments during the past thirty years. Another thing that is of great importance for the voters everywhere to realize is the fact that it is through the aid of the railways that many of the most oppressive trusts have been able to crush competition and saddle millions of dollars of burdens on the wealth-consumers and producers of America in extortionate charges for life's necessities; while there is a third count in the indictment against the privately owned railways that is still less frequently brought forward which should not be overlooked, and that is the systematic shifting of a great part of the burden of taxation, which by right belongs to the railways, onto the people, through the corrupt connivance of politicians and political machines which are owned, controlled or influenced by the railway corporations.

Perhaps this crime against honest industry by corrupt corporate wealth has never been more searchingly exposed than in Wisconsin during Senator LaFollette's long and valiant fight for the people against the railway domination and oppression. Ohio has furnished another striking example of this form of corrupt practice in which political bosses and



their tools take their orders from the railways and betray the people; while the latest example comes from Michigan, for the facts of which we are indebted to Mr. Ward Macauley of Detroit. In writing of this latest exhibition of the union of the railways and the politicians to add to the burdens of the tax-payers, our correspondent says:

"That the railroads have a strangle-hold on the populace of Michigan is pretty clearly evinced by the recent finding of the tax commission, acting under the machine-manufactured 'equalization' law. The commission decided that general property was assessed altogether too low, so it sent forth an edict that the railroads shall pay *fourteen dollars per thousand of valuation*, while the rate on all other property *shall be seventeen dollars*.

"The net result of this is that the railroads pay *over three hundred thousand dollars less in Michigan this year than last, and last year's amount was considerably less than that paid the year before*; while expenses, as always under machine-rule, are soaring skyward.

"The Republican machine-governor blames the tax commission (appointed by himself). The tax commission blames the 'equalization' law, which was a pet measure of the governor's. So the merry show goes on, while the Michigan farmer bows under the added load thus iniquitously imposed upon him, while he calls to mind the fact that he voted his party-ticket straight; and it is probable that the recreant politicians are hugely amused at his present loud protest, for they know that when it comes to voting the African savage has no more superstitious a reverence for his fetich, or a Russian peasant for his ikon, than has our rural friend for the Republican vignette.

"Taxation and primary reform will be the issue in the 1906 campaign, and it will be worth while to observe whether Michigan is, indeed, dead or only sleepeth, awaiting the resurrection call."

We believe that Mr. Macauley will be happily surprised at the next general election. The people have been educated the past year as they have not been educated in a decade by clear and incontrovertible evidence of the wholesale corruption practiced by those whom they had long regarded as the embodiments of honesty and patriotism, and they have seen how the dominant party in city, state and nation has drawn rivers of gold from the enemies of the people and the oppressors of the wealth-creating and consuming public in order to

preserve the present corrupt order in which the politicians are systematically betraying the public at the command of privileged interests, which in turn are being enormously enriched through the grossest injustice and oppression. They have seen that the Depews and the Platts, the Aldriches and the Spooners, the Elkinsees and the Keans, the Drydens and the Penroses, no less than the Durhams and the Braytons, the Odells and the Coxes, all alike take their orders from and religiously serve the public-service corporations, the trusts and other privileged interests that are robbing the millions and corrupting government in all its ramifications. And seeing all this, the people are in revolt as they have not been in years. We believe that unless all signs fail the hour of political reformation and a renaissance of genuine Jeffersonian democracy and Lincoln republicanism is at hand.

#### Rhode Island's Shame.

IT is difficult to conceive of a much more degrading spectacle than that presented by Philadelphia before Rudolph Blankenburg's series of trenchant papers in THE ARENA, exposing the corruption and degradation of the Quaker City under the absolute rule of Boss Durham, so crystallized the long-dormant public sentiment that when the colossal gas-steal was attempted so formidable a revolt occurred as to nerve Mayor Weaver to stand for civic honesty. Yet there are spectacles still more degrading and humiliating to all lovers of public morality and free government,—such, for example, as was long witnessed when Boss Quay, backed by the Pennsylvania Railroad and other public-service corporations and the steel and coal monopolies, kept the state year in and year out grovelling in dishonor, the prey at once of corrupt machine-made rulers and of the insatiable avarice of corporate greed. Such a spectacle has been witnessed in Colorado in recent years, as the powerful exposures now running in THE ARENA from the able pen of the Hon. J. Warner Mills amply attest.

And such a spectacle is to-day seen in Rhode Island, where the state government is as abject a tool of the boss, Charles R. Brayton, as if this boss were an oriental despot. Politically he is such an autocrat. Those who dare to cross him, think for themselves or act for the public weal, court political destruction. This local boss, with the baleful shadow of Senator Aldrich always in the rear, just as that of Quay

was always behind Durham, controls the political machine as absolutely as did Tweed control the government of New York City before the great public uprising which exposed the infamy of the robbers and resulted in the overthrow of the criminals.

Given a daring and reckless boss, backed by public-service corporations and privileged interests and a carefully organized machine manned by unscrupulous politicians, and the people have little to say, either about the selection or election of officials, while their wishes after the lawmakers meet are unheeded by the boss-created and corporation-governed popular mis-representatives. To whom do these legislators owe their place? The boss. From whom shall they take orders? The boss. Whatever such government is, it is not republican in spirit, essence or fact, and under such mis-rule it is not surprising that rapid moral deterioration takes place and high ideals of statesmanship or civic duty are conspicuous by their absence.

Recently the Rhode Island legislature gave a striking illustration of the servility of recreant lawmakers to the boss and of their contempt not only for the people, but also for common decency in legislative forms. A bill had been introduced by Senator McKenna proposing an amendment to the constitution granting to the people of the state the right to propose constitutional amendments on the petition of five thousand voters. The Committee on Special Legislation, which had the bill in charge, promised the senator it should be given a hearing on the thirteenth of February; but it appears that the boss did not propose to permit a hearing on a measure that would give the people any real power in government. Such an amendment would imperil his arbitrary and autocratic rule and give the electorate an opportunity to right wrongs, check wholesale robbery and break the fatal power of the corrupt boss, thereby enabling the people to enjoy some of the blessings of free government. Hence the proposed measure was not even to be entertained by the lawmakers, so in spite of its promise, the committee reported the bill back without a hearing and recommended indefinite postponement; and the legislators, after the manner of servile slaves habituated to crawl before the boss in order to prolong their political lives, acted on the committee's recommendation. In protesting against the outrage of denying a hearing to the measure Senator McKenna said:

"The reason why this action was taken, was, because the Republican Boss of this state has stepped in and ordered it done. He wants to dispose of it without having any public discussion of it, and why? Because, if put in operation it would depose that Boss and give to the people their right to advise and participate in the enactment of legislation."

*The State*, of Providence, Rhode Island, in noticing the amazing position now taken by the bosses and their tools in regard to the sovereign people, said:

"Senator Morgan made a speech in opposition to the resolution. The sum and substance of his speech, as of all others against this just measure, is that the people cannot be trusted. The voters are good enough to nominate and elect him, but not good enough to vote yes or no upon a specific amendment."

This journal further, in referring to Rhode Island's bondage to Boss Brayton, observed:

"With more openness than ever before, legislation is being controlled from the desk of the Boss, and the hangers-on are more in evidence and more deferential. He says 'unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh'; and, to his servants the members of the General Assembly, 'Do this,' and they do it. The running to and fro to make haste to carry out his orders, are evident on all sides, and the proceedings before both bodies make the matter still more notorious.

"No one conversant with the facts at the State House needs to be told in this present year of grace that General Charles Ray Brayton is managing legislation openly and unashamed at his old stand in the sheriff's office. He is the real governor of the state. It is 'He Who Must Be Obeyed,' and if any one is presumptuous enough to defy his authority or run counter to his mandates, the same fate of an annihilation will follow the offense as did in the case of disobedience to Rider Haggard's heroine 'She' when any of her people ventured to dispute her will."

Here we have a concrete example of the pass to which supposed free states are brought in cases where privileged interests and party-bosses gain control of political machinery and become firmly entrenched. Here we see the substitution for republican government of an irresponsible despotism, usually backed and

rendered powerful by sordid and corrupt privileged interests seeking the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many.

It is through this new despotism, foreign alike to the genius of republicanism and of pure government, that corruption and political degradation have gained a firm foothold and have rapidly spread throughout present-day public life; while parallel with this phenomenon, which cannot be other than alarming to all far-seeing statesmen who are students of history, we find the systematic oppression and exploitation of the people by the public-service corporations, the trusts and the monopolies.

Only through guarded representative government or majority-rule, secured through the Initiative and Referendum, can the people restore republican government and enjoy the fruits of free institutions.

#### Mr. Cortelyou's Grievance.

MR. CORTELYOU, on the occasion of his address before the Lincoln Republican Club of Grand Rapids, Michigan, made a virulent attack upon those newspapers whose persistent exposures of corruption in high places forced Governor Higgins, against his wish and will, and the Republican machine of New York, to permit the insurance investigation, and almost forced the new Republican machine to investigate the banking department and the insurance department of New York, which at the present time are as malodorous as were the great insurance companies prior to the investigation of those companies. The new Root-Ryan-Higgins-Wardell machine of New York has up to the present writing successfully fought any investigation that would reveal the corruption of these great departments. We have been seriously told that such an investigation at the present time would be a public calamity. It doubtless would be a calamity for dishonest officials and might easily lead to the exposure of conditions that would destroy the sinister power of the Root-Ryan-Higgins-Wardell combination; but the effect, in so far as good government and clean politics are concerned, could not be other than salutary.

There is nothing that professional politicians and the great public-service corporations and princes of privilege so fear as the unpurchasable public press—the papers that cannot be browbeaten or their silence bought, and Mr. Cortelyou is evidently of the number of those

who "view with alarm" papers "whose teachings he characterizes as 'a curse and whose influence is blighting on the land, pandering to unholy passions, making the commonplace to appear sensational, fanning the fires of sectionalism and class hatred.'"

Indeed, the address of Mr. Cortelyou reminds us most forcibly of the pious moralizings of John A. McCall, Chauncey Depew and a number of other grafters connected with the insurance companies in 1896, when they prated about "national honor," "business morality," and the "menace of Bryanism." People then innocently imagined that the menace thus referred to was a menace against the business integrity of the nation, instead of being a well-grounded fear on their part that the high civic morality of Bryan would lead to the unmasking of the great sinks of business corruption and national and business graft and dishonesty.

Mr. Cortelyou's alarm-cry only serves to illustrate anew the fact that the evil-doers and reactionaries fear and dread the incorruptible and fearless newspaper. Happily the day is past when the "unctious rectitude" of those who would cloak their discreditable deeds under an assumption of superior morality will carry any special weight. The people have at last discovered the subterfuge. The real secret of Mr. Cortelyou's alarm is thus unfeelingly laid bare by the *New York World* in an editorial which must have added salt to the chairman-secretary's wounds:

"Mr. Cortelyou," observes the *World*, "has a grievance. The press of the country, and again the *World* in particular, 'presented one of the most important of present-day problems' when in the 1904 campaign it pressed the charge that corporation money was being used for political purposes. Mr. Cortelyou as Chairman of the Republican National Committee permitted Mr. Roosevelt to make his ill-advised denial. What was the sequel? The Armstrong investigation showed Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Bliss to have been in the receipt of large sums filched from sacred trust funds.

"If to say that such use of insurance money was robbery; that Mr. Cortelyou should have been called to testify; that the men who paid the money should be punished and those who received it forced to disgorge; that both parties, for both are guilty, should be prohibited from receiving corporation corruption funds—if to say all this and to reiterate it with utmost emphasis be 'sensationalism,' then the

World must plead guilty of that offense, and so must the eminent men who have banded to secure corrupt-practices legislation in the state and the country.

"The first thought of a public official con-

victed of inefficiency or misconduct is to complain of the sensationalism of the press. But we have progressed. The first thought of a despot has always been to prohibit free criticism altogether."

## MAYOR JOHNSON AND THE CLEVELAND CLERGY.

### Three Views on The Significance of The Crusade.

**F**OLLOWING the admirable reply of Mayor Johnson to certain clerical critics in Cleveland, the ministers, instead of acting on the invitation of the mayor to unite with him in a systematic effort to secure an abatement of the shameful injustice suffered by the poor and the citizens in general, due to special privileges which were enormously enriching the few at the expense of the city and the citizens; instead of welcoming his earnest proposition to work for conditions that would radically make for free government and true morality by securing justice and fostering equality of opportunities and of rights, did precisely what the corporation chiefs would have desired them to do. The Ministers' Association opened a crusade against the mayor marked by extreme intemperance of language and bitterness of spirit.

In order to place before our readers the true condition in Cleveland in regard to the morality of the city to-day in comparison with conditions in former days, we addressed a series of questions to the Rev. Harris R. Cooley, Director of the Department of Public Service of Cleveland, Hon. Frederic C. Howe, and Professor Edward W. Bemis. Mr. Cooley was the well-known and universally respected Disciple minister whom Mayor Johnson called from the West—from Minneapolis, if we remember aright—to assist in the department of justice and charity—of Public Service. His labors have been so practically effective as to command the general admiration of high-minded citizens of all faiths and political beliefs. More than this: Mr. Cooley was for more than a score of years pastor of a church in Cleveland, so he is thoroughly qualified to speak from knowledge, while his high character entitles his views to special consideration. In a personal letter to us Mr. Cooley says:

"As I was for twenty-one years pastor of one of our Cleveland churches, I may be in-

clined to excuse the ministers. For five years I have seen constantly the wrongs of the unprivileged."

### Rev. Harris R. Cooley's Reply.

In answer to our request for his opinion as to whether the conditions in Cleveland as they relate to gambling, disorderly houses, the liquor traffic and the social evil in general are better or worse to-day than they were when Mayor Johnson first took office, Mr. Cooley gives it as his mature judgment, based on intimate personal knowledge, that conditions have steadily "been growing better under the administration of Mayor Johnson." "This improvement," he insists, "has been continuous." Below we give our questions and Mr. Cooley's replies in full:

"Q. 'So far as you know or are able to judge from the opinions of persons in whom you place confidence, has any previous mayor of Cleveland succeeded in abating vice and crime to a greater degree than has Mayor Johnson?'

"A. 'I think no mayor has used methods which have been so effective.'

"Q. 'Was there ever a time in the history of Cleveland during previous administrations when there was a concerted effort on the part of the clergymen of so pronounced a character as the present to discredit the mayor of the city on account of alleged inactivity in the presence of vice?'

"A. 'There have been similar crusades against vice and crime on the part of the ministers. They are periodical. This crusade is characterized by more abusive and violent language than usual.'

"Q. 'Is it probable, in your opinion, if Mayor Johnson had not aroused the antagonism of the great public-service companies that are plundering the people, that the ministers would be used as a cat's-paw, as they are being used in Cleveland, to create a public prejudice against the mayor?'

"A. 'I do not think that the ministers are, as a class, consciously influenced to take the side of the privileged as against the unprivileged. Most of them see so little of the wrongs and struggles of the unprivileged that they do not realize the cruel injustice done them. Under the circumstances, it is not strange that some of them should be the unconscious tools of privilege. In any movement, the violent thrust themselves forward, but their action does not necessarily represent the feeling of all of the ministers. I feel confident that this is the case in Cleveland.'

"Q. 'Is it not true, whenever a great fundamental leader arises who pleads for justice for the people so effectively that he imperils the financial gain to privileged classes and is awaking the public to the enormity of the evil of the new feudalism of wealth, that privileged interests operate in so far as they can, through church, school and press, to create a general prejudice against the man, or the men, whom they have just reason to fear?'

"A. 'The special privileges will not pass away without a hard struggle. The beneficiaries of these privileges come to feel that they hold a sacred trust. By all possible means they will try to fortify themselves in their positions. They will not hesitate to question the purpose or malign the character of the man who dares to interfere with their "vested rights."'

"Q. 'Is not the crusade against Mayor Johnson clearly a case of this character?'

"A. 'There is, undoubtedly, an effort to draw Mayor Johnson's attention from the fundamental things to the more superficial ones. The special privileges are making a bitter personal fight against Mayor Johnson, and will in all possible ways support and encourage such a crusade.

"'Personally, I feel that on the part of most ministers, it is not a lack of heart, but a lack of contact with, and knowledge of, our present social and industrial conditions. The church has not emphasized sufficiently the social feeling and the social conscience. When one man ruins a girl, we are properly sensitive to the wrong, but when our social and industrial conditions drive a thousand girls to lives of shame, somehow there is no sensitiveness to the cruelty and wickedness of our corporate or social wrongs. In our highly organized civilization, our social and industrial sins are the more vicious in their effect. In many ways we are "tithing the mint and the anise and cummin, and omitting the weightier mat-

ters of the law—justice, righteousness and mercy." We are dealing with effects rather than with causes. We are covering vice rather than curing it.

"'The slums of our great cities are the breeding-places of drunkenness, vice and crime. Abnormal conditions will develop abnormal appetites. Drink and drug habits or something worse must prevail. Out of this mass of struggling misery and wretchedness in the congested quarters, disease, drunkenness, vice and crime reach out into other portions of the city. These abnormal conditions cannot be overcome by arresting a few victims and sending them to jail. The disease, vice and crime of the slums cannot be suppressed with a "lid." The malignant cancer, with its nauseating odor, can be covered over with a court-plaster. To the esthetic taste, it may be less offensive, but the court-plaster method cannot cure. Crime may be but the manifestation in individuals of a social disease, and those who are punished are simply victims and not wilful transgressors.'"

Director Cooley's replies, it will be observed, are marked by the same broad, fine spirit that is so conspicuous a characteristic of Mayor Johnson in all his political, business and social relations. Mr. Johnson is among the most intrepid and steadfast statesmen of our day in advocating and defending principles he believes to be fundamental to justice and free government. But it is against injustice, corruption and reactionary ideals—against the wrong system and evil principles, and not against men, that he wars. He recognizes that all men are largely the creatures of environment, and in many if not most instances, if they could be brought face to face with the fundamental principles that relate to justice, freedom, morality and human advancement, they would be quick to range themselves on the side of the right.

#### Hon. Frederic C. Howe on Conditions in Cleveland.

Mr. Howe, as many of our readers know, is state senator from Cleveland and author of one of the most admirable economic books of recent years, *The City the Hope of Democracy*, recently published by Scribners. He is probably the strongest leader on the Democratic side of the senate at the present time. His views are summed up as follows:

"Social conditions in Cleveland are far better than when Mayor Johnson took his

office. Gambling, wine-rooms and combination joints have been put out of business. The improvement has been steady and continuous since the mayor's first election. No previous mayor of Cleveland, in my judgment, has done nearly so much as the present chief executive to abate vice and crime.

"The present aggressive opposition to the mayor in Cleveland on the part of the ministers is confined to a small, intolerant minority. I think the real explanation of the opposition is what you suggest,—Mayor Johnson aroused the antagonisms of the public-service corporations that are plundering the people. I think you give a perfect analysis of the situation in Cleveland in your question, when you ask: 'Is it not true, whenever a great fundamental leader arises who pleads for justice for the people so effectively that he imperils the financial gain to privileged classes and is awaking the public to the enormity of the evil of the new feudalism of wealth, that privileged interests operate in so far as they can, through church, school and press, to create a general prejudice against the man, or the men, whom they have just reason to fear?' And I fully agree with you that the present crusade against Mayor Johnson is a case of this character."

#### Professor Edward W. Bemis' View of The Present Clerical Crusade.

Professor Edward W. Bemis, the well-known social and economic authority and Superintendent of the Water-Works of Cleveland, writes as follows:

"In the restriction of vice, there has been a marked and steady improvement in Mayor Johnson's administration, and to a greater degree than in any previous administration. At the close of Mayor Farley's administration, just before Mayor Johnson's election, a more rigid effort to arrest all saloon-keepers selling liquor on Sunday was made, but the 150 cases that quickly accumulated led to so much litigation in the courts that nothing came of it, and the cases were finally dismissed.

"The clergymen did make as pronounced an attack on Mayor McKisson, the Republican mayor who preceded Farley, as lately upon Johnson. McKisson's administration was

notoriously corrupt in every way, and the attack of the clergymen was in line with that of the rest of the city and was successful.

"The second important attack made by the clergymen in recent years upon a city administration was when Mayor Johnson ran for mayor a second time, and it was carried on along the lines of the present crusade. It hurt him somewhat but was not largely successful. The present crusade is not as general as the previous ones. Many of the clergy are in sympathy with the mayor, and others think that he is more nearly right than wrong, although they may not entirely agree with him. I understand that less than twenty-five clergymen in all this large city are united in the fierce attack that the few are making.

"Mayor Johnson does not accept the idea that the street-railways and lighting companies are back of these attacks upon him, while there are others in the city who believe that this is the case; but it is not supposed that the clergy are, in most cases, aware of any such instigation of the movement, even if the public-service corporations be behind it. The clergy who are taking up the fight seem to be chiefly interested not in social evils *per se*, but in the fact that some of them flourish to more or less extent on Sunday. I myself have been unable to determine whether outsiders are pushing the clergy on or not, but I do not think the movement is going to prove a very serious one, for the mayor is, on the whole, giving such a magnificent administration and making the city so much better in all directions than ever before, that there is not much room for attack at this time. He has suppressed public gambling for the first time in the history of the city, and has greatly restricted, if not entirely suppressed street soliciting, and run out of business the worst type of saloons. In all these respects it is the universal belief in the city and among those who seem to be acquainted with the subject, that he has done better than has any previous administration of Cleveland for any length of time, while the matters which he has raised in his recent letter to the ministers regarding broad questions of social amelioration and justice, they have absolutely ignored, in their replies, stating that they are not discussing the 'single-tax,' as they are pleased to term his excellent letter."

## RELIGIOUS ADVANCE.

**Recent Important Step Toward Church Union in The United States.**

A SHORT time since we noted the rapid strides being taken by the Methodists, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists of Canada to form one denomination under the name of The United Church of Canada. Early in February a religious assembly almost as important and significant in character gathered in Dayton, Ohio, at which two hundred regularly appointed commissioners were present from the Methodist Protestant, the United Brethren and the Congregational churches. They were assembled to discuss ways and means for bringing about a complete union between these denominations. After three days of serious discussion marked by a broad, tolerant and generous spirit, the commissioners agreed that union was feasible and the outline of a practical plan was agreed upon; and while it will be about two years before the next conferences of the bodies will meet, there seems little doubt but what ultimately the union will be effected. The Congregationalists have 700,000 members, the United Brethren 260,000, and the Methodist Protestants 200,000, making a total membership of 1,160,000.

It is interesting to note how instinctively the dominant note of the new age is expressing itself. As the keynote of the old epoch was competition and growth and stimulation through warfare, so the dominant note of the incoming age is union or coöperation. This is seen alike in the business, the political and the religious world, and best of all, it is expressing itself more and more in an international way in the war against war, or the international movement for peace throughout the world.

In the business world, it is true, the expression is to a great degree abnormal, in that instead of the union or coöperation which is supplanting competition being a union of all for all, it is at the present time in most instances a union or coöperation of the few for the exploitation and oppression of the many. But the great coöperative work in Great Britain and elsewhere, no less than the governmental coöperative labors so splendidly successful in New Zealand, is demonstrating the feasibility of coöperation or union of all for all, which we believe is bound to take the place of the war, the waste, the discord and the hate-engendering impulses which dominated the age of strife and competition from which we are emerging.

**SIGNIFICANT ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE GROWING TENDENCY TO PREJUDICE THE PUBLIC THROUGH SYSTEMATIC MISREPRESENTATION.****Jack London's New Haven Speech.**

WE HAVE on several occasions called the attention of our readers to the discreditable methods of the great news-gathering agencies that disseminate reports of happenings and utterances of prominent men. Things favorable to privileged wealth and reactionary thought are generously noticed, while those things that are antagonistic to corporate wealth are suppressed or shamefully garbled. A notable example of this character occurred when an insignificant judge in Oregon ruled that the amendment incorporating Direct-Legislation in the constitution of that state was unconstitutional. Then the asso-

ciated press gave lengthy reports of the judge's rulings, which were not only published far and near under large headlines, but were discussed at length by the minions of privileged wealth all over the land, who lingered over plutocracy's supposed victory as bees linger over the honey-giving clover. Later, when the Supreme Court of Oregon reversed the ruling of the little judge and sustained the constitutionality of the amendment in one of the ablest and most convincing arguments that has been handed down from the bench in the past quarter of a century, this fact was considered of so little importance in the eyes of the associated press that it escaped notice.

Our readers will call to mind the shamefully garbled report of Mr. Bryan's New Haven speech during the campaign of 1896, that could have no other effect than to mislead the public through misrepresenting the statesman who had received the nomination to the presidency from the Democratic party. Here, as in the case of the Oregon amendment, editors under the orders of the high financiers and the corporations seized upon the garbled report for homilies built on assumptions that many of them must have known to be false.

Recently we have had another example of deliberate garbling and misrepresentation on the part of the news-gathering associations which scattered far and wide a report of a speech alleged to have been delivered by the brilliant novelist, Jack London. This report was so worded as to shamefully misrepresent the author and was apparently a deliberate attempt to prejudice the public through false representation. As in the case of the garbled report of Mr. Bryan's address, this despatch emanated from New Haven and purported to give an account of the speech given before Yale College. Unhappily for the press despatch reporter, the address was a set speech identical with the addresses that were so favorably received at Harvard University and elsewhere throughout the country, so the tens of thousands who had heard Mr. London quickly detected in the report another exhibition of moral turpitude; but the despatch gave plutocratic editors a desired opportunity to editorially emphasize the misrepresentations it contained. Among the journals which devoted editorial space to this misrepresentation was the *New York Times*. This editorial, however, elicited an excellent reply from Upton Sinclair, author of *Manassas* and the powerful realistic novel, *The Jungle*. His reply so admirably illustrates the manner in which conscienceless and irresponsible writers garble and misrepresent the utterances of those whose views are not pleasing to reactionaries and to privileged classes, that we reproduce the letter in full:

"To the Editor of *The New York Times*:"

"I note your editorial of yesterday regarding Jack London's lecture to the students of Yale University. As London is now on his way to California he will probably not see your article for a couple of weeks. As the Vice-President of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, and the person who was instrumental in bringing about the meetings at Yale,

Harvard, and Grand Central Palace, New York, I trust that I may be allowed to comment upon your criticisms.

"I heard London's address at Grand Central Palace. It was read from manuscript. The same address was read in New Haven. Accordingly, I can say positively that several remarks in your quotation convey a wrong impression of what the lecturer actually said. Important qualifications have been omitted.

"The grip of Socialism,' [I quote] 'is tightening upon the world. The blood-red banner will soon be waving wildly in all winds.'

"At this point the lecturer took pains to explain to the audience that the 'blood-red banner' was universally and systematically misunderstood; that, as used by the Socialists, it is a symbol of the Brotherhood of Man, and not of war and destruction. I quote again:

"If people object to our programme because of the Constitution, then to hell with the Constitution!"

"The remark of the speaker really was something as follows:

"If people object to our programme because of the Constitution, what if the working-class should take for a motto the words of a militia general who at one time held sway in portions of the state of Colorado: 'To hell with the Constitution.'?"

"We socialists will wrest the power from the present rulers,' [I quote again] 'by war if necessary. Stop us if you can!"

"At this point in the lecture it was explained that the Socialist party is a party of Constitutional agitation in countries where universal suffrage and free speech prevail, and that in countries where these Constitutional rights are denied it resorts to force.

"In your comments you say all Socialists aim, consciously or unconsciously, at 'a redistribution of wealth.' I am a Socialist, and I think I can speak for the Socialists in saying that what we do aim at is as exactly and diametrically the opposite of 'redistribution of wealth' as the human mind is capable of conceiving. Under the plan which is proposed by Socialists, the wealth of society, the capital, would be as much distributed as Central Park the Bartholdi Statue, the United States Post-Office, and the Congressional Library are distributed.

"You say that 'very few Socialists have Jack London's courage,' and imply that the rest of us shrink from stating our purposes fairly. If I may be pardoned the remark, your comments upon Socialism are of a kind



to suggest that you are not familiar with Socialist writings and lectures. I heard Jack London's address; I have heard and read many other Socialist addresses, and so far as I know there is no such difference to be noted between them.

"UPTON SINCLAIR.

"Princeton, N. J., February 2, 1906."

### Placing Jack London's Books Under The Ban.

THE LIBRARY officials of the little town of Derby, Connecticut, were quick to act on the irresponsible and false report of Mr. London's speech and ordered his admirable works from the library. We understand that some of the Pittsburgh libraries have done the same. It does not appear to have occurred to these officials that simple justice demanded that they ascertain if the wild reports published were authoritative before taking such action. Mr. London's *The Call of the Wild* and other stories are recognized as among the best works of fiction that have been brought out recently by the great firm of The Macmillan Company. *The People of the Abyss*, also published by the same firm, embodying Mr. London's personal studies in the slums of London, has called forth the highest praise from many of the most able, discriminating and competent critics of social conditions. Surely fairness to the public no less than to the author should have restrained officials from hasty and ill-considered action.

### History Repeats Itself.

THE BARRING of Jack London's books from public libraries affords another example of history repeating itself. In 1833 Lydia Maria Child published her remarkably able work entitled *An Appeal in Behalf of the Class of Americans Called Africans*. This work brought Dr. Channing into the anti-slavery movement. It changed the course of Thomas Wentworth Higginson's life and, as he has often said, made him an abolitionist. Of the work Colonel Higginson states that he regards it as the ablest anti-slavery work published. It also led Dr. John G. Palfrey, who inherited a plantation in Louisiana, to free his slaves. But it aroused all the defenders and apolo-

gists for the "institution," as slavery was called throughout the northeast. A reasonless and unjustifiable hue and cry was raised all over New England against Mrs. Child. She was denounced and her work was shamefully distorted. The Boston Athenæum, to its everlasting shame be it said, "withdrew from Mrs. Child the privilege of its library." "Boston society shut its doors upon her." For eight years Mrs. Child had published an exceptionally popular and successful paper for children called *Juvenile Miscellany*, but so successful were the apologists for slavery in arousing baseless prejudice that subscriptions to the paper fell off so rapidly that the publication had to be suspended.

There is, however, we believe, a greater sense of fairness among our people to-day than in the earlier period, and unless we mistake the temper of our people, when it becomes known that the brilliant young novelist has been made the victim of unscrupulous misrepresentation, his books, his writings and his views will be in greater demand than ever before.

Personally we do not agree with much of Mr. London's thought, and we greatly deplore his addressing himself to the class-interest of the workers. One of the great indictments which we have insisted upon making against the plutocracy to-day is that in effect it is dividing society into classes—something that we believe to be absolutely inimical to democracy; and in justice to Mr. London and many other reform workers it should be said that it is this actual division which is going on, and which is so marked at the present time that no thoughtful person can deny its reality, that has largely led to the appeals to the workers to form a class and insist upon their rights. We believe that Mr. London is what his critics are not—honest and just; that he is a passionate lover of the people and a true friend of integrity in thought, deed and life; and that he is a man who places what he believes to be the cause of justice and human rights above all thought of self. We abhor the attempts to fan popular prejudice against this high-minded lover of humanity, by shameful and gross misrepresentation of facts. Moreover, we believe in freedom of speech and of the press, heartily subscribing to the noble dictum of Thomas Jefferson, that "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

## UNDER FOREIGN FLAGS.

**Installation of The President of France  
With Democratic Simplicity.**

ON SUNDAY afternoon, February 18th, M. Fallieres was installed President of the Republic of France. The ceremonies were beautiful in their democratic simplicity and contrasted boldly with the vulgar, ostentatious, wastefully extravagant, reactionary and imperialistic display that has marked the inaugurations of recent Presidents of the United States, and should serve as a reprimand and an admonition to our people.

We have been accustomed to regard the French people as inordinately fond of pomp and display, and under the more reactionary presidents that preceded M. Loubet there was much of the anti-republican and imperialistic display exhibited at inaugurations, but the men and administrations responsible for this were reactionary at heart and out of sympathy with the great soul of democracy. On the day when M. Zola published his famous letter to President Faure entitled "I Accuse," France awakened. She had long been a troubled sleeper, or perhaps a better simile would be an unwilling captive. She had grown increasingly restless under the domination of an army which was daily becoming more and more arrogant, sinister and autocratic—an army whose officers had been largely drawn from the most ultra-reactionary and monarchical elements, and she had grown weary of the systematic and relentless warfare of the religious orders waged against the public-school system and all that was liberal in government. When Zola thundered his denunciation against a recreant and cowardly administration he gave articulation to the feelings of democratic France. The people awakened. There could be no mistaking the feeling of France, and the government faced about and from its steady downward journey toward reaction, clericalism and monarchy it turned again toward the Alps of liberty, justice and fraternity. Since then the nation has steadily moved along the highway of democracy, far distancing our republic in many respects.

It is to be hoped that our people will imitate the wise example in simplicity given by our sister republic. If our people no longer possess the magnificent courage and the power of initiative that marked this nation in her glorious youth; if we must look for examples un-

der foreign flags; if we must ape other peoples, let us imitate France and not Germany, Switzerland and not Russia.

**The King and The New Liberal Govern-  
ment of Great Britain.**

THE ADDRESS delivered by King Edward at the opening of Parliament on February 19th foreshadowed the new liberal policy of the government. The new programme as outlined embraces aggressive work for peace, contrasting in a striking way with the jingo spirit of the Conservative régime. The programme is essentially one of construction, of peace, of justice and progress. Freedom of trade will be, of course, maintained, and a more equitable system of taxation will engross the attention of the statesmen. Conciliatory measures, embracing a share in government, are promised for Ireland. Cessation of coolie importations to South Africa, the fulfilling of the promise of a responsible government for the Transvaal, and the keeping of faith generally with other peoples and with the spirit of enlightened government seem foreshadowed from the King's address and the statements that have thus far emanated from responsible heads of the Liberal government.

The King's address indicated a return on the part of England to sanity and enlightened responsibility which has been conspicuous by its absence since the days when the malign influence of Chamberlain dominated the policy of the Conservatives, resulting in a criminal foreign war and in repressive and unjust legislation at home.

**The Countess of Warwick on The  
Hustings.**

ONE OF the strangest sights of the many strange scenes in the recent election in England was the spectacle of one of the most brilliant, intellectual and gifted titled women of the realm on the hustings addressing the laborers of London in behalf of a Socialist candidate for Parliament. This candidate was successful.

The Countess of Warwick is one of the truly remarkable women of England. Her political evolution has been in many ways similar to that of Victor Hugo. Like the great Frenchman, in her youth she was an

avowed Conservative. Later she became a Liberal and still later an outspoken and aggressive Social Democrat. The course of Victor Hugo, it will be remembered, was marked by precisely these three stages.

But the Countess is far more than a doctrinaire reformer. Few women in England have wrought more effectively in practical measures for the education and upbuilding of the poor, and especially the children of the poor, in Warwickshire and other parts of England than has this remarkable woman whose coat-of-arms, singularly enough, bears these words: "I scarcely call these things my own."

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#### Fabians in The English Parliament.

FROM the *Fabian News* we note that seven members of the Fabian Society have been elected to Parliament, one of whom is on the executive committee of the society. Four of these belong to the Labor Party and three to the Liberals. It is needless to say that these votes will all be cast in favor of measures that will be favorable to progressive and enlightened democracy.

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#### The Overthrow of Constitutional Government in Hungary.

ON FEBRUARY 19th the Emperor Francis Joseph as King of Hungary arrogated to himself autocratic and unconstitutional rights and forcibly dissolved the Parliament.

The conditions in Hungary are peculiar, as we pointed out some time since. The prime minister appointed by the King to form a cabinet proposed an extremely liberal and democratic programme embracing universal suffrage and other things inimical to the wishes of the aristocratic or feudalistic Magyars.

That the Austrian King was insincere in his pretended friendship for popular government was clearly seen from the fact that he steadfastly refused to allow universal suffrage in Austria, and his whole long reign has been marked by as reactionary a spirit as he dared to manifest.

On the other hand, by the promulgation of this extremely liberal and democratic programme he has necessarily cut from the Magyars and the so-called Liberals of Hungary a vast amount of popular sympathy that would otherwise be theirs.

The overt act of the Emperor in refusing to allow the Hungarian government to pass its own laws and in forcibly breaking up the

Parliament has substituted despotic rule for parliamentary or constitutional government and has invited a revolution of force. It is difficult to predict what the immediate result will be, but unless we greatly underestimate the spirit of liberalism that has permeated the dual empire, the action of the Emperor will lead at no distant day to a general uprising and overthrow of the reigning house.

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#### A Further Word on Prime Minister Seddon's Great Victory in New Zealand.

THE REVISED returns of the recent election in New Zealand give Prime Minister Seddon even a more overwhelming majority in the Parliament than we reported in a previous issue. It seems that the combined opposition numbers but twelve, while the ministerial party counts sixty members.

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#### The Debt of New Zealand.

*The Australian Review of Reviews* is somewhat exercised in regard to the indebtedness of New Zealand, which, it urges, should in a time of prosperity such as the present be substantially reduced instead of increased. In this respect, it seems to us, it entirely ignores the fundamental difference between an indebtedness contracted for properties that are of ever-increasing value and which naturally add enormously to the wealth of the government, and expenses for war and for the maintenance of armaments or expenses which do not add to the wealth of the nation, to individual prosperity, development and happiness.

This is a point that is constantly ignored by many of the best-meaning citizens, owing to the deliberate attempts to mislead which are being made by the special-pleaders for the public-service corporations.

In a recent address delivered by Sir Oliver Lodge on "Public Service *versus* Private Expenditure," this eminent English educator and scientist dwells on this point in a luminous manner. "What," he says, "is known as public debt is really a public investment, and anything not spent in the waste of war should have public works or elevated humanity or other good results to show for it. Then it at once becomes capital, and is no more appropriately called debt; it has not been spent but invested. 'Funds' is a better name for it."

Now in regard to New Zealand's expenditures in the development of her public utilities,

—her great railways, telegraphs and public buildings, her reacquisition of the land for the benefit of all the people, her advances to the laboring men of money to build homes, her erection of homes with a view to disposing of the same to actual home-builders at such terms as will pay the state and at the same time help to develop independent, self-sustaining citizenship,—all represent money well spent because they represent money that has behind it property interests of vast and increasing value, and at the same time a large proportion of the money is being spent in such a manner as to develop a nobler civilization and to make the individuals strong, self-supporting and prosperous home-builders, whereas otherwise many of them would drift downward to conditions of dependence.

New Zealand has also spent, and we think very wisely spent, considerable sums of money in developing a system by which she is able to market the products of her farmers and stock-raisers in London, so as to give the small dealer and the individual farmer the benefits of profits which under conditions such as prevail in America all go into the hands of the trusts. In New Zealand the government has its depots in various parts of the commonwealth, where it receives butter, eggs, poultry, beef, mutton and other products of the farm and range. These are all collected and for-

warded to London where they are marketed by the state, the individual receiving all the returns above a small sum in excess of the actual cost of marketing. The state also spends some money in instructing the farmers and citizens in general as to the latest and best methods of farming, dairying and carrying on various productive enterprises. This represents an immediate expense, it is true, but in the long run it must inevitably enormously add to the wealth, both individually and collectively, of the people.

The debt of New Zealand, we believe, represents assets incomparably greater than the sum expended, and unlike the debts of almost all other civilized commonwealths, the expenditures have been almost wholly for the development of society and the resources of the state, instead of for armaments and the waste of war. Her debt conforms to Sir Oliver Lodge's definition of "capital" or "funds" much better than to debt in the sense in which the term is used when referring to most national debts, where the larger part of the expense has been for war or army and naval expenditures.

Up to the present time the administration of the New Zealand government has been marked by strict economy on the part of the people's servants and has been singularly free from the taint of corruption or graft.

## "THE MENACE OF PRIVILEGE."\*

### A BOOK-STUDY.

**N**O MORE important work dealing with the grave problems that confront the American Republic to-day has appeared in months than Mr. George's strong, clear and logical work, *The Menace of Privilege*. It is a book that every young man and woman who loves the Republic should carefully read. At a time when a vicious opportunism is pervading our social, economic and political literature and the most plausible sophistries are being cunningly advanced to excuse reactionary and class-movements inimical to free government, and when the fundamental principles of democracy are being sneered at and flouted by

those high in positions of honor and trust who seek the wealth and favor of privileged interests, it is refreshing to find a strong, logical work instinct with the spirit of the fathers—a work in which clear thinking goes hand in hand with high moral idealism and that reverence for justice which a recognition of the sacred rights of humanity imposes on those who would be true leaders and way-showers of the people—those who would place the principles of democracy above all sordid ends. Mr. George has nobly taken up the great work which his illustrious father carried on and has given us a contribution of vital importance at the present crisis.

The work is divided into twelve books, the first of which is devoted to the consideration

\**The Menace of Privilege*. A Study of the Dangers to the Republic from the Existence of a Favored Class. By Henry George, Jr. Cloth. Pp. 420. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

of "The Land of Inequality" and "The Cause of Inequality." When the Republic was young, when honest work was the rule and "the badge of responsibility and respectability," "the printer, Benjamin Franklin, the surveyor, George Washington, the lawyer, Thomas Jefferson, the sailor, John Paul Jones, the merchant, John Hancock, were American types of manhood and practical citizenship." There were then no great fortunes, while "on the other hand, real poverty was casual and nowhere deep or chronic." Then the free access to the soil and the absence of monopoly rights rendered ours preëminently the land of equality.

That a great change has come to pass is obvious to the most superficial observer.

"This Republic has become palpably a land of inequality. There has been no lessening in the power of producing wealth. On the contrary, nowhere has there been so auspicious an era of invention and labor-saving processes. Production has increased by leaps and bounds. But there has been something grievously at fault with its distribution. It has gone in great part for the enrichment of a few. As if by magic, it has piled up amazing fortunes; as though some possessed lodestones drawing to them a very large portion of the wealth and leaving to others only sufficient to afford subsistence and barely encourage a continuance of production.

"The effect of this highly unequal distribution must be manifold and marked. First of all it divides the community into two general classes: the gainers and the losers; into the House of Have and the House of Want. Next it causes broadly a lowering of public and private morals.

"Where wealth concentrates, the rich grow intoxicated. They are, as it were, in a land of wonders, where dollars pair and multiply without aid of human thought or touch of human hand. Coins that but a moment before filled a single bag now fill an array of them, such as greeted the eyes of Ali Baba when the words 'open sesame' disclosed the treasure-cave. This sudden flood of riches begets a thirst for more, particularly as their possessors realize that with these riches goes a power to buy—to command—the services of the multitude struggling for subsistence or something better. And so desire augments. Those who have a million would have ten; those who have ten would have a score, a hundred, millions. They play a game of chance

not only for its excitement, but for its gain—a game where winnings come so fast as to supersede the ordinary means of counting. They play with a money-greed upon them. They play even when they know the dice are loaded, if indeed they do not load them."

In the early days of our nation men and women lived the normal life, with correct sense of moral proportions. As a natural result, civic rectitude and a high sense of honor were everywhere manifest in public, in business and in private life. Here again a great change is to be noticed. The rich, fearing they may fall below their fellow-rich, and thus be brought into what they consider disgrace; the middle-class, seeing the closing door of opportunity and feeling the pressure from above which threatens them with poverty; and the poor, battling, bravely battling, but often with a ferocity born of an ever-present dread of dire want, become infected with a mania for self-interest which obscures the higher moral ideals absolutely essential to an advancing and upward-tending civilization.

To-day we find "common transactions of life are marked by deception, by downright lying, by stealthy stealing, by organized robbery. Not only do our courts and prisons swarm with petty thieves and swindlers, but our great captains in manufactures, in commerce and in finance resort to all manner of underhandedness. Our politics reek with graft, and even men of highest standing turn positions of public and private trust to personal gain. The citizens of this republic, who formerly were, on the whole, so generous, upright and independent in all their dealings, now act like men possessed. In common phrase they are 'money-mad.'"

There is a great deal of profitless talk about there being no hope of better things until the people come back to the old moral guidance and standards. This merely means "that the people will again become moral when they become moral." But as a matter of fact the key to the moral problem lies in the restoration to the people of just conditions that will result in just distribution of wealth.

"The essence of the matter is that this Republic will revert to the moral order when there is a less unequal distribution of the vast wealth generally produced, when some do not find it possible to pile up huge, mocking private fortunes, and when the general body of the citizens find it easier to get a living commensurate with advancing civilized life.

"And thus it is not true that there is no way open to correct general morals. What is needed is to correct the thing that corrupts general morals. That thing is the unequal distribution of wealth. Correct that and morals will correct themselves. Let it be possible for all to get the easy living to which the tremendous increase in productive power entitles them, and morality will govern generally in the higher as well as in the common affairs of men."

De Tocqueville in writing to his father of the old conditions, after observing that "this people is one of the happiest in the world," said: "Amongst the novel objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, nothing struck me more forcibly than the general equality of conditions among the people."

The change in our social and economic conditions was coincident with the rise of a privileged class.

"Now the word 'privilege' means not a natural, but an artificial condition. Even its derivation shows that. It comes from the Latin *privilegium*, meaning an ordinance in favor of a person; and *privilegium* comes from *privus*, private, and *let* or *legem*, a law. Hence, in its essence, the word 'privilege' means a private law, a special ordinance or a usage equivalent to a grant or an immunity in favor of a particular person.

"This word privilege, or private advantage, had application to land monopoly which destroyed Rome."

To-day it is much as it was in olden times.

"When we examine the matter in the light of simple reason we may see that of all privileges land ownership is the greatest,—that, indeed, it is the chief cause of unequal distribution of wealth. For consider: In the beginning God made nature and man. He did not endow man with the power to produce something from nothing, but required him to apply his powers—that is, his labor—to nature so as to draw forth the things necessary to satisfy human desire. The part of nature to which man was to apply his labor was land.

"Where practically all available land of a particular kind is subjected to private ownership, a monopoly of land is created. The power of this monopoly in the hands of any one—of an imbecile, if you please—might

make him rich out of the tribute that would have to be paid by such as were driven by necessity to use his land."

Mr. George, after further discussing the influence of land monopoly, passes to an examination of those less obvious results of land monopoly that are none the less great immediate factors in the unequal distribution of wealth. "And out of these various forms of land monopoly," he tells us "comes a superimposed speculation, which, to those who can control it, is prolific. This is speculation in mining, railroad and 'industrial' stocks. These stocks are issued by companies based upon land monopoly of some kind."

He shows how, with some land value as a basis, the modern gamblers of Wall street, by the well-known practices of watering stocks and making secret arrangements with great holders of special interests so as to eliminate, in so far as they themselves are concerned, all element of uncertainty from their game, making the results precisely the same as gambling with loaded dice or stacked cards, succeed in amassing vast fortunes, never earned and to which from neither the standpoint of moral right nor justice are they entitled.

He explains that he treats private-ownership in land at length because in its direct form and in its indirect or public franchise form "it constitutes the worst of all privileges, since it commits the heaviest robberies from the wealth producers." Next he notices other forms of privilege, as, for example, "taxation, when it is made to fall, as is generally the case, only slightly upon monopoly advantages, which it might be used to kill or to absorb into the public treasury. . . . The protective tariff is a shining example" of this. "It is sought by domestic producers to discourage foreign competitors. The higher such tax, the less the competition and the greater the centering of production in a few hands."

"There are still other subsidiary forms of privilege, but speaking in a general way, the privileges causing the unequal distribution of wealth may be named in four divisions, to wit: (1) natural opportunities privately held under special or general laws; (2) various kinds of taxation on production and its fruits; (3) franchise grants; (4) powers of incorporation and various sorts of immunities in the courts.

"The existence of these various forms of privilege explains, and nothing else will ex-

plain, the sudden rise of private fortunes in the United States. So long as privileges were few and carried only weak appropriating powers, the mass of the people of the country had practically equal access to natural opportunities, and were deprived of but a small share of the produce of their labor. The country was then, as observed by Mr. Bryce, a land of equality in respect to the production and distribution of wealth."

From this luminous exposition of inequality and its causes, our author passes to his second book or division and notices typical "Princes of Privilege." He briefly and graphically sketches some leading figures who represent wealth acquired under various forms of privilege. J. J. Astor comes in for an extended treatment. Among other typical figures are John W. Mackay, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie and J. Pierpont Morgan. Some of these men acquired their fortunes through land speculation and holding; others rose to the mastership of millions by seizing upon the stored-up wealth of nature, together with other forms of privilege. Thus Mr. Rockefeller's wealth springs from several forms of privilege, but chiefly from the wealth stored up by nature, which should be a common heritage, and from secret railroad rebates. Andrew Carnegie had three sources of privilege aiding him to acquire his fortune: land, transportation and tariff. J. Pierpont Morgan, the trust-former and merger-effector, has been able through the use of water or the inflation of securities to appropriate millions upon millions of wealth for which, in the last analysis, the people must pay. Here we find another kind of privilege in which the promoters put stocks on the market capitalized for several times—often three to nine times—the amount of money actually represented. Then by shrewd manipulation and adroit deceptions they unload the stock at par or above, depress it, then bull it. Thus coming and going they reap millions through barefaced gambling operations of the most dishonorable nature. Nor is this all. On the watered stock, by virtue of their privileges in land, transportation and tariff, they are able to force the consuming millions to pay exorbitant prices that in effect are the same as usury. Thus by gambling with stacked cards and by practices that are equal to usury, fabulous fortunes are acquired that are not earned—not the rightful fruit of honest industry on the part of the beneficiaries.

After a luminous discussion of typical princes of privilege and the methods by which they acquire vast fortunes at the expense of morality and the weal of the nation and the people, our author considers how the princes live—their palatial homes and their lavish expenditures in furnishing; their amusements, dissipations and marital relations; after which he devotes a chapter to "Aristocracy a Fruit of Privilege"—a chapter pregnant with solemn truths that should be impressed on the conscience of every thinking American.

Book Three is devoted to "Victims of Privilege," in which the despoilment of the masses and the physical, mental and moral deterioration incident to unjust conditions for which privilege is responsible, are treated with a statesmanlike breadth of vision and with that true sense of moral proportion that marks the work of a fundamentally sound reasoner.

Book Four is devoted to "Resistance to Privilege" and contains chapters on "Organization of Laborers" and "Dangers of Unionism." No man in America is a truer friend of labor than is Mr. George; yet like his illustrious father he does not allow sympathy to blind him to defects that are radically opposed to justice or the law of freedom on which true advancement must depend. Our author, while showing some dangerous tendencies and wrongs for which labor-unions are responsible, clearly points out that these things are in most instances the result of privilege-making conditions inimical to freedom and justice, and making it seem to labor as necessary to resort to aggressive acts in order to protect itself from the crushing power of privilege.

To us the chapters that are of the greatest importance to the rank and file of our people, and especially to those who love the Republic and who dare and care to think seriously, are found in the division of the work entitled "Weapons of Privilege," in which our author in a clear and masterly manner discusses the "Use of the Courts by Privilege," "Government by Injunction," "The Bayonet in Civil Affairs," and "Federal Army in Strikes." These chapters should be issued in pamphlet form and the whole country should be sown with them, precisely as was England sown with free-trade and anti-corn-law literature in the forties of the last century. Here our author traces historically the rise and the abuse of the injunction power, showing how the courts have become "a most potent weapon in the hands of Privilege to crush strikes and break the backs of trades unions." He shows

how the Federal judges are "appointed almost wholly from the ranks of attorneys representing the great monopoly corporations"; and he shows very clearly how difficult, if not impossible, it is for such men to be impartial or just when their point-of-view has for years been adverse to the people's rights and interests. So long as our courts are recruited almost wholly from the army of hired retainers of privileged interests it is idle to expect justice, for "it is needless to cast a breath of suspicion against their integrity to perceive that a bench made up of judges drawn from such sources will lean in the direction of Privilege."

Interesting and highly suggestive is the history of the precedents upon which the injunction abuses rest. The march of the injunction abuse has on several occasions practically resulted in government by injunction, and to-day we actually see a governor occupying the seat who was never elected to the chair he holds, never received a vote, indeed, for governor. J. F. McDonald, "the present governor of the State of Colorado, may properly be called an injunction-made Executive."

Ominous and subversive as is the flagrant abuse of the injunction power, it is by no means the only sinister influence, destructive to justice-governed and reason-ruled democracy, that has marked the ascendancy of privileged interests in our city, state and national government; for "along with the abnormal development of the injunction principle has come within the last two decades in the United States a startling use of soldiers in civil affairs." Mr. George reviews the aggressions of privilege and its servile tools in graphic language, giving a vivid picture of the overthrow of free government in Colorado by the high-handed and thoroughly unjustifiable action of the ill-famed Governor J. H. Peabody and the unspeakably profane and brutal General Bell, both the most abject tools of lawless corporate interests. Bell, as Mr. George well observes, "is one of the kind of men who forget the rights and duties of the citizen when they don soldier clothes."

Other notable instances of the use of State and Federal soldiers are cited at length as showing how "Privilege uses the soldiers of the Republic as it uses the courts—for itself and in violation, in abrogation, of the rights of the body of the people."

The book devoted to the "Weapons of Privilege" constitutes one of the most important contributions to the literature of democ-

racy to-day; yet even of greater moment, if that be possible, are the next two divisions, Books Six and Seven, which are concerned with privilege, the corruptor of national, state and municipal politics, and its influence over public opinion. The author shows in the most conclusive manner that privilege to-day "is the real spoil of politics." "And it is an enormous spoil. It is a huge river of wealth that comes from laying villages, towns, cities, states and the nation at large under contribution." And very clearly he shows that:

"This contribution is not after the manner of a conquering army of old that slew and sacked. It is effected in the modern way, peaceably and legally, by acts of legislature that make direct gifts from the public treasury or that grant powers for appropriating wealth from the general mass of the people. Some idea of the magnitude of such powers may be drawn from the fact that in Greater New York alone the ownership of the franchises or mere rights of way used by the public-service corporations there is by competent judges computed to be worth at the present time \$40,000,000 a year."

By the marshaling of a convincing array of indisputable evidence, Mr. George shows beyond peradventure of doubt, not only that there is an enormous—an almost inconceivably enormous—annual loot garnered from America's millions by the princes of privilege, but also how the conquest of the modern Egyptian overlords is rendered possible through the black-horse cavalry, through giant lobbies and other agencies which work in the halls of city, state and national government. The story is one that will arouse any sane man to a sensible realization of the stupendous and almost fatal character of the peril that threatens the Republic to-day. The power of privilege, however, working noiselessly through political bosses, party machines and its vast army of retainers whom it has placed in office, would be of short tenure in a land where the people enjoyed the educational advantages enjoyed by our people and the right of the ballot-box, were it not for the influence of privilege over the press, the pulpit and the school—an influence which our author describes in a clear, forceful and compelling manner.

Book Eight deals with the "Present and Past." Here the centralization of government and its strong tendency away from the basic principles of democracy are startlingly



illustrated by an array of citations of recent happenings that are autocratic and bureaucratic in character and that are making precedents that in time may easily be used to overthrow even the semblance of democratic government. Centralization at home has naturally enough been followed by foreign aggression, which receives proper attention from Mr. George, after which he considers our nation in the light of the lessons and warnings of civilizations that have gone before. Here, with a statesmanlike breadth of vision and the deep insight of a philosophical student of history, our author marshals before us pictures of events and conditions of other days that wrought death in nations which were long oblivious to the presence of a mortal malady—nations and civilizations which imagined, indeed, that their external pomp, splendor and show of power spoke of vitality and virility, when as a matter of fact they were the hectic flush of death, the autumn burst of exterior glory that spoke of rapidly approaching decay. Mr. George shows how Rome went to her death, and that we are on precisely the same highway; how privilege destroyed the mistress of the Old World as it surely will destroy the great Republic, unless men and women of conscience and conviction consecrate their lives and their all to the restoration of the nation to the people.

The closing sections of the work are concerned with "The Remedy." In the pages that have gone before our author has clearly demonstrated the evil conditions whose existence none can truthfully deny, and that "in consequence of these privileges, veritable princes of riches are being raised up on the one side, while the masses are being held down to an intensifying struggle for a living on the other." He has shown that we have to-day "two distinct classes—the one imbued with feelings of superiority and arrogance, the other of envy and hatred"; and he has also shown that "as a further consequence, public and private morals are suffering, the superabundantly rich falling into monstrous business practices, private infidelities, divorce habits and irresponsibility for child-bearing, while the multitude of workers are being reduced to conditions breeding want, sin and crime, from which must come general physical, mental and moral deterioration." He points out that:

"All these results we have seen to follow a continuing unequal distribution of wealth, and this unequal distribution of wealth to be

a fruit of the grants and passive sanctions of Government, called privileges.

"Therefore in looking for a remedy or for remedies for this mass of great evils besetting the Republic, we must address ourselves to their causes—to privileges."

He finds these privileges to be divided into four great groups or classes:

"I. Private ownership of natural opportunities;

"II. Tariff and other taxation on production and its fruits;

"III. Special Government grants; and

"IV. Grants under general laws and immunities in the courts."

These tap-roots of privilege, these fosterers of inequality, are analyzed somewhat at length, our author's purpose being to show, with the aid of what has gone before, precisely how they are the parents of the brood of evils that are blasting and blighting present-day democracy. Political independence is essential for the florescence of civilization, but it must be supplemented by economic independence that cannot exist where privilege flourishes. Equality of opportunities and of rights demands the abolition of privilege and the return to the natural order.

Many who have followed Mr. George with great pleasure and assent through all the earlier chapters of the work will question the sufficiency of his remedies under present conditions. Some will doubtless feel that he has touched too lightly on some of the forms of privilege, as, for example, that enjoyed by the banking interests; while many will feel that he should have emphasized more strongly that which he so frankly believes in and which he is convinced would come with the establishment of fundamentally just economic conditions—the establishment of purely democratic methods in government as provided by the Initiative, the Referendum and the Right of Recall. On the other hand, many will feel that this work, so fundamental and so comprehensive in its treatment of the root-evils of the age and time, is equally comprehensive in the remedies proposed and which our author believes would transform society, resulting, to use his closing words, in the following democratic changes:

"Labor applied to free conditions would find so ample a reward as to lead sensibly to a shortening of the hours of toil and the development of the mental and moral natures.

Prisons and penitentiaries, almshouses and insane asylums would cease to be crowded, and most of them would crumble in disuse: for sin and crime, and disease and helplessness, which are the progeny of involuntary poverty, or of its antithesis, superabundance, would lessen with the change that brought bountiful opportunity to all.

"Again the worth of individual manhood would shine forth, and public questions would be the interest and the concern of all. Again would revive the spirit of the town-meeting—'the wisest invention,' said Jefferson, 'devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation.'

Politics would clear and purify, for where would be the prizes that corruption now wins; who to be corrupted, among a people filled with a new hope? The bondage of the press would cease, the university be freed from the hand of special interest, the pulpit cut away from deadening dependence. The trend of Government would change from centralized, solidified, one-man power toward democratic, decentralized, federated communities. More surely then the sense and sincerity of the mass of the people would become the guides of progress; and, too strong to fear oppression, the Republic would become too just to oppress.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

*The Florence of Landor.* By Lillian Whiting. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 332. Price, \$2.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

**I**N THIS fascinating work Lillian Whiting is seen at her best. She is a poet and an idealist who possesses in a rare degree the power to penetrate the spiritual atmosphere of persons and places; to feel and understand the aspirations, hopes, yearnings and desires of her subjects and to interpret the significance and lessons which places hold that are laden with historic associations and whose natural beauty has been enriched with the noblest creations of art.

Florence, the City of Flowers, the home of art, the gem of the Arno, would be in itself a theme rich in interest and charm to one far less gifted with the seeing eye and feeling heart of the child of imagination than is Miss Whiting. Under her touch we are made to feel again something of the indefinable spell which such historic associations ever exert over the sensitive mind; something of the witchery that Rome exercised upon the imagination of Byron.

Fascinating as is the splendid setting presented by Florence with its rich enviroing background of beauty and historic interest in the hands of our author, it is quite subordinate to the human interest, to the magnificent *dramatis personæ* that fill the boards and gather around the central figure in the cast. Some of the illustrious ones enter, pause but

a little time and make their exits, leaving a whisper of desire that interest or attraction might recall them; others remain to the end, and the time that elapses is nearly two-score years.

Landor came to Florence in 1821; the city remained his home until 1864, when he passed from this life. Here he composed those remarkable imaginary conversations which have given him an enviable place in literature. To Emerson they were a source of continual inspiration. He "publicly expressed to Landor his gratitude for having given him a resource that had never failed him in solitude. He had but to turn its rich and ample pages to find always free and sustained thought, a keen and precise understanding, an industrious observation in every department of life, an experience to which it might seem that nothing had occurred in vain, honor for every just and generous sentiment, and a scourge like that of the Furies for every oppressor, whether public or private."

In 1829 Landor was the recipient of a magnificent gift—such a gift as rarely overtakes the struggling brain-workers who are ill-equipped to acquire gold but whose wealth of thought is lavishly given to the world. An admirer, one Mr. Ablett, a Welshman, made Landor a present of a magnificent estate outside of Florence, the Villa Gherardesca, which the poet had greatly admired.

To the life of Landor in Florence our author, as would be expected, has devoted much space, yet he by no means occupies the stage to the exclusion of more illustrious thinkers

\* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

and workers. Here we are introduced to as brilliant a coterie of Anglo-Saxon notables as is often met with in the course of a volume; and they are not only introduced: we see them and hear them or speak or read their written words, and are given many most charming incidents and illustrations relating to them, their work and their immediate friends. Among this illustrious company are Robert and Elizabeth Browning, the Thackerays, the Trollopes, Byron, Leigh Hunt, Emerson, Hawthorne, N. P. Willis, Theodore Parker, Owen Meredith, George Eliot, Sir Frederick Leighton, William Wetmore Story, Frederick Tennyson, Hiram Powers, Swinburne, Kate Field, and others scarcely less famous in the world of literature and art, who move on and off the stage and mingle their thoughts with those of Landor during this period.

A work dealing with Florence and its beautiful surroundings, and with such a company of Anglo-Saxons, could not fail to be interesting, even in the hands of a prosaic writer; but with Miss Whiting as our guide and interpreter, the volume holds a compelling interest and charm that will be appreciated by lovers of the good, the pure and the beautiful in nature, art and literature.

*The First County Park System.* By Fred. W. Kelsey. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 300. Price, \$1.25. New York: The J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Company.

THIS work, which is a complete history of the inception and development of the Essex county park system of New Jersey, is of far greater interest to the general reader, and especially to the earnest, high-minded citizen, than the local character of the book would indicate, for two reasons: First, it supplies a working-guide for other communities where park systems are to be established, showing the points essential to be considered, the errors and mistakes to be avoided and the general plan that should always be kept in mind if the best results are to be realized. These things alone would make such a work extremely valuable to public-spirited citizens of various American commonwealths; but there is another feature of the book that greatly enhances its worth for honest-minded and patriotic Americans to-day, and that is the author's exposure of the baleful influence of the public-service corporations in frustrating a splendid and nobly planned work and subordinating

the interests of the community to the selfish enrichment of those interested in the exploiting of the people through the public-service corporations. Up to a certain point the development of the magnificent park system outlined by the original commission, in which Mr. Kelsey was a prime mover, advanced without let or hindrance; but as all seemed to be moving forward for the best interests of the county, the serpent entered the garden—the serpent in the form of the corrupt, corrupting and grafting public-service companies with their retainers, ever-present in such cases since the powerful corporations that operate the natural monopolies have gained control of the political boss and the party-machine.

The chapters on "More Bonds and 'High Finance,'" "Good Citizenship Helpless," "Toy Officials," and "A Legislative Travesty," are deserving of the special attention of persons interested in successfully meeting and overcoming the insidious and demoralizing influence of public-service companies and privileged interests.

Mr. Kelsey's work is beautifully illustrated with maps and full-page half-tone pictures. It is a volume that merits wide circulation—a work that we can especially recommend to all persons interested in the development of park systems in and around American municipalities.

*Tarbell's Teachers' Guide to the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1906.* By Martha Tarbell, Ph.D. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 638. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a large and comprehensive volume. To teachers in orthodox Sunday-schools it will prove of the greatest possible practical value, as the author has treated the lessons in a most thoughtful and suggestive manner and has brought to her aid the brightest and most helpful thoughts of leading religious thinkers, together with a vast fund of facts relating to Oriental life, its habits and customs; to the character of the people, their modes of life and the land over which the Great Nazarene journeyed when on earth.

Each lesson is treated in a thoroughly systematic manner. After the text, important words and phrases are explained, after the manner of commentators. Then comes a department of "Suggestive Thoughts from Helpful Writers," followed by "Light from Oriental Life." These divisions are followed

by "The Approach to the Lesson," giving helpful hints for the treatment for younger pupils and for the older pupils. Next comes an exhaustive department under the head of "Lesson Thoughts and Illustrations," followed by a "Lesson Summary," the whole making the most complete and satisfactory treatment of the kind of which we have any knowledge.

For orthodox Sunday-school teachers and workers we know of no work of equal value.

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*Hamlet and King Lear.* First Folio Edition.

Edited by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke. Limp cloth. Price, 75 cents each. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

WE HAVE recently received copies of *Hamlet* and *King Lear* in the new folio edition of the First Folio Shakespeare, edited by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke, and we take this opportunity to call the attention of our readers to this important work. The First Folio edition of Shakespeare appeared in 1623, being the first collected text appearing after the great dramatist's death. It therefore presents the plays as Shakespeare finally left them. The dramas that were printed before his death were unauthorized and abound in errors. After the appearance of the First Folio the plays became the victim of successive editors, many of whom seemed to imagine that they knew Shakespeare better than he knew himself. Accordingly many of his sentences have been edited and re-edited out of all semblance to their original phrasing and meaning.

The present edition has reproduced the Shakespeare of the First Folio as printed, with the exception that when omissions appear in the First Folio from single plays published earlier, such lines have been inserted in brackets. Otherwise, barring the dropping of the long S, so confusing to modern readers, and a few other changes in the use of letters and abbreviations, this edition is a faithful reproduction of the First Folio. Words changed in modern texts are given at the foot of the pages, with the name of the first editor responsible for the change.

Here, then, we have the real Shakespeare, as redolent of the atmosphere of the Elizabethan period as are the poems of Spenser, and the quaint phrasing and spelling, while they may take from the interest of the text at first, have

a charm all their own. To possess the real Shakespeare is much, but it is by no means all that the reader secures in these volumes. The editors are exceptionally well fitted for their work. Indeed, we doubt whether there are in America two persons better fitted for the task. The prefaces and introductions are luminous essays of great value to the general reader, while the notes, literary illustrations, variorum readings and selected criticisms make this edition far and away the best popular set of Shakespeare that has appeared in America.

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*Garrison the Non-Resistant.* By Ernest Crosby. Cloth. Pp. 141. Price, 50 cents net. Postage, 4 cents. Chicago: The Public Publishing Company.

THIS little work is in our judgment the best short life of Garrison that has appeared, and also the best work that has come from the versatile pen of Mr. Crosby; and this is saying much, for he is one of the strong conscience-forces in American literature. In *Garrison the Non-Resistant* the author displays a splendid philosophical grasp of the great things of life. Breadth of moral and mental vision and profound insight are evinced, while the spirit of the work is admirable—temperate yet positive, and pervaded with the high moral idealism which commands respect from all serious thinkers, whether or not the author's thought compels acceptance.

The work contains twelve chapters in which as would be expected, far more space is given to Garrison the non-resistant than to Garrison the abolitionist, and it is clear that our author holds the former rôle of the great reformer as the most important; for though all forms of slavery are abhorrent to Mr. Crosby, he is a non-resistant, and he believes that slavery would in a comparatively short time have been abolished in the South without the war. Moreover, he is persuaded that the war, with the race hatred engendered, has proved a greater evil than the continuance of slavery for a time, with the final result of freedom, which the commercial development of the South and the steady pressure of the sentiment of the civilized world would have achieved.

There are present in this work the moral uplift and inspiring elements that render a book vital. It is a little volume that should be placed in the hands of young people everywhere.

*The Ballingtons.* By Frances Squire. Cloth. Pp. 445. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is a powerful but gloomy story of unhappy married life. The author has written a novel that may be called a cross-section of present-day life dealing with unfortunate domestic relations and the infinite tragedy that such relations imply to those who are responsive to life's higher, finer and subtler moods and calls.

A young girl, her heart filled with the beautiful ideals of youth and with a deep reverence and love for the beauty of the universe and for the Power that made that universe, marries a man who is not only an agnostic himself but who determines to mould his young wife after a pattern of his own choosing. The problems which confront her in her struggles to retain her individuality and self-respect in the midst of an environment which is fatal to all normal development of mind or soul, and at the same time to be true to what she conceives to be her duty as a wife, constitutes the groundwork for the story, which, however, also deals with the joys and sorrows of many other persons whose lives become more or less entangled with those of Ferdinand Ballington and his wife.

As a literary production the story deserves high praise. It is realistic in the best sense of that much-abused term, and the depressing effect of the story is at times counteracted by an underlying vein of humor which permeates much of the dialogue. The book is undoubtedly a true picture of conditions that unfortunately prevail in many American homes to-day; yet it is a book that we cannot find it in our heart to recommend, as it does not solve the problem and the general effect upon the reader's mind is decidedly depressing.

AMY C. RICH.

*A Maker of History.* By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 305.

Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

WE HAVE to-day few more prolific novelists than Mr. Oppenheim, and few, indeed, who possess more marked talent in certain directions than does he. *A Prince of Sinners* promised much for the future of the young author, and its promise the writer feels would have been realized had Mr. Oppenheim been content to give the public one novel a year instead of the four that have appeared from his pen within a little more than a twelvemonth.

Like all his previous works, *A Maker of History* will hold the reader's breathless interest from start to finish. Here we find the same crisp, epigrammatic style which was so marked a feature, though in a far greater degree, of *A Prince of Sinners*, and the ingenuity of plot which characterized *Mysterious Mr. Sabin*. Like the latter novel, *A Maker of History* deals with secret political intrigues in which Germany plays a far from creditable part. Mr. Oppenheim has utilized a well-known international incident of the late war between Russia and Japan in a very ingenious and original manner as the basis of the plot of the story.

A young Englishman accidentally becomes the possessor of a page from a secret treaty between Germany and Russia—a treaty which might involve France in serious difficulty were she kept in ignorance of it, which is the intention of the Czar and the Kaiser. The fact of the existence of this sheet of paper becomes known, however, to the secret police of France, and the struggles of the secret service of Germany and France to obtain possession of the paper lead to some very exciting and melodramatic adventures for the young Englishman and his sister and friends who become involved in the affair.

*A Maker of History* is a capital story filled with mysterious and exciting happenings, but one regrets to see Mr. Oppenheim writing down to this level after he has shown that he is capable of such work as *A Prince of Sinners*.

AMY C. RICH.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**M**AIN CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: In this issue we present the second division of Professor KERLIN's able presentation of the master-currents of thought of the nineteenth century. If possible

this contribution is more interesting than was the previous paper, being more specific in character and dealing in a luminous manner with such brilliant and opinion-influencing minds as GOETHE, CARLYLE, BROWNING and GEORGE ELIOT. These

two papers constitute one of the most valuable contributions of the year for serious-minded students of intellectual and ethical advance.

*Trafficking in Trusts; or, Philanthropy from the Insurance View-Point:* We desire to call the special attention of all our readers to the paper by Mr. HARRY A. BULLOCK on "Trafficking in Trusts" in this issue of THE ARENA. The author is one of the most thoughtful and fearless journalists of New York City,—a man who is intimately acquainted with the workings of Wall street and insurance financiers, and his paper can be relied on as accurate. It is, we think, the best popular presentation of the insurance situation as it stands to-day that has been written.

*The Federal Regulation of Railroad Rates:* This month we publish the third of Professor PARSONS' notable series of papers on the railways. This paper deals with the regulation of rates. It will be followed by two extremely valuable papers, one dealing with the railways of Switzerland and the other with the railways of Germany. Professor PARSONS, in order to thoroughly equip himself for the preparation of his two great works now on the press dealing with the railroad question, has not only traveled all over the United States obtaining facts and data from authoritative sources, but he also spent many months in the Old World, among other things making a careful personal study of the government-owned railways of Switzerland and Germany, and these papers will embody the result of his personal investigations. In this connection we wish to state that all readers of THE ARENA should possess copies of the two new works by Professor PARSONS, which will probably be published before this issue of the magazine. One is being brought out by Dr. C. F. TAYLOR of Philadelphia and is entitled *The Railways, the Trusts and the People*. It is a monumental volume and will be indispensable to all serious students of present-day political questions in the United States. The other volume, *The Heart of the Railroad Question*, is being brought out by the well-known Boston firm of LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY and will, we believe, be the strongest presentation of the subject of railroad discriminations that has appeared.

*The Single-Tax:* We invite the special attention of our readers to the strong, clear and concise presentation of the land-reform philosophy as interpreted by HENRY GEORGE, which is presented in this issue of THE ARENA by Mr. JOHN Z. WHITE, one of the ablest and most popular representatives of the Single-Tax in America.

*College Coöperative Stores in America:* There are few more important questions before the people than that of voluntary coöperation. The steady and uninterrupted strides which have marked this movement in Great Britain and elsewhere in Europe, and the number of promising if sporadic experiments which have been successful in America, indicate the early advent of a general coöperative movement, especially as union or coöperation is the keynote of the age and the union of all for all is the only just form of coöperation which can be established. Few of our readers, we imagine, have any conception of

the extent to which the coöperative principle has been in practical operation during recent years in the colleges of this country. They will therefore read with deep interest the very thoughtful presentation of this subject by Mr. IRA CROSS of the University of Wisconsin.

*America in the Philippines:* Our conversation this month will, we think, prove of special interest to our readers, dealing as it does in a clear, direct and convincing manner with conditions in the Philippines as witnessed by one of our foremost American women in public life. Especially would we call the attention of our readers to Mrs. GOUGAR's views on contract-labor, relating as they do to the great conflict which is now being waged between justice and injustice, between democracy and reaction, between moral integrity and materialistic commercialism.

*The Coming Exodus:* This paper by ARTHUR S. PHELPS will be read with interest by our readers. The author graduated from Yale and holds the degrees of B.A. and B.D. from that institution. We do not regard the coming exodus as a step backward, but as distinctly a step forward—a step toward a saner and, under present social and economic conditions, toward an enviroing condition that shall make for a higher and more normal development than is possible in the crowded centers of present-day life.

*The Color-Line in New Jersey:* There is nothing more needed to-day than the tearing away of hypocritical pretense from officials in various departments of public service. If laws are on the statute-books, they should be enforced rigorously, fairly and impartially. Nothing is more demoralizing in its influence or better calculated to destroy respect for law in the minds of the people than the maintenance on the statute-books of laws and the systematic evasion of their execution by the officials. In this issue of THE ARENA Mr. LINTON SATTERTHWAIT, one of the cleanest and strongest lawyers of New Jersey, exposes in a trenchant manner a typical case of this systematic refusal on the part of officials to uphold the statutes they are sworn to enforce.

*Incurable:* Our story this month is more than an interesting and human sketch. It carries with it a great and needed lesson. No more vicious philosophy can be promulgated than that which holds that it is the duty of pure, high-minded women to marry degraded or debauched men in order to save them. Such unions most frequently result in in-harmony, misery and the moral degradation of the wife, while the offspring of such marriages are not unfrequently moral degenerates. Mr. CARMAN is an old contributor to THE ARENA, having written for it many years ago a short time after we had founded this review, and our old readers will welcome him back to our pages.

*The Railways of Colorado:* Hon. J. Warner Mills' discussion of the railways of Colorado does not appear in this issue because the manuscript arrived too late to be used this month. It will appear in the May ARENA, and will richly repay the waiting on the reader's part.





**CHARLES H. GRANT**



*"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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## CRIMINAL WEALTH *versus* COMMON HONESTY.

BY ALBERT BRANDT.

### I. THE OLIGARCHY OF THE CRIMINAL RICH THE GRAVEST MENACE TO THE REPUBLIC.

ONE QUESTION transcends all other issues calling for the immediate action of our people, because on it depends the fate of free institutions. For more than a quarter of a century a power has been at work in our civic and business life as sinister as it is destructive to democratic government; a power not altogether new, it is true, in political and commercial affairs, but now for the first time perfectly organized and so developed as to act as a formidable, sentient being whose growth has been as rapid as its evil influence has been far-reaching and pronounced. This baleful influence has now entrenched itself so firmly in city, state and national government and has become so arrogant and aggressive a force in the business world that it defies laws when it cannot prevent their enactment. Its high priests hold that it is immaterial to them what the courts desire to know. It has bulwarked itself behind untold millions of wealth largely acquired by indirection and criminal methods. It has surrounded itself by a bodyguard of

lawyers whose intellectual acuteness is only surpassed by their moral obloquy, and it assumes that it is not only above law but more powerful than is the government of the United States. This power—the communism of corrupt wealth, the feudalism of the criminal rich—must be destroyed or the Republic of the future will mask a despotism of privileged wealth as absolute in power as was the oligarchy that long ruled the so-called Republic of Venice, or as was Augustus Cæsar after he became the supreme power in the imperial republic of Rome.

At the outset let the line be clearly drawn between honest and dishonest wealth; between the money that has been earned by just labor or without injuring others, and the money that has been acquired by criminal methods—by methods as multitudinous as they are infamous and that have frequently embraced a crime that should rank with high treason—the corruption of the people's representatives. No danger confronts the Republic to-day comparable to the evil influence of the oligarchy of the criminal rich who are corrupting government, demoralizing business, obliterating the sense of moral proportion in church,

school and state, and through the power gained by evil methods are destroying respect for law while oppressing and exploiting the people.

The advance of the communism of corrupt wealth has of late been so rapid, the stream of gold diverted to the pockets of the criminals has become so great in volume, the corrupt practices of the beneficiaries have become so flagrant and insolently offensive and their assumptions of invincibility so obvious, that he must be dead to all the sentiments of noble patriotism, of justice and of common honesty who can be blind to the fact that we have reached a point where the people must choose between freedom and slavery; between democracy and the despotism of the criminal rich; between sound morality and a sordid materialism that flouts ethical idealism and all sentiments of civic duty and moral rectitude.

Fortunately for the nation, official investigations of the past year have laid bare the true condition of affairs among the great officials of the insurance world, fully establishing the grave and almost incredible charges that had been made of colossal criminal action carried on systematically for years by men who have posed as leaders in the world of Wall street and American business life. Since the commencement of the Armstrong investigation the curtain has been lifted from time to time, affording vivid glimpses of the criminal rich at work behind the scenes, and the spectacle has been so amazing and alarming in character that had not the facts been established under oath men would have been justified in regarding them with incredulity.

Now, however, since the investigation of the insurance companies is over, the harpies of Wall street are seeking to gloss over the crimes, to hush up the scandals and to reestablish the old order after pretended reformation. This must not be permitted. Less than ever must the people allow themselves to be lulled to sleep

at the present time. Only by a determined and sustained battle for the overthrow of corrupt wealth and the reenthronement of honesty and rectitude in political and business life can we be saved from a despotism of the corrupt rich which could only be overthrown by the shock, the waste and the ruin of a forcible revolution. To save the Republic to the people and to avert a revolution of bloodshed is the high duty of all true-minded patriots.

In the presence of the irrepressible conflict that is now pending perhaps nothing is so important as for the people to have brought clearly before them the picture of the criminal rich behind their breastworks, that they may see not only the methods and practices of the enemies of the Republic but also that they may appreciate how grave is the danger and solemn duty that confronts awakened patriotism.

The recent battle between an honest and incorruptible member of the investigating committee of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York and the frightened officials in control of the company, who shrank in apparent terror from an honest investigation, offers so striking and illuminating an illustration of the methods of modern high finance that I desire to present a somewhat circumstantial account of how the powers representing the present "system" strove, first, to prevent an investigation that might incriminate some of their own number and that would render impossible the continued maintenance of the insurance company for the enormous enrichment of Wall-street gamblers, and secondly, how they strove to destroy the business career of the man who could not be silenced. The story of the abortive attempt at investigation by the Truesdale Committee after the election of Mr. Peabody to the presidency of the company affords a vivid glimpse of the methods of those who represent the "system" that must be destroyed.

II. THE MUTUAL UNDER THE SEARCH-LIGHT OF THE ARMSTRONG COMMITTEE.

Before taking up the story of the Truesdale Committee's work and its aftermath, it will be well to call to mind a few facts brought out at the Armstrong investigation of the Mutual Life Insurance Company; not that these facts differ from the revelations relating to the Equitable or the New York Life, for the record of shame and criminality in the one was largely the story of each of the others, but because it is with the Mutual that we are especially concerned in this discussion.

Furthermore, let us not be misled by the systematic attempts that have been made in certain quarters to center the public mind on the McCalls and the McCurdys, as though they alone were responsible for the crimes committed. It is doubtless very convenient for the finance committee, the auditing committee and the other active directors whose personalities largely dominated the board, to have some scapegoats, whose confessions have already led to their ruin, for pack-beasts for the transgressions of the rest. But the public must not allow itself to be deceived on this vital question, for if the men who have condoned, tolerated, sanctioned and upheld the criminal methods of the past are allowed to remain the master-spirits of these great companies, even though under much healthier legal or legislative restrictions, it will be only a question of time before old evils will begin to creep in anew, for the master-spirits of Wall street do not care for the insurance companies if honestly run on the insurance basis. They want the possession and use of the vast sums contributed by the policy-holders for their numerous gambling exploits and other enterprises that are inimical to the best interests of sound business and the public weal. The McCurdys have sins enough to answer for without seeking to create the idea that they alone among the active managing directors and dominating spir-

its of the Mutual were responsible for the evils wrought. Where were the members of the auditing committee and the finance committee, and above all, where were those who with President McCurdy made up the "inner circle" and who were so familiarly characterized by the discredited president as "my trustees"?

In this connection it is well to bear in mind some observations of Mr. Bullock in THE ARENA of last month, as they are important in view of the active part which at least one of the members of the "inner circle," Mr. Rogers, is said to have taken to strangle the searching investigation which had been promised and which Mr. Fish insisted upon being carried out. Among the directors whose affiliations were so intimate with Wall street that they felt little sympathy with the insurance idea of an insurance company were Mr. H. H. Rogers and Mr. George F. Baker, who "had long watched the McCurdy administration as members of the 'inner circle.' They allowed themselves to be affectionately termed by the former President of the company, 'my trustees.'" Mr. McCurdy's familiar and endearing term thus indicated the high place which these two gentlemen held in his consideration if not in his affection. They were the ranking members respectively of the agency and the finance committees, and we may well suppose they were in truth and fact of the "inner circle" and entitled to Mr. McCurdy's designation as *his members*, for they are not men to play the figure-head in any company in which they serve as chairmen. No dummy directors were H. H. Rogers and George F. Baker; of that we may be assured. And with this fact in mind let us glance at a few of the many astounding revelations which came to light after the New York *World*, with the pertinacity and determination of a bloodhound on the scent of a criminal band, forced the reluctant Governor of New York to permit the investigation which he had so long refused to grant and which he seemed to think would prove a public calamity.

Under oath it was shown that the beneficent safeguards which once protected the policy-holders in the insurance world were broken down that the management of the companies might have full license to gamble with, appropriate and waste the funds of the most sacred of all trusts. Step by step the "Big Three" insurance companies advanced in political sway, and with that advance the bars that protected the money of the insured were lowered, while bills demanded for the best interests and protection of the policy-holders were summarily killed through political influence exerted by the insurance companies and by their lobbies. A typical example of this character is found in the strangling of the bill framed to compel the companies to print the whole contract with the insured in the policy. This provision, so eminently fair and just, would have occasioned no opposition if the insurance companies had been operated on the insurance basis instead of being the spoil of Wall-street gamblers and criminals.

The crowning infamy, however, of insurance legislation inimical to the interests of the policy-holders was found in the passage of the famous act known as Section 56, which cleared the way for the looters and the criminal band so long as complacent attorneys-general could be chosen who would be as wax in the hands of the insurance chieftains. It is a startling commentary on the power and character of boss and machine-rule in the Empire State that no district-attorney since the passage of that infamous measure, and no insurance superintendent since the faithless officials of the "Big Three" companies became dominant powers in politics, disturbed the peace of the criminal rich in their riot of lawlessness, corruption and crime.

It does not appear that in the early days the Mutual Company was as much in evidence in seeking to reduce the political or the law-making and governing machinery of New York to complete subjugation to the interests and desires

of the criminals who managed the great companies as were the Equitable and the New York Life, but later it seemed bent on distancing all its competitors in its record of shame. Its pernicious activity in this respect indicated that the master-minds at the helm did not propose that the policy-holders or the friends or the honor of the State should have any chance whatsoever for success through any measure that thwarted the selfish ends of the great money lords of the Street who had seized upon the vast treasures of insurance wealth.

From 1895 the Mutual maintained a house at Albany popularly known as the "House of Mirth." It was the headquarters of the Mutual at the State capital. Here open house was kept for the legislators. Here, too, was the headquarters of Andrew C. Fields of unsavory reputation, who controlled vast sums for the Mutual and who conveniently disappeared when the Armstrong committee desired his presence. Fields was the legislative Man Friday of the Mutual Life, as Hamilton was the prince of lobbyists for the New York Life.

In the year 1904 the books of the Mutual showed expenses charged to advertising, printing, postage and stationery amounting to \$1,134,833. Nearly all this enormous sum was expended in Mr. Fields' department. The care-taker of the "House of Mirth" was one Michael E. Mellaney, who receipted for many vouchers. Some were unquestionably for expenses of the house. Others appear as "for legal expenses." During the investigation of Mr. Mellaney Mr. Hughes asked the question:

"Are you a lawyer?"

"No, sir," replied the witness.

"Have you ever rendered any legal services to the Mutual Life?"

"No, sir."

"This voucher," replied the examiner, "for \$225 reads 'for legal expenses in full to date.'"

The witness said he did not know why he signed some vouchers for legal ex-

penses and some for services as caretaker. "Legal expenses," like postage, stationery, advertising and printing, appear to have been made by the inner circle or active officials of the Mutual the convenient cover for expenditures the character of which they did not dare to confess by honest entry on the books.

At this "House of Mirth" maintained by the Mutual at Albany, the influence of which could not be other than subversive of the interests of the policy-holders and demoralizing to the people's representatives, there resided, free of cost to the individuals, at least two of the people's legislators. One was Senator Charles P. McClelland, who prior to his election to the State Senate had been for six years the hired attorney of the Mutual Life Company, retained at \$3,000 a year. It was after he was elected to the Senate that he enjoyed a free berth at the Mutual's headquarters.

We get a hint of the kind of men that the insurance companies foisted on the people as law-makers in the following illuminating bit of testimony brought out by Mr. Hughes when Mr. McClelland was on the witness-stand:

"Q. 'Were you ever employed by the Equitable Life?'"

"A. 'I was never employed by the Equitable Life.'"

"Q. 'You do n't mean that, Senator, do you?'"

"A. 'I was never employed by the Equitable Life or any insurance company other than the Mutual.'"

"Mr. Hughes stared steadily at the witness for a moment or two, and then, handing him a piece of paper, asked quietly:

"'Is that your signature?'"

"The witness looked at it for some time, turned it over, shifted about in his chair, and then said:

"'It is.'"

"'I'll read this upon the record,' said Mr. Hughes.

"The paper was a voucher represent-

ing a payment to McClelland by the Equitable Life of \$3,500 on May 2, 1898. The body of the receipt was in McClelland's handwriting, a fact which he admitted. There was a blue stamp on the voucher, which in the Equitable office is used to indicate payments made in cash. On the corner of the voucher were written the words, 'F. Water Account.'

"Q. 'Are you prepared now to say positively you were never retained by the Equitable Life?'"

"A. 'I have no recollection whatever of this payment or of doing anything for the Equitable Life.'"

"Q. 'What is the meaning of "Water Account"?'"

"A. 'I do not know.'"

"Q. 'Is n't this whole voucher in your own handwriting?'"

"A. 'It is; the whole thing.'"

The *New York World* in an editorial published October 11, 1905, after referring to the policy-holders' money wrongfully contributed to campaign funds, thus referred to the even more dangerous methods of debauching political life and corrupting the people's servants employed by the insurance companies, which were known to and apparently approved by the acting directors who were cognizant of what was going on:

"But these contributions are insignificant compared with the hundreds of thousands of dollars annually paid for secret purposes and charged to the advertising, stationery and legal-expense funds.

"These payments were for corrupt purposes. The men who made them were ashamed to enter them truthfully on their books. The men who took them gave no receipts and rendered no services of record.

"Mr. Olyphant's testimony discloses a depth of degradation beyond the Hamilton or the Thummel or the Maine disclosures. Mr. Olyphant is a man of wealth, respectability and high social and business standing. He is President of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad,

director of other railroads, President of the Hudson River Ore Company and director of several banks and trust companies. He is not a dummy in them, and he was not a dummy director in the Mutual Life. He knew what he was doing when he drew out the cash and turned it over to 'counsel' for 'confidential' services.

"Does Mr. Olyphant do in his other corporations what he did in the Mutual?"

"Unless he had one ethical standard in the Mutual's affairs and another in railroad matters, a similar procedure must have been followed in his other corporate matters which legislation might affect. How many other prominent, respectable men are there in Wall street who have a financial, a moral and a political code of their own?"

These things are merely illustrative hints of the astounding revelations made by the Armstrong committee touching insurance corruption as it related to the politics of the Empire State—revelations that showed how the great predatory bands had become the absolute rulers and masters of the people in all insurance matters, governing so completely as to make them secure during long years marked by almost incredible corruption and criminal practices.

To the student of government no fact brought out by the Armstrong investigation was so strikingly significant or instructive as this illustration of how, through campaign contributions, through control of political leaders or bosses, some of whom were openly retained by generous fees as counsel, through compassing the elevation of tools to places of power, and by means of a powerful lobby, a few daring, unscrupulous and conscienceless men were able to make themselves the masters in the province of government which concerned their selfish interests, to this extent destroying popular government by making it the instrument for the protection of a privileged few while they plundered the innocent,

dissipated sacred trust funds and engaged in various kinds of criminal acts. The Armstrong committee uncovered a condition which affords a striking concrete illustration of the nation-wide evil against which the people are everywhere rising in righteous revolt—the domination of rulership of privileged groups or classes through party machines, corrupt bosses, unscrupulous agents and venal public servants; and it affords another example of the fact that government is always operated in the interests and for the benefit of the real rulers.

King Charles regarded the English people as his prey and sought to operate the government for his personal benefit. The nobility in feudal days ruled in the interests and for the benefit of the aristocratic few. The democratic monarchy of England after the passage of the Reform Bill ruled in the interests of the king, the aristocracy and the middle class. Now at length labor in Great Britain is asserting itself and the benefits of government are being extended to the proletariat.

With us, we have departed from the splendid democratic ideals of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, or rather have allowed unscrupulous, lawless and criminal bands to gain a sinister hold on city state and national government, and they have seized the opportunity to further enlarge their privileges and power, to further strengthen their hold on government, and to make it more and more responsive to their selfish ends and their inordinate lust for gold. This is one capital lesson impressed by the Armstrong revelations relating to the domination of political life by insurance companies.

With the law-making branch of government under control, with the examining and law-enforcing departments drugged to sleep or complacent to the wishes of the criminal rich who ruled the "Big Three," all was clear sailing, and we see the result to be precisely the same as has ever followed when irresponsible power is given to a privileged few who follow

their selfish wishes irrespective of the rights or interests of others.

The dividends to policy-holders in the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York had been liberal far back in the seventies, in the days which preceded the complete insurance control of the political situation, but these dividends rapidly fell as the riot of graft progressed which came in the wake of irresponsible control. President Richard A. McCurdy, basking in the favor of Messrs. Rogers and Baker—"my trustees"—and finding not only the "inner circle" but all those engaged in the company responsive to his wish, was soon enjoying a salary of \$150,000 a year, or three times that received by the President of the Republic. Notwithstanding the fact that he swore on the witness-stand to such astounding ignorance in regard to every important fact relating to the operations of the company that, did he swear truly, his own testimony would have convicted him of a degree of ignorance inexcusable in a feeble-minded individual whose brain capacity would not entitle him to a salary of ten dollars a week, there were some facts which he was forced to admit, and among these it was developed that thirty years ago large dividends were paid to the policy-holders of the Mutual, but that with the steadily increasing salaries and lavish expenditures on the part of the officials and favored employés there was a steady decrease in returns to the policy-holders. One case cited will prove illustrative. On one five-thousand-dollar policy the dividend decreased from \$149.96 in 1872 to \$110 in 1889, \$50 in 1893, \$22 in 1903, and \$7 in 1904!

While the policy-holders of the Mutual were being thus defrauded of their dividends, the McCurdy family income soared skyward. Thus it was shown that since 1884 Richard A. McCurdy had drawn in salary from the company \$1,841,666. Since 1886 his son, Robert H. McCurdy, had drawn in salary and commissions \$1,759,622; while since 1892 his son-in-law, Louis A. Thebaud, had received

from the company \$932,831, making a grand total of \$4,534,119 paid the three members of the McCurdy family within twenty-one years! Some idea of the magnitude of the graft enjoyed by these three guardians of the trust funds may be gained by calling to mind a fact pointed out at the time of the investigation: that the twenty-five presidents of the United States, from Washington to Roosevelt inclusive, during a period of 116 years received \$900,000 less than the amount paid to the McCurdys within a little more than a score of years.

The McCurdy incomes were typical of the wanton waste of the policy-holders' money that marked the administration of the company. It mattered not in what direction Mr. Hughes turned, he was sure at every step to come upon amazing exhibitions of wastefulness, corruption and criminality. As in the Equitable, so in the Mutual, syndicates were formed so that insiders could reap rich profits without risk. Thus we find Frederic Cromwell, treasurer of the Mutual and member of the finance committee, personally reaped \$26,371.52 from fifteen syndicates. In many instances Mr. Cromwell did not put up a cent of money or buy a bond. The following questions by Mr. Hughes and answers by Mr. Cromwell tell this story:

"Q. 'You participated in this syndicate?'"

"A. 'Yes.'"

"Q. 'Did you put up any money?'"

"A. 'No.'"

"Q. 'Did you buy any of the bonds?'"

"A. 'No.'"

"Q. 'But you received your share of the profits?'"

"A. 'Yes.'"

"Q. 'The Mutual Life contributed by its purchase to the profits of the syndicate available for distribution among its members?'"

"A. 'Yes.'"

In an open letter to Governor Higgins, published on September 26th in the New

York *World*, the editor calls the attention of the Governor to these facts:

"Directors of the Mutual Life bought two old charters, for one of which they paid \$30,000 and for the other \$50,000. This money was their own. They used these charters to organize two trust companies, issuing stock at a price of \$150 per share. They sold about one-third of the stock to the Mutual at from five to six times par.

"The trustees of the Mutual Life deposited its money at a low rate of interest in banks and trust companies in which they owned stock.

"They also formed syndicates and with the use of the policy-holders' money made more valuable their individual syndicate shares. They turned their trust funds over to subsidiary companies and made themselves beneficiaries at the policy-holders' expense."

As the revelations of insurance corruption by which the great companies became masters of the political situation as it related to the control of the insurance situation in the Empire State afforded a concrete example of the nation-wide effort of corporate or privileged wealth to gain control of city, state and nation, so the revelations of the inside workings of the great insurance companies of New York afforded a startling illustration of the prevailing methods among Wall-street gamblers and grafters—the prevailing practices of our criminal rich.

On October 8th the New York *World* thus concisely summed up some of the facts that had been established during the Armstrong investigation:

"Taking their own testimony, often in the form of written statements, it appears that the highest officials of the great life insurance companies have been guilty of violating not only the moral law and the ethical law of the community, but the insurance law and the penal code of the State of New York, both of which statutes are speedily enforced against small offenders.

"It has been confessed:

"1. That the three great life insurance companies, the New York Life, the Mutual and the Equitable, jointly maintained a lobby fund for the corrupt influencing of legislation and the Insurance Departments of the various states; that John A. McCall supervised the expenditure of this fund through his man Andrew Hamilton; that the policy-holders' money was used to pay lobbyists without legal warrant and in violation of the penal code.

"2. That the money of the policy-holders was given to political committees, which, as Governor Folk says, is embezzlement.

"3. That false books of account were kept in which these illegal payments did not appear. The falsifying of books of account is forgery.

"4. That officers of the companies, Mr. Perkins in particular, acted as trustees in dealing with themselves as individuals to their personal profit at the expense of the trust funds in their keeping. This is a flagrant violation of law.

"5. That subsidiary corporations were formed at the expense of the policy-holders, and that the trustees as stockholders in the parasite corporations used trust funds for their own benefit.

"6. That the McCurdys, the McCalls, the Hydes and the Alexanders paid themselves vast sums of the policy-holders' money and paid over other vast sums to their relatives; that even the bare forms of voting this money to themselves were not always complied with.

"7. That annual statements were made to the Insurance Superintendent which were not true, the making of which is a crime and the certification of which by the Superintendent was official misconduct.

"8. That money due the old policy-holders as dividends earned was taken to make up deficiencies on the new business caused by extravagant expenditure.

"9. That officials, John A. McCall among others, borrowed money from life-insurance companies of which they were



officers, in violation of the insurance law.

"10. That leading officials were guilty of forgery, of obtaining money under false pretenses, of embezzlement, of perjury, of issuing false statements and of official corporate misconduct.

"It is not disputed that all these have been done, and more."

It is not strange that these revelations checked the golden stream that had been pouring into the treasuries of the insurance companies, while they aroused the indignation of every lover of justice and honesty throughout the nation. Something had to be done in order to restore the confidence of the people and to prevent fundamental or drastic legislation which would bring the insurance companies back to the insurance basis and prevent their treasuries from continuing the spoil of the Rogerses, the Ryans and the Morgans. Hence house-cleaning committees composed of members of the various insurance companies were in order.

### III. WHY THE CRIMINAL RICH FEAR LITTLE FROM HOUSE-CLEANING COMMITTEES COMPOSED OF BUSINESS MAGNATES.

It will be remembered that on the very eve of the New York *Times*' publication of the official records that established the stupendous criminality of the Tweed Ring and its leading members, the great thieves secured a vindicating report from a committee of leading New York business men whose probity or integrity had never been questioned, and these gentlemen declared in so many words, as the result of their personal investigations, that: "We have come to the conclusion and certify that the financial affairs of the city under the charge of the Comptroller are administered in a correct and faithful manner."

So high was the standing of the men who composed this committee that the critics of the Ring were discredited, even

in the face of facts that should have been presumptive evidence of the theft of millions, and there can be little doubt but what the report of these prominent business men would have secured a lengthened term of official power for the great criminals had not the *Times* obtained and published the irrefutable proof of the theft of millions. In passing it should be observed that later it was discovered that these highly respectable New York business men were having their taxes remitted by the Ring.

Since that time, whenever criminality and moral turpitude on the part of influential political bosses, officials in important positions, or master-spirits of Wall street and the great corporations have been so well established that the public refuses to dismiss the charges against the criminals as irresponsible accusations of sensation-mongers, officials enjoying the confidence of the public or business men's committees have been called into requisition to allay the growing clamor for an honest outside investigation of the charges and the reports of these examiners who enjoy the confidence of the people have served to confuse the public mind and throw dust in the eyes of the masses, under cover of which the accused have been able to beat a successful retreat until new sensations and disclosures have diverted the attention of the public from their criminality. Not unfrequently they have even dared to pose as martyrs before the public.

Often these reports of honored public officials or of whitewashing committees composed of business men enjoying the confidence of the public have occasioned perplexity and amazement on the part of many thoughtful people. They have overlooked certain all-important facts without the consideration of which the actions that have discredited so many so-called investigations by people of eminent respectability are inexplicable.

Since the rise of the political boss and the perfecting of the partisan machine, officials who enjoy the confidence of the

public have been placed largely at the mercy of the boss and the great interests which control him and are the secret of his strength. To oppose the interests of either the so-called boss or his real masters means political destruction, while to be complacent to the interests and blind to facts means political security and advancement. So, even in a greater degree, are prominent men of Wall street and the world of business to-day beholden to the master-spirits of a few great corporations and financial institutions. Men naturally high-minded and who under just and honesty-favoring conditions would be strictly upright, soon become involved in a net of fatally downward-tending influences when they enter Wall street or become active heads of great corporations. Sometimes in the sudden turn of the wheel they find themselves in a close place where their business life is at stake, and at this critical moment one of the great master-spirits of Wall street comes to their aid and thus lays a strong claim upon them for future recognition of a kindness that saved the threatened ones from ruin.

Again, the great business interests, the public-service corporations, the trusts, monopolies and banks, are all inextricably bound together. Their interests not only overlap and intertwine, but the criminal rich in certain great and lawless trusts and corporations have reached a point where their word is law in many places where their influence is little dreamed of by the public. And lastly, none know better than the prominent men in the financial and business world what it means to seriously antagonize the Standard Oil Company or the Harriman, Morgan and Ryan interests. He who stands for old-time honesty and justice when such stand threatens the great dominant influences in Wall street, courts business destruction.

And thus it is that the master-spirits of the Street no less than the criminal rich who systematically corrupt the people's servants and defy laws enacted to protect the public from the rapacity of the great

commercial brigands, feel little dread of house-cleaning committees composed of members of the corporations under fire. It is important to bear in mind these facts as they explain and illustrate many things that have been perplexing the general public and are very germane to the subject under consideration.

#### IV. HOUSE-CLEANING COMMITTEES BECOME THE ORDER OF THE DAY.

Early in October the investigation conducted by the Armstrong committee had progressed far enough to show the criminal rich that they were in the hands of a political committee quite unlike the ordinary whitewashing committees which from time to time cover up scandals that are brought to light through the press and other agencies. Mr. Hughes had created consternation in the ranks by his searching methods and it was apparent that he could not be bullied or bribed to swerve from the path of duty. The developments also disclosed such a carnival of criminality in the great insurance companies under investigation that the master-spirits—not only those most conspicuous in the insurance world, but also the great Wall-street gamblers and heads of certain powerful corporations which had long directly or indirectly fattened off of the vast funds contributed by the policyholders—became thoroughly alarmed. The public had been aroused to a dangerous pass. The hour had passed when the exposures and revelations could be sneered at or denounced as sensational lies and malicious slander. A general demand had gone forth for the punishment of the great criminals and for the taking of the insurance corporations out of the hands of the criminal rich and the Wall-street gamblers and so safeguarding them that hereafter they would be conducted on an insurance and not a Wall-street basis.

To the perturbed spirits of the Street who had failed in preventing a legislative investigation, it was evident that some-

thing must be promptly done to allay the public clamor no less than to restore the confidence of the people in the insurance companies. Hence Mr. Ryan's unique plan for personal mastery of the Equitable behind an imposing front of respectability; hence the widely trumpeted acquisition of Grover Cleveland as a twelve-thousand-dollar-a-year "harmonizer" with headquarters in the quiet town of Princeton; hence the house-cleaning committees appointed by the New York Life and the Mutual Life.

It is with the Mutual that we are at present concerned. Conditions had reached a point where it was imperative that the members who composed the committee should stand high in public esteem and not be under the suspicion of being the tools of the McCurdys. The committee originally appointed consisted of William H. Truesdale, president of one of the great coal railroads, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western; John W. Auchincloss, a wealthy cotton-broker; and Effingham B. Morris, a Philadelphia banker. Mr. Morris refused to serve and Mr. Stuyvesant Fish was chosen to fill the vacancy.

Mr. Fish accepted the position only on condition that it should be agreed that faith should be kept with the people and that the committee be empowered to make a searching, thorough and honest investigation. He refused to become a party to a scheme to deceive the public or to whitewash those guilty of indefensible conduct and criminal acts.

These conditions were agreed to. Soon after the committee began its investigation the criminal element began to grow uneasy. It appeared that the same spirit that animated Mr. Hughes also dominated the committee. First it became apparent that the McCurdys were in danger. The sworn testimony touching this family, brought out at the Armstrong investigation, was of so damning a character that the more cautious of their friends in the Mutual early became convinced that it might become a disagreeable

necessity to make them the scapegoats for the sins of the company in order to retain the Mutual in the grasp of the Wall-street contingent.

But difficulties were in the way. There was some doubt as to how the McCurdys would take the proposition that they become the sacrificial goats or lambs for the guilty of the Mutual household. It was idle to imagine that the public would accept claims that the "inner circle" and the financial and auditing committees and various others who had been very active in Mutual affairs were in blissful ignorance of the riot of corruption that had long marked the management of the McCurdys' "missionary society," if the President and his son refused to be dumbly offered up and should insist on revealing all they knew.

Then again, the wrathful condemnation by the public of District-Attorney Jerome for his inexplicable refusal to move against the McCurdys might become so strong as to force his action, and then ugly facts and revelations might easily be brought out under examination that would be painful to the feelings and perilous to the freedom of parties high in insurance affairs.

Among those who advised the committee during its early meetings was Mr. Julian T. Davies, a director of the Mutual who served with Mr. Rogers on the agency committee and who was a little later appointed general solicitor for the Mutual. Mr. Davies as adviser of the committee in its early sessions strongly urged the advisability of at once compromising with Richard A. McCurdy, Robert H. McCurdy, and Charles H. Raymond & Company. But the members of the committee were in no mood to discredit themselves and add to the bad repute of the Mutual by attempting any such a task as the whitewashing of men whose wrongdoing was so clearly established.

It appears that the McCurdys, who had been so brazen and defiant, at length became alarmed as the character of the

forthcoming preliminary report became known to them, and on November 16th, at the meeting of the board, when the first bomb was thrown into the Mutual camp from the investigating committee in the way of a preliminary report, President Richard A. McCurdy made an address which, though well calculated to stagger even Mr. Rogers by its brazen audacity and recklessness, was perhaps chiefly noticeable for its artless humor.

#### V. MR. M'CURDY'S AMAZING ADDRESS.

In this speech it was evident that Mr. McCurdy in the presence of the aggressively honest stand taken by the committee had seen a new light since October 10th, when he testified before the Armstrong committee.

The reader will remember that it was shown by Mr. Hughes that under Mr. McCurdy's management the dividends of the Mutual had steadily decreased; that on one five thousand dollar policy the dividends had dropped from \$149.96 in 1872 to only \$7 in 1904. And it will also be remembered that President McCurdy defended this defrauding of the policy-holders of their dividends in his now famous disquisition on the Mutual as a "missionary society," in which he said:

"The Mutual Life Insurance Company was organized upon the theory of the men who introduced it at that time that it was a great beneficent missionary institution. Profits were not thought of, were not dreamed of. It was not the object to declare a dividend to a man; it was not the object that he should carry a policy of \$2,500 or \$3,000 and pay the premium of \$19.28, or whatever it might be, and then at the end of the year get \$7 and go home and spend it for cigars and billiards. The object was to insure as many men as possible and to pay them at the time of their death, and not during their lifetime one penny."

Yet in his address on November 16th before the board of directors of the Mutual we find him saying:

"It seems to me that additional efforts should be made at the present time by all departments to decrease the net cost of insurance to the policy-holders *and to increase their dividends*. This can best be accomplished by economies and the curtailment of our expenses."

It is difficult to imagine the trustees of the Mutual maintaining sober countenances during the address in which Mr. McCurdy gravely informed his associates that they had all "labored together for the common purpose of making the Mutual Life . . . *the most beneficent insurance company in the world.*"

And again, when referring to the plucked policy-holders he said:

"I assert that it has been conducted *for their benefit and for their benefit alone.*"

It was not, however, until the President reached the question of influencing public legislation that he shone as an humorist *par excellence*. On this point he said:

"I think also that a great reduction should be made in all expenses for legislative purposes. Indeed, for the future my view is that the defeat of proposed legislation hostile to the interests of the policy-holders should be left to them."

If Mr. Rogers had been in a mood to have enjoyed genuine humor, we imagine he would have highly appreciated this piece of drollery, as he and his friends of the "inner circle" and of the finance, auditing and agency committees remembered Section 56 of the Insurance Code. It is probable, however, that the gentlemen of the "inner circle" known as "my trustees" were not in a frame of mind to properly appreciate the artless humor of President McCurdy. A preliminary report was to be read and to go before the world that was not calculated to strengthen the position of those who were bent on

retaining their hold on the vast insurance capital for Wall-street purposes.

The first preliminary report furnished the board by the committee at this meeting was published to the world and was so widely discussed that it does not call for special notice at the present time. Sufficient to say that it contained a severe arraignment of the McCurdy management and made such radical and wholesome suggestions that it was hailed with satisfaction by the public, who entertained a belief that at last a committee had been found that would prove superior to the machinations of the sinister element that had long been in control of, or at least had exerted a powerful influence over, the Mutual.

We can easily understand, however, that certain officials and members of the board of trustees were seriously disturbed by the report, and certain it is that from November 16th friction developed in the Mutual household between the friends of aggressive honesty and those who dreaded the results of a searching investigation no less than the great Wall-street gamblers who were bent on retaining the Mutual on the Wall-street basis rather than on the insurance basis.

#### VI. THE FAMOUS REQUISITION WHICH CAUSED CONSTERNATION IN THE CAMP.

On the twenty-sixth of December the committee sent its famous requisition to acting President Frederic Cromwell, which appears to have struck terror to the hearts of more than one of "the powers that be" in the Mutual. It indicated that the committee proposed to conduct an honest investigation, without fear or favor, and that it proposed to go to the very root of insurance corruption in so far as it related to the Mutual, and furthermore, that the evil-doers might expect no white-washing at its hands. In order that the reader may gain a full understanding of the meaning of this struggle between light and darkness, between Wall-street

methods and common honesty, it will be necessary to give the substance of this requisition, which, it should be remembered, was signed by all three members of the committee. The communication begins with the following paragraph addressed to the acting president:

"The Committee appointed October 25, 1905, by the Board of Trustees of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, 'to examine into the organization, management and the affairs of the Company,' hereby requests from you, at as early a day as possible and in writing, duly verified by you or the heads of the respective departments, or others making the statements, the following information as to the management of the Company."

After explaining that the term "employé" is intended to include *the trustees and all officials of the company, from the president down*, as well as others in the pay of the company, the instrument, among other things, calls for:

"*First:* If any employé of the Company has any business relation with any other company or corporation in which the Mutual Life Insurance Company has stock or any interest, then give the name of such employé, his position with the other company or corporation, and the compensation he receives therefor. If any employé in any shape, manner or form has received or is receiving, directly or indirectly, any perquisites from the Mutual Life or such other corporation or company other than his salary or stated compensation, give the amount of such perquisites—why and how received, and for how long the same have been received, and what officer of the Mutual Life authorized the same.

"*Second:* Also a detailed statement of the holdings or interest of the Mutual Life Insurance Company in the Guaranty Trust Company, the Fifth Avenue Trust Company, National Bank of Commerce in New York, Commercial Trust Company of New York, Morton Trust Company, Lawyers' Title Insurance and Trust Company, Lawyers' Mortgage Company, Title Guarantee and Trust Company, Mutual Alliance Trust Company, Morristown Trust Company, Bank of California, and also in any other trust or title or safe deposit company or bank or banking company whatsoever. With this statement please give the date when each holding or interest was acquired, by whose authority and how it was acquired and what was paid for the same and from whom the same was acquired and to whom the payment was made.

"*Third:* A statement on date of last dividend payment, giving such date, of the individual holdings or interest of any trustee or officer of the Mutual Life Insurance Company in any of the institutions mentioned or referred to above.

"*Fourth:* Also a statement of all the terms of each of the leases or contracts by which the Company leases to any person or persons, firm, corporation or company any portion of its office buildings in

New York City, with a statement of who authorized such leases and when and through whom each was respectively made.

*Fifth:* Also a statement of all the loans of any kind since January 1, 1900, excepting loans on policies, made by the Company to any one of its employes, and a statement showing who authorized the loan, by whom the loan was negotiated, to whom it was made, in what form made, for how much, how it was and is secured, and what the rate of interest and evidence of indebtedness are and have been. If any such loans have been paid, date of payment, to what person paid and by whom paid.

*Sixth:* Also a statement of all dealings since January 1, 1900, of any kind, by which any broker or brokers, or firm, corporation or individual has sold to or for the company any stocks, bonds or securities or property of any kind, including all the so-called underwritings and syndicate participations by the Company—and here give the name of the broker or firm or corporation or individual—the property sold to or for the Company, what the Company paid or received for the same, to whom it made payment, by what authority it was authorized, and what became of the property, underwriting or syndicate participations.

"If in any way any employé (including officers and trustees of the Company) received any compensation or benefit from any such transaction, please state who he was, what he received, for what he received it, who paid it to him and what officer of the Company authorized such compensation or benefit to be given him.

"Also a statement of all underwritings or syndicate participations of or made by or for the Mutual Life Insurance Company from January 1, 1900, to October 1, 1905, either directly or indirectly, in its own name or in the name or names of other corporations or individuals; also a statement of the underwriting, interest or participation, direct or indirect, of every officer or trustee of the Mutual Life in the underwritings or syndicates above referred to.

"If in any way any officer or director or trustee or employé of the Company has by reason of and because he was in such relation to the Company received from or because of any such transaction any money or other thing of value, or any money or property of any kind belonging to or intended for the Company, give his name, what he received, when he received it and from whom he received it.

*Seventh:* Also a statement showing in detail the losses, if any, to the Company since January 1, 1900, on any property of any kind, real or personal, purchased by it, giving the names of the persons who sold the same to the Company, the sum for which the property was so sold to it and paid for by it, when it was so sold and who on behalf of the Company authorized the purchase and sale or either.

*Eighth:* Also a statement showing any transactions of any kind other than designated above, by which any officer, trustee or employé of the Company has received money or other valuable thing from or by reason of his connection with the Company, outside of and not part of his regular salary or compensation. If any such there be, give the details and the names of the persons."

The committee further requested that copies of the letter be transmitted to all

officers, trustees and heads of departments, and that notification be sent to employes to facilitate the collecting of the data.

In view of the general corruption that cropped out at every turn in the investigation conducted by Mr. Hughes, we can easily understand how real must have been the terror of some officials of the company. That they shrank in dread from the results of an honest investigation such as Messrs. Truesdale, Auchincloss and Fish had solemnly pledged the public and the policy-holders was clearly demonstrated by future events.

Clearly the time had arrived when a man was needed for the presidency acceptable to Wall-street interests and one who could be depended upon to hold up the committee and put a quietus on its action if it could not be driven from its brave stand for honesty and moral rectitude by such pressure as the Standard Oil Company so well understands how to employ.

Among the men considered for the presidency of the Mutual Mr. Charles A. Peabody was altogether acceptable to Mr. Rogers and those who were bent on putting a stop to the thorough-going investigation that the committee had undertaken and which in the opinion of the committee, up to December 26th, demanded the proceedings indicated in the requisition.

Mr. Peabody had been a personal friend of Mr. Fish, the member of the committee whose aggressive honesty and fearlessness had so alarmed the criminal rich and the Wall-street contingent. Mr. Fish had "made him," as the saying goes. Mr. Fish had introduced Mr. Peabody to Mr. H. H. Rogers and Mr. George F. Baker of the "inner circle." Mr. Peabody was the personal counsel of the latter. He was a prominent director in the Harri-man Union Pacific Railway Company, which the Standard Oil group controls. In short, he was the man of all men to serve the double purpose of supplying the company with a respectable figurehead and

of checking the aggressive action of the committee if it continued to prove refractory. At least, such seems to have been the well-founded conclusion of Mr. Rogers and his friends. Mr. Fish opposed the election of any president until the investigation had been completed, but "the interests" were in no mood to temporize, and he was overruled. Mr. Peabody was elected and the choice was heralded in the press as a triumph for the Standard Oil Company.

The requisition, it will be observed, did not stop short at the McCurdys. It sought to bring to light all facts relating to criminal or illegal acts, whether committed by men who were to be the scapegoats or by others who on investigation might prove to be fit wards for the State. It is difficult to imagine any reason why honest trustees or officials should have shrunk from the only kind of investigation that by any possibility could satisfy the more thoughtful public after the revelations of corruption, graft and criminality brought forth during the Armstrong investigation.

From the sending of the requisition of December 26th the relations between those who favored an honest investigation and those who were bent on a whitewashing report became more and more strained. That the new president was in accord with the Standard Oil contingent was obvious from his actions, and it soon developed that Mr. Truesdale had shown the white feather, as without the consent of Mr. Fish or Mr. Auchincloss he had told President Peabody that he need not comply with the committee's requisition at that time. This change of front on the part of Mr. Truesdale, of course, may not have been due to the opposition of Mr. Rogers and the Standard Oil contingent to the proposed thorough investigation, and no pressure may have been brought to bear to make him go completely back on his deliberate action recorded in the memorable requisition of December 26th. But there are certain facts that will obtrude themselves

in the reader's mind when he seeks for a plausible explanation of this astounding change of front. He will remember that Mr. Truesdale is President of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, on the board of which sit such men as William Rockefeller, James Stillman, President of the National City Bank of New York, better known as the Standard Oil Bank, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and George F. Baker; and, as Mr. Bullock pointed out in *THE ARENA* last month, "it needs no demonstration that men of this caliber do not sit in corporations for nothing, and they compel obedience from all in their employ, whether as presidents of their great railroad systems or as footmen on their carriages."

Whether pressure was brought to bear in a more or less brutal manner or not, whether a delicate hint was thrown out, or whether some other and less obviously probable explanation may account for this astounding recreancy to the avowed purpose of the committee in its investigation and to the course decided on deliberately and maturely before the signing of the requisition of the twenty-sixth of December with the approval of the distinguished counsel, we, of course, cannot determine. Certain it is that Mr. Truesdale deserted to the enemy and was followed by Mr. Auchincloss, leaving Mr. Fish to battle alone for the honor of the company and the good faith of the committee.

Mr. Peabody's failure to act with reasonable promptitude on the suggestions of the committee as outlined in the fourth preliminary report, issued on December 27th, in which the committee had urged that action be commenced against Richard A. McCurdy to recover excess of salary paid him, against Robert H. McCurdy to recover excess of payments, and against Charles H. Raymond & Company to recover any excess of payments or allowances made and to annul contract, at length called forth a memorable letter from Justice Peckham of the United States Supreme Court, dictated on Feb-

ruary 12th. Justice Peckham was at that time a director in the Mutual and he viewed with amazement the dilatory policy of the company since the election of Mr. Peabody, especially in view of the fact that the McCurdys were said to be preparing to fly to Europe. In his letter Justice Peckham said:

"I see that it is publicly stated that Mr. McCurdy is preparing to leave for Europe, to remain indefinitely. I think it would be an inexcusable mistake for the Mutual Company to permit him to leave this country without the commencement of an action against him in the name of the company, to recover back the money he may owe it. The Attorney-General might properly find fault that the company was not itself doing its utmost to reclaim the money wrongfully obtained by Mr. McCurdy, the chief delinquent in the case. As you may suppose, I take the greatest interest in the matter and I feel as if an action ought to be commenced before the departure of Mr. McCurdy for Europe. Does it not so appear to you? The Board, at its last meeting, as I understand it, gave authority to the President to commence any action which the counsel advised, and such counsel advised as to Mr. McCurdy that an action could be maintained against him.

"Surely no further delay ought to be had, which might result in Mr. McCurdy's departure without action against him. I write your Committee because your action carries great weight, and I hope it may be in the line of urging the immediate commencement of a suit against Mr. McCurdy."

The strained relations that had developed in the committee by the deflection of Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss from the course agreed upon and maturely marked out by all their number before the development of hostility on the part of the Standard Oil and Wall-street elements, were the talk of the Street during January and the early part of February. One man, however, seemed to have re-

mained in blissful ignorance of any friction,—a man who one would suppose would necessarily have known all about it. But Mr. Charles A. Peabody, the new president, seemed by some strange fatality to have become affected by the inexplicable ignorance that was the most conspicuous characteristic of the former president, Mr. Richard A. McCurdy, when before the Armstrong committee; for in the *New York Herald* of February 11th appeared a most astounding interview with Mr. Peabody in which the new president of the Mutual is reported as saying:

"As to published reports of dissension between members of the Mutual's investigating committee, I have no knowledge whatever except that derived from reading newspapers. I am not a member of the Truesdale committee, but I have never been informed of any serious disagreement between its members."

And again, in answer to the question: "Is it true, as reported in banking circles, that the investigating committee, under pressure, was persuaded to withdraw requisitions made by it for information bearing upon the actions of members of the company's finance committee?" Mr. Peabody is reported as replying in these words:

"That is not true. I do not know whence such reports emanate, but I do know that every request for information made by the Truesdale committee has been promptly complied with. Certainly neither members of the Board nor I have the slightest disposition to limit the scope of the committee's inquiries in any way, but, on the contrary, it is our desire to cooperate with it fully.

"If the members of the committee today will make any request for information bearing upon members of the finance committee, or any other individuals, or having to do with any department of the Mutual or any phase whatever of its business, I will see to it that the organization's



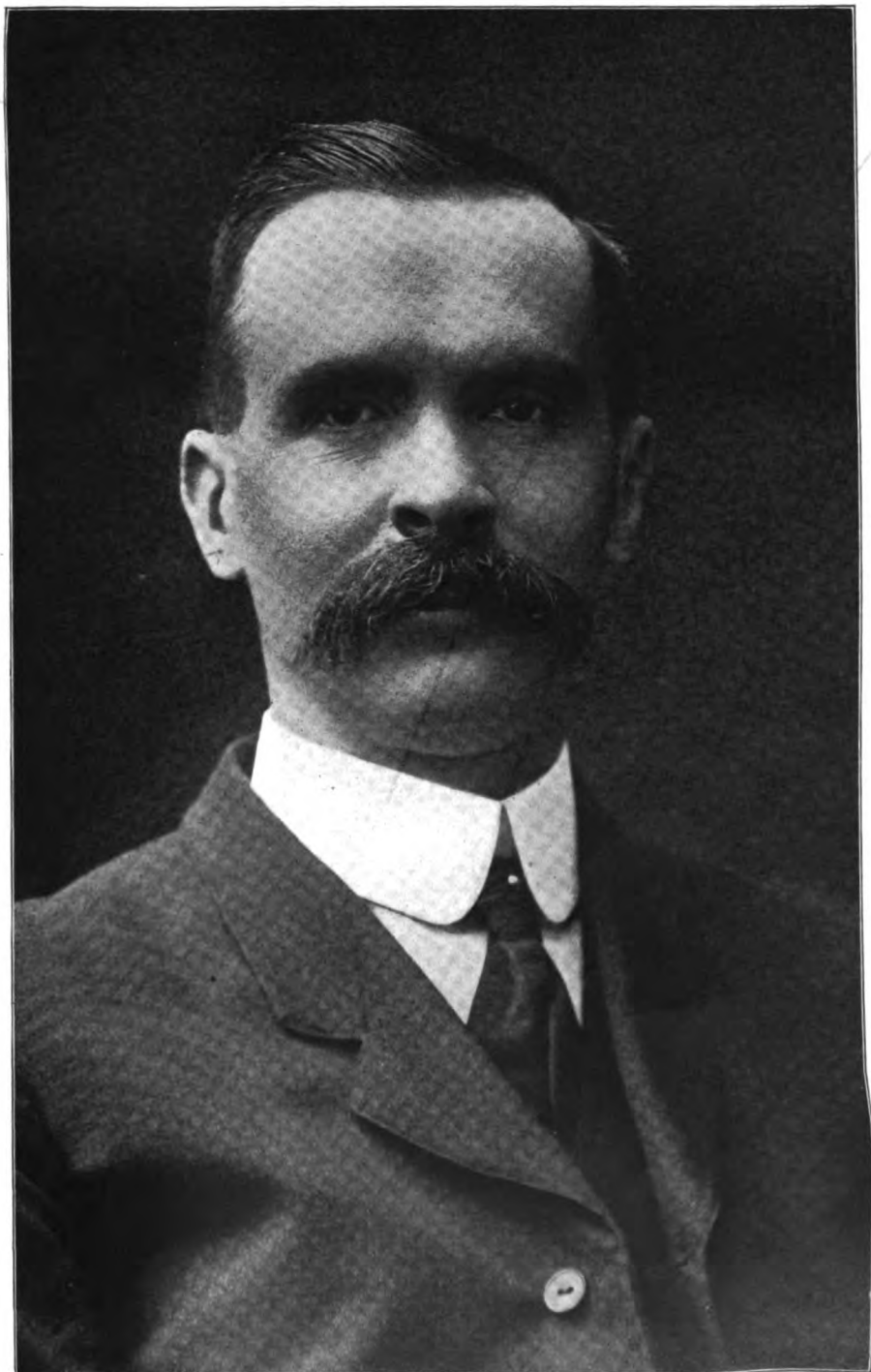


Photo. by Furdy, Boston.

**ALBERT BRANDT**



resources are exhausted, if necessary, to comply promptly with any such request."

The *New York Herald*, it should be observed, has generally been favorable to Mr. Peabody and the Standard Oil faction in the Mutual controversy. Indeed, its articles on the insurance issues, written by its Wall-street bureau are commonly reported to be shaped in Mr. Harriman's office before being published. There is, therefore, no reason to question the accuracy of this journal's report of Mr. Peabody's words. Yet it is difficult to conceive as possible such ignorance of friction existing in the committee, which everyone but the president of the Mutual seems to have been perfectly cognizant of and which had long been the subject of newspaper reports and editorial comment no less than of general discussions in Wall street and among the banking interests; and quite as difficult is it to reconcile the statement that every request made by the Truesdale committee had been promptly complied with, in view of President Peabody's letter dated February 13th and referring to the requisition made December 26th on the acting president of the company. The letter read in part as follows:

"Referring to the letter of December 26, 1905, from the Special Committee of which you are Chairman, addressed to Frederic Cromwell, and handed to me, as his successor in office, by him for attention, and following the lines suggested in the several interviews with you and the other members of your Committee on this subject, I beg to submit the following views:

"*First*, the members of the Board of Trustees. As to these I do not feel that I am called upon, or indeed have any right to conduct such an inquiry as you ask me to make.

"*Second*, the employés of the Company.

As to these, it is of course practicable for me to conduct such an investigation as is contemplated, and if it becomes necessary I shall not hesitate to do so. I submit, however, to your consideration the suggestion that it can result in no good purpose as to a very large percentage of the whole number, and to throw such a disturbing influence into such a large force, which is already to a certain extent disorganized, when all that you are seeking can be readily obtained without such an unfortunate consequence as I should anticipate, ought not to be done if any other way of accomplishing the desired purpose can be found."

If every request of the committee had been promptly complied with, as Mr. Peabody sought to have the public believe, how did he come to write on February 13th, or three days later than the publication of his positive statement in the *Herald*, a letter relating to the requisition made December 26th and arguing against the wisdom of complying with the mandatory communication which the committee had felt necessary if an honest and thorough investigation was to be made? And why did he so positively intimate that he would decline to comply with that part of the communication relating to interrogating the trustees?

Whether or not, as intimated by the *Herald*, any pressure had been brought to bear upon the committee to compel the members to change front, the action of Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss at the meeting held February 15th, at which the letter of President Peabody was read, was precisely what it would have been if such pressure had been brought to bear upon the President of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad and his fellow committeeman; while the subsequent action of the Standard Oil forces in their war against Mr. Fish, who refused to violate his sacred pledge to the public and the policy-holders and do as Mr. Rogers and his associates desired,

leaves little room for doubt but what, had Mr. Truesdale failed to comply with the wishes of the element that shrank from an honest investigation, he would have been relieved of his imposing position in the business world as head of an important railroad.

At this meeting, after discussing the Peabody letter, Mr. Fish offered a resolution which was voted down by Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss and which provided for the requisition to be sent to each member of the board of trustees together with Mr. Peabody's letter, and requesting the individual trustee named in the letter to answer the questions set forth in the communication of December 26th. Later in the same meeting Mr. Fish offered the following resolution:

*"Whereas*, upon the 26th day of December, 1905, this Committee made a requisition upon the then President *pro tem.* of the Company, Mr. Cromwell, calling for certain information deemed necessary by this Committee in its investigation, and

*"Whereas*, thereafter the Chairman of this Committee, without the authority of this Committee, informed the present President, Mr. Peabody, that he need not comply with such requisition for the time being:

*"Resolved*, that the President of the Company be requested to comply with said requisition forthwith."

This was also voted down by Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss.

With the defeat of Mr. Fish in the committee it became clear that no comprehensive, honest and thorough investigation, such as had been promised when Mr. Fish accepted the position on the committee, was longer desired or to be permitted. The Standard Oil influence had triumphed. The lid was to be put on and kept on. There was therefore nothing left for Stuyvesant Fish but to resign and let the world know the facts. This he did.

#### VII. THE AFTERMATH.

The action of the majority of the committee in yielding to the opposition, after going so bravely forward for a time, has puzzled some people. If, however, we bear in mind the multitudinous influences exerted by the master-minds among Wall street high financiers, to which I have before referred—the power of friendship and association, the dependence of the smaller men on their more powerful associates, the power and the disposition of the great corporations and their chiefs to crush those who refuse to be otherwise subdued—we may find the clue to the change of front after Mr. Rogers and his associates secured the election of Mr. Peabody to the presidency of the company.

In the action against Mr. Fish we have another concrete illustration of the methods of the Standard Oil Company and other ill-famed corporations of like character. No sooner had it become apparent that Mr. Fish was going to fight to the finish for honesty and the prosecution of the criminal rich, no sooner was it settled that he could not be bullied, bought or otherwise silenced, than the ukase went forth that he must be driven from his position of honor and power in the financial world. For years he had served as President of the Illinois Central Railroad and had built up a powerful railway system. It was his realm, so to speak. He had refused to become a Wall-street gambler. He had shrunk from the methods of the railway wreckers and gamblers of the Street. Now it was determined to punish him by driving him from the presidency of the Illinois Central. Harriman, the chief railway man of the Standard Oil group, was selected to carry forward the campaign, and the war was on. How it will end we do not know; but while there can be no doubt but what the vast resources of the Standard Oil will be brought to bear against the man who would not betray his trust and sell his manhood; while it is certain that covert

as well as overt action will mark every step in the conflict, and that every weapon known to unscrupulous and corrupt wealth will doubtless be called into requisition, Mr. Fish will have with him the moral sentiment of the nation, and it is a favorable sign of a changing order in public sentiment that the vast majority of the great and influential daily, weekly and monthly journals of the country are outspoken champions of the intrepid friend of common honesty in this great battle against criminal wealth.

The issue involved is far greater than is at first apparent. It is in fact merely one battle in a nation-wide war between the forces of honesty and dishonesty; between the people and the aggressions of the criminal rich; between the Republic and the despotism of a conscienceless, lawless, rapacious and insolent oligarchy that must be overthrown if the Republic is to be preserved.

ALBERT BRANDT.

*Trenton, N. J.*

## THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.\*

### II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS—(*Continued.*)

BY HON. J. WARNER MILLS.

#### *The Pageant of the Throne-Powers—The Railroads.*

**P**ATIENTLY have we witnessed the procession of the throne-powers, and the pageant is now nearly by. We have seen the brisk step and the bold stride of the Denver Utility corporations and of the Coal-Trust and of the Smelter-Trust, and we must now remain a few moments longer until we get a glimpse of the step and stride of the arrogant Railroads.

Who shall say the last word about the railroads? Certainly not a soul now living. Probably long before the last word shall be spoken, new or improved inventions will shape the word. It is more than probable that electricity may supplant steam, and it is among the possibilities that compressed air, or some other form of power, may supplant both. Through some power cheap and effective every farmer may yet make an "auto" of his wagon, and loaded with his pro-

duce operate his own train to distant markets. If aërial navigation is ever made cheap and easy and reasonably safe, then the last word upon railroad monopoly will be quickly and effectively spoken, even though the transportation magnates,—like the magnates of the telegraph with wireless telegraphy,—buy up the patents and prepare to exploit the high-arched vault of the heavens as aviciously as they have exploited the round earth. But we must not linger longer on the future, for the present holds us in chains. We do not so much need the last word as we need some word—any true word, even though old and oft-repeated—that will help us comprehend the present magnitude of the railroad question and to realize its far-reaching, vital connection with the social, moral and economic life of the people.

#### STARTLING FACTS.

There seems to be no phase of the railroad question that is not appalling from the magnitude of its figures. Edward

\*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1906, number of THE ARENA.

A. Moseley, the secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, during January of the present year gave to the public the following facts:

That about 100 persons control 90 per cent. of the railroads of the United States.

That in seven years the freight traffic has doubled, and the passenger business has increased 75 per cent.

That so infinitesimal an increase as one mill per ton per mile on the traffic of last year would amount to \$174,522,089.

That in 1904 the tons of freight carried on all the railroads of the United States were 1,300,000,000 and the passengers carried numbered 715,419,000.

That the total number of freight-cars was 1,760,000 and of passenger-cars 40,000 and of locomotive engines 40,000.

That the total railway stocks were \$6,339,899,000, and the total funded debt was \$6,873,225,000, making the total stocks and bonds \$13,213,124,000 or about one-seventh of the total wealth of the United States, given in the last census as \$94,000,000,000.

That the total earnings of all railroads per day was \$5,500,000.

That the total trackage was 215,000 miles, not counting second tracks or sidings, or 300,000 miles when such second tracks and sidings are counted, and that 65 per cent. of all the railways are embraced in seven systems.

He might also have told us that in the above-mentioned stocks and bonds there was not less than \$6,000,000,000 of "water," and that freight and passengers are annually robbed of millions upon millions of dollars to pay annual interest tribute to the idle holders of this fictitious and non-existent wealth.

#### LAND-GRABBING RAILROADS.

It early became the policy of the general government, under the pressure of financial plunderers and conniving officials, to turn the great railroads of the west into land-grabbers and land-speculators and land-auctioneers.

In addition to land grants and subsidies the government in certain instances, as in the case of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads, stood good for the bonds of the road. The natural outcome of such a policy has been to introduce the railroad influence into the economic life of the people of the West in a way and to an extent wholly unknown and unrealized by the remainder of the country. Mr. Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States, says:

"The grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company is enormous—no one disputes that."\*

Speaking of the same grant Mr. Justice Field, late of the same bench, says:

"It is 2,000 miles long and 40 miles wide, making an area of 80,000 square miles, a territory nearly equal in extent to that of Ohio and New York combined."†

Prior to September 29, 1890, when the act was passed repealing all unearned railroad land-grants, there had been granted to the railroads 155,504,994.59 acres.‡ With such a profligate hand were the people's lands turned over to the corporations! And now the people must deal with the corporations to get them back. Up to June 30, 1892, the railroads had earned and received patents for 56,483,804.37 acres.‡

When the "Bucklin Amendment" campaign, referred to in a previous article of this series, was in progress, W. A. Richards, acting commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington, under date of September 15, 1902, wrote to Rev. S. W. Sample, then of Denver, as follows:§

"In reply to your letter of the 4th inst.,

\*Barden v. Northern Pacific R. R. Co., 14 Sup. Ct. Rep., 1,040.

†*Id.* 1,034. The land-grant statutes are cataloged at p. 1,034.

‡Encyc. Social Reform, title "Public Domain," p. 1,147. It is here shown that these grants were not necessary to induce the building of the roads.

§The original letter here referred to is in my possession.

I have to advise you that the most reliable data on file in this office shows the area of lands in Colorado, granted to aid in the construction of railroads, to be as follows:

Denver Pacific (clear limits),...	965,920.80 acres.
Denver Pacific (conflicting with U. P.),.....	163,379.37 acres.
Kansas Pacific,.....	2,328,054.16 acres.
Union Pacific (clear limits),...	504,167.11 acres.
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>3,961,521.44 acres.</b>

As above stated these enormous land-grants, in Colorado and elsewhere, have turned the railroads into landlords and they have not only been royal proprietors throughout the domain of their particular roads, but they have also been political masters throughout the state. Their power, naturally great, has been augmented by their lordships, and it has dominated political conventions and has insinuated itself into legislative halls and courts. An impartial study of legislation, judicial decisions and administrative functions in the several railroad land-grant states would of itself be peculiarly instructive and no doubt startling. While it is now too late to wonder how in a republic like ours these vast landed estates could have been deliberately handed over to the railroads, still it is not too late for the historian to give us the true story of these landlord corporations, and of their land-grabbing descent like Huns and Vandals upon the public domain and of the extent of their guilt in debauching officials and in oppressing the people. For the present, however, it satisfies our purpose to point out that thousands of people in Colorado, and especially in the northern part of the state surrounding the capital, have constantly been mixed up in landed relations with these corporation proprietors, and have always more or less manifested a tenant's fear of offending his landlord. This is an economic fact and should be remembered in considering the ill-formed sentiment and the laws of the state in reference to railroads.

RAILROAD LEGISLATION.

It is not entirely accurate to say, as it is often said, that Colorado is one of the few states in the Union that is without any railroad law whatever. If the remark were to the effect that Colorado is one of the few states that has no railroad commission or tribunal of any kind charged with any specific duty in the way of reporting, supervising or controlling the railroads, then the remark would be perfectly true. What little railroad law there is in this state is of the most general and inconclusive character and much of it is in favor of the railroads, as will be seen by the subjoined note.\*

\*The constitution provides that all railroads shall be public highways and all railroad companies shall be common carriers and shall have the right to intersect, connect with or cross any other railroad (Art. 15, Sec. 4); that there shall be no consolidation of paralleled or competing lines (*Id.*, Sec. 5); that there shall be no preference to individuals, associations or corporations in furnishing cars or motive power, and no undue or unreasonable discrimination shall be made in charges or in facilities for transportation of freight or passengers, within this state (*Id.*, Sec. 6). As comprehensive as this provision appears to be it has been held by the Supreme Court of the United States that it confers or creates no new right or duty but merely confirms the common law. *Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé R. Co. v. Denver and New Orleans R. Co.*, 110 U. S., 674 (1883). These are substantially all the constitutional provisions as to the conduct, supervision or control of railroads.

The specific statutory provisions in the premises are equally meager and an outline of the same is as follows: Right of railroads to cross each other; cars stop at crossings; fireguards and fires; claim agent to be appointed to settle damages and overcharges; liability for killing stock; conductors, engineers, firemen, brakemen and telegraph operators not to work for more than eighteen consecutive hours without eight hours' rest; bicycles to be carried as baggage; blocking between rails; lighting of switches; no railway bicycle or push-car to be on track without consent; guaranteeing mortgages or interest of connecting lines; protecting title to rolling stock until paid for (§ 2 and 3 Mills Ann. Stat., Chap. 105, "Railroads"). Incorporation of railroad companies; consolidation of domestic and foreign railroads; leasing and reorganizing; foreign, owning lines in Colorado may extend and build branches to same, buy connecting lines of road and hold and own stock in such connecting lines (1 and 3 Mills Ann. Stat., Chap. 30, "Corporations"). These are the only specific provisions on railroads. All others, such as the revenue act, the criminal code, eminent domain, death by wrongful act, etc., are

## ROUTING THE RAILROAD COMMISSIONER.

In 1885 there was passed a railroad commission act\* providing for one commissioner, with advisory and inquisitorial powers only, and with a term of two years and an annual salary of \$1,800.

The railroad lobby was so unscrupulous and powerful, however, that but one commissioner—and he the first—ever drew any salary or made any elaborate printed report. This pernicious lobby prevented any appropriation being made for the salary or the expenses of the railroad commissioner, and thus effectually defeated the purpose of the act. A few grafting politicians were successively appointed railroad commissioner, but the lobby had no compunction in repudiating the state debt for the commissioner's salary and expenses, although past due and owing, and the office soon fell into such disrepute among office-seekers and grafters that no patriot could be found sufficiently self-sacrificing to fill it.

After this act had been thus rudely handled through several successive administrations, with no governor or legislature brave enough to rescue it from the football tactics of the railroads, the lobby finally secured its repeal in 1893, and exultingly boasted of its strength in passing the repealing act by a two-thirds vote over the veto of the populist governor, Davis H. Waite.†

Eight desultory years, in only two of which was there any life in the commission and in all of which there was a bush-

general, embracing the railroads only incidentally with other persons and subjects. The common law that applies to railroads for injuries and torts is the people's chief reliance. The legislature has never yet passed an act making railroads liable for killing stock, that would pass the muster of the courts. Three successive acts upon this subject have been declared unconstitutional. See 2 and 3 Mills Ann. Stat., Secs. 3,712, 3,713; 1885 act: *Wadsworth vs. Union Pacific R. Co.*, 18 Colo., 600, 33 Pac., 515; 1891 act: *Rio Grande Western R. Co. vs. Vaughn*, 3 Colo. App., 465, 34 Pac., 264; 1893 act: *Denver and Rio Grande R. Co. vs. Thompson*, 12 Colo. App., 1, 54 Pac., 402.

\*Laws 1885, p. 307.

†Laws 1893, p. 405; veto message, Sen. Jour., 1893, p. 1,248.

whacking fight between the people and the railroads over the matter of the appropriation for salary expenses, is the extent of Colorado's experience with commissions or legislative supervision or restraint of any kind in regard to the railroads. What a disgraceful commentary on corporation dominion and official treachery!

With the people thus betrayed by their chosen servants, who fell in abject servility before their master, there is more than simile or fiction in treating these dominant corporations as imperious throne-powers. What king upon his throne could do more than make his will the law and nullify statutes that met with his displeasure? True, he might do it easier and more directly, but he could not do it more effectively. But in a republic, the fact of indirection is itself a crime when it lends itself to selfish and powerful interests to override the people and to undo their solemn enactments.

Why prate of anarchy and point to the man with the torch, when in the multitude of examples, such as that now before us, we see railroad and other corporations turn into a veritable "Jack the Ripper" and sandbag and strangle the life out of a beneficent statute? When their own heroic measures fail them in the dark alleys of legislatures and executive chambers, still they do not fail, for it is then that they appeal to the courts.

## DARK-ALLEY SLUGGING IN LEGISLATIVE HALLS.

The railroad lobby infests every session of the legislature. Numerous bills to establish anew a state railroad commission have been repeatedly slugged in the dark alleys of our legislative halls. Some of these measures have been meritorious, while others have been cunning "cinch" bills to hold up the railroad. This latter class of bills is generally given by the railroads as the excuse for maintaining a vigilant lobby. This is a mere excuse, however, for the lobby lies in waiting to slug any bill seeking to subject the rail-



roads to state supervision of any kind, especially as to rates within the state, or to prevent discrimination between persons or places or to make railway travel more convenient, comfortable or safe. If moral suasion and argument were alone relied upon and it were not known that money and passes would rain like hail on every measure involving railroad interests, the "cinch" bills would not have a peg to hang upon, and only the bills demanded by the people that could stand upon their own merits would be enacted into law. But the policy of the railroads is to kill every railroad bill, by ways fair or foul, that is demanded by the people, regardless of its justice or merit. A policy inherently so vicious necessarily requires an unscrupulous lobby to put it into execution. With the lobby comes the "cinch" bill and the grafters. A fair method of procedure, both to railroads and to the public, is indicated by the following photographic letter:\*

Here was given a fair opportunity for conference, discussion and argument, and unless the railroads are prepared to say that the invitation was given in bad faith and was merely the grafters' way of calling for money or passes or both it should have been accepted and utilized and treated as indicating the only proper means of influencing legislation.

In a campaign so conducted no money or passes would be necessary or permissible—unless it would be the insignificant expense of printing arguments and briefs. But the railroads, unaccustomed to a campaign so innocent, had already selected their bills for slaughter in the legislature of 1903, and according to their method in using the lobby, the first subject of consideration was, of course, the important matter of "expense." Under date of February 14, 1903, in a letter to President Burt of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, written by its Denver attorneys, we find both bills and expense discussed as follows:\*



SENATE CHAMBER.  
DENVER, COLORADO.

Denver, Colo. Mar. 10, 1903

Messrs. Yeller & Dorcey,

Attys. for The Union Pac. R.R.

Dear Sirs:—

I am instructed by a majority of the Senate Committee on Railroads and Corporations to notify you that the Committee will take up for consideration Senate Bill No. 53, A Bill for an Act Creating a Railroad Commission, on Friday evening, March 13th, at 8 o'clock P. M. in Room 15, 2nd Floor of the Capitol Bldg., at which time we would be glad to have you appear before the Committee if you would care to do so.

Very truly yours,

*J. Frank Adams*  
Chairman.

"DENVER, Colo., February 14, 1903.

"HORACE G. BURT, Esq.,  
President,

"Omaha, Neb.:

"Dear Sir—Referring to the situation in the Colorado Legislature, we beg to hand you herewith the following bills introduced in the Legislature, which we deem to be adverse to the interests of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. These are:

"Senate bill No. 58, by Senator Hill, providing for interest on damages for personal injuries.

\*This bill was introduced by Senator Ballinger, January 14, 1903, and referred to the Corporation and Railroad committee. March 10th and 16th Senator Ballinger sought to have it taken up and made a special order but was defeated, the first time by a vote of 18 to 8 and the second time by a vote of 15 to 10 (Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 733, 799). March 17, 1903, the above chairman, J. Frank Adams, reported the bill adversely because of "the large undeveloped districts of Colorado and the demands for railroads to the same, a railroad commission is

uncalled for at this time, as it might militate against railroad construction"! (Sen. Jour., 1903, p. 834.)

Governor Waite, in his veto message referred to above (Sen. Jour., 1893, p. 1,248), shows that there were then 34 railroad commissions in the United States and that none of them had ever injured or retarded railroad interests in any way. Putting the above invitation and report together we are left to infer that the railroads not only accepted the invitation but overwhelmed the committee.

"If this bill becomes a law it will greatly increase the amounts recoverable in suits for personal injuries, and we think the same should be defeated, if possible.

"Senate bill No. 166, by Senator Kennedy, is intended to completely remove the doctrine of assumed risk in cases of personal injury or death suffered by an employé. This is important to all large employers of labor, and especially so to railroad companies, and should be defeated if possible.

"House bill No. 181, by Mr. Frewen, provides penalties for failure to comply with existing statutes in respect to safety appliances, etc. This bill is revolutionary in its character, and every effort should be made to defeat it.

"It is possible that some expense may be incurred by the railroad companies in connection with legislative matters. Will you kindly advise us whether Union Pacific Railroad Company is willing to pay its share of any reasonable expense incurred in this connection?"

"Yours very truly,

"TELLER & DORSEY,

"EncAD *General Attorneys.*"

From this letter, and the one of February 5th given below as to repealing the provisions of the revenue act requiring all corporations to pay an annual license tax, we see that the matter of "expense" was made the subject of a common fund; that is, that a legislative corporation fund was created to kill the bills referred to and that to such a debauching fund the Union Pacific Railroad Company was asked to contribute "its share."

How effective this procedure was, let the legislative journals tell the tale. Senate bill No. 58 was introduced by Senator Hill, January 15, 1903, and February 27, 1903, it was slaughtered by having its enacting clause stricken out.\* Senate

\*Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 142, 629.

bill No. 166 was introduced by Senator Kennedy, February 2, 1903, and referred to the committee on labor, where it was smothered until the last day of the session, when on April 6th, Chairman Ward, of that committee, reported that it be laid upon the table "for want of time to consider it."†

House bill No. 181 was introduced by Mr. Frewen, January 30, 1903, and referred to the committee of the whole February 27, 1903, but presumably because it was so "revolutionary" (?), despite its early reference to the committee, the committee of the whole was not permitted even to discuss or consider it, or at least it did not discuss or consider it, and there was no one to save it from dying the death decreed it by the lobby.‡

We are able to give the reader a photographic copy of President Burt's reply to the above letter of the Denver attorneys. It is as follows:



SUBJECT Legislation in Colorado.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

Omaha, Feb. 16, 1903.

Dear Sirs:

Yours of the 14th, enclosing copies of Senate Bill No. 58, Senate Bill No. 180, Senate Bill No. 166, Senate Bill No. 178, House Bill No. 48, House Bill No. 187, House Bill No. 162, and House Bill No. 215, received.

All of these bills are more or less objectionable, and should be defeated. Whatever expense needs to be incurred in connection with legislative matters, you are authorized to make.

Yours truly,

*W. A. Burt*  
President.

The railroad letters here inserted are taken from a small pamphlet *Behind the Scenes*, (New York Labor News Company, 2 to 6 Reade street, New York), where the reader will find many other interesting letters showing the raw, commercial basis on which the railroads use passes to secure official action and influence.

Here, as also in the letter below of February 5th, is given the high sanction of the president of the Union Pacific Rail-

†Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 268, 1,384. The session lasted from January 7, 1903, to April 6, 1903.

‡House Jour., 1903, pp. 284, 637.

road Company to organize a corporation fund not only to kill the bills referred to in the letter above of the Denver attorneys, but also to promote their own bills and to kill other "objectionable" bills. Again, the journals tell us how well they succeeded. Senate bill No. 120, to prevent the destruction of baggage by railroad companies, was introduced by Senator Graves, January 29, 1903, and March 12, 1903, the chairman of the committee on Corporations and Railroads, J. Frank Adams, reported that it be "indefinitely postponed as needless legislation."\*

Senate bill No. 195, to require railroads to pay damages for live stock killed by them, was introduced by Senator Drake, February 2, 1903, and referred to the committee on Corporations and Railroads. February 12, 1903, it was reported correctly printed, by the chairman, J. Frank Adams, and that was its end,—it was smothered to death in his committee.†

House bill No. 127, to release persons of assuming risk if injured while the railroads fail to block frogs, was introduced by Mr. Smith, January 28, 1903, and referred to the same committee on Corporations and Railroads and died the same death as the last bill above, after it was reported correctly printed February 11, 1903.‡

House bill No. 215, to repeal certain sections of the revenue law relating to railroads and other corporations, was introduced by Mr. Max Morris, February 2, 1903, and referred to the Finance committee. February 23, 1903, it was referred to the committee of the whole without recommendation, and there it hung and strangled.§

But we come now to a bill that did pass both houses. House bill No. 48, to require branch or connecting railroads at the switch where they unite with a main road to keep a light burning from sun-

down to sun-up, was introduced by Mr. Stephen and was passed in both houses *without a single adverse vote.*||

This remarkable result of absolute unanimity in both houses upon a railroad bill receives a flood of light from the following letter written by one of the Denver attorneys of the Union Pacific Railroad Company to his superior in New York City:

[Copy.]

"DENVER, Colo., May 18, 1903.

"Hon. W. R. KELLY, General Solicitor, U. P. R. Co., 120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

"My Dear Judge KELLY— . . . I wish to state briefly some of the results which have been accomplished. . . . [enumerating about half a dozen cases culminated by judgment for the defendants].

"Many other matters have been disposed of to the advantage of the railroad company, but it is unnecessary to refer to them specifically. *No recovery of any kind has been had against us during the last year.*

"At the last session of the Legislature, although many bills were introduced which would greatly prejudice the railroad company's interests, *no legislation was enacted* to our disadvantage. On the contrary, several acts were *passed* which were *favorable* to railroad companies, some of which had been caused to be introduced by the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

"With kindest regards, believe me,

"Yours very truly,

"CLAYTON C. DORSEY."

Note in this letter and in the letters above to President Burt how the underground wires run from the capital of Colorado to Omaha and New York. With a system so perfect and only seven systems to unite in order to control 65 per cent. of the railroads of the country, do you wonder, reader, as stated by Mr.

\*Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 249, 770.

†Sen. Jour., 1903, pp. 282, 484.

‡House Jour., 1903, pp. 243, 419.

§House Jour., 1903, pp. 274, 576.

||House Jour., 1903, p. 679; Sen. Jour., 1903, p. 1,245; Laws 1903, p. 405; 3 Mills Ann. Stat. (2 Ed.) Secs. 3751f-3751h.

Moseley, that 90 per cent. of the entire railroads of the nation are controlled by a plotting cabal of a hundred men?

In the tremendous power so dangerously concentrated reflect, also, how, without any noise or publicity, these designing destroyers of the Republic can dictate our laws, make our constitutional amendments, influence public policies, corrupt public officers, pervert the functions of legislatures and courts, coerce the selection of the United States senators and congressmen, and of governors and judges and other officials in both state and nation.

How is there any room to doubt that the above House bill No. 48 was one of the acts passed "which were favorable to railroad companies," and "which had been caused to be introduced by the Union Pacific Railroad Company"? What do the people think of their government and of their public officials when they see, as here they must, how the corporation corruption fund is raised, and, as shown below, how rebates and passes are used as opiates and bribes, and how the railroads gloat over their unprecedented successes in legislature and courts? See, too, how "labor representatives" are dickered with by the lobby to line them up with the interests of the corporations, and how, also, the railroads reach out to control legislation to the advantage of their patrons.

Here is a letter that lays bare this peculiar method of their legislative operations:

[Copy.]

"September 23, 1903.

"THE LARIMIE BROOM CO., Larimie, Wyoming:

"Gentlemen—During the last session of the Colorado Legislature a bill was presented and passed taxing convict-made goods\* sold in this State, which is in effect a discrimination against these goods, which practically precludes their ship-

\*This was House bill No. 206, by Mr. Garman, and is now Chap. 149, Laws 1903, same 3 Mills Ann. Stat (2 Ed.), Secs. 3450a-3450k.

ment into and sale in Colorado. This bill we sought to defeat in your interests, but, as you know, labor conditions were such that this bill, with some others, was used as a compromise measure with the labor representatives to effect other legislation not entirely in their interest. We deeply regretted our inability to prevent the passage of the bill, but, since it has now become a law, we have investigated its validity and are firmly of the opinion that the bill is wholly unconstitutional, chiefly for the reason that it is a regulation of Interstate Commerce, which subject of legislation is vested solely in the National Congress. There is a way to raise the question in our courts and if you desire to continue to prosecute your business in Colorado after a legal battle, which we believe would be neither lengthy nor very expensive, we should be pleased to take the matter up with you and attempt to secure for you the rights which it was impossible to maintain owing to the circumstances above detailed in respect to the passage of the bill.

"Respectfully,

"TELLER & DORSEY."

What they lose in the legislature they propose to find in the courts even if, as it appears, they are compelled to suggest and solicit the litigation themselves. These letters afford the rare opportunity of seeing the "respectables" of corporation plunder mixing their own brew. What does the reader think of it?

At this point, as much as we regret to bring our railroad discussion to an abrupt end, it seems that space limits require it should be done. Our consideration of discrimination, rebates and passes, and their corrupting social and political effects, and the high-handed overthrow of the revenue laws of the state by the railroads in their pursuit of cheap taxation—all of which make a startling revelation in themselves—must, for the present, be put aside with the mere suggestion that if they can be equaled they

certainly cannot be surpassed in any other part of the country.

ADIEU TO THE PAGEANT OF THE  
THRONE-POWERS.

The pageant of the Throne-Powers has now passed by and you have seen each dominant trust and corporation as it took its proud place in the line. You have seen the corrupting Utility-Trust of Denver, the water company, the tramway company, the gas and lighting company, and the telephone company; and you have seen their debauching methods and their tainted franchises and wealth. You have seen the blighting coal-trust with its national head, the defiant land-grabbing Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and its lesser but equally ambitious companions in shirking taxes and queering elections—The Victor Fuel Company and The Northern Coal and Coke Company. You have seen the vampire Smelter-Trust enveloping in black clouds the mining industry of the entire country, and the mark of Cain put over the portals of our School of Mines by the Guggenheim gold. You have seen the railroads become vast landed proprietors dominating the state, and political masters wiping out laws with a whisk, and enacting and defeating legislation at will. You have thus seen the real powers that not only control, but that practically run riot in Colorado. They are barons of privilege with their distended maws stuffed full of the choicest franchises, lands and opportunities that are to be found in the West. These economic food-stuffs so essential to the industrial blood of the body politic cannot be appropriated and gulped down by a plundering few without seriously disturbing, even unto death, the alimentary life of the victimized many. Upon economic meat so choice and ample “do these our Cæsars feed” that they practically monopolize the whole supply. The anæmic masses must starve, or scramble for the scraps and bones that our Cæsars throw to their dogs. You have seen, too, the

way these Cæsars got this meat, sometimes by open deal, gift or blandishment, but more often by the spoliation of fraudulent devices, stock-jobbing, “watering” bonds and stock-wrecking franchises, receiverships, litigious overreaching in the gamut of the courts, legislative corruption, ballot-box stuffing, tax-dodging, bribery and fraud. But this meat is power, and having all the meat, of course they have all the power. They can make laws for others and break them for themselves. They sit above the law in the *aula regis* they have taught our highest courts to resurrect from the crumbling tomb of the ancient conqueror of England. Even now they, or some of them, wave their wand and tell us that at the municipal election in Denver, May 15, 1906, traction franchises must be renewed for the Tramway Company on every street of the city, good for twenty years, and good in Wall street for twenty-five million dollars of bonds, and without any surrender of the Tramway’s insolent claim to a perpetual franchise, nor for any consideration whatever except the pittance of \$55,000 a year; and we see they have both political machines kowtowing to the boss and zealously scheming to carry a favorable vote for this obnoxious franchise. They are also manipulating the registration in hostility to their opponents and are devising other methods to circumvent the adverse voter and if need be to count their franchise in at all hazard, as they have heretofore counted in a municipal charter and a mayor.

If they had any respect for the courts and loved liberty and law, would there have been any of the trifling with judicial warrants and process we are soon to write about at Telluride and Cripple Creek? And would we not have been spared the national disgrace of an official kidnaping of Colorado citizens in the night, to be torn by Pinkertons from friends and home and borne on a special train to a distant state? No all-important act like this could be done without permission of

the Throne-Powers. In the next two articles to follow, the Throne-Powers cannot be hid from view when we see the eight-hour struggle in Colorado and see how the scale was turned to make unequal the struggle between the strugglers. Later we may have a word as to the remedy; but for the present, as heretofore, we can but admonish that these are not the days for slumber, and that the friends of liberty must keep their lamps trimmed and burning and no light must go out. In the Throne-Powers of Colorado they must also see the Throne-Powers of all the states and also of the

nation, and, indeed, of other nations too; and know that the problem that confronts the people now is not local but national,—and international as well. In Colorado the chance to get-rich-quick has appreciably intensified the struggle, and the struggle will continue, intermittently it may be, but still it will continue until the people learn how to destroy monopoly and privilege, and then the Throne-Powers will be quickly driven from their throne.

*(To be continued.)*

J. WARNER MILLS.

*Denver, Colo.*

## THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY: ITS AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS.

BY WILLIAM DIACK.

**I**N A remarkable passage in his "Democratic Vistas" Walt. Whitman says: "I expect to see the day when the like of the present personnel of the governments—Federal, State, municipal, military and naval—will be looked upon with derision, and when qualified mechanics and young men will reach Congress and other official stations, sent in their working costumes, fresh from their benches and tools and returning to them again with dignity. The young fellows must prepare to do credit to this destiny, for the stuff is in them."

There is a touch of rare prophetic insight in these words of the good gray bard of Democracy written nearly forty years ago. In New Zealand and Australia, in Germany, France and Italy—indeed, in every European country—in the United States, in the new British colonies in South Africa, a great world-movement is manifesting itself in favor of the independent representation of Labor. Names, parties, leaders and programmes may differ, but the underlying principle is in every

case the same. In Russia old forms of government are in the melting-pot, and what new system will supplant the despotism of centuries few will be bold enough to predict. In Britain the first great battle of Labor is over. Now the hurly-burly's done, the battle fought and won, and the working classes have emerged triumphant. The Labor candidates have been more successful at the polls than even the most optimistic of reformers had dared to hope. Few indeed expected that the new Parliament would contain fifty representatives of the working-classes,—and yet, inclusive of the members returned by the great miners' unions and the Liberal-Labor members of Parliament, even this number has now been exceeded.

Working-class members of Parliament are of course no innovation in British politics. So long ago as 1868 Mr. Cremer and Mr. Howell came forward as independent spokesmen of the working-classes, a large number of whom had been enfranchised by Disraeli's bill of the pre-

vious year. They were unsuccessful, it is true, but they made a grand fight—a fight which even to this day is looked upon with pride by the older school of trades-unionists. In due course, however, both won a place in the British House of Commons as working-class supporters of the Liberal party, and along with them went Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Joseph Arch—the faithful friend of the British farm-laborer—Mr. Burt, Mr. Fenwick, and a stalwart band of representatives of the mining electorate. But in every instance these members were returned as supporters of the official Liberal party. During the last Liberal Government Mr. Keir Hardie was the solitary representative of the independent Labor movement. On his hapless head official Liberalism poured the vials of its wrath. But in spite of bitter, even venomous, opposition the Labor movement grew, and its principles, as they were more clearly understood, began to find favor among the trades-unionists of the country. The Trades Congress, representing the great army of trades-unionists, declared in favor of the new party, and ten years of Tory rule and class-legislation did much to consolidate the progressive forces of the country. How significant has been the advance of the Labor movement during the past fifteen years will be readily gathered from the following tables:

*Labor representatives in 1900:* Miners, 5; Liberal Labor, 4; Independent Labor, 1.

*Labor representatives in 1905* (previous to dissolution): Miners, 5; Labor Representation Committee, 5; Liberal Labor, 4.

*Labor representatives in 1906:* Labor Representation Committee (including 2 miners), 29; Other Miners, 14; Liberal Labor, 16.

To these may be added one Irish Unionist and five Irish Nationalists.

But from the progressive standpoint the chief feature of the election has been the success of the candidates of the Labor Representation Committee—the L. R.

C., as it is familiarly termed; and a brief statement of the programme, composition and policy of this organization may be of interest to American readers. It is no body of mushroom growth, but one that has been built up slowly, year by year with much shrewd foresight, so as to include in its ranks the best elements in the trades-union and progressive working-class movements. It is a federation composed of trades unions, trades councils, Socialist societies, and coöperative societies willing to join and considered eligible for membership. Its object is: "To secure by united action the election to Parliament of candidates promoted in the first instance by an affiliated society or societies in the constituencies who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on Labor questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with, or promoting the interests of, any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties, and not to oppose any other candidates recognized by this committee. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by the decision of the group, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labor candidates only."

The affairs of the Labor Representation Committee are transacted by an executive committee of thirteen members (and the number has not proved unlucky so far as the recent elections have been concerned). Of these, nine represent the Trades Unions, three the Socialist societies, and one the Trades Councils. The committee has a membership of 1,000,000 and it is the proud boast of its leaders that the working classes of Britain are now in a position to maintain 200 of their number in Parliament. A party fund has been established in order to assist in defraying the election expenses of the candidates and in contributing to the support of those who may be successful at the polls. According to the present arrangements the L. R. C. pays 25 per cent. of the returning officers' expenses

of approved candidates and £200 per annum towards maintenance of such candidates who are elected to Parliament. At present a levy of one penny per annum is paid by all the affiliated trades unions, but even this trifling sum represents an annual income of considerably over £4,000 a year.

The Labor Representation Committee was originally a sort of offshoot from the Trades Congress, and was founded in 1899. Its present chairman is Mr. Arthur Henderson, who has been returned as Labor M. P. for one of the divisions of Durham. Mr. J. R. Macdonald was appointed its first secretary, and he has been at the helm of affairs ever since. It is to Mr. Macdonald more than to any other single individual that the new party owes so much of its success at the elections. This Scharnhorst of the Labor party, as he has been called, is a native of Lossiemouth, a little fishing village on the coast of Morayshire, and is sprung from the sturdy race of peasants who have done so much to make Scotland great at home and revered abroad—to alter slightly the well-known words of Burns.

The political programme of the new party is in many respects frankly socialistic. Of the 29 L. R. C. members, 21 are Socialists, 7 of these being active workers in the Independent Labor Party. So also is one of the best known of the new Miners' members of Parliament, while—apart from Mr. John Burns—at least half a dozen well-known Socialist workers are included in the Liberal Labor group. In most of the election addresses of the Labor members the nationalization of the land, railways, canals and mines figured prominently; while several were bold enough to add the whole “means of production, distribution and exchange.” The gravity of the unemployed problem was fully recognized. The “right to work”—although the phrase and the principle which it embodied were jeered at by official Liberalism—was a battle-cry which found a responsive echo in the hearts of hundreds of thousands of British

workmen. The duty of the State to provide work for those who are willing to work and cannot find it was boldly insisted on, this new conception of the meaning of citizenship being strenuously advocated even by those of the old school of trades-unionists who repudiated all sympathy with the Socialism of Mr. Keir Hardie and the Independent Labor Party. Farm colonies, afforestation, reclamation of foreshores and waste-lands, a reduction of the hours of labor (in most of the addresses an eight-hour day was proposed), reform of the land laws and the granting of wider powers to municipalities were among the numerous solutions put forward for the great problem of non-employment.

The working-class candidates—whether Labor or Liberal Labor—were Free Traders to a man. “Thou shalt not tax the people's food” has been the verdict of the working-classes on Mr. Chamberlain's Protectionist nostrums. With regard to Chinese labor in South Africa, too, they spoke with undivided voice. “Remove the stain”—Mr. J. R. Macdonald's expressive phrase—sums up the attitude, not of the Labor members only, but of the whole British democracy on this important question.

But the first place in the Labor programme is naturally occupied by the Amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act and the law relating to trades unions. By the Taff-Vale and other well-known judicial decisions the accumulated funds of the British trades unions have been practically placed at the mercy of unscrupulous organizations of employ-és, and tens of thousands of pounds have already been swallowed up in fruitless litigation. A bill to amend this state of matters—the Trades Disputes Bill—passed its second reading by a large majority last session of Parliament, but was killed in Committee by an organized capitalist opposition. To the passing of this bill the new Labor party will first devote its energies in the new Parliament, and the Liberal Government has pledged itself



to make at least considerable concessions in this direction.

Mr. J. Keir Hardie, although perhaps more advanced than some of his colleagues, is still perhaps entitled to speak with more authority on the objects of the Labor party than any other single member who could be selected. He has had considerable Parliamentary experience. His zeal, energy and ability are undoubted. Even his political opponents cordially recognize his manly and upright character and his sincerity of purpose. The worst they have to say of him is that he is something of a visionary and an idealist. But even in politics that is a failing which leans to virtue's side. It is an evil omen for a nation when its young men dream no dreams and its old men cease to see visions. Mr. Hardie's address to the electors of Merthyr Tydvil (from which constituency he has been elected in spite of much strenuous opposition, by a magnificent vote of over 10,000) may therefore be taken as fairly representative of the aims and aspirations of the Labor party as a whole, and on that account we quote from it some characteristic paragraphs:

“As a democrat, I am opposed to every form of hereditary rule, and in favor of conferring full and unfettered powers upon the common people. In this connection I include women as well as men.

“As religious belief is a personal concern, I am opposed to its enforcement or endowment by the State—either in church or school. Every school which is being supported by public money should be under public control, and the teachers, as civil servants, should be freed from the responsibility of giving religious instruction. Education being a national concern, the cost should be borne by the National Exchequer.

“As a convinced Free-Trader, I am opposed to any flirting with Protection, whether disguised as Preferential tariffs

or a zollverein, or retaliation, or any of the many aliases under which it is proposed to foist Protection upon the nation. I would abolish the Customs House altogether, and do away with all forms of indirect Taxation, save the excise duties upon spirits; repeal the coal tax, denounce the Sugar Convention, and make good the loss to the Revenue by a special graduated tax on unearned incomes.

“It is as a Socialist, a Trades-Unionist, and a social reformer that I base my chief claim to your support. The working-class, professional men, and shopkeepers are all struggling—some few to make a competence, but the great majority to earn a livelihood. Millions are steeped in poverty, whilst millions more are but one degree removed from it. While the useful classes toil and suffer, the owners of land and capital, and the schemers and gamblers of the Stock Exchange, are heaping up untold wealth. Whilst the poor die for lack of the barest necessities of life, the rich revel in a riot of excess. Great accumulations of wealth menace our liberties, control the great London organs of the press, lead us into wars abroad, and poison the wells of public life at home. Landlordism and capitalism are the upper and nether millstones between which the life of the common people is being ground to dust.

“It was a contemplation of these things which led me to become a Socialist, and to take an active part in building up a Labor party separate and distinct from all other parties; and it is for the electors of Merthyr to say by their votes how far they are in agreement with me. My one object in politics is to aid in creating the public opinion which will sweep away the causes which produce poverty, vice, crime, drunkenness and immorality, and introduce an era of freedom, fraternity and equality. This ideal state cannot be reached at one step, but much can be done to mitigate some of the graver evils arising out of our present system of wealth pro-

duction. The immediate object of the Labor Party is to create a driving force in politics which will overcome the inertia of politicians in regard to social reforms, and give the nation a strong, true lead along the paths which make for national righteousness. To see that children are properly fed and cared for, that the able are given an opportunity to work, and that comfort is brought into the life of the aged, are objects worth striving for. These things lie outside the domain of ordinary party politics, but they must be attended to if the nation is to be saved from decay; and should I again be returned as your representative, it will be my main concern to see that they are attended to."

Such, then, are the men and such the

principles of the new party which has come into prominence at the general election in Britain. Carpenters, masons, compositors, shipwrights, farm-laborers, miners, engineers, gasworkers, railway-servants, ex-civil-servants, shoemakers, navvies and weavers,—these are the men whom the Labor party has chosen to testify in Parliament to the principles of the new Democracy. The working-class electors have approved of this choice, and the future of the Labor party in Britain depends very largely now on the record and achievements of its members in Parliament during the next five years. "The young fellows must prepare to do credit to this destiny, for the stuff is in them."

WILLEAM DIACK.

Aberdeen, Scotland.

## CHARLES H. GRANT: MARINE PAINTER.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES,

Author of *In and Around the Grand Canyon, Indian Basketry: and How to Make Indian and Other Baskets, Indians of the Painted Desert Region, etc.*

**I**T SEEMS almost trite to say there is a great difference between a marine painter and a landscape painter. Yet there is a far greater difference than even many so-called skilled artists suppose. It is an undisputed fact, however, that where there is one good marine painter there are a score or a half-hundred good landscape painters. In painting a landscape, while the artist sees a vast amount of changing quality in the clouds, shadows cast, sunlight, waving of the trees, movement of water, the effects of the wind on the grasses, fields of grain, etc., there is equally a vast amount of stable quality in the immovableness of the trees, the rocks, the hills, the course of the streams, etc. But in a seascape, the artist finds nothing stable, nothing at rest. From zenith to nadir, and at every point on the horizon, everything is in motion. Nor is this all; not only is everything in motion,

but when one is studying a vessel, the vessel itself is in motion with everything below, around and above it in different motion. The sea has its own motion in relation to the vessel, the clouds and sky have theirs, and the hull, masts and sails change their position against the changing background of sky, clouds, and, if near a shore, shore-line, land and horizon every moment, thus affording a complex problem of movement that only a most careful observer and student, a rapid "transfixer" of the scene and a man gifted with an extraordinary memory can possibly reproduce. But, even this is not all the difficulty. Many sea scenes cannot be gained from the stable shore. The painter must go on a boat and be tossed to and fro on the unstable sea himself, thus complicating the problem of movements, and rendering more difficult the observation and carrying away of

the impressions that it is desirable to reproduce. Then, too, it is essential that a sea painter have a knowledge of his subject above that of the ordinary landscape painter of his subjects. He must know all about the craft he pictures; something about currents, and their effects upon moving vessels; the wind and its effect upon sails; and the technical handling and setting of sails; he must know water in all its moods from the placid, pearly-faced calm to the demoniac-voiced ten-thousand-times giant-sized stormy wave, that dashes over a large ship and drives it to death on the hungry rocks beyond. The fact is, a

marine painter cannot paint on the spot. He must study and know, until everything he would present is a part of his very self, has become so completely his own, that with paints and brush in hand, and canvas before him, he can create his picture from his own inner consciousness. This it is to be a creative artist, as distinguished from a mere reproducer of nature, a copyist or a technician.

With such problems as these to contend with, in addition to the difficulties of learning his art, it is not to be wondered at that few men care to serve the long and tedious apprenticeship that is absolutely essential ere any man can be classed as a true painter of the sea. Here is a case where love, delight, pleasure, must become the soul of art. Without such love, no man, or few, would ever undergo the long training and disciplining necessary



Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

"HOMEWARD BOUND."

and the disappointments that come from failure.

Hence, when one discerns on the horizon the dawn of a new and true marine painter, he feels that he is doing his readers a service in calling their attention to the fact, with the reason for the "faith that is within him," and in the hope also that such notice will encourage the worker to continue until all readily acknowledge his high rank.

Such a painter we believe Charles Henry Grant, born in 1866, at Oswego, N. Y., to be. Spending the first years of his life alongside a lake it was natural that he should early develop a passion for the water. Indeed, from before he could remember it was his joy and delight. As a swimmer he loved the water, and when he grew older and could not have a boat he went out upon it on a raft.

Whether in calm or storm, it was all the same to him. He loved it, and he soon knew its every mood and expression. At the same time the lad had a natural love for drawing and the use of colors, and made many little pictures that pleased his playmates and friends.

But one day, when still a schoolboy in knickerbockers, he learned that a lady had just received a large painting of a shipwreck off Oswego harbor, in Lake Ontario, painted by the Boston artist, Elwell. With desire in his heart and trembling in his knees he went to the home of this lady, determined to ask for permission to look at it. That picture was *Fate*, leading him on. When he reached the door and knocked, his agitation was so great as almost to suffocate him, and had he had the strength he would certainly have run away. With stammering tongue he told the lady of his desire, and of course, in a moment his pleading eyes had gained the request his lips could scarce request and he stood before the picture. It was six or seven feet long, and, to the untutored eyes of the lad, a masterpiece. His interest so awakened the interest of the owner that she drew him out in conversation and bye and bye, when he shyly said he would give a great deal to be able to copy it, her condescension in telling him to come and do so, almost took away his breath. But there was enough young America in him to hold him to his desire, and purchasing canvas, brushes and paint, he set to work, and on a reduced scale, painted the picture. The writer would give much to see that boyish attempt, but Mr. Grant refuses to say what disposal has been made of it.

There, however, was his inspiration, and though but fourteen or fifteen years of age at the time, he has been painting marine pictures, and scarcely anything else, ever since.

Before leaving the subject of this picture of Elwell's, it may be interesting to relate that two years ago Mr. Grant was invited to the home of Mr. James Eggle-

ston, president of one of the great trans-continental express companies, who was interested in long-horned cattle, some pictures of which he wished Mr. Grant to see. As the artist entered the drawing-room, imagine his wonder, surprise and delight to see on the walls this picture that had been his youthful inspiration. It transpired that the lady who owned it was Mr. Eggleston's sister, and, upon making a European trip, she had left it in her brother's care. When Mr. Grant was asked what effect it had upon him, now that he himself was a trained and skilled artist, he said "that while of course it was not the wonderful picture that it had appeared to him to be when a boy, he still felt its strength and power." This clearly shows two things, namely, that, even in his raw days he had the artistic perception, and that the picture was great enough to have given him a true artistic impulse.

After a season at the National Academy of Design, New York, he became one of the five American pupils the great marine painter, M. F. H. DeHaas, allowed himself to have. This master-artist had been honored as the court painter to the Queen of Holland, had been given the decoration of the Legion of Honor, was a Chevalier of the Order of Leopold of Belgium, and was a man capable of inspiring his pupils with his own high ideals. Young Grant was filled with the desire to accomplish. The water of the lake had appealed to him, and now he learned the greater power of the vast ocean. The waves became to him the symbols of eternal unrest; he saw in their wild and rough tossing, whether dashing upon a rocky shore, over a pier, submerging a struggling vessel, or in a storm in mid-ocean, the acme of beauty and grace. Here were united hundreds, nay thousands, of curves of all sizes and shapes, moving, scintillating in the sunlight; giving forth the iridescence of a thousand rainbows; imprisoning in their moving forms, moment after moment, the fire and sparkle of the diamond,

the glow and color of the sunrise, and the flaming glory of the sunset. When the water flowed in long steady rolls, there was the emblem of gently exercised but irresistible power. A vessel, no matter how great its size or heavy its burden, was moved as it moved, with the same ease that the wind blows along a winged seed of the dandelion. But it was the fierce motion of the sea that appealed to him; smooth water had but few attractions, and he has painted few and will doubtless paint fewer smooth-water pictures. The turbulence of the sea found a responsive note in his own soul.

Nor was this all, in the ships themselves, as he grew in knowledge of them, there was a growing attraction. With their bird-like motion, their outspread sails sensitive to every movement of cloud or wind, and reflecting every mood of sky and sun; the ease and grace with which they ploughed their way through dashing waves, this also found a responsive sense within him. Then, too, when out on the ocean in a sailing vessel, he felt himself in close touch with the real things of life. He was away from the shams and frivolities of cities; the conventions that hamper, and restrain, and dwarf, and repress! Here all was bold, open, frank, free and real. Nature was exposed in the fearlessness of innocence and power.

Needless to add Mr. Grant has been to sea a number of times in every craft imaginable. His adventures properly told by a Kipling would equal those of *Captains Courageous*. Boat, scow, brig, yacht, schooner, steamer, tramp, pilot-boat, on all has he traversed the briny deep. Perhaps what he regards as his



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"AHEAD, FULL SPEED!"

most notable trip was taken in 1887 on a North American pilot-boat. Going out to Sandy Hook, he was "on the station" waiting three days. "On the station" is a phrase used by pilots, and means that pilot-boats, as they arrive at the station, are required in their order numerically to cruise back and forth outside the light-ship for the purpose of taking off outgoing pilots, hence the phrase "on the station."

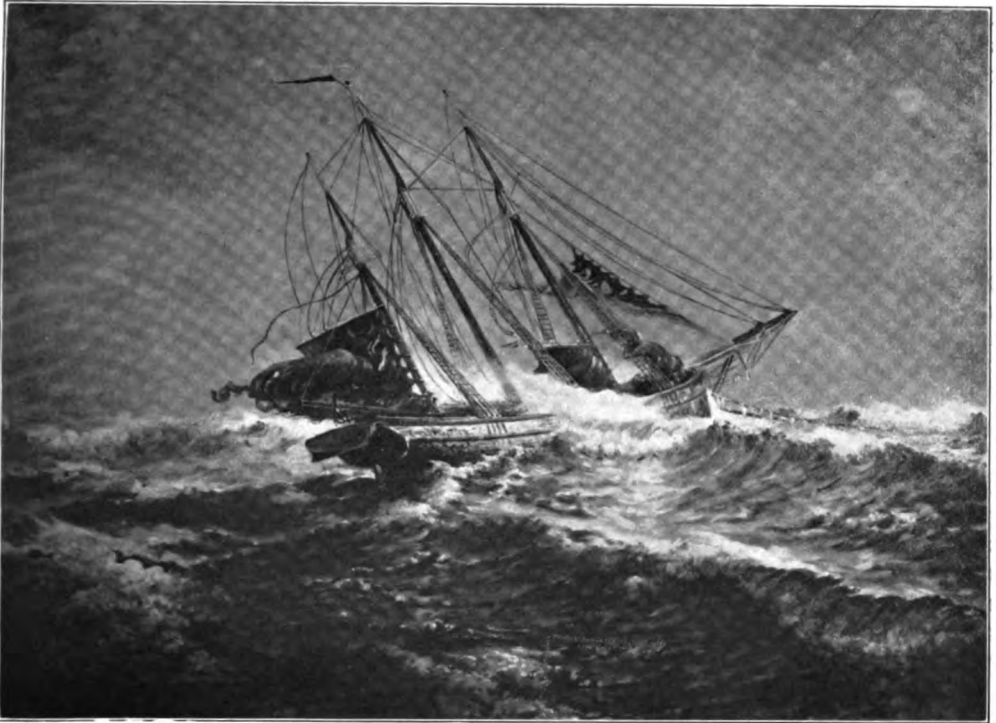
Pilot-boat number twenty-one, upon which Mr. Grant was, soon took number twenty's place and cruised back and forth for three days. Then her turn came and she set off to take her chances, for that is really what it is. A small boat, a mere speck on the boundless ocean, especially in stormy or cloudy weather, absolutely

takes frightful chances of never being seen again. It is not like the fishing vessels that have their own "zone" where steamers seldom intrude, but the very nature of the work of the pilot-boats requires that they stay in the path of the monster steamers that would plough down so small a boat and never know of its existence. The pilot-boats were, at that time, small, staunch, deep-draft schooners, carrying amidships on deck two small yawls, which are launched for the purpose of transferring pilots to boats that may need their services. When signals can be seen in the daytime the signaling is done by means of flags, and the steamer knows that here is the pilot-boat, while the pilot-boat on showing her signal is immediately informed by a replying signal on the steamer whether the pilot is required or not. At night the pilot-boat displays a flare at the stern and the steamer has corresponding replies, but it is in a fog that the greatest caution and vigilance must be exercised. On the pilot-boats they have a fog-horn that operates by turning a crank just like a barrel-organ, and if any one grows nervous, he goes and grinds out the signal.

Mr. Grant avows that when, what turned out to be, a four days' fog settled down on them, though he was well used to the seas, he grew nervous. "Yes," said he, when relating the experience, "I felt more nervous and afraid than I cared to show, though I guess the old salts knew all about it. I had often laughed at the weary monotony the barrel-organ grinders must feel when grinding out the same old tune, but I discovered a new feeling that was powerful enough to overcome the monotony of the steady bray or blare of the fog-horn. The pilot had some fun with me, for, turning to the captain he said: 'Mr. Grant must be fond of music.' I heard him, of course, and replied: 'Mr. Yonkers, if it takes muscle to keep this boat out of danger, I am in a way of developing it very speedily.' The fact is the first night I did n't quit grinding until I was utterly worn out. Ah, those old

frauds, what fun they were having out of me. When I went below I did n't feel like getting undressed and into a bunk. Great heavens! what condition would I be in if we were to be run down and I in a bunk. No, sir! no bunk for me. I stretched out with a blanket on a locker, directly at the foot of the companion-way, so that if anything happened I would be up on deck in a moment. I just settled down nicely one night and my weariness was sending me to sleep, when a roar as of loudest thunder entered my ears and a shock as if we had been 'struck' made me wide awake. I was up on deck in two jumps. 'What is the matter?' I cried. Then they had the laugh on me. A pilot-signal on a foggy night is to fire off the six-pounder every half minute. The return signal from the steamer is two toots of the whistle given at intervals. It was the firing of the six-pounder that had made the welkin ring and scared me so nearly out of my wits.

"It is no easy matter to send a pilot aboard a vessel, especially at night or in a fog. For some time an incoming steamer's hoarse whistle has been heard at intervals of half a minute growing gradually nearer. Then the gun on the pilot-boat booms forth over the wild waste of waters every thirty seconds, until out of the gloom and blackness comes the responding answering blast of the steamer's whistle. But in the dark who can tell the location of either steamer or pilot-boat? That is a matter that requires considerable training. There are no instruments to determine it. It can be done only by the ear—the most delicate instrument known in the world. Several times the pilot has asked me: 'Where away is the steamer?' and I have answered in one direction only to have him assure me that it was in an entirely opposite one. Hence it is a matter that training only can determine. While the locating of the vessel needing the pilot and the signaling is going on, the pilot is in his cabin putting on his 'best bib and tucker.' Coming on deck the pilot stands amid-



Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

## "WILL THE ANCHOR HOLD?"

ships by one of the yawls, which is lifted by the men on to the rail of the schooner, right side up, ready to be thrown over into the water at the command. The oars are lashed in place, the painter made fast by the man on deck. At his side stand the two men who are to accompany him. At a favorable moment the pilot gives the signal to the helmsman of the pilot-boat to let her come 'into the wind.' She slews around, the taut sails slacken and shake. The next moment the second command is given: 'Throw her over!' In she goes. Her oarsmen are ready, the pilot leaps to the rail, and when she rises on the next wave alongside the pilot-boat, the three of them jump, the pilot in the stern, the two men at their oars. As soon as they are ready, the final command rings out: 'Let go!' The painter is dropped and two or three vigorous strokes puts a good distance between the two boats. To any but an

experienced and sturdy seaman the pilot-boat is a tiny cockleshell, upon that wild desert of tossing waves, but the yawl itself seems a mere fairy craft. Yet it is pulled steadily to the side of the great vessel, which has slowed up for it. 'Can you see it all the time?' By no means. As the mountains of water rise and fall the little boat is entirely swallowed out of sight, then, as you are lifted, you see it down, down, way down in the trough beneath you. The next minute and you are below and the tiny craft is a hundred feet above you. Yet steadily her oarsmen row in the proper direction. The pilot-boat, in the meantime, 'comes about' and beats back and forth, awaiting to pick up the small boat. It is not long before the pilot reaches the steamer and the ladder is lowered. With his trained and watchful eye he stands and gives his commands, and, at the opportune moment, makes his spring, seizes

the rope and the next moment is on his way safely to the deck, where he is to be the unquestioned king of that great palace, carrying its valuable cargo of precious human lives, mail and commercial treasure. The tiny boat then returns to the pilot-boat and is hauled on board."

Only strong men of sturdy, genuine courage, of courage unknown to most men in ordinary avocations, could thus wrest their living from the great waste of waters.

On one occasion Mr. Grant was in a pilot-boat when the steamer "Etruria" passed by in a fog. Said he: "We were almost directly in its pathway. Another fifty feet to starboard and we should have been run down. I was half dozing when the monster vessel, with a whirl and a roar, like a mountain, was upon us. Imagine a mountain,—not a mere avalanche of snow,—but the mountain itself passing by at lightning speed, and within a stone's throw. Literally I felt the hairs of my head stiffen like the quills of a porcupine, and I speak the truth when I say that my cap was raised. But I did not experience that feeling until the ship had disappeared. It was after the danger was over that I awoke to a sense of it. A ship is indeed a living thing, a mighty, powerful, sentient being, and when you become, as it were, a part of its life, then you begin to understand it and not until."

In presenting to the readers of THE ARENA specimens of Mr. Grant's art, I have selected seven representative subjects, which, to my mind, shows the full extent of his work up to the present time. He is yet a young man. He has wisely kept his immature efforts from the public, and, better still, out of the hands of his friends. These pictures show a maturity of handling that demands for Mr. Grant a decidedly high place. They are proof that he can accomplish large things if he will.

"Homeward Bound" is of an old type ship of the early 'sixties or 'seventies. It was ships of this build that made American shipping famous throughout the world

for grace of line, speed and strength. This beauty is well presented in the painting. The fore-shortened "sheer line" is itself the indication of her American build. Here is bounding, spirited, active life. The ship, with all sails set except the top-gallant stay-sail, which is being placed, is partly "light" and on her way home. Everything favors her; a spanking breeze is on her starboard quarter; weather is good; sky is clear; men are happy. The waves themselves are full of life and sparkling with sunlit joy; and many a song, audible and inaudible, goes forth from welling hearts at the thought of soon seeing loved ones again. The picture is a living one. It appeals both to one's emotions and sense of life as well as to the love of the beautiful in form and color.

In "Ahead, Full Speed," Mr. Grant strikes an entirely different note, yet it possesses the same freedom, strength, power and grace. Here is a tramp steamer forging ahead at full speed. The jib and fore-top sails are set with the foresail furled. The wind is on her starboard quarter, so that, sailing nearly before the wind her canvas helps her along. The smokestack can dimly be seen behind the sails, and the sun coming out of the fog shows over the edge of the topsail. With mighty vigor and power the great vessel shoulders her way through the water, while the waves dash up on her port bow. Here rushing power, overwhelming force are personified, especially to one who can see the oncoming vessel as from a small boat in a fog. A distant signal has been heard in the fog, and, almost in a moment, the mountain-like shape looms ahead on the top of a wave out of the mist. One can feel the peculiar fascination such a mass of mystery, vastness and gloomy power must possess when it thus suddenly comes into sight. In this picture Mr. Grant has been singularly felicitous in the handling of the prismatic colors in the dashing of the spray over the vessel's bow, especially in the brilliant glimpse afforded to leeward.





Charles H. Grand, Pinx.

"SAFE IN PORT."



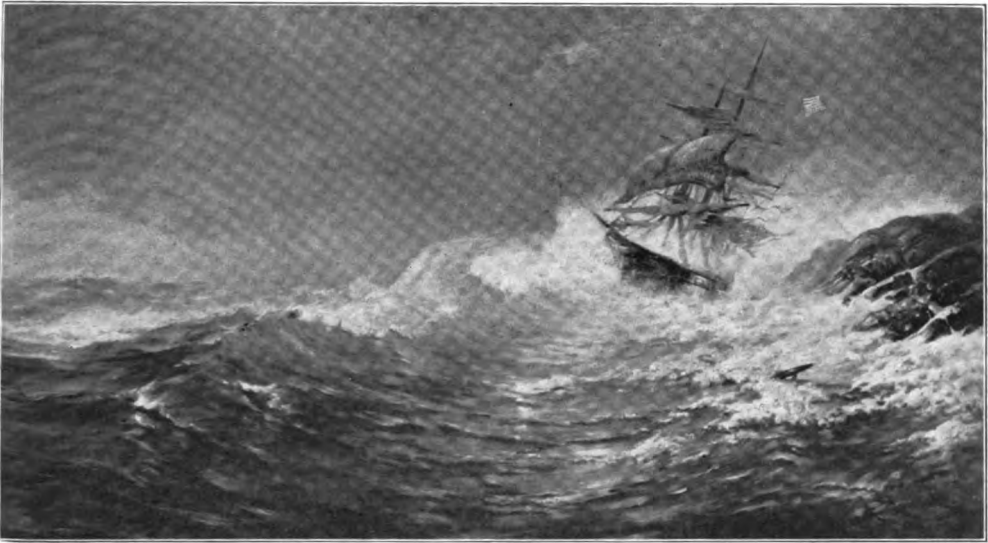
Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

## "PASSING THE LIGHT."

In number three, "Will the Anchor Hold?" the artist has combined the emotions of fear and suspense with his pictorial art to thrill and interest. The water is green and the spray opalescent, for the sunlight is shining through the clouds, lighting up the fierce wave that dashes amidships over the vessel. This is a Lake Ontario schooner, caught in the gale. Her sails are old and one of them,—the jib,—has gone to pieces at the first rude thrust of the tempest, and now hangs in tatters, flapping and slapping in the wind. The staysail is falling and a man forward is trying to stow it; the foresail is down, and other men are trying to get in the mizzen and stow it snug as soon as possible. The waves and wind have forced the vessel near the shore as is shown by the waves forming into breakers. The only hope of the crew is the anchor. This has been thrown

out. The natural question in every heart, as the chain creaks and strains and snaps to the dashing power of the angry waves, is: "Will the anchor hold?" It is interesting to learn from the painter that the inspiration for this picture was a scene that he actually witnessed, where, fortunately, during a long period of frightful suspense, the anchor did hold, and the vessel reached a port of safety.

In the painting itself there is a vividness about the water and the clouds which are heavy, thick, lowering and full of angry life, which led an eminent critic immediately he saw it to exclaim: "There, that's what I call water, real, live, angry, surfeul water. No one can look at it and not feel the swing and go, the life and power, the dash and fierceness, the hope and despair of it all." The rush of water, though tremendous and awful, is inspiring; the boat hugs its anchor-chain



Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

## "AT THE MERCY OF NEPTUNE."

as if it knew its only safety lay in its staying power. One feels the mighty force of angry nature combatting the works of puny man. The whole composition of this picture is pleasing,—the careening of the vessel; the wave dashing up to its masts; the curling over of the breakers; the movement of the clouds and waves; the active life in the sails and ropes. The coloring also is effective and fine. This painting now has a place in the gallery of R. A. C. Smith, Commodore of the New York Yacht Club.

In December or January, almost any cold, frosty day, when everything crackles and sparkles under the feet, any one of the residents of Hoboken coming over to New York in the ferryboat may see such a scene as Mr. Grant has painted in his "Safe in Port." The great transatlantic liner limping into port, days overdue, with rigging, smokestack, rails, bow and sides covered with ice, and smoke lazily creeping out of the stacks, tells her own story. She bears the scars of her battles with the elements. She creeps slowly along, seemingly glad of the aid of the tiny tug by her side. The fishing schooner to the right glides jauntily and saucily

along, while beyond is another small craft. To the left is a retreating ferryboat, leading the eye to the tall buildings of the metropolis beyond, which loom up mysterious, vast, peculiar in the hazy atmosphere. The strange color effects of water in the winter, on a foggy day, when the sun is struggling to shine, are well presented by Mr. Grant in this picture, and he has judiciously used the shadows to enhance them. At the distant pier we can readily imagine the assembled relatives eagerly awaiting the overdue vessel; the anxiety gone from their faces, relief and anticipation taking its place. To one who has either waited, or been waited for, this picture will especially appeal, and to anyone, the triumphant power of the great vessel, as it thus glides to its dock, gives a sense of glory in the marvelous achievements of man on the ocean.

"Passing the Light" is a picture of strong action and living interests. A fishing schooner under reefed mainsail, is beating her way through a fast increasing sea, past a dangerous reef, on which a lighthouse is placed. The scurrying clouds, the long sweep of the waves grow-



Charles H. Grant, Pinx.

"SHIP OFF THE STARBOARD BOW!"

ing in their wildness, dashing over the starboard bow of the vessel, her hull glistening with the wet of the over-dashing waves, her lee-rail buried under the water, all speak of the strong conflict, in which, however, the boat, guided by intelligent man, will win.

In "At the Mercy of Neptune" the life and strength of Mr. Grant's work is perhaps most vividly set forth. Here a sturdy ship with sails set has been irresistibly battered to a rocky shore by the fierce attacks of wind and wave. Fate has seemed to fight against the gallant vessel. She has battled against overwhelming odds; her sails have been split, and now, tattered and shapeless ribbons, they flutter in the gale, speaking eloquently of the hopes of the men who once controlled the vessel's destiny. The flag

still flutters in the gale, appealing as it were for help to a rocky and pitiless shore. Where is the crew? No one is in sight. The ship is abandoned. Driven on shore in the now abating storm, there was nothing for the crew to do but seek to escape. Who can tell what has become of them? The long sweep of the engulfing waves that break in such fury over the apparently doomed vessel, however, show signs of speedy abatement. The wind, while still fierce, will give way to the gentler influences suggested by the incoming glints of sunlight, and though now evidently "At the Mercy of Neptune," there is about the uplifted prow, the light shining amidships, the taut sail that has weathered the storm, and the still flying flag, a feeling of hopefulness, of optimism, that clearly says the dawn will bring relief. In the general handling of the subject, Mr. Grant has had

full exercise for his power and he has produced a living picture, and therefore one that will live.

In "Ship Off the Starboard Bow!" one loses so much of the power and force of the original painting that it is only by the exercise of some imagination that one can realize its strength and power from the reproduction. The conception is strong and realistic. A fishing schooner, in the afternoon of a somewhat foggy day, with foresail, mainsail, jib and square foretopsail set, on her way to the fishing-ground, with man aloft on the lookout, is suddenly aroused by the cry "Ship off the starboard bow!" In a moment all is excitement. The fog has compelled both vessels to go under shortened canvas, yet the crew of the little vessel know that in the vast, looming monster just

before them is destruction and death should she yaw the least to starboard. On both boats men run to and fro. The wheel of the fishermen is thrown "hard down," and the captain calls out his orders while the men work the sheets. It is such events as this that make ship captains men of promptitude. Vessels go on, they neither stop nor wait. They make events quickly, and the men who guide them must think and act promptly, if they would avoid danger and possible death. The aim of the fishermen is to 'ware off, so the main and starboard braces of the foresail are immediately manned. The sheets of the mainsail are hauled in board. As she clears the oncoming monster, a cheer goes up from her crew, while the great vessel ploughs on, pushing her irresistible way through the waves.

It will be seen from these examples of Mr. Grant's work that he is not the painter of the quiet, the still, the calm of the sea. This mood, or poetic feeling of quiet, has not yet come to him; he is still in the full flush of fiery, active youth, when action, motion, force, power, life, appeal to him. With the exception of the ice-covered steamer "Safe in Port," which implies active strength in abeyance,

every picture is one of motion, of life, of action. We venture to prophesy that this active mood will continue in Mr. Grant for another decade or more, and then he will gradually begin to feel the softer and more quieting influences that reign on the ocean during a calm. Then he will become as powerful a depicter of the poetry and gentleness, as now he is of the motion, power and unrestrained activity, of the sea.

It should also be observed that all Mr. Grant's pictures, no matter what the scene, possess the glad optimism of youth in them. Even in such pictures as "Will the Anchor Hold?" or "At the Mercy of Neptune" you feel that all the chances are in favor of the vessels. There is nothing that denotes despair, or letting go, or faltering. This in itself is a good thing, both for the artist and his pictures. It is the optimism of healthful life that helps others. Pessimism at best is a poor prop to lean on in the day of trouble, and Mr. Grant is to be congratulated upon the fact that his optimism is natural and spontaneous, and, therefore, is communicated both to his pictures and those who see them.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

*Pasadena, Cal.*

## GENERAL SIMON BOLIVAR: THE LIBERATOR OF NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY PROFESSOR FREDERIC M. NOA.

**W**ITHIN the last ten years, or ever since ex-President Cleveland issued his momentous message on that subject to Congress, the affairs of Venezuela have attracted considerable attention on the part of the United States. It is, therefore, befitting to give a brief biographical outline of her most renowned son, General Bolivar, the liberator and Washington of the northern half of Spanish-speak-

ing South America. To form an impartial estimate of this remarkable statesman and military genius is extremely difficult, owing to the fact that his admirers idolized him as a deity and paragon of matchless virtue, while his many virulent enemies painted him in the blackest colors.

A more varied and tempestuous career than that of General Simon Bolivar can hardly be conceived. He was born in





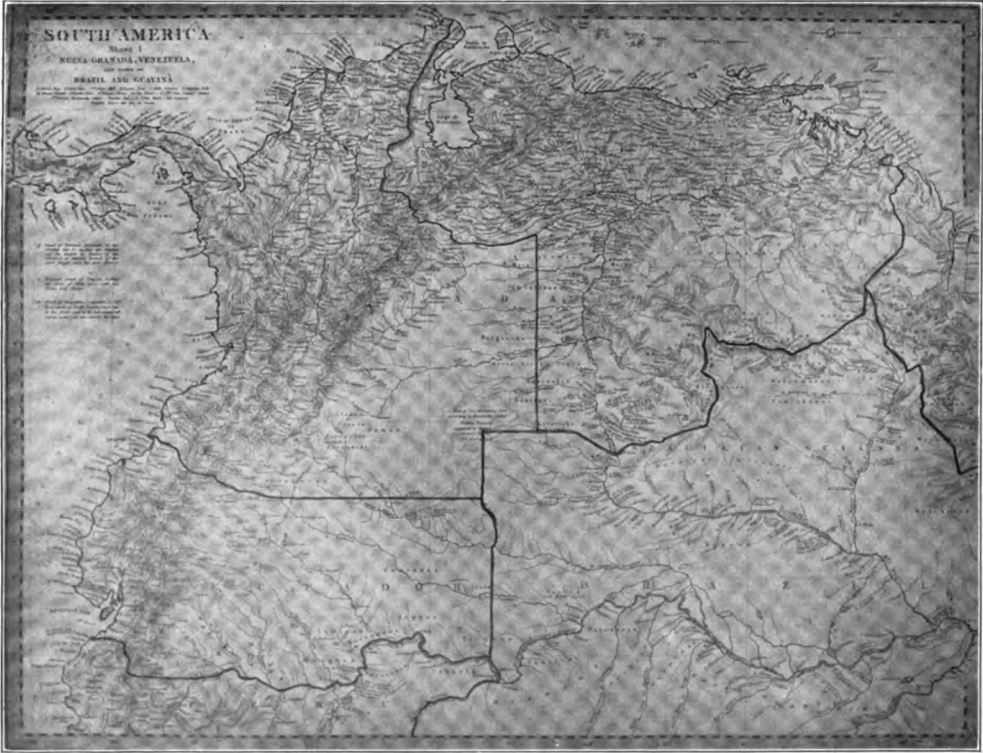
GENERAL SIMON BOLIVAR,  
THE LIBERATOR OF NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA.

Caracas, Venezuela, on the 24th of July, 1783. He was of distinguished ancestry on both his father's and mother's side. He inherited a princely estate and fortune. He went to Europe for his education, witnessed the coronation of the mighty Napoleon as king of Italy, visited the Sacred Mount of Rome, where he solemnly vowed that he would deliver South America from the intolerable yoke of Spain, married, in 1809, a beautiful young lady, and then, as he was returning with her to his native country, saw her fall a victim to yellow fever.

The grief-stricken Bolivar henceforth became wedded to the cause of Latin-American liberty. He returned, after a brief stay in the United States, to Venezuela, and witnessed, on the 4th of July, 1811, at Caracas, the signing of the Venezuelan declaration of independence. He enlisted in the patriot army, under the venerable General Francisco Miranda, who at first gained some important victories over the Spaniards. Miranda, however, was a high-souled visionary and

fatally lacking in military capacity. Nature, moreover, conspired in favor of the royalists, for, on the 26th of March, 1812, the most frightful earthquake that ever afflicted northern South America shook the whole of Venezuela, completely destroyed Caracas and her other cities and caused ten thousand persons to perish. The fanatical priesthood did not fail to work upon the overwrought feelings of the people, with the result that thousands deserted the ranks of the insurgents and acknowledged again allegiance to the imbecile king Ferdinand VII. of Spain. A large Spanish fleet had also arrived with strong reinforcements of veteran troops. Finally, as a crowning catastrophe, a successful uprising of Spanish prisoners confined in the Venezuelan fortress and seaport of Puerto Cabello, the defence of which had been entrusted to Colonel Bolivar, rendered General Miranda's position so untenable that he was forced to conclude an honorable capitulation with the Viceroy Monteverde, by the terms of which safety and protection were guaranteed to all Venezuelans, and amnesty was extended to insurgents who should lay down their arms (July 29, 1812).

Bolivar, who reached the rash conclusion that Miranda was a traitor, resolved to arrest his venerable commander, which he accordingly did, aided by a few confederates, in the dead of night, while the unhappy general lay, at La Guayra, in a profound slumber. Miranda was thrown into Fort San Carlos where a Spanish officer, sent to take over the fort, found him next day and dispatched him to Monteverde. The latter, untroubled by any scruples of conscience, had him immediately transported to Spain, where he was loaded with chains and confined in a loathsome dark cell in Cadiz until death mercifully ended his sufferings in 1816. History has vindicated the name of this saintly martyr of Latin-American liberty, and justly condemned Bolivar for an act which must ever be a black stain upon the latter's character.



**THE CONFEDERATED REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA,**

Founded by General Simon Bolivar, December 17, 1819, then including in its jurisdiction Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador.

There was now no alternative left for Bolivar except to flee from Venezuela and seek refuge in the Dutch West India Island of Curaçoa, a few miles off the northern coast of his native country. From this moment, he was destined to experience the most startling changes of alternate good and ill fortune. He quickly repaired to Cartagena, Colombia, then in the power of the republicans, and by his enthusiasm and fiery oratory raised a small expeditionary force. He disobeyed the orders of his superiors, fell, like a lightning flash, upon an astonished Spanish army, routed it, and conceived the daring project of invading Venezuela by crossing eastward the lofty Cordillera of the northern Andes mountains, a movement he brilliantly executed, utterly defeating a far superior enemy, the royalist

troops leaving all their artillery, munitions and baggage to the conquerors (February 28, 1819). He next penetrated, at the head of one thousand poorly armed and supplied patriots, through tropical swamps, and by almost impracticable paths, one thousand miles into the interior, augmented his little army by incredible exertions, moved forward with extraordinary rapidity, and, when least expected, fell, with superior forces, upon detachments of the enemy and cut them to pieces.

Invested now by the Congress of Colombia with enlarged powers, General Bolivar received fearful reports, amply confirmed by the unbiased testimony of British officers in his service, that the Spanish monster Monteverde and his subordinates were committing unparal-

led atrocities upon the defenceless, sparing neither age nor sex. He reluctantly resolved to meet the foul despoilers of his beautiful native country with their own weapons, and therefore issued his celebrated proclamation of *guerra á muerte*, war to the knife; that is, he declared a war of extermination. This gave for several years, an extremely horrifying aspect to the war, many slaughterings in cold blood occurring, alternately committed by royalists and patriots, upon hundreds of unfortunate prisoners.

Success still continued to attend General Bolivar's operations, and, on the 6th of August, 1813, he entered Caracas in triumph, where the lovely young daughters of the nobles, in white dresses, and with laurel wreaths, pushed their way through the cheering multitude and took hold of the bridle of his horse. No wonder Bolivar dismounted and wept for joy.

Fickle fortune, however, now turned against him, as the royalists resorted to the desperate expedient of arming the black slaves of the plantations, and inciting them, with promises of unrestrained license and plunder, to rise against their masters. Powerful reinforcements also arrived from Spain, and Bolivar, being beaten at Aragua, Venezuela (August 17, 1814), was forced to abandon his country for the second time, "stripped of everything but the glory of the attempt."

The illustrious exile fled to Colombia, where the Congress of that republic expressed unshaken confidence in him and employed him in compelling the refractory mountainous province of Cundinamarca to submit to its authority. This delicate and difficult mission having been successfully accomplished, Bolivar was appointed Captain-General of the armies of the Colombian Union. He now left Bogotá, the new capital, with a well-selected expedition of two thousand veterans, but his plans were completely thwarted by the machinations of his private enemies, one of whom, Manuel Castillo, commandant of the port of Carta-

gena, was conspicuous for his obstinacy in withholding munitions and supplies which the army absolutely required. Five precious months were wasted in mutual recriminations when there came the calamitous news that Morillo had arrived from Spain with an army of ten thousand troops and a powerful fleet. Bolivar, finding his little army wasted by pestilential diseases, hastily concluded a convention with Castillo, and, in deep bitterness, fled from South America for Kingston, Jamaica, May 8, 1815.

Whilst in Jamaica, he narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of a paid hireling of an unknown Spaniard. An overruling Providence having saved him from this danger, Bolivar repaired to Port-au-Prince, Island of Hayti, where the noble-minded negro President Pétion hospitably received him, and furnished him with ships and two or three black battalions. With these General Bolivar returned to the north coast of Venezuela, and landed at Ochumare, near La Guayra, but being attacked to disadvantage, was defeated, with the loss of his bravest officers, and forced to reëmbark for Hayti. President Pétion again befriended him, so that, when Bolivar landed a second time on Venezuelan soil, he had the satisfaction of seeing the tide of war turn gradually in favor of the patriots, at the beginning of 1817. About the same time, two thousand British and Irish volunteers, officered by veterans who had fought against Napoleon under the Duke of Wellington, enlisted in the cause of South American liberty.

The memorable year of 1819 was marked by events of transcendent importance. General Bolivar assembled at Angostura the second Congress of Venezuela, but seriously compromised his prestige by earnestly advocating a strongly centralized government or even an absolute monarchy as being the system most likely to conduce to the stability, happiness and prosperity of South America. These injudicious utterances raised against him a host of enemies, and were, in large meas-



ure, the fruitful origin of the animosities and sorrows which were to embitter the rest of his career.

Bolivar was now to undertake an enterprise which should yield him imperishable fame and place him in the ranks of the really few great strategists of either ancient or modern times. His keen intellect perceived that the key to Spanish strength lay in the lofty and mountainous territory of Colombia or New Grenada, and that he must, at all hazards, effect a transit over the Northern Andes, through snow and ice-blocked passes twelve to fifteen thousand feet high, and then crush, once for all, the main army of the royalists. He accordingly raised an expedition of fourteen thousand troops, of cavalry, infantry and artillery, two thousand British and foreign volunteers accompanying him. He left Angostura, Venezuela, on the Orinoco river, in May, when the rainy season was setting in on the extensive forests and llanos or plains of that country. His objective point lay a thousand miles to the west, and to reach it a dense tropical virgin wilderness must be traversed, only six to seven degrees above the equator, when torrential inundations converted the land into seas of pestilential swamps. Poisonous reptiles hung from the trees and devouring alligators infested the waters. The artillery sank deep in the quagmires. Hundreds of miles of these regions having at last been traversed, there began the ascent of the forbidding Andes, their snowy peaks thousands of feet above the clouds. The transit over these mountain chains, among the loftiest in the world, was frightful beyond description, an appalling mortality prevailing, the British and foreign volunteers especially perishing by the hundreds. Finally, at the end of seventy-five days, and having covered a total distance of one thousand miles, Bolivar's diminished and wasted army descended the Andes into Colombia, encountered the royalists at the bridge of Boyocá, August 7, 1819, and won a splendid victory, all the Spanish surviving



GENERAL SUCRE,

Bolivar's second in command, who won the victory of Ayacucho, the final battle of the Latin-American Revolution, December 9, 1824.

Taken from an oil-painting from life by the Lady Sucre, Marchioness of Solanda.

troops being made prisoners, together with their commanding general. Bogotá and all New Grenada became, as a consequence, free from the yoke of Spain.

Bolivar, almost immediately after this wonderful victory, returned to Angostura, where he prevailed upon the Congress of Venezuela to unite herself to New Grenada and form the confederated Republic of Colombia, December 17, 1819. Subsequently, the southern territory of Quito, or Ecuador, was added, the Colombian Union thus extending from the Isthmus of Panama on the north to the regions of the equator on the south, bordering on Peru. Bolivar received the title of *Liberator of Colombia*, and it was decided that a general constituent Congress should assemble at Rosario de Cucuta, in January, 1821, to frame a constitution for the confederacy.

An armistice of six months with the Spanish commander-in-chief of northern South America was concluded, beginning

in November, 1820, but hostilities were resumed at its expiration, in 1821. It is creditable to both belligerents that, henceforth, the war was, on the whole, conducted humanely.

The year 1822 saw the victorious armies of the Liberator bear the standard of liberty to Ecuador, in the regions of the equator. In the same year, he came in contact with the great General San Mar-

live, until his death in 1850, in obscurity and poverty.

This generous sacrifice bore the happiest fruits for South America. Some inexcusable blunders on Bolivar's part caused the war to linger on two years longer, but he retrieved them, went to Peru, crossed the equator southward, and pushed on to the lofty mountains of Upper Peru, which he proclaimed as a



A PASS IN THE LOFTY ANDES OF NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA.

tin whose genius had already emancipated the southern half of Spanish-speaking America, that is, Argentina, Chile and Peru. The two greatest military geniuses of South America met in secret conference at Guayaquil, Ecuador, July 22d, but, after three days of earnest consultation, separated, San Martin, knowing that Bolivar could brook no powerful rival, sublimely yielded in the interests of South American independence, resigned his immense power as Protector of Peru, summoned the first Congress of that country, placed the command of his Chilo-Argentine army under his rival, sailed, in September, for Chile, and shortly afterwards retired to France, there to

new republic, called, in his honor, by its grateful inhabitants, Bolivia. There, in the land of the highest Andes, in the ancient empire of the Incas, ruthlessly destroyed by Pizarro and the Spanish conquerors three centuries previously, the final act of the Latin-American drama for life, liberty, happiness and independence was played in 1824.

The final battle of the Latin-American Revolution, won, after months of consummate strategy, by General Sucre, Bolivar's second in command, was fought, December 9, 1824, at Ayacucho, on a plateau about 12,000 feet above the Pacific, surrounded by some of the loftiest snow-covered peaks of the Peruvian

Andes. In spite of Sucre's army being reduced to starvation and in size only about half that of their opponents, that is, six thousand, the royalists suffered a disastrous defeat, with a loss of upwards of two thousand men in killed and wounded, and the surrender of about four thousand more as prisoners of war, including the Viceroy La Serna and fifteen general officers.

Sucre's crowning triumph forever assured the independence of not only Latin America but the United States as well. At this point, Bolivar was to cease any further military operations. His generous mind yearned to carry the banner of freedom and light still further. If his hand had not been stayed by the government of the United States, then dominated by the entrenched American slave-owning power, he would have saved Cuba and Porto Rico from seventy-five years more of Spanish thralldom, and would have sent his liberating navies and armies across the Oriental Pacific and have liberated the Philippines, also. Had he been free to act, who can say how much farther advanced in true civilization the present twentieth century might have been?

Bolivar, in 1825, had reached the pinnacle of fame. He had become the acknowledged ruler of the northern half of Spanish-speaking South America, over a continental territory as large as the United States. The following year he summoned the first Pan-American Congress at Panama. Its deliberations led to no immediate results, yet, there the seed was sown which was to ripen into international arbitration, the ever-growing agitation for universal disarmament and honorable peace, and the reserving of the American continent and adjacent islands as the free and independent home and country of all the oppressed of the earth.

After 1826, the eclipse of the great Liberator's life, ended within the next four years, had already begun. His fatal love of ostentation, adulation and the exercise of power imposed ordeals upon him which his more self-poised rival San Martin

escaped. He endeavored, with disastrous results, to compel the nations he had liberated to accept constitutions monarchical in their nature and wholly hostile to the natural environment of the Western Hemisphere. His overshadowing personality inspired a universal dread in South America that he would, after all, trample upon her dearly-bought liberties and become another Cæsar or Napoleon. Bolivar, however, with all his glaring faults, was a patriot and soldier of liberty, and he at last awoke to the error of his ways.

The closing year of his life was intensely tragic. He had sacrificed both his health and his princely fortune in the cause of South American emancipation. At forty-seven he was a physical wreck. The Colombian Republic he had built up fell into anarchy and the separate parts formed seceding republics. Sincerely anxious to bring peace to distracted northern South America, he withdrew from public affairs on the 30th of April, 1830. He retired, in extreme poverty, to private life and fatally ill, and his sensitive nature was stung to the quick when he received the news that his bosom friend the illustrious General Sucre had been foully assassinated in the forests of Ecuador, June 4th. From this moment he never rallied, and inexorable fate also willed that he should still be pursued by the venom of his implacable enemies, some of the worst of whom were in his own native country Venezuela. The crisis came in December, 1830, when his illness turned to rapid pneumonia. On the 10th he sank so low that he received the sacrament, made his will, and addressed these final words of farewell to the Colombians:

“My last prayers are for the felicity of my native country: if my death should contribute towards party strife ceasing, and the Union being consolidated, I shall go to the grave with tranquility.”

From the 10th until the 17th, the vital spark lingered like a flickering lamp. At

one o'clock in the afternoon of that day, his soul, "too great for what contained it," passed into the life beyond. Prematurely old, he had reached only the age of forty-seven years and five months.

He was honored with a public military funeral at Santa Martha, but only in 1842 did the joint commissioners of Colombia and Venezuela exhume his remains and have them transported in a Venezuelan warship to La Guayra, whence they were taken overland to Caracas, his birthplace, where, on the 17th of December, the anniversary of his death, they were deposited amid the most imposing ceremonies in

the Cathedral of Caracas, where his ancestors had been buried. There, a splendid sarcophagus, made in Italy at the expense of the Republic of Venezuela, has been erected. "A beautiful though tardy reparation," says Señor Don José Manuel Restrepo, the eminent Colombian historian, "for the insults to which he was subjected during his life by the sons of Venezuela and Caracas on whom Bolívar had conferred so much luster and distinction, and to whom he had rendered so many incalculable benefits!"

FREDERIC M. NOA.

*Malden, Mass.*

## WHAT OUR UNIVERSITIES ARE DOING FOR AMERICAN LITERATURE.

BY EDWIN DAVIES SCHOONMAKER,

*Author of The Saxons.*

"WE ARE living our epic," said a professor some years ago in answer to a question as to the cause for the dearth in America of literary works of the first order. This reply, reaching the public through various channels, assuaged in a large measure the mortification which the nation felt. And how deep this had been was apparent in the delight with which the phrase was taken up and in the alacrity with which it was tossed from shore to shore. To-day, if a foreigner should ask of educated men and women in any part of our country, "What is the matter with American literature? Why is it that you people, admittedly leading the world in so many lines of intellectual activity, lag so far behind in this particular line, literature?" he is certain to be met with: "Ah, but you do not consider the place of literature in the order of development. You are looking for blossoms at a time when the trunk is just dividing into branches. We have not yet mastered the valleys and mountains of our great land. Lit-

erature comes with leisure and as yet we have no leisure. We are a business people. We are taking out our iron and coal, building our highways and cities. You saw New York and Chicago, how they tower up into heaven? Then you have seen upon what it is that the swelling brain of the American Titan is at work. With us it is still the age of the hammer. The pen will come later. First the battle, then the song. Agamemnon, then Homer. We are living our epic."

What is meant by "living our epic"? Obviously that we are sailing our Ægean or pounding the walls of some new Troy for the rescue of some new Helen. What is our Ægean? Our troubled industrial sea. And our Troy that must be battered down? The old-world idea of king and peasant carried into the new régime of industry. And our Helen? That beautiful social harmony which the seers of all ages have foreseen and for which martyrs have died and are still dying. It is unquestionably true that

this great work, for which our new humanity is just taking up arms, must first be accomplished before it can be sung. In this sense and in this sense alone is the fact that we are "living our epic" an excuse for our not writing it. When industry that is now drudgery shall have become romance, then, and not till then, will our Homer appear and begin his song. But before there can be romance there must first be victory, and victory is something which we have not yet achieved. We are still encamped upon our Troad.

But the apologist for our disease of sterility in great literature does not deal squarely with us. When he says: "We are living our epic," he uses the word epic in the sense in which it is applied to the *Iliad*, a narrative of an heroic enterprise, or to the historical plays of Shakespeare which have been called the real English epic. The Wars of the Roses and the French wars must be fought before the great kings can move in spiritual majesty through the plays. And we who are engaged in a still more heroic enterprise must fight out our industrial battle before we can marshal its heroes upon the pages of immortal verse. But in the suppressed half of the sentence, "and therefore we can not be expected to be writing our epic," the word epic is used in its broader, derivative sense which includes all literature in its higher forms. Else how should the phrase serve the purpose for which it was coined, the general propping up of the national pride? For it is not alone our epic that is lacking, but our drama and novel as well.

And the cause for this, we are told, is that we have no leisure, that we are living in a business age. What a clearing-house for the sins of the nation is this business age of ours! How naked, how unrepresentable we would appear were it not for some such wide-flowing mantle. Is there a vice, is there a shortcoming at which fingers are pointed from oversea that does not disappear under its great folds? If government is corrupt, the poison has its

fountain in the age. If the Church is venal, it is the age that has made it so. And if the young men and women of America, in whom burn the fires of Apollo, go down the iron way and are heard of no more, "The age, Lord, which thou gavest us, she did it." Strange how our fathers ever got along without this all-cleansing absolution.

Is it true that we have no leisure? Dare we say so when we have in abundance that which makes leisure possible, wealth? Do we not boast that we are the richest nation in the world? And if we are the richest, have we not potentially the most leisure? If leisure were all that were needed, could we not, with our surplus bank-stock, purchase a golden age far surpassing the age of Pericles or of Elizabeth? Why do we not do it? Because we know that it is not leisure, but leisure plus a knowledge of how to use leisure, that has built the golden ages of the world. And do we know how to use leisure? Suppose we should purchase it, what would we do with it? We would be in the position of a man who has purchased a musical instrument which he knows not how to play. And we are too familiar with the ridiculousness of the Bourgeois turned Gentleman ever as a nation to wish to imitate him. We are too proud to love being laughed at.

If we prefer to spend our money for lumber and iron and hogs, which we know how to use, rather than for leisure, which we know not how to use, are we therefore sordid? There would be some foundation for the charge were it not for the fact that we have astonished the world by the vast sums which we have spent in our efforts to learn how to use leisure. Phillip of Macedon was not more solicitous for the education of his son than are we for the education of young America. We have reared and swung wide the doors of scores of universities. We have provided them with equipment the like of which the world has never seen. Have they asked for buildings, we have piled them up until they have become cities in

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themselves. Have they asked for fields where the body of the nation might be made more beautiful and efficient, we have laid out ample stadia and have pointed our young men to the Greeks. Have they mentioned club-houses where the new social sense might come to flower, we have supplied them. Theaters, have they not had them? And to aid our wise men in their work of instruction, have we not imported masters from oversea? What is it that we have left undone?

We are told that this is a business age; then let us be business-like. If a manufacturing enterprise is not paying dividends, the owners overhaul it, examine it, and find out why. If it is discovered that it is a particular department that has occasioned the loss and, by its unsatisfactory work, has injured the reputation of the plant, that department is at once renovated and new methods are installed and, if necessary, new men. We have put millions into our universities and each year we are putting millions more. Is it not about time we were looking into this investment to see if these institutions or any part of them are running at a loss? Or is it of more importance to know that the shoes of the nation are being well made than it is to know that its brain is being properly trained? At least, as Yankees, we ought to want to know if we are getting our money's worth.

Using as a criterion of excellence the recognition of Europe, for our own judgment is apt to be a little warped, what have our universities done to justify this vast outlay? Do we know any more of how to use leisure than we knew before they were established? Are we any nearer to self-expression? What have they done? They have sent forth athletes who have met and vanquished the best. Their technical schools have produced engineers and mechanics who have built monuments to their skill in every land. In science, too, their graduates are making a name not only for themselves but for their country. Of the

work done by these departments one would perhaps be a little over-exacting to complain. But what these have done only renders more conspicuous what the others have not done. Can we overlook the fact that our statue has no head? Where in the field of glory are the representatives of that large department which presides over the arts and whose task it is to develop the literary genius of the nation? Why is it that we have no poets to compare with our athletes, no novelists to match our engineers, no dramatists to stand up with our scientists? Something is wrong. What is it? The age?

No, distinguished gentlemen of the arts department, it is not the age that is to blame: it is you. You receive each year into your classrooms young men and women as brainy and as bright as any that find their way into the mechanical schools or the laboratories. As hungry for fame as those who seek it with the microscope or in the paths of commercial life they come to you, as those who know can testify, on fire with divine enthusiasm and hopeful of some day producing works which their country "will not let die," and after years of instruction under you, go away with their dream fabrics disintegrated and falling down. Is it not true? Have you not for years watched the horizon hoping to see those bright minds rise and shed their glory? Have they done so? Run over the roll of those whose books have attracted the attention not of Europe but simply of our own land and note what a small proportion of them have had their training under you. Add to this the fact that our painters and sculptors, whose works are honored abroad as equal to the best, are the products of European schools, and you have before you facts that should make you pause and seriously consider if there may not be something wrong with your methods.

In spite of all this, in spite of the fact that this department of our universities has done little or nothing to loosen the

tongue of our great democracy, successful business men go on year after year furnishing funds for carrying on the work in the same old way. Were it a mining company or a manufacturing enterprise, does any one imagine that the vein would not long ago have been abandoned or the plant shut down or at least that a rigid investigation would not have been made? Then why this laxity with regard to education? How are we to explain this apparently unbusiness-like procedure of our business men? Possibly from their view-point the procedure is not unbusiness-like. Let us see.

Each year our great commercial organizations are calling louder and louder for brains. The cry is raised that they cannot get efficient help. Our export trade, which is making its way into every mart and jungle of the known world, is meeting each year with a resistance that is fast becoming an attack. Never before has our trade line been so hacked at. The conflict is on in deadly earnest and the nation which throws the most brains into the battle is going to win. At such a crisis to allow a young man or woman of ability to idle with art would be the height of folly. Write literature when our dividends are in danger! If our dividends are decreased where are you universities going to get your endowments? Do you hear? If our dividends are decreased where are you universities going to get your endowments? Do as we say and you shall have all the millions you want. Turn us our business men, men whom we can use as bolts and screws in our great trade-machines, engineers and mechanics: our contracts are terribly behind. Yes, and scientists: they discover devices and chemicals and keep our factories up to date. Your athletes, too, make good stuff; they don't get crazy notions in their heads. What shall we do with those in our arts department? Send the sharp ones to us. But they want to write. Botch their brains so they can't.

Has something like this been whispered

behind the scenes when the gold has been handed out? Or is this one of those things which are simply understood? Are our universities being operated as by-plants of the trusts, shaping their product to the order of the masters? And are we to be left no alternative but believe that the young men and women of America who might be writing our drama and novel have been sold to our czars of trade and, shipped off to the firing-line, are bombarding some outpost for the Beef-Trust or serving as spies for the Standard Oil Company? Certainly no better method could be found of "botching their brains" and forcing into the commercial those who are ambitious for the literary life than that employed by the instructors in our universities.

What is the process by which great literature is produced? Synthesis. What is the process taught by our universities? Analysis. The poem is studied as a flower is studied not by the artist but by the botanist, torn apart petal and ovule. That splendid piling up of golden stone on golden stone, the natural process in creation, is never seen in the classroom. How the "cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces" arise is never dealt with. The lightning of genius, that is now here, now there, building in an instant for eternity, is, it would seem, either feared as something elemental and therefore destructive, or else it is passed over as something of too little importance to engage the attention of serious men. The stones are the thing, and the mortar between them, not the art of the builder. That has to do with the mechanic. Universities are places of education. Education is the finding of truth, and truth is found by analysis. Why our professors of literature have followed this will-o'-the-wisp is easily perceived. Peering over into the department of science and beholding the wonders there wrought by analysis they have imagined that the same process would give similar results in literature. It seems never to have occurred to these learned men that science

and literature are two very different things; that whereas the discovery of a new element in matter may mean the laying hold on a vital law, a new element discovered in the works of a poet can never be anything more than a dead fact. And so we have the spectacle of the poem dissected by the knife and the drama examined under the microscope. It is idle to expostulate that the life principle in literature is beauty, and that to discover beauty there is no need of the microscope or the knife. They know what they are doing. They are seeking the color-scheme in Tennyson or what odors appealed most to Baudelaire. It is not to be expected, of course, that students entering the classroom for the first time should immediately perceive the importance of this. And so, if they go on for a while idling their time away producing stories and poems and fragments of dramas, we must be patient with them. Sooner or later they will come to see how they are wasting their golden youth. Meanwhile everything possible is done to discourage them from such practices and to turn their minds to worthy objects. In order that there may be no doubt in the minds of the students as to the purpose of the instruction, fellowships and other university honors are never awarded to those who show a genius for creating but only to those who show an aptitude for dissecting literature. Figure out the time scheme of Faust. Write a thesis showing how much Wordsworth owed to Percy's *Reliques*. Trace the beginnings of romanticism as shown by the love of wild-flowers in the age of Anne. Is Hamlet mad? A prize to him who first finds the germ. The recitation becomes a clinic. The Prince of Denmark is stretched upon the table and the search begins. And so it goes. If one class has immortalized itself by discovering that the favorite color of Tennyson is purple, another wins equal honor by showing what bird is most often mentioned by Milton. With the soul of literature these

men have nothing to do. That belongs to God. But of that which belongs to man no part has been overlooked. Skelton, veins, pigment-centers, corpuscles, not an atom but has passed under the lens. And this work, the pride of our rhetors, has been rendered august by giving it that name which science has made illustrious, original research. Original, indeed. And applied to the study of literature, surpassingly original. A sculptor is envious of a warrior and because the warrior has won glory with the sword the sculptor uses the same instrument in the carving of his statue. And when his Venus turns out a hitching-post he looks about and does not know what the trouble is. Finally he concludes that it is because he is living in a military age. A professor of science has won glory and a professor of literature has had his eye open. Eureka! Now we have it. This is the way to teach literature. Out with your microscopes, young men. Let us discover something. And these learned gentlemen do not see that it is not Hamlet who is mad!

This, then, is the education of our youth. This is the training those undergo to whom the nation is looking for immortal books. Is it any wonder that our poets lack the divine fire and look more to their words than to their thoughts, that our drama is impotent and cannot soar, that our novel gropes and cannot find its way? Is it any wonder that, while our athletes return from the games with the Olympic crown, while our engineers are summoned abroad to give advice to kings, while our statesmen are admitted as peers in the councils of the nations, while our painters and sculptors stand four square and look the world in the face, is it any wonder that our literary lights burn low? Taught to unravel the brains of others, is it any wonder that our young authors enter upon their work with their own brains unraveled? And if, after years of struggling with a demon that forces them to pick apart when they would put together, pause and consider when they should



rush on and attain, they give up in despair and enlist in the army of trade, is it the age that is to blame? Or is it the masters of the age, those men who think it nefarious that the young men and women of America should idle with art when trade is in danger, whose armies are calling for recruits, and who, using the machinery of education, see to it that their will is obeyed, that their fighting line is kept full? We ask again, is there some dark contract that is being fulfilled? Are the millions that are being poured into the coffers of our universities really not a charity but a price paid for service?

One of the largest of these institutions has lately appointed a committee to ascertain, if possible, why it is that the scores who annually go from her supposedly equipped for the production of great books, are afterwards never heard of, or heard of only as space-writers for the daily press or as contributors to the magazines. Has this been done to allay the growing suspicions of the public and to stay its wrath? One of those investigations the purpose of which is to prevent investigation? Or is it really a sign of the dawn? Can it be that our universities are actually waking up? And they have begun to lose faith in their own creed that the cause is in the age!

We confess we should much prefer to see this investigation carried on by outside parties. This arrangement would be more satisfactory all round. The public would then have no cause to question the findings of the committee on

the ground of "undue influence," or to wink, as it sometimes does, when in municipal affairs a committee appointed to examine into the soundness of a work is composed of those who have done the work. And apart from this, we are not sure that the training of professors is such as to make it possible for them to find out what we want to know. What we want to know is what is the matter with our literature. If something were the matter with our finances we would call in not professors of finance but financiers. If something were wrong with our art we would consult not teachers of art but artists. Then if we suggest that in the present case the committee be composed not of professors of literature but of producers of literature we believe we are within the lines of common sense. And we would further suggest that the scope of the investigation be extended, that the committee be asked to inquire into and state, first, whether it find the method employed in teaching literature to be, as we claim, the anatomical method; second, whether it find the condition on which fellowships are awarded to be, as we claim, an aptitude for dissecting literature; and third, as to the cause of these stupendous follies. And finally, we would suggest that the report be made public. If the work is done as its importance demands that it should be done, the document should become historic.

EDWIN DAVIES SCHOONMAKER.  
*Cincinnati, Ohio.*

# THE VALUE OF AN IMMIGRANT.

BY EX-CONGRESSMAN ROBERT BAKER.

**R**ECENT, as well as former, discussions of the immigration problem have yielded a prolific crop of endorsements of the "value" of good immigrants.

Quite naturally, these gentlemen, whose horizon is bounded by the counting-house and the stock-market, dilate upon the "value" of immigrants, even comparing them with the salable price of negroes in ante-bellum days, in proof of their theory.

Of "value" to whom? it may be asked.

As the immigrant usually brings little but strength, and habits of industry and thrift, whence comes this "value"? Of what does it consist?

Oh! we are told, he is valuable as a producer and consumer.

How clear! This is about as lucid as the average college professor's political economy.

It is as wise as it would be to say, that loss and profit are equally valuable to the manufacturer or merchant.

Production is profit, but consumption is loss. No amount of fetish worship of the "favorable" balance-of-trade theory can make it anything else.

First, as to producers. How are producers benefitted by the addition to their number of another producer—an immigrant?

Is production made easier for them? If production of their products is increased is not the price of their product reduced?

As to consumers. How are consumers benefitted by an increase in the number of consumers?

If an increase of products lowers prices to consumers, does not an increase in consumption raise them to consumers?

But some say: "The immigrant's 'value' as a producer is balanced by his 'value' as a consumer"!

If so, his "value" is eliminated, just as

the merchant's gain is *nil* if his losses equal his profits.

If the immigrant's "value" as a consumer equaled his value as a producer there would be no immigration problem—other than an embargo on criminals, the demented and the physically incapable.

Then American workingmen would have no cause for opposing his entry, nor would the American manufacturer desire to import him. That the former opposes and the latter stimulates immigration proves that as a producer and consumer the immigrant is not in balance.

If he is not in balance in these two capacities, what is the cause?

Before seeking the answer, let us first inquire upon what the exponents of the "value" theory base their contention.

Do they mean that an increase in numbers increases efficiency in production, and, therefore, a greater production results?

If so, there should be a corresponding reduction in price.

If, for instance, three persons produce, say, 8, while four would produce 12, then a reduction of price should result of from  $\frac{3}{8}$ ths, to  $\frac{4}{12}$ ths, or, for better comparison, from  $\frac{3}{8}$ ths, to  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths.

If this had been general the most eager to welcome immigrants would be other workers.

It is admitted by all that increased numbers does result in a relatively greater production. Has there been a corresponding reduction in price to consumers? No one so contends. Why not? Why does not this natural law operate? Why is it that from the workers comes the opposition to immigration?

The reason is obvious. They find that an increase in available workers decreases the chances—and, therefore, the remuneration—for workers.

Evidently the balance is out of gear. Evidently their "value" as consumers does not equal their "value" as producers. And this in spite of the increased efficiency which their numbers give.

Why? Because there has been an interference with the natural law.

Why are employers so anxious for immigration?

If an increase in the number of producers resulted in an increase of pay corresponding to the increased efficiency in production, would employers be so anxious to facilitate immigration?

If such increased production resulted either in an increase of pay of, say, from  $\frac{8}{24}$ ths to  $\frac{9}{24}$ ths, or in a reduction of prices of from  $\frac{9}{24}$ ths to  $\frac{8}{24}$ ths, would employers encourage immigration?

If they did, we may be sure it would not be in their capacity of employers, but in some other capacity.

It must be remembered that workers seldom have any other relation to their employers than that of workers, while employers (merchants and manufacturers) are frequently also landowners entirely apart from their real estate used for manufacturing or merchandising.

In this is to be found a part of their desire to increase the available number of workers, as their land is made more valuable by the added population and the increased demand for its use. At the same time the increase in workers increases the competition for employment and so forces down the price to be paid to workers.

But test the "value" theory from another standpoint.

So experienced an employer—and monopolist—as Andrew Carnegie puts the "value" at a thousand dollars a head. Accepting this as the correct measure of "value" let us see how it works.

Suppose a community of a thousand inhabitants, and that ten immigrants arrive. This \$1,000 is based, I assume, upon an estimate of 25 years of efficient production, or an annual "value" of \$40.

If the thousand-dollar theory is cor-

rect, then the return to the one thousand inhabitants has been increased \$40x10, or \$400 equal to 40 cents a head. Although small it is nevertheless a gain, and the workers naturally say, if ten helps why not ten thousand? The following year, therefore, immigration having been induced to that extent, the original one thousand find their wages increased by 4c.x10,000, or \$400 apiece, this, of course being an addition to their own wages. In other words, assuming that the one thousand original inhabitants constituted two hundred families, then each family would as a result of the settling in that place of the ten thousand immigrants, receive an increase of wages of \$2,000.

But it will be said that these figures are fanciful, ridiculous, preposterous. Not at all. Not if the theory of "value" is sound, and if it applies, as it is insinuated it does, to the whole people, *i. e.*, to everybody in the country. This hypothetical case is neither fanciful, ridiculous, nor preposterous. It more than has its counterpart in actual facts. Instead of these people profiting to the extent of \$2,000 a family by the presence in their midst of ten thousand immigrants, their gain will be much greater if—

If what? If they have been "shrewd" enough, "sagacious" enough, "astute" enough, "far-seeing" enough, to get title to not only the comparatively limited area they originally occupied, but also that larger area around them which would be needed by the ten thousand when they arrived. Then the more "sagacious" among them would not merely have unearned incomes of \$2,000 a year, but, as more immigrants came, either from abroad or by birth, they would find the reward of their "sagacity" in forestalling immigrants would run into hundreds of thousands and finally into millions of dollars a year. And that very thing has happened.

While there is no trustworthy data upon which to base an estimate of the annual value of the land of the United States, yet, the best obtainable information is that

the annual value of land in the city of New York is not less than \$250,000,000, *i. e.*, its rental value. This amount is now being paid by the immigrants (native as well as foreign) to the few thousand who got possession of the land and who have been "holding it" for them—otherwise it would, of course, have run away.

One family—the Astors—are credited with the possession of \$450,000,000 of New York city real estate. Undoubtedly from two-thirds to three-fourths of this is land value. Let us put it at two-thirds, \$300,000,000, and the yield at five per cent. or \$15,000,000 a year. The return to the two hundred families of my hypothetical community pales into insignificance when compared to the return the Astors get from immigration—domestic and foreign. They, at least, will not dispute the Carnegie theory that each immigrant has a "value" of \$1,000. Their only regret is that some of this "value" slips past them as it goes to form the basis of other land fortunes in the West and South where some of the immigrants settle.

The American workingman is correct in assuming that the immigrant intensifies competition, but the native-born child does this just as much as he who

comes from abroad. He is wrong, however, in assuming that his fight is with the employer as such. It is rather with the man—whether employer or not—who monopolizes land, thereby forcing workers to compete with each other for its use, with the result that the monopolist draws to himself an ever increasing proportion of the yield of the activities of labor and capital.

Until the workers turn their attention to the dog-in-the-manger, who, doing nothing useful himself, yet because of his monopolization of natural opportunities, is able to demand the lion's share of all production, we may expect that he will continue to strike blindly at effects (immigration) instead of at causes (land-monopoly). And he is not to be seriously blamed if he does, as honest capital, *i. e.*, non-monopolistic, is equally blind. It strikes at labor instead of at the common enemy, monopoly. The average capitalist, no more than the average workingman, understands that the "value" of an immigrant inures to him who monopolizes the soil upon which and from which all, whether immigrant or native, must live, and from which all wealth must be produced.

ROBERT BAKER.

*Brooklyn, N. Y.*

# A PRIMER OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION.\*

Prepared by Professor FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D., President of the National Public-Ownership League and author of *The City for the People*; ELTWEED POMEROY, President of the National Direct-Legislation League; GEORGE H. SHIBLEY, President of the People's Sovereignty League of America; HON. J. WARNER MILLS; ALLAN L. BENSON; Dr. C. F. TAYLOR; RALPH ALBERTSON, Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League; J. P. CADMAN; Dr. J. R. HAYNES; W. S. O'REN; and the Editor of THE ARENA.

## CHAPTER ONE.

### *The Referendum.*

**Q.** WHAT is meant by the Referendum?

**A.** The Referendum means the referring of a law or ordinance or any specific question to the people for decision at the polls.

A vote on a law or ordinance may be taken, not for the purpose of decision, but merely to secure an accurate and definite expression of public opinion. This is a quasi-Referendum or public-opinion vote, such as is in use in Illinois; also in some cities, such as Chicago and Detroit.

The Referendum also means the right of the people to demand the submission of an enactment or measure to the voters for decision; and it is also used to designate a statute or constitutional amendment securing this right.

In Switzerland, during the greater portion of the last fifty years, the Referendum has been a part of the constitutional law of the republic. When a law is passed, if a certain per cent. of the

voters, say five, eight or ten per cent., within sixty or ninety days of the passage of the law petition that the people have the right to pass on the measure, the enactment is held in abeyance until the electorate has voted on the question.

**Q.** Is the Referendum un-American?

**A.** The Referendum is not un-American unless the principle of majority-rule or rule by the people is un-American. It is majority-rule that is important, and whatever means prove necessary to secure it must be adopted.

So far from being un-American, the Referendum is most emphatically American both in principle and practice. From the earliest days of our colonial government in New England the people not only voted directly on specific measures but practically all the laws were made by direct vote of the citizens. This practice has continued in unbroken succession so far as local or town government is concerned, but city and state government has lost its original character. As the growth of numbers made it necessary to rely more and more on representatives, the direct vote of the

\*The term Direct-Legislation is here employed in reference to the Initiative and Referendum, because it is the phrase most generally used in referring to these successful methods of maintaining democratic government which are employed in Switzerland and in this country also to a considerable extent. A more accurate descriptive term is guarded representative government. This is really the best name for the system as it exists in Switzerland and as it is proposed for general adoption here. It is the representative system guarded by the people's veto or Referendum and the people's right to propose a law, which is the Initiative. By such means, and only by such means can the people's sovereignty be assured and the representative system properly guarded. It is a thoroughly practical and simple method or provision for preventing popular government from becoming a possible

despotism under the form of a republic, wherein the public servants assume the *role* of rulers, as was the case in the Republic of Venice under the Council of Ten and later under the Three Inquisitors of State; or a despotism of wealth and privileged interests, as was the case in Florence under the di Medici, when that great family of bankers, to use the language of Professor Vallari of the Royal Institute of Florence, became the absolute rulers "of a republic that was keenly jealous of its liberties, without holding any fixed office, without suppressing any previous form of government." Guarded representative government is an evolution from the less perfect system and tends to an ideal civilization in which the people of great cities, states and nations become the sovereign power and act through representative government.

people was lost, because no one thought of any way in which it could be retained. But now that we have a plan whereby the direct vote can be taken without an assembly of the people, it is possible to go back to the original American system of actual popular sovereignty.

From the standpoint of principle, no government is American unless it is a government by and for the people; and no government can be a government by and for the people where the will of a small body of so-called representatives can override or disregard the will of the people. Therefore, no government can be American without the Referendum by vote in assembly or by vote at the polls, as the circumstances may require.

The town of Brookline, Massachusetts, has been for two hundred years under the town-meeting. It has an uninterrupted history of clean government from the beginning. The town has now about twenty-four thousand inhabitants. It is the richest town in the world and the best-governed municipality in New England.

Q. Is the New England town-meeting adapted to city government?

A. No, it is not. The large number of voters in the city precludes direct action in assembly, and for that very reason it is necessary to adopt the Referendum in order that the voters in the cities may have the same right as the voters of a town to direct and definite expression of their will in regard to any specific measure in relation to which they choose to act.

Q. Has it been successfully applied in government other than that of towns and cities?

A. The Referendum has been successfully applied in making and amending our state constitutions in every state of the Union but one; has been recently adopted in respect to legislative enactments in four states; and in Switzerland for many years, both in the cantons and in the republic or the national government, the Referendum has been in active operation, with the result that the gov-

ernment has been administered in the interests of the people. No corrupt lobbies or privileged interests have been able to thwart the will of the people or to oppress and plunder the citizens, as do the trusts and the public-service companies with us. The success of the Referendum has been so pronounced that there is no serious opposition to it in the republic. It, with the Initiative, has kept the government in the hands of the people.

In addition it has been used and extensively used by the trades-unions, with memberships running into the hundreds of thousands and scattered all over the country, and it has been very successful there. Some trades-unions use this as the sole method of administering their affairs.

Q. Has it proved confusing or difficult of employment in the cantons and the republic of Switzerland?

A. No, the Referendum has not proved confusing or difficult, but has had precisely the contrary effect. It has produced a great simplification of politics and elections by separating men and measures and permitting a direct expression upon each measure by itself disentangled from all personal and party considerations and free from all questions of policy in respect to other measures.

It has produced a great simplification of the Swiss laws. Because these laws must be understood by the people they are short, simple and easily understood, whereas ours are complex, lengthy, ambiguous and hard to understand, and we have to employ an enormous number of lawyers, judges and officials to tell us what the laws mean, and they do not always know.

Q. Has it made frequent elections necessary, thus greatly increasing the cost?

A. Instead of making elections more frequent and thus increasing taxation, the experience of the Swiss is the reverse. It is not worth while for politicians to attempt to squander the people's resources or for private interests to bribe them to do so when the people have it in

their power, upon petition of a small minority, to submit any measure passed by a legislature to a direct vote of the people and veto it if a majority so votes. This removes from the legislators the temptation to corruption.

The Governor of South Dakota, a year or two after the constitutional Direct-Legislation amendment went into effect, said: "Since this Referendum law went into effect we have had no charter-mongers or railway speculators, no wild-cat schemes submitted to our legislature. Formerly our time was occupied by speculative schemes of one kind or another, but since the Referendum has been made a part of the constitution these people do not press their schemes, and hence there is no necessity for having recourse to the Referendum."

Q. Does it take from the people's representatives any just rights that belong to them, or in any way limit their legitimate exercise of power?

A. The Referendum takes from the people's representatives no power that justly belongs to them. The legislators are the agents and servants of the people, not their masters. No true representative has a right or a desire to do anything his principal does not wish to have done, or to refuse to do anything his principal desires to have done. The Referendum merely prevents the representatives from becoming mis-representatives by doing, through ignorance or dereliction, what the people do not want, or neglecting to do what the people do want.

A legislative body may depart from the people's will because it does not know what the people's will is, or because the pressure of private or personal interest, contrary to the public interest, overcomes the legislators' allegiance to the people's will. In either case the Referendum is the remedy and the only complete remedy; the only means whereby real government by the people may be made continuous and effective.

Q. Does it destroy "all the safeguards of debate and discussion, of deliberate

action, of amendment or compromise"?

A. No. The advantages of the present legislative system,—its compactness, experience, power of work, etc., are retained with the Referendum, but the evils of the present system,—its haste, complexity, corruption and violations of the will of the people, are eliminated.

Under the Referendum the city or state has its body of legal experts, trained advisers, and experienced legislators, of course, and they continue to do most of the law-making, but their power to do wrong or stop progress, their power to do as they please in spite of the people is removed. The state that adopts the Referendum has the *service* of its legislators, without being subject to their *mastership*. If the representatives act as the people wish, their action is not disturbed. If they act against the people's wish, the people have a prompt and effective veto by which they can stop a departure from their will before any damage is done. This is a much-needed safeguard of popular institutions.

The Referendum raises the legislators to their old position of councillors or advisers to the people and places them above suspicion, because they cannot sell out. It also gives them an independence they do not now have.

Q. Would it promote "legislative anarchy"?

A. No, but it would defeat the "legislative anarchy" now produced by the pressure of corporate interests upon the people's legislative bodies. The real anarchists are not the people, but those who seek by fraud and corruption to defeat the will of the people.

Q. Under its employment might we, as a United States Senator recently asserted, "easily find ourselves in a position where the mob of a single large city would dominate legislation, and laws would be thrust upon us ruinous to the state itself and to the best interests of the entire people of the state"?

A. No, unless the majority of the people constitute such a mob. If the mass

of the people were unfit for free government, the Referendum or any form of government that would give effect to the people's will would be a mistake—the time for a republic or democracy in that community would not yet have arrived. If, however, we are right in establishing free institutions in this country and adopting government by the people as the foundation of our political structure, then let us have real government by the people and not a sham republic; representatives held in effective obedience to the people's will, and not simply the periodic selection of a new set of masters.

Q. Would legislators be expected to oppose the Referendum?

A. No reason exists why any honest legislator should oppose it. But legislators who put the interest of corporations or other private interest above the public interest might naturally be expected to oppose the Referendum.

A certain class of legislators naturally oppose the Referendum because it diminishes their personal power and their ability to accomplish any private or corporate purpose which might be more or less questionable from the standpoint of public interest.

All legislators who have been corrupted or who desire to be corrupted by public-service corporations and privileged wealth will oppose the Referendum. All legislators who are looking for graft and who are ready to sell out or betray their constituents will oppose the Referendum, for it takes from them the power to effectively rob the people and sacrifice the interests of the public for private gain or the power and place that corrupt wealth is ever ready to aid its own tools in securing. These false or mis-representatives of the people and persons who do not believe in a popular or truly democratic government are opposed to the Referendum.

Q. Why do enlightened and public-spirited legislators of all parties favor the Referendum?

A. Enlightened and public-spirited legislators, without regard to party, favor

the Referendum because they know it will place the heel of public interest upon the neck of private graft.

The best class of legislators everywhere favor the Referendum without regard to party, because they believe the people's will should govern, and even on personal grounds, they have no objection to it, because they know that the power it takes from them is an unjust power, and that the new dignity and consideration it confers on able and honest representatives, as the people's legislative experts and broad-minded statesmen free from all suspicion of corrupt or private motive, is worth far more than the loss of consideration of corporate and private interests that may be adversely affected by the Referendum.

Q. Is the Referendum democratic in theory, fact and spirit, or "subversive of and inimical to popular government," as affirmed by some of those who oppose the Referendum?

A. No, it is government by final vote of so-called representatives, without the check of the Referendum, that is subversive of and inimical to popular government. Since democracy means the rule of the people by themselves, nothing can be more democratic than that measure which would give the people an opportunity to speak directly and legislate directly whenever they cared to do so.

The Referendum is the soul of democratic government and of popular sovereignty.

Not only is the Referendum ideally democratic, but it is the most formidable weapon at the command of the people to prevent the overthrow of democratic government by political machines controlled by privileged wealth.

The Referendum is democratic in fact and spirit because it reënthrones the people themselves in the exercise of a power that was always theirs, with which they ought never to have parted—the power to pass direct judgment upon any given proposition, legislative act or measure. Such a power in the people them-



selves, exercised to promote the interests of the mass and to destroy the special privileges and private monopolies of the classes, can never be subversive of or inimical to popular government. The Referendum is the very quintessence of popular government.

Q. Why was not the Referendum more generally employed during the early days of our government?

A. It was generally used in the early days. In fact it was for a long time the only form of government in use among our Puritan fathers. The legislative function was exercised by the whole body of enfranchised citizens. All laws were either adopted by direct vote or were subject to veto by direct vote. Later, when representative government was established, there was no powerful privileged class seeking to maintain and increase its special privileges. Hence our fathers did not appreciate the peril of privilege or class aggression that might arise and in time subvert and virtually defeat the ends of popular rule. Industry was not so organized in the early days as to afford any such opportunities as exist to-day for robbing the people by means of unjust legislation, and the incentive for the corruption of legislators by private interests was only a fraction of what it is now. Changed conditions now call for changes in methods of government which will best preserve the vital essence of democratic rule.

Switzerland was the first free government to realize that the maintenance of free institutions depended on guarding representative government from the encroachments of class interests or privilege. Her statesmen therefore framed ideal measures in the Initiative and Referendum by which the government has been kept in the hands of the people and through which the great temptations that assail the unprotected legislator have been removed by the people reserving the right to refuse to be robbed or be-

trayed by corrupted or false servants.

Q. Why is it imperatively demanded to-day?

A. The Referendum is imperatively demanded because there has arisen in our midst in recent years a powerful plutocracy composed of the great public-service magnates, the trust chieftains and other princes of privilege who have succeeded in placing in positions of leadership political bosses that are susceptible to the influence of corrupt wealth. These men direct the political machine whose manipulators are liberally supplied with the ill-gotten wealth furnished by privileged interests for future favors and for protection against legislation that might be enacted in the interests of the people. Through this unholy alliance of corporate wealth with political bosses and money-controlled machines, incorruptible legislators and officials are driven into retirement and their places filled with creatures beholden to corporate wealth and monopoly interests. In this manner the government has become largely a government of privileged wealth, for privileged interests, by the lawlessness of the privileged ones and their tools, with the result that the people are continually exploited and corruption is steadily spreading throughout all the ramifications of political life. Against these evils the Referendum is a powerful weapon. It brings the government back to the people, destroying corruption and the mastership of the many by the few.

The Referendum is the surest and swiftest method of checking the aggressions of the great corporate interests that have captured our legislative bodies, from city council to national Congress. It is the fundamental reform before the American people. It is the doorway of progress, the great hope of democracy and good government, the doom of the boss and the machine and of the corporations that want government by the few instead of by the people.

## MEN AND MOVEMENTS THAT ARE MAKING FOR PROGRESS.

**Hon. Frederic C. Howe, Whose Recent Work, "The City The Hope of Democracy," is The Most Notable and Fundamental Work on Municipal Government of The Year.**

**HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE**, whose work, *The City the Hope of Democracy*, is the subject of our book-study this month, is one of a group of fundamental thinkers and incorruptible statesmen and publicists who are the chief dependence of free institutions. They are happily coming to the front on every hand, springing into the breach, as it were, in the hour of democracy's supreme peril.

When Mr. Tom L. Johnson was elected Mayor of Cleveland, Mr. Howe was one of the strongest and ablest Republicans members of the city government. Cleveland's new mayor explained his reasons for advocating the reduction of car-fares, the ultimate acquisition of the street-railway service and other public utilities by the city, and also his reasons for other reforms which antagonized privileged interests but which would make for the happiness and prosperity of the citizens and the purity and efficiency of the municipal government. The reasons advanced, though running directly counter to many views which he had previously entertained, impressed Mr. Howe as worthy of serious consideration and investigation. The more he considered the question, the more he became satisfied that they would unquestionably tend to benefit and advance the interests of the people though they would arouse the relentless opposition of the almost invincible public-service corporations that were coining millions of dollars that should have gone to the city—corporations that were corrupting civic life in order to perpetuate their hold on the wealth and the rights of the people.

To throw his influence in with the Mayor would inevitably excite the bitter opposition on the part of the machine organization of his own party and the great privileged interests. Moreover, Mr. Howe had unconsciously, as have millions of American citizens, become imbued with the reactionary distrust of democracy which the great corporations and

privileged interests have so industriously fostered for many years. But he was before all else an intellectually honest man, clear of vision and under the noble idealism that marks the higher order of minds. He was a fundamental thinker—a man not afraid and not too lazy to think seriously and earnestly in order that he might arrive at the bed-rock truths. So he set to work to exhaustively investigate the questions involved, and the more deeply he studied the situation the more clearly he saw how pitifully superficial and essentially false had been the explanations accounting for the prevalence of corruption and graft and for the failure of free government in our cities, which interested parties had advanced and which had been taken up and echoed by multitudes of well-meaning people. Clearly the tap-root of corruption lay, not in the people, but in the so-called leaders of the business interests who, attracted by the rich prizes of public franchises—veritable gold mines whose output of riches must ever increase—became the sustainers when not the creators of corrupt bosses and who furnished the campaign-funds to make invincible the controlled machines through which politics was reduced to a system in which the minions and servants of privilege were everywhere placed on guard to render possible the betrayal of the interests of the great people whom they were supposed faithfully to serve.

The more Mr. Howe investigated the great problems of the city, the more he found that instead of democracy being at fault, the failure and the corruption were due to privileged and class interests that were polluting the fountain-head of free government. Then for the first time he realized the profound significance of the truth of De Tocqueville's utterance, that "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy."

In tracing the evolution that marks his political life after he began to search for the foundation secrets of corruption in public life and the shortcomings of American municipal government, Mr. Howe says:

"Starting with the conviction that our evils were traceable to personal causes, to the ab-

sence of educational or property qualifications in our suffrage; to the activity of the spoilsman and the saloon-keeper in alliance with the foreign voter; to the indifference of our best citizens to politics because it was politics, I have been forced by experience to a changed point-of-view, to a belief that democracy has not failed by its own inherent weakness so much as by virtue of the privileged interests which have taken possession of our institutions for their own enrichment. From a belief in a business man's government I have come to a belief in a people's government; from a conviction that we had too much democracy I have come to the conviction that we have too little democracy; from a study of history I have been forced to the realization that the progress of civilization has been a constant struggle of liberty against privilege; that wherever privilege has been dominant liberty has passed away and national life has decayed, and that our democratic forms are no more immune from the same dominion than were the nations of antiquity or of modern Europe. It is privilege of an industrial rather than a personal sort that has given birth to the boss, created the machine, and made of the party an agency for the control of our cities, states, and nation, rather than for the advancement of political ideals."

When the question of good government and the people's interests as advocated by Mayor Johnson came up for vote, Councilman Howe did not hesitate to vote for the interests of the city, in spite of the boss and the machine. He knew he thereby jeopardized his political life, but a man of his character never places self-interest above civic duty.

When the time came for nominating a Democrat to run in Mr. Howe's district, the leaders asked Mayor Johnson whom he would suggest they should nominate.

"Why, Councilman Howe," quickly replied the Mayor.

"No, he is a Republican," replied the Democrats.

"He is a good enough Democrat for me," replied the Mayor. "He has faithfully stood by the interests of the people against the grafters and the plundering franchise-interests and against the power of his party-boss and machine. A man who can do that is to be trusted. Nominate Mr. Howe, and let the Republicans ratify the nomination if they wish



Photo. by Moore, Cleveland, Ohio.

HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE.

a clean, able and fearless friend of the city in office."

But the Republicans did not nominate him. They selected a man on whom the machine could depend.

Mr. Howe was reelected and has steadily gained in the confidence and love of the people.

Last autumn, when the people of Ohio joined in the revolt of the decent and honest element in various boss-ridden and corruption-controlled states and brought about a revolution against the bondage and degradation of the new unrepublican feudalism of wealth dominated by the boss and the money-controlled machine, Mr. Howe was triumphantly elected to the Ohio State Senate, where he is to-day one of the strongest and clearest-visioned leaders of the anti-graft and progressive forces that are battling for clean, honest and free government.

**"The Two Ambitions": A Striking Piece of Relief Work by Frank F. Stone.**

A STRIKING and highly suggestive allegorical work in relief has recently been completed by Mr. Frank F. Stone of Los Angeles,

California, a half-tone of which we give in this issue. The sculptor has, we think, been very happy in making the clay tell his story. How well does the sleek, well-fed, self-centered figure represent the egoist who through wealth, the assumption of divine rights, the accident of birth or the sword of force seeks power, prestige and advantage over others! The night of physical force, the assumption of temporal power by religious hierarchies that since the days when the prophets were slain and the Great Nazarene was condemned have constantly striven to gain and exercise a power in the State that was not arrogated for himself or claimed for his disciples by the Founder of Christianity and the further assumption on the part of monarchs and aristocracies of special privileges, are all admirably typified by the sculptor in his striking figure.

And equally felicitous is the type of the noble humanitarian who, thoughtless of self and unwilling to rise alone, has fixed his eyes on the heights to which he is raising his weaker brother who in the depths would sink to the oblivion of night were not such aid accorded.

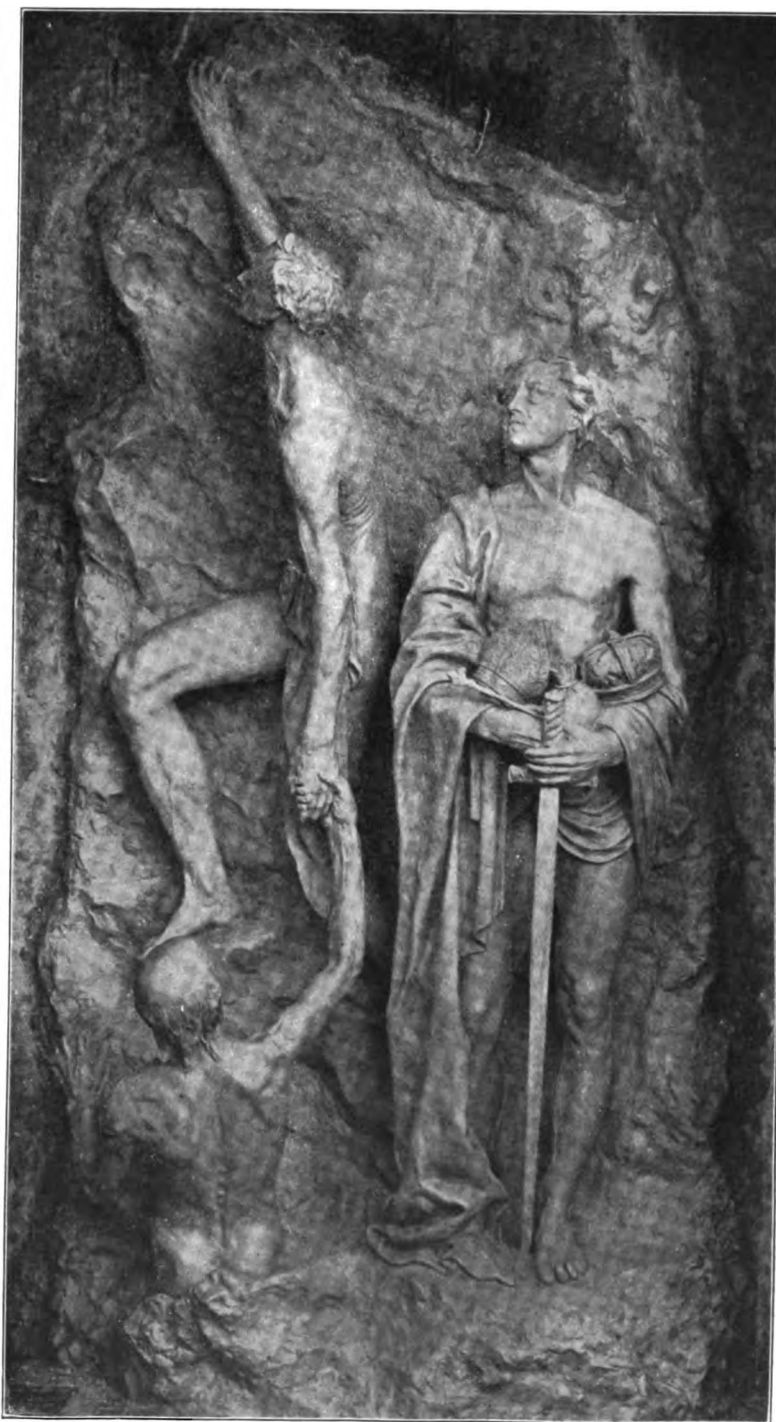
Here we have epitomized the heart of the great struggle that is now raging throughout the civilized world between the forces of enlightenment, progress and brotherhood and those of imperialism, militarism, clericalism and reaction. The forces of progressive democracy are actuated by the spirit of altruism. To them the Golden Rule is an ideal for the rule of life. Peace, fraternity, liberty and justice are words of living fire—words that symbolize the soul of the incoming age. They have seen the vision and can never be seduced or won over to that which is sordid, low or unworthy of the best in man; while the dominating influence in the forces of reaction is egoism—conscious or unconscious distrust in the divine resident in man, born of infidelity to the vision that comes to every soul—egoism that has allowed lust for power, lust for gold and lust of the flesh to dim the moral vision and destroy all sense of ethical or spiritual proportion. Wherever we find egoism triumphant we find intolerance, dogmatism and the spirit of persecution in religion, while in business and political life we find a savage determination to crush opposition, by force if necessary or by crafty efforts to gain by indirection, corruption and graft where these things offer victory. All thought of the sacred

rights of others,—the happiness, prosperity and unfoldment of the millions—is subordinated to what others think they should believe or to the selfish ends aimed at by those who through force or craft seek for vantage.

#### **Prime-Minister Seddon: The Nestor of Practical Governmental Fraternity.**

THE HON. RICHARD SEDDON is without question one of the most commanding figures among the statesmen of the present. He is, we think, fully entitled to rank among the foremost constructive statesmen of the democratic age. True, he did not inaugurate the policy which he has so ably and effectively developed, but he has carried his people steadily forward along the lines of progressive democracy as has no other statesman within a hundred years. His ideal has been justice for all the people and the making of a commonwealth where there shall be no uninvited poverty on the one hand and no unearned fortunes on the other. His faith in the people has been as pronounced as has been his readiness to give ear to any plan for increasing the prosperity and happiness of the masses. "If you trust the people and do that which is just and right, you need have no fear," he declares, and the recent overwhelming victory won for his government is the popular verdict in reply to his claim.

No statesman of modern times in a responsible position has achieved anything like so much for the wealth-creators or the masses as has Mr. Seddon. Under the Liberal government of New Zealand land for settlement laws have been supplemented by the building of homes for workers and the selling of them on terms to encourage home-building. Conciliation or arbitration laws have abolished strikes and lock-outs and thus saved to the workers vast sums while removing from the people the hitherto ever-present menace which strikes and lock-outs involve and the enormous burden of increased cost incidental to these war measures between labor and capital. Factory legislation favorable to the toilers, old-age pensions, workers' compensation, employers' liabilities, wage protection and provisions for the higher education of the children of the people are only a few of the radical measures carried into successful operation under the Liberal government of New Zealand, looking toward increasing the happiness, security, prosperity and development



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

**"THE TWO AMBITIONS."**

of the wealth-creators. Then the general provision for marketing the products of labor and the operation of the railways and all public utilities in the interests of all the people are other typical examples of what a twentieth-century civilized government can successfully carry forward when the welfare of all the people is not subordinated to the rapacity and greed of a privileged few.

Mr. Seddon has also gone further than any other statesman in his efforts to protect the helpless ones of the nation. His old-age pension laws have been supplemented by state nursing homes and other provisions for the protection and help of those needing the support of wisdom and love embodied in the State.

With the Prime Minister's imperialistic and protection views we confess we have no sympathy, but we rejoice to note that since the recent election he has signified the intention of the government to reduce duties on the necessities of life.

#### **Democracy in Education; or, The School City in Practical Operation.**

OUR RECENT sketch of the life and work of Wilson L. Gill, the originator of the School City, has been widely noticed. This and the extended descriptions of the School City which appeared in preceding issues of THE ARENA have awakened such widespread interest on the part of our readers that we are assured that the following graphic pen-picture of a metropolitan School City, taken from the New York *World* of Sunday, March 25th, will be read with the keenest interest by our friends.

In passing we would say that the School City movement is spreading rapidly and its success is as pronounced as it is astonishing to skeptics, wherever the schools are well organized and the teachers enter into the work with intelligence and enthusiasm. Of course there are many cases where persons who are ill-fitted for teaching and who take little joy in their work fail to grasp the tremendous importance of this work, either as a factor in the development of the character of the young or its significance for democracy, and in such instances schools have sometimes failed.

Mr. Bernard Cronson, the principal of the successful School City in New York City which is described below, speaks of several failures in that city, but Mr. Gill assures us that success has uniformly attended the School Cities

where they are well organized and where the teachers take the interest in the City that the potential value of the work warrants. And this is also the testimony of Mr. Ralph Albertson, Secretary of the National School City League and organizer for the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Albertson informs us that he is devoting all his spare time to the organization of School Cities, and the results are most gratifying to teachers, scholars and the great cause.

The chief drawback in pushing the work forward is the lack of funds at the command of the League for the expenses of the organization.\*

The following story taken from the *World* gives a fascinating pen-picture of what any one may see any week in the school described, and not only here. With slight variations the same spectacle may be witnessed in scores upon scores of similar School Cities that testify to the superiority, excellence and the practicability of self-government for the young or democracy in education.

"Children running their own school, rounding up truants, trying and punishing offenders, enforcing discipline and clean hands and shoes, leaving to their teachers only the actual work of teaching, is the unique spectacle to be seen at Public School No. 125, in Wooster street, just below Bleeker street. Teachers of other schools smiled incredulously when they heard of the experiment Bernard Cronson, the principal, was about to try, for they knew it was to be done in a district populated by extremely poor foreigners. But their incredulity has vanished, for those who have visited the school have found order and discipline that cannot be matched in any other school in New York.

"Ninety per cent. of the children at this school are Italians, as the names of the officials they elected on February 1st would indicate.

"Mayor, City Attorney, Board of Aldermen and three Judges are elected every three months. The Mayor appoints two chiefs of

\*All persons interested in this important movement, which we believe to be the greatest educational advance step introduced since the days of Pestalozzi and Fröbel and an innovation in education that is vital to democracy, should send for literature to Mr. Ralph Albertson, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

police—one boy and one girl—who select their deputies; a Health Commissioner, who appoints his deputies. The Judges appoint a clerk of the court, and the Aldermen elect a President of the board.

“The other day a lady was pleading with Principal Cronson to use his influence to get a boy out of the Catholic Protectory, and the principal was urging her to let him stay there three months for his own good. The lady, apparently a missionary or settlement worker, seemed unsatisfied, so Mr. Cronson sent for Rocco Montemora, the Chief of Police, and asked him to tell the visitor what he knew of Tony —. Rocco, a bright-eyed, thick-set, rosy-cheeked lad of about thirteen, answered gravely:

“He got in with a tough gang; he would not come to school, but spent his time loafing on corners and stealing.’

“‘Stealing!’ cried the visitor.

“Yes, ma’am. He was one of de gang dat broke into —’s saloon and stole a lot of lead and brass pipe. I sent my detectives after him several times, but he would not come to school.’

“‘I think I had better let him stay at the Protectory a while,’ said the lady, ‘or he may land in the penitentiary.’

“‘Yes, ma’am,’ answered Chief Montemora, very gravely.

“The chief of police takes his position seriously; it is no play for him; he goes out into the streets and arrests boys who ought to be at school and are not; if they refuse to come in he reports them, and they are sent to the truant school.

“He and his aides catch boys smoking cigarettes and arrest them for that.

“They stop street-fights and have the fighters punished—not by the courts, not even by their teachers, but by the school court, of which three little girls are judges. This court is the most striking feature of the School City, for its decisions are obeyed without question, though the prisoners are often great hulking bullies, and the judges are only three winsome little girls.

“The most important personage in the school is Giacomo Casale, the Mayor, a tall, intelligent, but quiet youth of about sixteen. . . . It is he who calls the school together and manages the morning assembly and the afternoon dismissal. At these important gatherings not a teacher is in sight except the young

woman at the piano, and she has her back turned to the pupils and acts under the direction of the Mayor. The children assemble in their class-rooms under the direction of their class presidents, and at the sound of the bell (rung at a word from the Mayor), march to their places in the assembly-room. The Mayor stands facing them; the police, boys and girls, at their appointed places. It is the duty of the police to see that the lines and files are in perfect alignment, and that there is no disorder. A ring of the Mayor’s bell and all are seated. Another ring and every hand is placed upon the desks, while the health squad passes up and down the lines examining hands and faces. Then follows an inspection of shoes. Dirt is reported to the court, not to the teachers. All this takes only a few minutes, and at 9 o’clock sharp the Mayor turns to the teacher at the piano and gives her the word. She strikes a chord, at which the school rises like one person. Another chord, all bow; boys on the right to girls on the left, and vice versa. The opening hymn follows, sung with a dash and volume that proves not only excellence in musical training but actual enthusiasm on the part of the children. However, 90 per cent. of them are Italians, so the singing ought to be good.

“The Mayor motions to the teacher again and she begins the march that sends all to their class-rooms, walking with a military step and bearing that has nothing of stiffness in it, but is perfect in precision.

“In the class-rooms the work goes on as if by machinery. One morning last week Principal Cronson pointed out two rooms in which there were no teachers. Entering unannounced the visitor found a room full of small girls, silent, absorbed in their work, while at the teacher’s desk was one of the pupils correcting exercises. The principal entered a minute later and asked the little teacher how the children had behaved themselves that morning.

“‘Not quite so well as they might have done, sir,’ she replied, ‘and I am afraid I shall have to report one or two of them.’

“The other teacherless room was full of boys and equally intent upon their work and equally well behaved.

“At 3 o’clock court opened in the assembly-room. Only the officials of the city school and two members of each class were present

when the three judges took their places behind the desk that serves as a bench. What a pretty court it was! In the center sat the presiding justice, Victoria Raffo, a bright, intelligent girl of about fifteen; on her right was Adelio Celio, as perfect a specimen of girlish beauty as ever was seen, with the profile of a Greek Goddess, an oval, refined face, thin, but ideally-shaped lips, lustrous brown eyes and a complexion of rose-buds and snow. The bench was completed by Jennie Terrelli, the other associate justice, as bright a face as you ever saw, with a pair of snapping brown eyes and a merry smile about her lips. These three girls had been elected judges by the votes of the school-fellows and—be it said in honor of the gallantry of these sons of the Latins—the boys are in a majority and it was their votes that filled the bench with girls.

“At the feet of the judges sat the clerk of the court, Dorothy Buchner, a dainty little Jewess and one of the few children in the school who are not of Italian parentage. At her side stood the tall City Attorney, Joseph Pepe, a pale, intelligent youth, with his briefs and notes ready in his hand. Before them upon the benches sat witnesses, prisoners and spectators.

“Hear ye! Hear ye! All those persons who have any business in this court draw near and be heard.”

“The City Attorney called the first case, that of Carlo —, who was charged with playing hookey. That was not the term used in the indictment, ‘truancy’ was the term, but they mean the same thing.

“A sad-faced boy shambled forward, looking guilty, but pleading the reverse. The chief of police testified that he had reported the delinquent and sent Policeman Ferrari after him. Ferrari, a small but bright boy of about twelve, said he had found Carlo in Sullivan street playing, had told him to come to school and Carlo had refused.

“What have you to say about it?” asked the presiding justice of the shamefaced prisoner.

“Me mudder sent me to de store to buy groceries,” replied the prisoner.

“How long were you away from school?”

“A day and a half.”

“Did it take you a day and a half to buy the groceries?”

“No, your Honor.”

“Are you sure you were not away from school for two days and a half?”

“It was one day and a half.”

“I think it was two,” answered the little judge sternly. ‘Ferrari, how many times did you go for Carlo?’

“Twice, your Honor. And I went to his mother, too.”

“What did she say?”

“She said he was out playing.”

“Carlo, who kept you away from school?”

“Nobody.”

“Did n’t your mother send you to school?”

“When they came for me.”

“The three judges’ pretty curly heads came together for a whispered consultation, after which Presiding Justice Victoria Raffo announced:

“Carlo, we find you guilty and sentence you to go to the late room class for one week.”

“Carlo grinned as he turned away. Justice Jennie Terrelli, fire in her big brown eyes, called him back.

“Carlo,” she said sharply, ‘you will go to the late room for an extra week for contempt of court.’

“The grin on Carlo’s face vanished and it was a solemn boy that marched away from court.

“The next prisoner pleaded guilty to laughing in school and was informed that as it was his third offense he must go to the late room for three days.

“Harry Bernstein got one day in the late room for disorderly conduct in the assembly-room and Ruggiero, for the same crime, second offense, got two days.

“The next case was a serious one, a lad being charged with getting up a gang to help him fight another boy. ‘He slugged me,’ said a witness, when bang went the presiding justice’s gavel, and she cut him short with:

“The Court insists that proper language be used, and no slang.”

“It developed that several other members of the gang were in the room, so the two chief offenders were sentenced to a week in the late room and two days in the ungraded room, while the Chief of Police was instructed to look into the connection of the other boys with the disturbance, and their case was adjourned for a day.

“The calendar being exhausted, the presiding justice asked if there were any complaints.

“A tall fellow (president of his class), came forward and complained that Sicatello and



other boys had attacked him in the street. Sicatello was brought to the bar.

"Why did you attack him?" asked the presiding justice.

"He was fighting a little fellow, and I told him to stop. He would n't, so I hit him a punch in the jaw and he pulled a blackjack—"

"Bang! Bang! Bang!" went the judge's gavel.

"Punch in the jaw?" "Blackjack!" cried the presiding justice. "What words. Use respectful language and tell the Court what a blackjack is."

"There was a titter all over the room.

"Silence!" ordered the presiding justice, angrily. "If there is a repetition of that laughter I will have the court cleared."

"There was no more laughing.

"The boy said a blackjack was an iron or lead bar or ball covered with cord.

"Have you the blackjack with you now?" asked the presiding justice.

"No, your Honor."

"The Chief of Police will take the names of these boys, and investigate the matter," said the judge. "Anything more?"

"A policeman arraigned a boy and charged him with being reported repeatedly for disorderly conduct and the use of improper language.

"The clerk will issue a warrant," said the pretty little Judge.

"That being all, the clerk read solemnly: 'Hear ye! Hear ye! All those,' etc., etc., in the formula familiar to all who have attended court.

"The writer asked the presiding Justice how she was able to enforce her sentences.

"The sentiment of the whole school is be-

hind them," she replied. "It would be impossible for any child to defy the whole school."

"And what is your opinion of your court and its effect upon the school?"

"It has worked wonders," replied the girl, with a bright smile. "The discipline in this school has improved even more than we expected."

"The Mayor, young Giacomo Casale, held a trial last week. A health inspector had proved derelict in the discharge of his duties and the mayor wanted to dismiss him, but the chief of police, health commissioner and other officials of the School City urged upon him that the delinquent lad was entitled to a hearing, so the mayor set a day, heard the charges and let the offender off with a severe reprimand and a warning that a repetition of such neglect would entail his dismissal from office.

"After meeting the city officials the writer said to the Mayor:

"Now, I want to meet your Charlie Murphy."

"Casale laughed: 'There is no such person in our city government. I am my own boss. There is no graft and there are no grafters among us.'

"Do you expect to run for a second term?" (The officials are elected for three months.)

"No," he replied, "I expect to have been graduated by the time the next election comes around."

"How do you like your position?"

"Fine!"

"And you feel you are doing good?"

"You have only to look around the school to see what splendid results we are producing. This is the most orderly school in the city."

# POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



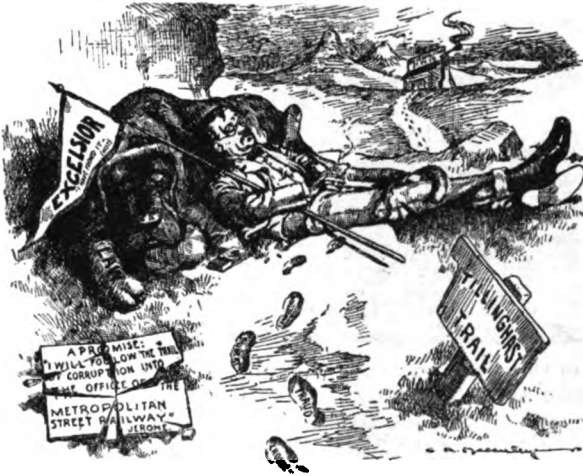
Hiscocks, in the New Zealand Graphic.

## WHEN NEW ZEALAND'S PREMIER SPEAKS.

Prime-Minister Seddon, as seen by a New Zealand Caricaturist.



Warren, in the Boston Herald.  
**THREE-CORNERED MATCH AND THE ODD MAN STUCK.**



Macauley, in the New York World.  
**"A TRAVELER, BY THE FAITHFUL HOUND."—Longfellow.**



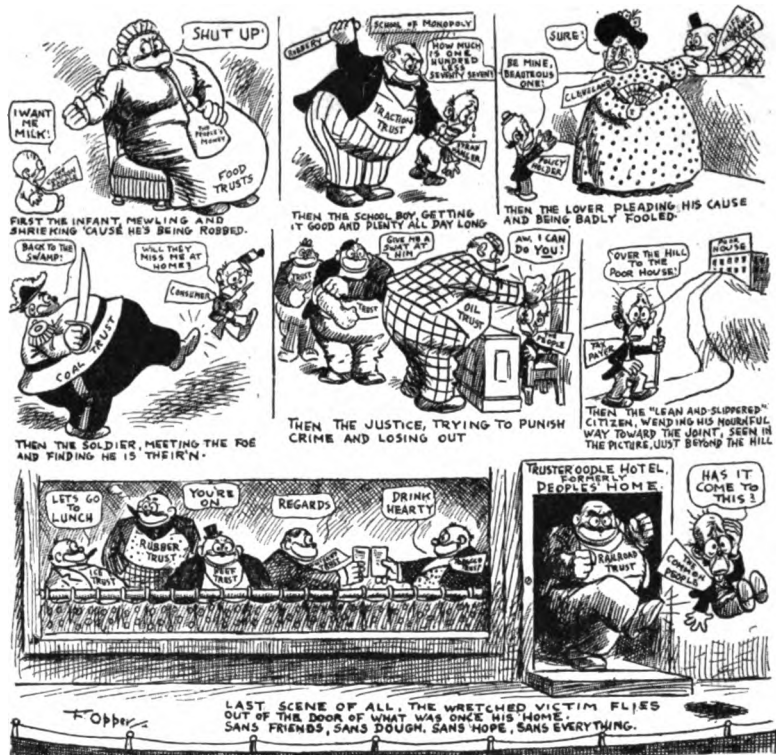
Macauley, in the New York World.  
**"STAND BACK!"**



Carter, in the Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)  
**SQUEEZED OUT OF HIM!**



Carter, in the Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)  
**GETTING NEARER AND NEARER.**



Opper, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. B. Hearst.)

**MONOPOLY LODGE ENTERTAINMENTS.**

The next number is a series of charming Shakespearian tableaux entitled "The Seven Ages of The Common People."



Macauley, in the New York World.  
"DRAG HIM OUT!!"



Macauley, in New York World.  
THE PLACE FOR SNOOZER.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## AN AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH WHERE THE PEOPLE REALLY RULE.

### Oregon: The Standard-Bearer of Freedom in The New World.

**T**HE STATE of Oregon at the present time presents an inspiring illustration of a great free commonwealth such as would have won the admiration of Jefferson and of Lincoln and which must fill with pride and courage the heart of every lover of free institutions everywhere who believes in democracy as opposed to class-rule; for here we see guarded representative government in full flower. Here we find the realization of the dearest dream of Thomas Jefferson and the fulfilment of the most earnest prayer of Abraham Lincoln—a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Here we find a government where the people have been great enough and wise enough to guard against corruption and the peril of mob-rule by embedding the rule of the people in their constitution.

### A Concrete Example of Practical Democracy.

On the fourth of next June the electorate of Oregon will vote on four proposed constitutional amendments and a bill for a law, all of which have been brought forward through the popular initiative. For several weeks the commonwealth has been a vast school in which the electors have been engaged in the serious discussion of great fundamental political questions. In a free government nothing is more important than that the people be constantly kept in intimate touch with their government; that they constantly consider the great issues which will make for the prosperity, the happiness and the development of the commonwealth and her children; and this is one of the beneficent results following from the wise provisions of Direct-Legislation or guarded representative government.

In order to have the proposed amendments and statute submitted to the people, it was necessary to secure 7,500 signatures to each proposed act. In order to secure these sig-

natures the People's Power League of Oregon, a loose organization of high-minded patriots, published and circulated the petitions. They were prepared in the form of rather bulky pamphlets bearing on the outer cover the United States flag in its colors, and a brief digest of the proposed legislation, together with the officers and executive committee of the League and directions to signers and circulators of the petitions. The pamphlet contained, in addition to the blank pages necessary for signatures after each proposed act, a clear, succinct argument showing why the proposed act was demanded. Then, following the prescribed form, came the proposed article or statute to be voted upon.

Inasmuch as there is no question before the American people to-day that is comparable in its importance to free government and the interests of the individual as well as the State, to Direct-Legislation, and because here we see a people exercising their sovereign power calmly, rationally and judicially, we reproduce the general statements with which the pamphlet opens; also the argument, the form of presentation and the wording of the first of the proposed constitutional amendments:

### *Arguments and Suggested Amendments to The Constitution of Oregon and an Anti- Pass Law for Public Officers.*

"Improvements in the art of self-government are as much the result of experiments as improvements in machine tools. There is only about seventy-five years of experiments by many men between the reaping cradle on the one side and the self-binding reaper and the combined steam-harvester and thresher on the other; between the quill-pen and the modern type-writing machine; between the stage-coach and the hundred-ton locomotive. Similar examples run through all our daily experience with tools.

"The difference between the people's government of Oregon and the Czar's government of Russia is almost wholly the result of

less than 200 years of experiments by many towns, cities and states with new laws, proposed by many different men.

"During the past sixteen years the people of Oregon have tried several very interesting experiments in the art of self-government, including the Australian ballot-law, registration of voters, the initiative and referendum on state laws and in the city of Portland on charter-making, statutory regulation of party primaries and a direct primary nomination law.

"The net result of these experiments is conceded to be better and more satisfactory government.

"ARGUMENT.

"The referendum petition now filed against the appropriation bill for the current expenses of the Insane Asylum, Penitentiary, Reform, Deaf Mute and Blind schools, University, Agricultural College and Normal schools, principally because of objection to the appropriations for so many normal schools, proves the need for this amendment. In this case, appropriations for about eight hundred thousand dollars which are necessary and to which no one objects, are held up for the election because they are included in a bill with other appropriations of about two hundred thousand dollars, to which many people do object. This causes inconvenience and the loss of much money by the state in the payment of interest.

"We have not provided for extending the veto power of the governor to single items of appropriation bills, because it seems unnecessary when the voters can protect themselves as they can if this amendment is adopted, and also because we believe it is unwise to increase the one man power in our government. The adoption of this amendment will give the people power to control salaries of county and district officers.

*"To the Honorable F. I. Dunbar, Secretary of State for the State of Oregon:*

*"We, the undersigned, legal voters of the State of Oregon, respectfully demand that the following proposed amendment to Article IV. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon to be designated in the Constitution as Section 1A of Article IV. of said Constitution, shall be submitted to the legal electors of the State of Oregon for their approval or rejection, at the regular general election to be held on the 4th*

*day of June, being the first Monday in June, 1906, and each for himself says,*

*"I have personally signed this petition, and my residence, post-office and voting precinct are correctly written after my name."*

"Article IV. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be and hereby is amended by inserting the following section in said Article IV. after Section 1 and before Section 2, and it shall be designated in the Constitution as Section 1A of Article IV.

"Section 1A. The referendum may be demanded by the people against one or more items, sections or parts of any act of the legislative assembly in the same manner in which such power may be exercised against a complete act. The filing of a referendum petition against one or more items, sections or parts of an act shall not delay the remainder of that act from becoming operative.

"The initiative and referendum powers reserved to the people by this Constitution are hereby further reserved to the legal voters of every municipality and district, as to all local, special and municipal legislation, of every character, in or for their respective municipalities and districts. The manner of exercising said powers shall be prescribed by general laws, except that cities and towns may provide for the manner of exercising the initiative and referendum powers as to their municipal legislation. Not more than 10 per cent. of the legal voters may be required to order the referendum, nor more than 15 per cent. to propose any measure, by the initiative, in any city or town."

The other three constitutional amendments relate (1) to the right of the people of any city or town to enact and amend their municipal charters without interference on the part of the legislature; (2) to the matter of selecting the state printer and his compensation—a measure calculated to guard against graft and favoritism; (3) to providing for the submission to the people of any proposed amendment to the constitution after it has passed both branches of the legislative assembly by the vote of a majority of all members elected. (The present provision compels the proposed amendment to be submitted to two legislatures before the people have the opportunity to vote, unless the amendment is secured through the initiative petition.)

The statute proposed for enactment by the people prohibits passes and discrimination

in rates by public-service and business corporations, and makes it a misdemeanor for any officer of the state to accept any favors whatsoever from public-service corporations.

Between eight and nine thousand names of qualified voters were secured to the petitions—a number considerably in excess of the required 7,500.

#### **What The Popular Initiative Has Already Achieved in Oregon.**

This is not the first time the popular initiative has been invoked by the citizens of Oregon to further the interests of good government since the state embedded Direct-Legislation in its constitution. In 1904 a carefully drawn direct primary nomination law was submitted to the people as the result of a popular petition signed by more than eight thousand voters. It was triumphantly approved by the electorate. "This law," writes Mr. W. S. U'Ren, Secretary of the People's Power League of Oregon, in a letter just received, "seems to be utterly destroying the political machines." And Mr. U'Ren also states that Direct-Legislation has proved very popular in Oregon. It is favored by all parties and all the great representative bodies of the commonwealth. The bankers, the doctors, the merchants and the lawyers, no less than the farmers, mechanics and laborers are overwhelmingly in favor of this effective measure for guarding representative government. It is recognized as "the corner-stone of a true republican form of government," as was "substantially the decision of our Supreme Court" in its ruling upholding its constitutionality.

The people recognize the wisdom and importance of these provisions for maintaining republican government, by which they can regulate or remove abuses by monopoly and prevent the possibility of the placing on the statute books of laws that favor any class at the expense of the people, or are otherwise inimical to the public weal, such as have so frequently of late been enacted in city and state governments in other commonwealths through corrupt practices.

#### **Some Facts About The Introduction of Guarded Representative Government in This Commonwealth.**

Owing to the importance of this question which will more and more engage the attention of all thoughtful friends of free government, and because Oregon has almost ideal

constitutional provisions for guarded representative government, we give a few typical facts relative to its successful introduction.

Direct-Legislation was rightly advocated in a strictly non-partisan manner, because it is a measure that must appeal to the reason and judgment of all persons who believe in the fundamental principles of democracy or free government. Many of the strongest and best citizens of all parties and in all walks of life heartily urged its enactment.

H. W. Scott, the talented editor of the *Daily Oregonian* of Portland, one of the ablest Republican daily papers in the United States and by far the most influential journal in Oregon, said:

"The referendum is an obstacle to too much legislation; to surreptitious legislation; to legislation in particular interests; to partisan machine legislation, and to boss-rule. No predatory measure could be carried before the people. The legislative lobbyist would be put out of business."

Hon. J. N. Teal, president of the Taxpayers' League of Portland and one of the leading lawyers of the Pacific coast, thus expressed his views:

"I favor the adoption of the proposed amendment to the constitution of the State of Oregon, popularly known as the Initiative and Referendum amendment, on many grounds and for many reasons. The fact that this power is reserved in the people will unquestionably have a decided tendency to discourage vicious legislation, for if an act is passed and the people are dissatisfied, by petition they can require its reference to them before it becomes effective, and if they then permit it to go into effect they can have no one but themselves to blame. Moreover, it permits the people to initiate measures, a reform which is an absolute necessity, as all who are familiar with legislative action are aware. It will prevent extravagance, encourage good government, promote home rule, and, above all, will bring home to the people a sense of personal responsibility—the very corner-stone of good government."

Mr. A. L. Mills, vice-president of the Security Savings and Trust Company of Portland, declared himself as follows:

"I heartily favor the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the constitution for many reasons; but, if for no other, because it

will be possible then for cities and towns to make and amend their charters without the consent or interference of any party machine."

And Mr. C. C. Loucks, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, said:

"The people of Switzerland have succeeded in making laws by the initiative and referendum under which labor and capital live in peace, and I believe we shall be able to do as much under the same system in Oregon."

These extracts are typical of scores of favorable expressions by representative citizens in all callings and walks of life. For ten years

the subject had been agitated, and in 1899 the measure first came up for action in the state legislature. It was carried with but thirteen opposing votes in both houses. The Republican, Democratic and Socialist state conventions favored its submission to the people, and when it came up for the second passing of the legislature in 1901, there was but one opposing vote in the legislature. Then came the submission to the people at the election in June, 1902, when it was approved by a vote of 62,024 in favor to 5,668 against it. Thus over ninety per cent. of the electorate of the commonwealth endorsed Direct-Legislation.

## THE MARCH OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP.

### Five Reasons Why We Favor Municipal-Ownership.

**P**ERHAPS no question before the citizens of American municipalities is exciting such general interest from ocean to ocean as public-ownership of public utilities. We have recently received a great number of communications from friends in almost every section of the land, asking for reasons why we favor the people owning and operating the natural monopolies. We have, so far as possible, answered these letters personally, but the increasing number of such inquiries suggests the wisdom of giving in *THE ARENA* a few reasons for advocacy of public-ownership and operation of public utilities. Below we give as briefly as possible, owing to limitation of space, a few reasons which impress us as being of special importance in this connection:

(1) Public-ownership and operation of public utilities would save our cities a vast and ever-increasing volume of wealth more valuable than gold mines, because there is no danger of this wealth diminishing, but, on the other hand, every passing year that adds to a city's population will add to the receipts that will enrich the city, lower the taxes, increase the pay of employes and lower the cost of public service. Under private-ownership all the wealth that should thus contribute to the prosperity and benefit of the city and her people is diverted into the pockets of a few over-rich people. In many instances these people belong to the great New York syndicates of

multi-millionaires. The net earnings of the Boston Elevated Railway Company alone amount to between three and four millions of dollars a year, all of which is diverted from the city to the pockets of a comparatively few persons, many of whom are not even residents of Massachusetts. Against this enormous loss in regard to one of the public utilities, sustained by the citizens of Boston through the readiness of the state and city authorities to listen to the lawyers and the lobbyists of the private service corporations, we place a few typical illustrations of public-ownership in English and American cities.

Manchester, England, owns and operates its street-railway service, and last year, after allowing for interest and depreciation, the municipal-owned service showed an actual profit of \$675,000, while the city has also made concessions to the employes in holidays and shorter hours the cost of which is estimated at \$250,000 a year, and the reduction of fares since the city has taken over the street-railways amounts annually to \$250,000 more. Thus the city and the citizens of Manchester are annually realizing more than a million dollars a year from the municipal-owned street-railway service.

The facts given below are condensed from a recent report by United States Consul Griffiths of Liverpool.

Since public-ownership of the street-railway companies was inaugurated in 1897 in that city the mileage has been doubled; more than three times as many people are now carried as under private-ownership; receipts have



increased almost 90 per cent.; fares have been reduced almost one-half, while the length of rides for a single fare has been increased three-fold; the average speed of the cars has been increased three miles per hour; the tramway employes receive much higher wages than under private operation; over \$2,800,000 has been set aside for a sinking-fund reserve, renewals, etc., while the capital obligation has been reduced over half a million dollars and the city has received for relief of local taxation over \$490,000.

The following facts, relative to the results of municipal lighting in Edinburgh, are condensed from a recent report by United States Consul Fleming of Edinburgh.

When the city a few years since took over the electric-lighting plant the citizens were paying 12 cents per unit for light and 7 cents per unit for power, and the city paid \$97.33 per arc light. Under municipal-ownership the citizens pay 7 cents per unit for light and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per unit for power, while the city pays but \$53.53 per arc light, or \$43.80 less than it paid under private-ownership. And notwithstanding these great reductions in cost to the citizens and the city, the city's net revenue on the lighting plant last year amounted to \$578,867, leaving a net profit, after the payment of costs and interest and devoting \$136,018 to a sinking-fund, amounting to \$102,884.

A further illustration of the general favorable results attending municipal-ownership of street-railways in Great Britain is found in the statistics given from the Board of Trade returns at the close of the fiscal year 1904. According to these returns there were 162 tramways under municipal-ownership and operation, and these yielded a net revenue over all operating expenditures of \$9,500,000. The return on the investment made was 8 per cent. There were 1,194,782,762 passengers carried and the average fare paid was 1.1 cents.

Turning from Great Britain to America, we find again the immense value of public-ownership wherever it has been fairly tried. Take, for example, the city of Duluth, Minnesota. When the municipality installed municipal gas-works in 1898 the citizens were paying \$2 per thousand cubic feet for illuminating gas. The city immediately cut the price to \$1.50. Later it was reduced to \$1 and still later to 90 cents. Now it has been reduced to 75 cents,—a clear saving to the people of \$1.25 per thousand feet. So tremendous was the saving and so satisfactory

the result of municipal-ownership of the gas-plant that the electric-light company became alarmed. It had been charging the city \$109.50 per standard arc (of 2,000 c. p., burning all night and every night), but in 1900 it was glad to make a three years' contract with the city at \$70 per arc. The citizens, however, continued to agitate for a public electric plant and the sentiment grew so rapidly that in 1901 the private corporation urged the city to give it a new contract at \$55 per arc, or \$44.50 per arc less than it charged when the city was entirely at the mercy of private lighting companies. And in addition to this, under the new arrangement the private company furnishes one arc to each public park, lights the city hall and furnishes 25 incandescent lights in the police headquarters free of all charge.

The city of Detroit furnishes another striking illustration of the result of municipal-ownership. In 1895 the city installed a municipal electric street-lighting plant, and according to the report of 1905 this plant had already saved the city more than one million dollars. At the time the municipality determined to install its own plant the city was paying \$132 per street arc and its lowest bid on a ten-year contract was \$102. To-day under municipal-ownership the total cost is less than \$60 per arc. This includes interest, depreciation and lost taxes. Labor under the municipal plant receives an eight-hour day and union scale of wages, with full pay and free medical and surgical treatment for those who are injured in the service.

(2) Under public-ownership the service is far better than under private control, for the same outlay. In Great Britain, for example, in every instance where public-ownership has superseded private-ownership the service has been immensely improved, and wherever in England to-day private-ownership still exists the service is inferior to that where the municipalities operate the utilities. The special-pleaders for the private corporations have claimed that in some instances the service in public-operated utilities in England is inferior to the same service in American cities under private control, but such comparisons are manifestly unfair. To arrive at just conclusions comparisons must be made under similar conditions and where the two systems operate side by side; and here, according to so eminent, careful and conscientious an authority as Professor Frank Parsons, the au-

thor of *The City for the People, The Story of New Zealand, The Railways, The Trusts and The People* and *The Heart of the Railway Question*, municipal-ownership and control results in immensely improving the service while yielding large revenues, reducing cost of service and increasing the pay of laborers. These conclusions were arrived at by Professor Parsons after a careful personal investigation of municipal-ownership throughout Great Britain, and his conclusions are in perfect accord with the reports of various United States consuls in different cities of Great Britain and with the conclusions of other authorities who are not directly or indirectly under the influence or in the service of the privileged interests and public-service corporations.

(3) The favorable results where public-ownership has been fairly tried are such as to leave no doubt as to its utility. This is so obviously the case that public-ownership is steadily spreading wherever once introduced. In England the public-service corporations a few years since made a desperate attempt, through the *London Times*, to mislead the public in regard to this question, but the sophistries advanced were so quickly exposed and the false statements made were so thoroughly refuted that the only result was a rapid spread of municipal-ownership throughout Great Britain. In conservative Germany public-ownership has proved so successful and satisfactory that it is steadily and rapidly spreading. The results in Great Britain and in Germany, as in progressive New Zealand, all clearly establish the fact that under public-ownership and operation all the people enjoy the advantages that enrich the few under private-ownership; that under public-ownership corruption is brought to a minimum, while under private-ownership and operation the corruption of public servants invariably reaches a maximum. Public ownership and operation is sane, practical and imperatively demanded in the interests of sound morality, wise economy and pure democracy.

(4) Public-ownership greatly stimulates a healthy civic life. No fact is more clearly proven than that direct responsibility fosters good government and creates a vital interest in those things in which the people are directly concerned. So long as private corporations own public utilities, they will own the city government in so far as that ownership is vital to the pockets of the public-service magnates;

and this very ownership prevents the best citizens from serving the community, while it interposes the boss and the party-machine between the people and their own government. Eliminate this chief producing cause of corruption in civic life, and the present venal and recreant officials who owe their position to party bosses and the favor of private corporations, will give place to officials who will represent the true interests of the city. There can be no such thing as pure and honest municipal government so long as powerful and corrupt corporations are reaping millions of dollars from the franchises which belong to the people. Eliminate this evil and give the people the responsibility of public-ownership, and we may expect the same results to follow as have followed in New Zealand, in Germany and in Switzerland and in many American cities,—an awakened civic conscience and a marked improvement in the management of all public functions, no less than a much higher standard among public officials.

(5) But above and beyond all other reasons rises that of public morality and civic rectitude. The public-service corporations have been, as has been established by overwhelming evidence, the chief fountain-head and source of corruption in our municipal, state and national life. They have been promoters of graft and the sponsors and protectors of the grafting element in politics. The corrupt boss and the money-controlled machine have derived their almost invincible power from the great campaign funds and other benefits contributed by the public-service corporations; and wherever, so far as we have been able to ascertain, public-ownership of any public utility has seemed to prove a failure, the secret of non-success has been found in the fact that private-corporations operating other public utilities have been strong enough to install and hold in office their minions through vast campaign and corruption funds, thus rendering powerless the rule of the people or the triumph of civic morality. Thus it was with the gas plant in Philadelphia. Had not the street-railway companies, the Pennsylvania Railroad and other public-service corporations been so powerful as to make the corrupt boss and his fraud-perpetuating machine long invincible, the apparent failure of the gas-plant would never have occurred. So long as private parties can reap millions upon millions of dollars annually through monopoly rights in public franchises, government will be cor-

rupted in all its ramifications, the corrupt politicians will be kept in the front, and government will become less and less democratic as it becomes more and more debauched by privileged wealth. This has been the result in the United States in the past and it will continue to be the result until the people destroy the chief source of corruption—the great lure held out to daring and avaricious minds in the monopoly rights in public franchises.

Under public-ownership at times there may be corruption, just as there is corruption in private business management and corruption in public service, but the people are ever quick to punish such corruption when discovered, if there are no protecting powers behind the political malefactors, no powerful privileged interests with the most cunning and unscrupulous lawyers, to aid in protecting the offenders. Witness the conviction of Senator Mitchell and Senator Burton, with no feudalism of wealth behind them. Witness the exemption from punishment or disgrace of other rascals who can rely on the privileged interests and public-service companies to protect them. In the post-office department, when corruption was discovered the guilty parties were punished in spite of all efforts, and the investigation was pushed until it came to the great scandal of the railway extortion in carrying mails—an extortion far greater than the annual deficit of the postal department, but here no thorough investigation was pushed. Why? Because here stood the chief source of national debauchery and political degradation. The great bribe-givers of the nation who with passes, courtesies, free transportation and numerous other forms of bribery, together with the steady pushing forward of their trusted servants in political life and the destruction of their enemies, have become like the Standard Oil trust, so powerful that they are destructive to pure government.

Once let the people own and operate their public franchises and utilities, so that they can deal directly with recreant servants without being thwarted by a strongly entrenched plutocracy based on special privileges, and they will secure good service, or the corrupt and the inefficient will be punished and driven to private life; but so long as so-called public servants are in fact the creatures of public-service corporations and privileged interests, they will be the servants of the interests and the betrayers of the public. The corruptionists will more and more be pushed to the front by corrupt bosses and money-controlled ma-

chines at the behest of public-service companies. The cause of civic morality and democracy imperatively demands public-ownership and operation of public utilities.

### Seattle Elects a Municipal-Ownership Mayor.

THE RESULT of the recent municipal election in Seattle, Washington, affords another illustration of the fact that from the Atlantic to the Pacific the people of our American cities and towns are awakening to the vital importance of the people taking over the immensely valuable public utilities, not only that they may reap the benefits of these exhaustless gold-mines whose output will necessarily grow greater and greater with every passing year and which under municipal-ownership will go to lower the cost of the utilities to the people, to increase the pay of employes in the public service and to reduce taxes, but also in order to put a stop to the rapid growth of political corruption arising from private-ownership of public utilities, which will ever increase while private interests, in order to enjoy enormous benefits, find it necessary to control government and thus change the real mastership of the official class from the people to the public-service corporations and their servants who operate the political machines.

Seattle is the leading city in the growing state of Washington. For over fifteen years the water-supply has been owned and successfully operated by the city. Recently the municipality installed a lighting and power plant and last year the people started a movement looking toward the city taking over the street-railway service. Seattle, however, like most American municipalities, was in the grip of a political machine largely dependent upon and operated in the interests of the public-service corporations; so the council, responding to its real masters, pigeonholed the popular petition and refused to submit the question to the citizens. This occasioned a storm of indignant protest on the part of the best element of all parties. Seattle is normally Republican by eight thousand majority, but the subserviency of the officials to corporate interests aroused the best element of the Republican party to a realization of the fact that the interests of the city were being sacrificed to the rapacity of the real masters of the municipal government; so early in January a municipal-ownership party was organized and entered the field.

The Republican machine was strongly entrenched and the corporations controlled all the daily papers; so the traction and other public-service interests were at first little disturbed over the outlook. It soon developed, however, that the city wanted public-ownership, and the masters of the machine became alarmed. Money was poured into the Republican treasury and spent in a lavish manner to stem the tide. Every method known to "the interests" was resorted to to mislead and deceive the people. But happily for civic progress the voters have been deceived so often by selfish privileged interests and their hirelings that they are everywhere coming to recognize the wolf under the lamb's skin.

The Municipal-Ownership party nominated Judge William H. Moore, and after the most exciting campaign in the history of the city—a campaign in which the daily press, the public-service corporations and the Republican machine and administration, backed by vast campaign funds, combined against the Municipal-Ownership ticket, Judge Moore was elected by a majority of 15 votes. It is clear, however, that his majority would have been greatly increased had it not been for the fraudulent votes cast and the criminal tactics resorted to by the machine. Numbers of citizens, when they came to vote, found that others had voted on their names, and indeed the tactics of the Butler Democratic machine of St. Louis, the Tammany Democratic ma-

chine of New York, the Durham Republican machine of Philadelphia, and the Cox Republican machine of Cincinnati seem to have been repeated by the aroused and alarmed machine and municipal administration of Seattle. Thus the victory of Mayor Moore was far more pronounced than appears on the face of the returns.

The council is heavily Republican, but with the recall in the city charter and with an able and alert Municipal-Ownership Mayor and the knowledge that the city is overwhelmingly in favor of Municipal-Ownership, there is, we think, little danger of any particularly offensive corrupt acts or betrayals on the part of the city council, such as have marked so many American municipal governments in recent years.

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#### Extension of Municipal Lighting in a Large Western City.

AT THE recent municipal election in Seattle the people voted to extend the service of the municipal lighting and power plant to the public. The municipal plant has been in operation for over a year, but heretofore it has been operated only for the city. The vote for the extension of its privileges to the citizens was 9,968 for and 1,511 against, or over 8,000 majority, despite the efforts of the public-service interests to defeat the march of municipal-ownership.

### DIRECT-LEGISLATION NOTES.

#### The Triumph of The Recall in Seattle.

ONE OF the most important municipal victories in the interests of good government and popular rule was the adoption at the recent election of an amendment to the city charter of Seattle, Washington, providing for the popular recall. The vote stood 9,312 for the recall and 1,271 against it, or over 8,000 majority for the amendment.

Under this amendment a petition signed by 25 per cent. of the voters will compel any elective officer to face the voters at a special election, and if the verdict is adverse to him he will be relegated to private life.

The right of recall and the referendum and initiative are practical methods for maintaining popular government against the aggres-

sions of the enemies of free institutions who as beneficiaries of privilege are seeking to establish corrupt class-rule under the mantle of democracy or republicanism.

The citizens of Seattle have honored their city, making it one of the pioneer municipalities in the great battle for civic righteousness, pure government and popular rule against the corruptors of government and the friends and beneficiaries of class-rule and privileged wealth.

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#### Governor Folk's Strong Stand for Direct-Legislation.

RECENTLY Governor Folk was interviewed by the St. Louis *Star-Chronicle*, when the reporter asked this question:

"In your opinion, Governor, what is the remedy for needless legislation and 'sand-bagging' measures?"

The chief executive of Missouri replied:

"It is the initiative, the referendum and the recall. If we are to have a government of the people, by the people, the nearer it is brought to the people the better.

"Under the present plan of government an increasingly large number of measures are passed at the biennial session of the legislature. They go through with a rush, especially in the closing hours of the session. It is impossible for the executive to examine these bills with the care their importance deserves. The result is that many measures become laws that should have been vetoed; others that should have become part of the statutes may have fallen beneath the governor's veto.

"The governor's veto is a good corrective for evil legislation, but the most effective is the initiative and the referendum."

On another occasion Governor Folk said:

*"If the referendum had been in force there would have been no need of my prosecutions because there would have been no bribery under that system."*

It is encouraging to see the intrepid champion of common honesty whom Missouri has wisely placed in the highest office at her command, ranging himself unequivocally on the side of the most important and needed practical reform of the day—that method of procedure that has proved perfectly simple and effective in preserving free government from the aggressions and usurpations of privilege and class-rule.

#### **Practical Democracy as Illustrated in The Government of The Richest Town in The World.**

THE RECENT town-meeting in Brookline, Massachusetts, affords another illustration of the practicality of pure democracy in municipal government. Brookline is a town of about 24,000 inhabitants. It has been under the New England town-meeting government for over two hundred years. During that long period there has never been any scandal connected with the government of the town such as disgraces modern city rule, especially since the public-service corporations have become dominant elements in municipal

affairs. This town was one of the first in the state to install a free public library, and later it took the lead, we believe, among all New England municipalities in building and equipping a magnificent public bath for the citizens. At this bath the public school children have the opportunity to be taught swimming, first aids to the drowning, etc., free. Brookline cleans off the sidewalks in winter and waters the streets in summer, and in other ways looks after the comfort and convenience of its citizens as do few if any other towns in New England. The taxes are from three to five dollars per thousand less than those of surrounding towns and cities.

On March 14th the annual town-meeting was held. When the first four articles in the warrant were disposed of, including the election of all officers for the ensuing year, a committee of thirty citizens was appointed to act with the moderator of the meeting, the town clerk and the board of selectmen to consider and report on the remaining eighteen articles in the warrant at an adjourned meeting to be held on the night of the 28th of March. The committee reported in a pamphlet of sixteen pages which was delivered to every voter in the town several days prior to the adjourned meeting. The citizens therefore were fully acquainted with the subjects to be legislated or voted upon and also with the recommendations of the committee and the reasons for their decisions. At this meeting the citizens appropriated \$1,320,517.19. Of this amount \$207,558 was appropriated for the current annual expenses for the public schools. The town also provided for the building of a municipal gymnasium to cost \$100,000, and for the erection of a municipal heating, lighting and power plant to furnish heat, light and power for the manual-training school, the high school, the public baths and the proposed municipal gymnasium.

The meeting was ideally democratic and marked by the spirit of freedom that should be present in all public assemblies where democratic ideals prevail. Most of the suggestions of the committee were adopted. Many of them called forth general discussion and in one notable instance a recommendation was voted down by a narrow vote. It afterwards developed that in the committee of thirty there was an almost equal division on this question.

The town of Brookline is reputed to be the richest town in the world. It is, we believe, the best-governed town in New England and

is a striking example of the practicability of Direct-Legislation or of pure democracy in municipal government.

In large cities, of course, the precise meth-

ods of the town-meeting are impracticable, but here the Initiative, Referendum and Right of Recall will meet all the vitally important demands of an ideally democratic government.

## SOME VITALLY-IMPORTANT SUPREME COURT DECISIONS.

### **The Decision Against The Tobacco and Paper-Trusts.**

**S**INCE the famous somersault of Justice Shiras which killed the income-tax, many momentous supreme court decisions have been decided by the narrow margin of one or two votes, and many of these decisions have been very perplexing to the lay mind,—so perplexing, indeed, that the supreme bench has unquestionably lost much of the old-time popular reverence which attached to this august tribunal of last resort.

Two or three recent decisions, however, have done much to reinstate the bench in popular regard and to check the rapidly growing apprehension on the part of many thoughtful citizens that some members of the court, by virtue of their long having been corporation attorneys, had become unconsciously biased in favor of corporate wealth to such a degree that they were unable to rise above the habits of thought of years and view questions apart from all prejudice.

In the decisions rendered in the tobacco-trust and paper-trust cases the court, by a vote of 7 to 2, denied the contention of the trusts which sought to avoid answering questions that would prove the guilt of the corporation, on the grounds that the testimony would be incriminating. In this decision the court ruled that:

“The right of a person under the Fifth Amendment to refuse to incriminate himself is purely a personal privilege of the witness.

It was never intended to permit him to plead the fact that some other person might be incriminated by his testimony, even though he were the agent of such person. . . .

“The individual may stand upon his rights as a citizen, but the corporation is a creature of the State. It is presumed to be incorporated for the benefit of the public. Its powers are limited by law. It can make no contract not authorized by its charter. Its rights to act as a corporation are only preserved to it so long as it obeys the laws of its creation.”

### **The Decision in Favor of The Citizens in The Chicago Street-Car Controversy.**

**A**NOTHER extremely important recent supreme court ruling relates to the Chicago street-railway controversy. The Illinois legislature several years ago granted a ninety-nine-year lease of life to the street-railway companies, but the city franchises granted for five hundred miles of track have expired, while the two hundred remaining miles of track will expire in 1911 and 1915. The supreme court holds that while the company is entitled to live to the ripe age of ninety-nine years, it cannot operate on the streets of Chicago longer than the city franchises permit, without new franchises being given by Chicago. This decision is of far-reaching importance and is rightly regarded as one of the most significant victories won for the cause of popular government in the warfare being waged between the people and the plutocracy. The supreme court stood 6 to 3 in this decision.

## SHADOWS ON OUR BUSINESS AND POLITICAL LIFE.

### **Exhibitions of Brazen Contempt for Law and Order by Leading Representatives of The Plutocracy and by Officials Complacent to The Great Corporations.**

**T**HE REPUBLIC and the world at large has recently beheld two amazing illustrations of contempt for law and the orderly

and prescribed methods of justice on the part of typical representatives of the plutocracy and of officials in active sympathy with the corporations that dominate city and state government.

The flagrant defiance of the Supreme Court of Missouri by H. H. Rogers, which we noticed in a recent issue of *THE ARENA*, and

his insolent remark that it was immaterial to him what the court desired, typify the attitude of the criminal rich since they have come to regard the government as their slave. True, Mr. Rogers has since been forced to confess to facts that he had previously refused to give, but it was only after he had put the people of Missouri to great expense and delayed the operations of the machinery of justice in a manner that would not have been tolerated if the insolent defier of law had been a poor instead of an over-rich man.

Another representative of this precious band was in his automobile when served by an officer of the law with a subpoena. He started up his machine and dragged the process-server some distance, seriously imperiling his life and limb.

Even more offensive, perhaps, than the course pursued by these gentlemen, has been the action of John D. Rockefeller. He has not only been practically a fugitive from the representatives of the law, guiltily hiding for many weeks, but he has surrounded himself with retainers who have offered violence to the representatives of law and justice in their attempts to serve their subpoenas. Later it seems that John D. Rockefeller decided that he would grant an audience to the representative of the Supreme Court of Missouri, provided the representative of the court came humbly to him in private. Never before, we think, has such brazen effrontery and contempt for law been exhibited by a man claiming the protection of the machinery of justice as that described in the following press despatch to the *Boston Herald* published on March 27th:

"NEW YORK, March 26, 1906.—John D. Rockefeller volunteered to-day to testify in the Missouri proceedings against the Standard Oil Company, but attached a condition to the offer which Attorney-General Hadley refused to accept.

"I do not know anything about the facts you are after," is the substance of Mr. Rockefeller's statement, made through John D. Archbold, a vice-president of the Standard Oil and for many years closely associated with the company's president, "but if you will meet somewhere in private, I shall be glad to answer any question you may put to me. I refuse, however, to appear in public, where I would be subjected to notoriety and cartooning, and if you want to talk to me, you will have to do it alone."

"We have only one way of examining witnesses in this proceeding," was Mr. Hadley's prompt reply, and there the incident was closed."

While the Standard Oil crowd was so industriously striving to destroy popular respect for law and order and to convince the American public that the criminal rich are above the law, the officials of Colorado and Idaho, who are in most intimate sympathy with the great corporations of those states, were doing even greater violence to the orderly operation of the machinery of law and justice. Ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho had been assassinated and a Pinkerton detective had obtained an alleged confession from a discredited labor man implicating leading officials of the Western Federation of Miners in the murder. The Governor of Colorado was secretly appealed to to extradite the accused men. Instead of having them brought before him and giving them an opportunity to show cause why they should not be extradited, the Governor became a party in the secret conspiracy to spirit the accused out of the state. He granted the requisition. The men were arrested late at night and refused permission to see their friends or even to bid their wives good-bye. When they reached Idaho they were thrown into prison and treated with the greatest indignity. An exchange thus describes the legal outrage perpetrated, which has profoundly aroused hundreds of thousands of American working-men who believe the accused to be the innocent victims of alarmed and lawless corporations and their equally lawless tools:

"When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnapped into the Idaho penitentiary they were denied even the privileges accorded to convicted murderers. They were placed in solitary confinement, the lights taken from their cells, and not allowed to communicate with their friends or read the newspapers. It was only after remonstrance by attorneys for the defense for several days with the officials of Idaho and publishing the facts in the few papers not controlled by the moneyed powers, that the officials of the prison were compelled to allow them the papers, a little more liberty, a bath and a change of underclothes. Great is the 'Land of the Trust and the Home of the Slave.'"

*The Rocky Mountain Daily News* of Den-

ver, the greatest and most influential paper of Colorado, in an able editorial discussing the dark-lantern methods of the authorities, said:

"The manner in which the arrests were effected was repugnant to the spirit of the laws and constitution of this state, and the *News* feels that the officials responsible for the proceeding merit the severest censure.

"The *News* has always stood for the orderly administration of law. It has insisted that the ægis of the constitution should protect the poor and helpless as well as the rich and powerful. That is the true interpretation of our scheme of government. Any other theory must inevitably lead to anarchy and its attendant class strife.

"The law should be enforced in an orderly fashion. This was not done in the case under consideration. The Idaho authorities induced Governor McDonald to issue a requisition for the accused before the arrests were made. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were seized by a force composed of members of the state militia, Sheriff Nisbet of this county and his deputies and the officers from Idaho. They were not taken into custody like ordinary criminals. They were set upon in the night, thrown into carriages and hurried to the county jail. They were refused permission to communicate with their friends or counsel. On Saturday night, when representatives of the *News* asked employés of the county jail concerning the arrests, they were assured that the labor leaders were not in custody. Every official approached reiterated the falsehood. Yesterday morning the prisoners, escorted by members of Colorado's state militia, were placed on a special train and hurried out of the state.

"The *News* contends that Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone should have been treated exactly like any other men accused of a serious crime. They should first have been placed under arrest. Then the Idaho authorities should have presented their requisitions to Governor McDonald and the attorneys for the accused should have been given a hearing. If the chief executive was convinced that the Idaho authorities had evidence which implicated the prisoners in the assassination the requisitions should have been honored. The facts should not have been concealed from the public, and the military arm of the state government should not have been used.

To deprive the accused of the advice of counsel was unpardonable.

"The whole proceeding reminds one of the extraordinary acts of Peabody and Bell, and will subject Governor McDonald and the other officials concerned to the same popular criticism which drove the first-named officials from public life.

"The memory of the lawless reign of Peabody seems like a hideous dream, and Colorado had fondly imagined that the fires of class hatred had been extinguished never to be relighted."

We are not now concerned with the innocence or guilt of the accused. Indeed, we do not wish to confuse the issue we are discussing at the present time by touching upon the merits of the case. What we are now denouncing is the eminently unjust procedure of the officials of Colorado and the inhumanity of the officials of Idaho. If Governor McDonald and his plutocratic backers and friends had believed that Messrs. Moyer, Hayward and Pettibone were guilty and that the government had anything like as strong a case as the deeply interested officials, the corporation chiefs and their hirelings are trying to make the public believe, then there was all the more reason why the government should have scrupulously followed the regular order of procedure. The case should have been argued in Colorado, as it would have been if one of the plutocracy—if a member of the Guggenheim family, for example—had been wanted on a criminal charge by the authorities of another state. The accused should have had all the advantages that would have been accorded to a wealthy citizen similarly accused. They were entitled to nothing less. And then these men when incarcerated in prison were entitled to humane treatment. They were accused of a capital crime, but there had been no trial and no guilt had been established; yet they were treated in a manner that would bring shame and disgrace on any civilized commonwealth for its treatment of any human being, guilty or innocent. Moreover, during all this time the Governor of Idaho has been doing all in his power to prejudice the case and render an impartial trial impossible in the State of Idaho, by repeatedly declaring his belief in the guilt of the accused. The action of the governors of Colorado and Idaho, the officials and the corporation backers and their hirelings in the



press is precisely what would have been the course of persons bent on convicting and conscious of a weak case, and it is precisely the reverse of what should mark official conduct in any case.

We can conceive of nothing so well calculated to bring law and order into public contempt as such exhibitions of lawlessness and contempt for legal forms, order and justice as have been witnessed in the Standard Oil case in New York and in the amazing conduct of the officials of Colorado and Idaho in the Steunenberg case.

### An Unsound and Unsafe Secretary of The Treasury.

ALL THOUGHTFUL persons will agree that it is of the utmost importance that the secretary of the treasury be a man not only of unquestioned probity himself, but one free from entangling alliances with privileged wealth, and especially with those banking interests whose master-spirits are known in the commercial world as high financiers or reckless speculators. If the secretary of the treasury be so beholden to any class or to any individuals that when the criminality of some individual or individuals is charged he so far forgets the obligation imposed upon him, he hastily and without any thorough or adequate investigation vouches for the accused and declares that he has not violated any law, when the reverse is true, he is totally unfit to occupy so important a position as that of head of the treasury department.

It will be remembered that when Mr. Bryan was nominated for the presidency in 1896, one of the chief alarmist cries raised by such distinguished patriots for personal revenue as the late John A. McCall, Senator Chauncey M. Depew and other high financiers of Wall street and beneficiaries of corporate wealth who entertained a wholesome fear lest some aggressively honest statesman should be elected president, was that if elected Mr. Bryan would be liable to select for the head of the treasury department some unsafe or unsound man, and the credit of the nation would thereby be imperilled. Yet when the secretary of the treasury is a man not only thoroughly satisfactory to the high financiers, but a person whose recklessness is such that without knowing the facts involved he rushes to the defence of a law-breaker at a time when he of all men, instead of whitewashing or attempt-

ing to whitewash the alleged law-breaker, should have been insisting upon a rigid investigation of the charges, we hear little criticism.

It will be called to mind that shortly after the failure of the Chicago National Bank, grave charges were made against John R. Walsh for violating the national banking law. Then it was that Secretary Shaw rushed headlong to the defense of the accused, volunteering, to use the language of the editor of the Boston *Herald*, "the testimony that not one dollar had been taken from the bank dishonestly. There was nothing in the bank's suspension, in his opinion, that would justify even talk of criminal prosecution. No embezzlement, no theft was suggested, and for every dollar taken out gilt-edged security was pledged." Yet on March 2d Mr. Walsh was arrested on criminal charges after an exhaustive examination of the bank by special bank-examiner A. L. Curry. The warrant charged him with "violation of the national banking laws in making false returns to the comptroller of the currency and also asserts that he converted to his own use without proper authority, funds of the bank amounting to \$3,000,000."

The warrant in its specific charges claims that:

"The said John R. Walsh unlawfully made certain false entries to the effect that at the close of business on the 9th day of November, the amount of loans and discounts of the said banking association on which the officers and directors thereof were then liable either as payer or indorser, was \$245,000, whereas in truth the amount of such loans and discounts was \$3,000,000, and another false entry to the effect that the amount of loans and discounts of the said association of which the officers and directors were not liable as payers of indorsers was \$10,658,226, whereas the amount of such loans and discounts on which officers and directors were not liable was \$7,500,000.

"It is further alleged that John R. Walsh and John M. Smith and William Best, directors, and others unlawfully misapplied the money by converting it to the personal and private use of John R. Walsh without any proper authority whatever."

What confidence can the people place in a secretary of the treasury when to screen and protect a member of the high finance communism of privileged wealth, he thus volun-

tarily appears as his defender and with all the weight of the department that should be acquainted with all the facts involved, gives him a clear bill of health?

It is one of the unfortunate features of President Roosevelt's administration that he has surrounded himself with men whose relations with the privileged interests are of the most intimate character—men who either have been themselves leading representatives and beneficiaries of privilege, or who have for years and years been the hirelings and the special-pleaders of many of the most odious of the great corporate organizations. The disgraceful and humiliating spectacle of the secretary of the treasury rushing into print with his ill-advised and, in the light of the investigations of his own department, inexcusable defense of Mr. Walsh would have been impossible had the treasury been presided over by some great broad-minded statesman whose interests had not long been along the line of special privilege in banking and who had not been tainted by intimate relations and connections with the high financiers who have so discredited and demoralized the commercial affairs of to-day. Like Mr. Root, who since the days when he accepted a brief for Boss Tweed has been constantly, with the exception of the brief periods when he has been in public life, one of the most efficient tools of the great corporate interests of New York—the lackey, so to speak, of men like Ryan—Secretary Shaw is a reactionary whose sympathies are out of alignment with those of the great struggling masses who are rightfully demanding that the same measure of justice be meted out to the rich rogues and law-breakers as is rigorously meted out to poor men who offend in far less measure.

And in this connection it is well to remember who Mr. John R. Walsh is. For years he has been one of the strongest supporters of what is now popularly known as the "system." His paper, the *Chicago Chronicle*, for a time masqueraded as a Democratic journal while upholding high finance, reaction and special privilege. Before the last presidential election, however, Mr. Walsh threw off his mask and joined the Republican procession, shouting for safety and sanity, which too frequently mean protection for grafters. Mr. Walsh was among the most vociferous clamorers for the triumph of the "Grand Old Party" during the last campaign; and such appears to be the community of interest between the head

of the treasury department and the high financiers that the secretary, without vouchsafing anything like a personal or careful examination, vouches for the rectitude of Mr. Walsh and declares that his securities are gilt-edged, only a few weeks before his own department is forced to ask for the arrest of the banker on a warrant making serious criminal charges.

We repeat that no man so reckless of facts and whose interests are with the peculiar kind of financiers of which Mr. Walsh is a type, should be permitted to remain one day in the important position of secretary of the treasury.

Even so conservative and in many respects so reactionary a publication as the *Boston Herald* is alarmed at the reckless spirit exhibited by the secretary, and in an editorial which appeared on March 6th thus pointed out the dangers of having this kind of a safe and sane man at the head of the financial department of the government:

"There is one more point of even greater importance. What the secretary of the treasury holds to be gilt-edged securities may be of great interest to the public. The government is to deposit with the banks some \$10,000,000 of public funds, accepting as security therefor such bonds as the secretary may believe suitable for the purpose, those bonds to be received at 90 per cent. of their face value. That, we presume, calls for gilt-edged security, and the secretary of the treasury is to decide what is gilt-edged. Prior to Secretary Shaw's advent in office the treasury did not deposit funds with banks unless it received national bonds as a pledge. There was surely no risk in loaning public money when public certificates of indebtedness were demanded as collateral for the full amount of the loan. Secretary Shaw placed a new and strained—in our opinion an unjustifiable—interpretation on the law by accepting bonds other than those of the national government as security for such deposits. He appealed to Congress for legislation defining what bonds might be so accepted, and Congress failed to pass the legislation.

"The secretary was not embarrassed by the failure; he has taken the matter into his own hands again. Possibly Secretary Shaw will not hold that those securities which he classed as 'gilt-edged' when held by the Walsh bank had a heavy enough gilding to justify their acceptance as securities for public deposits on which, be it remembered, no interest

is to be paid. The determining of that question is too wide a range of power to give to any member of the administration. . . . Perhaps if the matter was brought before the supreme court, our highest judicial body might not

agree with Secretary Shaw that the words 'by the deposit of United States bonds and otherwise' could be properly construed as meaning 'by the deposit of United States bonds or otherwise.'"

## COÖPERATION.

### Utilizing Corporation Laws for Co-Operative Progress.

**WE** HAVE from time to time called the attention of our readers to the excellent work being carried forward in relation to practical coöperation by the Right Relationship League. The work of this organization has progressed steadily and healthily, and we see no reason why it should not soon exert in the Middle Atlantic States an influence even greater than the Rochdale stores and the Coöperative Fruit Exchanges of the Pacific are exerting for the cause of voluntary coöperation.

Just as we are going to press we have received the following excellent article by H. A. Hodge of Ann Arbor, Michigan, relating to the utilization by the League of the corporation legislation that has been enacted in the interests of the few for the spoliation of the many, for the purpose of facilitating the progress of practical coöperation in the New World.

"The Right Relationship League, of which THE ARENA has made frequent mention, held a meeting in Chicago, commencing March 8th. J. B. Smith, Esq., of Madison, Wis., was elected president for the ensuing year and Miss Clara J. Biddle of Chicago, secretary-treasurer. The meeting developed a hopeful and enthusiastic spirit. It was decided to district the country for further organizing work, placing each district under the supervision of an accredited representative.

"In its efforts to found coöperative stores (and this work has been very successful), the League has experimented with the corporation laws of several states. One result has been to show that the corporation, that instrument which has been used so successfully by the commercial pirates of the world in their raids on the earnings and savings of the people, may become an equally valuable instrument in the defense of those earnings and savings. The form of corporation adopt-

ed by the League embraces these features; the ownership by each member of a company of one share of the capital stock *and one share only*, the division of profits on the 'Rochdale' plan and the abolition of proxies. In lieu of proxies, nominations and elections are made by mail. The use of the proportional and preferential ballot, the initiative and referendum, the imperative mandate and the right of recall furnish additional safeguards for the individual.

"Of these special features, that of equal ownership is of most interest. It is made effective by its incorporation in the by-laws and by having those sections of the by-laws printed on each stock certificate.

"The laws and decisions in some of the states may bar the adoption of the equal-ownership plan but in most of the states the tendency is to the view that the members of a corporation may make binding agreements among themselves limiting their ordinary rights of sale and transfer of stock. An additional safeguard would be to have these features embodied in the charter of a company.

"We have now reached a point in economic advance when it is of the utmost importance that attention should be given to constructive, remedial measures. Whatever is attempted must be in harmony with our democratic ideals. We do not need, nor should we encourage the permanent interposition of the dominant rich man in our industrial affairs. The equally-owned corporation, as used in the League work, may not be the only way, nor the best way, to accomplish results, but it is a demonstrated possibility, it is within the reach of all the people and therefore is entitled to consideration.

"In the League plan, the first step is to organize the people as consumers. From the retail company it is an easy step to the organization of a wholesale business. The wholesale business would be more successful if it handled the goods of equally-owned,

coöperative factories. Each step in this process would afford another opportunity for the common man to make a small and safe investment. Even the railroad, which is such a necessary instrument for our national

welfare and at the same time an indispensable factor in the present 'system' of exploitation and oppression, might be owned by the people who use it and whose use of it creates its commercial value."

## THE MARCH OF EVENTS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

### Europe a Cauldron of Social Unrest.

**N**OT SINCE 1848, when western Europe was convulsed by revolutionary uprisings, has there been present such widespread and profound unrest as is witnessed to-day. On the surface, save in Russia, at the present writing all is calm, yet no student of history can fail to appreciate the gravity of the situation in several lands; and what makes conditions especially ominous for the reactionary powers is the fact that to-day as never before in the history of the world the masses who represent the protest of liberalism and democracy are consciously at one in aims and purposes throughout the civilized world.

In olden times, if one set of tyrants and oppressors was unable to cope with the people goaded to revolt, aid was forthcoming in money or men from brother tyrants who arrogated the right to oppress and tyrannize in other lands. Now, however, the ruling powers realize with dread the momentous fact that within their own realms are hundreds of thousands if not millions of men who would promptly and sternly say "Hands off!" if one government should openly attempt to help rulers coerce the people in another land.

### The People as a Peace Dynamo.

To friends of peace the rise in importance and the growing sense of brotherhood and unity which mark the wealth-creators of various European nations are fraught with greater promise than perhaps anything else above the political horizon; for while the reactionaries, rulers and militarists of Christian lands are busily striving to feed the savage passion for war by insistently calling for large and still larger armies and navies and by demanding an extension of military drill and in other ways seeking to center the imagination of civilization on war as something to be expected, instead of arousing the moral sentiments of Christendom in such a way as to render the arbitrement of force impossible, the workers

are quietly preparing to prevent the reactionaries from being able to perpetrate the measureless moral crime of war. An illustration of this quiet but significant work was seen in the recent action of the French National Socialist Council, where the following resolution was voted:

"As soon as secret or public events awaken fear of a conflict between governments and render war possible or probable, the socialist parties of the peoples involved shall immediately, on the invitation of the International Socialist Bureau, enter into direct relations with each other with the purpose of determining what action shall be taken by the workingmen and socialists, in their separate countries and unitedly, in order to prevent war. At the same time the socialist parties of the other countries shall be notified by the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau which shall meet officially, in order to direct the action of the entire International Socialist Party with the view of preventing war."

One thing is well calculated to make people who think for themselves recognize the hollowness and absurdity of much of the alarmist talk and hysteria which is so industriously fostered by the various monarchal, plutocratic and military agencies against the social-democratic movement, and that is the fact that this movement, so vigorously denounced by canting critics who uphold wars of aggression and class interests, is to-day carrying forward the most effective anti-military and peace-promoting campaign in Christendom; while we regret to say many of those who make the loudest protestations in regard to religion are the most perniciously active advocates of the increase of the burden of militarism.

### Russia Again The Victim of Incarnate Savagery.

The condition of Russia gives added emphasis to the contention that whatever may

be said of the people of this great empire—and we see no reason to doubt that under the *ægis* of freedom they would soon lead the civilizations of the world—the bureaucracy and the church are as striking incarnations of savagery and paganism as present history affords.

When the bureaucracy and the Czar were terrorized by the threatening aspects of the revolutionary uprising, they made positive and solemn pledges which, unhappily, a large number of the people took seriously. A large proportion, indeed, of the intellectuals and many of the leading working-men were disposed to place confidence in Count Witte, in spite of the fact that the noblest liberals that were induced to work with him at the outset soon withdrew, because they felt convinced of his insincerity.

No sooner did the government feel that it had power than it began to break faith all along the line. The widely-heralded *duma*, which it was promised should be a law-originating body elected under free conditions, has become a tragic farce. The great majority of the Liberals, who would have proved a power for progress and would have unquestionably won the elections of the people, have been seized, imprisoned or sent to Siberia, so that the overwhelming majority of the men who make up the emasculated *duma* are either reactionaries or persons who are expected to be inoffensive and easily cowed.

In the meantime a reign of official slaughter for political reasons has set in, accompanied by many acts of almost inconceivable brutality. The inhuman bureaucrats are again in the saddle and as a result we may expect a steady pressing forward of reaction and cruel persecutions, until, goaded to desperation, the infuriated people will retaliate with bombs and another era of assassination will be inaugurated. In the next revolutionary outbreak, which we imagine is not far distant, the Russian masses will not be likely to indulge in any temporizing policy. It will be war to the knife on the part of the people. They have learned through terrible experiences the perfidy and savagery of the Czar's government and they may be expected to act accordingly.

#### **Austria-Hungary.**

The condition in Austria-Hungary is critical in the extreme. The usurpation of the Emperor Francis Joseph in his *rôle* as King of

Hungary has driven the nobles to the brink of rebellion, and the only wonder is that war has not ere this been precipitated.

Many persons do not seem to recognize the difference in the position of the Austrian and Hungarian governments in relation to the King-Emperor. The constitutional privileges enjoyed by the Austrians were a concession on the part of the throne to the people, in so far as Austria enjoys constitutional government; but not so with Hungary. The crown was a gift of the nobles to the king, made with certain clearly defined and solemnly agreed to provisions; and these obligations and constitutional safeguards the King has now thrown to the winds, supplementing perfidy with the use of force and despotically oppressing a free people. Small wonder is it that the great Magyar chiefs are enraged or that Hungary is on the verge of a forcible revolution.

Realizing the perilous condition of his tenure as King of Hungary, the Austrian Emperor has felt it necessary to pay some regard to the demands of the Social-Democratic hosts who a few months ago marched silently but bearing ominous banners through the streets of Vienna to the capital, where their demands were presented to the government. It will be remembered that it took six hours for this procession to pass any given point and it was watched by the Emperor from behind closed blinds.

The prospect of extending the suffrage and the liberal provisions of the proposed act, however, has rallied the reactionary interests, under the leadership, it is said, of the Crown Prince; and at this writing nothing is settled either in regard to the serious rupture in Hungary or the fight of the people for the extension of suffrage and the enjoyment of other long-desired rights. It is easy to see, therefore, that a little spark may kindle a revolution and perhaps dismember the empire.

#### **France Under a New Ministry.**

The sudden defeat of the Rouvier ministry came as a painful surprise to most lovers of progressive democracy and friends of our sister republic, because it was felt that any disturbance and embarrassment in the government at the time when the general election was pending might be taken advantage of by the clerical and reactionary enemies of the nation to sway public sentiment.

President Fallières, however, displayed rare judgment in selecting M. Sarrien to form

a new cabinet. This statesman appreciated the importance of taking a firm stand for law and order and giving the opposition to understand that while the government had no desire to be harsh or unjust, it would not and could not allow itself to be cowed by the attempt of the reactionaries to prevent the enforcement of the statutes. M. Sarrien's cabinet differs from M. Rouvier's in that it is far more radical and socialistic in character.

At the present writing the dispatches announce that the reactionary Catholic element has determined to enter on a vigorous warfare against the republican administration and that it has drawn to its support the natural allies—the monarchists, the imperialists and the militarists; and at the same time the Socialists have engaged in an unhappy controversy with M. Clemenceau which may easily act unfavorably in weakening the government's support at the elections which will be held before this issue of *THE ARENA* reaches the reader.

What effect these things will have on the republic cannot be foretold, but we believe that the French people will be slow to again yield to the influences that prevailed prior to the Dreyfus trial. Hence in the pending election we predict that our sister republic will be true to the high mandates of liberal and progressive democracy.

#### **England Under The Liberal Ministry.**

In England the Liberal ministry has not yet had time to push to a happy conclusion any of the great reforms to which it is pledged. Nothing that has happened since the opening of Parliament has occasioned us more satisfaction or has given us more hope of radical and fundamental economic advance in England than the reception by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Asquith, of the petition of the English municipalities for land value taxation. This petition was signed by 518 municipal councils. Among the leading advocates of the taxation of land values from the deputation that presented the petition were the mayors of Manchester and Glasgow, who strongly insisted on the urgency of early action. They laid special stress on the intense interest which the general body of the people felt in this wise and urgent reform which they believed to be of as great importance as anything before the new ministry. In replying to the addresses the Chancellor of the Exchequer among other things is reported to

have made this very significant and encouraging statement:

"I suppose almost alone in the category of social and fiscal reforms, this is one which meets with practically the unanimous approval without distinction of politics or party, of all the great municipalities. . . . I have always regarded this movement properly understood as being not a derogation from, but an assertion of the rights of property. What are the two principles upon which, as far as I understand it, it is founded? They are very simple. They seem to me to be based upon common-sense and equity. The first is that those who benefit by public improvements, should contribute their fair share of the cost of them. The next is—and I think it is right and just—that the community should reap the benefit of the increased values which are due to its own expenditure and its own growth. These two principles appear to me not to be inconsistent, but are a necessary corollary of the doctrine of the rights of property if equitably applied. . . . I assure you we are in hearty sympathy with the objects of your movement, and as time and opportunity offer, we shall be ready to do everything we can to put these objects into legislative form."

The attention of *Harper's Weekly*, the *New York Sun*, *Times* and other papers that are liable to hysteria when any fundamentally just or radical proposition is made, is called to the fact that the above is not the utterance of a Socialist agitator, but that it embodies the sober conclusions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain.

That the Liberal cabinet will succeed in accomplishing much is the confident expectation of all friends of democracy, but that it will sometimes disappoint us is also to be expected. We, however, were unprepared to find the early hours of the Liberal triumph marked by the refusal of the cabinet minister above all others from whom we expected justice and a resolute allegiance to the principles of Liberalism, to grant justice where considerations of wise statesmanship and expediency no less than those of right demanded the undoing of a great wrong. Mr. Morley has failed in a crucial moment in the opening days of his cabinet service, by refusing to right the Conservative wrong in regard to the partition of Bengal. This is something that is to be deeply regretted, for the act of injustice has greatly aroused the indignation of India's

millions and has done as much, we imagine, as anything in recent decades to fan into dangerous flame the latent hostility of the millions of England's Eastern empire. A wise, broad, just and liberal policy and one that should primarily seek to aid India can alone save this great empire to English civilization and also prove advantageous in stimulating the prosperity and development of the land and her millions.

Mr. Morley had an opportunity—a great opportunity—to turn the rising tide of hatred and aggressive opposition in Bengal into a sentiment of gratitude and loyalty on the part of the Indians, by simply being true to the fundamental ideal of Liberalism and democracy and courageously undoing the work done. This he has refused to do, not because he is ignorant of the fact that this act has aroused the bitter resentment of an overwhelming majority of the people affected, for he has admitted that it was “an administrative operation which went wholly and decisively against the wishes of most of the people concerned”; but it was an accomplished fact, and hence he declined to undo the wrong wrought by the reactionaries. But his act has sown dragons' teeth in India which we fear will lead to bitter fruitage in the coming days.

If the Liberal administration is going to show the white feather or to palter with injustice or wrong,—if, indeed, it fails to push to completion a clear-cut programme embracing fundamental reforms along the lines to which it is pledged, or if it delays in carrying forward the work of undoing the crimes that have humiliated and disgraced England since the Balfour-Chamberlain régime, it will court a merited overthrow.

The heart of the people is sound. The people want justice and advance along the lines of progress and Liberalism. It was the outspoken pledge of such advance that led to the tremendous victory of the past winter. But woe to the leaders if they temporize, dally or compromise with the evils they are pledged to undo. No act of Mr. Morley's life has so disappointed us as this short-sighted and unwise denial of justice to Bengal.

#### The Universal Ballot for Sweden.

Sweden is in the midst of a momentous battle which naturally deeply interests all friends of democracy. The Staaft cabinet, acting in conformity with the popular sentiment as indicated at the last election, has pre-

sented a plan for universal suffrage for all citizens of Sweden who are twenty-four years of age, excepting those who have been sentenced for crimes. That the bill will be fiercely fought in the upper house seems certain, but it is claimed that the Prime Minister, in the event of its failure to pass, will dissolve Parliament and ask for a new election; so the prospects for universal suffrage in Sweden seem very favorable.

At this writing, as has been pointed out, Austria is contemplating granting universal suffrage, and Italy also is clamoring with commanding voice and increasing insistence for universal suffrage.

#### Prime-Minister Seddon's New Programme.

Since the election in New Zealand, which gave Minister Seddon's Liberal government 64 members in a Parliament composed of 80, the Prime Minister has indicated some of the first advance steps contemplated on the part of the government. These embrace effective legislation to check monopolies; laws that will tend to foster rapid settlement of land; laws prohibiting men from mortgaging or selling their homes without the consent of their wives; further legislation to discourage if not to render impossible the holding of vast landed estates. The Prime-Minister desires that a limit shall be placed on the area of land that a person may hold. He also proposes to make satisfactory arrangements with the Maoris by which, if possible, five million acres of land can be added to the public supply in the north island, and he proposes that one-half million acres of this land shall be set aside for educational purposes and a quarter of a million acres reserved for charitable aid,—two provisions that are typically illustrative of the broad-visioned and enlightened character of the New Zealand brand of statesmanship.

#### The Nationalization of The Railways of Japan Another Object-Lesson for The United States.

WITH superb courage only surpassed by the far-seeing wisdom of true statesmanship, Japan has arranged to take over all her railways that they may be operated for the benefit of the nation instead of for the abnormal enrichment of a few people. In this the empire of the Mikado has imitated the most progressive nations of the civilized world—Switzerland and New Zealand—and one of the most

conservative among the wide-awake peoples—Germany. Germany, it will be remembered, with Teutonic caution, operated state roads side by side with those owned and operated by private corporations, until the great advantages to the people and the nation in public-ownership and operation were fully demonstrated. Then general nationalization of the railways ensued.

Switzerland submitted the question of railway ownership to the electorate and the intelligent voters by an overwhelming majority demanded that the people should own and operate these great arteries of commercial and business life. The result has been so satisfactory that many of the strongest opponents of the measure are to-day among the most enthusiastic advocates.

It is in New Zealand, however, that the benefit of popular ownership is most marked, as here the roads have been in the hands of the government much longer than in the two European nations, and there is probably no country to-day where the government is so faithfully and conscientiously operated in the interests of all the people as in this most progressive commonwealth of the Southern seas. This fortunate circumstance is largely due to the fact that the commonwealth has never allowed any powerful interests to gain a footing on the island, so that there has been no great selfish, corrupting body or bodies antagonizing the best interests of the people; and here we find the railways one of the most powerful aids to the prosperity of the masses. They are run for the benefit and enrichment of the producers and consumers and are so operated as to favor home-builders, thus becoming an unmixed blessing to the State and to the people.

The benefits which New Zealand, Switzerland and Germany are reaping from public-ownership have not escaped the watchful vigilance of the alert statesmanship of Japan, but perhaps no factor has been more determining in character than the knowledge of the baleful and subversive influence exerted over the government and against the interests of the people by the railway corporations of the United States. The Japanese could not fail to see that the railways had been the chief corruptors of the national government; that the great Wall-street gamblers and operators of the railway world had become so powerful in national affairs that the people were powerless to gain radical or fundamental relief from

extortions and discriminations. They saw how the criminal rich had watered stock until the traffic was compelled to pay far more to meet dividends and interest charges than would have been required if the government had owned and operated the roads or if the lawmakers had been true to their trust and so faithful to the interests of all the people as to forbid and make criminal the inflation of railway and public-service securities, which made the producing and consuming masses the victims of extortions as morally iniquitous as is usury. They saw how these morally criminal acts, which were a perpetual drain on the hard earnings of the farmers and other producers and on the meager store of the consumers, had been followed by infamous secret arrangements with conscienceless corporations and organizations for the destruction of great competing business interests, and how by these iniquitous conspiracies there had arisen in the nation a feudalism of criminal wealth more powerful than the government and as remorseless in its rapacity as it has been degrading in its influence over political and business ideals. They saw how through princely campaign contributions great parties had been so debauched that men whose intellectual brilliancy, shrewdness and daring were only surpassed by their moral obloquy had been systematically pushed to the front, until in the place of a Senate composed of Websters, Clays and their like we have one composed largely of the puppets of the commercial feudalism—one in which the master-spirits are the Aldriches, the Platts, the Gormans, the Elkinses, the Penroses, the Drydens, the Keans and the Depews. They could not fail to see that the greatest contributing cause of moral degeneracy in political life and of criminal methods in Wall street was the public-service corporations that controlled the natural monopolies of the Republic. And seeing all these things, they determined to avert such deadly peril at any cost.

We in America have allowed ourselves to become the pitiful victims of the absurd sophistries of the enemies of the Republic and the spoilers of the people. We have heeded the cry that the people could not conduct their own affairs, while all the time the public schools and the post-office department were witnesses to the falsity of the claim. We have abandoned the arterial and nervous system of our business life to irresponsible bands who have levied such extortion on the people



that a few have become many times millionaires and the many have been pushed steadily and resistlessly from conditions of independence, ease, prosperity and comfort to those of dependence, insecurity and oftentimes of penury. Wealth, largely through the monopolization of public utilities in private hands and the power it gives to the monopolists, has been rapidly concentrating in the hands of a growing plutocracy which in recent decades has steadily advanced in control of government, and with every advance moral idealism has been lowered, corruption and dishonesty have spread, and reaction and the ideals of class-rule and militarism have taken the place of the old democratic standards that long made this nation the greatest moral power in the world. And thus we see that while New Zealand and Switzerland, Germany and Japan, are exercising wisdom that speaks of the presence of true statesmanship, we are lagging behind, cringing and cowering before the oligarchy of the criminal rich and parroting the empty and exploded sophistries of their hireling bands, while we close our eyes to the success of public-ownership at home and abroad—success in all lands where the people or the government are great enough to assert their rights over the corrupt and criminal bands that waste the sustenance of the masses for the enrichment of the few.

#### The Indian Congress at Benares.

WE RECENTLY called attention to the rapid awakening of the national spirit in the people of India. The January issue of the *Indian Review* indicates that the recent session of the Indian National Congress was the most significant of all these gatherings. Never before, we are told, has there been such intensity of feeling and fervor of patriotism manifested as at this national gathering. Mr. Natesan, the editor of the *Review*, holds with the distinguished president of the Congress, Mr. Gokhale, that the wrongs suffered by the people during the past fifty years more than aught else have unified and aroused them. This doubtless is one great cause, but there are other factors which we think are quite as potent and probably immediately more so, than this consciousness of subjection and oppression that burns with smothered intensity in the heart of India.

Multitudinous and varied are the causes leading to the awakening in the Old World. The great victory of Japan has aroused all the

peoples of Asia from the inertia of self-satisfaction on the one hand and the feeling of helpless despair on the other. Moreover, the many agencies for the dissemination of knowledge,—the press, the railway, the increased facilities enjoyed by the thoughtful of all lands for coming into touch with the rest of the world, the general educational advance and the filtering of knowledge from above down through the more stolid and ignorant masses below, together with the ever-increasing economic pressure, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say the ever-increasing recognition of the economic pressure,—have all contributed to awakening and unifying India.

Again, the democratic spirit is abroad throughout the world. To-day as at no other moment in the history of the world is democracy intelligently aggressive. Its millions are carrying on an educational campaign in all parts of the civilized world, and though it suffers many defeats and appears to bend before the aggressions of class-rule and the spirit of despotism and reaction, the bending is no sign of yielding. Indeed, it is very noteworthy that in proportion as there is reaction, despotism and injustice, the rebound in favor of the people becomes more and more pronounced, and at the earliest opportunity the masses indicate their rights in no uncertain way. The recent overthrow of the reactionary Conservatives of England is the latest of many examples of this character that might be cited. The ostentatious, lavish, extravagant and hollow pretence of Lord Curzon has also had much to do with fanning to flame the patriotic enthusiasm of the Indian people, while perhaps one of the chief positive factors in the unification and intelligent direction of this newly awakened spirit is found in the Swadeshi movement which we described in the March *ARENA*. This great economic advance work, having for its purpose the scientific and industrial education of the people, their union for mutual protection and the improvement of their estate, has undoubtedly exerted a great influence over the minds of the millions and is bringing them into intimate touch and sympathetic relation with the Indian leaders.

#### The Unpopularity of Lord Curzon in India.

THE INTENSITY of dislike bordering on a manifestation of hatred toward Lord Curzon on the part of great Indians in the recent

Congress, has also been noticeable of late in leading representative Indian journals, like the *Review*. A large portion of President Gokhale's address was devoted to an exposure of the false pretences of the late viceroy. In justifying the president in giving so much space to Lord Curzon and in referring to the feeling so general among the natives of India toward this official, the editor of the *Indian Review* observes:

"Having been associated with his Government for many years and having come to close quarters with him on many a vital matter of administration, Mr. Gokhale, owing both to personal conviction and recency of experience, was too full of it all to let slip this great opportunity of telling the nation what he thought about the man and his work, and we think Mr. Gokhale did wisely to expose, from his place of authority and in the name of the Indian

people, the pretensions of the greatest and the worst ruler we have had. A new Viceroy has assumed office, and a new Ministry has come into power. Mr. Morley and Lord Minto might be led to believe that the enlightened principles of administration, enunciated in despatches and proclamations, are actually put into practice. They need to be told by a man of high character and eminent position that those principles have been set at naught and openly repudiated, and that India cries out to them for justice. And this cry goes forth, not merely from the educated classes whom Lord Curzon did so much to put down, but from the voiceless millions whom he professed at the Byculla speech to have befriended but upon whom his costly displays, extravagant administration, and warlike missions have piled up a burden out of all proportion to the small measures of relief of which he boasted so much."

## "THE CITY THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY."\*

### A BOOK-STUDY.

#### I. THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL RECENT WORK ON MUNICIPAL ADVANCE AND CIVIC INTEGRITY.

**I**F WE except Professor Frank Parsons' *The City for the People*, there is no volume with which we are acquainted that is comparable to this work by Hon. Frederic C. Howe. It forms an admirable complement to Professor Parsons' exhaustive storehouse of vital facts and luminously emphasizes many of the important truths and arguments presented by Professor Parsons by the citation of typical illustrations proving the sources of strength and weakness, of hope and of danger, in present-day municipal life. Above all, Mr. Howe's work is fundamental in character. It is also so clear and logical as to appeal with compelling force to all open-minded and patriotic citizens. It is a work which will make for justice and democracy, using the latter term

in its broad signification, as opposed to class-rule or the despotism of privilege. It is a book that will make men think and think sanely and earnestly, and when men become great enough to rise above prejudice and shallow emotionalism and reason sanely and earnestly, they will act intelligently under the light of an awakened conscience. They will realize their duty and will act as becomes the honorable citizens of a free state. This work is one of the strongest and best contributions to the rapidly growing literature of democracy that promises to rescue the Republic from imperialistic reaction and the despotism and corruption of the criminal rich who have long posed as the very pillars of society and the business world while debauching the people's servants, exalting the most corrupt, driving into public life the incorruptible, enthroning the boss, substituting the controlled machine for popular government, and through these powerful agencies of despotism gaining riches beyond the wealth of Oriental princes, through

\* *The City the Hope of Democracy*. By Hon. Frederic C. Howe, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 320. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

the corrupt acquisition of franchises and other privileges that have enabled them to rob the present and shackle the oncoming generation.

## II. A RATIONALLY OPTIMISTIC STUDY OF MODERN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

*The City the Hope of Democracy* is sanely optimistic. By this we do not mean that the author has glossed over evil, that he has ignored the great perils that loom against the political and economic horizon, or that he has unduly emphasized the hopeful aspects of modern municipal life, as is the wont of the numerous writers who are falsely optimistic and who seem to be more intent on not offending certain powerful interests or individuals than on telling the whole truth.

But on the other hand Mr. Howe's broad intellectual vision and judicial bent of mind have enabled him to recognize all the dangers and the full gravity of the present situation, without his being driven to the extreme of pessimism which has marked the fate of so many of our earnest and incorruptible thinkers and which has made their works more cries of despair than messages of strength instinct with that moral stimulation absolutely indispensable to effective aggressive work for human upliftment.

Moreover, nothing in the work impresses the reader more strongly than the splendid humanity that lights up its pages—the luminous spirit of love which, when, as in this case, it companions reason, fortified arguments and a well-considered presentation of conditions present, lifts the discussion to the plane of moral enlightenment and gives it a compelling sway over all conscience-guided minds.

To the brighter aspects of the work we shall briefly revert later, but because the author's presentation of the tap-root of present overshadowing evil conditions in city, state and nation is so fundamental and true, and because the question here discussed embodies in so large a way the supreme issue in the pending life and death struggle between republican government and the despotism of privilege, we shall devote most of our space to this part of the volume.

## III. THE RISE AND ENTRENCHMENT OF A DESPOTISM OF PRIVILEGED WEALTH IN THE NATION.

To the student of present-day political problems no fact is more clearly present than the rise and entrenchment of a despotism of privi-

leged wealth in the nation, as destructive to republican government as it is inimical to the prosperity and the rights of the people. On all sides evils have appeared which have rapidly spread throughout organized society, and there can be no hope of a permanent remedy until the true promoting causes are found and the radical remedies necessary to remove them are fearlessly and rigorously applied.

The cities of Europe in the Middle Ages were filled with filth and innocent of drainage and other essential conditions of health. Hence they were periodically the victims of frightful epidemics and pestilences which swept millions of the people to the grave, and these tidal waves of death were attributed to the chastening rod of an inscrutable Providence. Men prayed that the plague might be stayed and that their homes might be exempt, and even while they prayed the hand of the destroyer fell upon them. It was not until the general diffusion of knowledge, not until science, free thought and investigation showed a reluctant world the real cause of the black death and other epidemics, that the true remedies were found and applied in removing the causes of death.

So it is with the social, economic and political evils that are threatening the very life of democracy to-day, polluting the blood of civic life, working nation-wide injustice, with poverty, degradation and crime as resultant effects. Heretofore comparatively little work has been done to stay the rising tide of criminality and political degradation, of graft, corruption and injustice and that disquieting phenomenon that always speaks of the presence of fundamental injustice—suddenly acquired, fabulous wealth overshadowing an ever-widening sea of poverty and hopeless misery. Because our scholars, economists, statesmen and publicists who would change evil conditions have for the most part been led forth on false scents, they have encouraged the evils they sought to remedy and have unwittingly fought against the things that would have righted the wrongs. Democracy has been assailed with much the same vigor and persistence that it received at the hands of the aristocracy of England in the great conflict that preceded the enactment of the Reform Bill and later the democratic advance that destroyed the Corn Laws and made free the ports of England. The cry has been raised that we have too much democracy, when the root of the evil lies in privilege gaining a foothold and so poisoning political life

that we have too little democracy. By following this false lead we have reinforced and entrenched the chief sources of corruption, graft and political degradation in modern municipal life, and the longer we close our eyes to these root causes and strengthen the enemy by playing into his hands, we will not only fail in our efforts to purify city life, but will contribute to the overthrow of republican government and the entrenchment of a plutocracy based on privilege and rendered more potent through the acquisition of fabulous wealth than the thrones once supposed to be divinely hedged about, and the hereditary aristocracy that maintains its power by possession and the strength of tradition and superstition over the minds of the masses.

Now, however, everywhere the more thoughtful philosophers and fundamental students of social and political economy are coming to see that the failures of the present are chiefly industrial and economic, and this volume is "an attempt at the Economic Interpretation of the City. It holds that the corruption, the indifference, the incompetence of the official and the apathy of the citizen, the disparity of wealth, the poverty, vice, crime and disease, are due to causes economic and industrial. They are traceable to our Institutions rather than to the depravity of human nature. Their correction is not a matter of education or of the penal code. It is a matter of industrial democracy. The incidental conditions are personal and ethical."

"The convictions of this volume are the result of several years of actual political experience in the administration of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, as well as of personal study of municipal conditions in the leading cities of America and Great Britain.

"It is the economic motive that explains the activity and the apathy; the heavy burden on reform, and the distrust of democracy.

"Conditions in the tenement are not ethical, not personal, they are traceable to laws of our own enactment. There is no other possible explanation of the fact that destitution is greatest where wealth is most abundant and industry most highly developed.

"Only by exiling privileges shall we exile corruption. Only by offering opportunity to labor shall we close the doors of our hospitals,

almshouses and prisons. Only by taxing monopoly will monopoly be forced to let go its hold on the resources of the earth and the means for a livelihood.

"Two facts must be faced. First, the motive of those who control our politics and whose chief interest in the city lies in the direction of their own advantage. Second, the economic environment of those who are compelled to a lifelong struggle for the barest necessities of existence. It is only by facing these facts that the problems of the city may be solved and its possibilities achieved."

One fact—one great, overshadowing fact—confronts every serious student of present-day political life. "In city and in state it is the greed for franchise grants and special privileges that explains the worst of conditions. This is the universal cause of municipal shame. By privilege, democracy has been drugged."

Here we have the key to the situation. Privilege has corrupted our city, state and national government, and it is through the great business men who by means of special privileges are acquiring enormous fortunes, that the city has been corrupted and our whole system of democratic republicanism has been overthrown or nullified by a system of autocratic usurpation within the democratic form of government.

"The people are not dishonest. At most they are indifferent. The spoils system will not account for all the evil, for civil-service reform has become an accomplished fact in New York, Boston and Chicago. Nor can the blame be laid upon the ignorant foreign voter, for Philadelphia is the most American of our cities—and the worst. There is some influence back of all these, some influence that is universal, and at the same time powerful enough to engage the rich and influential, the press and the party, the boss and the machine.

"An examination of the conditions in city after city discloses one sleepless influence that is common to them all. Underneath the surface phenomena the activity of privilege appears, the privileges of the street-railways, the gas, the water, the telephone, and electric-lighting companies. The connection of these industries with politics explains most of the corruption; it explains the power of the boss and the machine; it suggests the explanation of the indifference of the 'best' citizen and his hostility to democratic reform. Moreover,

it throws much light on the excellence of some departments of city life and the inefficiency of others, for the interest of the franchise corporations is centered in the council, in the executive departments, and in the tax-assessors. It does not extend to the schools, libraries, parks and fire departments, departments which are free from the worst forms of corruption. But the city council awards franchises. It fixes the terms and regulations under which the franchise corporations may use the streets. The executive enjoys the veto power. He controls permits, and exercises an influence upon the council and public opinion. The assessor determines the appraisal of property as well as the taxes to be paid. All these powers are of great importance, and their control of great value. The privilege of tax-evasion may amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. In the larger cities it is measured by millions. In 1903 the special franchises of the public-service corporations in Greater New York were appraised at \$235,184,325. This valuation is confessedly inadequate, and yet even it escaped taxation prior to the passage of the Ford Franchise Law, assessing the franchise as property.

"The franchises themselves are even more valuable than the tax evasions. There is scarcely a city in America of over twenty-five thousand inhabitants in which their value does not exceed the amount of the municipal debt. Careful investigations have been made into this subject in a number of cities. The value in the market of the securities of the surface-railway, gas, and electric-lighting corporations in the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx has been estimated at \$400,000,000. The value of the physical property, exclusive of the franchise, is probably well within \$125,000,000. Prior to the consolidation of the City of New York in 1898, the public debt, less the sinking fund, was but \$141,916,520."

Let this fact be clearly understood. It is not the people, it is not any or all of the many reasons given by the thoughtless echoes and parroters of phrases, who have taken up the so-called reasons industriously scattered abroad by the pillars of society who are also the beneficiaries of privilege, that even chiefly explain the cause of corruption and misgovernment in present-day municipal life. Let it furthermore be remembered that it has been "the big business men of the city that awakened

the cupidity of city officials and inspired the theft of the city's most valuable asset from those who were its trustees."

For the immensely rich franchises "the city receives no return." They have been "obtained to some extent through the ignorance of public officials, but mainly through bribery, corruption and a political alliance." And "this is but part of the price that the city is paying to privilege. It is the price that all our cities are paying to those who have requited this gift by overturning our institutions."

"We have been living in a false philosophy. We have not what we want, but what we say we want. We want better government. We say we want a business men's government. We already have a business men's government, supplied through the agency of the boss. But he is the broker of unseen principals who own or control the privileged interests which have identified themselves with the government through the aid of the party. Herein lies the explanation of the inertia of the 'best' people, the languor of reform, the burdens resting heavy on the shoulders of democracy.

"Anyone familiar with political conditions in any one of our large cities knows that the largest campaign contributions invariably come from the street-railways, the gas, and electric-lighting companies. These contributions are sometimes made to the Republican, sometimes to the Democratic party. Officials of these companies control the party committees. They name candidates for mayor, for tax officials, and for the council. In the aldermanic districts the agents of the corporations supply the candidates with funds. In many of the wards they nominate the candidates upon both tickets. In addition to this they control the county auditor, who fixes the appraisal of their property for taxation."

#### IV. THE EVOLUTION OF THE BOSS AND THE SYSTEM.

"Wherever one may go the same phenomena appear. Always the boss is the recognized agent of the public-service corporations.

"Gradually the interests dependent upon grants, franchises, and privileges have enveloped the government, and developed a System that is highly perfected for business uses. Heretofore, corruption has been haphazard, unorganized, irregular, and occasional.

It dealt with the individual official at some hazard, and with no assurance of success. Within recent years, however, all this has undergone a change—a change too subtle to be easily discerned, but far more insidious and infinitely more dangerous than the conditions which preceded it, and with which we are familiar. Rome did not appreciate that her liberties had vanished, so long as the senatorial oligarchy observed the cherished forms of the Republic. . . . And history has been slow in discerning that slavery had woven itself into the very warp and woof of the government, until it became a System of government as well as an organized privilege prior to the Civil war.

"A similar condition has been developed within the past decade in the Northern States of the Union. It has possessed itself of the patronage of city, county and state. It has enveloped the party and created the machine. Through the machine it controls primaries and conventions; councils and legislatures; mayors and governors. It has even laid its hands upon the courts. This has not been done in an openly corrupt way so much as through the nomination of men of weak or controllable character; men whose predilection, prejudice, or bias is known; men who can be relied upon to stand by the party, to acknowledge the courtesy of the organization, to protect vested wrongs under the fiction of vested rights. All this has been possible, not because the public is indifferent, but because the means employed are so subtle they cannot be easily discerned. There is no crime involved in a campaign contribution, no offence in the control of a party. It is difficult to appreciate that the party is corrupt, for the party is but the organized voice of the people. We cannot believe that the party is no longer a popular organization, when the people are taken into its confidence at every recurring election. Despite this belief, the party has ceased to represent the mass of the people who compose it. This appeared in Missouri, where the regular Democracy had become a systematized fence for dealing in franchises and privileges for steam railroads, for the street-railways, for the baking-powder and school-book trusts. In Wisconsin, on the other hand, the stalwart Republican organization, which relentlessly assailed Governor La Follette, was in alliance with the railroads, seeking to evade taxation and regulation. During the life of Governor Pingree, the Re-

publican party in Michigan was an organized force of resistance against the efforts of the people to acquire the street-railways in Detroit, as well as adequately to tax the railways and mine-owners in the state. In Ohio, the Republican party is little more than a private organization under the control of men whose political influence has been acquired through the franchise corporations in the city and the railways in the state. Through these means they have elevated themselves to office, and then used the powers acquired to secure franchises of great value, to prevent competition, and to evade their proper burdens of taxation. In Pennsylvania the same is true, only there the System involves not only the interests above enumerated, but the protected industries and the mine-owners as well. In New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia the exhibit is the same. In one state the Republican party forms the structure of the System; in another the Democratic party serves its purpose. In some states, both parties are involved, for the System is indifferent to the means it employs. It is non-partisan in its dealings, but always regular in its methods. All this has been possible because we have made a fetish of party and abandoned our principles to the leaders, to be dealt in as they wished.

"But while democracy, unfamiliar with the problems of the city government, let itself be drugged by the poison of party regularity, it is no longer primarily responsible for the boss and the machine. For in recent years corruption has been organized into a System of government, which now prevails alongside of the paper one which it controls.

"The boss came in through political apathy. He has grown powerful through privilege. He is the natural and logical product of privilege, and he everywhere perpetuates his power through an alliance with it. And the privileges that he now represents are the great natural monopolies which make use of our streets, the companies which supply transportation, gas, water, electric light, and telephone services. With these are allied the railways, express, telegraph, mining and tariff-born industries, as well as other interests seeking privileges in the state at large.

"Heretofore the city has been governed from the state capital. It is coming to be

ruled from the Senate at Washington, from which body a dual oligarchy of private and political interests are gradually extending their dominion over nation, state and city.

"In this new *rôle* the boss has become a modern feudal baron, who does homage to his superior, levies tribute on society, and distributes favors with a free hand to his retainers as did his prototype of old. He is the link which unites the criminal rich with the criminal poor. For the former he obtains millions in grants, franchises, privileges, and immunity from the burdens of taxation."

#### V. THE VAST RAMIFICATIONS OF THE SYSTEM BUILT ON PRIVILEGED WEALTH.

A few decades ago, and it would have been comparatively easy to throttle the privileged interests and rescue city, state and nation to the people; comparatively easy to save free institutions in their purity and vindicate democracy before the world. Now all is changed. The privileged class has ramified itself in state, in church, in press, in college, school and society. Its leaders can place their hands on almost every opinion-forming influence, and it becomes silent or its voice is raised in defence of privilege. Let a great leader arise who is at once honest, fearless and incorruptible, and he immediately becomes the target for all the multitudinous influences at the command of corrupt and criminal wealth. All the agents of privilege begin to strike at him. On the other hand, let a man show unusual intellectual brilliancy, power and acuteness, accompanied by an adaptable conscience, and almost anything is his for the asking, if in return he will pretend to serve the people while being the faithful valet of privilege. Hence the Herculean task for the friends of democracy and civic righteousness.

"And any one familiar with city politics knows that the class so hurt by reform is not an insignificant one, limited to those seeking the franchises alone. It includes the thousands of stockholders; the bankers and brokers who advance money upon and handle the securities; the lawyers who represent, and the press that is controlled by them. Such business interests ramify into clubs and churches. They involve the best classes of the community; a class that is organized, that understands itself, and is perfectly alive to its own interests. It penetrates into social, business, and professional intercourse."

Mr. Howe gives several pages of specific illustrations of the work of the System in which the boss is merely the broker in privileges for the rich and influential citizens who are greedy for the millions to be acquired by the betrayal of the city. He shows the baleful influence of Yerkes in debauching Chicago and Illinois. He shows how in Ohio Boss Cox, a former saloon-keeper and later a banker millionaire, "rose to this eminence by binding together and to himself the rich and powerful members of the community, for whom he secured and protects the franchises of the street-railway, gas, and electric-lighting companies. They, in turn, became his friends and protectors, and through him, and for him, controlled the press and organized public opinion. Through his control of the local political machine, Boss Cox is able to dominate his party in the city as well as in the state; to nominate at will governors as well as members of the legislature, exactly as did Yerkes in Chicago and Butler in St. Louis. By means of this control, he is able to exempt millions of property from its proper burdens of taxation; he has aided in fastening upon the people of his city a fifty-year franchise; he has overthrown the school system of the commonwealth as well as the form of government of the cities; he has finally acquired rights of immense value in the canals of the state."

In the chapters devoted to "The Source of Corruption" and "The Boss, the Party and the System" we have the strongest, clearest and most convincing picture of the root causes of the present corruption and shortcomings of municipal government with which we are acquainted—a narrative so luminously presented and so fully fortified by illustrations of unquestionable character that we cannot conceive of any intelligent and unprejudiced person reading these pages without being convinced of the soundness of the author's reasoning and the correctness of his diagnosis.

#### VI. THE WAY OUT OF THE SOCIAL QUAGMIRE.

Things will necessarily go from bad to worse so long as we permit private individuals to own and control public utilities, for the ever-increasing millions they reap will lead to more and more general corruption and an ever firmer grip on the people of the city and the state by the over-rich beneficiaries of privilege.

"In many parts of the Union real democracy has become little more than a shadow, the substance has passed into the hands of the great business interests whose privileges depend upon an alliance with government.

"We cannot hope to enjoy better government so long as we offer such splendid prizes to those who will conspire against the government. Nor can we attach the best talent to the commonwealth so long as riches, power and influence are to be obtained through an alliance against the commonwealth. Improvement will only come when such opportunities are removed, when all classes of citizens, whether rich or poor, find that their interests and their honor lie together. And such a condition can only be brought about through the removal of the cause of it and the identification of all classes with the state, rather than against it.

"Democracy itself is not primarily at fault. It is not the people who are corrupt. Men do not bribe themselves. . . . The positive agents of evil, the real enemies of the republic, those to whom the corruption of state and city is primarily due, form but a small class, a very small class. And they are identified with privileges, whether they be railway or mine-owners resisting taxation or regulation; or the traction, gas, water, telephone, and electric-lighting interests seeking franchises."

Mr. Howe shows how attempts at regulation in the presence of the powerful beneficiaries of monopoly rights in public utilities have proved unsatisfactory when not positively ineffective. "Aside from public regulation, there is but one alternative, and that is public-ownership." So long as private interests control the public utilities, the master-brains of the community will be largely arrayed against the interests of the city, and with them will be the chief public opinion-forming influences that are directly or indirectly controlled by privilege in one form or another. Thus we find that:

"In St. Louis it was not the press, the financiers, the lawyers, or the influential men who backed reform. Reform hurt their most profitable business. Not until the common people came forward did the world know that the people of St. Louis had any sense of civic shame."

Private-ownership is enabled to command

the ablest talent and thus ranges an army of trained minds to work for the defeat of the interests of the city and the people.

"It is also responsible for the corrupt and ignorant in our politics. Through the power of these influences the party ticket is determined. The slate is selected with the aim of securing men who can be controlled by friendship, fear, or purchase. We see such influences at work from the presidency of the United States down to the ward councilman. The people are playing at the game of politics blindfolded—the System plans each move with the skill and foresight of an expert in mimic warfare. The System is at work three hundred and sixty-five days in the year."

Now to restore the government to the people, to overthrow this most subtle and dangerous form of despotism—a despotism of privileged wealth masquerading under the mantle of democracy—we must strike at the root of the evil.

"We can only reclaim all men to the city, we can only place the best talent in the council, we can only destroy the class-conscious antagonism that is growing up in our cities, by striking deep into the roots of the System through the public-ownership of the natural monopolies through which big business has come into power."

On the importance, the practicability and the result of municipal-ownership, Mr. Howe says:

"That municipal-ownership would greatly diminish, if not wholly correct, most of the abuses of municipal administration I am firmly convinced. On this point we are now able to make some suggestive comparisons. For our cities already perform many functions. And the citizen may judge for himself whether the water company, which the city owns, is in politics more than the gas company which it does not. Does it maintain a lobby in the city council or at the state capital? Does it elect men to office to advance its interests? Does it contribute to campaign funds? Does it prevent reform through the creation of a class interest? Does it deprive the city of its best talent and divorce even the professional world from participation in politics?"

"In efficiency of service, the public water-companies equal, if they do not surpass, the



privately owned ones. In almost every city the service rendered is cheaper and better, measured by cost and the convenience of the people, than that offered by the traction companies, the gas or the electric-lighting plants. All this is to be expected. For the city is able to, and in most states must buy in the cheapest market. The credit of the city is of the best. It can borrow money at from three to four per cent. It has no dividends to pay on watered stock. It is constantly under scrutiny. And with rare exceptions, engineering talent of a good order is placed in charge of municipal enterprises.

"Examination, too, will show that the corruption and extravagance in public expenditure is exaggerated. It is doubtful if it is more prevalent in public than it is in private business. Public affairs are conducted in the open, they are under the scrutiny of competitors; prices paid are always accessible, and the methods of checking in vogue are more elaborate, if not more effective, than those in private concerns. Further than this, in many cities, all purchases in excess of a small minimum can only be made after competitive bidding. In large contracts, the city often buys more cheaply than does the private individual. The city's credit is good. There is no delay in payment. It buys in large quantities, and a certain prestige follows sales to the government.

"Further than this, with the temptation to great profit removed, the talent now grouped about the franchise interests would be free to work for the city. Its interest would then jump with its patriotism, and along with the rest of the community it would demand good service, low charges, and efficient management. One of the advantages of municipal-ownership is that it converts every citizen into an effective critic. He can register his complaint at the polls. It frees the press and engages its energies in the city's behalf. Every public employé would then be subject to daily inspection by thousands of masters; while bad service would have to pass examination at the polls.

"Moreover, municipal-ownership will create a public sense, a social conscience, a belief in the city and an interest in it. And it can come by no other means, for so long as the city touches us in but few conscious ways, so long shall we be indifferent to it. But every added

contact educates our sense of dependence and affection. The schools are a great agency in this regard. So are the parks and the libraries, whose administration we jealously guard."

The march of public-ownership is in the line of advancing civilization.

"Society emerged from savagery through social organization. Liberty, enlightenment, and culture have all come through an increase in public functions. All of the present agencies of the state are an encroachment of society into the realm of private activities, and each, in turn, has given an added freedom to the individual and in no way threatened the liberty of initiative that those who challenge further activities fear. The ultimate object of all effort is to protect the individual and enlarge his sphere of opportunity. The hundreds of functions now performed by the city, from the police department to the parks, are an exercise of public control. But instead of taking from us liberty, they guarantee it. They secure liberty to work or to play, in our homes or on the streets. The common care of education and of health leaves the individual free to pursue his work at the lowest possible cost to himself. In this same sense, the city is a great wealth-producer. It is but part of the division of labor that characterizes modern life."

Our author holds that there is a well-defined line of demarcation between the functions that should be performed by the city and those that should be left for private control.

*"That line is fixed by monopoly. Whatever is of necessity a monopoly should be a public monopoly, especially when it offers a service of universal use. So long as the service is subject to the regulating power of competition it should be left to private control. For monopoly and liberty cannot live together. Either monopoly will control or seek to control the city, or the city must own the monopoly."*

To the favorite bogie raised by those who own and control the corrupt boss and the machine, and who debauch the people's servants for enrichment, that public-ownership would lead to the enslavement of the people to an office-holding class, Mr. Howe replies:

"Nowhere is municipal government seriously menaced by the office-holding class, nor by a machine built upon that class. But

wherever privileged interests have identified themselves with the city, and through money, bribery, or campaign contributions, secured control of the party, real democracy has practically come to an end, and a new sort of oligarchy has come in; an oligarchy which observes the features of democracy and respects its paper forms, but which has taken the city's agents into its own employ and uses them for its own pecuniary advantage."

#### VII. DOES MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP PAY?

If municipal-ownership did not pay in dollars and cents, the conditions confronting the people are such that it would be imperatively demanded in order to save the government, to overthrow the rapidly growing despotism of wealth, to check the rising tide of political and business corruption and graft, and to destroy the fountain-head of evil—the oligarchy of the criminal rich whose fortunes, raised on privilege, should belong to all the people.

But municipal-ownership does pay, and it pays in double wealth. When we discuss this question we find that we have two considerations involved: one the high ethical consideration; the other, the lower of material return. Happily, it will be found on investigation that municipal-ownership pays in higher civic morality and also in dollars and cents. On this point our author observes:

"But there is another standard of value than the tax rate, another standard of utility than money cost. The question should rather be, does municipal-ownership pay in a higher civic morality, an aroused public sentiment, a union of all forces against corruption, a higher standard of comfort, a better quality of service, a dearer sense of the city? Such are the standards by which we measure all other expenditures; such is the justification of our police and fire departments, our schools, libraries and parks, our health, street, and charity departments. Municipal dividends do not compare in importance with municipal health and well-being, with a cleaner home environment, an enlarged opportunity for life. These are the standards by which every public activity is to be measured, and in these regards municipal-ownership has justified itself.

"But fortunately we need not accept the alternative suggested of increased cost. For the balance sheets of public trading are their own justification. The City of New York has already expended \$200,000,000 on its

docks. It realizes annually in the form of rentals and charges \$3,000,000, and \$879,929 after paying all interest charges and expenses. From its markets it obtains \$315,000, and over one and a half millions net from its water supply. The city of Cincinnati, corrupt and inert as it is, earns a large revenue from the Cincinnati Southern Railway, which was constructed by the city to save its business from railway monopoly, and \$300,000 a year from its water-works. Chicago has owned its water-plant for upwards of fifty years, and aids its rates to the extent of \$1,250,000 a year from this source. The city of Cleveland has a water-plant valued at \$9,141,266, exclusive of depreciation, with but \$3,557,000 of bonded indebtedness against it; and including as earnings the water supplied to schools and public buildings for fire protection and the like, it earns nearly three-quarters of a million dollars annually, after meeting all charges.

"As a matter of fact, more than half of our cities own their own water supplies. And these cities include almost all the larger ones in the country. Even the foes of municipal-ownership admit the necessity of public management here. The interest of the community is so great that it cannot with safety be left in private hands.

"But not only are the public water plants in America almost all profitable, but they are the best plants in the country from an engineering point-of-view. The city is limited by no terminable franchise. It can build for the future. A private company, threatened at all times by public-ownership and inspired only by a desire for dividends, cannot do this. It pursues a hand-to-mouth policy. In some instances financial difficulties do not permit of any other policy. At any rate, the engineering in city undertakings has been of a more permanent, enduring, and intelligent quality than that of the private companies."

Mr. Howe gives page after page of returns showing the enormous yield of wealth to the city treasury, the great value in reduced cost of service, and the improved condition and wages of labor that have followed municipal-ownership in various cities in the Old World and the New,—an array of evidence that though familiar to those who have carefully investigated the subject, is not generally known. The wonderful results in Great Britain, Germany and elsewhere prove beyond the perad-

venture of doubt what reason and common-sense would suggest,—namely, that when public utilities that are to-day netting a few individuals from three to ten million dollars a year are operated by the city for the benefit of the people, the city and the people receive the benefits now diverted to the pockets of the public-service corporations, the corrupt boss and the corrupted servants of privileged interests whom the boss foists upon the people to misrepresent and betray them. No person, we believe, who is not blinded by self-interest, can read the two chapters in which our author considers “The Way Out” and “Does Municipal-Ownership Pay?” without recognizing that along this pathway alone lie municipal progress and civic integrity.

#### VIII. DIRECT-LEGISLATION.

Our author appreciates, as do all the more broad-visioned statesmen who are not the servants of privilege, the importance—the imperative importance of Direct-Legislation to meet present conditions and preserve the government to the people.

“Along with this demand for home-rule is a growing sentiment for direct-legislation through the initiative and referendum. This is but a further expression of the spirit of democracy. . . . Its purpose is to democratize legislation, to enable the people to assume control of affairs, and insure responsible as well as responsive government. It provides a secure defence against corruption. For lobbyists will not buy legislation that cannot be delivered, or which is subject to veto by the people. The referendum will reestablish democratic forms, which have been lost through the complexity of our life, the great increase in population, the misuse of federal and state patronage, and the illegal combination of the boss with privileged interests.

“The initiative, referendum, and recall will enlarge the legislative body until it embraces all the people. It will dissolve the alliance between the boss and the privileged interests and put an end to the corruption which follows a control of the party.”

This survey will indicate our author’s line of reasoning and reviews on the great subject of

municipal corruption and misrule, and how the evil may be banished in such a way as enormously to enrich the cities while restoring democratic government.

The chapters on “The Cost of the Slum,” “The City’s Wreckage” and “The Wards of the City” deserve special attention. Mr. Howe dwells at length on the treatment of society toward youthful delinquents and toward erring girls and women and other victims of our social order, in a manner worthy of twentieth-century enlightened statesmanship. The whole discussion breathes the noble humanity that pervades Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables*, while profoundly thoughtful are the chapters devoted to “The City Republic,” “The City Beautiful,” “The City for the People,” and “The Hope of Democracy.”

#### IX. THE CITY’S TREASURE AND THE REVENUES OF THE CITY.

In “The City’s Treasure” and “The Revenues of the City” we have a luminous discussion of the natural wealth which should be the source of the city’s revenue, because it would be the revenue that the municipality has a perfect right to enjoy. And this revenue, if faithfully collected, would be sufficient to make the city a little republic of artistic beauty, rich in all that would enhance and make life fuller, sweeter and happier in so far as externals can contribute to the development and happiness of the individual. And these revenues would, if we were wise and sane enough to be logical and just, be derived from the natural monopolies or public utilities and from the unearned increment in land—that value which the holder of the land does not create, but which is made by the people—by society, and which is therefore in justice due to society.

*The City the Hope of Democracy* is a book so rich in vital truth, so instinct with the higher wisdom and statesmanship which is the hope and promise of the twentieth century, so luminous with the spirit of humanity or the new conscience, without which there can be no spiritual growth or permanent uplift, that we would urge every reader of THE ARENA to place it among the few books that he places on the list as works that he should purchase and study.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

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*A History of the United States and Its People.*  
By Elroy McKendree Avery. Vol. II.  
Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 458. Cleveland:  
The Burrows Brothers Company.

THE SECOND volume of Dr. Avery's monumental history of America confirms the expectations raised by Volume One. It is a thorough work, scholarly but not pedantic—a history that reflects and epitomizes the verified historic data of our preceding historians, and that is of special worth in that accuracy has been made the crowning aim of both author and publishers. An illustrative example of this is found in the action of the publishers, who destroyed several hundred dollars' worth of expensively engraved plates, portraits and illustrations made for this volume, when after exhaustive research for verification it was found that the pictures were fanciful rather than true, or when there was serious question as to their authenticity, and, as in some cases, where portraits that have long passed muster as representing certain eminent Colonial leaders proved to be pictures of members of the same family belonging to much later generations.

Volume Two is concerned with our Colonial history. It opens with Champlain and New France and passes to a discussion of "The Evolution of a Colonial System," after which "Virginia Under the Charter" engages our attention.

In the chapters on "The Settlement at Manhattan" and "New Netherland" we have a consecutive story of the sturdy attempt of the Dutch to gain a permanent foothold in the New World,—a losing battle, largely due to the cupidity, tyranny and misgovernment of those who represented the Dutch West India Company.

A large portion of the volume is devoted to the Colonial history of New England. In "The Growth of Separatism in England" and "The Pilgrims" we have sketched in a

background absolutely essential to a comprehensive understanding of the Pilgrim Fathers and the principles for which they stood. The chapters devoted to "The Council for New England," "Massachusetts Bay," "Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson," "Connecticut Plantations and the Pequot War," "Annexation and Confederation," "Massachusetts Troubles," "The Puritan and the Heretic," and "A Glimpse at Plymouth" embrace the history of Colonial New England, clearly outlined and treated in an admirable spirit, judicial, temperate and sufficiently comprehensive for the general reader. "Maryland Before the Restoration" and "New Sweden" with its tragic fate are also chapters of special interest, the whole forming a vivid and informing panorama of the Colonial period.

Dr. Avery deserves great credit for the fine spirit of impartiality manifested in these pages, especially in noting the battle of free thought and religious tolerance with the iron will of the old-time religionists who not only thought they knew God's will a little better than any one else, but who were determined to compel all men to bow to their conception of what was the truth. The broad spirit of religious toleration which marked the charter obtained by Lord Baltimore for Maryland contrasts strangely with the narrow savagery of the Puritans of Massachusetts, especially in their treatment of the Baptists and Quakers.

Very interesting and suggestive is the history of the Dutch in the settlement of New Amsterdam. These men came from one of the freest lands of Christendom; but autocratic power had unhappily been delegated to the Dutch West India Company, and the rule of New Amsterdam was marked by a spirit of reaction and despotism that would have satisfied the ideals of the most anti-democratic ruler of the age, while not two hundred miles east of New Amsterdam was the Pilgrim colony of Plymouth where the broad democratic spirit imbibed by the colonists during their ten-years' sojourn in the liberty-fostering atmosphere of the Netherlands was reflected

\* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

in a democratic government and a degree of religious liberty and toleration rarely found in that age.

One of the great features of excellence in this work is the complete manner in which important but hitherto generally ignored historical facts are treated essential to a perfect understanding of our Colonial history. Comparatively few people, even among those who regard themselves as intelligent, have anything like a clear conception of the great and fundamental difference that marks the Pilgrims and the Puritans. No superficial treatment of this subject would be sufficient to clear away the general ignorance and misapprehension that exist. Our author, however, wisely devotes a whole chapter to Separatism in England and the struggle for religious independence and non-conformity, which was followed at length by the flight of such as were able to evade the lynx-eyed officials. The Presbyterians as well as the Church of England exhibited the intolerant and persecuting spirit which at this period was also in full flower in all the great Roman Catholic lands. The Separatists were the true Independents, and under the leadership of men who reflected the broader, truer and more liberal religious spirit that has continually expanded in the more democratic nations, became in a large way the pioneers of freedom and democracy. Many of these splendid men and women of high moral convictions escaped to Holland where they found a refuge, while their companions in England remained true to their ideals. After ten years of sojourn in the free Netherlands, where the little band imbibed great draughts of freedom and where their conceptions of government were wonderfully broadened, a large proportion of the little company pushed out over the seas to the New World. Their compact, corresponding to a constitution, was democratic in character, and the breadth of spirit and Christian toleration of the Pilgrims was in bold contrast to the narrow, bigoted and cruel spirit exhibited by the Presbyterians or Puritans who settled Salem, Boston and adjacent regions and who established a theocracy, with the result which ever follows the attempts to join church and state,—despotism and persecution by those who blasphemously assume that they have a monopoly of Divine truth.

Another interesting feature of this work is the extended history of the settlement of the free and liberal colonies or plantations in

Rhode Island which became a veritable city of refuge and an asylum for the persecuted ones of New England. Here the principles of free government and democracy were more greatly furthered than anywhere else in the New World. Dr. Avery calls attention to the fact that here we find the first introduction in this country of what is now known as the initiative and referendum. On this point he observes:

“On the nineteenth of May, 1647, the inhabitants of the mainland towns of Providence and Warwick and the island towns of Portsmouth and Newport met in convention or mass-meeting at Portsmouth to put the new government into operation. . . . Similar conventions were held in May of 1648, 1649, and 1650. Step by step, a frame of government with legislative, judicial and executive departments was worked out and a code of laws was enacted and a bill of rights adopted. An interesting feature of the legislative system was what is now well known as ‘the initiative and the referendum.’”

Judging from the first two volumes, this history will prove indispensable to all thoughtful Americans who wish to be thoroughly familiar with the story of our great land. The typographical excellence of the work is in keeping with the author's literary efforts. Illustrations, type, paper and binding alike reflect the high-water mark in the book-making art.

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*The Saxons.* A Drama of Christianity in the North. By Edwin Davies Schoonmaker. Boards, Cloth Back. Pp. 214. Chicago: The Hammersmark Publishing Company.

*The Saxons* is one of the best reading dramas that has appeared in years. The thought is elevated and it is presented with the dignity that such a theme requires; while considered as an imaginative work it deserves special praise at a time when the paucity of strong and original work is one of the most painful facts in relation to American literature.

Moreover, there is much fine philosophy interwoven throughout the drama which deals with the attempted subjugation of the Saxons by the militant and fanatical Christian church of the Dark Ages.

Intellectually and philosophically the play is divided into three grand divisions or group-

ings in which men and women are seen acting under the compulsion of widely varying ideals. Thus the Saxon group reflects the fine, rugged and in many respects normal spirit of our primitive ancestors of the North. They are still the children of the forest, the lovers of freedom and of justice, but to a certain extent under the influence of the mythology of the North.

A second group represents the narrow, militant and fanatical theocratic influence of the Dark Ages. These persons are for compelling all men and women at the peril of their life to believe as they believe. They have dwelt on the Blood Atonement idea until their thought is tinged with blood, and from the ideal of the Sacrificial Lamb on Calvary they have harked back to the savage scenes of Old Testament history till they have become as blood-thirsty and fanatical as were the Jews in the early days. They are also intensely superstitious—in this respect even more so than the Saxons. Intolerance, fanaticism, lust for power, the spirit of persecution and the baleful influence of superstition which marked the church during and after the Crusades are here vividly brought out, and the author displays remarkable knowledge of psychology in depicting the growth of the religious mania which ends in practical insanity in the case of the more pronounced fanatics.

The third influence with which the play is concerned is found in the Abbot of St. Giles and his fellow-workers. Here one sees pure and undefiled religion—religion in which reason sways the conscience and man is under the compulsion of the fundamental moral verities. The Abbot is a man of broad vision. While others are worshipping the church and are engrossed in narrow concepts of religious truth, he is worshipping the Infinite All-Father. He is a student of Plato and the philosophers no less than of the great Nazarene and the theology of the Jews. Many of the thoughts which our author puts into his mouth are reflections of the noblest religious concepts of our age.

There are supernatural agents brought into the play which add weird interest to the drama.

Though there are many very strong dramatic passages and though the scenery would make many magnificent stage pictures, we imagine that the play would have to be materially changed and much of the written word eliminated if it were to be successfully staged.

It is, however, with the composition as a reading drama that we are concerned, and as such the play will prove a work of deep interest, affording much pleasure and mental stimulation.

*Songs in a Sun Garden.* By Coletta Ryan. Cloth. Pp. 102. Price \$1.00. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

THIS volume of poems by a gifted young woman deserves more than passing notice, as there is much imagination displayed in some of the lines—something all too rare in present-day verse. Many of the poems are also rich in rhythmic and musical qualities that tend to sing the lines into the mind of the reader. We note with regret the absence of the strong note of humanitarianism voiced in protest against unjust social conditions that marked the poems contributed by Miss Ryan to *The Coming Age* a few years since and which led us to hope that she would take up the poetic mantle laid down by John Boyle O'Reilly. In these earlier poems there was present the same recognition of the cruel wrongs suffered by the poor through unjust conditions that flamed forth in the poems of Charles Mackay and Gerald Massey during the Anti-Corn-Law and Chartist agitations in England, and in the burning verse of Lowell and Whittier during the anti-slavery agitation with us. These poems, so rich in promise, led us to hope that in Miss Ryan the poor of the Republic would find a powerful voice in the battle for economic emancipation, and the absence of these lines and others of a similar character is a distinct disappointment to us. One of the best poems in the volume is the following entitled "God Is Near":

"God is trying to speak with me and I am trying to hear;

But the angry roar of an angry sea  
Has told my soul that it is not free;  
And my strange, imperfect ear  
Has only caught, on the breast of day,  
The strain of a song that is far away,—  
So I sit and listen and humbly pray,  
For God is near.

God is trying to speak to me and I am trying to hear.

The sea that held me has gone to sleep,  
And still is the voice of the cruel deep,—  
No longer shall I fear.  
I have found the chord that is true and right,—  
The chord of Promise, and Love, and Light.  
That comes to banish the curse of night.  
God is near.

God is trying to speak to me and I am trying to hear.

Away with the gold that is won by death  
Of mind and body. (O Nazareth!

O living, breathing tear!)

Away, away with the realists' hand,  
Away with the tyrants that slave the land,  
For the heart must sing and the stars command.

(God is near.)

And soothe and comfort the voice of pain,  
Man's Eden must return again,  
And the Christ that suffered must live and reign.

(God is near.)

And hush and silence the battle's din,—  
And lift forever the mists of sin  
That veil the wealth of the God within.

(God is near.)

And strive, O strive to be brave and true;  
The world is dying of me and you  
And the deeds undone that we both might do!

(God is near.)

God is trying to speak to me and I am trying to hear.

O pray that we may not grow too weak  
To hearken to One when He tries to speak  
Through prophet, saint, and seer.

And love his image that fills the eyes  
Of men and women that seek the skies;  
For the soul must die if it will not rise!

(God is near.)”

Here is another fine little verse entitled  
“Aspiration”:

“In life what wouldst thou wish to be?’ said they  
Who gathered ’round me at the close of day.  
‘Listen, my friends,’ I answered; ‘I would be  
A faithful lighthouse by the human sea,—  
Firm, resolute, immovable, I’d shine,  
Baptized by breakers, sainted by the brine;  
A loyal flame of loving thought, a light  
Defying dangers, triumphing o’er night;  
A kind persistent spark, that would extend  
O’er rock-bound sea-coast for a helpless friend;  
A changeless, towering sum of strength to show  
The safety of the waters. . . . Friend and foe  
I’d shelter and inspire; nor would I fail  
Nor falter in the tumult of the gale.  
Ay, this the joy my soaring soul would find  
To shed its constant blessing o’er mankind.  
A stately word immortal, I would gleam  
Above the depth and darkness of the stream.  
High, hopeful, ever married to my post,  
I’d be a lighthouse on the human coast,  
A tranquil mother, pausing not for sleep,  
A watch-tower ever smiling o’er the deep.”

In lighter vein are Miss Ryan’s verses to her little dog. They are lines that will be appreciated by those who have pets who have crept into their affection by their revelations of affection and intelligence:

“My brindle bull-terrier, loving and wise,  
With his little screw-tail and his wonderful eyes,  
With his little white breast, and his white little  
paws,  
Which, alas! he mistakes very often for claws;

With his sad little gait as he comes from the fight,  
When he feels that he has n’t done all that he  
might!

Oh, so fearless of man, yet afraid of a frog,  
My near little, queer little, dear little dog!

He shivers and shivers and shakes with the cold;  
He huddles and cuddles, though three summers  
old,

And, forsaking the sunshine, endeavors to rove  
With his cold little worriments under the stove!

At table his majesty, dying for meat,—  
Yet never despising a lump that is sweet,—  
Sits close by my side with his head on my knee  
And steals every good resolution from me!

How can I withhold from those worshipping eyes  
A small bit of something that stealthily flies  
Down under the table and into his mouth  
As I tell my near neighbor of life in the South.

My near little, queer little, dear little dog  
So fearless of man, yet afraid of a frog!  
The nearest and queerest and dearest of all  
The race that is loving and winning and small;  
The sweetest, most faithful, the truest and best  
Dispenser of merriment, love and unrest!”

We believe that Miss Ryan has a bright future if she continues in her literary work and gives her mind and heart full play, for she is a young woman of strong emotion, a child of the imagination, and if no conventional or reactionary power curbs or holds in check her higher and finer impulses, she will do much fine and vital work.

*The Sage-Brush Parson.* By A. B. Ward.  
Cloth. Pp. 390. Price, \$1.50. Boston:  
Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is one of the strongest and most human stories we have read in months, and though in treatment the tale is romantic and at times melodramatic, the atmosphere is markedly realistic, making the story, in spite of its romanticism, redolent of the soil and instinct with the life of the rugged and rough mining-world in the arid, parched and barren sage-brush country of Nevada, where nature hoards her treasure under a stern and austere mantle and where mighty mountains and canyons compass the desert plains.

Into this western mining-camp, rich in its types of mankind and strong in the boldest contrasts, into a community where men are at once reckless of human life, liberal in their patronizing of the saloons and lavish in their use of profanity, enters the brilliant but erratic Methodist clergyman,—a born poet, a genius, with all the eccentricities and contradictions of such a character; a man with a prophet’s

tongue of flame and a heart that is as human as his aspirations are divine; a man in whose finely-strung nature we see as though through a magnifying glass the ever-present conflict that is waged in all our lives—the battle between the higher and the lower. Here, too, we see in an impressive way the manner in which often in life things seem to conspire to carry one to a catastrophe—times when even the noblest acts and deeds become malignant in their influence upon the fate of the victim, bearing him relentlessly toward the dark chasm. Here also are pictured the lights and shades of life; the periods when all seems well, the days when all goes wrong.

The hero, Clement Vaughn, was born with a bad heredity, but was dedicated at his birth by his parents to the ministry. He is finely educated and in addition to his clerical education he has studied medicine, surgery and music and has delved somewhat into scientific subjects. He is considered handsome and highly magnetic. He is a master-musician and is by nature a poet and an idealist. It is not strange, therefore, that such a youth falls in love with an English girl and marries her in spite of the fact that there is little if anything in common between them save physical beauty and a certain magnetic attractiveness. The girl soon tires of him and he of her. She is worldly and a lover of the good things of life, as the superficial term them. Vaughn's high aspirations are little understood; his religious ideals she holds in contempt. Naturally enough they drift apart. Soon their worlds have little in common. The young minister's health fails; he seems entering a decline, and is induced to visit his sister in Nevada. She persuades him to take a missionary field in Eureka, a mining-town not many miles from her home. This he does. His wife in England is furious and declares she will obtain a divorce. She returns his letters unopened and refuses to see Vaughn's English friends whom the minister sends to visit her and strive to persuade her to join him in the Western home.

It is, however, chiefly with the strange and in many respects terrible Western mining-town and with the cultured, refined and wealthy inhabitants of Richmond Hill, which overlooks Eureka, that the tale is concerned. Here events varied in character, some bright and humorous, some gloomy and sinister, some thrillingly exciting and others darkly ominous, follow in quick succession.

The beautiful, refined and wealthy Katharine Chisholm falls in love with the Sage-Brush Parson, as Vaughn is called. He, too, feels the spell of her charm. They drift toward each other without either being conscious of the nature of the spell fate is weaving. At last the English wife appears. A terrible tragedy follows. The minister is accused of murder, tried, and sentenced to be hanged. He is reprieved and pardoned because of his innocence. The changed front of the town, the fidelity of Jack Perry, of Katharine and a few others, and the reaction on the establishment of Vaughn's innocence are vividly set forth.

Some passages are intensely dramatic and from first to last the interest of the reader is sustained. One scene is rather too suggestive of Mark Twain's Buck Fanshaw's Funeral to prove as effective as it otherwise would be, but as a whole the book comes to us as a realistic and faithful presentation of the rough, rugged life peculiar to the mining camp, and with the central figure a sort of Hamlet in the drama,—colossal, being composite as well as typical.

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*On the Field of Glory.* By Henry Sienkiewicz. Translated by Jeremiah Curtin. Cloth. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is a stirring romance of the days just prior to the second great siege of Vienna, when all Poland was aflame with the fires of religious enthusiasm and the whole nation was preparing for the great conflict on which hinged the fate of Western Europe. It was only through the wise strategy of King John Sobieski and the valor and determination of the Poles that the Turkish invasion was repelled and the crescent went down before the cross.

Against this historical background the author of *Quo Vadis* has painted a powerful and fascinating love-story, all the characters in which stand out in bold relief—strong, typical, virile. The beautiful and charming heroine, Panna Anulka, and her knightly lover, Yatsek; the lovable old ex-soldier and priest, Father Voynovski, whose heart still thrills at the talk of the coming war, although he has long since consecrated his life to the church; the brutal and repulsive Martsian, whose wicked plots against Panna Anulka make one's blood boil; and the simple and amusing, but thoroughly good-hearted and well-meaning brothers, the



four Bukoyemskis, named after the four Evangelists, all pass across the stage of the story as living, breathing men and women.

An added interest attaches to the work when we call to mind Mr. Curtin's words in regard to Polish life and character at the present time. "Polish character in most of its main traits," he observes, "was developed completely even earlier than the days of Sobieski, and the men who appeared then in action differ little from those of the present, hence the pictures in this volume are perfectly true and of far-reaching interest in our time."

Mr. Curtin's work as a translator is too well known to need comment here. In the present volume as in his previous work he has admirably preserved the distinctive Polish atmosphere of the story while giving us a finished literary production.

AMY C. RICH.

*Lads and Lassies of Other Days.* By Lillian L. Price. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 180. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

THIS little volume is a companion to *The War for Independence* by Mr. Tomlinson. It contains eleven stories of Colonial and Revolutionary days, written in a style to appeal to

the imagination and interest of children, and like the other volume, it is well calculated to arouse in the young a strong interest in the early history of our country—an interest in the rugged period of the Colonies and the still more exciting days of the great Revolution. The tales are simply and charmingly told and they will deeply interest the normal child. The book is well calculated to serve the purpose of the author and is worthy of wide circulation.

*The War for Independence.* Short stories by Everett T. Tomlinson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 178. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

THIS volume contains sixteen excellent short stories written for young people, dealing with revolutionary days and incidents. The tales are the descriptions of true happenings connected with the lives of men and women about whom history has taken little or no note. They are written in a style that will appeal to the young and will stimulate an interest in the history of our country. The book is one we can conscientiously recommend for children from ten to fifteen years of age.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**CRIMINAL WEALTH versus COMMON HONESTY:** We desire to call the special attention of our readers to Mr. BRANDT's extended paper on "Criminal Wealth versus Common Honesty," as illustrated by the Mutual Life Insurance Company in relation to the Armstrong investigation, the Truesdale Committee's work and the aftermath. This is an important chapter of much historic value apart from its timeliness and its worth to the cause of civic righteousness that is now assuming so commanding a place in the minds of thoughtful citizens everywhere. The insurance scandal and the artful attempt to lull the people into a sense of security and further deceive them is but one chapter in the history of the aggressive plutocracy that is being written by contemporaneous events throughout the Republic. Every great trust, most of the great railway corporations and the public-service corporations,—in fact, all the privileged classes and groups are for the most part the active

sections of an arrogant and subversive plutocracy—the communism or feudalism of corporate wealth that is destroying free institutions, debauching national ideals, plundering the people and enormously enriching the mentally shrewd but morally insane who have so aptly been termed the "criminal rich."

*The Railways of Colorado in the Pageant of the Throne-Powers:* Another chapter in the same story of criminal aggression and business and political subversion is given by the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS in this issue. It deals with the railroad corporations of Colorado and the part they have played in overthrowing free government, lowering moral standards and oppressing the people. Every thoughtful American should read these extremely valuable contributions from the able pen of Mr. MILLS, for what is true of Colorado is equally true of Pennsylvania, New York and various other commonwealths.

*The British Labor Party:* No event of recent months has awakened such profound interest in all free governments as the wonderful victory achieved by the Labor Representation Committee of England at the recent election. As England in 1832 and again in 1846 showed the world how a free people could inaugurate radical revolutionary changes and win great fundamental victories without the shock of force, so in the recent election the workers of Great Britain have given the world a vitally important lesson in showing how they can win justice for the toilers and further the great democratic movement for equality of opportunities and of rights by merely uniting at the polls and supporting men who are pledged to further the interests of the workers instead of being the servants and special-pleaders of corporate wealth and privileged interests. The English labor leaders have so clearly shown the toilers how easy it is for a peaceful revolution to be accomplished under the machinery of democracy that already panic reigns in the ranks of the criminal rich of America lest this element will no longer be able to hold the toiling millions in leash. On the day when Labor enters the political arena, plutocracy and the undemocratic reaction that is destroying free government will be overthrown. On that day government by injunction and other poisonous plants sown by reaction, militarism, imperialism and despotism will be uprooted. Mr. DIACK's paper in this issue is one of the most timely and interesting discussions of the month.

*Our Series of Contributions on American Art and Artists:* In this issue we give the first of our series of papers on representative American artists. This contribution has been prepared especially for THE ARENA by the brilliant author and essayist, Mr. GEORGE WHARTON JAMES. Mr. JAMES is one of the most charming writers in America to-day and this paper is written in his happiest vein. The admirable reproductions of some of Mr. GRANT's best work add greatly to the interest of the paper. It is our determination to make this series of general interest and of real value to a great original American art.

*Bolivar: The South American Liberator:* Another illustrated paper in this issue has been prepared by Professor FREDERIC M. NOA and is the second of his series on heroes and builders of South American states. Bolivar's life is one that must ever hold interest for friends of liberal government, and Professor NOA in his brief but delightful contribution has outlined this career in so lucid a manner that the reader will not only be educated and informed,

but in most instances he will, we think, be led to study more about this wonderful man and the wonderful lands which he emancipated from the thralldom of Spanish tyranny.

*The Primer of Direct-Legislation:* Instead of our conversation we this month publish the first chapter of our "Primer of Direct-Legislation," or manual of guarded representative government. This chapter deals with the Referendum. It has been prepared with great care by the leading Direct-Legislation authorities of America. The questions were submitted to each of the gentlemen whose names appear in this connection, after which Professor PARSONS, President of the Massachusetts Referendum League and author of *The City for the People*, Mr. RALPH ALBERTSON, Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League, and the Editor of THE ARENA spent half a day in carefully editing and collating the answers. The whole was then submitted to President POMEROY of the National Direct-Legislation League, who made many excellent additions, after which the committee of which Professor PARSONS was chairman spent another half day in putting the whole into its final form. Our aim has been to present the case for the Referendum in as concise yet lucid a manner as possible; to present it in such a way that the ordinary reader can easily grasp and understand exactly what is meant by this important provision in guarded representative government. The Primer has been prepared primarily for the Arena Clubs, but a general Macedon cry has come up for it from all parts of the land. Hence we publish this part in THE ARENA somewhat earlier than we had intended. The chapter on the Initiative will follow shortly.

*What Our Universities Are Doing for American Literature:* The paper which we publish this month from the able pen of EDWIN DAVIES SCHOONMAKER, the scholarly author of *The Saxons*, is of far more than passing value. It is one of those fundamental and extremely important discussions that should receive the serious attention not only of all educators, but of all persons aspiring to do great and worthy literary work. We believe the author has placed his finger on the chief cause of our failure to develop a great American literature. Our methods are wrong, or if not entirely wrong they leave the most vital side of literary training untouched. And what is true in literature is measurably true in art and in education in general. This paper is, we believe, one of the most suggestively helpful educational discussions of recent months.





**HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE**

Photo. by E. R. Curtis, Madison, Wis.

THE ARENA

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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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## THE CIVIC EFFICIENCY OF THE EDUCATED CLASS.

BY HENRY M. WHITNEY.

IN 1864, in a Washington hospital, a volunteer helper came upon a private soldier, a Swede. The man had a tedious time before him, with doubtful result, but he took everything patiently, with a quiet strength of heart. He was a graduate of the University of Lund, and thankful to get good reading in almost any language, but he preferred the English, as he meant to make this country his home. "Why did you come to America and enlist?" "I heard that there was a war over here. I meant to come here to live, and I wanted to pay for my citizenship at the gate."

To this tale of an immigrant may well be joined a bit from the service of an American native. He was a recent graduate of Yale, a brilliant scholar, and the captain of a battery in the same great war. It was the lot of the present writer not only to furnish the Swede with good reading, but to see a letter written by the American-born, a letter written in the shadow of his guns, upon difficult points of Sanskrit grammar: in battle, not long after, this scholar-patriot fell.

Both these incidents could surely be duplicated from the Confederate side. The armies of both sides were recruited from all classes of society, and among these classes the scholars were not the

least zealous or devoted. Their culture had not made them feel too fine to do even the humblest things for that part of the republic that they thought to be right.

Before the Civil war Theodore Koerner had been to the American student the type of all that was finest in the patriot-scholar, but after 1861 the United States had recent great examples of her own; and there was always, from the earlier day, the inspiring story of Nathan Hale.

Has it always been thus? Will it always be thus? These are vital questions, and the answer to the first of them is No. Not only have individuals of the cultivated class in various countries been wanting in willingness or ability to serve the state in its need, but there have been cases, marked cases, where the whole cultivated class of a country has lacked both the power and the spirit to meet that country's needs.

Some years ago\* there appeared in the London *Spectator* an article under the title "Three Rotten Cultures": it passed in rapid review the three preëminent cases of failure that have been known thus far. We may begin with these.

The word "culture," it should be first said, is here used in a special sense. We are all familiar with the idea of the culture

\*March 18th, 1899.

of the individual man: many of us are working at it in ourselves and in others. But not all of us have broadened our thought to the idea of "a culture," as representing the state of an educated class, the educated class of a nation or a race, through a period, through a great period, perhaps through an age. Yet, of course, there is such a thing, and "a culture" is the phrase to express it.

We distinguish between a culture and a civilization or a social system. We say that there is dry-rot in any civilization or social system that permits slavery or polygamy to exist; but these matters apply to a people as a whole. "A culture" refers to the condition, the character, the quality, the attitude, of the educated part.

We are all familiar with the idea that the culture of an individual may be wrong. Its scope, its fronting, its ideals, may be so far defective, one-sided, groveling, proud, selfish, that the man is not symmetrically, not worthily, not valuably, not truly, a cultivated man. Have we ever broadened our thought to the fact that "a culture," even in the larger sense, the culture of a period, of a race, in its educated class, may also be wrong? The whole basis, or fronting, or material, or method, or trend, or aim, of that educated class, in its culture, may be so mistaken or selfish or corrupt that essentially the culture as a whole,—the work spent upon that class through a period or an age, and the life lived by them,—comes to naught, or worse.

To return to the "three rotten cultures": The first of those that were given so opprobrious a name is that of the noble and wealthy of Rome and the Roman empire some fifteen hundred years ago. It is a mistake to think that in the decadence of that empire these classes were uncultivated, and that the Western empire fell because there were none sufficiently educated to hold it up. The nobles and the wealthy class were educated quite sufficiently for national salvation, but they were not educated in a

manner that would enable them, nor in a spirit that would prompt them, to do that saving work. "They studied regularly from generation to generation in the Universities scattered over the empire, and in mature life, in the seclusion of their provincial estates, they . . . kept up their reading." In intellectual attainment they were, perhaps, farther above the people than any other class in Europe has ever been. Yet this "cultivated class, though it must have been exceedingly numerous, produced nothing, originated nothing, and enlarged no single field of knowledge." They wrote poetry without fire, and letters that had no suggestion of interest in the great issues of life. They became dilettante grammarians, mere critics of form; they developed no real intellectual ability, no strength of thought, no earnestness of character, no spiritual power; when the times grew more and more terrible, and the world was distraught for those who should save it, these educated, cultivated, refined gentlemen, who should have been the immediate and trusted leaders, had nothing to offer for the common good; they and their schools perished in the common destruction; and the gloom, the despair, of the Dark Ages shut down upon the world. The Dark Ages were, therefore, the result of a culture that somehow had gone wrong.\*

The second of the helpless cultures has been brought before our thought especially during the last ten years, and it has not yet passed off the immediate stage. In China the literati have been educated just as highly as were the privileged classes of dying Rome. They have fed upon a few national classics, and nothing else; they have studied these minutely, and have regarded the power of quoting them as a chief distinction separating them from the vulgar, whom they despise. Their culture, unintelligible though it is to us, has refined them

\*See Samuel Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*.

to a very high degree, so that they can be easily recognized by their amenity of speech and bearing; but there the benefit of their culture ends. It refines their tastes and their manners, but it does not discipline their powers, nor widen their scope, nor change their characters; it does not make them contribute anything valuable to personal or national life. To science they are indifferent; in art they are mere imitators; in politics they are selfish and corrupt. They were worth absolutely nothing or less than nothing when the Japanese burst into China a few years ago; they furnished no leaders to guide the Chinese race and the Chinese government when the fleets of the great powers of Europe were hovering, like birds of prey, along the Chinese coast; in the titanic struggle between Japan and Russia, China only lay inertly, the helpless prize for the victor. If those fleets had been on any other coast and the partition of the country among the powers were about to be attempted, if on land and sea the greatest battles in the history of the world were being fought for the domination of that country, the schools of the country would be looked to at once and of course as places where national saviors might be found. The scholars of Japan have always, and notably in the recent war, been found on the firing-line. But no one has at any time seen that, or looked for it, in China. The old-style scholars of China seem never to have thought of doing anything with their culture, except to climb up the scale of rank and pay. It is agreed by all outside observers that, just as in the later Roman day, the first hope, the only hope, for China has lain in destroying the ascendancy, or, by external pressure or influence, radically changing the character, of her cultivated class. It is hard to imagine that as true of Great Britain, or Germany, or the United States.

It may yet be proved that the most momentous event in the history of China is the abrogation of the requirement of an examination in the classics as a condi-

tion of entering the service of the state. Of late there has been arising in that land a new scholarship, trained in Germany or the United States or, especially, in Japan, a scholarship based upon Occidental ideas; it is fast supplanting the old culture; it is kindling a new spirit of patriotism, and one of its first and most pregnant results is the punishment of American insults by the boycotting of American goods! Such a result is not pleasant to the American "jingo," but the lesson is one that even he who runs may read. Just think of the opportunity now opening before the Empress of China to set four hundred millions of people far forward in the path of a new national life!

The third of the condemned cultures is also one of our own day, but its deficiencies have not, as with the others, been blazoned to the world. Great Britain, having taken upon herself the administration of India, has established a system of schools for the natives, those schools reaching their highest stage in the great Universities of Bombay and Bengal. Thousands of Mahrattas and Bengalis, who are naturally among the most intelligent of mankind, go up through the whole educational system. But it is very generally held that, although they get the form of culture, they do not get its spirit, its substance. For instance, they learn the masterpieces of English literature: that is, they learn them as the Roman nobles of the decadence learned the Latin classics; they learn the words, but catch hardly a particle of their spirit. Like the scholar of the Roman decadence, like the Chinese scholar, they are indifferent to science and the constructive arts; they know for the sake of knowing or for the sake of getting on. For the purposes of large and beneficent administration of public affairs, for high service of their people, they are, as a rule, of no account at all: "They seem to have in politics no sort of efficiency whatever." They do not, for the purposes of citizenship, compare with the much fewer grad-

uates of the missionary schools. Suicide is fearfully prevalent among them.

Le Bon's *Civilizations of India* and his *The Crowd* are terrible arraignments of what *The Spectator* calls a "rotten culture." For example, in the latter work (p. 85) he says of India: "In the case of all the Baboos, whether provided with employment or not, the first effect of their instruction has been to lower their standard of morality."

It is the distinct judgment of many intelligent observers that "education in India, as hitherto pursued" under the patronage or direction of the state, "is of no more value than the education of the nobles in the later Roman period, or of Chinese mandarins now, and [that], like theirs, it will ultimately fall, [and] probably with a crash."

It is hard to see how any one can review such great ranges of fact without being startled out of many crude and hasty notions that before had passed with him for beliefs. We had thought that a school was a school, that the object of a school was to communicate knowledge and to discipline powers, and that by going to school we attained these ends and so were fitted for life. But here are three great scholastic systems, all that an age or a nation has in education, and they are found to be thoroughly wrong, with impotence or mischief as their principal result.

Yet these are not the only cases of the kind, nor are they, except by size, the most impressive. If other examples are smaller, they may, by the special interest of their place or their time, appeal even more powerfully to our minds.

It is one of the rewards of a deeper study of Bible-times that one discovers how the dry-rot of formalism and hypocrisy had eaten into the Pharisaic culture, with ruin as the outcome.

Michelangelo moved in the midst of the great Medicean culture, and moved in a silence that seems to us impossible to understand unless it means that he

was thinking some of the thoughts that are inevitably suggested by the decay in the cultures of the Roman, the Chinese, and the Hindu. Amidst that culture he placed his marvelous works, the sources of healthy and healthful culture to multitudes since his day,—his saints, his Madonnas, his Moses, his David: it is a familiar quotation from Emerson:

"The hand that rounded Peter's dome  
And groined the aisles of Christian Rome  
Wrought in a sad sincerity."

But the Medicean culture in itself was selfish to the core. Said Ruskin of one of Browning's poems: "I know of no other piece of modern English . . . in which there is so much told . . . of the Renaissance spirit, . . . its worldliness, inconsistency, pride, hypocrisy, ignorance of self." And yet this Renaissance spirit and work were all that in those days, especially in Florence and Rome, had any standing as culture at all.

And what shall be said of the condition of France in recent times? She has long been the headquarters of culture in certain lines, yet in connection with the Dreyfus case it was at the risk of life or fortune that any one suggested the importance of inquiring whether the man was guilty or not. The case is now a little old, but its lesson continues: how much did the educated classes do at that time to call France to her obvious duty? Taine says that France "with each succeeding generation is falling more and more into line with China."

Le Bon (*The Crowd*, p. 87) quotes from Taine as to the failure of the French educational system: "Sturdy common-sense and nerve and will-power our schools do not furnish to the young Frenchmen." To which Le Bon adds: "It is in the schoolroom that socialists and anarchists are found nowadays, and that the way is being paved for the approaching period of decadence of the Latin peoples." Paul Bourget, in *Outre Mer*, says that the French system of education produces merely narrow-minded bourgeois, lacking in initiative and will-power, or anarchists,



"the civilized man degenerating into impotent platitude or insane destructiveness." Upon this Le Bon makes the comment that the public-schools are "factories of degeneration." This is not the whole of the story, for the condition of the church is an almost equally important part.\* But the condition of the schools is a vital matter, for the pupils of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow. With a large allowance for pessimism in these writers, there must be much truth in their judgments.

It should be said in passing that it is held by many that, just as a new day has dawned for China with her great educational change, so a new day has come for educated France, and, therefore, for all France, with the passing away of clerical domination over the schools. In this connection one may well read Zola's *Truth*.

The "three rotten cultures" were, or are, not even nominally of the Christian faith. The first was in the inheritance of the pagan religion of Rome, but counted that religion a false, an exploded, superstition, and yet had nothing to put in its place: hence Gibbon could truthfully say that the various religions were to the Roman multitude equally true, to the philosophers (and all the educated class) equally false, and to the magistrates equally useful. The second is intensely religious, after its kind, but it is in the teaching of Confucius, that rises no higher than ancestor-worship and has no power to change either the heart or the life. The third is made up chiefly of Brahmins, with not even the measure of spiritual life that is shown among the Indian Buddhists. The Pharisaic culture set itself virulently against Christ and destroyed him. The Medicean was essentially pagan, not to say heathen, having cast off all but the name of the Christian faith. The French—one wishes to seem sympathetic with the effort of that people to

have self-government, an educational system, and a voluntary maintenance of religion, all of a kind that shall command the respect of the world, but the critic is not impressed with the extent to which Christianity has shaped the character of the French.

But, religion not being considered, such are the facts about the value of some six educational or cultural systems. Are all national cultures, is American culture, to go the way of the great three, or of the three that are less?

In America we have had a certain unity in our educational work, so that what we are so eagerly making out must seem to those outside, and will surely seem to future times, as completely one as any of those three or those six of which we have been speaking. Ours is the American culture: the future will know it as such. The question may well be pondered with great seriousness: will our culture be added to the list of those that could not be kept from decay, from becoming inefficient for the great, sometimes the desperate, needs of the state? Will some editor of the twenty-fifth or the thirtieth century, perhaps that New Zealander whom Macaulay represented as possibly yet to moralize over the ruins of London,—will he write of "Four rotten cultures," the later Roman, the Chinese, the Anglo-Indian, the American,—each in its turn and in its time collapsing, the American last?

It is easy for us to say "No," and to take it as a matter of course; but what is the ground of our faith? It would be well for us to keep out of easy presumptions; it is important for us to remember the perils of that national conceit to which we are so prone. The Roman would have maintained the excellence of his culture, and with a peculiarly Roman, an almost American, pride. The Chinese mandarin would smile the simple smile of his race and pity our ignorance of those books that contain all the wisdom that is of any account. The young Bengali

\*See an article by William Barry in *The National Review* for March, 1899.

would hardly stop his subtle discussions of his beloved metaphysics to tell us of the impossibility of improving upon his union of metaphysics in Bengali with ornamental literature in the English tongue. Self-satisfaction was the dominant note of the Pharisaic and the Medicean cultures, as it is of the French culture of to-day. "Pride goeth before destruction"; is there really any reasonable ground for faith that our culture has in it that which will protect it from decay?—that some future Ruskin will not have to write of our culture words as stinging as those that John Ruskin wrote of the Renaissance?

That we have the conceit is shown by the lightness with which we have burst into the Orient and have undertaken to show alien races how to conduct their national life. That we have the selfishness and the arrogance is shown by the way in which we have thus far governed those millions whom we have forced to come under our sway. That we have the moral insensibility for it is shown by the fact that we rewarded with high rank in the United States army a gross violation of the duties that go with being rescued and fed by one's foe. That we have the folly for it is shown by the way in which we have been spending hundreds of millions of dollars in asserting "our right," as Burke once said, "to shear the wolf." It is impious for us to assume that we are such favorites of heaven that we shall be kept from letting dry-rot get into our culture and so bringing down the whole structure of our civilization in ruin. For us, as for the others, the question will work out its own answer by irrefragable spiritual laws.

Many people who mean well but who have no penetration in their thought assume that we shall be protected by our knowledge of the religion of Christ, not realizing that any religion has to be personally experienced before it can have protecting power, and that the very thing that the decay first attacks is the willingness of the man and of society to live by

the self-abnegating teachings of Christ. The Christian religion is not alone among religions in having had more than enough of that homage which is the attempt of hypocrisy and rapacity to masquerade in a pious garb. Too often the spirit of Christianity has had but slight effect in elevating the conduct or saving the destiny of a state.

Our seers point out to us a great many things that have an ominous look and that should make us turn from criticizing our neighbors to judging ourselves. Let an Englishman speak for England: J. Franck Bright, Master of University College, Oxford, writing an elaborate history of England from "medieval monarchy" to the "imperial reaction" of the present, thus sums up the situation there: "Ambition and the love of rule, belief in extended empire, in restricted and selfish commerce, in the superiority of a military life, in the value and importance of the privileged classes, and the substitution of symbolism for higher spiritual creeds, are marked characteristics of the time, and are exactly those things which the last century prided itself on having left behind."\* This is an uncomfortable picture, but is it not startlingly descriptive of recrudescences or new inflammations in the American mind to-day? If we can make it even a little less true as an account of ourselves, we should address every power that we have to the work. If we cannot make it less true, is there not decay in our civilization and our culture? Is our educated class doing all that it can to prevent or to retrieve such decay?

As an element of hopefulness in the American situation, we desire to emphasize but a single point. Our American culture has always been more democratic than its contemporaries, and, on the whole, it has been and is increasingly democratic. It is a chief argument for manhood-suffrage that it has been proved by experience that a state takes very poor care of

\*Vol. V., p. 273.

its citizens below the voting-line. Manhood-suffrage was a very bold experiment; it does not stand altogether to reason; it works great and obvious evils in our great cities; it is far from being ideal in the rural districts; it is in constant peril of being debauched by the candidate who seeks office with his pocket-book in his hand; it does not prevent the voter from being fooled to his very face; but it has this excellence, that it obliges the office-holder at least to go through the motions of caring for the masses and not merely for the privileged few. We attribute it to the fear of the ballot, that, although privilege and wealth have, even with us, been able, to a very great degree, to control the making and even the execution of laws for selfish ends, yet somehow the bottom-man has been taken care of in America as never before, and has had a chance to rise as nowhere else.

Hence, establishing schools, we have established them especially, and more and more, for that bottom-man and his child. And history has shown that the mixing of social classes in education has been one of the greatest safeguards of the quality of culture, helping to keep it pure, practical, helpful, unselfish;\* while the restriction of education to an aristocracy or a caste and the separation of social classes in the process of education have been mistakes that were fraught with mischief.

The first Napoleon had the shrewdness to note the essence of democracy: he said that it meant a career opened to ability, to merit, to worth, in any class. The recent elevation of men of humble origin to important administrative positions in Great Britain and France is of vital significance not only as to the reality of the

democratic character of those countries but as to the prospect of national health. Only under institutions essentially democratic could a Lincoln work his way to the headship of the state, and only under a culture essentially democratic could such an apostle and representative of culture as Lowell help his countrymen to understand the greatness of Lincoln or eulogize democracy in a semi-aristocratic country at whose court he represented the United States.

No reflective observer can fail to see that one of the greatest hardeners and then corrupters of the human heart is the spirit of caste. A culture that is founded upon caste, that strives to protect or build up a caste, is absolutely sure to do mischief—in a positive or a negative way. On the other hand, the more frequently and intimately and helpfully the representatives of different social classes can meet and learn to respect each other,—in the schoolroom, or on the athletic field, or anywhere else,—the purer, other things being equal, will be the life and the culture of all, and the more will those who have had greater privileges think it a matter of course that they must help in any good work that is doing. They realize better that the world is not wholly of them nor for them.

Further, the constant upheaval of new and vigorous life from "the masses" into the refined and educated class has been proved an inestimably valuable thing. Such upheavals, differing in kind, in degree, and in importance, have been scattered throughout English and American history. Fastidious culture, the patrician spirit, do not know what to do with this new life, but the effect of its coming is like that of opening a window in a close and overheated room.

In America to-day there are two lines in which a healthful mingling of classes may especially be found. One, as we have already suggested, is the educational system. In the older days the "select school" was the place for the child, if the family-purse could afford it. In the

\*There has been recently a striking testimony, by President Angell, to the value of the meeting of all classes in the State University, more than half of his students needing to earn money in order to make their way: this, and even more, is true of most of the western schools. In the eastern field perhaps the latest illustration may be found in President Eliot's last report: he deprecates the raising of the price of tuition for fear of its effect upon the democratic character of Harvard.

towns only the poor attended the district-school: even the high-school was kept from being really high by the extent to which the prosperous held aloof. It was only in the college that the rich and the poor came together, and even there the lines of distinction were keenly felt. But, just as the public-library has ceased to be proprietary and has become the privilege of all, where distinctions of rank and wealth are forgotten, and has also been made very good, so the public-schools, from the lowest to the highest, are, especially in the more democratic parts of the country, used and enjoyed by all classes, and hence have been made good enough for the rich, while not beyond the reach of the poor. Then, the friendships of school-days are carried through life, crossing all artificial lines. Some of the universities have become intolerably expensive, but there are others that are good and in which the poor are not herded by themselves. Undemocratic ways have indeed, crowded in; the growth of wealth has done much of its usual work in chilling the heart; but still our colleges and universities are substantially democratic; men are still valued there for their worth; the door of opportunity is still open to the deserving, however born; and the future is still so hopeful that President Harper, in one of his very last utterances, ventured to declare even that "the university is the prophetic interpreter of democracy." So long and so far as this continues true, our culture will be safe from decay.

The other method by which social classes among us are being actively stirred together is by change of abode. There are very large parts of the country in which almost no one was born in the community in which he lives; it is safe to presume that the man with whom you are talking came from somewhere else. Perhaps his children are already writing him letters from their new homes. In those new places the spirit of caste will reassert itself, but it will be at disadvantage, like the weed that has been once cut

down to the root: the man has had at least one migration, and the lesson of it, the habits taken up in it, will not be easily unlearned.

Or, if the man lives on in the old town, it is much that travel is made easier every year. The soldiers of the Civil and the Cuban wars came home a very different sort of men; there was the comradeship of the uniform, uniting rich and poor, the cultivated and the less refined; and there had been the broadening effect of change of scene. As the people of a new country cannot make very hard lines of caste against those on whom they may at any moment be dependent for a helping hand, so the lines cannot be firmly drawn against the man whose canteen or haversack has afforded the educated soldier the means to cling to life.

But just ordinary travel helps. The locomotive and the trolley-car are great helps in the promotion of the democratic spirit, with its sweetening and preserving effects upon culture. It will not hurt us to be jostled a little now and then by our brother-man.

We have the courage to think that the same things are true of that more radical change of abode that we call immigration. It is the conventional thing to be alarmed for our American institutions in view of the deluge of the foreign-born that has been coming in upon us for many years. But the idea is largely unintelligent, or the product of narrow sympathies, of an unwillingness to have people different from the kind to which we are used. With many it is due to a fear of being beaten in the competitions of life: this fear is well-grounded, for we venture the assertion that the average immigrant of the past forty years has been better than the average American whom he has found in the country. These people, in spite of exceptions, have been selected stock; they have been the ambitious, the enterprising, the courageous, the patient, the hardy, of their several races: the timid, the inert, the feeble, were left at home. Those who came were willing

to work for lower wages, to work more hours, to have fewer pleasures, than the American-born. All over the great Northwest the Germans, the Scandinavians, are as fine civic material as the country possesses; it has long been recognized that the Irish have proved a very valuable contribution to our national make-up; even of the races most distrusted there are better things to be said than most people know. It is freely confessed that it is the foreign-born in Wisconsin and Minnesota who have held those states to political sanity, when much more purely American states have seemed to go mad. That fierce spirit of democracy that has made Norway break away from aristocratic Sweden has helped in America to prevent the formation of social strata along the lines of wealth. All these people, in coming to America, escaped from a less or a greater degree of subjection to privilege and caste, and, even when the men of native stock have been willing to put on the shackles, these people,—not always wisely, to be sure,—have made a strenuous fight to be free. It is a common remark in the West that the foreign-born citizen is more truly patriotic than the citizen who was born on the soil. If, as Voltaire said, the good citizen needs no ancestors, so neither does he need to have been born with any particular complexion, in any particular land, or in the land in which he lives.\* So long as the high quality of the immigrant can be maintained and so long as "America means opportunity" to him, we shall have from him great help in resisting the hardening of society into castes, with all the perils of "dry-rot" that such hardening brings not only to the educated class but to all.

We began with an incident that is suggestive in this line. Here is another: The writer was present one Sunday, in Wisconsin, at a missionary conference

\*So, also, intermarriage of the old American stock and the best foreign element must be a source of national strength. It is the futile Spaniard that has the "purest" blood.

of German Moravians from a considerable district, and was impressed not only with their sincerity but with the spiritual beauty of many of the faces: they were holding their exercises in a bare pasture because they had been driven out of their beautiful grove on the lake by the din of an American Sunday-resort.

Any one can pick up cases like these, and broader generalizations, too. For instance, the Chinese have the reputation of being very careful to pay their rent, and they have to their credit many acts of kindness rendered to unfortunates of the "superior race." Many investors presume that a German or a Scandinavian name on a mortgage means that the man will try to "take care of his paper." It is amusing and comforting that to many of the foreign-born or their children there are few objects of greater detestation than the "foreigner," by which they mean the one of recent foreign extraction who is not disposed to be a good American. But they cannot always make themselves look right to those who do not speak their tongue. Many of them, however, have taken high positions in national, state, or municipal affairs: those who best comprehend the problems of civic well-being are glad to have such men at the front.

Returning to the broader proposition as to democracy: The people are not always right, of course: it was Thomas B. Reed who added to our stock of immortal epigrams that characterization of our Philippine venture: "A whole nation gone wrong"; in England there is now no political axiom more universally accepted than that the wild plunge into the Crimean war was a horrible mistake; a people is always wrong when it is obsessed by the passion for war. But the people want to be right much more than some suppose, and those who are trained in self-government try pretty hard to be right; it is likely that they try harder than those who have enormous masses of property to build up with abnormal speed. There can be nothing but loss

when those least endowed with opportunity or advantage are left out of the account. Again we say: our people of education, as well as our influential people of every other class, are by manhood-suffrage forced to take some sort of care of the humblest; and presently, because these people have been given a chance, they or their children are in positions where they are of great value to the national life. Hence, though with limitations and regrets, we all are bound to believe in democracy, as being in the large view the best. Even Russia, we must believe, will not begin to be safe till those who now not only have no opportunity but have not even protection from oppression have some share in making the laws.

As the English nobility have been kept not wholly unworthy of their exalted place and privilege only by frequent accessions from the classes below, so many of the leaders of our American life, education, culture, government,—who have helped to keep our culture from decay,—have risen by their own efforts from poverty and every other disadvantage; they have been, perhaps, as Lincoln said of himself, “without a name, and without a reason why [they] should have a name.” Some one will yet write the same story of Russia: until this last upheaval it was the educated poor who were especially kept from having a share in public affairs. Their ardent desires to serve their fatherland have all been denied, and that alone was enough to bring ruin.

The cultures that *The Spectator* calls “rotten” were aristocratic to the core. So were Jewish government and society in the time of the Pharisees and the Herods. So was the “republic” of Florence. Into such a condition a great alliance of clericals, militarists, and monarchists is trying to put back France.

In any such country as Spain or Turkey the peasantry are far superior in all the possibilities of excellence to the classes that have long felt the subtly corrupting

effects of exclusive privilege. We repeat: give the rank and file of any nation the right to climb to education, culture, wealth, power, and they will supplant those who abuse their privilege, and will keep the leadership until they in their turn become effete or corrupt and in their turn give place to others from below. A civilization, a culture, that rests upon the notion of the worth of the humblest is not so likely to become futile or worthless in the great exigencies of society or the state.

We do not consider this hospitality to the democratic idea, this taking of the democratic idea for granted, as a sufficient safeguard to culture. Not at all. But it is a most valuable influence in connection with other things. And one of those things is the prevalence of the sense that there is always something better ahead. For ourselves, we never tire of hearing from each new discoverer that progress is the law to which we are born and by which we and the world must live. As we hear it, if it means more than additional scientific facts, if it means more manhood, more life of the soul, we take courage to believe that our culture is not ceasing to be true, is not shriveling into selfishness, is not turning into the worship of the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life. There is a goal toward which every state, society, civilization, culture, should move, that goal not being in personal gain; and to know that fact is to know very much, to know more than some famous philosophers ever discovered; it is to know more than he can know who never thinks of ideals at all.

If the learned men of the Roman decadence had any such beautiful hope, the story has not come down to us,—except as a few of them took up the Christian faith and so became but a voice crying in a wilderness where few could hear. Confucianism, Brahminism, are inhospitable to such ideas; their ideal, if it can be called an ideal, is to step precisely in

the footprints of the past.\* It is expressly said that the young Hindu, learning English literature, does not catch this, its subtlest essence, its "precious life-giving spirit." And what has Confucianism, with all its scholarship and all its ethical elevation, done for China? It has only lulled China to add century after century to her age-long sleep.

Wealth, especially when being amassed, tends constantly to choke out spiritual ideals, although the situation is helped when the rich and the poor meet under circumstances that call out their better selves. The dependence of the schools upon the wealthy, especially if their wealth is ill-gotten, increases the peril that the spirituality shall be in the outward seeming, rather than in the inward life. Feeling keenly the peril, we rejoice to believe that there still is in our educational system, in our methods of training, in the spirit of our cultivated classes, enough spirituality, enough alert unself-

ishness, to save our culture as a whole from present decay.

And what does culture become when it begins to decay?—when the dry-rot strikes in? It gives itself a new definition, being satisfied, perhaps, to be a mere enlargement of information, with the development and enjoyment of taste. It omits the training of the conscience; it omits the discipline of the will; it forgets or neglects those powers of the soul by which the man reaches forth after duty. It knows not any of the laws of the spirit. It forgets the rights of fellow-man. If our national culture, that is, the trend of life in our educated classes, ever ends upon self, then our culture is in great peril of being added to the "three" whose great mischief has been to prevent the entrance of wisdom, and whose judgment has been or may be to "go down with a crash."

HENRY M. WHITNEY.

*Branford, Ct.*

## ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE: A STATESMAN AFTER THE ORDER OF LINCOLN.

BY WILLIAM KITTLE,

Secretary of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools of Wisconsin.

ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, was born a few miles from Madison, Wisconsin, in 1855. He is of French Huguenot extraction. His boyhood was spent on a farm. He entered the University of Wisconsin in 1874 and during his college course won the championship for his university in an interstate contest for oratory. In 1879, he graduated from the

general science course and from the law department in 1880. Although regarded by the politicians as a mere boy, he was at once elected district-attorney of Dane county and held that office for four years. By his eloquence and ability he had obtained a state reputation and in 1884, at the age of twenty-nine, he was elected a member of Congress from the Capital district. He was in Congress from 1884

\*The latest and most apposite note of this fact, so far as we have seen, is in R. A. Hume's *Missions From the Modern View* (p. 19): "One fundamental weakness in the doctrine of transmigration and of reincarnation, which are the principal forces in Hinduism, is that it is wholly or mainly the past that controls the future. But poets and seers and all lovers [including, we may add, lovers of

country] know that the present and the future are more than the past. Therefore, while not ignoring the past or the present, they care for the past principally because it is the door into a greater future. That is, the lure of the ideal is the formative influence in the life of the poet and the seer and the lover." Yes, and of the patriot, too.

to 1890, and served on the Ways and Means committee with McKinley. During the next ten years, he held no official position. A powerful coterie in his party had remanded him to private life. This ring parcelled out the offices, state and national, and quietly but effectively determined that on account of his independence and for his opposition to the senior Senator from Wisconsin, he should hold no office whatever. LaFollette saw clearly that the great mass of the people were for him and that a small ring controlled every caucus and convention. His confidence in the people was Jeffersonian. He spoke to them on every occasion, at fairs, in churches, at celebrations, and by formal lectures. His one theme began to be "Representative Government," in which the will of the majority should control directly the votes and acts of the representative. He began to crystallize public opinion on a plan to secure direct nominations by the people. This plan formulated and advocated by him became known as a "primary election." In eight years, one man, by his eloquence, his integrity and his ability as an organizer, had impressed the value of this new and untried principle on nearly half a million voters. The principle itself would not have carried without the remarkable oratory of its advocate.

In 1898 La Follette was a candidate for governor before the state convention. He was defeated by the politicians, but his principle of primary election was put in the platform. His candidacy had now become formidable to the ring. From Washington came a tempting offer of a lucrative position in the treasury department to get him out of the state. His law practice had been neglected. He was known to be in debt. He declined the position offered by his enemies, and carried on his continuous campaign. In 1900 he was again a candidate for governor. Nearly every Congressional district had an opposing candidate. The greatest daily paper in Wisconsin opposed La Follette. One by one every other

candidate withdrew. The people in every district had compelled the retirement of every opponent. No such victory over the politicians had ever before been achieved. When the state convention met, the eloquent advocate of better government was unanimously nominated by acclamation, and was elected governor in the following November.

The first long period of the contest was over. For ten years the man who was now governor had advocated the principle of direct nominations by the people without interference by the politicians. The people of Wisconsin, in two elections, had unmistakably declared for that principle. Twice had the platform plainly pledged its enactment into law. Both branches of the legislature had large majorities elected upon that issue. When the question came before the legislature, a powerful corporation-lobby defeated the primary-election bill, and also a bill for the equal taxation of property. Governor La Follette afterwards publicly stated that the legislature had been corrupted by every form of vice; that members had been brought to the chambers intoxicated; that there could be no doubt that money had been offered and accepted; but that money was offered and refused was susceptible of proof. Governor La Follette and the people were given a striking object-lesson of the power of a ring of professional politicians backed up by a lobby sent by the public-service corporations.

This defeat called out all that was best in a virile, able and honest man. He sprang to the contest with renewed vigor. He saw that free government is but a name if the will of great majorities, definitely registered at the polls, can be defeated by money. He informed every voter in the state that their expressed will had been defeated by a corrupt lobby in the Capitol. By conferences with hundreds who visited Madison, by earnest addresses in various parts of the state, and by messages to the legislature defining the issue, he literally made public opinion against three hundred papers



throughout the state supported by the politicians and the corporations. In order to win, he had to triumph over the corporations, the politicians, and many of the chosen representatives of his own party in the legislature,—and he won.

The next contest was before the voters of Wisconsin in the campaign of 1902. It was fought out with vigor in every voting precinct in the state. The politicians and the corporations bought up three hundred country-newspapers, and sent out from Milwaukee carefully-written editorials purporting to emanate from the local editors. They united on a candidate subservient to their interests. They avoided the issues raised by the governor, and from three hundred villages and cities they made the state ring with denunciations of the "populist" and "demagogue" who had simply advocated the direct nomination of public officials and the equal taxation of all property.

The Republican state convention of 1902 was held in the huge university gymnasium at Madison, the home-city of Governor La Follette and the home-city also of his arch-enemy, Senator John C. Spooner. More than a thousand delegates were present from every part of Wisconsin. Twice had the party violated its pledges to the people; and now more than two hundred delegates were there with unblushing front in the bad cause. But eight hundred delegates were also there to speak in no uncertain terms for a primary-election law and for equal taxation, and to nominate their loved and admired leader. The proceedings were orderly, but there was an air of expectation in the great assemblage for the moment when the governor and finest orator of the commonwealth was to be nominated.

A man of marked integrity and ability nominated La Follette. Three-fourths of the convention ratified the nomination, and a committee was dispatched to invite the nominee to address the convention. When he appeared, nothing was wanting in the ovation. Before him were

the men who for months had denounced his every act. There, too, were his loyal friends from Lake Superior to Illinois and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. His home-city saw a great host summoned there after ten years of public service for good government. His wife and daughter and little son, closer to him than any in that great array of close personal friends, were just at his right on the platform. His address had been carefully prepared; but in delivery and eloquence it held the rapt attention of the great audience and, when published in the next morning's papers, had a profound influence in the state. At the close he said: "I do not treasure one personal injury or lodge in memory one personal insult. The span of my life is too short for that. But so much as it pleases God to spare unto me, I shall give, whether in the public service or out of it, to the contest for good government."

In the campaign which followed, La Follette spoke fifty-five consecutive nights and a greater number of times during the days as he went from city to city. On the last night of the campaign, he spoke for three hours and his voice was clear and strong. Against the strongest opposition he had ever met, an opposition wielding great wealth and political power, he was elected governor by a plurality of 47,599. Both branches of the legislature had large majorities pledged definitely for a primary-election law and a law for the equal taxation of property. Yet, when bills were introduced for these two purposes in the next legislature, they were openly defeated by the corporation-lobby. Three times had the platform pledges been violated. Twice had the members of the upper house of the legislature prostituted their office. But in the executive chair was a man who could not be bribed or silenced. Though defeated again and again, his integrity and courage were still formidable to the ring. He was a lion, but not at bay. He carried on a continuous campaign. He said in December, 1903: "The contest must go on, and on,

and on, until it is settled and settled right.”

Extraordinary interest attended the election of delegates in the primaries for the State Republican Convention to be held in Madison, on May 18, 1904, to elect delegates to the National Republican Convention. The influence of the railroads and other corporations was openly exerted to defeat the champion of equal taxation. Every station-agent of the railroads was ordered to do his utmost to defeat the La Follette delegates on the day of the caucus. As these caucuses were held on different dates in the different counties, train-crews were held at given points to elect the Stalwart delegates. Money was freely and notoriously used. As the morning-papers reported the election of delegates who had been chosen the preceding day in a group of counties, they were as eagerly read as were the reports of battles in the Spanish or in the Civil war. The largest vote ever recorded was given at these primaries.

The state convention of 1,065 delegates met at Madison, May 18, 1904. 952 were uncontested delegates, their election, credentials and regularity being unquestioned by either faction. 515½ of these were conceded by the Stalwarts as being favorable to La Follette. The six Stalwart members of the State Central Committee on May 17, the day preceding the convention, unanimously conceded 20 more votes from the first districts of Grant and Eau Claire counties. These 20 votes were not included in the 515½, which were at all times conceded by the Stalwarts. Therefore they openly admitted the election of 535½ delegates for La Follette. 533 was a majority. As a matter of fact, Governor La Follette had 574½, a clear majority of 84½.

The Stalwart delegates, 485 in number, held a bolting convention, with no formal notice, no roll-call, no regularity. No one really knows how many delegates were present and it is certain that persons not delegates attended and took part in the irregular proceedings of this meeting.

It purported to elect four delegates to the Republican National Convention,—Senator John C. Spooner, Senator Joseph V. Quarles, Congressman Babcock and Emil Baensch, the Stalwart candidate for governor. The regular republican convention also nominated a complete state ticket and elected delegates to the National Convention.

The case was now appealed to the Republican National Committee at Chicago. A formal but farcical “hearing” was given on June 16–17, 1904, at Chicago. Gas Addicks was a member of that committee. For days preceding the trial of the Wisconsin case, Senators Spooner and Quarles appealed to Senatorial courtesy to sacrifice the leader of the regular Republican party in Wisconsin. George R. Peck, the attorney of the St. Paul railroad, labored indefatigably to defeat La Follette. Walter Wellman stated that the plucky governor of Wisconsin was run over by the “bullgine.” Every effort was made by La Follette to secure a fair trial, but without success. It became evident that the National Committee had prejudged the case. Printed briefs covering every material fact in the case were laid before the Committee, but they were not even read. Before the Committee could report back to the Convention, La Follette issued a defiance to the corrupt tribunal and took an appeal to the voters of his state. Before the election, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin handed down a decision that the convention which had nominated the La Follette delegates was the regular Republican convention of Wisconsin.

A campaign of extraordinary bitterness ensued. The Stalwarts placed ex-Governor Scofield as candidate for Governor under the party name of “National Republican.” Senators Spooner and Quarles took the platform against La Follette. It was not expected by the Stalwarts that Scofield would be elected. He was put in the field to capture those old-time voters who could not be brought to vote the Democratic ticket. The great

majority of the Stalwart votes went to the Democratic candidate for governor, and were so intended by Spooner, Quarles and by Scofield himself.

But Governor La Follette carried on a campaign that must have extorted the admiration of his foes. He bought an automobile and used the railroads and carriages to enable him to meet the people. In many cases, the farmers knowing that he would pass along a certain road, would meet him and call for an address by the roadside. Wrapped in a large fur-overcoat and wearing the well-known soft-wool hat turned up all around and speeding along the country roads to meet audiences, he presented a striking appearance. For months he spoke to tens of thousands in the country, in villages and cities. On Friday evening preceding the election he addressed ten thousand people in the Exposition Building in Milwaukee for three hours. When he retired to the Plankinton Hotel, he was wet with perspiration and was cared for by an attendant and rubbed in alcohol. The next morning he was up at seven o'clock to take a train for a forenoon meeting. The next Monday evening he addressed the students and people of his home-city in the university gymnasium, where three thousand had assembled to hear his last speech before the election. The next day Wisconsin gave him a plurality of 50,952 votes.

Three qualities distinguish this virile, resourceful and eloquent leader:

He is an absolutely honest man. Had his great ability been devoted to the interests of the public-service corporations, he would have had Spooner's place in the United States Senate long ago. Before he had been doomed to defeat by the ring, he was called to Milwaukee by a United States Senator and offered a large roll of bills if he would betray a public trust. He refused and was thrown out of Congress and public life for ten years. In 1898, when a clear majority of the delegates to the State Convention had been elected to nominate him for governor and a suffi-

cient number of the delegates had been literally bought with money, Charles Pfister, then one of the bosses and recently indicted by the grand jury, came to La Follette's hotel-room after midnight, preceding the convention, and said: "We have got you skinned, Bob; but if you will behave yourself, we will take care of you." Not long after he was offered a tempting position in the treasury department at Washington, but he refused it. When he was nominated in 1900 for governor, the railroads placed at his command special trains; and after the election, by every insidious means, tried to swerve him from the platform pledges. The people of Wisconsin know in whom they have put their trust.

He is an organizer of the first rank. He began without a party. He has created one. He had nearly all the old-line politicians against him, but by appealing directly to the people he has retired them to private life and built up a new organization. This has been called the "machine," the "ring," etc. But its main strength lies in the fact that it represents and is close to the mass of the people. But such a body of workers presents peculiar difficulties to leadership. Yet La Follette has not only inspired them with confidence and respect, but also with admiration and affection. Probably no man in American history, not even Henry Clay or Blaine, has called forth such personal loyalty and friendship.

But as an orator he appears at his best. His gracefulness in delivery, the strength and vigor of his thought, the purity of his English, his high ideals, and his lofty conception of the integrity and courage of a public official indicate unmistakably the character of the man.

This orator quotes no poetry or literary gems of any kind, uses no figures of speech has no climaxes, tells no stories, indulges in no humor. Though familiar with all the masterpieces of literature, and lectures on certain plays of Shakespeare, he never refers to them in his political addresses. He uses no historical examples or allu-

sions. He takes the driest subjects,—taxation and election methods,—and holds the rapt attention of farmers, laborers, merchants and professional men. If there is any climax in his impassioned addresses, it is when he mentions the public official who neglects or refuses to do his duty.

He has no carefully wrought-out exordium or peroration. His opening is rather in the nature of a courteous greeting, merging quickly into the dignified earnestness of his argument. After the first half-dozen sentences, his voice, rich and varied in quality, becomes clarion, resonant, yet musical and far-reaching. His delivery at times is marked with great rapidity and is always dramatic. In grace of manner and action, and in dignity and ease of position on the platform, he satisfies the most critical, yet all in his audience are rather intent on the ability

and earnestness of the orator. He is scarcely five feet four inches in height, squarely built, with a large head and a high square forehead, from which the hair rises partly pompadour. His face is powerfully expressive and earnest. His flashing eyes and square jaw show determination, integrity, and high ideals. That face, when the orator is roused to action, becomes indescribable, and when once seen can never be forgotten. The leonine head, the body bent slightly forward or held rigidly erect, the hand clenched, the delivery rapid and impassioned, the resonant, clarion voice, and the intense and sincere earnestness, claim more than unrivaled interest. They stir the emotions and form the judgments which control caucus, convention and election.

WILLIAM KITTLE.

*Madison, Wis.*

## J. N. ADAM: A MUNICIPAL LEADER OF THE NEW TIME.

By B. O. FLOWER.

### I. THE STORM-CENTERS IN THE PRESENT BATTLE FOR CIVIC RIGHT-EOUSNESS.

**I**T IS A significant and to us a very hopeful fact that the present nationwide moral awakening finds its efficient storm-centers in our great municipalities that have long been the most active centers of political corruption, graft and civic degradation. So long as corruption is firmly entrenched in the great cities, the voice of the people throughout the commonwealths can be easily negated by corrupt practices, padded election lists, stuffed ballot-boxes and criminal lawlessness such as long marked the elections in Philadelphia and such as was so strikingly in evidence at the last municipal election in New York City.

From the days when the public-service corporations began to enter politics for the purpose of securing for the enrichment of the few the immensely valuable franchises that would give them control of the natural monopolies or public utilities which belong of right to the cities or the people and should always be owned and operated by the people for the benefit of the whole community, the great cities have more and more fallen into the grip of the criminal classes—the criminal rich public-service magnates and their venal tools who under the political boss manned the money-controlled machines and filled municipal governments. Shrewd and intellectually keen men who were wholly wanting in the noble public spirit, moral rectitude and civic idealism that marked the infant days of the Republic and that

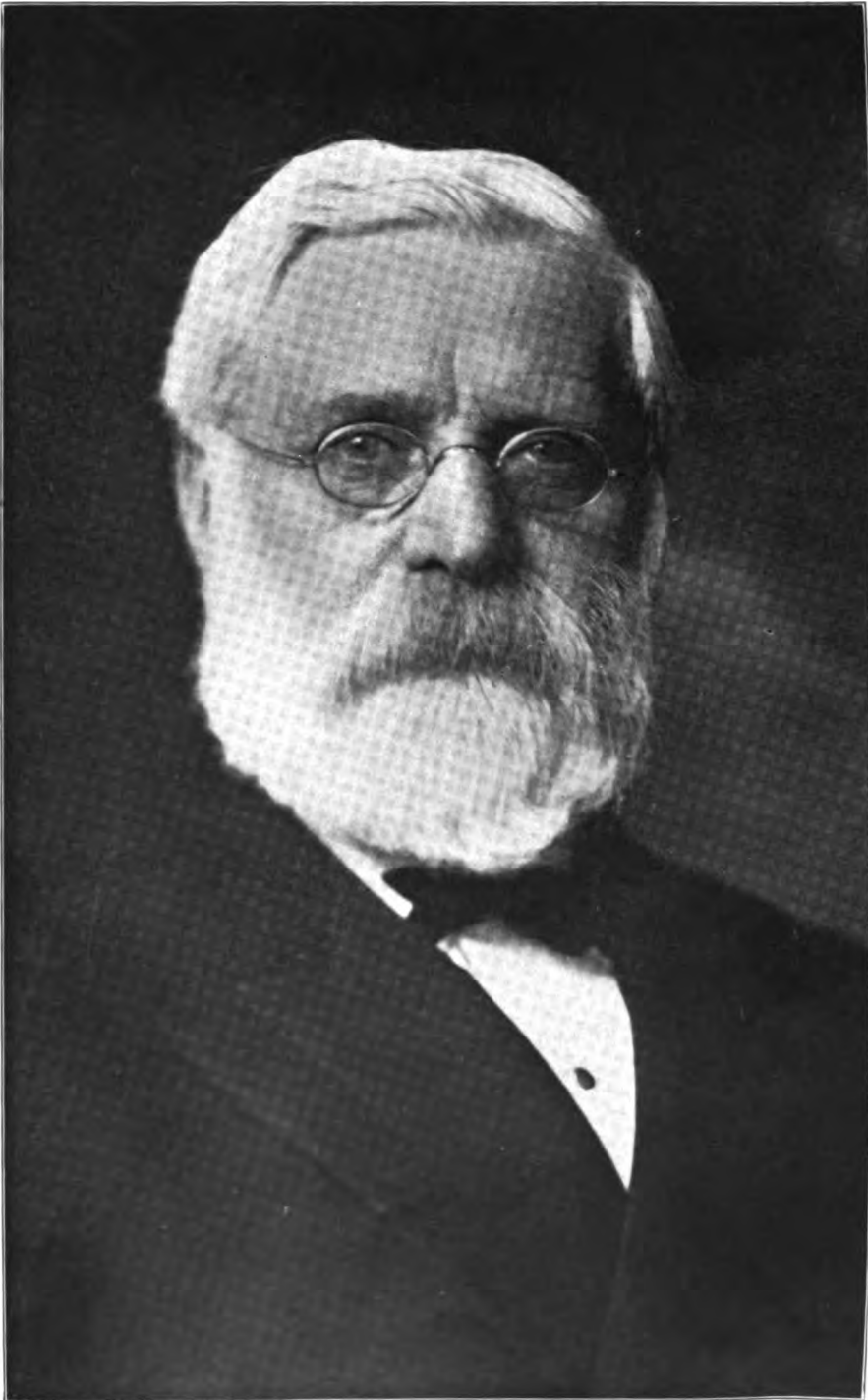


Photo. by E. J. Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.

**HON. J. N. ADAM**



made our nation the moral leader of the world, early realized that if private corporations could obtain franchises that would enable them to establish monopolies in public utilities, such as street-railways, gas, electric lighting, etc., they would have both the cities and the citizens at their mercy and in effect become possessed of vast mines of wealth incomparably richer than the great bonanza gold-claims that had made millionaires, because every passing year would add greatly to the income, while through watering their stock and other practices familiar to the broadcloth gambling fraternity of Wall street they could levy extortionate prices on the multitude and manipulate their stocks so as to give the few Monte Christo-like fortunes.

Seeing these enormous possibilities for acquiring unearned wealth, they were quick to act, gaining control of unscrupulous political bosses and pushing to the front men who would be responsive to their desires and who would permit them to select or pass on the persons who were to be chosen for the people to vote upon. In this way and by enormous corruption funds contributed for campaign purposes and other uses, it was not long before the great cities became the prey of highly respectable bands of moral criminals—gentlemen in broadcloth who as presidents of banks, directors in insurance companies, railway magnates, express company officials and officers in other leading enterprises, stood as the very pillars in the business and social world. And these men, by the aid of the municipal and state bosses, reinforced by shrewd lawyers who received princely incomes, astute lobbyists supplied with enormous corruption funds, and hirelings in the city and state government, together with the pressure they knew so well how to bring to bear upon the press, pulpit and school, were able to secure for absolutely nothing or next to nothing grants and special privileges that are to-day diverting into a few scores of pockets hundreds of millions of dollars from public utilities which

in the hands of the American cities and operated by the people, as is the case in Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow and scores of other Old-World cities, would be to-day blessing the millions in our municipalities by giving better public service at greatly reduced cost, while the revenue, even after such reductions would substantially lessen taxes. This claim is no unfounded opinion. It is based on the actual results that have followed municipal-ownership and operation in Great Britain, Germany and other foreign nations, and of the public lighting plants of Detroit, Michigan, Duluth, Minnesota, Jacksonville, Florida, and other cities of the New World. Indeed, we believe such results have followed in every instance where public-ownership and operation has been fairly or honestly tried or where the backbone of private corporations operating public utilities has been sufficiently broken to enable the people to overthrow the corrupt machine and official tools whose presence in municipal life had been due to the public-service corporations. In recent years the corruption in American cities has had its fountain-head in the criminal rich and not in the criminal poor. The latter were merely powerful by reason of the wealth and power of the master-spirits behind the scenes who rendered the bosses and their tools invincible and insured them from punishment for crimes against the ballot and other corrupt and lawless practices.

The strength and power of Durham in Philadelphia were due to the highly respectable moral criminals who had plundered the city of her street-car franchises, her gas rights and numerous other invaluable privileges. So in St. Louis, Boss Butler, like Durham, was able to make elections a farce and a by-word because of the enormous wealth he drew from the privileged interests and the princely bribes paid by the street-car officials and other public-service magnates for turning over to the corrupt grafters the enormously valuable public

franchises. And what has been made so obvious in Philadelphia and St. Louis has been true in greater or lesser degree of all the great American municipalities.

Against this riot of criminality and extortion Mayor H. M. Pingree raised his voice in protest. He was a pioneer in the warfare for civic righteousness and in the battle against the great and powerful thieves who had filched from the cities their greatest wealth-yielding prizes. Detroit is far from being a free city yet, but the progressive steps she has taken toward civic emancipation were due to the moral awakening occasioned by the movement inaugurated by Mayor Pingree.

Next came Mayor Tom L. Johnson, overcoming the great machine majority of Cleveland and calling a halt in the systematic raids of the plunderers. No city official in America has done more to arouse a healthy, honest civic spirit in municipal life or to demonstrate to the people the insane folly and moral criminality of turning over to private interests public utilities than has Cleveland's high-minded, incorruptible and aggressively honest mayor; and no man in America has struck more telling blows against the debauching union of corrupt political machines and the criminal rich of the great public-service corporations than has Mayor Johnson.

After Mayor Johnson came County-Attorney Folk, a veritable David in the camp of the Philistines. He carried the work forward by uncovering the nest of villains at work, taking them red-handed as it were by seizing over \$100,000 of corruption money put up by the street-car corporations to debauch the council and through this corruption rob the city of franchises worth millions of dollars. Mr. Folk secured evidence and confessions of criminality that enabled him to convict numbers of great rogues, from the boss down.

The revolt in Chicago and later in Philadelphia, in which the masses have rallied against the respectable but criminal rich for the honor of the city and to

secure honest government, is typical of the new awakening. The movement for municipal emancipation and the establishment of efficient public service under popular rule in the place of corrupt government in the interests of privileged classes, by machine rule, is spreading all over the country.

One of the latest and most striking victories won for good government has been achieved in the rich and populous city of Buffalo, where a civic leader who already looms large on the horizon of American life, having been elected as chief magistrate, has inaugurated a programme of progress and civic efficiency that reflects the highest honor and credit on the new mayor and the people who are so enthusiastically holding up his hands.

## II. J. N. ADAM, THE MAN.

The Mayor of Buffalo, up to three years ago, had been for many years the head of one of the largest dry-goods department stores in Buffalo. He was born in Scotland in 1842. His father was a Scotch clergyman, and his early education was obtained in Edinburgh. When twelve years of age he was apprenticed in a small tin-ware and notion establishment, receiving one dollar a week for the first three years and \$1.50 a week for the fourth year. The fifth and last year of his apprenticeship he earned two dollars a week. He began as a delivery or bundle boy but afterwards became a clerk. Later with a friend he established a business for himself, but in 1872 he came to Buffalo, New York, at the suggestion of his brother Robert, who wrote from that city describing the superior opportunities offered in America to young men of push, business ability and integrity. Mr. Adam soon displayed a remarkable aptitude for managing large concerns. He was industrious, temperate, honorable, alert and progressive; hence he soon achieved a pronounced success in business. He learned to love America without losing



his affection for the hills and lochs of his native land, and without engaging actively in public life he ever strove to elevate civic ideals.

He is a true democrat, using that term in its broadest and noblest signification as one who has faith in the people, as one who believes in putting into practice the bed-rock principles that differentiate a democracy from a government by class-rule. "In any case of doubt," says Mayor Adam, "leave it to the people"; and in this, one of his favorite maxims, we see the true democrat.

Not only does he believe in Direct-Legislation, but like other broad-visioned and practical thinkers who are not interested in private corporations or who are not beholden to those who are, and who have also studied the subject sufficiently to decide intelligently, Mayor Adam is a strong believer in public-ownership.

He entered politics by one of those seeming accidents that so frequently prove the turning-points in one's life. It was in 1895. The Democrats wanted a strong and influential man for councilman in a certain district. No one suggested seemed to measure sufficiently large to make success even probable. One of the politicians strolled to the window of the room in which the conference was being held and looking out he caught sight of the erect figure of the great Buffalo merchant walking down the street.

"Why not nominate J. N. Adam?" said the man at the window.

"The very person!" exclaimed another.

And so he was nominated. He protested, urging that he was a business man and not a politician. "The very kind of man who is needed," urged his friends, and his sense of duty to the common good or civic responsibility led him to accept. He was elected and since then he has been in the council or on the board of aldermen ever since, until he was elected last autumn to be the chief magistrate of the city.

In the city government he was in a hopeless minority, as the Republicans

controlled everything, but this did not prevent him from boldly fighting for the best interests of the city; and he displayed such business foresight and sagacity, such a sense of fairness coupled with aggressive honesty, regardless of what the privileged classes desired, that he won the confidence of the rank and file to such a degree that when nominated for mayor last autumn he turned the Republican majority of ten thousand into a Democratic majority of ten thousand, or an overturn of twenty thousand votes in the city.

### III. AS MAYOR OF BUFFALO.

Mr. Adam was in Scotland when the political forces began to prepare for the municipal contest. He reached Buffalo a short time before the nominating convention assembled. By common consent he had been selected as the standard-bearer not only of the Democrats but of the people who placed good government and loyalty to the fundamental ideals of free institutions above partisanship.

He announced his platform to be Honesty *versus* Graft. A grafter he defined as a thief in disguise. After his nomination he went before the people speaking from three to five times every day, explaining the evils and weaknesses of the municipal government and insisting that a great municipality should be conducted as a great business enterprise, for the benefit of all the interested ones, which in the case of the city meant all the people, and that it should not be run for a set of favored politicians, corporations or any other class seeking special privileges and unjust immunities.

The Republican party and the corporations waged a vigorous battle, bringing all their forces to bear to defeat this man in whom the people believed much as in other days the masses had believed in Jefferson and in Lincoln. But all the resources of the machine and the corporations were unable to defeat the will of the people. The magnitude of the victory,

however, astounded those who had long held the people in contempt.

After the election the successful candidate, having about two months before he assumed office, visited various leading American municipalities in order to personally study conditions and to confer with leading officials. When he returned he forestalled the office-seeking army by announcing the names of those he expected to appoint to various offices that would become vacant during his term, and in every instance it was found that he had been guided by the same general principles that would have governed him if he had been managing a great private business instead of a municipality; that is, he selected only the men he believed would be the best qualified to render the city the most efficient and unselfish service, without regard to politics or any other consideration save the giving to the city of the most efficient and honest service. He also displayed great wisdom in giving representatives of different sections of the people fair representation, so that all elements should be justly considered.

He gave fair warning to all grafters that he would do his utmost to have them receive such punishment as the enemies of the state deserve. On the subject of official duty and of faithlessness to the solemn obligation imposed upon them he said:

"Every public official should be interested in keeping the conduct of affairs free from the giving or taking of anything to which the giver or taker is not honestly entitled—or in one word, graft. I believe graft should be scotched by not only arresting and trying, but by convicting and imprisoning the grafter, whether he be an office-holder or not.

"Disguise should not be permitted to keep a thief out of jail, and a grafter is a thief in disguise. I will do all in my power to put any grafting public official not only out of office, but into jail. I will do all in my power to expose and pun-

ish bribery or corruption or any attempt to wrongfully control or influence the conduct of our public affairs, no matter how high or low the wrongdoer may be.

"I hope and trust no necessity for such use of power ever will arise, but if it does I will act fearlessly, doing my full duty in accord with my oath of office, and shall expect the coöperation of all public officials and of all good citizens."

When the Mayor assumed the office, he found that the city employés were in many instances slack in their duties but over-alert to get more pay than was due for any over-time service. He changed all this by example and precept. Every day he is at his post at eight o'clock in the morning, and he let the employés understand once and for all that they were expected to serve the city just as faithfully as they would serve a private employer, and if they were not prepared to do this others would take their places.

In his inaugural message, among other strong and brave words, the Mayor attacked the swindling of the city out of taxes on millions of dollars' worth of property by the public-service corporations, through the connivance of the State Board of Tax Commissioners.

It matters not where one looks in the state government of New York since the Platt-Odell-Harriman-Root-Ryan-Higgins elements have become the dominant power in the Empire State, the corporations and special privilege grafters seem to have absolute control. The insurance department, with its Hendricks at the head, has been fully exposed, but so rotten is the state government that the faithless head was not summarily removed. The bank department became so malodorous and such a crying scandal that it seemed for a time that even Governor Higgins and his confederates would be unable to head off an investigation, and there was general consternation among the master-spirits of the Root-Ryan-Higgins machine at Washington and Albany, no less than among the high financiers,

and word came from Washington that a public investigation would be a public calamity, so in spite of the scandal the investigation was refused. The State Tax Commission seems to be equally complacent to the public-service corporations, judging from the facts brought out in Mayor Adam's message and subsequent revelations. The public-service companies of Buffalo are taxed on only \$14,000,000 of property, although the stocks and bonds of one corporation exceed \$30,000,000. The city of Buffalo was not notified when there was to be a public hearing at Albany before the Commission, though the corporations were all duly notified, but the city found out when the hearing was to be held and sent the Corporation Counsel and the Commissioner of Public Works. The trip was fruitless, however, as the officials found when they reached Albany that "everything had been cut and dried." In referring to the subject the Mayor in his message said:

"In the matter of special franchises, we find ourselves at the mercy of the Board of State Tax Commissioners, a body which fixes the valuations and whose course at times has caused us almost to wonder if they regarded Buffalo as aught but a place for immune corporations."

In commenting on the shameful action of the State Tax Commission in placing the valuation for all public utility corporation property at \$14,000,000, the Mayor said:

"The people of the city resent such proceedings. Such conduct of public affairs is fit subject for legislative investigation, and I believe that legislative enactment not only should require the State Tax Commission to hear the City, but also to take into account the capitalization and selling value of each corporation in making the franchise valuations. The valuation of special franchises is not a lottery or a matter of chance. It

is an important business matter affecting vitally the financial welfare of our City."

The Mayor next showed how the public-service companies dodged paying a part of the taxes on the pitifully low valuation that the State Commission had obligingly given them.

As before stated, the new chief executive of Buffalo is a strong believer in public-ownership. In his message he says:

"Municipal-ownership is coming surely, and recent developments in cities throughout the country indicate it is coming swiftly. In Buffalo it may arrive sooner than expected."

The Mayor had the Comptroller insert an item of \$250,000 in estimates for a municipal lighting and power-plant, in conformity with the vote of the people favorable to the establishment of a public lighting and power-plant. The faithless Board of Aldermen, however, struck out the item, in spite of the fact that the people had voted for the municipal plant and the majority of the aldermen, we also understand, had prior to the election pledged themselves to carry out the will of the people.

In his message Mayor Adam thus voices his sentiments on the Referendum:

"A symptom of the attitude of our citizens on the question of municipal-ownership is found in the referendum vote on the lighting question. I believe in the Referendum. It means more direct and more frequent instructions from our citizens to their public servants."

He is very outspoken in his advocacy of this necessary method for maintaining free government, agreeing with Governor Folk, Mayor Johnson and other popular leaders, that the hope of free institutions depends on getting back to the people, which can be done only by breaking the backbone of the present corrupt rule of corporate wealth through criminal bosses and money-controlled machines, by giv-

ing the people an opportunity to instruct their servants or to veto measures which are as clearly against the wishes and interests of the people as they are in the interest of corrupt corporations and privileged classes. He believes in direct responsibility to the people and he has no sympathy with the attitude of our grafting statesmen who are the tools and attorneys of the trusts, monopolies and class interests. "Public office," he declares, "is not a private graft. Our municipal affairs are the business of the people of this city. I am answerable to the people and I would rather be answerable to 400,000 people than to one boss. You can trust the people."

The Mayor is a strong champion of education and is actively engaged in the effort being made to extend and enlarge the University of Buffalo, an institution

which he hopes to see become one of the most effective of the higher educational institutions of the land.

He is a great reader and much of his keenest pleasure comes from the perusal of the master-thoughts of our noblest thinkers. He is a great lover of the poems of Robert Browning, although Robertson of Brighton is said to be his favorite author.

In Mayor Adam the forces of fundamental democracy, clean government and civic advance have another strong leader—a man of the Lincoln stamp, whose aggressive honesty, large business ability and loyalty to the interests of the people place him in the class of American municipal leaders of whom Mayor Johnson of Cleveland is the pioneer and honored leader.

*Boston, Mass.*

B. O. FLOWER.

## BRITISH EGYPT.

BY ERNEST CROSBY,

Late Judge of the Mixed Tribunal at Alexandria.

### PART I.

**I**N A RECENT Blue Book on Egypt,\* Lord Cromer devotes several pages to a recapitulation of the recent history of that country, and he expresses himself with a frankness that does him credit. "In 1882," says he, "a serious revolution took place in Egypt. I use the word revolution advisedly. The idea, which at the time obtained a certain amount of credence, that the Arabi movement was a military mutiny and nothing more, is wholly erroneous. It was, in its essence, a genuine revolt against misgovernment, such as has frequently happened in other countries. It may, in so far as its broad

features are concerned, be condemned or justified by the arguments ordinarily used in condemnation or justification of those who attempt by violent means to effect radical changes in the form in which their country is governed." Lord Milner, formerly Undersecretary for Finance at Cairo, gave the same character to Arabi's rebellion eight years or more ago in his work on *England in Egypt*. "Their first object," he tells us (that is, of "Arabi and his associates"), ". . . were neither unreasonable nor blameworthy." (Page 18.) "The European concession-hunter and loan-monger, the Greek publican and pawnbroker, the Jewish and Syrian money-lender and land-grabber, who could always with ease obtain the 'protection' of some European power, had battered on the Egyptian treasury and the poor Egyptian cultivator to an almost

\* *Egypt, No. 1, 1905. Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1904, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, April, 1905.*

incredible extent. In a very great measure then there was reason in the onslaught upon European privilege, and even in the ominous and misleading watch-cry of 'Egypt for the Egyptians.'" The concurrence of two such authorities as Lord Cromer and Lord Milner must be held to establish once for all the justification of the rising of 1882, and to put an end to the vulgar belief which long survived in the British colony in Egypt that Arabi was a reckless and criminal adventurer who should have been summarily hanged. The opinion of both these noble historians that Arabi could not have been safely entrusted with the government of the country in no wise detracts from the initial purity of his motives. This official admission of the just character of an insurrection, the suppression of which gave Great Britain the opportunity to take possession of the Delta, seems to cast something of a cloud upon the title of that country, and invites a discussion of all the circumstances which led up to the final subjection of the khedivate to the British crown. By what right is England in Egypt and what are the main functions which she is performing there? To answer these questions briefly is the object of this paper.

Egypt is history. Just as in some countries the edges of geological strata are so laid bare that the trained eye can spell them out like the ruled lines of a manuscript, so on the banks of the lower Nile the records of human history have been so accumulated, preserved and uncovered that he that runs may read. Not only do the ruins of temple, tomb and mosque speak of Pharaoh and Ptolemy, Cæsar and Saladin,—not only do we see in the museum of Gizeh the actual life-like bodies of Seti and Rameses, and those of their servants and domestic animals, and the jewelry and household utensils which they wore and used, but in the living men and women of to-day, in the fellah and his beasts of burden, we behold the ancient sculptures come to life

again. The modern Egyptian cat, for instance, is like no other cat in the world. He seems to have stepped down from some temple-wall, and the camel, it has been well said, is older than the pyramids.

If it be true that ancient history predominates in the land of the Pharaohs, it is no less true that modern history has not altogether passed it by. Alexander and Cæsar visited Alexandria, but so did Napoleon, and indeed this is the only spot in the world associated with all three of the great commanders. For many years Mohammed Ali attracted the attention of the world to the Nile Valley, and during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the storm-center of Christendom and of Islam was never long absent from its banks. We have at last come to a point of rest. The Soudan has been reconquered and occupied by England in the name of the Khedive, the intention of remaining in Egypt permanently has been acknowledged at Westminster, and the unaccustomed lull which has set in at the beginning of the twentieth century affords an opportunity to investigate at leisure the latest deposits which the rise and fall of empire have left in this remarkable land.

It was Napoleon who drew Great Britain into Egypt a century ago. Unfortunately for him the works of Captain Mahan had not then been written, and he hardly appreciated the importance of the sea-power. Egypt is practically an island, surrounded by water and desert, and armies are useless there for the purpose of keeping open the way to the base of supplies or of retreat, unless supported by a dominant naval force. The French defeated the Mamelukes, but when Nelson destroyed their fleet in the Bay of Aboukir, they were obliged to evacuate. England might then have taken possession of the Delta, had it not been for the rise of a daring young Albanian adventurer, Mohammed Ali Pasha, who secured the governorship of the country for himself and defeated their army at Rosetta, and the heads of General Frazer, the British

commander, and those of several of his officers were displayed on poles at Cairo. Mohammed Ali made his leadership secure by massacring the Mamelukes. He and his son Ibrahim Pasha, assisted by Suleiman Pasha, a Frenchman who had fought at Waterloo, eventually took Acre, subdued Syria and were on the eve of advancing on Constantinople, when England interfered, and the great Pasha agreed to confine his rule to the African continent. His sway there was undisputed, and England for many years indulged in no further dreams with reference to the Egyptian Pashalic.

It affords a curious illustration of the interdependence of modern nations as a result of commerce to ascertain that the domestic affairs of the United States of America were the primary cause of the present occupation of Egypt by Great Britain, but such is the fact. The blockade of the Confederate ports by the Northern navy put a stop to the exportation of cotton from America, and it became necessary for European mills to find their supply somewhere else. This new demand made itself felt at once in Egypt, where the best cotton in the world is raised, save only the very restricted Sea Island cotton crop of the Carolinas, for Egyptian cotton has a much longer staple than the ordinary American cotton, and an ever-increasing amount of it is imported into America for that reason. The price of cotton consequently went up rapidly in the early sixties, to supply the lack of the American article, the production of cotton was stimulated and extended and the country entered upon an era of prosperity theretofore unknown, and which soon made itself felt in a plentiful revenue for the government. Ismail Pasha succeeded to the government in 1863, at the very height of this wave of abundance. Grandson of Mohammed Ali, son of the great general, Ibrahim, he had inherited a strong character, but it had been spoiled by a semi-foreign education. Affable in manner, he was at heart an Oriental despot in spite of his

thin veneer of Parisian vices. With his treasury full, he acted as if he were possessed of the lamp of Aladdin and the purse of Fortunatus. Ambitious to rival the magnificence of European capitals, totally unable to appreciate the value of money, a spendthrift by nature, he made his reign a prolonged orgy of extravagance. He built a score of lath-and-plaster palaces, which are already far more ruined than the temples of the Pharaohs, and he paid for them as if they had been marble. He bought expensive machinery for sugar-mills and other industrial enterprises, and left it to rot unused. He spent ninety million dollars and thousands of lives on the Suez canal, which damaged Egypt by enabling the commerce of the world to pass through without stopping. He spent large sums in bribes at Constantinople, his new title of Khedive and the hereditary right to the throne costing him roundly. Cairo became the Mecca of the adventurers and swindlers of Europe, and when Ismail was slow to pay, the consuls-general of the great Christian Powers made him do so. With utter disregard of the position of the Egyptian taxpayer, the representatives of the governments of Europe deliberately permitted their fellow-subjects to engage the Egyptian government in extortionate contracts, and then used all their power to exact every farthing nominated in the bond. The results were soon evident enough, although the Powers paid no attention to them. General Gordon estimated at one time that the Khedive was paying thirty-six per cent. interest. *The national debt in 1863, when Ismail became Pasha, was fifteen million dollars. In 1876 it was four hundred and forty-five millions. It had increased thirtyfold in thirteen years!* This meant a debt of seventy-five dollars for every man, woman and child of the six millions of population of that day, while the average cost of living for each individual was only five cents a day apiece. A man therefore who spent less than nineteen dollars a year for his own

support was obliged to pay the interest on seventy-five dollars in taxes, besides his share of the cost of government. Lord Milner tells us how much less than the face of the loans included in this debt was received by the Khedive. The Oppenheim loan of 1873 for the nominal sum of thirty-two million pounds sterling brought only twenty millions into the treasury, and probably seventeen millions is nearer the true figure. The balance had already disappeared in rake-offs to the distinguished usurers who managed the job. Lord Milner's estimate is that only ten per cent. of the Egyptian national debt was used on works of permanent utility, but this is surely an optimistic view of the situation. And the Powers either participated in this international knavery, or at best sat by consenting. Hard-pressed by his creditors Ismail disposed of the Egyptian shares in the Suez Canal to D'Israeli for the British Government for twenty million dollars. A few years ago they were worth ninety millions. It was a neat piece of business which ought to entitle the United Kingdom to quarter the bearings of the Medici on her coat-of-arms. England had put every possible obstacle in the way of building the Canal which Egypt built. But Egypt paid the bills and England got the profit.

Ismail at last understood the situation, but he was unable to curb his extravagant tastes. He had some sense of humor, however, which may have relieved the gloom a little. "Close that window behind his Excellency," he is reported to have said to a servant, while he was conversing with some official European visitor. "If he should catch cold, I might have a big claim for damages on my hands!" I heard another story which goes to show his prodigality, but for the truth of which I cannot vouch. He told one of his attendants that he would like to have "Schneider" come to Cairo. It so happened that there were two Schneiders, one an actress, whom the Khedive had intended, and the other an agent for

a manufactory of fire-arms. The attendant misunderstood his master, and sent for the latter. When this gentleman was ushered in, the Khedive at once appreciated the error, and without hesitation gave a large order for rifles which were not at all needed. So great was the courtesy of his Highness! He tried to make the opera at Cairo surpass that of other capitals, and he outbid St. Petersburg and Vienna to secure stars for its stage. "Aida" was specially composed for it, and was one of the features of the mad revel of extravagance which marked the reception of the Empress Eugénie in 1869 upon the opening of the Suez Canal. Obscure indeed was the public man who could not obtain an invitation to those festivities and a free pass to everything. Champagne ran like water, new roads and palaces were constructed, and the fellah had to pay for it all. Ismail had in office nearly thirteen hundred Europeans, most of whom held sinecures and were only active in drawing their salaries. M. G. Mulhall, the well-known statistician, in his *Dictionary of Statistics* (tit. Finance, subtit. Egypt) says: "The nine loans effected between 1862 and 1880 represented nominally seventy-seven millions sterling, but produced only £50,589,000, the difference being lost in discounts and other unavoidable drawbacks," and he is quoted as saying elsewhere that British contractors charged as much as eighty per cent. profits on Egyptian public-works during this period. The Egyptian national debt on December 31, 1904, was £101,275,340. If the sums included in this enormous debt had been borrowed at par and at six per cent. interest per annum, it would have been entirely paid off by the amounts already paid under the head of interest, and yet the Egyptian people are still forced to pay interest on this unholy debt and the full principal is still held due against them.

None of the statesmen of Europe showed any interest in the scandalous condition of affairs in Egypt until it became difficult to collect the interest on

he bonds. Ismail might do what he pleased to force money out of his subjects for the purpose of meeting his obligations to the swindlers of Europe, but that was nobody's business but his own. When, however, the payment of interest was delayed, the situation took a new aspect and the righteous indignation of the Powers began to kindle. Mr. Goschen, now Lord Goschen, was sent out with M. Joubert in 1876, by the bondholders, to put Egyptian finances into shape and they arranged a plan which however proved too onerous and was followed only for a short time. Then the estates of the Khedive and of his family were hypothecated and with this security Mr. Rivers Wilson went to Paris and negotiated a loan of eight millions and a half sterling, upon which it is said there was a discount of twenty-seven per cent. Wilson is reported to have retained a commission of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the nominal sum, thus receiving £212,000, that is, over a million dollars, for his services. The Khedive Ismail was unable to adapt himself to the rôle of prince of a bankrupt country. He had always been a spendthrift and he could not learn frugality. It was useless to remodel the Egyptian finances, so long as the leakage continued, and finally in 1879, moved by the complaints of European bondholders, England and France intervened and deposed the Khedive, setting up his son, Tewfik, in his place. Mr. Goschen on behalf of England and M. Joubert on behalf of France took hold of the finances, and what is known as the Dual Control of these two Powers began.

The fact was that the taxpayers of Egypt, the fellaheen peasants who have always lived in grinding poverty and worked like slaves, were now being pressed beyond their power to respond, and their discontent began to make itself audible. It was natural that the educated natives of the pasha class should begin to resent the presence of foreign tax-gatherers, and that Arabi, an officer in the Egyptian army and standing high

in ministerial circles, should undertake with the aid of his friends to put himself at the head of a revolt. It is unnecessary to recite the "Events" as they are called in Egypt to this day. Arabi gathered a force and took possession of the venerable fortifications of Alexandria. The fleets of the Powers were sent to the neighborhood to watch the issue, and as many as possible of the foreign residents took refuge upon their respective men-of-war. The British government, nominally supporting the government of the Khedive, ordered their fleet to bombard the forts and invited the French fleet to join with them, but under instructions from Paris the French vessels withdrew. On July 11, 1882, the British ships went into action and without any difficulty or appreciable loss demolished the fortifications, which were totally unfit to withstand modern ordnance. The guns in the forts were also out-of-date and the men who manned them were unskilled and inefficient. The contest under the circumstances hardly deserved the name of a battle. When the fortifications lay in ruins the unruly classes in the city formed mobs, and set buildings on fire and the best portion of Alexandria was swept by flames. The marines on the American men-of-war which were in the offing were sent on shore and succeeded in restoring quiet and putting an end to the conflagration. Meanwhile Arabi's routed forces retired southward. To follow up her success upon the water, England now organized a land-force under Sir Garnet Wolseley and sent it into the Delta to complete her triumph by annihilating the army of Arabi. This expedition engaged the native forces at Tel el Kebir on September 13, 1882, and fully accomplished its purpose. When we remember that the Egyptians were imperfectly armed, drilled and commanded, and that the British army had all the advantages which skill, science and wealth could give it, it will be readily seen that this widely-heralded victory was not much to boast of. Sir Garnet



was nevertheless created a viscount by way of reward, the same honor that Nelson received for all his great victories up to his death at Trafalgar. Arabi's army completely disappeared after this defeat, its survivors quietly going back to their homes, and England took possession of Egypt in the name of the Khedive Tewfik, who ever afterwards loyally supported her influence. British "under-secretaries" were placed in charge of each ministry, under a native figure-head, British officers were assigned to all the leading posts in the army, and the British Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General, Sir Evelyn Baring, now Lord Cromer, has ever since been the actual ruler of

the country under the British Government. If the action of France in refusing to bombard Alexandria could be attributed in any way to sympathy with the cause of the natives or disapproval of foreign intervention on any moral ground, it would be a pleasure to record the fact, but unfortunately such is not the case. The French Government was vacillating and undetermined. They hoped that England might get involved in some mistake by which they could profit, and they have never ceased to regret that on that day in July, 1882, they permitted England to proceed alone.

(*To be continued.*)

*Rhinebeck, N. Y.* ERNEST CROSBY.

## DIRECT PRIMARIES.

BY IRA CROSS.

**T**HE STORY of politics in the United States is the recital of a continuous struggle on the part of the people to obtain control of the political machinery of the nation.

It was thought that the introduction of the Australian ballot would inaugurate a millennium in the political world, and it did work a partial reform. Political bosses could no longer march the voters to election-booths in gangs of "tens" and "twelves" and force them to cast the ballots which had been thrust into their hands. But this reform only caused the professional politician to transfer his activities from the election-booth to the caucus and the convention. If he could control these and nominate the candidates of all parties, it was immaterial to him whom the people elected.

And what has been the result ?

To-day we find that the caucus and convention no longer express the popular will. Delegates have become the main-shafts of political machines. Corporate wealth and influence dictate the policies

of the dominant parties, while candidates and office-holders, instead of being responsible to the voters, are responsible to the boss and the ring which nominate them.

All attempts at reforming the caucus and the convention have resulted in dismal failures. New York, California, and Cook county, Illinois, which have the most highly legalized caucus-systems, are still boss-ridden and machine-controlled.

There can be but one remedy,—the government must be brought back to the people. They must be given the power to directly nominate their party-candidates. If they are sufficiently intelligent to directly elect them by means of the Australian ballot, they are sufficiently intelligent to directly nominate them.

Experience with the Direct Primary in thirty-two states, where it is now being used in one form or other, shows that every good Direct Primary law, whether applied to city, county or state, must have the following five essentials: (1) It must

be compulsory upon all parties; (2) the Australian Ballot must be used; (3) all primaries must be held under state regulations; (4) the state must bear the expense; (5) all parties must hold their primaries at the same place and time. Under a system of Direct Nominations, one of the registration days is set aside for the primary. The voter goes to the polls, registers, receives a ballot containing a list of the candidates, and votes directly for the men of his choice. Nothing could be more simple in operation than this. It places in the hands of the voters the power to nominate *their* party-candidates, and in all sane governments that is where it should be placed.

The real tests of any nominating system, however, are (1) the number of voters that take part in the primaries, and (2) the kind of candidates nominated.

Under the caucus-system, no matter how highly legalized, the voters will not take part in making the nominations. They are not even interested, for in the caucuses they do not nominate candidates, they only elect delegates, and a delegate, no matter how honest he may be, cannot correctly represent the wishes of his constituents upon all, and quite often not even upon a small portion, of the candidates to be nominated in the convention. Do the facts uphold the argument? Take the caucus-system at its best and what do we find? In San Francisco, New York city, and Cook county, Illinois, which places since 1901, 1900, and 1899 respectively, have had the most highly legalized and reformed caucus-systems in the United States, an average of but 39 per cent. of the voters of San Francisco, 41 per cent. of those in New York, and 38 per cent. of those in Cook county, Illinois, take part in making nominations. If but this small number of people attend the caucuses when such great care is taken to protect the voice and the will of the people, what a handful must turn out in those states in which few if any legal regulations are thrown around the nominating machinery! Under the cau-

cus-system the resulting government cannot represent the will of the majority. It can only represent the will of the minority, and it is to this small minority (composed though it usually is of men who are in politics for what there is in it) that our officials are directly responsible, not only for their nomination but also for their subsequent election.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the Direct Primary greatly increases the attendance at the primaries. The reason for this is that it gives the voters a real voice in making party nominations. They can express their choice upon all candidates from governor down to justice of the peace, and by this means are able to exert a direct influence upon the final results.

In Cleveland, Ohio, under the old caucus-system, only 5,000 voters took part in nominating the Republican candidates for city offices in 1892, but in 1893, when they used one of the most poorly-framed and extra-legal primary systems imaginable, over 14,000 Republicans turned out. This number increased to 23,000 in 1896, to 28,000 in 1899, and to 31,000 in 1901, the vote at the primaries during these years averaging more than 95 per cent. of the vote cast by the Republicans at the subsequent elections. In Crawford county, Pennsylvania, where the Direct Primary has been used since 1860, the average attendance at the primaries has been more than 73 per cent. In the 25th Congressional District, where the system has been used since 1890, 77 per cent. of the voters have made the nominations. Even where there was no contest, as was the case in 1894 and 1900, more than 62 per cent. of the voters attended the primaries. What other portion of the United States can show such a record as this? "In Minneapolis," writes Mr. Day of that city, "under a highly legalized caucus-system, but 8 per cent. of the voters attended the caucuses." Under the Direct Primary, however, 91 per cent. of the voters attended in 1900, 85 per cent. in

1902, an off-year, and 93 per cent. in 1904. In Hennepin county, Minnesota, in 1904, over 97 per cent. of the voters took part in making congressional nominations. In the same year the returns from eighteen counties, scattered indiscriminately throughout Minnesota (all the returns that could be obtained), showed that over 72 per cent. of the voters took part in the primaries. These figures show most conclusively that the difficulty is not the apathy of the people. Their civic patriotism is as strong as it has ever been in years past. They are interested in the government and will attend the primaries, if they are but given the opportunity to directly nominate their party candidates. The difficulty lies with the caucus-system. It is indirect and inefficient.

Now let us see if there are any reasons why better men should be nominated under the Direct Primary than under the caucus and convention system.

In the first place it must be conceded that the majority of the people are honest and that they want good government and honest officials. Under the Direct Primary they can make this desire felt more effectively. They can exercise two vetoes upon any attempt to foist bad candidates upon the public, once at the primary, and again at the election. But under the caucus-system they have no choice at the caucuses, while upon election it is usually a choice between two evils, between two machine-made candidates, and this is one reason why there is such an appallingly large stay-at-home vote upon election-day.

In the second place, who is it that so bitterly antagonizes the Direct Primary? Most assuredly it is not the people! It is the same class of men that twenty years ago fought the introduction of the Australian ballot! The St. Paul *Pioneer Press* of March 17, 1904, said: "The machine-men have never liked the primary. They fought it from the start and they continue to sneer at it." THE ARENA of August, 1904, also said: "It is need-

less to say that the grafters and the corruptionists, all indeed who have been engaged in debauching the people's servants, are bitterly hostile to the primary." Why is it that the politicians have suddenly become so solicitous about the welfare of the public, claiming, as they do, that the introduction of the Direct Primary would be detrimental to the best interests of the people? Why is it that they fight it so strenuously? It is because they realize that they cannot control the seventy or eighty per cent. of the voters who turn out to the primaries as they dictate to the twenty per cent. who attend the caucuses. They realize that under it their power to dominate the political arena would be gone, that they could not prevent the candidacy of good men. The Direct Primary introduces "the principle of free, open competition, where before all was secrecy, scheming and log-rolling. It enables any man to become a candidate without currying favor with the boss and the ring by methods which trench upon his self-respect." The natural result is that better men come out for the nomination under the Direct Primary than under the caucus-system. Speaking of the last primary held in St. Paul, the *Pioneer Press* of that city said: "Instead of a horde of office-seekers, bound to this or that faction, and foisted upon the public to feed at the public crib and to play into the hands of a small coterie of Republicans, the Primary law stimulated a search for good candidates all over the city, and the result was a primary ticket composed largely of men whom the office had sought, unpledged and indebted to no one. The result is the strongest ticket that the Republican party has had for years, a ticket of strong campaigners, and of men who are entitled to the confidence of the people and who have it. No convention ever did so well except when stimulated by popular impatience, and *that was once in a decade.*" Hundreds of other localities, where the Direct Primary has been tried, could testify to the same effect. The mere fact that those cities and states

which have adopted this system have never thought of abandoning it, and that its popularity is ever on the increase, is sufficient evidence that it does result in better men being nominated for public office.

The caucus system presents no remedy for the evils of to-day. No matter how highly legalized, it will still remain complex, indirect and uncertain. In actual practice it represents but a small portion of the people. It places the power of nomination in the hands of the few, the boss and the ring. It is subversive of the principles of representative government. From all over the country comes the cry of the American people for deliverance. They demand that the control of the government be placed in their hands, and that they be given the power to directly nominate all party candidates. Arrayed against them in this struggle for better government and purity in politics are the corrupting elements of our social and industrial world. What greater tribute can be paid to the efficiency of the Direct Primary to destroy machine-domination

and corruption than this bitter antagonism of the boss and the ring?

The Direct Primary has universally proven satisfactory. Even where tried under the most unfavorable circumstances placed entirely outside the pale of the law, run by party organizations as it is in many places, introduced into factional, turbulent politics, into machine-ridden Minneapolis, it has proven eminently successful. It has given the people the power to nominate their officials. It has brought out more voters to the primaries. It has made the officials responsible to the people, and has freed them from the dictation of the machine. And finally, as a rule, it has resulted in the nomination of better candidates and in the inauguration of better government.

When these results are compared with those of the caucus system, there is no necessity for explaining further the universal demand for the adoption of the Direct Primary.

IRA CROSS.

*Madison, Wis.*

## STATE-OWNED SAVINGS-BANKS.

BY DR. G. COOKE ADAMS.

ONE OF the most urgent reforms necessary in the direction of state or municipal-ownership of public utilities at the present time in the United States is that of the people's savings-banks.

Is it possible to describe a more heart-rending or deplorable sight than we have been witnessing the past winter in Chicago and elsewhere, of thousands of industrious workers, old and young, standing in the street from seven o'clock in the morning until bank-closing hours, lined up by the police like a lot of cattle, shivering in the cold, contracting rheumatism, pneumonia and pleurisy? Some

are grandfathers and grandmothers, bent with age and scarcely able to stand; others are parents and children; but all are there for the one purpose of endeavoring to obtain their savings. Their faces express the wretched anxiety and misery that they are undergoing. They are wondering whether there will be sufficient money left in the bank by the time their turn arrives to give them back their hard-earned savings—their life's blood—perhaps their all. They are aware that if it is not returned they may be turned out of their homes to spend the remainder of their days,—where? On the street, in the poorhouse or peni-

tentiary (for men are driven thus to steal to obtain food for their dear ones); or perhaps they may find a last resting-place in the potters' field.

It is criminal on the part of governments in any civilized country to permit such unnecessary scenes or so unwarrantable a state of affairs.

Are the people's savings secure and safe under existing conditions? Absolutely not. Recent events and disclosures have clearly shown that the people's savings are even used by the directors and officials of their own banks in furthering their individual speculative undertakings; or else they are deposited in other trust companies and banks which are controlled by fraudulent directors and officials of life insurance companies and other corporations and used in purchasing bonds, debentures and mortgages which are secured upon the speculative, heavily-watered stock of steamship, railway, real-estate, traction and other trusts promoted by these already convicted but unjailed criminals. Such an instance we have witnessed in the traction trust of Chicago, whose chief value was based upon a fraudulent franchise enabling the companies concerned to rob the people and trespass upon their thoroughfares. The recent collapse in their stocks and securities, in which the people's savings were directly or indirectly invested, is but a forerunner and a warning of what may be expected in other such fraudulent monopolistic concerns.

Is there any remedy to prevent the looting of the people's savings and protect them from loss? The remedy lies in federal, state or municipal-owned savings-banks. If the people's savings are to be protected, the federal, state or municipal governments should immediately establish their own savings-banks or take over the control of existing savings-banks by appointing their own trustees in a similar manner to that adopted by the various state governments in the commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand.

The savings-banks in the commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand may be divided into two classes: those worked in conjunction with the post-office, consequently directly administered by the federal government, and those under trustees who are nominated by the state governments are thereby under state control. They are therefore so safeguarded as to enjoy the full confidence of the public.

The declared objects of these banks are to encourage thrift among the working-classes and to provide a safe investment for the funds of trades-unions, friendly societies, charitable institutions, etc.

The state-owned banks have become so popular that all classes of the community are represented among their depositors. The Australian banking crisis of 1893 among the private-owned commercial banks had the effect of largely increasing the business of the state-owned banks.

Deposits of twenty-five cents and upwards are received in all the state savings-banks, but the amount of each depositor's savings bearing interest varies somewhat in the different state institutions. Thus, in New South Wales deposits exceeding \$1,000 do not bear interest on such excess, with the exception of the funds of charitable institutions, trades-unions and friendly societies. The average interest payable on deposits is 3 per cent.

In Victoria interest is allowed at the rate of 2½ per cent. on sums not exceeding \$500, and 2 per cent. on sums from \$500 to \$1,250, the latter being the maximum amount carrying interest.

In Queensland interest of 3 per cent. is allowed on all deposits below \$1,000. In December, 1895, authority was obtained for the issue of savings-bank stock at 3 per cent. to enable depositors of upwards of \$1,000 to obtain interest on such excess, as it was found that under the old constitution of the bank large sums were entrusted to the government that could not earn interest.

In Western Australia and Tasmania interest at 3 per cent. is allowed on \$750 deposits in one year. In South Australia the maximum amount bearing interest at 3 per cent. is \$1,250.

In New Zealand post-office and trustee institutions are also established, the former since February, 1867. Deposits of twenty-five cents and upwards are received. Interest was formerly allowed at rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. up to \$1,000, and at 4 per cent. from \$1,000 to \$2,500; but in 1893 the rates were reduced to 4 per cent. and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. respectively, the maximum amount bearing interest remaining at \$2,500. Amount of interest was further reduced in 1900 to 3 per cent., the rate now allowed.

A feature of the New Zealand post-office savings-banks is that deposits of one shilling (twenty-five cents) may be made by means of postage stamps affixed to cards especially issued for the purpose. This plan was specially adopted to encourage thrift among children and the very poor, as it was recognized that it was a very difficult matter in such instances for them to save their pence until they had accumulated to a shilling; but under the present system this is avoided by purchasing a postage-stamp and affixing it to a card.

As instancing the confidence of the public, more particularly the industrial classes, in these state-owned or controlled institutions, reference need only be made to the enormous, steady increase in the number of depositors and the amount of their deposits during forty years, from 1861 to 1901-02, as shown by the returns from the banks.

In 1861 the number of depositors in Australasia was 20,062, having the sum of \$6,836,980 to their credit; in 1881 (twenty years later) the number of depositors had increased to 311,124 and their deposits to \$47,214,895; whereas in 1901 (or forty years later) the number of depositors had risen to 1,252,219, with depos-

its to their credit of \$200,630,305, or an average of about \$160 to each depositor.

The proportion of depositors to the entire population has been steadily increasing all along. Thus in 1861 it was on 2.31 per cent.; in 1871 it had increased to 5.98 per cent.; in 1881 to 11.33 per cent.; in 1891 to 19.47 per cent.; while in 1901-02 the proportion had increased to 27.02 per cent.

The funds of the federal and state-owned savings-banks are invested in government and municipal securities or as fixed deposits in the government treasuries.

All the governments in Australia hold considerable sums in trust either directly or indirectly for the people.

In Victoria, South Australia and New Zealand public trustees have been appointed to control trust-funds in the hands of their various governments; but in the other states of the commonwealth these trust funds are directly subject to the control of the treasury. At the present time the governments of Australasia have under control over \$200,000,000 of trust-funds, of which they have invested about \$130,000,000 in government securities, the balance remaining uninvested to meet payments on demand.

The success of state-ownership and control of savings-banks has also been demonstrated in Great Britain and other countries, as also has the government control of trust-funds.

A rush upon a government savings-bank and such a scene as above depicted is almost a thing unheard of in Australia.

Will not the workers of this country, in whose hands the matter alone rests, force the federal, state and municipal governments to take immediate action in this direction by returning to power only those representatives sworn to carry out that most vital of all reforms—state protection of the people's savings and trust-funds?

G. COOKE ADAMS.

*Chicago, Ill.*

# THE FEMINIZATION OF THE HIGH-SCHOOL.

BY WILLIAM LEE HOWARD, M.D.

**T**HE HIGHEST aim of the medical profession is to prevent physical and moral disease by teaching people the laws of health. It is unfortunate that the majority of people—and some physicians—do not see the great factor underlying the basis of physical and moral health; *i. e.*, the early guidance of mental and physical activities into their proper channels. This can only be done by those who are cognizant of sex differentiation, of the pitfalls and whirlpools into which the slightest psychic variant may be drawn, and of the polymorphic changes during mental development in the adolescent of both sexes.

Any form of education is a failure that has not given the youth or young woman perfect health in all that the word implies. But more also should a correct education give,—the knowledge of how to keep in good health. This means a clean mind, and its corollary, moral living.

It is true that a certain proportion of mankind is by the universal law of organic failure doomed to physical and mental imperfections, even the lowest grade, but this proportion can certainly be reduced by educating girls and boys so they will possess the potentialities of fit parents. In some respects it would be beneficial if we adopted a few of the ancient Greeks' methods of training youths.

The true physician knows the wide range of psychological curves and modifiable conditions in the adolescent and how to influence them toward the building of healthy minds and strong bodies. The difficulty is to get the general public, the parents of pupils, to give an intelligent hearing and assent to what we know must be laid down as rules if the future health of our children is to be assured.

"An intelligent assent is an assent

based upon knowledge," said Huxley. The knowledge which is necessary to understand the injustice done to adolescents by placing the sexes together in high schools, having them indifferently taught by many women and a few men, means an acquaintance with the basic facts of physiology and of physiologic psychology. These basic facts are unknown to the majority of teachers. The superstructure that is given to them as knowledge on these subjects lacks the vital and intimate acquaintance with the underlying causes of sex moods and desires.

This is the starting-point of the errors: The women teachers have physiologic facts which have jumped the elementary knowledge of life. Consequently they are blind to psychologic upheavals, find interpretations of moods, desires and morbidities difficult, and derive a wrong understanding of many of Nature's signals.

There is a class of teachers who have been over the daily routine and drudgery of high-school teaching so long that they have about as much knowledge of their scholars' varying moods and abilities as the hybrid manikin they use to demonstrate the location of the lungs. When we hear one of these individuals state that the constant mingling of the sexes during the active period of adolescence has absolutely no effect on the emotional side of the girl; that this girl can and does do her daily work every day in the month without psychic symptoms of sex differentiation demonstrating themselves, we have a pitiable feeling of disgust at such a condition of sex degeneracy.

We should start by at once abolishing the custom of teaching boys and girls together after they have reached the puberal age. This state of affairs un-

fortunately exists largely throughout certain puritanical territories and in newer geographical sections that have been settled by the descendants of these puritans. It is a system handed down from the old country-school and academy, and has no excuse for any longer being in existence.

"A deep difference in constitution expresses itself in the distinction between male and female, whether these be physical or mental. The difference may be exaggerated or lessened, but to obliterate them it would be necessary to have all the evolution over again on a new basis. What was decided amongst the prehistoric protozoa cannot be amended by an act of congress. The biologic difference between the sexes result in physiologic and social differentiation. We must insist on the biologic conditions underlying the relation of the sexes."\*

There are many more reasons based on biologic laws which should make it plain to the understanding of all normal men and women why the sexes should be separated during the adolescent period.

A successful educational plan must be based upon rational sex differences. This plan must be free from that anti-social being, the woman of "advanced ideas," and undeveloped maternal instincts. It is not possible for this individual to recognize any sex differentiation in her adolescent scholars. Also, the male teacher who has long been associated with a certain class of women teachers, girl pupils, and a few boys, is not apt to comprehend this differentiation which is so marked during adolescence.

It must be generally recognized, if we wish our future men and women to be normal, that there is a difference in fundamental sex ideas, feelings and emotions,—in the nervous organization of men and women, and that we cannot blindly mix them up in one educational hopper and expect to get the best results.

\*Geddes and Thompson.

A certain subject in literature will leave opposite, or at least different, impressions in the minds of the youth and young woman hearing the same lecture, or after reading a certain lesson, these divergent interpretations being dependent upon the psychic and emotional differentiation existing at the time. A teacher well-informed on the psychology of sex, when teaching a class of girls will state a fact in a different mood and manner, will express it in other colors than he would to a class of young men. When it has to be indifferently stated it ceases to leave a true and individual impression. The youth's view of life is distinct from that of the adolescent girl. At this time the difference between the sexes is greater than at any other period. The difference is in every tissue, organ and faculty.

It is a few of the foregoing facts, to which parents and teachers of the past have been blind, that has brought about the gradual feminization of the high-school. Other facts are, the greater number of girls over boys in the schools, and the unfortunate tendency towards feminization of the male teachers in consequence of being constantly in an atmosphere unnatural to male instincts. This demoralization is subtle, but certain, and also has its insidious effect upon the boys. *Ambiguas in vulgam spargere voces.*

On account of the large number of young women, as compared to boys, in high-schools, a great injustice is done to the boys who are obliged to remain. Boys need to be held to a different standard of conduct,—need a different sympathy and a separate knowledge of hygiene than girls; hence, if the school is regulated to the physiologic and psychological necessities of girls, the boys do not get the personal care and instruction due them. If the differentiation of the sexes is ignored all the scholars are falsely taught, and with these the physicians will in later life have to deal. Many boys who are so unfortunate as to remain in high schools where no sex distinction is made,—that is, where boys and girls



are taught in the same classes, become unnatural in spirit and ideals.

The women teachers do not appeal in any way to the virile or feral qualities of the youth. The want of *rappor*t naturally causes the boys to remain indifferent to their lessons, and establishes a barrier for sympathetic relations between pupils and teachers. Many now go to boys' schools where teachers and scholars can come together in a bloody football contest or sympathetically in the study. This rational movement is rapidly producing an aristocracy in educational circles, but such a condition is preferable to feminization.

As President Stanley Hall remarks: "The present approximation of matter and methods in high-schools has at least certain elements of degeneration for both sexes. It repels boys from the upper high-school grades and virifies the tastes and ideals of girls, many of whom wish they had been born boys when our need is to push sex distinction to the uttermost and make man even more manly and woman more womanly."

Physicians for several years past have recognized the wrong done in mixed high-schools to the physiologic blossoming of the young woman. The fault has easily been traced to ignorance due to prurient prudery which has kept hidden the plain facts necessary to give parent and teacher warning. These facts have long been known to physicians, who have published their opinions, but unfortunately, these do not get outside of the medical journals.\*

When a girl leaves school at eighteen she should be thoroughly prepared to become the best possible wife and mother. What is the consensus of opinion among medical men?—"that the majority of educated women in America reach a marriageable age in such a poor condition of health that it is a hardship for them to

\**Adolescence*, President Stanley Hall, Appleton, 2 vol.

†"The Present Method of Educating Girls," Professor Laphorn Smith. Read before the Amer-

perform the normal natural duties of wifehood and motherhood."†

The male teacher is not competent to understand the varying moods of the young woman, nor should such an effeminate trait be wanted in a male teacher. Let the man teach along the lines of manly craft, woman in womanly craft. It is safe to say that a girl graduate of a mixed high-school has not learned one womanly craft of specific use to her sex. Many have no knowledge of the hygiene and physiology of their sex; many have perverted ideas, and some, ruinous emotions due to the abnormal atmosphere ever present when the sexes are mixed in daily social contact during the adolescent period.‡

This high-school atmosphere of femininity for adolescent boys is against all the laws of Nature and Man. Girls of sixteen to eighteen years of age are matured, are women ready to be married. What of the boys of that age? Rough, developing adolescents; healthy young cubs. They have different moods, desires and ideas. There is yet no psychologic change. They have not learned to apply their minds to books, and the healthy boy of seventeen must be expected to be far behind girls of the same age in this matter. Healthy-minded boys are young animals and should be allowed the freedom and license of rough play that their energy demands. This excessive physical energy directed into proper channels is the making of a man.

Two years or more in a classroom with girls changes this healthy spirit. The boy tires of being told that the girls beat him in his studies. He realizes that his woman teacher thinks his nose needs washing, when in reality it is a bad bruise from football or a fight. Under these conditions he becomes indifferent and leaves school. If he stays, he runs great risk of becoming feminized.

Force the boy to constant association  
ican Academy of Medicine; *Dominion Medical Monthly*, December, 1904.

‡"Education and Sex Differentiation," William Lee Howard, M.D., *New York Medical Journal*, February 20, 1904.

and mental competition with young women and the tendency will be to develop unfortunate elements of maturity, and a too eager desire for the completeness of life. He believes he has laid the foundation of life, for his associations with young women have misled him. He has seen them mature, accepts their acknowledged condition of finished education, and also wishes to step into real life. Such has been the unfortunate results of the false education given the boy.

All schools for girls and boys over thirteen years of age should be adjusted to sex needs and growth. This adjustment is impossible where the sexes are mixed in one school, and there cannot be that personal attention given where the teacher gradually degenerates into sex negativeness.

The young male teacher whose surroundings are marked by female boundaries soon finds himself in unpleasant fields. He is wrongly set in external circumstances and in the false perspective of social laws and physiologic demands. He is expected to instruct young women in material matters or abstract science at an age when there is the most spontaneous variation in all their womanly attributes.

The boys in the same classes are going through the age when the real boy's mind is figuring out baseball averages or building a canoe for next summer's camp. One portion of the teacher's class is romantic, curious and interested in the poets, or else dreaming of the knight to

come; another small portion of the class owns no manicure set, can understand the poetry in the English lesson as well upside down as right side up, and is thinking only of the practical, the business of the day, fishing or football.

The virile teacher under such conditions chafes and soon becomes disgusted and looks for his proper place,—among boys whose mental attitude and physical desires he can appreciate and mingle with.

It is for this reason that the high-school seldom has a male teacher who makes any impression on the real boy, or any female teacher whom the boy does not treat as one whom he must tolerate but inwardly looks upon her as he does his young sister: "Oh, you're a girl! You would n't understand."

It must not be lost sight of that at the dawn of adolescence the boy makes for specialization, while the girl much more matured at the same age is generic. Certain studies which she will enjoy and easily learn, are hard and discouraging to the boy who has certain mental inclinations and probably already picked his calling for life. Man makes for proficiency in his investigations, not sterile erudition. The man must go to the *sturm* and *drang* of practical life. Even in the high-school the teacher must deal with the spirit of men,—“realizing the perceptions of the mind for a broad and catholic view of life.”

WILLIAM LEE HOWARD.

*Baltimore, Md.*

# THE SOCIALIST PROGRAMME.

BY EDWARD SLADE.

**I**T HAS become a platitude among students of current events that the greatest issue before this and every other civilized country is not political in its nature, nor religious, nor judicial, but industrial. The evils afflicting modern society proceed from its economic organization, and not from its political, religious or judiciary institutions. This fact is becoming more obvious to the mass of people every day. It is seen that notwithstanding democratic forms of government and liberal education the most enlightened nations are suffering from the very same diseases that are prevalent under despotism, namely, luxury on the one hand, poverty on the other, and degeneration of the people as a whole. Hence the clamor for economic reform. The social problem is pushed to the fore. Radical measures are demanded. Curtailment of corporate greed, diminution of military expenditures, the housing of the poor, the establishment of national workshops for the unemployed, public-ownership of natural monopolies, these and even more radical undertakings are beginning to agitate the minds of men and women. To the party who can satisfy this craving for reform belongs the future.

None of the old historical parties seem likely to take upon themselves the incubus of solving the social problem. Indeed, their chief care seems to be to evade it. At best they effect reforms calculated to satisfy the public for a time, but which are seldom, if ever, fundamental. The opinion is gaining ground throughout the labor community that nothing adequate need be expected from any of the old established parties. In England this fact is demonstrated by the remarkable gains of labor at the recent general elections, in Europe by the increasing

allegiance of the working-class to Social-Democracy, and in America by the phenomenal growth within recent years of the Socialist party. And the Socialist vote is destined to increase by leaps and bounds. This is evident to persons avowedly opposed to the principles of Socialism. For weal or for woe, Socialism is developing apace in every country where industrialism has created a propertyless proletariat. The movement everywhere is growing, growing. It has long ceased to be an academic question, and must now be reckoned with in the practical world. The party possesses a vitality unsurpassed by that of any other organization. Though young politically, it is distinguishing itself in the arena of politics. In Germany it is the largest single party, that is, in point of votes, but not in point of representatives in the Reichstag; while in the legislatures of France, Austria, Italy, Belgium and Denmark Social-Democracy is an expanding factor. In this country the movement has not as yet made much headway, but its growth in the last half-decade has been very rapid. At the presidential election in 1900, the Socialist party polled 97,730 votes; in 1904, 391,587. There is no reason to believe that this rate of progress will not continue. Mark Hanna predicted that the two great contending parties in this country will be, not Republican and Democrat, but Republican and Socialist. Lord Rosebery is reported to have said that the impending struggle in England is between the "haves" and "have nots." Yerkes and other great financiers, besides many shrewd observers whose opinions are valued, have warned us that Socialism is *the* issue on the political and industrial horizon.

With these statements in mind, it is to be regretted that the principles and aims

of Social-Democracy are not more widely and better understood. The greatest revolutionary movement of all time, for such the Socialist movement is, surely merits the investigation of the public-spirited citizen. A party which comes forward with a definite economic programme and claims that in its programme is contained the solution of the social problem, a party which is gaining the ear of the people and threatens to revolutionize our civilization, that party is either a blessing or a menace to the State, and should not be ignored. If it is to be opposed, it should be opposed intelligently and with fairness. If it is to be supported, it should be supported rationally. In either case an examination of its formulated principles and objects, to say nothing of its *personnel* and literature, is desirable.

Lying before the writer are the programmes of the Social-Democratic parties of Germany, France, Austria, Belgium, England, the United States and Canada. Guided by a familiarity with socialist thought, he proposes to give a concise and lucid summary of these programmes. Some of the demands of the European Socialists would, of course, be superfluous in the platform of the Socialist party of America, but I have nevertheless embodied them in the summary. As Social-Democracy is avowedly international, I have deemed it better not to omit the items which have no application to American institutions.

#### PREAMBLE.

In the declaration of principles of all Social-Democratic parties is set forth the scientific basis of the movement. It is pointed out that the development of machinery and the factory system involved the suppression of the small or cottage industries and the consequent alienation of the worker from the tools of production. The effect of this industrial evolution has been the creation of propertyless wage-earners, who are dependent for their subsistence entirely on

their ability to sell their labor-power. Expropriation of the mass of the people from the sources of wealth production continues apace. The concentration of wealth and industry under the control of trusts and a privileged minority is sinking the middle-class—small employers, traders and middlemen—into wage-earners. Hence arises the division of society into two classes: the Bourgeoisie or capitalist class on the one hand, and the Proletariat or laboring class on the other. Between these two classes there is an irreconcilable conflict—a class-struggle, a struggle over the division of wealth between capital and labor. But labor is the producer of all wealth, and to labor, therefore, all wealth should belong.

Production to-day, owing to the minute division of labor, is social in its nature, but the ownership of the tools of production and the appropriation of the surplus value produced is individual. Thus it is that the labor of the many is exploited to the enrichment of the few. This injustice can only be corrected by the socialization of industry.

The competitive system is the root of all evil. The fact that large sections of the community are condemned to struggle for an ignominious existence, that insecurity has come to be the normal condition of society, that large bodies of men and women are unable to procure work, that widespread misery is periodically endured because of crises, that morality and life are unsparingly sacrificed for profit, that strikes and warfare are inevitable under capitalism, the fact that these things are the natural corollary of competition and individual ownership of the sources of wealth suffices to show the necessity of the economic reorganization of society.

The historic mission of the proletariat is the emancipation of labor from all forms of exploitation. This emancipation must be the work of the proletarians themselves. It must be based upon the principle of the class-struggle and be achieved through the exercise of political

power. It is the function of the Social-Democratic party to shape the proletarian revolt into a well-defined, class-conscious, political movement. Recognizing that the interests of working-people in all lands are the same, Social-Democracy teaches the international solidarity of labor. Though emphasizing the class-struggle, the Social-Democratic party exonerates itself of creating it. The party deploras the existence of classes and looks forward to their abolition in the Coöperative Commonwealth.

The International Socialist party declares itself the uncompromising champion of labor. It recognizes no other interests than those of the workers. It shall exert whatever influence it possesses for the immediate betterment of the working-class, but its great and ultimate object (to quote the S. D. F. of Great Britain) is: "the Socialization of the Means of Production, Distribution, and Exchange, to be controlled by a Democratic State in the interests of the entire community, and the complete Emancipation of Labor from the Domination of Capitalism and Landlordism, with the establishment of Social and Economic Equality between the Sexes."

#### PROGRAMME OF IMMEDIATE REFORMS.

##### *Political.*

Socialists stand for the fullest democratization of political institutions. They are a unit in demanding universal, equal and adult suffrage; proportional representation; payment of members of all legislative and administrative bodies; the initiative and referendum; the right of recall; abolition of all Upper Chambers; the suppression of all hereditary offices; the maximum of local autonomy in state and municipality; more liberal naturalization laws; and a legal holiday for elections.

##### *Fiscal.*

Social-Democrats are agreed on two things in matters fiscal: (1) that all indirect taxation, especially customs tariffs,

should be abolished, and (2) that until the Coöperative Commonwealth is inaugurated the whole burden of taxation should be shifted upon the shoulders of the well-to-do through inheritance, graduated income and property taxes. The appropriation of mining royalties, taxation of land values, repudiation of national debts and the nationalization of banks are also suggested.

##### *Military.*

Though universal peace is embraced in the Socialist ideal, Socialists do not advocate immediate disarmament. Until such time that arbitration becomes the sole means of settling international disputes, they recommend the substitution of national citizen-forces for standing armies, the furtherance of arbitration schemes, renunciation of aggressive foreign policies, the transference to the jurisdiction of the civil courts of offences against discipline, and the decision by the representatives of the people of questions pertaining to war and peace.

##### *Juridical.*

Judgment by popularly elected judges, free legal advice, free administration of the law, indemnification of innocent persons arrested and condemned, and abolition of capital punishment are the principal legal reforms advocated.

##### *Education.*

In matters educational socialism presents us with a very liberal programme: Compulsory school attendance for all children under sixteen years of age; their equipment and maintenance at the public expense; the extension of manual training and technical education; free tuition in the higher institutions of learning for pupils capable of advanced studies; all education to be secular.

##### *Religion.*

Religion is to be declared a private matter, religious bodies to have no other status than that of other private organiza-

tions, and where the old ecclesiastical relations to the state obtain churches are to be disestablished and disendowed.

#### *Women.*

In every department of life Socialists desire the absolute equality of the sexes. They stand for the enfranchisement of women, the abolition of all laws prejudicial to women in their relations to men in public and private law, the exclusion of women from all industries specially injurious to their physique, and equal pay of the sexes for the performance of equal work.

#### *Working-Class Legislation.*

For the protection of labor the following reforms are demanded: Prohibition of child-labor; prohibition of unnecessary night-work; prohibition of female

labor in industries specially injurious to woman's physique; an uninterrupted rest of thirty-six hours per week for every worker; the fixing of a minimum wage and a maximum working-day of eight hours; more thorough government inspection of business establishments; responsibility of employers for injuries to their employes; insurance by the government of working-people against unemployment, disablement, old age and death.

Among sundry other reforms advocated may be mentioned free medical attendance of the sick, including medicine and midwifery; liberal divorce laws; municipal dwellings for the poor; and public control of the drink traffic.

EDWARD SLADE.

*Toronto, Canada.*

## A PRIMER OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION.

Prepared by Professor FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D., President of the National Public-Ownership League and author of *The City for the People*; ELTWEED POMEROY, President of the National Direct-Legislation League; GEORGE H. SHIRLEY, President of the People's Sovereignty League of America; Hon. J. WARNER MILLS; ALLAN L. BENSON; Dr. C. F. TAYLOR; RALPH ALBERTSON, Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League; J. P. CADMAN; Dr. J. R. HAYNES; W. S. U'REN; and the Editor of THE ARENA.

### CHAPTER TWO.

#### *The Initiative.*

**Q.** WHAT is the Popular Initiative? **A.** The Popular Initiative is the right of a certain percentage of the voters, usually five to ten per cent., to propose a law, ordinance or constitutional amendment for action by the legislature or decision at the polls or both.

Under what is considered by many as the preferable form, the measure which is petitioned by the requisite number of voters, goes to the proper legislative body, which may adopt or reject it, amend it, pass a substitute, or refrain from any action in reference to it. If the legislative body does not enact the measure as petitioned for, or if it takes adverse action

in any form, the said measure together with the amendment, substitute or other action of the legislative body goes to the electorate for final decision at the polls.

In Oregon a somewhat different form is in use. Here, on the petition of eight per cent. of the voters filed with the Secretary of State, the bill or constitutional amendment included in the petition is submitted to the people at the next general election, and if the majority of those voting on the question vote Yes, the Governor announces that fact by proclamation, and from that date it is the law of the state without further question.

**Q.** Give reasons why the Initiative is needed now to preserve a government of, for and by the people in the United States?

**A.** Without the Initiative the legisla-

ture can block the will of the people by refusing to act. By the Referendum the people can veto legislative action when it goes wrong. When through timidity, conservatism, corruption or the pressure of private interest in any form, the legislative body neglects or refuses to pass a law or ordinance desired by the public, action may be secured through the Initiative.

Year after year the legislature of Massachusetts has refused to act upon the eight-hour bill. If the right of Initiative existed the matter could be brought to a vote without delay and at a small part of the cost that is consumed in the yearly battle for it.

In many other instances during recent years the people have expressed their desire for legislation and their representatives have made ante-election pledges but after they were elected they came under the influence of the lobbyists and the representatives of public-service corporations and other privileged interests, when they have been false to their trust and have deliberately violated their pledges. By the Popular Initiative the people can secure needed legislation in a peaceful and orderly way, in spite of corrupt influences that have thwarted the voters and defeated the interests of the community.

The Initiative constitutes an effective means by which at all times the people may exercise their right of instructing their agents.

Q. Would the Initiative result in the demand for a number of unnecessary or foolish laws?

A. Experience in Switzerland and in our Western States proves that legislation under the Initiative is on the whole wise and conservative. Any one who will take the trouble year after year to read the statutes passed by our legislatures will find it difficult to imagine how any system likely to be adopted in a free country could possibly produce more foolish or vicious laws than the system of law-making by final vote of a few men,

largely under the influence of private and special interests, now in operation in this country.

In the long run the judgment of a free people is likely to be superior to the judgment of any small legislative body. This follows from a fundamental psychologic law: Truth is a unit; error and private interests are multiple. When men follow their errors or private interests they diverge. A few men may go together in allegiance to some error or private interest, but when the people as a whole unite it must be by a cancellation of their errors and private interests. In large communities as a rule it is only on the basis of truth and right that the people can get together in controlling numbers.

Moreover, the inertia of mankind and the effort and cost necessary to secure the requisite percentage of signatures to the petition render the Initiative essentially conservative. People will not ask for the passage of a law unless they are convinced that it is needed. This has been proved to be the case wherever the Initiative has been employed. But the possession of this right, together with the Referendum, has practically led to the disappearance of corrupt lobbies and other sinister influences that have long offered great temptations to the people's representatives and in many instances have rendered impossible the enactment of needed legislation while forcing to a successful issue laws that were not desired by the people and were inimical to their interests.

Q. What has been the result of the Initiative in Switzerland?

A. Like the Referendum, it has so safeguarded the people's interests that the lawmakers have striven to carry out the wishes of the voters. In Switzerland, after the Federal Initiative was adopted, only two measures were petitioned for in four years.

Q. Has it proved beneficial where introduced in America, and in what way?

A. It has proved very valuable in Oregon. The people have enacted a

Direct Primary Nominations law which seems to be utterly destroying the political machines, and a local option in licensing liquor selling, which is only applying Direct Legislation locally to one question and was needed and is valuable. The Initiative tends, as in this case, to decentralize and localize government by referring all local matters to each local community to decide for itself. They are going ahead this year to enact some amendments to the Constitution giving them Initiative and Referendum powers on all local and special legislation and city charters and ordinances, to be exercised by the people interested in the measures proposed and other measures.

In South Dakota honest citizens have several times been able to checkmate measures opposed to the public interest by the mere threat of agitation for the Initiative.

Even the Initiative of the Public Policy law of Illinois has through the several expressions of the electorate of Illinois and the city of Chicago brought about important and far-reaching changes in the policy of that state and especially of the metropolis. By means of this law and with immense majorities the voters of Illinois have expressed themselves as favoring the Initiative and Referendum in state and in municipalities, as favoring Direct Primaries, and as favoring home-rule in taxation and the direct election of United States Senators. As the result of this last expression regarding the election of Senators, the legislature of Illinois put their state in line with other states in calling for a United States Constitutional Convention, and in their action used these significant words: "Now, therefore, in obedience to the expressed will of the people as expressed at said election, be it resolved," etc.

Also by means of this Public Policy law and with most decisive majorities, the voters of Chicago three times expressed themselves as favoring municipal-ownership of street-railways and some other public utilities.

Q. Is there anything un-American in the Initiative?

A. No. The Initiative has been in use in America from the earliest days and is still in use wherever the New England town-meeting system obtains. Here any ten citizens may by petition which is nothing more nor less than the Initiative, bring measures before the voters for consideration at the town-meeting. The Initiative simply adapts this well-established principle of the New England town-meeting to a larger and more complex civilization.

Q. Is the Initiative inimical to republican government?

A. Certainly not. It is the cornerstone of a truly republican form of government. This is well expressed in the opinion of the Supreme Court of Oregon, rendered December, 1903, in the case of *Kaddery versus Portland*.\* In this ruling the Court held that:

"The representative character of the government still remains. The people have simply reserved to themselves a larger share of legislative power, but they have not overthrown the republican form of government, or substituted another in its place."

Q. Does the Popular Initiative take from the people's representatives any rights or powers that properly belong to them?

A. No. By it the people are enabled more thoroughly to control their representatives, who are or should be servants and not masters of the people.

Q. What classes of citizens oppose the introduction of the Popular Initiative, and why?

A. Those who doubt the people; those who have interests opposed to the people.

Q. What classes favor the Initiative?

A. Those who desire real popular sovereignty instead of sham sovereignty those who desire that the legislators elected by the people shall be representatives

\*74 *Pacific Reporter*, page 710.



and not misrepresentatives; those who desire to terminate the private monopoly of law-making; those who desire to kill the corporation lobby and abolish boss-rule and machine-government; those who desire to bring better men into politics, to simplify elections, to lessen the power of partnership, to stop class-legislation, to elevate the press and educate

the people, to open the door of progress to all wise measures of reform, to establish a reasonable safety-valve for discontent, and to take the next great step in the improvement of representative government in harmony with the whole trend of modern political history throughout the civilized world and with the fundamental demands of democracy.

## THE PROPOSED PAN-AMERICAN TRADES-COLLEGE.

BY PROF. FREDERIC M. NOA.

**A**FTER a lapse of eighty years, Pan-Americanism seems again to be in the air, and it is probable that the Hon. Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State, will make his administration of the State Department memorable in cultivating the closest commercial and social ties between the United States and all the extensive Latin-American Republics. He appears destined to accomplish as much on the American continent as his lamented predecessor the Hon. John Hay accomplished on that of Asia. No American, indeed, with the possible exception of the martyr President McKinley, since the days of the late Hon. James G. Blaine, has shown a keener insight into the imperative necessity of increasing the ties of respect, friendship and commerce between Latin America and the United States. He will prove the faith of his convictions by attending in person the coming Pan-American Congress, to be held, next summer, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and, while in South America, will carefully study conditions on the spot, and the obstacles to be overcome.

A significant and important step in the direction of reviving the decadent trade of the United States with Mexico, the West Indies, Central America and South America has already been taken by the State of Texas, by officially sanctioning the proposed *Pan-American Trades-College*. The Hon. George B. Griggs, a

Senator of the Legislature of Texas, has for many years agitated this matter, and it is to be hoped that his untiring efforts will now win the favorable consideration of President Roosevelt and the Congress at Washington. The history of the movement may be briefly summarized as follows:

A special Joint Committee on Pan-American Relations to whom was referred a concurrent resolution of the Texas legislature on the expediency of establishing in that State, near the Mexican frontier, a Pan-American Trades-College, made a favorable report on the sixth of May, 1905, and after reviewing the great disadvantages under which the United States are laboring as regards commerce of all the Latin-American Republics to the south of the Rio Grande, most of which highly profitable commerce is monopolized by Europe, recommended that immediate steps should be taken to establish the Trades-College proposed, and that a special commission should be appointed to disseminate general information and to agitate for favorable action before Congress. They adduced very powerful and convincing arguments why such an institution should be in active operation at the earliest possible date. One of their strongest points is the humiliating fact that 25,000 Latin-American students, of the wealthiest and most cultured classes,

annually attend the various universities, colleges and technical institutions of Great Britain, France, Germany and other European countries. These young men naturally form ties in Europe, and thus the main channels of trade from Latin America continue to flow towards European lands instead of towards their natural market, the United States. If the annual stream of 25,000 Latin-American students, or, at least, a large portion of them, could be diverted from Europe and induced to receive their education in the United States, not only would enduring ties of friendship and respect be established but also an important step would be taken towards enabling the United States to capture a proper share of the markets of Mexico, Central America and South America. An ideal spot for founding a Pan-American Trades-College would be in either San Antonio or Corpus Christi, Texas. The climate of southern Texas, being exempt from both the rigorous cold of the Northern States and the excessively enervating heat of the tropical lowlands of equatorial America, would be admirably suited as a place of reunion for students coming from all parts of Latin America. Its curriculum should include all that is best in universities as well as what is most useful in technical institutions. It should in addition to fitting Latin-Americans for careers, trades and professions, possess practical exhibitions of the manufactures, mining, agriculture, fine arts, and other industries of both the United States and Latin America. A permanent bureau of experts could give valuable information as to the best means of cultivating commerce with various parts of both Americas.

Such are a few of the many advantages which would arise from the successful inauguration and establishment of a Pan-American Trades-College in Texas. It would seem as though every patriotic American should encourage so laudable a project until what is at present a vision becomes a practical reality. All authori-

ties are agreed that the United States possesses only a deplorably insignificant fraction of the foreign commerce and transportation of Latin America, which, in 1902, reached the enormous sum of \$1,198,000,000, or a per capita amount of about \$20 for each member of the 60,000,000 population of Latin America. To gain a more adequate idea of the value of her commerce, it is necessary to bear in mind that she has an urban population of 8,000,000, of which 1,000,000 live in the highly cultured and rapidly growing commercial metropolis Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic.

To realize how valuable increased commerce with Latin America would be to the United States, it is well to consider a moment actual conditions as they prevail in the New World as compared with the Old. With scarcely any exception, all the nations of America, from Canada to the far distant Argentine Republic, at the southern extremity of the American continent, have stable governments, are enjoying the fruits of many years of profound peace, and are, on the whole, highly prosperous. These happy conditions are likely to continue permanently, as arbitration of international disputes has long been the settled policy of the New World, the progressive Republics of Argentina and Chile having taken the most advanced stand in regard to universal peace and disarmament. A steady tide of European immigrants, from the best elements, are invigorating both English-speaking America and Latin America. A vast portion of the Old World, on the other hand, has been, for the last two years, a prey to the most devastating, bloody and murderous war of modern times, if not of history. Argue as sophists may, it will require a hundred years for Japan, China and the Far East to recover from its disastrous and baneful effects. Russia is in the convulsive throes of a reign of terror comparable only to that of France in 1789. Generations may pass before the ravages caused by her late war with Japan and her present

revolution of blood, fire and destruction will be repaired. Moreover, a new factor has entered into the commercial and political relations of the world. China is awakening from the lethargy and sleep of centuries, and is leading in the cry of "Asia for the Asiatics!" Her boycott of American and, incidentally, European goods, concessions and influence will continue to increase and spread, entailing, annually, millions of dollars of loss upon Americans who have laboriously spent years of efforts and much capital in building up trade with the Far Orient. Hence, under such adverse conditions prevailing in the Old World and especially in Russia and Asia, the United States will soon be forced to seek open markets in Latin America, her next-door neighbor to the south, as Canada is to the north.

Latin America, with its stupendous area vaster by over 1,500,000 square miles than the combined areas of the United States, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii, and extending, through four zones, from the northermost boundary of Texas to Cape Horn, 56 degrees below the equator, is so little known to the people of the United States that it may be well to consider briefly just what is the actual value of her commerce and how it is distributed. On these points, the most recent issues of the *Monthly Bulletin of the International Bureau of the American Republics*, are extremely instructive. The foreign trade of Latin America with Europe and the United States alone reached, in 1904, the grand total of over \$975,000,000. The former obtained \$669,000,000 of this amount and the latter \$306,000,000—in other words, Europe secured more than twice as much of this splendid commerce as the United States. The total value of European exports to the Latin-American Republics was \$324,000,000, while the imports into Europe from Latin America were \$345,000,000. As a contrast to this, American exports to Latin America were \$68,000,000 while the imports from the Latin-American Republics into the United States amounted alto-

gether to \$238,000,000. Comment on such a deplorable showing is unnecessary: the figures speak for themselves. These statistics, however, tell only a portion of the lamentable story. Except in Cuban and Mexican ports, the Stars and Stripes are rarely seen flying from a merchant vessel. The lucrative ocean transportation of Latin America is mainly carried on in foreign bottoms, Great Britain, Germany, France and even insignificant Belgium and Norway sharing the profits. In many of the most important Latin-American centers of industry and civilization, like Rio and Buenos Aires, which together have a population equal to that of Chicago, there is no American bank, and exchange is conducted through London, Paris and Berlin.

Considering that Latin America has been delivered only eighty years from over three centuries of Spanish misrule and oppression, her progress in the arts, education, civilization, industry and commerce has been marvelous. Buenos Aires, her greatest commercial emporium and maritime port, has an annual commerce of \$217,000,000 against \$188,000,000 for Shanghai, China, and \$128,000,000 for Yokohama, Japan: a commerce which considerably exceeds that of any seaport of the United States, New York excepted. Santos and Rio, Brazil, the next largest Latin-American ocean-ports, have, respectively, a yearly commerce of \$89,000,000 and \$82,000,000. If these figures be added to those for Buenos Aires, we have a combined total of \$388,000,000, or a value closely approximating one-third that of New York City (\$1,106,979,000) and easily exceeding that of Calcutta (\$294,000,000), the greatest maritime port of Asia.

Manufacturing has already made surprising headway in Latin America. The imperial republic of Brazil, of the Tropical and South Temperate zone, and almost as vast as the United States and Alaska combined, had, on July 31, 1905, one hundred and eight cotton-mills in operation, with 715,078 spindles and 26,054

looms. These mills consume annually 30,764,523 kilos (68,000,000 pounds) of cotton, and produce 234,473,424 meters, or, approximately, 260,529,000 yards of cloth. The number of operatives employed is 37,638. Another instance of the remarkable progress of Latin America is seen in the energetic Republic of Chile. According to the annual report of United States Consul Mansfield, of Valparaiso, \$40,000,000 capital has been invested in new enterprises during the year 1904. In this investment, companies for exploiting nitrate, useful and precious metals, for promoting municipal improvements, for manufactures of various sorts, for encouraging agriculture, and for the establishment of new banks, are represented.

Railroad construction in Latin America is going on apace. The Transcontinental Railway between the Argentine Republic and Chile has been steadily pushed up among the highest passes of the forbid-

ding snowy Cordillera of the Andes, to a height of 10,000 feet, a spiral tunnel of 16 kilometers or 10 miles remaining to be pierced through the mountains. Thus Chile and Argentina bid fair soon to be linked together by bands of steel from Buenos Aires on the Atlantic to Valparaiso on the Pacific, and a rapid and inestimably valuable highway to Australia, China, India and the Far East will probably be inaugurated and in highly successful operation ten years before the completion of the Panama canal.

Such, then, is the brilliant destiny of Latin America, and, hence, every movement should have the united support of reflecting and patriotic Americans which, like the proposed Pan-American College of Texas, would stimulate commercial and social relations between the United States and the Latin-American Republics.

FREDERIC M. NOA.

*Malden, Mass.*

## THE HEART OF THE RACE PROBLEM.\*

BY ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE, A.M.

### *Part III.*

I HAVE now discussed the subject of the contact of two races living together on the same land and on terms of inequality, in its relations to the morals of the men of those races. It yet remains to consider the same subject in its relations to the conduct of the women. What is the effect of such contact, to be specific, on the women of the two races in the South? And first, what is it on white women? Do these women know of the existence of the criminal commerce which goes on between the world of the white man and that of the colored woman? And if so, are they cognizant of its extent and magnitude? They do perceive, without doubt, what it must have been in the past from the multitude of the mix-

ed bloods who came down to the South from a period before the war, or the abolition of slavery. Such visible evidence not even a fool could refuse to accept at its full face-value. And the white women of the South are not fools. Far from it. They have eyes like other women, and ears, and with them they see and hear what goes on about them. Their intelligence is not deceived in respect to appearances and underlying causes. (Certainly they are not ignorant of the fact that a negro can no more change his skin than a leopard his spots.) When therefore they see black mothers with light-colored children, they need not ask the meaning of it, the cause of such apparent wonder. For they know to their sorrow its natural explanation, and whence have come all the mulattoes and quadroons and octoroons of the South.) And to

\*The first and second parts of Mr. Grimke's article appeared in THE ARENA for January and March, respectively.

these women this knowledge has been bitterer than death. The poisoned arrow of it long ago entered deep into their souls. And the hurt, cruel and immedicable, rankles in the breasts of those women to-day, as it rankled in the breasts of their mothers of a past long vanished.

What pray, is engendered by all of this widespread but suppressed suffering transmitted, as a bitter heritage for generations, by Southern mothers to Southern daughters? What but bitter hatred of the black woman of the South by the white woman of the South. How is this hatred expressed? In a hundred ways and by a hundred means. One cannot keep down a feeling of pity for a large class of women in the South who cannot meet in the street, or store, or car, a well-dressed and comely colored girl without experiencing a pang of suspicion, a spasm of fear. For there arises unbidden, unavoidably, in the minds of such women the ugly question, whose daughter is she, and whose mistress is she to be? For in that girl's veins, may flow the proudest blood of the South. (And this possibility, aye, probability, so shameful to both races no one in the South knows better than the Southern white woman. What happens? The most natural thing in the world, though not the wisest. The hatred, the suspicion, the fear of these women find expression in scorn, in active ill-will, not only toward that one particular girl, but toward her whole class as well. They are all put under the ban of this accumulated hatred, suspicion and fear.

A hostility, deep-seated and passionate as that which proceeds from white women as a class toward black women as a class, shoots beyond the mark and attacks indiscriminately all colored women without regard to character, without regard to standing or respectability. It is enough that they belong to the black race: ergo, they are bad, ergo, they are dangerous. All this bitter hatred of the women of one race by the women of the other race has borne bitter fruit in the South in merciless class distinctions, in hard and fast caste-

lines, designed to limit contact of the races there at the single point where they come together as superior and inferior. Hence the South has its laws separating the races in schools, in public libraries, in churches, in hotels, in cars, in waiting-rooms, on steamboats, in hospitals, in poorhouses, in prisons, in graveyards. Thus it is intended to reduce the contact of the races to a minimum, to glut at the same time the hatred of the white women of the South to the black women of the South, and to shut the men of each race from the women of the other race. But how foolish are all these laws, how futile are all these class distinctions! Do they really effect the separation of the races? They do not, they cannot under existing conditions. What then do they? (They do indeed separate the world of the white man and woman from the colored man and woman, but they fail utterly to separate the world of the colored woman from the white man.)

(The joint fear of the white woman and the white man is incorporated to-day in every State of the South in laws interdicting intermarriage of the races. But do those laws put an end to the sexual commerce which goes on between the world of the white man and that of the colored woman? Have they checked perceptibly this vile traffic between these two worlds? They have not, nor can they diminish or extinguish this evil. On the contrary, because they divide the two worlds, because they uphold this legal separation of the races, they provide a secret door, a dark way between the two worlds, between the two races, which the men of the upper world open at will and travel at pleasure. For they hold the key to this secret door, the clue to this dark way. Such preventive measures are in truth but a repetition of the fatal folly of the ostrich when it is afraid. For then while this powerful bird takes infinite pains to cover its insignificant front lines, it leaves unprotected its widely extended rear ones, and falls accordingly an easy victim to the enemy which pur-

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sues it. The real peril of an admixture of the races in the South lies not in intermarriage but in concubinage, lies through that secret door which connects the races, the key to which is in the hands of the white men of the South. (It is they who first opened it, and it is they who continue to keep it open.) Were it not for the folly of the white women of the South, it might yet be closed and sealed. The folly of the white women of the South is their hatred, their fear of the colored women of the South. They first think to rid themselves of the rivalry of the second class by excluding them from the upper world, by shutting them securely within the limits of the lower one. But these women forget the existence of that secret door, of the hidden way. They forget also the hand which holds the key to the one and the clue to the other. That hand is the hand of the white man; it is certainly not that of the colored woman.)

(Is it not the white women of the South more than any other agency, or than all other agencies put together, who are responsible for the existence of a public sentiment in the South which makes it legally impossible for a colored girl to obtain redress from the white man who betrays her, or support from him for his bastard child?) The white woman of the South thus outlaws, thus punishes her black rival. But what does such outlawry accomplish, what such punishment? What do they but add immensely to the strength of the white man's temptation by making such illicit intercourse safe for him to indulge in? Thanks to the white woman's mad hatred of the colored woman, to her insane fear of her colored rival, the white man of the South is enabled to practice with singular impunity this species of polygamy.) For the penalties against the adulterer, against the fornicator, which the law provides, which public opinion provides, for him in the upper world, he well knows will not be called down on his head were the acts of adultery or fornication committed by him in the lower world. It is a sad fact and

a terrible one, sad for both races and terrible for the women of both races in the actual and potential wickedness of it. (No colored girl, however cruelly wronged by a white man in the South will be able to obtain an iota of justice at the hands of that man in any court of law in any Southern state, or get the slightest hearing or sympathy for her cause at the bar of Southern public opinion.) Were she to enter the upper world of the white woman with such a case against some white man, who but the Southern white woman would be the first to drive her back into her world? But unless she is not only allowed but encouraged to emerge out of her world with the shameful fruit of her guilty life and love, and so to confront her white paramour in his world, how is the lower world ever to rid itself of such as she, or the upper one of such as he? In the segregation of the black woman under such conditions lies the white woman's greatest danger, lies the white race's greatest danger from admixture of the races, lies the South's greatest danger to its morals. For through such segregation runs the white man's secret way to the black woman's world, and therefore to miscegenation of the races, to their widespread moral degradation and corruption. (Amalgamation is not thereby made hard, but appallingly easy.)

But there is another aspect to this side of the subject which must not be entirely ignored, and that is the existence in a few instances of illicit relations between some white women and some colored men in the South. That such relations have existed in the past, and do actually exist there at the present time, there is absolutely no doubt whatever. In certain localities these relations although known or suspected, have been tolerated, while in general as soon as they are discovered or suspected they have been broken up by mobs who murder the black participants when they are caught, sometimes on trumped-up charges of having committed the "usual crime." The existence of such relations is not so strange

or incredible as may be supposed at first hearing of them. For it is a fact hardly less curious, if not so strange, that there are men who while they would not think of marrying into a class beneath them would nevertheless live readily enough in a state of concubinage with women of that class. And in this upper class there are women, not many it is true, who would do the same thing. They care enough for the men in the class beneath them to enter into illicit relations in secret with them, but not enough to enter into illicit relations with these same men in the open, in the gaze of a scornful and horrified world. Has it ever been seriously considered that like father may occasionally produce like daughter in the South? And that such moral lapses by a few white women of that section may be accounted for in part at least by that mysterious law of atavism? The sons are like the fathers in respect to their fondness for colored women, why may not one daughter in, say ten thousand, resemble those fathers in the same shameful, though not altogether unnatural respect? (Do not such instances, few and far between at present though they be, furnish matter for grave reflection for the thoughtful people of the South regardless of sex, or race, or color?)

Have the white women of the South considered that under existing conditions they are deprived of effective influence, of effective power, to reform the morals of the men of their race? And that unless the morals of the men are reformed the morals of the whole race will eventually decline? If the women fail to lift the level of the moral life of their men to their own higher plane, the lower morals of the men will drag downward ultimately to their level that of the women. From this inevitable conclusion and consequence there is no possible escape. But the white women of the South are powerless to lift the morals of their men without lifting at the same time the morals of the women of the black race. If, however, they steadily refuse to do so in future, as

they have refused to do so in the past, and as they refuse to do so to-day by the only sure means which can and will contribute mightily to effect such a purpose, *viz.*, by making the black women their equals before the law, and at the bar of an enlightened public sentiment, and these women remain in consequence where they are to-day, a snare to the feet of white men, when these men trip over this snare into the hell of the senses, they will drag downward slowly but surely with them toward the level of these self-same black women the moral ideals if not the moral life of the white women of the South.)

And now a final word about the black woman of the South: She holds in her keeping the moral weal or woe, not only of her own race, but of the white race also. As she stands to-day in respect to the white man of the South, her situation is full of peril to both races. For she lives in a world where the white man may work his will on her without let or hindrance, outside of law, outside of the social code and moral restraints which protect the white woman. This black woman's extra-legal position in the South, and her extra-social status there, render her a safe quarry for the white man's lust. And she is pursued by him for immoral ends without dread of ill consequences to himself, either legal or social. (If she resists his advances, and in many cases she does resist them, he does not abate his pursuit, but redoubles it.) Her respectability, her very virtue, makes her all the more attractive to him, spurs the more his sensual desire to get possession of her person. He tracks her, endeavors to snare her in a hundred dark ways and by a hundred crooked means. On the street, in stores, in cars, going to and from church, she encounters this man, bent on her ruin. Into her very home his secret emissaries may attack her with their temptation, with their vile solicitations. (Nowhere is she safe, free from his pursuit, because no law protects her, no moral sentiment casts about her person the ægis

of its power. And when haply dazzled by the insignia of his superior class, or his wealth, or the magic of his skin, or the creature comforts which he is able to offer her, she succumbs to his embrace and enters the home to which he invites her, she becomes from that time outlawed in both worlds, a moral plague-spot in the midst of both races. For she begins then to reproduce herself, her wretched history, her sad fate, in the more wretched history, the sadder fate, of her daughters. And so in her world of the senses, of the passions, she enacts in a sort of vicious circle the moral tragedy of two races. If the white man works the moral ruin of her and hers, she and they in turn work upon him and his a moral ruin no less sure and terrible.

What is the remedy? It is certainly not the segregation of the races in a state of inequality before the law. For such segregation exists to-day. It has existed to the hurt of both races in the past. It is the fruitful parent of fearful woes at the present time, and will be the breeder of incalculable mischief for both races, for the South, and for the nation itself, in the future. The remedy lies not then in segregation and inequality, for that is the disease, but in segregation, if America

so wills it, and equality. ~~The~~ double moral standard has to be got rid of as quickly as possible, and a single one erected in its stead, applicable alike to the men and women of both races. The moral world of the white man and that of the black woman must be merged into one by the ministers of law and of religion, by an awakened public conscience and an enlightened and impartial public sentiment, which is the great promoter and upholder of individual and national righteousness. The black woman of the South must be as sacredly guarded as a woman by Southern law and public opinion against the sexual passion and pursuit of the Southern white man as is the Southern white woman. Such equality of condition, of protection, in the South is indispensable to any lasting improvement in the morals of its people, white or black. If that section persists in sowing inequality instead of equality between the races, it must continue to gather the bitter fruits of it in the darkened moral life, in the low moral standards of both races. For what the South sows, whether it be cotton or character, that it shall surely reap.

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE.

*Boston, Mass.*

## THE ROMANCE OF THIN TILLY WESTOVER.

BY HELEN C. BERGEN CURTIS.

IT WAS the occasion of a big spectacular performance at a well-known theater in New York city, far-famed for this style of production, that Tilly Westover, suping at twenty-five cents a night, first saw the big scene-shifter called—well, we will call him Sam.

Sam was possessed of rope-like muscles and therein took great pride. "Out of me way," he would call to the huddled "extras," in commanding voice, and even the much-heralded beauty, "star of the

show," had once been known almost to jump aside from the path of this modern Hercules, when he was condescending to assist at the performances of the — theater. For Sam had an air about him which indicated a distinct aloofness from his occupation. He suggested in an indescribable manner that his rightful occupation might be razing castles, tearing up mountains, or pulling down California redwoods; anything rather than such simple, easy work—or so his manner



implied—as that which in reality engaged his distinguished attention.

Tilly Westover, being poor, unknown, and of extremely humble origin, may be simply and accurately described as thin. Under other and more favorable worldly circumstances she would be designated with propriety as “spirituelle,” “lithe,” “willowy,” or something fetching in the way of adjectives. But since she is only Tilly Westover, with the merest apology for a home in an extremely unfashionable, not to say undesirable, part of the city, she may be safely described as thin, and nothing more.

Well, perhaps a little more. For in addition to great paucity of flesh, scattered gingerly over a spare but graceful little frame, she was possessed of a soul capable of great appreciation, which appreciation was bestowed gratuitously and unconditionally on the burly scene-shifter, Sam.

Perhaps it was mental telepathy, and perhaps merely chance, which was responsible for the fact that Sam’s big, honest vision was one night attracted to Tilly, standing meek, unobtrusive and thin, in a nook formed by heaped-up properties. There had been other “lady supes” conspicuously resplendent in their spangled finery, and far more advanced in both manner and appearance, who had viewed him with approval; many of whom, in fact, were frequently crudely frank in their manner of procedure to attract his attention, calling softly to him in varying phrase and accent: “Hello, Sandow; let’s feel your muscle.” But one and all of the “lady supes” had failed to make a hit with Sam, until he saw Tilly with furtive glance resting her eyes on him, as she stood half-hidden in her improvised retreat waiting to “go on.”

He was too rushed at the moment to lend any formality to his greeting of her, even had he been so inclined. He had a firm grip on his end of a big “shift” which he was trying to land in the vicinity of Tilly’s vantage-ground. His business-like, and it may be added, characteristic

greeting was in this wise: “Hully gee! get outer de way. Do n’t yer hear the ‘sistant stage-director shoutin’ ‘overture’?”

Tilly obeyed with alacrity. For the rest of the evening she felt less alone, as if, strange miracle of emotions, a strong arm were protecting her; she could not have explained it for the life of her, but intuitively she realized that something, as yet intangible, but sweet, had entered her hitherto dull and uneventful life, for the honest eyes had looked straight into hers, and the glance was kindly.

The next night Tilly longed to place herself in the same position just to be ordered away, that she might reëxperience the exultant thrill contingent on the discovery that she found favor in a strong man’s eyes. But courage failed her, or inherent modesty prevailed, and she seated herself instead on a huge coil of rope at the extreme rear of the stage.

At identically the same moment almost, as on the night before, Sam would be steering his end of the big scene to its temporary resting-place; perhaps someone was standing where she had stood, and he would later address her in that commanding tone, that still lingered in Tilly’s heart, a joyous memory. A jealous twinge almost lifted her from the coil of rope on which she sat at the mere thought.

“Overture,” called the assistant stage-director. “Overture,” she heard him calling, first on one side then on the other. She arose, shook out her tinselled gown, then instinctively felt for the toy crown upon her head, as the familiar strains of the music, which announced the supers’ cue, reached her ears. Others also in tinsel gowns were crowding about her; some with wings and some with wands; the “star” stood in the front right-wing. Miss Westover took her place with the other “supers” engaged to fill in the ranks of the chorus in the opening scene.

The snare-drum tattoo reverberated thrillingly. It filled her with more than the usual exhilaration on this wonderful night. There was an inarticulate and

suspicious grunt in the vicinity of the calcium-light man; a faint, whirring sound and the curtain was going up. The much-heralded beauty, "star of the show," flanked and backed by shimmering cohorts, burst forth on the gaze of an impatient audience. But what mattered it to Tilly Westover? The wild billows of applause, and the air vibrant with wondering murmurs of finely-costumed women and immaculately-garbed men. Her god was back of the scenes. Her god was to her greater than all these. Her heart beat high above the clapping of hands it seemed to her, for her god had addressed her, in homely phrase to be sure, but nevertheless addressed her; "Straighten yer crown," he had said; "it's dead leary; shove her to starboard."

A rapture, delicate yet well-defined, stole into Tilly's little starved heart and lent wings to her feet as she tripped through the mazes of the fantastic march, while the orchestra kept up the inspiring melody that set the incorrigible gallery-gods to whistling and keeping time with their feet. The entire house seemed lifted out of itself in a passing spasm of prismatic emotion. The "promoters" of the show standing in the wings, tried at first to conceal their joy under a look of bland and prosperous indifference, failed, then shook each other's hands and roared incoherent congratulations at each other with cigars, unlighted, in their lips, and the latest thing in derbies set well back on their heads.

Out "in front" the author of the libretto modestly concealed among friends in an upper box, was secretly lamenting that the music was so mediocre for so fine a book, while opposite, in another upper box, the long-haired "musicianer," who had contrived the score, felt acutely aggrieved that the "book" was so bad, when the music was so superior. Yet each genius, nevertheless, felt like throwing his opera hat—secured on credit for the occasion—into the air, the while he sat outwardly calm and quite imperial in a rented dress-suit, and gleaming linen

purchased at the bargain-counter of a department-store, thinking how this, his first "hit," would enhance his prestige along Broadway. The Wall-street speculator forgot stocks and tickers for awhile and revelled in dreams recalled of his boyhood. The *blasé* society-woman over there in the lower stage-box at the right, gowned in mauve satin, with its cold silver embroidery, resplendent in hard, glittering, white diamonds, smiled unconsciously, thus partially effacing the set expression of placidity about the mouth, remembering vividly other less prosperous but infinitely, as seen by her in the music-set retrospection, more satisfactory days.

As far as the audience had power to observe everything was running with satisfaction and despatch.

Behind the scenes consternation reigned.

It started in this way: there was a slight commotion in the wings when it was discovered that Miss—well, we will call her Miss St. Clair—had fallen in a faint and would have to be sent home. Miss St. Clair had but one line to speak, yet, as often happens, it was a line of some importance, not so much in itself as in relation to the production as a whole. To pick out a girl adequately to take her place at a moment's notice was really a matter of more difficulty than it might seem to the average person inexperienced in things theatrical. For there was a certain amount of stage-business went with the line.

Sam, the gigantic scene-shifter, was on the alert. He had been employed at this particular theater for five years and was a person of some consequence. "Excuse me, boss," he said suddenly to an anxious-looking man, "but there goes a girl could do the business. I'll put her on to de line meself."

The stage-director and the two "promoters" stood a gaping trio; the latter two now had their derbies tilted far down over their noses, while their cigars slanted acutely upward toward the down-slanting rims. "Her?" they ejaculated al- in most unison.

"Her," retorted Sam, apparently stirred to the verge of mutiny by their tone.

"She 'd queer it to beat h——," was the prompt rejoinder of the anxious stage-director.

"Naw, she would n't," retorted Sam strenuously.

"It can't be done," snapped the stage-director in his turn. "You go on with your business."

Sam suddenly took on a placid and exasperatingly inactive look. "It's a difficult set, the next one," he said slowly, "and needs a firm hand and a knowin' one at de head of de push. Either she goes on as de guy wid de line, or I quits—on de spot, too."

The stage-director looked volumes, but he was too staggered to retort, and simply glared at the doughty knight of the scenes and the girl.

"Perhaps we——" ventured the "promoters."

The stage-director cut them short with a mighty sneer, then snorted forth to the waiting giant: "Get your girl and coach her on the line as soon as you have the set finished. You have plenty of time. She won't get a chance to queer the show till the middle of the act. To-morrow, report at the office of Mr. Squires—you know him I guess."

Sam turned away without loss of time and applied himself vigorously to the work of the moment, while the stage-director went down to the basement dressing-room and sought out thin Tilly Westover, who was busily putting a lavish layer of powder over her exposed shoulders. Calling her to him, he briefly explained what he wanted her to do, referring her to Sam for further instructions.

"I know the line and business perfectly," said Tilly promptly. "I can do it."

"What relation is that scene-shifter to you?" asked the stage-director brusquely.

"None yet," returned Tilly, and then giggled girl-wise, and continued: "I'll go see what he's got to say about this."

The stage-director followed the hurrying figure meekly. "Who'd have thought it?" he was saying to himself. "These thin girls always have so much more in them than one would expect." The two "promoters" looked up at him anxiously. "It's all right," he said before they could frame a sentence; "she's game, and a brave exponent of the eternal feminine; she's gone to let her young man get in his little instructions, and feel his importance in consequence, although she does not need them anymore than I do."

The curtain went up and the act was on. At the right moment thin Tilly Westover acquitted herself with extreme credit. After the "show" Sam asked if he might see her home. She said he might, and with beating heart went out at his side, while the rest of the "lady supes," whose manners in this instance might have been better, either punched each other and giggled, or stared in undisguised amazement.

"Will you be my special?" asked Sam on the way home. Tilly looked properly bashful, and protested that she did not know him well enough.

"Aw, go on," said the scene-shifter bluntly, "don't yer 'spose I've seen yer lookin' at me all durin' the rehearsals?"

"Lots of people look at you," protested Tilly, "because—because you're so big—you've big, strong arms—and—and—you're a very strong man."

"Yes," said Sam, without any pretense of false modesty, "I can't deny as people look at me, but yer see I don't look at many; and," he added with an infinitely tender look at the girl by his side, "they don't all look just as you have. If you want me take me. I am not the man as will be turned down twict runnin'."

"I'll take you," said thin Tilly Westover, palpitatingly.

The next day Sam presented himself before the manager. Mr. Squires looked at a slip of paper he held in his hand and then at the strapping, well-set-up young

fellow before him, and mentally called the stage-director a fool. "You are reported for insubordination," began the manager slowly, noting Sam's powerful biceps with respect; "have you anything to say?"

"She got along all right; she done fine," was Sam's irrelevant rejoinder.

"She? Oh, that thin Westover girl. Yes, I understand she acquitted herself with credit. The line not only served as an explanatory link, but caught the house the way she gave it. Now that is the idea," continued the manager dreamily, "catch the house every time you can"—then, pulling himself together with an effort, he resumed: "You know, Sam, for the sake of discipline the scene-shifters must be held in check. Now you—"

He paused. "What was the use?" he reasoned wearily with himself; "the girl had saved the show virtually, and the man fancied the girl. He himself had been under a nervous strain for weeks from cares incidental to this immense production, and its highly successful opening had lifted the strain but to leave him world-weary and bereft of vitality. But he pushed on. "You know you might have caused serious trouble last night."

Sam rested first on one foot and then on another, but said nothing.

"You see," continued the stage-manager lamely, "you see—hang it, man, have n't you anything to say?"

"Nothin', Mr. Squires, only you see it was this way; I seen Tilly's chanst an' stepped in wid me bluff. She's me steady now for fair, an' she says if I'll hunch up a bit on me grammar she's won fer life. You can't win a girl wid-out doin' somethin' fer her. I done all I could." And Sam relapsed into tender reminiscent silence.

Mr. Squires leaned back in his office-chair, and shutting one eye, fastened the

other on the man before him. Finally he turned his face toward the desk, saying shortly: "That's all."

"Do I hold me job?" asked the other.

"I do n't see why not," was the terse rejoinder. "Good-bye."

That night, as Sam left the theater with thin Tilly Westover tripping along by his side, he was handed a small package neatly done up and inscribed with his name. He put it in his pocket, but at the first electric-light the couple came to, on their way to the "L" station, Sam halted and bade Tilly turn her head away, while he hastily undid the package. Tilly being only human, found it hard to comply, but did so. Later she lost her temper because he refused to tell her what was in the white paper.

Sam bantered and put her off. "Wait till we're spliced, Tilly," he said, "then no secrets shall come between us twain." With this rudely transposed sentiment from a class of novels with which her future husband was familiar, Tilly Westover was obliged to be content.

When Sam got home, he sat down, and lighting a five-cent cigar with a great flourish of match, and much apparent satisfaction, drew forth the article from its paper wrapper, and proceeded to apply himself to the cause of Tilly's wrath with corrugated brow that contrasted strangely with the complacent smile that lurked in the corners of his mouth.

At daylight he laid down his gift. The pallid, northern sun of winter rising languidly sent a shy shaft of light into the shabby little room which lingered on an English grammar, on the blank page of which was written in a broad, sweeping hand: "From your friend and well-wisher, Charles Squires, manager of the — theater, New York city."

HELEN C. BERGEN CURTIS.

*New York City.*

## ART AND LIFE.

### Charles H. Grant's "Nearing Port."

OUR ART feature this month is "Nearing Port," by Mr. Charles H. Grant. In describing this picture the well-known author, Mr. George Wharton James whose delightful paper on Mr. Grant and his work appeared last month, says:

"'Nearing Port' is one of Mr. Grant's most popular and at the same time, happy efforts. After a long and prosperous voyage this sturdy ship is nearing port. The sailors are happy, the weather is auspicious, the breeze is good. Some of the men are aloft clewing-up the top-sails, others in are out on the end of the flying-jib boom taking in the jibs. Everywhere are evidences that the ship is reaching home. There is a general clearing and cleaning up that she may present as good an appearance as possible. In the mid-distance is a steamer outward-bound, the effect of the one heightening that of the other. The sunshine strikes the sails of the ship, casting shadows one upon another, while the blue sky in the back-ground is flecked with large fleecy clouds, full of wind and sunshine that so cheer the heart of the home-coming sailor. Photographs of this picture of Mr. Grant's occupy honored places on the walls of many men noted for their seamanship, such men as Sir Thomas Lipton having highly commended its author for the life, power, vigor and skill it displays."

### Edwin Markham's Great Poem, "The Leader of the People."

THE POET is one of the chief agents in the ethical or spiritual forward march of man. He appeals to the imagination and stimulates the emotional nature to its profoundest depths. The imagery he brings before the mind lives in the heart of the people as a fruitful seed which in time germinates, buds, blooms and ripens into rich fruition. In our day we have a multitude of verse-writers but unfortunately very few poets; scores of men and women who can string words together so that they yield a pleasing rhythm and convey perhaps lessons of value, but which are wanting in that stamp of genius which is the hall-mark of true poetry—imagination.

Of our true poets of the New World Edwin Markham is in our judgment easily the premier. Certainly he is, as a distinguished

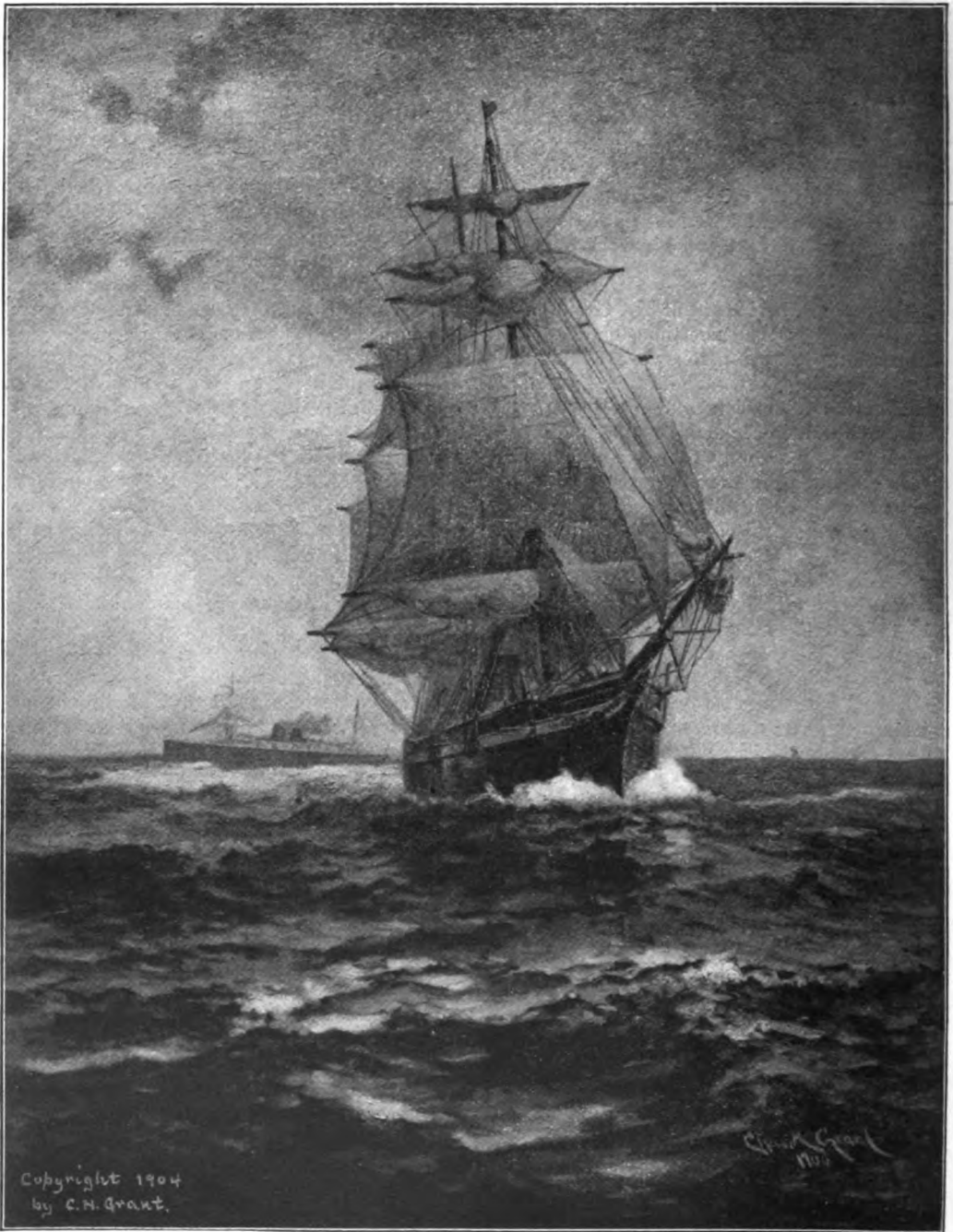
English critic in a personal letter to us observed, the greatest poet of democracy of our age. For this reason we could heartily wish that his really great poems could be circulated by the millions throughout the land. They would achieve a great work for democracy.

During the wonderful humanitarian renaissance in England, which extended throughout the second quarter of the nineteenth century and turned the face of the government toward democracy and economic independence, achieving the passage of the Reform Bill and the repeal of the Corn Laws, one of the most potent factors in the battle for freedom and justice was the impassioned poetry of the day. Ebenezer Eliot, Gerald Massey, Charles Mackay and Thomas Hood contributed in a positive manner to the cause of freedom, and even Lord Bulwer, at least on one occasion, came so compellingly under the spell that he penned one of the most graphic and thought-inspiring pictures of the death-dealing influence of commercialism that we have in literature.

Some thoughtful friends have urged us to give our readers from month to month one or two great poems of progress from the masters. Though THE ARENA does not publish original poetry, we have after mature deliberation decided to give our readers a series which shall embrace each month one or two of the great poems of the foremost prophet voices of democracy, and this series we have opened by special arrangement with Mr. Markham by the publication of his fine poem, "The Leader of the People," and have supplemented it with a few stanzas dealing with the mission of America, taken from his notable creation, "The Errand Imperious," in which, after describing England, Russia, Germany and the "elder kingdoms by the Midland Sea," he pictures the august mission of the great Republic—the mission which it is the duty of each, in so far as lies within his power, to seek to realize.

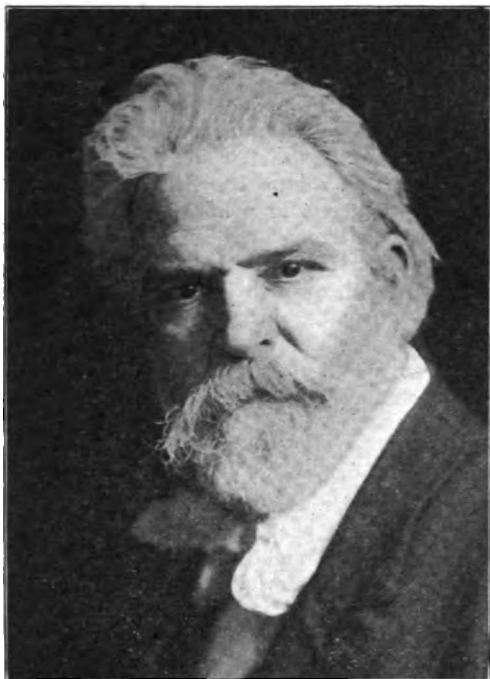
### "THE LEADER OF THE PEOPLE."

"Swung in the purpose of the upper sphere,  
We sweep on to the century anear.  
But something makes the heart of man forebode:  
There is a new Sphinx watching by the road!  
Its name is Labor, and the world must hear—  
Must hear and answer its dread Question—yea,  
Or perish as the tribes of yesterday.  
Thunder and Earthquake crouch beyond the gate;  
But fear not: man is greater than his fate.



**“NEARING PORT.”**

**From a Painting by Charles H. Grant. Published by Special Permission.**



Copyright, 1908, Rockwood, New York.

EDWIN MARKHAM.

For one will come with Answer—with a word  
Wherein the whole world's gladness shall be heard;  
One who will feel the grief in every breast,  
The heart-cry of humanity for rest.

So we await the Leader to appear,  
Lover of men, thinker and doer and seer,  
The hero who will fill the labor throne  
And build the Comrade Kingdom, stone by stone;  
That Kingdom that is greater than the Dream  
Breaking through ancient vision, gleam by gleam—  
Something that Song alone can faintly feel,  
And only Song's wild rapture can reveal.

Thrilled by the Cosmic Oneness he will rise,  
Youth in his heart and morning in his eyes;  
While glory fallen from the far-off goal  
Will send mysterious splendor on his soul.  
Him shall all toilers know to be their friend;  
Him shall they follow faithful to the end.  
Though every leaf were a tongue to cry, 'Thou  
must!'

He will not say the unjust thing is just.  
Not all the fiends that curse in the eclipse  
Shall shake his heart or hush his lyric lips.  
His cry for justice, it will stir the stones  
From Hell's black granite to the seraph thrones!  
Earth listens for the coming of his feet;  
The hushed Fates lean expectant from their seat.  
He will be calm and reverent and strong, —  
And, carrying in his words the fire of song,  
Will send a hope upon those weary men,  
A hope to make the heart grow young again,  
A cry to comrades scattered and afar:  
*Be constellated, star by circling star;*

*Give to all mortals justice and forgive:  
License must die that liberty may live.  
Let Love shine through the fabric of the State—  
Love deathless, Love whose other name is Fate.  
Fear not: we cannot fail—  
The Vision will prevail.  
Truth is the Oath of God, and, sure and fast,  
Through Death and Hell holds onward to the last."*

"But hearken, my America, my own,  
Great Mother, with the hill-flower in your hair!  
Diviner is that light you bear alone,  
That dream that keeps your face forever fair.

Imperious is your errand and sublime,  
And that which binds you is Orion's band.  
For some large Purpose, since the youth of time,  
You were kept hidden in the Lord's right hand.

You were kept hidden in a secret place,  
With white Sierras, white Niagaras—  
Hid under stalwart stars in this far space,  
Ages ere Tadmor or the man of Uz.

'T is yours to bear the World-State in your dream,  
To strike down Mammon and his brazen breed,  
To build the Brother-Future, beam on beam;  
Yours, mighty one, to shape the Mighty Deed.

The armed heavens lean down to hear your fame,  
America: rise to your high-born part!  
The thunders of the sea are in your name,  
The splendors and the terrors in your heart."

Dr. G. Cooke Adams.

**M**R. G. COOKE ADAMS, who contributes a valuable paper to this issue of THE ARENA on "State-Owned Savings-Banks," is not only a physician of international reputation but he is a close student of political science and economic advance whose extended personal investigations and thorough personal familiarity with public-ownership and operation of natural monopolies entitle his views to special consideration.

Dr. Adams was born in Sydney, New South Wales. When fifteen years of age he was articled to the City Engineer of Sydney under the Municipal Council for a period of five years. He remained in the service of the city two years after his apprenticeship had ended. Later he served as engineer in the general service, engaging in many important municipal and government-owned utilities. The last notable work entrusted to him was the new system of sewerage of Sydney.

He had early become interested in general sanitary advance and determined to study medicine and surgery. Accordingly he entered the Sydney University and from there went to London and Edinburgh, where he took his degrees in medicine and surgery.



Photo. by Melba, Melbourne, Australia.

DR. G. COOKE ADAMS.

Later he came to Canada and from there to the United States.

During all this time he had taken the deepest interest in the happiness, development and well-being of the people, making a close study of political, social and economic conditions in Australasia, England, Canada and the United States. In Australia Dr. Adams was for several years intimately associated with the political leaders. For many years he was the family physician of Sir Edmund Barton, the first prime-minister of the commonwealth, and at the invitation of Sir Edmund and Mr. Deakin, the present prime-minister, he sat with these gentlemen in the House of Commons when the Federal Bill passed its final reading.

He has served as Hon. Surgeon to the Australian Naval Forces for some years and has thus become deeply interested in the proposed navy for Australia.

Dr. Adams is a strong believer in public-ownership and operation of public utilities, his studies having led him to the same conclusions arrived at by the majority of the more thoughtful, unprejudiced and disinterested men and women who realize that private corporations operating the great natural monop-

lies of the nation will soon find it to their interest to control that nation for the exploitation of the people, and thus become the chief fountain-heads of political corruption, graft and the lowering of moral idealism in the individual, the city, the state and the nation.

Though Dr. Adams has taken a deep and intelligent interest in political and economic problems, the greater portion of his time has recently been given to the study of cancer. The rapid spread of this disease in Australia called for scientific investigation, and to this subject he has been devoting much time during recent years. One of the most thoughtful papers we have read on this subject appeared from his pen in *The Empire Review* of London, for March of this year, and was entitled "Cancer Research in Australia." In this contribution Dr. Adams holds that "cancer is not due to a bacterial or parasitic origin, but is a constitutional disease due to a specific or malignant virus originating in the blood." "in the form of an unknown chemical constituent which, for the purpose of description," he terms "malignic acid." "This constituent is capable of gradually becoming virulent under certain bad climatic, hygienic, dietetic and social conditions of life."

He holds that "the principal dietetic factors in the cause of cancer are sugar, beer and alcohol, and the principal hygienic factors forests, whose dropping foliage, decomposing, produces stagnation of water; drainage; overcrowding, and poor food."

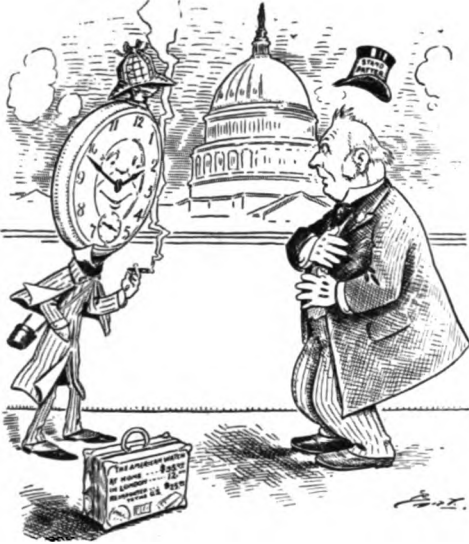
He believes that "cancer is a preventable disease and the absolute cure is only to be found in the means for preventing its exciting causes and completely removing them."

He also holds that "the sanitary indigenous foliage of the following natural orders: *myrtaceæ*, *lauraceæ*, *conifera*, exerts a specific influence in rendering the native-born population of the countries where they grow almost immune from cancer. The Australian Eucalypts, belonging to the *myrtaceæ*, exert the greatest influence in this direction."

He holds that "'Mulyptol,' a eucalyptus oil obtained by means of a scientific preparation from various species grown in Australia, possesses a specific action in arresting the pathological progress and process of malignant disease," and that "all internal and local treatment of a poisonous or irritating nature should be absolutely avoided, more particularly such local treatment as the X-Rays and Finsen's Light, as they are likely to set up secondary conditions around the site of lesion."



**POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.**



Bartholomew, in *Minneapolis Journal*.  
**WATCHING THE TARIFF.**

**STANDPATTER**—What time is it, Mr. American Watch?  
**AMERICAN WATCH**—Time for tariff revision, I should say when I can pay \$13.33 for a trip abroad and sell for \$10 less on my return than if I had not gone abroad.



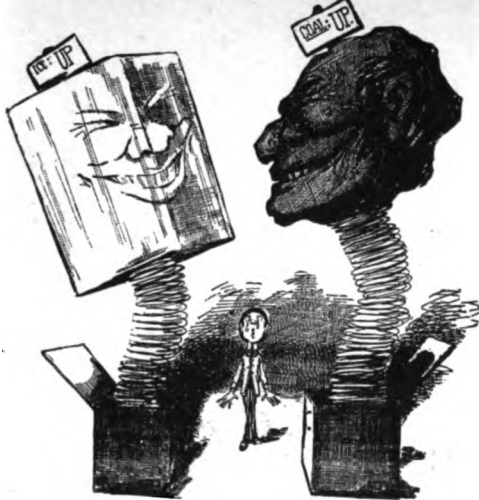
Macauley, in *New York World*.  
**THE MAN WITH THE WHITEWASH.**  
 (With apologies to the Man with the Muck-Rake.)



Bartholomew, in *Minneapolis Journal*.  
**SAME OLD GAME.**  
**KING COAL**—Heads I win, tails you lose.



Bartholomew, in *Minneapolis Journal*.  
**AND CONGRESS SITS 'ROUND ALL DAY.**  
**INDUSTRY**—What a lot of use I could make of that boy if it was n't for those ridiculous stilts.



Warren, in Boston Herald.  
**MORE SIGNS OF SPRING—BUT NOT THE SORT OF  
 SPRING WE WANT.**



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) Commoner.  
**BUT ARE THE PEOPLE POWERLESS?**



B. S., in Columbia (S. C.) State.  
**THE "STAND-PAT" GRIP.**



Handy, in Duluth News-Tribune.  
**REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE.**



Macauley, in New York World.  
**BORROWED PLUMAGE.**



Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.  
**ANOTHER RISE IN GASOLINE.**  
**THE NURSE—The dear child needs a baby-carriage.**  
**JOHN D.—To be sure; I'll just pull the other leg a bit.**





Jack, in the Pueblo Star-Journal.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PEOPLE CANNOT HOPE TO SCORE WHILE THE TRUSTS HAVE THE UMPIRE WITH THEM.



Warren, in the Boston Herald.

THE TIDE INSURGENT.

King Joe Kan(on)ute—"It's no use, boys, I'm afraid I can't stop it—it simply won't obey me!"



Warren, in the Boston Herald.

TRYING TO HIT TWO BIRDS WITH ONE PIECE OF COAL.



Morris, in the Spokane Spokesman-Review.

"STRIKE AND BE D—D! WHILE YOU EAT YOUR-SELF POOR I'LL SELL MYSELF RICH."



Bengough, in the Chicago Public.

SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW.

The Beef Trust Criminal: No, Mr. Policeman; the judge says you can't touch me; I have taken the immunity bath. But you can put my shadow under arrest, you know, and send it to jail if found guilty!

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE MUCK-RAKE *versus* THE MUCK.

### **The Attempt of The Special-Pleaders For The Criminal Rich to Distort The President's Speech Into a Condemnation of Those Who Are Leading The Battle For Common Honesty and Moral Idealism.**

**H**OWEVER much those who appreciate the importance of pressing the war for civic righteousness, until the great rogues in the business world and the corruptors of government and the grafters are driven from the seats of the mighty in business and state, may regret that President Roosevelt has given the agents and hirelings of the alarmed criminal rich and the corrupt political bosses the opportunity to pretend that he assailed the great magazine writers, whose fearless and nobly patriotic work has contributed in so large a way to the moral renaissance that is terrifying the evil-doers, there was nothing in Mr. Roosevelt's description of what he considered as a "muck-rake man" or in his censure of him that would not be seconded—heartily seconded—by any of the high-minded and patriotic men and women whose labors in the past have been so fruitful and whose work to-day is taking hold of the imagination of all men and women of conscience and conviction who dare to think and who care more for the eternal moral verities than they do for personal ambition or the favor of the powerful ones whose wealth is the result of indirection and unjust practices.

It is perhaps not strange, however, that the champions of the plutocracy in their despair for their masters, whose criminal deeds are being exposed, persist in applying the President's opprobrious epithet to the persons who are in every particular the reverse of what Mr. Roosevelt characterized as the "muck-rake man." It is therefore peculiarly unfortunate that the President's speech, which the enemies of civic righteousness are using as justification for their attacks and for the purpose of discouraging the rising tide of public interest in favor of pure government, should be so timed as to give aid and comfort to the criminal rich and powerful who shrink in terror at the prospect of further investigations and exposures

of their corrupt practices. In a great moral crisis like the present, when an aroused public conscience is seeking to unhorse and to banish the great criminals in the business world and their powerful allies in political life, all friends of morality should unite to bring to a successful termination the warfare against the guilty, and by no possible word or act should any one seek to discourage the forces of moral progress.

An analysis of the President's words in his famous "muck-rake" address shows that he very carefully refrained from criticizing the men and women who have become a terror to the evil-doers and to whom the friends of business and political integrity are so largely indebted for the present moral awakening in civic and business life.

### **President Roosevelt's Description of The Man With The Muck-Rake:**

The papers owned and controlled by the interests that are alarmed over the public awakening and the general demand that the criminal rich no less than the criminal poor shall receive justice, have been so quick to attempt to convey the idea that the President strove to discredit the magazine writers who have unmasked corrupt conditions and who are exposing to the reading public the secret wellsprings of political debauchery that make possible continued corruption and unjust and oppressive legislation, that we feel it necessary to show the falsity of their inferences and also to point out how unequivocally the President defended the work of the great magazine writers. In describing his conception of the "man with the muck-rake" President Roosevelt said, according to the authorized copy of his address as published in the *Outlook*:

"In *Pilgrim's Progress* the Man with the Muck-Rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing. Now, it is very necessary that we

should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck-rake; and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes, save of his feats with the muck-rake, speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces for evil.

"The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium upon knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth.

"An epidemic of indiscriminate assault upon character does no good, but very great harm.

"One of the chief counts against those who make indiscriminate assault upon men in business or men in public life is that they invite a reaction which is sure to tell powerfully in favor of the unscrupulous scoundrel who really ought to be attacked, who ought to be exposed, who ought, if possible, to be put in the penitentiary.

"The effort to make financial or political profit out of the destruction of character can only result in public calamity. Gross and reckless assaults on character, whether on the stump or in newspaper, magazine, or book, create a morbid and vicious public sentiment.

"But remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself. It is because I feel that there should be no rest in the endless war against the forces of evil that I ask that the war be conducted with sanity as well as with resolution.

"If the whole picture is painted black, there remains no hue whereby to single out the rascals for distinction from their fellows.

"To assail the great and admitted evils of our political and industrial life with such crude and sweeping generalizations as to include decent men in the general condemnation

means the searing of the public conscience. There results a general attitude either of cynical belief in and indifference to public corruption or else of a distrustful inability to discriminate between the good and the bad.

"The fool who has not sense to discriminate between what is good and what is bad is well-nigh as dangerous as the man who does discriminate and yet chooses the bad.

"Hysterical sensationalism is the very poorest weapon wherewith to fight for lasting righteousness."

These, we believe, are all the words used by the President either as descriptive of his conception of the muck-raker or in condemnation of him. They are merely a string of general platitudes which no one will question and as to the truth of which no persons would more emphatically agree than the great magazine writers who have forced the public to take cognizance of evils that flourish in consequence of the partnership of the criminal rich and the privileged interests on the one hand, and the political bosses, the manipulators of the money-controlled machines and the political henchmen of corrupt wealth in government on the other.

#### **The President's Praise For Magazine Writers Who Faithfully and Conscientiously Unmask Corrupt Conditions.**

But lest he be misunderstood as the plutocratic and Wall-street organs have insisted on misunderstanding him, President Roosevelt went out of his way to describe the army of magazine writers who have forced the nation to take cognizance of corrupt conditions that mark so much of modern business life, especially where there exists a community of interests between political bosses and machine politicians and privileged wealth. Hence we find him saying:

"There are, in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of and attack upon every evil man, whether politician or business man, every evil practice, whether in politics, in business, or in social life. I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine or newspaper, with merci-



less severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful.

"At the risk of repetition let me say again that my plea is, not for immunity to but for the most unsparing exposure of the politician who betrays his trust, of the big business man who makes or spends his fortune in illegitimate or corrupt ways. There should be a resolute effort to hunt every such man out of the position he has disgraced. Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal.

"The men who, with stern sobriety and truth, assail the many evils of our time, whether in the public press, or in magazines, or in books, are the leaders and allies of all engaged in the work for social and political betterment."

**The Compulsion of Moral Idealism Has Led The Magazine Writers to Battle Against Corruption in High Places.**

That the President did not mean and could not have meant the men and women who have wrought so nobly and effectively in arousing a healthy moral sentiment is apparent from his description of the man with the muck-rake as the man who "consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing."

Not one of the men or women that the criminal rich and the corrupt political bosses so dread comes under the head of this description. They are without exception earnest, high-minded men and women under the compulsion of moral idealism, who because they believed and felt within their souls that the heart of the people was sound and that if the people could realize the nature and extent of the corruption that was undermining the Republic and rapidly lowering the ethical standards of the various communities, they would punish the evil-doers and drive the faithless servants from their high-places, they have dared to take up the unwelcome fight against the most powerful and wealthy men and organizations in the Republic. We venture the statement that there is not in the United States to-day another band of high-minded, intelligent and conscientious workers who have greater faith in the power of moral ideals, greater faith in the future of free government, greater love for that which is noble, just and true, greater devotion to the Republic, or

more moral heroism than the men and women who in the great magazines have so fearlessly, toilsomely, ably and effectively battled to expose rotten conditions in modern high finance, the trusts, the corporations and in public life. America owes a lasting debt of gratitude to such patriotic writers as Rudolph Blankenburg, Lincoln Steffens, David Graham Phillips, Ida Tarbell, Hon. J. Warner Mills, Charles E. Russell, John Brisben Walker, Thomas W. Lawson and Upton Sinclair for their fearless and vitally important uncovering of political and business immorality that has degraded our public life and demoralized business ethics. In almost if not indeed in every instance they have had to face the savage attacks of the agents and hirelings of the corrupt element and not unfrequently also those of slothful conservatism, which gauges success in life by the acquisition of wealth regardless of how that wealth has been acquired. They were denounced as sensation-mongers, as reckless falsifiers and as shameful exaggerators of the facts they portrayed by those who dared not challenge them to prove their charges in the courts. And yet in every instance, when investigation has followed these exposures, the facts brought to light have been so much worse than the worst that had been charged that the exposures make tame reading in comparison with the revelations that have followed.

Take, for example, the series of papers prepared for THE ARENA by Rudolph Blankenburg and published during the first nine months of last year. These exposures showed in detail the rise and onward march of an appalling and almost incredible reign of corruption, due to the union of the great public-service corporations and other privileged interests of Philadelphia with the political bosses, Quay, Penrose and Durham. They showed the depths of degradation to which Philadelphia had been dragged by the Republican machine, presided over by Durham and backed by the multi-millionaire corruptionists who controlled the public-service corporations and through them were systematically plundering the city. The ARENAS containing this series of papers were regularly mailed by us to every important daily and weekly newspaper of Pennsylvania, while the morally alive men and women of the commonwealth were quick to read and circulate this story of political shame, in the hope—considered by many vain—that the people could be aroused from their lethargy. Their hopes were real-

ized. The papers crystallized public sentiment. A tremendous moral awakening followed which shook the state machine to its foundations and overthrew Boss Durham and his corrupt hosts. And the revelations that came in the wake of this popular uprising and which have been disclosed since make the previous charges of Mr. Blankenburg appear tame in the extreme.

Few men were more recklessly denounced than was Thomas W. Lawson for his charges against the insurance companies. He and the *New York World* were unsparingly attacked as recklessly unscrupulous sensation-mongers. Governor Higgins long positively refused to allow the legislature to investigate the insurance scandal, declaring there was nothing brought out sufficient to warrant such investigation; and all the power of Wall-street high financiers, of the political machine of New York State, and of the recreant officials was brought to bear in the hope of heading off the investigation which an aroused public sentiment finally forced. The American public knows the result. All the charges made before the investigation, which were denounced as calumnies and base slanders, were not only verified, but the revelations of corruption, dishonesty and general all-round rascality on the part of the insurance corporations and the people's mis-representatives were so much greater than any critic had charged that the ante-investigation exposures appeared insipid beside the sworn testimony brought out at the Armstrong investigation.

And what is true in the cases of Pennsylvania and the insurance investigation has been true in every instance where a thorough investigation has followed the charges of the magazine writers.

#### **Absurdity and Insincerity of The Charge of Becklessness and Untruthfulness Made Against The Magazine Writers.**

To the thoughtful man or woman nothing is more apparent than the absurdity and insincerity of the charge made by the "kept" editors of corporation-owned organs, that the great magazine writers who have been so largely responsible for the unmasking of corruption and criminality in high places are reckless, untruthful slanderers or exaggerators of facts. The charge is made not merely to discredit high-minded and incorruptible writers, but in the hope of diverting the attention

of the public from the great criminals who are quaking lest they be overtaken by investigations similar to that conducted by Mr. Hughes, and also because they know that when the people realize the relation existing between the privileged interests, the party-bosses and money-controlled machines and the agents of plutocracy in official positions, there will be a revolution in comparison with which the upheavals of last autumn will appear insignificant.

The absurdity of the charge of recklessness or untruthfulness will become apparent to the thoughtful reader when he remembers that no one knows better than the writers and the magazine editors who are upholding the ideals and honor of free government, that the men and corporations criticized are fabulously rich; that they have also in their employ the ablest and most influential lawyers in America; and our courts have never displayed any disposition to be unduly severe with corporate wealth. Now if the writers in question had made one false or scandalous statement which they could not have substantiated, they would have laid themselves liable to criminal libel suits and they and their journals would have been prosecuted without delay.

When *Everybody's Magazine* announced that Mr. Lawson would expose the Standard Oil crowd in regard to the Amalgamated Copper exploits, Mr. Rogers was quick to threaten. His lawyers notified the publishers of *Everybody's Magazine* that if they published any libelous statements they would be prosecuted; and with this notice before him Mr. Lawson published his story of unparalleled moral turpitude. But the millionaires of No. 26 Broadway dared not face him in court, even after threatening that if he said things he could not prove he would be prosecuted.

#### **Why The Campaign Against Corruption Must be Prosecuted With Increasing Vigor.**

Necessary as has been the work already achieved by the great magazines, it is even more vitally important that this labor should be pushed forward with increasing vigor despite the clamor of the guilty and their friends and beneficiaries; for now that the fact is revealed that the political bosses, the party-machines and the great corporations everywhere where there have been investigations are guilty of corruption, graft and criminal practices, the people themselves can no longer



be quit of responsibility. So long as the public was in ignorance of the criminality and corruption that flourished by reason of the partnership between corporate and privileged interests and the politicians, the people were not morally culpable; but now that it has been made plain, the whole nation will be

morally responsible and the ethical sentiments of the people will become blunted in an appalling degree if dishonesty, moral turpitude and corruption are not everywhere chased to their lairs and the unfaithful ones punished, be they rich or poor, to the fullest extent of the law.

## THE AWAKENING OF THE LABOR GIANT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO DEMOCRACY.

### How Labor's Long Sleep Has Imperiled Free Government.

**T**HE MAN who fails to intelligently exercise the right of franchise places himself at the same disadvantage as is the poor victim in class-ruled lands who is denied the right to vote, when the real masters choose to wield the lash of injustice or turn on the screws of oppression. The man or the men, the class or the coterie, who represent the real power that is responsible for men in office will find the law-makers, the law-interpreters and the law-enforcers responsive to their creators; not to those who are supposed to be their creators, but to the interests whose fiat actually can and does make or unmake. The recognition of this fact on the part of the great public-service corporations and other monopolies and trusts, or the "interests" that fatten off of special privileges and exploit labor, and the failure to recognize so vital a truth on the part of the industrial millions, constitute the true secret of the rapid advance of reactionary and class-interests in this republic, the undermining of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence or the fundamental democracy of Jefferson and of Lincoln, and the dominance of the criminal rich, the high financiers, the Wall-street gamblers and the political bosses in national life.

The steady and aggressive advance of corporate oppression paralleling the defeat of every effort to secure effective legislation in the interests of the people and the old-time legal enforcement against law-breakers who are also millionaires; the steady and sinister arrogation by the judiciary of a power that was never intended or comprehended by the founders of our government, notably the flagrant abuse of the injunction power and the attempted despotic extension to absurd and menacing lengths of the contempt of court as seen in the vicious theory of constructive

contempt; the steady lowering of moral idealism and the rise and prevalence of bribery, graft and corruption in the body politic,—these and similar ominous influences that are destructive to democracy and inimical to the happiness, development and well-being of all the people have marked the rise of the plutocracy during the past twenty-five years, and they have been rendered possible only because Labor—the great wealth-producing and consuming millions—has failed to unite to combat privilege and class advance that must in the long run mean the virtual subjugation of the toilers to the masters of the bread and the sinking of the wealth-creators to the position of the man without the vote in despotic lands.

For years Labor has cried with increasing bitterness against the shameful abuse of the injunction power and other unjust and oppressive acts which have registered the wishes or demands of the great corporation chiefs who furnished the fat campaign funds for the money-controlled political machines; yet all demands have been systematically ignored when not contemptuously spurned. And why? Simply because Labor has resolutely refused to seize and use as a unit the one sovereign remedy in a democracy which in a single day would have shorn its oppressive masters of their power in a manner as peaceful as effective—the ballot.

The multi-millionaires whose wealth has been chiefly the result of special privileges and monopoly rights that enabled them to levy unjust toll and tariffs upon the millions are as one to one hundred when it comes to a battle at the ballot-box. The corrupt beneficiaries of special privilege who oppress Labor and debauch government, through control of political machines, have exalted their tools to the seats of the mighty in all departments of governmental life only because they have been able systematically to defeat and

negative the influence of the producing and consuming millions. Yet year after year Labor has shrieked aloud at injustice and oppression, has struck when strikes meant almost starvation to tens of thousands of the toilers and the increase of millions upon millions of dollars of burden for the community at large, with the probability of failure for the laborers in the long run or at least only a minimum of justice; yet on election day these same toilers have done precisely what the corrupt beneficiaries of privilege and the political bosses desired and counted on their doing—supported the men acceptable to the plutocracy that furnished the bosses with funds for the money-controlled machine, with the result—the inevitable result—that every year the contempt of the office-holders for the laboring millions has become offensively apparent whenever a crisis has come between the interests of the plutocracy and those of Labor or the people at large.

Time and again has **THE ARENA** pointed out that there could be no real relief for the toilers or restoration of the government to the people until the laboring millions united at the polls and used the effective and peaceful remedy which democracy places in the hands of the citizen for his protection and for the widest interests of the people at large.

The Labor leaders have held otherwise. They have depended on strikes and on the promises of venal politicians who were as ready to make ante-election pledges as they were to break them when the boss or his masters commanded them to do so. This has long been to us the most discouraging aspect of the battle of the people for justice and the fundamental rights guaranteed by free government against the criminal rich and class-rule. True, the Socialists in recent years have resolutely fought at the polls against the reactionary, imperialistic, militaristic and unrepudican order, but this has not been true of the great mass of organized Labor.

#### **Inactivity Not Marked by Moral and Intellectual Inertia.**

This almost fatal inactivity in the presence of the steady advance of the three things that are absolutely destructive to democracy—militarism, imperialism and class-rule—has happily not been marked by sordid corruption or moral obloquy on the part of organized Labor. On the contrary, a great and fundamentally important work has been pushed forward.

For years Mr. Gompers and his associates have cordially seconded the magnificent labor of Mr. George H. Shibley in his systematic campaign for the education of American workers along the lines of fundamental democracy and their instruction in regard to the simple and practical method of bringing the government back to the people and meeting changed conditions so as to effectively preserve a fundamentally free government. by means of the initiative, the referendum and the right of recall. There is nothing so needed in America to-day as Direct-Legislation, or guarded representative government, as Mr. Shibley prefers to call it. And thus through the active and sympathetic aid of Mr. Gompers and other Labor leaders, these practical measures for preserving a government of the people, by the people and for the people have been so luminously explained and persistently impressed on the intelligent workers that they have come to appreciate the vital importance of these fundamental democratic methods.

The waiting season, therefore, though in many respects very unfortunate for Labor and for the Republic, has not been lost or wasted, since it has been utilized for the most important education of which the people stand in need.

#### **Some Foreign Influences That Have Contributed to Labor's Awakening.**

There are several causes that have contributed to the tardy awakening of organized Labor:

(a) The spectacle presented during the great revolutionary outbreak in Russia has necessarily produced a profound impression on all the more thoughtful and philosophical workers in America. Here we have seen tens and hundreds of thousands of workers deliberately risking not only all their earthly possessions, but life and liberty to gain the right of constitutional government—the right to vote and thus be in a position to compel their interests to be considered by the law-makers. No man could contemplate that thrilling and inspiring spectacle of moral heroism in which, with prison and the bleak expanses of Siberia grimly staring them in the face, if happily they were not killed outright, tens of thousands of toilers risked all to obtain that priceless thing—a free man's ballot,—without being impressed with the sacred character of the vote or without recognizing that the daily record of Russian heroism in its struggle for the right of

franchise has made tens of thousands of American toilers, who have been accustomed to thoughtlessly vote for the machine-made candidates who have been viséed by the plutocratic classes and privileged interests, resolve to trifle no more with the priceless talisman of freedom, the one invincible, peaceable weapon that can, and if used will, give Labor the ample justice that it its due.

(b) The heroism of the Russian workers was seconded by the striking practical illustration of what Labor can easily do if it acts with union and wisdom, afforded by the great working-men's victory at the English election, when over fifty Labor candidates were elected to Parliament, thirty of whom came pledged to united action on all things relating to the interests of the workers. The English election bore to Labor the world over a message of inspiration and promise that could not fail to exert a powerful influence, especially when taken in connection with the growing strength and solidarity of the Labor element in the politics of Western Continental Europe.

(c) The striking and uninterrupted growth of Social Democracy, in spite of the cruel and repressive methods that have marked the government's treatment of the Social Democrats in Germany, and despite the grossly unjust system of representation that robs them of a large proportion of seats to which they are by right entitled, is one of the most astonishing facts of modern political history. The Social Democracy of Germany now numbers more than one-third of all the voters of the realm, the party casting more than three million votes. The recent empire-wide demand of the Social Democrats of Austria for universal suffrage, the solidarity exhibited, and the awe-inspiring spectacle seen in Vienna when the vast procession of workers, which required over six hours to pass any given point, silently marched past the palace to the Parliament House bearing the flags of Social Democracy along with the national emblem and numerous banners imperatively emphasizing their demands, not only convinced the Emperor and the Parliament of the necessity for heeding the voice of the people, but it profoundly influenced the imagination of all Europe and in no small degree stimulated Social Democracy to renewed efforts in France, Sweden, Italy and elsewhere.

### **Legislative Insolence When Labor Supplanted for a Few Meager Concessions.**

Mr. Gompers and other Labor leaders doubtless believed that in view of the Labor victory in England and the steady growth of the Socialist party in America, the politicians would take alarm and concede to organized Labor certain fundamentally just and very reasonable demands. They little understood the measureless contempt which the officials elected by the corporation-governed political machines entertain for Labor. The organized laborer had proved so perfectly tractable in the past that they had come to regard him much as the man without a vote. He had steadily refused to unite and vote as a unit for the interests of organized Labor exactly as the capitalists had long united and worked as a unit for the advancement of their faithful tools. So long as Labor merely threatened and fulminated it was diverting and amusing to the servants of the plutocracy who but for Labor's vote would not be in places of power. So long as the laboring man could be deceived by honeyed words and perfidious pledges before election, he was an object of flattery up to the hour when he cast his vote for the machine nominees, after which he was an object of contempt and amusement.

The law-makers knew their masters, the corporations and privileged interests, acted as a unit; that they never forgot or forgave treachery. They were liberal with campaign funds and courtesies, and they were obeyed. Hence when Mr. Gompers and his friends appeared before Congress as humble suppliants, they were given to understand that they were not feared by the law-makers and so need expect few favors and scant justice whenever and wherever their demands conflicted with the selfish demands of the real masters of government—the privileged interests.

Here plutocracy and its minions, drunken with arrogance, presumed too far. They felt safe behind their millions and under the protection of the party-machine. But Labor had done some serious thinking. It had been forced to see that the man who has a ballot and uses it so that it helps his enemy, or fails to use it for his own good and the good of his comrades, is no better off than the voiceless serf in an autocratic despotism; and Labor was at last ready to resent the insult of the machine-politicians and their masters.

**The American Federation Declares for Political Action.**

The contemptuous treatment of Labor's demands by Congress was complemented in some instances with the time-worn and threadbare good words and general platitudes which plutocracy encourages her tools to be lavish of in the place of any redress of wrongs against which the workers protest. But the day was happily past for such despicable subterfuges to be effective. The eyes of the sleeper had been opened, and the Federation officials, representing the assembled presidents of the affiliated international unions, unanimously issued a bill of grievances, and accompanying it went a ringing note in which the organized workers, represented by the officials of the American Federation of Labor said:

"Let the inspiring watchword go forth that:

"We will stand by our friends and administer a stinging rebuke to men or parties who are either indifferent, negligent or hostile, and wherever opportunity affords, to secure the election of intelligent, honest, earnest trades-unionists, with clear, unblemished, paid-up union cards in their possession."

This bugle-call further contained these explicit statements as outlining the proposed action of union workers in the future:

"That as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working-people may act as a unit at the polls of every election.

"That the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trades-unionists and workingmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunction of the courts, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth."

This stand taken by the American Federation and representing as it does a great organization pledged to Direct-Legislation, is in our judgment one of the most momentous events of recent years in American political life and

one that is pregnant with great promise for fundamental democracy.

**The Chicago Progressive Alliance.**

On the 8th of April, in answer to a call for a convention of the workers of Chicago to formulate plans for exerting an influence commensurate with their strength at the primaries of that city, three hundred delegates assembled, representing 52 labor unions and 8 civic associations. The organization adopted the name of the Chicago Progressive Alliance. It is doubtful, we think, whether any similar convention ever represented so much earnest, rational common-sense and enlightened statesmanship as were displayed by this notable body whose platform and programme will, we believe, become a general working model for similar organizations elsewhere now that Labor has awakened and entered the arena to gain rightful protection, to further the interests of free government and to stay the advancement of militarism and government by unjust and reactionary class-rule for the advancement of privileged wealth.

Among the chief and most important demands in the platform adopted that are of special interest are the following: (1) direct primaries; (2) the initiative and referendum; (3) the right of recall; (4) public-ownership and operation of public utilities; (5) local option in taxation; (6) trial by jury in injunction cases; (7) a city charter giving the city full control of its local affairs.

The demand in regard to relief for the people from one of the newest and most sinister forms of judicial despotism, through shameless abuse of the injunction power, will appeal to the intelligence, wisdom and sense of justice of hundreds of thousands of our people. So great is the growing demand for the curtailing of the arbitrary and un-American usurpations of the courts that this question is bound to become one of the burning issues in the near future. The following is the resolution adopted by the Alliance:

"Feeling that the abuse of the writ of injunction by certain corporation stalking-horses, who have by various devices obtained place on the bench in Federal and State courts, requires a limitation to be placed upon it, we favor such legislation as will require a trial by jury of alleged acts of contempt of court committed out of the presence of the court."

**Labor Proposes to Battle for Direct-Legislation in Colorado.**

On April 2d the Denver Arena Club held its eighth regular meeting, at which Chapter One of the "Direct-Legislation Primer" was the subject of consideration and discussion. At this meeting Mr. Otto Thum, the well-known Labor leader of Colorado, said:

"I learned yesterday that the Executive Board and officers of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, comprising a number of federations of the state, will make Direct-Legislation, as Mr. Flower defines it, the principal campaign issue this year. Instead of demanding the registration of barbers and plumbers, they are going to make a united effort to get an amendment to the constitution for the referendum and the Right of Recall, so that the legislatures will pass a law when desired by the people. Also the Typographical Union met yesterday and endorsed that principle. So that in Colorado, at any rate, there is one organization, composed of many other organizations, behind that general principle."

This will be good news to all friends of free government in America. Guarded representative government, or Direct-Legislation, and the Right of Recall are in our judgment by far the most urgent and important immediate political measures before our people. They are measures that should call to active personal support all the high-minded and nobly idealistic young men and women in our great nation. They should lead to individual consecrated service such as the cause of freedom and justice has ever called forth from such noble minds as those of Franklin, Adams, Otis, Jefferson, Henry, Randolph and their compatriots in the stirring days that preceded the issuance of the Declaration of Independence.

The Republic has never called more urgently to her true-hearted children than she calls to-day when confronted by militant imperialism and the soul-paralyzing sordid genius of materialistic commercialism that has ascended the throne of liberty in that government that long found its highest inspiration in the immortal and fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence.

**THE BATTLE AGAINST POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL CORRUPTION IN THE UNITED STATES.****The Prevalence of Corrupt Practices Arising From The Union of Corporations and The Dominant Parties in City, State and Nation.**

**A**LL STUDENTS of history know that any political party long in complete power becomes corrupt; but it is doubtful if in the history of the Republic the various departments of government, national, state and municipal, have ever been as thoroughly permeated with graft, dishonesty and corruption as to-day. Nor is it difficult to find the reason. For more than a quarter of a century the great public-service corporations, trusts and other privileged interests that have fattened off of monopoly rights and class-laws, and the great high financiers and Wall-street gamblers, have been actively engaged in politics for personal gain. Since 1896 these interests have for the most part made open alliance with the dominant party, and it must be admitted they have fared well in return. The enormous campaign funds contributed

by the great monopolies, trusts and public-service corporations and high financiers to the McKinley and Roosevelt campaigns registered the high-water mark in lavish expenditures; yet they were frequently, relatively speaking, almost paralleled in state and city elections.

Under the fostering care of Platt and Odell in New York, a riot of corruption prevailed of the character and extent of which the insurance investigation gave some hint. Yet there is little reason to suppose that the insurance companies were one whit less effective in their corrupt influence over the legislature and the special state department with which they were concerned than have been the great public-service companies, the financial and other privileged interests that may have found it to their interest to control legislation and state departments in the interest of the few at the expense of public morality and the people in general.

The general consternation that prevailed

in certain quarters in Washington, Albany and Wall street when it recently seemed that public clamor for the investigation of the scandals connected with the state department for inspection of banks would be so great that Governor Higgins would be compelled to permit the legislature to investigate, spoke all too eloquently of the guilty knowledge on the part of certain parties and their natural dread of an investigation. It is stated that word came from Washington that a public investigation at the present time would be a public calamity and that it must not be permitted; and Governor Higgins and the so-called leaders finally saw to it that there was no investigation.

Now if the department had a clean record it would have welcomed the investigation, and if the leaders had not known that examination would lead to another chapter in the story of present-day graft and corruption they would not have defied public clamor. On the contrary they would have welcomed an investigation that would in its vindication have offset in a measure the amazing revelations of party corruption that had been uncovered in the insurance exposures.

The recent revelations of the shameful acts of the State Tax Commissioners in regard to appraising the proper taxation for the public-service corporations of Buffalo, as exposed by Mayor Adam and referred to in our paper on the Mayor of Buffalo in this issue, indicate how complacent the Tax Commission is to the wealthy public-service corporations; and what is true of New York has been evidenced in many other states.

In Pennsylvania prior to the exposure of conditions by Mr. Blankenburg in his notable series of ARENA articles which did so much to crystallize public sentiment and work a volcanic upheaval, the Pennsylvania Railroad and other public-service corporations and privileged interests rendered the power of Quay and later of Penrose in the state, and of Durham in Philadelphia, practically invincible, even in the face of the most brazen exhibitions of corrupt practices known to American politics.

In Colorado, where the great railways, the coal and iron corporations, the Mine-Owners' Association, the Smelter-Trust and the public-service corporations or the Utility-Trust have made common cause and have united with the dominant party for absolute mastership of the state, even more arbitrary, subversive

and infamous acts have been perpetrated in recent years than have probably disgraced any other American commonwealth. In the city of Denver the corrupt practices of the public-service corporations have almost paralleled those of Philadelphia,—a fact which has recently been strikingly brought out by Judge Lindsey of Denver in the following startling and direct utterance:

“The politics of Denver is controlled absolutely by the four utility corporations. If any man denies this, he is either misinformed, ignorant, or deliberately falsifies. All the election frauds, all the ballot-box stuffing—I say without hesitation—came from the debauchery and the prostitution of political position and power by money furnished by the utility corporations of Denver. The men who are responsible for these crimes are men like Mr. Evans of the tramway company, Mr. Field of the telephone company, Mr. Cheesman of the water company. These corporations have the city of Denver by the throat.”

In Missouri the corruption was carried on by means of corporate wealth and privileged interests acting with the Democratic party, as that party was strongly entrenched. But this fact further proves the truth of our contention that any party long dominant tends to become corrupt, and when it can be made the tool of privileged interests and corrupt corporations the moral degradation is startlingly rapid.

The latest confirmation of the claim of those who have studied present-day politics since corporate interests operating through the boss and the money-controlled machine have become the real rulers in government is found in the revelations already brought to light by the Ohio Senatorial Investigating Committee appointed to examine into political conditions in Cincinnati and in Hamilton county. Here we find the same story that is ever present when corporations or privileged interests unite with unscrupulous bosses for mutual enrichment and dominance at the expense of the people and at a frightful cost to civic morality.

#### **The Uncovering of The Corrupt Rule of Boss Cox.**

George B. Cox was in many ways a typical boss, and like Quay and Durham, Tweed and Butler, his influence was destructive to pure government and subversive of the rights and

interests of the people. He began business as a saloon-keeper. He became the great dominant power of the Republican party of southwestern Ohio by methods familiar to other corrupt and unscrupulous bosses. He steadily gained wealth as his political influence extended. He built up a machine as strong and apparently as invincible as that of Boss Durham of Philadelphia, until he at length became the feudal lord, not only of the Republican party but of the political life of Hamilton county. By the aid of the public-service corporations and other privileged interests that he faithfully served in their efforts to rob and exploit the people, he was able to command sufficient money and influence to keep out of office any persons who were antagonistic to him. In his party he elevated his tools and in turn expected them to obey his orders.

Nothing is more marked in American political life than the rapid moral decline of civic sentiment in the presence of an unscrupulous boss backed by the great plunderers and spoilers of the people who pose as safe and sane pillars of society and of civic life. The people, who at heart are honest and sound, become cowed and then grow apathetic and indifferent when they see corruption entrenched and bulwarked by the great men of the community.

So Boss Cox the saloon-keeper became not only the Republican over-lord of southwestern Ohio, but the head of the Cincinnati Trust Company and an aspirant to be State boss and United States Senator. Had not Quay and Hanna and Platt risen from local bosses to leaders and from state leadership to the United States Senate, through machine methods? So the former saloon-keeping ward politician planned through the aid of the public-service corporations and privileged interests to gain a place in the highest law-making body of the land, where he would find numerous congenial spirits.

Among the men Cox chose to honor politically was Nicholas Longworth. He was rich; he had inherited money and he had more in prospect. He coveted a seat in Congress and by grace of Boss Cox he was elevated to it. After a Republican victory in Ohio in which Cox's notorious methods had become such a scandal that self-respecting citizens of both parties denounced him roundly, Mr. Longworth made the one speech on the floor of the House by which he is remembered. It was an eulogy of the corrupt boss. The staunch

Republican daily, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, in referring recently to the result of the legislative investigation now in progress, which is considering Cox and his iniquitous course, said:

"Even Nicholas Longworth, the scion of one of Cincinnati's noblest families, a Harvard graduate, unblushingly declared on the floor of the House that, in effect, he wore the Cox collar, and owed his being in Congress to the 'Big Boss.'"

At that time it seemed that Cox's star was in the ascendent. Graft and grafting were to be the order of the day, and Ohio bade fair to become a second Pennsylvania as a hot-bed for corrupt politics. The *Boston Transcript's* special correspondent, in the article to which we have alluded, thus described the Boss's power and how it was wielded so as to destroy free government, debauch public service and enthrone corruption:

"'There was nothin' stirrin' in the city or country government except through Cox's orders or sufferance. From his little front office over the Mecca saloon, he alone governed the city of Cincinnati and the county of Hamilton. If you wanted to get a street-light near your place, a job in Congress or 'with the city,' the privilege of running a gambling joint in violation of the law or wished to 'jam through' a franchise, you had to see and 'make arrangements with' Cox. If you failed to secure the favor of an audience with the czar, you might 'fix it up' through one of the high chamberlains at his court of graft—Hynicka, Herman or one or two others. A man of 'strong character,' of great will-power and capacity for leadership, a 'good boss' who 'stood in,' as every 'boss' must, with the 'big business-men,' and who by means of bold issues, inefficient service and a raised valuation kept down the rate of taxation—a man who 'toted fair' with his friends, whose 'no' meant 'no,' whose 'yes' meant 'yes' without qualification and to the limit of his great powers as long as you were faithful in your fealty—one who had long since given up his 'knock-out' saloon and had attained to the dignity of a million dollars and of the presidency of a successful trust company and bank—such was the George B. Cox who, two years ago, was supreme."

But during this time the Rev. Herbert E. Bigelow and a band of as high-minded patriots

as ever enlisted in a noble cause were engaged in the thankless task of educating the public conscience while receiving the sneers, calumny and opprobrious epithets of the corruptionists of both parties for their pains. Among those who warred against Cox and his morally criminal methods were J. N. Gamble of the firm of Proctor and Gamble, who was a staunch Republican, and E. H. Pendleton and Charles Wilby, both prominent Democrats. They did much to organize the moral sentiment of the community and prepare the way for the overthrow of the corrupt boss. That overthrow came last autumn when the nation was amazed to find that Cox's army of office-holding grafters, backed by his powerful money-laden machine, had gone down before the aroused moral sentiment of the electorate. In the great overturn the Democrats elected the Governor and almost won the House and Senate, the latter body being a tie, with an Independent casting the deciding vote.

A general cry went up for an investigation of the corrupt politics of Cincinnati and Hamilton county, but the united strength of the Republican party, with the aid, it is said, of both the United States Senators, strenuously fought every attempt to secure an honest and fearless investigation, just as the Root-Ryan-Higgins machine of New York recently opposed the investigation of the banking department of the Empire State. However, the Ohio Senate finally succeeded in getting a committee appointed consisting of three able Democrats and two Republicans. The Republicans refused to serve, but the Democrats, Messrs. John C. Drake, Thomas B. Schmidt and Arthur Espy, entered upon as vigorous an investigation as was possible during the session of the legislature and with only \$12,000 appropriated for the work which the Republicans fondly hoped could bediscredited before it uncovered the rottenness that permeated the Cox rule.

#### **The Ohio Senatorial Committee Makes Astounding Revelations of Wholesale Corruption.**

Certain Republican partisan politicians are very much exercised over the uncovering of late of so much corruption, which they choose to designate as "muck," by fearless and incorruptible investigators. They do not seem to be much exercised over the presence of the poison-disseminating moral contagion of the muck as they are about its being un-

covered so that the people shall recognize the poison and vigorously apply the remedy; and this sensitiveness and dread of investigations has been very acute since the people administered such a crushing defeat to the corrupt bosses and discredited party-chiefs last autumn.

The Ohio Senatorial Investigating Committee, however, went on the theory that there could be no such thing as clean politics or honest and free government so long as the muck of moral contagion, wholesale dishonesty, graft and debauched public sentiment flourished unexposed. Its members therefore got out the muck-rake, and the first thing they unearthed was wholesale graft in the treasurer's office. The treasurers were in the habit under the Cox régime of receiving what they were pleased to term "gratuities" from banks for the deposit of checks made for taxes. The discovery of this phase of graft on the first days of the investigation created consternation among the evil-doers, and as a result of this exposure already restitution of \$211,076.29 has been made by three treasurers, and the committee confidently expects to compel from \$400,000 to \$600,000 restitution before it finishes its labors.

Although up to the present writing the committee has only been able to devote two days a week to the investigation, it has uncovered graft and corrupt practices on every hand, and there is every prospect that before the summer is over facts will be brought to light that will rival the insurance revelations.

One amazing exhibition of corrupt practices by which the taxpayers have been shamefully robbed was brought out in connection with the sale of turnpikes to the county. Here a certain Charles F. Dolle, representing himself as an attorney for the County Commissioners, made it his business to give the owners of the turnpikes an option on the roads at a sum very insignificant when compared with the amount he got the County Commissioners to pay. Thus on one pike it was shown that Dolle's rake-off was \$5,000. Dolle, however, intimated that there were others in the rake-off besides himself, which, however, did not lighten the added burdens of the taxpayers occasioned by this brazen taking of \$5,000 of their money. In one case a company would have been glad to give the county the pike on condition that it would keep the road up. Dolle, however, amazed the company by offering \$1,250 a mile. He then induced the



Commissioners to pay \$3,000 a mile, thus receiving \$1,750 in excess of what the company received. In another case Dolle secured an option of \$750 a mile; he sold the road to the County Commissioners at \$2,400 a mile. On one road the county paid \$31,010; Dolle's rake-off was \$12,862.50.

These cases are typical of numbers of similar transactions brought out in the investigation. They show that under the absolute rule of a corrupt boss backed by powerful privileged interests, the taxpayers are systematically robbed for the office-holding hierarchy and its tools.

"What kind of County Commissioners did the county have?" someone will probably ask. The kind of commissioners we should naturally expect when a boss like Cox was the absolute arbiter of the political destiny of the county. A side-light was thrown on this phase of the question by the answer of one of the commissioners to the question, "How did you get your nomination for commissioner?" "Went to Cox and asked for it," was the laconic reply.

Space forbids our citing other kinds of graft that have already been brought out at this investigation. Sufficient to say that the committee, though only at the commencement of its work, has succeeded in uncovering vast deposits of muck wherever it has put down its rake,—so much so that it is believed that no man in Ohio to-day is so down on the incorruptible senators with the muck-rake as is Boss Cox. He doubtless regards the investigation as a "public calamity," but honest citizens everywhere feel very differently about it.

#### Tampering With The Courts.

The most sinister and astounding part of the revelations of the Ohio Senatorial Committee that has thus far been brought to light has been the revelations of the way in which Cox expected his judges to register his wishes regardless of law, justice or equity. If it was to his interest to have a decision reversed, he expected the judges to reverse it. Senator Lodge and other Senators whose votes in Congress and whose influence elsewhere are almost always cast in favor of corporate wealth in the battle between the people and corporate and privileged interests, think it a grave offence to criticize the courts. The question of whether the courts deserve criticism does not seem to distress them nearly as much as the desire

to see the judges lifted out of the reach of that criticism which is the vital breath of free government. Their sentiments are doubtless a reflection of the dearest wishes of the master-spirits in the world of high finance and corrupt corporate wealth. Doubtless Boss Cox to-day shares Senator Lodge's sentiments about the wrongfulness of exposing the doings of the boss-made judges or corporation lawyers elevated through corporation influence to the bench. So vitally important are the revelations that have been made by the Ohio Senatorial Committee concerning the tampering with the courts that we quote at length from the Boston *Transcript's* special correspondent's account of this part of the committee's investigation. We do this because the *Transcript* is the most conservative Republican daily of Boston and prides itself on being free from even the suspicion of sensationalism:

"But by far the most serious disclosure made so far has related to Cox's tampering with the courts. This was revealed in connection with a preliminary survey of the affairs of the new waterworks board. The construction of this new supply system has dragged along for years and is still far from completion. Originally the cost was estimated at \$6,500,000. The latest estimate is \$11,000,000. The board of five trustees having this in hand is headed by Garry Herman, who for years has looked after Cox's interests in the city as Hynicka has been his trusted lieutenant in the county. Lincoln Steffens and others have agreed that Cox divided the "big grafts" with these two only. The rest of the waterworks trustees were either pliant tools or elderly or crippled incompetents.

In 1903 the city, acting under pressure from some taxpayers, secured a judgment of \$238,712 against the Lane & Bodley Company for failure on the part of that corporation to build and put in operation, according to contract, certain machinery for the waterworks. The case was appealed, but before its rehearing, the matter was compromised by the company paying to the city only about \$65,000.

Judge Ferdinand Jelke, Jr., who for five years has been on the Circuit Court bench and prior to that four years on the Common Pleas bench, testified before the Drake Committee that during the pendency of the above suit he was summoned by Cox to appear

before him. Jelke left his court and came to the office of the 'Boss.' Jelke swore Cox addressed him as follows: 'Judge, there is a case coming up in your court' (mentioning it—the Lane & Bodley matter), and added, 'I wish you would find some way to reverse it.' Jelke boldly replied: 'Mr. Cox, that case will be tried on the record like any other case.' Judge Jelke added: 'Little was said after that; Cox said he had already conferred with another of the judges of the Circuit Court, an associate of mine.' The witness added that while it may have been imagination on his (Jelke's) part, he thought Cox was not pleased with the conference and that, from hearsay, Jelke believed afterward he was not in the same favor with Cox as he had been before. When the case came up, the other judge—Swing—whom Cox declared to Jelke had received his orders from his 'boss'—voted for a reversal as instructed. Jelke voted to affirm the judgment of the lower court. There the matter stood when it was settled out of court.

"Judge William S. Giffin, also of the Circuit Court, admitted he also had been summoned to appear before Cox. Giffin swore Cox said, 'if Giffin could see his way clear he (Cox) would like to see the decision (which had been in favor of the city) reversed. Cox said a large sum of money was involved, and while there was no apparent disposition to harass them, the commissioners were compelled to bring suit, but that it might be compromised for much less than the verdict set forth.' Giffin swore he replied that in a hearing requiring as much as thirty days, 'technical errors might arise which would warrant the judgment being reversed.'

"Judge Peter F. Swing, another one of Jelke's associates, admitted, apparently with reluctance and after preliminary evasions and professions of forgetfulness, that he 'had had some conversation with the leader of the Republican organization' on this subject, but that 'the details of this conference had passed from his mind.' However he admitted voting for a reversal of the decision although he protested, at the time 'he had no idea Cox had any interests in the Lane & Bodley Company.'"

#### **A Judge Comes to The Rescue of The Rascals.**

Since writing the above and while all lovers of honesty and clean government in Ohio

and elsewhere were rejoicing at the prospect of at least the partial punishment of the scoundrels who had been parading under the mask of respectability while systematically engaged in criminal practices, the work of purification was rudely brought to a halt by a member of the judiciary, Judge Samuel W. Smith of Hamilton county. The story of this judge's action, by which the rascals are shielded, is thus concisely set forth in an editorial which appeared in the *Boston Herald* of April 26th:

"Among the persons summoned to give evidence before the Drake commission was one Davis, cashier of the First National Bank of Cincinnati, presumably one of the institutions with which these law-violating treasurers had dealt. By direction of the superior officers of the bank Davis refused to obey the summons, and was arrested by order of the committee. Then a writ of *habeas corpus* was applied for and granted, and the case was heard before Judge Samuel W. Smith of the Hamilton county Common Pleas Court. He held the matter under advisement for several weeks. Many thought that he would release Davis on some technical ground. It was believed, for sundry reasons that need not be specified here, that he would do it if he could find a way; but no one was prepared for what actually happened. When the decision was rendered on April 17th he took the broad ground that the Drake investigating committee was an illegal body, that the constitution of Ohio gave the legislature no authority to appoint a commission with power to take testimony as to alleged corruption in Hamilton county and compel the attendance of witnesses. Under his decision the whole action of this committee, which already had unearthed so much corruption and as yet had only scratched the surface of Cincinnati official misconduct, was illegal and void.

"It may be imagined what a paralyzing blow this is to the continuance of the inquiry into the wickedness that has been rife under the rule of Boss Cox.

"The only recourse is to the higher courts, and already steps are taken to carry the case to the Supreme Court of Ohio. If that court sustains Judge Smith, the matter will be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, for it is felt that the most valuable rights of the citizens in the way of preserving the in-

tegrity of government are at stake. This process, if it has to be carried to the ultimate tribunal, may take two years."

This delay is precisely what Cox and the horde of criminals that he gathered around him, in and out of office, the character of which has already been shown in the criminality brought to light and by means of which republican government was utterly destroyed in southwestern Ohio, through the domination of corrupt corporations and criminal machine-rule, have naturally been praying for. It will give time for the demoralized thieves and grafters to build up their ranks, to destroy books, to forget what is desired to be forgotten, to have certain books or important papers conveniently mislaid and lost; and if the courts reverse the decision, as will be the case, we think, unquestionably, if the decision is ever brought before the United States Supreme Court, the present popular indignation will have subsided and the criminals will be in every way in a better position to defeat justice, which, judging from the methods of the plutocracy and the criminal machines, they will attempt in every way possible to do, even if they have to send some of their tools abroad.

The action of Judge Smith, like the action of Judge Humphrey whose decision the President so mercilessly held up to the scorn of right-minded people, shows the reason why all of the henchmen of plutocracy, all of the champions and upholders of corrupt machines and grafting corporations, are so desirous that the judiciary for which they are responsible shall be held immune from criticism.

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#### **Senator La Follette Alarms Plutocracy's Minions in The Senate.**

NO ABLER or more statesmanlike address has been delivered in the United States Senate in years than the exhaustive review of the railroad situation made by Senator La Follette when discussing the Railroad Rate Bill.

In this great contest of the people against the law-defying and oppressive railroads, the junior senator from Wisconsin held a brief for the people, just as the senior senator, Spooner, Aldrich, Knox and Foraker represented the side of the public carriers in opposition to the people's prayer for relief.

At the commencement of his address the tools of privileged interests who occupy seats in the Senate sought to snub and treat the

young senator with marked disrespect by leaving the Senate chamber almost as soon as Senator La Follette began to speak.

"You may go out," exclaimed the orator as the railroad senators vacated their seats. "I am," he continued, "addressing the country, and the people will hear me. And these seats that you vacate voluntarily now may be permanently vacated by you before the people are through with you."

At this the crowded galleries broke into tumultuous applause, ominously voicing the real sentiment of America's millions. Senator Kean of New Jersey, one of the most vigilant watch-dogs of the public-service corporations' interests in all cases where the people seek relief from injustice, sprang to his feet and demanded that the galleries be immediately cleared. The presiding officer, however, paid no attention to Mr. Kean's request, and Senator La Follette proceeded, soon making it very plain that he regarded it the duty of senators and representatives to represent the interests of the people instead of striving to thwart their interests. He did not think the people's servants should strive to give the people as little of what was justly theirs as possible, but rather that they should guarantee to them all that in justice was their due. This was new doctrine in the Senate and evidently a very unpalatable theory to the agents of privileged interests who systematically misrepresent and betray the people in the interests of corporation rapacity.

Mr. La Follette showed that the authors of the House Rate Bill had framed a measure that offered little relief. As a matter of fact they hardly touched the railroad evil. They had approached the subject in a half-hearted and apologetic manner, as if the thought of offending the railways created something akin to terror in their minds. They had not thought of how much they could do for the people in restricting railway injustice and rapacity, but rather of how little they could do for the masses in order to lessen the nationwide clamor against the criminal aggressions of the public carriers.

It soon became evident that no man in the Senate was better equipped with facts in relation to the railway situation or possessed a more statesmanlike grasp of the subject than this new champion of the people in the Senate, and the alarm of the agents of plutocracy was very apparent.

Angus McSween, the very able Washington

correspondent of the Philadelphia *North American*, thus graphically describes the effect of the Senator's words on the corporation mouthpieces of the Upper House:

"Upon the faces of Aldrich and the leaders of railroad combination in the Senate there appeared, as they watched La Follette and so far as their faces are capable of displaying their inward emotion, an expression almost of fear.

"Against the absolute courage and sincerity of such a man, they can do nothing but oppose the brute strength of their number and the fancied security of their position. They tried this in their studied purpose to ignore La Follette, and failed because in spite of themselves the breadth of his knowledge, the force of his utterances, the strength and accuracy of his conclusions, all awakened their interest, not because they cared for what La Follette may think or say, but because they know his speech will go to the country and the country will care."

This correspondent in the course of an extended account of the address observed that:

"In addition to pointing out the defects in the present law, the Wisconsin champion called attention to the manner in which Congress had ignored the appeals of the country from the time nine years ago when the courts decided that the Interstate Commerce law did not give the commission the rights to fix rates, until the present time, and he pointed out the millions that would have been saved to shippers and consumers had Congress performed its obvious duty and remedied then the defects in the original act.

"His presentation of statistics showing railroad progress as well as railroad exactions, his comparison of conditions here and abroad, and his general argument and proof of the necessity existing for drastic legislation, if commercial and industrial independence and political liberty are to be preserved to the United States, was the most comprehensive and the most convincing that has been heard in the debate."

Mr. Julian Hawthorne, writing from Washington to the New York *American*, paid this high yet just compliment to Senator La Follette, after listening to his address and with the record of the Senator's past public career clearly before his mind:

"If all the other Senators were his equal

in brains, the Senate would be not only the best deliberative body we have ever had, but the best ever had by any nation, at any time: and, secondly, if all senators were as honest as he, and as faithful to the interests of the people, we would have the political millennium without more ado."

There is one fact that cannot be too strongly emphasized on the popular mind, and that is that the present battle is not a conflict between two parties so much as a life and death struggle between privileged interests and the people; between free government and equal rights for all on the one hand, and class government, in which a plutocracy by means of party machines and corrupt politicians is acquiring fabulous wealth and constantly increasing power at the expense of the millions of producers and consumers, on the other. In this battle Senator La Follette is as strongly committed to the cause of the people as are Aldrich, Kean, Elkins, Knox and Gorman committed to the interests of the public carriers.

The nation never stood in greater need than to-day of statesmen of the courage and loyalty to the people that marked Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln in the other great crises of our history; and in Senator La Follette we have another of the old-time lofty statesmen who is loved by the people for the battle he has waged and the enemies he has made.

#### Revelations of Corruption in Buffalo.

THE POLITICIANS who deny the prevalence of corruption and graft and then, when fresh revelations confront them, strive to belittle the importance of the evils brought to light and seek to dismiss them by the claim that they are merely sporadic and exceptional rather than general, are constantly placed in embarrassing positions from the fact that no sooner do they succeed in shunting investigations and preventing the lid from being raised in one section than corruption breaks out elsewhere. And the vigorous attempt of politicians who are eager for the influence of the plutocracy for future political advancement, to serve the interests of the criminal rich, the political bosses and the grafters by seeking to discredit those whose only crime is that of compelling the courts, the legislatures and the communities to take cognizance

of corruption that is rife in city, state and nation, is meeting with poor success, for the reason that the people know that every charge of corruption that has heretofore been made, when it has been followed by an investigation other than a whitewashing committee's report, has been more than verified. Thus all the power of the plutocratic organs, the attorneys for the high financiers and the political bosses, and the desperate efforts of politicians, from Secretary Taft down, to discredit the incorruptible patriots who are unmasking evil conditions are proving futile largely because of the continued breaking out of evidences of corruption which all the influence of the politicians and the great corporations is powerless to prevent.

One of the most recent examples of the prevalence of corruption and graft in public life has been brought to light in Buffalo, New York. While the Root-Ryan-Higgins machine and the high financiers of the Empire State were working so desperately to head off any investigation of the banking department of New York, thereby confessing by their defiance of the public demand for an investigation that they dared not turn a second Armstrong committee loose, some facts in Buffalo were brought to light that led to an investigation and to the indictment of Frederick Greiner, postmaster of Buffalo during the past four years, and Frederick O. Murray, recently appointed by President Roosevelt as Collector of the Port, together with three former supervisors of the county. An ex-auditor and some other supervisors were indicted previously, together with R. J. Conover, a contractor. The facts connected with this late scandal are briefly as follows:

A successful effort was made to induce Erie county to buy the abandoned North Street cemetery of Buffalo as a site for a new armory. Greiner was attorney for the cemetery company and it is charged that he obtained a large fee for the sale of the property to the county at what is deemed an excessive price. He is charged with bribing supervisors. Murray is held on seven indictments for grand larceny. He was county treasurer and is implicated with Conover in the fraudulent transactions. Conover obtained the contract for removing the bodies and was to receive \$15 for each body removed. By calling each bone or handful of bones a body it is claimed he received more than \$100,000 which he is said to have shared with the county officers, who

thus assisted him in robbing the county. Several of the accused are prominent lights in the Grand Old Party, which is leading some irreverent ones to term it the Grafting Old Party.

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#### **The President's Castigation of Judge Humphrey.**

SELDOM has a judge of a United States court received so severe a castigation as that administered to Judge Humphrey by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on April 18th. In commenting on the trial wherein Judge Humphrey's decision gave the rich criminals immunity the President says: "The result has been a miscarriage of justice." And again: "This interpretation by Judge Humphrey of the will of Congress as expressed in legislation is such as to make that will absolutely abortive." And again he says: "I can hardly believe that the ruling of Judge Humphrey will be followed by other judges," and in closing his message Mr. Roosevelt administers a stinging blow to the judge whose ruling had saved the criminals from receiving their due, by the use of these words: "Such interpretation of the law comes measurably near making the law a farce."

True, Mr. President, and Judge Humphrey's decision is only one of many decisions that more than perhaps all things else put together has lowered the popular respect for the judiciary since corporation attorneys have been so generally rewarded for long service in the interests of the public-service corporations and trusts with seats on the judicial bench. Doubtless Judge Humphrey regards the President as something of a muck-raker and we can well imagine the horror with which Senator Lodge and many of the staunch legal upholders of reactionary ideals and plutocratic aggression will regard the President's frank strictures. But the rank and file of the people will heartily approve of Mr. Roosevelt's savage censure of a decision that serves to save rich criminals from justice and thus defeats the ends of justice.

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#### **The Overturn in Milwaukee: Another Evidence of The Rising Tide Against Corrupt Municipal Rule and Corporate Domination.**

MAYOR ROSE, the machine-politician who has proved so acceptable to the public-service corporations and the grafting element in gen-

eral, was a few months ago considered invincibly entrenched in the municipal government of Milwaukee. For years he had succeeded in getting himself elected mayor of the city. The machine was as perfectly organized as professional politicians and great public-service corporations were able to make it. He had everything on his side—but the people; and the political boss, backed by great corporations and the perfectly organized money-controlled machine long decided that the day had passed when the people had to be considered, other than by cheap flattery and fulsome promises which were made only to be broken.

However, some time ago several Socialists were elected to the city council and they began a battle against the big thieves and official corrupters in general. Soon the sneers and gibes of the criminal rich and the corrupt politicians gave place to ill-concealed anger and fear. The Socialists, by unmasking the perfidy and corruption of the present order, had compelled the people to wake up. True, there was in that community, as in others, the popular prejudice against Socialists, largely born of ignorance and the deliberate misrepresentations of the upholders of class-government and privileged interests; but the people saw that the Socialists were as a party practically alone in their efforts to secure honest government and to conserve the true interests of all the people. Hence their vote grew with great rapidity. It soon became evident that the new party had attracted thousands of honest and progressive citizens who though not endorsing the full Socialistic programme found in that party the only municipal organization not subservient to corporate wealth or permeated with graft. The last Milwaukee municipal council contained ten Socialist members, and shrewd observers became convinced that if the old parties nominated machine-men of the regulation order, the Socialists would elect a mayor in pite of Mayor Rose and his perfected, corporation-approved and money-controlled machine.

At this juncture, however, a new element entered the field,—a young man but twenty-six years of age, a Republican, the son of a millionaire and with reactionary environment,

but a man who during his political career had made a splendid record and displayed much of the same strength of character in the face of entrenched corruption and privileged interests that had made Senator La Follette the popular idol of Wisconsin.

Sherburn M. Becker's first important service after entering political life was to expose the graft in the county printing. This was done after he was elected county supervisor and through his exposure the county is now saving \$35,000 a year. Last year as a member of the board of aldermen he made an excellent record on the question of a municipal lighting plant. The issue came before the city officials, when all his friends sought to influence him to oppose municipal lighting. He was told that the measure was Socialistic, that it threatened the sacredness of private capital, etc., etc.

"I am not voting for my rich friends," he replied. "I am here to represent the wishes and interests of the people who elected me, and I am going to find out what they want by taking a referendum in advance."

He accordingly sent postal cards to every voter in the ward asking him whether he favored municipal lighting or private lighting. The result showed that the electors desired municipal lighting, and he accordingly supported public-ownership.

He has consistently fought graft and the grafters, so he has won the confidence of a large number of the most progressive citizens, and from his action on the lighting plant and his readiness to carry out the wishes of his constituents we are led to hope that in this young man the people may have another new leader who will stand for the principles of free government and the rights of all against the oligarchy of privileged interests, and especially the corrupt public-service corporations and their hiring hordes.

At the election Mr. Becker was triumphantly chosen, the vote being:

Becker, Republican, .....	22,565
Rose, the Machine Candidate, .....	21,010
Arnold, Socialist, .....	16,720

The Socialists elected eleven councilmen, a gain of one in the municipal council.

## THE MOVEMENT FOR GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

### Direct-Legislation in Los Angeles.

**P**RESIDENT Eltweed Pomeroy of the National Direct-Legislation League has handed us for THE ARENA the following admirable summary of what Los Angeles is doing with its Direct-Legislation provisions, prepared by Mr. George H. Dunlop, Vice-President of the Direct-Legislation League of California:

“Quite a little has been doing in Direct-Legislation in Los Angeles during the past winter. A coterie of wealthy and responsible citizens, believing that the evils of intemperance could be largely mitigated by the public-ownership of the saloons under some form of the Gothenburg system, formed a private corporation which they agreed to finance. This corporation was planned to take over the ownership of all the saloons in the city, reduce their number, operate them according to strict regulations, pay six per cent. dividends on money actually invested and the balance of the profits to the city, said balance in no case to be less than the sum total of saloon licenses now collected and turn the whole business over to the city as soon as the city could get in a financial condition to pay the stockholders their actual investment.

“The intention was to submit this proposition to a vote of the people through an Initiative election. Petitions were circulated and were being freely signed when the liquor interests took fright and decided to head off the election by an attack on the constitutionality of the city charter provision providing for the Initiative. A test case was made up by their attorneys and through *habeas corpus* proceedings, the matter was taken directly to the supreme court of the state. Able lawyers have been employed on both sides, the matter is now before the court on briefs and a decision on its merits is hoped for within three months. The main ground of the attack is that the Initiative is not a republican form of government and that the United States Constitution guarantees to each state ‘a republican form of government.’ They forget that the Swiss constitution, largely copied from our own, guarantees to each Canton ‘a republican form of government either Democratic or Representative,’ and that the New England

town-meetings and a great variety of local and state Referendums and Initiatives would be swept out of existence should their contention be sustained. It does not seem possible that the court should decide otherwise than in favor of the charter provisions, but one can never foretell what a court whose composition has been largely determined by the Southern Pacific Railroad, will do and should it be declared unconstitutional, the decision will at once be appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

“Our city has just made use of the Referendum provision of its charter, not by actually using the Referendum but by threatening to use it. The city council, without an hour’s warning that such a matter was under consideration or even thought of, suddenly, late one afternoon, granted, for nothing, to an unknown dummy, a franchise for a railroad right of way over the only unoccupied location over which a new transcontinental railway could enter the city. When the newspapers conveyed the information to the citizens the next morning, their surprise and indignation was great. The councilmen tried to look wise and asserted that they had private but convincing evidence that the franchise was for a certain transcontinental railroad which the people of Los Angeles are very desirous should build this way. In answer to telegrams from the newspapers, however, the president of that railroad replied that the application for the franchise had not been made for his railroad and he hoped the city would reserve the right of way for him. Thereupon the leading civic and commercial bodies of the city notified the council that unless the franchise was immediately withdrawn, they would force a Referendum on it. Public indignation had counted for nothing, the council had twice voted favorably on the franchise but the threat from responsible citizens of the Referendum was too much. The conspirators threw up their hands and the game was abandoned.

“At this point the president of the local street and urban railroad monopoly came forward and admitted that the application for the franchise had been made in his behalf, regretted the unfortunate mistake that had been made in the manner of the application

etc., etc., and wished to negotiate with the city for the use of the right of way on terms that would be satisfactory to the city. All of this would have been very different had the people not had the Referendum or right to veto.

"Councilman Ford of the first ward has not given satisfaction to many of his constituents and petitions are out for his recall and the election of another man to his office."

We call special attention to Mr. Dunlop's story of how the possession of the right to use the Referendum saved the city from being betrayed to a corrupt and greedy corporation by dark-lantern methods. In almost all cases of wholesale robbery of the people's inestimably valuable franchises in cities and states during the past twenty-five years, the possession of the Referendum would have prevented the robbery perpetrated in the interests of corrupt corporations through the treason, perfidy and infamy of those who had sworn to protect and uphold the rights of the people.

When a few years ago Mr. Wanamaker offered a princely sum for the street franchises of Philadelphia, and also promised to bind himself to turn the car-service over to the city whenever the municipality desired, for merely what he had expended on the same together with a reasonable interest on the money invested, the corrupt mayor threw the offer into his waste-basket and gave these inestimably rich franchises to a band of public plunderers without demanding any return for the city. If the people had had the right to use the Referendum this crime would never have been attempted, as the rascals would have known well that it would have been overwhelmingly vetoed by the electorate.

In Switzerland nothing has been more frequently noted than the fact that the possession of the Initiative and Referendum has made the public servants so truly responsive to the interests and desires of the people that the public has enjoyed as never before an almost ideally popular rule, without having to resort to the Initiative and Referendum save in exceptional cases.

#### Direct-Legislation in Ohio.

MR. ELTWEED POMEROY sends us a somewhat extended report of Direct-Legislation in Ohio, compiled by Mr. A. Ross Read of Akron, a well-known Direct-Legislation advocate from the Buckeye State. From this

report we condense the following facts which will prove of interest to our readers:

In 1903 the present Direct-Legislation League of Ohio was organized at Columbus, where it has since held annual conventions, the last being attended by five times as many delegates as were at any previous meeting.

In the winter of 1904 a resolution prepared by the Direct-Legislation League was presented by request in the House of Representatives by L. O. Lawson of Cleveland, but the indifference with which he and his colleagues treated the subject was fatal to action at that time. The efforts of outside friends of the bill coupled with its few advocates failed to effect its emergence from committee.

This failure convinced the friends of popular government that a vigorous educational agitation was necessary throughout the state, and in succeeding months of that year local leagues were organized to act in conjunction with the state league. In many counties, where such organizations were not feasible, local committees and individuals took up the work and aided the propaganda.

Lack of financial support made the work necessarily fragmentary in character; yet from the headquarters in Cleveland a systematic questioning and pledging of candidates for the legislature was carried on persistently and with encouraging results.

The reform-wave which swept over Ohio in 1905 turned the scales in favor of John M. Patterson for governor and also carried many candidates for the legislature into office who were pledged to Direct-Legislation. These candidates, however, were not confined to the Democratic party which nominated Mr. Patterson. Some of the most ardent advocates of the cause came from the Republican ranks. The league is strictly non-partisan or omni-partisan and aims to have the legislature work on the same lines, making the issue preëminently a people's cause.

After the convening of the legislature in January, 1906, Frederic C. Howe of Cleveland introduced the League's resolution, proposing an amendment to the state constitution for the Direct Initiative and Optional Referendum. Senator Howe had previously been a zealous advocate of the principle and as senator labored energetically and ably for the passage of the resolution until it was accomplished on March 6th, receiving the requisite three-fifths vote of the body,—23 ayes to 13 nays. All the Democrats except one and



five Republicans voted for the measure. The resolution then went to the House and there remained in the hands of the Judiciary Committee until its adjournment. Owing to the fact that the same legislature will meet again in January, 1908, and that the amendment cannot constitutionally be submitted to a vote until the following November, the failure to

bring the resolution to a final vote in the House is no question for regret, since its passage in the body at that time was doubtful. The intervening period will be used by the friends of Direct-Legislation in creating more public sentiment and in the endeavor to secure enough favor from the present representatives to insure its success at the next session.

## SOCIALISM IN AMERICA: A NOTABLE SYMPOSIUM.

### The New York World Opens Its Columns to a Discussion of Socialism.

THE NEW YORK *World* recently threw open its columns to a general discussion for and against Socialism which has become one of the most interesting and informing symposiums that has appeared in America. Here a great number of leading thinkers in almost every walk of life have expressed their views in a manner that cannot fail to greatly stimulate a healthy interest in vital social, economic and political questions. In speaking of these letters the *World* says editorially:

"We can recall no instance in which a newspaper has printed a series of letters from its readers which showed more intelligence, study and familiarity with an intricate subject, not excepting even the many extraordinary letters which the *World* printed in regard to insurance corruption.

"One thing above all others is demonstrated by this controversy. There is almost universal belief that great evils have grown up under our industrial system, and that these evils must be grappled with."

Space forbids our noticing these views at length, but we cannot refrain from giving some extracts representing different views entertained by prominent thinkers on this great subject which is more and more engaging the attention of the civilized world.

### The Rev. R. Heber Newton on Socialism.

We especially call the attention of our readers to the following views by the Rev. R. Heber Newton, because the distinguished divine is recognized everywhere as one of the ablest, most fearless, broad-visioned and deeply religious scholars in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the New World, and his views show

how absurd are the hysterical cries of certain reactionary clergymen that the philosophy of Socialism is antagonistic to the ethics of Christianity. In giving his views on Socialism Dr. Newton says:

"In response to your invitation for an expression of opinion upon Mr. Hanna's statement to the effect that the Presidential campaign in 1912 would be fought upon the issue of Socialism, I offer a few words.

"Mr. Hanna's prediction seems to me likely to become true. For one I hope that it may so prove—Mayor McClellan to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Many years ago I was persuaded of the truth of Socialism as an ethical ideal for the economic world. That much I learned from the noble band of Christian Socialists in England, which included such men as Frederick Dennison Maurice, Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. I do not see how there can be two opinions on that point. Competition may be, as it undoubtedly is, a law of nature, but it is the law of the lower nature, not of the higher. Even in the world of animal life below us it is ranked by a higher law as life advances. Most signal illustrations of co-operation are to be found in the animal world, as indeed there is to be found thorough-going Socialism and communism there. Nature includes both laws. As she pushes life upward she provides a higher law than that of mere competition. The evils engendered under competition, its fraud and immorality, its dry rot through the body politic, its cruelty and oppression—all this is manifestly contrary to 'the mind that was in Christ Jesus.' If ever we are to have a Christian society it must organize itself by a higher law than that of competition.

"That there are grave difficulties in the way

of such a higher order goes without saying. Those difficulties have seemed until of late well-nigh insuperable. None the less, when one is convinced that the Socialistic ethic is right he must have little faith in the ethical principle of the universe who despairs of achieving Socialism some day or other, somehow or other. For years I have trusted the principle without seeing how it was to realize itself.

"Within the last few years light has dawned upon this question. It is no longer open to incredulous minds to laugh down the question of Socialism as utterly impracticable. The evolution of the trust has changed the whole situation. Under natural forces our business world has developed an astounding tendency toward concentration and consolidation. Competition is recognized to have had its day. Something else must follow—is following. A virtual monopoly is coming upon the field everywhere. The superiority of the trust organization has already demonstrated itself. Our great captains of industry have shown us how to organize and conduct business on other than a competitive basis. They are developing the machinery for a Socialistic state. The evils of the trust inhere in its monopoly. It remains only for the people at large, through the city, state and nation, to take possession of the monopolies which it has allowed to grow up in the hands of capital, and to set the expert ability which the trust has developed at the task of carrying on these gigantic corporations in the interest of the people.

"There are difficulties of course in plenty, but the way is open and we can see the direction in which it is leading. We are already in the initial stages of the Socialistic evolution—only most people having eyes to see do not see. The last year or two has done more to force the Socialistic evolution than many a year before it. Coincident with the evolution of the machinery for Socialism there is going on an unfolding of the immorality of the business world, and so of the political world, which has at least startled the nation. There are few men now who do not realize the dry rot that has set in throughout the fiber of the body politic under the influence of our 'high finance.' The revolt of the people from the astonishing revelations of graft is reinforcing the ethical demand for a higher organization of industry, that will provide an environment more favorable to the simple moralities. It

has become patent that the question of our national life is involved in this question of furthering the Socialistic ideal. We simply cannot go on as we have been going on during the last decade. The McCurdys have after all, as father McCurdy declared, been doing 'missionary work'—only of another sort than he fancied."

Dr. Newton further states that he has no cut and dried vision of the state under Socialism. He believes in the step-by-step method and holds that the first and most important immediate advance step should be municipal-ownership of municipal utilities and national-ownership of such natural monopolies as the railways and telephones. He closes his letter with these words:

"Good luck to the cause of 'ownership by the people and for the people' of all public utilities and all natural monopolies!"

#### **Why Ernest Crosby Opposes Socialism.**

Ernest Crosby is probably the most distinguished disciple of Count Tolstoi in America. He is an extreme individualist and is as much of a non-resistant as is the great Russian philosopher. He holds, as do many reformers, that through the freeing of the land and the emancipation of the people from the thralldom of privilege, which with land monopoly creates inequality of opportunities and is a chief factor in the acquisition of unearned wealth, justice and progress can be best conserved. These are his views as they are expressed in the *World* symposium:

"In so far as Socialism embodies a condemnation of the injustices of our present régime I heartily commend it and believe that it is consistent with the best American spirit. When, however, it presents the public-ownership of all means of production as a remedy it seems to me to offer an impracticable solution, and one that would not be consistent with American ideas of freedom of the individual and personal initiative.

"The errors of Socialism are:

"(1) Its distrust of natural laws. It condemns competition, for instance, a law of nature quite independent of man's motives, failing to see that its operation is beneficent when conditions are really free, as they are not today.

"(2) Its materialism. It declares that history is altogether controlled by the material

environment, and that idealism has no part in shaping the future.

"(3) Its dogmatism. It believes that it can predict the future with absolute exactitude, which is absurd.

"(4) Its insistence that the struggle for justice is a class struggle.

"(5) Its neglect of the element of freedom. We are far from enjoying freedom to-day, but under Socialism we should be still further from it, and the spirit of most Socialists is narrow and intolerant in the extreme.

"My own view of the proper course to pursue is to discover the origin of the various injustices that prevail and cure at them the source. In my opinion they are all due to monopoly of one kind or another, and all monopolies should be abolished, including the monopoly of sites, which could be ended by a single tax on land values. This would mean extreme democracy, liberalism and free trade, and would leave the field open for voluntary coöperation, as the only kind of Socialism which is consistent with freedom."

### **Two Methodist Clergymen on Socialism.**

Bishop Charles C. M'Cabe of Philadelphia wrote a brief paper displaying more ignorance and confusion of thought on this subject and on political issues in general than we have ever had the ill fortune to come across in the same compass in print. It seems incredible indeed that any writer would confuse Socialism with the Democratic platform of 1896, as does Bishop M'Cabe; yet even more astounding is his insistence that Socialism and anarchy are analogous. More as an intellectual curiosity and as an illustration of how ignorant and confused in thought are many people who assume to lead others than for any value it contains, we reproduce Bishop M'Cabe's letter in full:

"The Socialists can never win in a Presidential election. They may carry a state or a section, but not enough to carry a national election. The rejection of their notions in the platform of 1896 was the strongest thing against Bryan in that memorable campaign. If they have grown since, so has the sentiment against them, and it has grown deeper and solidier than ever before.

"The Socialist has had his best day. His kindred heresies, free silver and inflated currency, have died. His is a worse heresy and

has none of the sympathy of honest, thoughtful but misguided people who stood with the others. He must rely chiefly on the new voters who come from the immigrant class, but we are having from year to year more intelligent, better instructed and more carefully watched immigrant voters. Again, the Socialist in his last analysis is an Anarchist, and this country, from Roosevelt down, is getting to be an uncongenial place for Anarchists."

The Rev. Norman M'Leod, a Methodist clergyman in New York State, replies to Bishop M'Cabe at length in this symposium. We, however, have only room for that part of his answer which relates to the astounding and palpably untrue statement concerning Socialists and anarchists. Mr. M'Leod quotes Bishop M'Cabe's statement that "the Socialist in the last analysis is an anarchist," and then asks:

"Is Herr Bebel an anarchist? Is John Burns, or M. Jaurès, or Jack London? Or does Eugene Debs writing with his wife sewing beside him look like a bomb-thrower? This kind of criticism of Hearst's 'Socialism' largely brought about the amazing election in New York. The people know better.

"Anarchy is a belief in absolute individualism. Socialism is all system and law. Where is the similarity? Anarchy, free love, etc., are aspersions cast at Socialism that are rapidly antiquating themselves. All Socialistic literature advocates a revolution by the ballot-box. Would the Bishop like all evangelists to be classed 'fanatics'? He is an evangelist and knows the force of the argument. Then deal intelligently with Socialism.

"Is the Socialist vote cast by ignorant people, mostly foreign? The last vote was fairly well distributed all over the country. What reason have we to make the statement of Socialism alone? A friend of mine entered his university (not a million miles from the Pulitzer Building) and heard three professors, two favoring Socialism and one advocating it unmistakably. Is all this unrest concerning individualism indulged in by ignorant people?"

### **The Mayor of Buffalo on Socialism.**

We close these quotations with the concluding paragraph from the letter to the *World* by Mayor J. N. Adam of Buffalo:

"Socialism would not absorb our country;

our country would assimilate so much of Socialism as agreed with its constitution. It would be a great thing for Socialism and it would be no calamity for our country—because every principle, every party, every person is welcome in this nation not only to an existence, but to a place of power if he or it is worthy, practical and not un-American. I do not believe in any kind of Socialism that

is built on selfishness. The original platform of Socialism is found in the Bible: Do unto others as you would have others do unto you—not do others as they do you. Good Socialism would level up. Bad Socialism would level down. If there is to be any leveling, let it be leveling up. But let us all remember that it is difficult to get human nature on the level—either up or down.”

## PROSPERITY UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS AND IN THE UNITED STATES: A COMPARISON.

### **Bountiful Harvests in New Zealand and Australia.**

**WE** LEARN from the excellent Australian monthly, *Life*, published at Melbourne, that:

“A wave of genuine prosperity is visibly sweeping over Australia and New Zealand. Everywhere the harvest is rich, the wool clip is good, and the price of wool is high. All the great natural industries are expanding and the volume of export to the old land grows richer and fuller.”

While all right-minded people will learn of this prosperity with profound gratification, it will not add to the pleasure of those prophets of evil who have long been predicting dire evils for the commonwealths of the southern seas on account of laws enacted which place the interests and welfare of all the people before the enrichment of privileged classes and small coteries of over-rich men who through class-legislation and immunity baths furnished by considerate judges or cunning law-makers are enabled unjustly to oppress, plunder and exploit the masses without fear of prison or other just retribution. These special-pleaders for privileged interests have evidently counted upon years of drouth and crop failure to produce financial depression and hard times, which could be seized upon as results of Socialistic legislation.

### **Marked Difference in The Results on Good Crops in New Zealand and in The United States.**

There is a marked difference in the general results to the people and the nation as a whole, flowing from seasons of good crops and good prices in class-ruled nations or nations in the grip of public-service corporations and mo-

nopolies, and in governments like New Zealand, which are conscientiously administered in such a way as to conserve the prosperity of all and prevent any class or group of men from obtaining, through monopoly rights and other special privileges, advantages that would render possible the placing of the many at the mercy of the privileged few, as are the American people placed at the mercy of the public-service corporations, the trusts and monopolies to-day.

Good crops and good prices in New Zealand mean more and better educational advantages for every child instead of the evils of child labor. They mean better homes and more comforts for all the people and a general and liberal per capita rise in wealth, without the swelling or the possibility of the swelling of the fortunes of a privileged few to unhealthy limits. Hence good crops and good prices mean sound and general prosperity, a higher level of citizenship and a nobler expanding of the life of the individual; while with us the corruption at the zenith is always enormously stimulated during seasons of good crops, as they are made the means of further augmentation of acquired wealth and the extension of the corruption of government by the privileged ones. Thus when New Zealand experiences seasons of prosperity, all the people are perceptibly leveled up and become more and more independent and better able to properly care for, educate and cultivate those dependent upon them.

### **Concrete Illustrations of The Spoliation of The Wealth-Creators Under Our Present Régime of Class Rule.**

With us, when we have seasons of prosperity through bountiful harvests, a large proportion of the surplus is diverted into the pockets of

the few who enjoy monopoly rights and special privileges. Thus the great railway magnates are enabled to enormously swell their fortunes. Senator La Follette in his masterly address in the United States Senate on the Railroad Rate Bill showed one way in which this was done. He pointed out that "while the railroads are capitalized at \$18,000,000,000, the actual investment is only about \$5,000,000,000." He further showed that: "If four per cent. is a fair rate of earning, the railroads of this country are charging annually at least \$485,000,000 more for transportation than is a fair return upon their investment and a just compensation for the services rendered." Thus in times of large crops the public-carriers stand between the producers and consumers and extort from the wealth-creators enormous sums above a fair interest on investments and a just return for services. These vast sums would not be taken from the people if our government owned and operated the railways as does the government of New Zealand.

But not only do the railways take a princely share of the wealth created by the toilers, in excess of a fair and just return for investment and services rendered, which in effect is robbery of the wealth-creators, but behind the railways stand the great trusts which have obtained monopoly privileges through connivance and aid of the railways and through special legislation, and which control or largely control the food products, such as the beef-trust and the grain-trust. These organizations extort other millions which would otherwise go to the producers and consumers and which are diverted into the pockets of the monopolists, further augmenting the fortunes "swollen beyond all healthy limit."

Nor does the spoliation of the millions end with the public-service corporations and the great food-trusts that stand between the producers and consumers. Behind them rise another band of tariff-fed monopolists that by special legislation have bought the privilege

to rob the American people in the most shameless manner. One typical example will illustrate this fact. The railroads are compelled to use great quantities of iron and steel. The cost of this is a great factor in the expenses of the railways, which ultimately the traffic or the producing and consuming public must bear. Through the protective tariff the steel-trust is enabled not only to shut out foreign competition, but also to charge the American people from \$6 to \$11 per ton more for steel than it charges the citizens of England and Canada for the identical product delivered at its destination. Now this legalized permission to extort these fabulously high prices from the American people is making a few multi-millionaires by robbing all the people of America directly or indirectly. And what is true of the increased cost which primarily the railways but ultimately the people pay for iron and steel used by the public carriers is equally true of the numbers of other protected products that are creating multi-millionaires through special privileges granted. Agricultural implements, sewing-machines and in fact, hundreds of articles which are necessitated by modern civilization are manufactured in this country, shipped to foreign lands and sold at a figure far less than that charged the American people.

Thus the wealth-creators of America in prosperous seasons or years of bountiful crops are the victims on every hand of privileged interests that through monopoly rights or special laws are able to divert a large proportion of the wealth created by the toilers into the pockets of a few scores of men; and this marks in a radical way the difference between a government of the people, by the people and for the people, such as we find in New Zealand, and a plutocracy or a government of corporate wealth bulwarked by class-laws and monopoly rights, operated by political bosses and money-controlled machines for the benefit of corporate or class-interests and multi-millionaire Wall-street high financiers.

## COÖPERATION AT HOME AND ABROAD.

### Co-operative Stores in America.

**W**E HAVE recently received from the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of the State of Wisconsin an extremely interesting monograph dealing

with the co-operative stores of America.

In 1896 Professor E. W. Bemis conducted for the United States Department of Labor the most careful investigation of the subject that had been attempted. His report showed

that there were then 70 coöperative stores in this country, with a possible membership of 19,000. The Wisconsin investigators report 343 stores at the present time in the United States. Of these 163 reported a membership of 36,286, the sales amounting to \$10,000,000 a year. The average dividends on capital for the stores that reported was 9 per cent., and the dividends on purchases of members amounted to 6 per cent.

Through the growth of coöperative stores has not been as rapid or satisfactory as could be desired or expected during the past ten years, the increase from 70 to 343 indicates a healthy movement in the right direction.

#### Co-operation in Canada.

THE *Canadian Coöperator* publishes a list of over forty coöperative organizations, including factories, stores, bakeries, fruit-packing and shipping companies and other industries that are being successfully operated, and this, it is claimed, is only a partial list of the coöperative enterprises in the Dominion. Of these organizations probably the largest

is the Farmers' Coöperative Harvesting Machine Company of Toronto. Its membership is about 6,000. The Farmers' Binder Twine Company of Brantford contains about 8,000 members.

Slowly but steadily voluntary coöperation is spreading over the civilized world. Where it gains a firm foothold its growth is steady and its benefits are obvious. It is ethically sound and commercially wise. It is the keynote of twentieth-century economic advance.

#### The Enormous Annual Business of The English Co-operative Wholesale Society.

SOME idea of the enormous proportions to which the business of the English Coöperative Wholesale Society has grown may be gained from the report of the secretary for 1905, which shows that the business handled during the year amounted to £21,000,000, or almost \$105,000,000. The society anticipates that during this year the business will reach £23,000,000. The increase of business in 1905 over the preceding year was \$1,260,000.

### NOTABLE EVENTS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

#### The Growth of Democratic Ideals in Germany.

A RECENT issue of *La Revue* contains a very thoughtful paper on the steady spread of democratic ideals throughout Germany which confirms the statements made to us by correspondents and the observations of many intelligent travelers who have returned from different parts of the German Empire.

Until the defeat of Russia in the late war and the general uprising of the people throughout the empire of the Czar, Kaiser William and the reactionaries had regarded St. Petersburg as the citadel of autocratic strength and had sought in the Russian Empire for suggestions as to ways and means for covertly neutralizing or destroying the influence of democratic ideals and sentiments. The Kaiser was determined not only to break the backbone of the rapidly growing power of Social Democracy, but also to emphasize with increasing pressure the centralized or autocratic power of the throne. With this object in view

he made overtures to the Catholic party and strove to draw to him as closely as possible the very rich *bourgeoisie*—men like Herr Krupp, for example.

The outcome of the Russo-Japanese war and the general revolutionary uprisings throughout Russia, however, shattered the dearest dream of the Kaiser who with his councillors now found it necessary to reluctantly turn westward for ideals of government. Meanwhile, with the exception of Prussia and some small districts in southwestern Germany where reactionary ideals have gained ascendancy, the growth of Social Democracy has been steady, while, as the writer in *La Revue* shows, the force of civilization has been leagued with the growth of democracy. The spread of education, the multiplication of libraries, the rapid decline in the power of old-time dogmatic theology, all are working for democratic advance; while another great change that is transforming Germany is contributing perhaps more than anything else to the destruction of autocratic and reactionary

ideals. Germany up to a generation ago was an agricultural rather than an industrial empire, and as it was in England, so it has been in Germany: The growth of cities and the spread of factories in which great multitudes are brought into close contact and come to feel the oneness of the interests of the workers and their mutual dependence, have contributed to a steady rise in the democratic temper of the people. The growth of the cities and the transformation of Germany from an agricultural to a manufacturing empire, more than any other single cause, are rendering the ascendancy of democratic ideals inevitable, while many other things are adding to the general current of liberalism.

#### Mr. Morley and India.

As we predicted, the decision of Mr. Morley referring to the prayer of India in regard to the partitioning of Bengal has proved a bitter disappointment to the Indians and has lowered the regard and reverence of the people for the great statesman. The *Indian Review* for March states that the address of Mr. Morley is, however, far less disappointing than the garbled dispatches sent out at the time of its delivery, and this able journal ventures the hope that he may yet reverse his decision. It says:

“Mr. Morley’s speech does not indicate that his decision is final or irrevocable, and as he said recently in another matter, there ‘is no finality in these things.’ Bengalees may hope—it may be, hoping against hope—that though the mischief of the Partition cannot be undone, yet at no very distant date its evil effects may be minimized by a more popular and juster redistribution of the population, than that effected by the present scheme.”

We sincerely hope and trust that Mr. Morley will modify his position and be great and wise enough to be just to India and to consult her wishes in this matter. Mr. Morley has too great a name and too fair a fame to allow himself to follow in the reactionary pathway trodden by the Balfour Ministry. Up to the time of his entering the new cabinet there was probably no living Englishman who stood higher in the love and regard of the friends of freedom and democracy the world over than John Morley, and we sincerely hope that he will measure up in this crucial hour to the same level reached by his statesmanship and liberal-

ism in earlier days, and that he will exemplify in administration the same moral idealism that has given charm and compelling power to his noble writings.

#### An Astounding Recent Illustration of Medieval Religious Bigotry and Intolerance.

GREAT indignation is being expressed in England over the oath to which the Princess Ena was compelled to subscribe—an oath which is a gratuitous insult to the King of England, his revered mother, the loved Queen Victoria, and the Anglican Communion. Here is this amazing oath, which breathes a spirit of religious intolerance and bigotry which we had hoped the most reactionary church had long since outgrown:

“I, recognizing as true the Catholic and apostolic faith, do hereby publicly anathematize every heresy, especially that to which I have had the misfortune to belong. I agree with the holy Roman Church, and profess with mouth and heart my belief in the Apostolic See, and my adhesion to that faith which the holy Roman Church, by evangelical and apostolical authority, delivers to be held. Swearing this by the sacred Homousian, or trinity of the same substance, and by holy gospels of Christ, I do pronounce those worthy of eternal anathema who oppose this faith with their dogmas and their followers, and should I myself at any time presume to approve or proclaim anything contrary hereto, I will subject myself to the severity of the canon law. So help me God, and these his holy gospels.”

The London *Examiner* thus voices the sentiment pretty generally expressed in England among broad-minded people who think for themselves:

“We have been watching during the past few days, with a good deal of curiosity, the methods of the Roman Church in France and Spain; and have been drawing our conclusions as to the desirability of giving that Church preferential treatment in our State schools. We have not the slightest desire to play to the Orange gallery. The conversion of a Protestant princess into a Catholic queen does not occasion us even a passing throe of apprehension and alarm. . . . She has now been compelled piously to anathematize the Anglican heresy, which we may be

allowed to say seems a little hard on her mother and the instructors of her youth. It has transpired that the ceremony of abjuration was to have taken place in Rome with all suitable publicity, but the Duke of Norfolk and his friends felt that it was not desirable to give too much prominence to this ceremony of cursing the English Church, especially at a time when England was being asked to modify the coronation oath, and give special privileges to her Catholic subjects in her schools.

"This remarkable oath is, of course, a deliberate insult to the King of England, and to the memory of the Princess Ena's grandmother, the noblest queen that ever sat upon a throne. Both of them are declared to be 'worthy of eternal anathema.' The same sweeping judgment is passed upon practically the whole English people. For although the Church that is 'especially' denounced and anathematized is the Anglican Church, we do not suppose that Non-Conformists would receive any marks of consideration."

## EDUCATION.

### Co-education: A Case in Which Doctors Disagree.

**D**R. WILLIAM LEE HOWARD, the eminent psychologist and specialist in nervous diseases, is as outspoken in his opposition to coëducation in high schools as is Dr. G. Stanley Hall. Dr. Howard views the question from the standpoint of the physician and psychologist and is absolutely confident of the truth of his position. Yet on the other hand there are many able thinkers, whose practical knowledge of actual results is based on extensive personal observation as heads of great coëducational institutions, that are quite as outspoken in favor of coëducation as are Doctors Hall and Howard against it.

The results in the University of Michigan and Oberlin College have long seemed to refute the chief objections of those who oppose coëducation; while in Cornell and in Leland Stanford University the favorable results have been quite as pronounced. The Hon. Andrew D. White, long President of Cornell and one of the ablest university presidents which the United States has produced, recently delivered the following outspoken words at a gathering of the Cornell alumnae:

"From first to last," said Dr. White, "co-education has been, in my opinion, a success. The admission of women to Cornell has been in all respects a blessing to the young men. Some think Cornell would be a little more 'nobby' if women were not admitted—it would be a little more like Harvard, or Yale, or Princeton. I have a great respect for those institu-

tions, but I prefer that we should remain as we are. It was said women would lower the standard of scholarship. In view of the way the girls have swept away the prizes, I think one reason for the opposition to their presence now rests on their excellence. Our men students are far better behaved than they were fifty years ago, and the chief reason for the improvement is the presence of women. Yale may wait as long as she likes, Columbia and Harvard may have their annexes; coëducation will come in time."

While President David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford University has this to say in *Munsey's Magazine* in reply to Dr. Hall's attack on coëducation:

"It is of great advantage to both men and women to meet on a plane of equality in education. There are about three classes of college boys who seem to object to the presence of college women. These may be classed as the boorish, the dilettante, and the dissolute. I have rarely found opposition to coëducation on the part of really serious students."

The physiologists and psychologists will doubtless reply that the presidents and professors are not sufficiently trained to be competent judges; but the educators would doubtless reply to this that their critics are academic theorists, lacking in the wider knowledge based on close observation enjoyed by the experienced educators who for years have had hundreds upon hundreds of young people of both sexes under their personal direction.



# THE INFERNO OF PACKINGTOWN REVEALED.\*

## A BOOK-STUDY.

### I. THE NOVELIST AS A PROPHET OF PROGRESS.

SINCE the days when Charles Dickens wrought a revolutionary work for the poor, leading to the abolition of many abuses practiced against poverty's children, the paupers and the debtors of Great Britain, fiction has been one of the most effective weapons in the warfare against injustice, oppression and evil conditions; and novelists like Victor Hugo and Zola in France were quick to appreciate the fact that he who would reach and sway the reason of the masses must appeal to it through the imagination and by a double appeal, addressed to the heart and brain—an appeal that should move the sympathy while convincing the reason.

And thus we find that the novelists of modern times frequently correspond to the great prophets of old who came as voices in the wilderness of national life that had become sodden and deadened by the ascendancy of materialistic egoism over moral idealism. The prophets of old were relentless and uncompromising in their unmasking of the great evils that were eating at the vitals of society and blighting the happiness, prosperity and orderly development of the life of the people. They were stern, austere and unyielding as fate in their warfare on the great wrongs of their time, and because of their merciless exposures of the crimes of the rich and the powerful, they called forth the savage denunciations of sleek conventionalism and aroused the scorn and hatred of conservatism. Frequently they were socially ostracized, sometimes they were slain, and always there were many interested ones who strove to impeach their veracity and sincerity, to impute unworthy motives and to discredit their work simply because they forced society to recognize the corrupt and evil conditions that were inimical to a healthy national life or to the happiness and progress of the people. But in spite of all the clamor and denunciations of the forces of conventionalism, conservatism and entrenched iniquity, the voice of the

prophet, holding the potency of truth, disintegrated the Jericho-wall of evil.

So it is with us to-day. The novelist who becomes the prophet of social righteousness and the uncompromising voice of human misery pleading for the destruction of the battlements of injustice, bulwarked by human greed, awakens savage opposition on the part of smug conservatism, easy-going conventionalism and organized greed, as of old. But here again, as in the earlier day, the true word when spoken becomes fruitful in minds of the nobler order and hearts vibrant with human sympathy, and each of these messages reinforces the apostles of civilization and the forces of the light in their warfare against entrenched injustice, oppression and wrong.

The book which we are about to notice is one of the strongest and most powerful voices of protest against a great wrong that has appeared in America. Indeed, excepting Frank Norris' *The Octopus*, we do not think the New World has produced any novel of exposure and protest quite so powerful and compelling in its influence as *The Jungle*, by Upton Sinclair.

### II. A PREDICTION AND ITS FULFILMENT.

A short time before *The Jungle* appeared in book form we were conversing with a literary friend and the new work of Upton Sinclair was touched upon. We had only seen a few chapters of the book, but our friend had read the entire story and pronounced it a novel comparable in many respects to some of Zola's best writing. "It is a book," he said, "that ought to produce a profound sensation, and it would were it not for two things: in the first place, capitalism to-day has its hand on so large a portion of the press that it is useless to hope that any work so bold, circumstantial and convincing in its exposure of evil conditions will receive full or fair treatment; in the second place, the author has in the closing chapter made a strong appeal for Socialism which will make against it with many critics who are prejudiced against the philosophy of Socialism." And then, turning to us, he said: "Tell me what you think will be its reception."

\* *The Jungle*. By Upton Sinclair. Cloth. Pp. 414. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Doubleday, Page & Company.

We replied: "A friend of ours insists that the packing interests cannot afford to permit it to go out to the world. Its revelations are so damning that they will be compelled to suppress it at whatever cost, and they have millions with which to do this as well as vast political influence."

But our friend smilingly shook his head.

"He is all wrong," he replied. "There may be something that the packing-house interests dread a great deal more than the revelations of *The Jungle*, and that is an official investigation of the business. You remember how when Hyde and Alexander began fighting in the Equitable, foxy Chauncey Depew, knowing so well the skeletons in the plutocratic closet, set out with a firm hand to hush up the scandal while he insisted to the public that everything was harmonious. Depew knew what an investigation would mean. So Governor Higgins must have known when he so long resolutely refused to allow the legislature to examine into the condition of the insurance world. Now as I understand it," continued our friend, "there is nothing in *The Jungle* that cannot be substantiated. The New York publishers sent a competent lawyer to Chicago to make a careful investigation to see if the facts could be substantiated, so as to make it safe to publish the book, before they would bring it out; and this lawyer returned satisfied that they were quite safe in publishing the work as it appears."

"Well," we replied, "then our prediction is that the press that is beholden to corporate or plutocratic interests and those reactionary journals that are out of sympathy with the fundamental principles of justice and democracy will denounce the book as Dickens' works were denounced and as Zola's latest works—those great novels, *Paris*, *Labor*, *Fecundity* and *Truth*—were denounced, as being worthless by reason of their exaggerations of conditions pictured. These papers will belittle the novel as something of little or no real value, because they will claim it is recklessly extravagant, and they will dismiss it, saying as little in its favor as possible and not enough against it to pique the curiosity of the general reader."

"That is precisely my idea," said our friend. "It is too big a book to be ignored, but all the same it will be treated in such a way as to make the reader think it is not worth reading."

A few weeks later the book appeared and we eagerly awaited the reviews. They came

at last, precisely as we had predicted. The author, we were told, had "defeated his purpose" by his exaggerations; the work abounded in over-statements and in hysterical appeals. The power of the volume, its tremendously vivid pictures, its marvelous fidelity to life, to conditions, and to certain special phases of present-day civilization, and its value as a contribution to the virile literature of the hour were entirely ignored.

Anticipating this kind of criticism from our knowledge of the tactics of the servants and apologists of modern commercialism and the upholders of things as they are, we wrote Mr. Sinclair asking him if the alleged facts relating to the packing interests were true. In reply we received the following from the author:

"In regard to your question, I desire to be understood as intending *The Jungle* to be a truthful picture of conditions in Packingtown, true in substance and in detail. Not merely is the whole thing true, but the special cases are true. I have not, consciously, introduced the slightest particle of exaggeration anywhere, under any circumstances. All but one or two things, like the loss of the \$100 bill and the visit of Jurgis to the millionaire's palace, which are obviously romance, are real experiences related to me by some one in the yards. In particular, so far as the statements about the packing-house methods are concerned, I went over the book with Doubleday-Page's lawyer after he returned from his investigation, and I cut out every line of phrase which he considered might by any possibility be an exaggeration."

### III. THE GENIUS OF UPTON SINCLAIR.

*The Jungle* is worthy of a place by the side of Frank Norris' greatest work, *The Octopus*. These two works have more of historic truth than many histories and they are marked by that high order of genius that compels the reader to see and feel all that man can see and feel under tragic conditions similar to those described. They are, we think, the greatest realistic romances that America has given to the world. There are many realistic writers, but for the most part they succeed only in reproducing the details of common, every-day life without revealing the soul of the picture they would portray. They are superficial observers and write superficially. They are imitators and their works are dull and unprofitable. But let the man of transcendent

imagination describe a scene and we see and feel what he sees and feels. We pass behind the mask or the superficial aspects and see the interior workings of life. The soul of the picture is revealed. He sees all that is to be seen; he feels what the actors in the scene feel; he shares the boundless hopes, the lofty aspirations, the nameless fear and the measureless despair of those that move to and fro in the play. Thus when he depicts a section of life he becomes in the highest sense the historian of what he describes. It is this element of imagination that differentiates the genius from the hack writer; the poet from the versifier. It is this element of imagination also that invests a great painting with life, atmosphere, soul, that the camera can never catch, hold or reflect.

Now Upton Sinclair possesses this imaginative genius in a high degree. He is no romancer in the sense that he departs from the verities of life or is untrue to the scenes he describes. No, his power lies in the possession of the seeing eye that enables him to note all that the physical eye observes and also what the eye of the soul or the interior vision beholds. Perhaps we cannot better illustrate this than by giving the following description of the first scenes in the making of pork by machinery in the modern packing-house:

"Entering one of the Durham buildings, they found a number of other visitors waiting; and before long there came a guide, to escort them through the place. They make a great feature of showing strangers through the packing-plants, for it is a good advertisement. But Jonas Jokubus whispered maliciously that the visitors did not see any more than the packers wanted them to.

"They climbed a long series of stairways outside of the building, to the top of its five or six stories. Here were the chute, with its river of hogs, all patiently toiling upward; there was a place for them to rest and cool off, and then through another passageway they went into a room from which there is no returning for hogs.

"It was a long, narrow room, with a gallery along it for visitors. At the head there was a great iron wheel, about twenty feet in circumference, with rings here and there along its edge. Upon both sides of this wheel there was a narrow space, into which came the hogs at the end of their journey; in the midst of them stood a great burly negro, bare-armed

and bare-chested. He was resting for the moment, for the wheel had stopped while men were cleaning up. In a minute or two, however, it began slowly to revolve, and then the men upon each side of it sprang to work. They had chains which they fastened about the leg of the nearest hog, and the other end of the chain they hooked into one of the rings upon the wheel. So, as the wheel turned, a hog was suddenly jerked off his feet and borne aloft.

"At the same instant the ear was assailed by a most terrifying shriek; the visitors started in alarm, the women turned pale and shrank back. The shriek was followed by another, louder and yet more agonizing—for once started upon that journey, the hog never came back; at the top of the wheel he was shunted off upon a trolley, and went sailing down the room. And meantime another was swung up, and then another, and another, until there was a double line of them, each dangling by a foot and kicking in frenzy—and squealing. The uproar was appalling, perilous to the eardrums; one feared there was too much sound for the room to hold—that the walls might give way or the ceiling crack. There were high squeals and low squeals, grunts and wails of agony; there would come a momentary lull, and then a fresh outburst, louder than ever, surging up to a deafening climax. It was too much for some of the visitors—the men would look at each other, laughing nervously, and the women would stand with hands clenched, and the blood rushing to their faces, and the tears starting in their eyes.

"Meantime, heedless of all these things, the men upon the floor were going about their work. Neither squeals of hogs nor tears of visitors made any difference to them; one by one they hooked up the hogs, and one by one with a swift stroke they slit their throats. There was a long line of hogs, with squeals and life-blood ebbing away together; until at last each started again, and vanished with a splash into a huge vat of boiling water.

"It was all so very business-like that one watched it fascinated. It was pork-making by machinery, pork-making by applied mathematics. And yet somehow the most matter-of-fact person could not help thinking of the hogs; they were so innocent, they came so very trustingly; and they were so very human in their protests—and so perfectly within their rights! They had done nothing to deserve it; and it was adding insult to injury, as the thing

was done here, swinging them up in this cold-blooded, impersonal way, without a pretence at apology, without the homage of a tear. Now and then a visitor wept, to be sure; but this slaughtering-machine ran on, visitors or no visitors. It was like some horrible crime committed in a dungeon, all unseen and unheeded, buried out of sight and of memory.

"One could not stand and watch very long without becoming philosophical, without beginning to deal in symbols and similes, and to hear the hog-squeal of the universe. Was it permitted to believe that there was nowhere upon the earth, or above the earth, a heaven for hogs, where they were requited for all this suffering? Each one of these hogs was a separate creature. Some were white hogs, some were black; some were brown, some were spotted; some were old, some were young; some were long and lean, some were monstrous. And each of them had an individuality of his own, a will of his own, a hope and a heart's desire; each was full of self-confidence, of self-importance, and a sense of dignity. And trusting and strong in faith he had gone about his business, the while a black shadow hung over him and a horrid Fate waited in his pathway. Now suddenly it had swooped upon him, and had seized him by the leg. Relentless, remorseless, it was; all his protests, his screams, were nothing to it—it did its cruel will with him, as if his wishes, his feelings, had simply no existence at all; it cut his throat and watched him gasp out his life. . . . Perhaps some glimpse of all this was in the thoughts of our humble-minded Jurgis, as he turned to go on with the rest of the party, and muttered: 'Dieve—but I'm glad I'm not a hog!'"

#### V. THE LID OFF IN THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY.

Of the story we shall have something to say presently; but before going further we call the attention of our readers somewhat at length to parts of Mr. Sinclair's descriptions which deal with the manufacture of certain food-products, for perhaps there is nothing in the book that will interest, or at least which concerns, the majority of easy-going Americans so much as the horrible pen-pictures of the scenes of the packing-houses where certain popular articles of diet are prepared for the public. Here the author takes the reader behind the scenes as it were and reveals loathsome pictures in simple, direct and convincing

language. No writer, we think, has done so much for vegetarianism as has Mr. Sinclair in *The Jungle*. Certainly American people will think twice before indulging their appetites with certain hitherto popular foods which we are all familiar, such as canned meat, lard, sausages, etc.

"Now Antanas Rudkus was the meekest man that God ever put on earth; and so Jurgis found it a striking confirmation of what the men all said, that his father had been at work only two days before he came home as bitter as any of them, and cursing Durham's with all the power of his soul. For they had set him to cleaning out the traps; and the family sat round and listened in wonder while he told them what that meant. It seemed that he was working in the room where the men prepared the beef for canning, and the beef had lain in vats full of chemicals, and men with great forks speared it out and dumped it into trucks, to be taken to the cooking-room. When they had speared out all they could reach, they emptied the vat on the floor, and then with shovels scraped up the balance and dumped it into the truck. This floor was filthy, yet they set Antanas with his mop slopping the 'pickle' into a hole that connected with a sink, where it was caught and used over again forever; and if that were not enough, there was a trap in the pipe, where all the scraps of meat and odds and ends of refuse were caught, and every few days it was the old man's task to clean these out, and shovel their contents into one of the trucks with the rest of the meat!

"All of these were sinister incidents; but they were trifles compared to what Jurgis saw with his own eyes before long. One very curious thing he had noticed, the very first day, in his profession of shoveller of guts; which was the sharp trick of the floor-bosses whenever there chanced to come a 'slunk' calf. Any man who knows anything about butchering knows that the flesh of a cow that is about to calve, or has just calved, is not fit for food. A good many of these come every day to the packing-houses—and, of course, if they had chosen, it would have been an easy matter for the packers to keep them till they were fit for food. But for the saving of time and fodder, it was the law that cows of that sort came along with the others, and whoever noticed it would tell the boss, and the boss

would start up a conversation with the government inspector, and the two would stroll away. So in a trice the carcass of the cow would be cleaned out, and the entrails would have vanished; it was Jurgis' task to slide them into the trap, calves and all, and on the floor below they took out these 'slunk' calves, and butchered them for meat, and used even the skins of them.

"One day a man slipped and hurt his leg; and that afternoon, when the last of the cattle had been disposed of, and the men were leaving, Jurgis was ordered to remain and do some special work which this injured man had usually done. It was late, almost dark, and the government inspectors had all gone, and there were only a dozen or two of men on the floor. That day they had killed about four thousand cattle, and these cattle had come in freight trains from far states, and some of them had got hurt. There were some with broken legs, and some with gored sides; there were some that had died, from what cause no one could say; and they were all to be disposed of, here in darkness and silence. 'Downers,' the men called them; and the packing-house had a special elevator upon which they were raised to the killing-beds, where the gang proceeded to handle them with a business-like nonchalance which said plainer than any words that it was a matter of everyday routine. It took a couple of hours to get them out of the way, and in the end Jurgis saw them go into the chilling-rooms with the rest of the meat, being carefully scattered here and there so that they could not be identified. When he came home that night he was in a very somber mood, having begun to see at last how those might be right who had laughed at him for his faith in America.

"And then there was the condemned meat industry, with its endless horrors. The people of Chicago saw the government inspectors in Packingtown, and they all took that to mean that they were protected from diseased meat; they did not understand that these hundred and sixty-three inspectors had been appointed at the request of the packers, and that they were paid by the United States government to certify that all the diseased meat was kept in the state. They had no authority to do that; for the inspection of meat to be sold in the city and state the whole force in Packingtown consisted of three henchmen of the local political machine! And shortly

afterward one of these, a physician, made the discovery that the carcasses of steers which had been condemned as tubercular by the government inspectors, and which therefore contained ptomaines, which are deadly poisons, were left upon an open platform and carted away to be sold in the city; and so he insisted that these carcasses be treated with an injection of kerosene—and was ordered to resign the same week! So indignant were the packers that they went farther, and compelled the mayor to abolish the whole bureau of inspection; so that since then there has not been even a pretence of any interference with the graft. There was said to be two thousand dollars a week hush-money from the tubercular steers alone; and as much again from the hogs which had died of cholera on the trains, and which you might see any day being loaded into box-cars and hauled away to a place called Globe, in Indiana, where they made a fancy grade of lard.

"Jurgis heard of these things little by little, in the gossip of those who were obliged to perpetrate them. It seemed as if every time you met a person from a new department, you heard of new swindles and new crimes. There was, for instance, a Lithuanian who was a cattle-butcher for the place where Marija had worked, which killed meat for canning only; and to hear this man describe the animals which came to his place would have been worth while for a Dante or a Zola. It seemed that they must have agencies all over the country, to hunt out old and crippled and diseased cattle to be canned. There were cattle which had been fed on 'whiskey-malt,' the refuse of the breweries, and had become what the men call 'steerly'—which means covered with boils. It was a nasty job killing these, for when you plunged your knife into them they would burst and splash foul-smelling stuff into your face; and when a man's sleeves were smeared with blood, and his hands steeped in it, how was he ever to wipe his face, or to clear his eyes so that he could see? It was stuff such as this that made the 'embalmed beef' that had killed several times as many United States soldiers as all the bullets of the Spaniards; only the army beef, besides, was not fresh canned, it was old stuff that had been lying for years in the cellars.

"Then one Sunday evening Jurgis sat puffing his pipe by the kitchen-stove, and talking with an old fellow whom Jonas had intro-

duced, and who worked in the canning-rooms at Durham's; and so Jurgis learned a few things about the great and only Durham canned goods, which had become a national institution. They were regular alchemists as Durham's; they advertised a mushroom-catsup, and the men who made it did not know what a mushroom looked like. They advertised 'potted chicken,'—and it was like the boarding-house soup of the comic papers, through which a chicken had walked with rubbers on. Perhaps they had a secret process for making chickens chemically—who knows? said Jurgis's friend; the things that went into the mixture were tripe, and the fat of pork, and beef suet, and the hearts of beef, and finally the waste ends of veal, when they had any. They put these up in several grades, and sold them at several prices; but the contents of the cans all came out of the same hopper. And then there was 'potted game' and 'potted grouse,' 'potted ham,' and 'devilled ham'—de-velyed, as the men called it. 'De-velyed' ham was made out of the waste ends of smoked beef that were too small to be sliced by the machines; and also tripe, dyed with chemicals so that it would not show white; and trimmings of hams and corned beef; and potatoes, skins and all; and finally the hard cartilaginous gullets of beef, after the tongues had been cut out. All this ingenious mixture was ground up and flavored with spices to make it taste like something.

"It was the custom, as they found, whenever meat was so spoiled that it could not be used for anything else, either to can it or else to chop it up into sausage. With what had been told them by Jonas, who had worked in the pickle-rooms, they could now study the whole of the spoiled-meat industry on the inside.

"Jonas had told them how the meat that was taken out of pickle would often be found sour, and how they would rub it up with soda to take away the smell, and sell it to be eaten on free-lunch counters; also of all the miracles of chemistry which they performed, giving to any sort of meat, fresh or salted, whole or chopped, any color and any flavor and any odor they chose. In the pickling of hams they had an ingenious apparatus, by which they saved time and increased the capacity of the plant—a machine consisting of a hollow needle attached to a pump; by plunging this

needle into the meat and working with the foot, a man could fill a ham with pickle in a few seconds. And yet, in spite of this, there would be hams found spoiled, some of them with an odor so bad that a man could hardly bear to be in the room with them. To pump into these the packers had a second and much stronger pickle which destroyed the odor—a process known to the workers as 'giving them thirty per cent.' Also, after the hams had been smoked, there would be found some that had gone to the bad. Formerly these had been sold as 'Number Three Grade,' but later on some ingenious person had hit upon a new device, and now they would extract the bone, about which the bad part generally lay, and insert in the hole a white-hot iron. After this invention there was no longer Number One, Two, and Three Grade—there was only Number One Grade. The packers were always originating such schemes—they had what they called 'boneless hams,' which were all the odds and ends of pork stuffed into casings.

"It was only when the whole ham was spoiled that it came into the department of Elzbieta. Cut up by the two-thousand-revolution-a-minute flyers, and mixed with half a ton of other meat, no odor that ever was in a ham could make any difference. There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; there would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was mouldy and white—and it would be dosed with borax and glycerine, and dumped into the hoppers, and made over again for home consumption. There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit uncounted billions of consumption germs. There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about on it. It was too dark in these storage places to see well, but a man could run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of the dried dung of rats. These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them; they would die, and they rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together. This is no fairy story or time joke; the meat would be shovelled into that and the man who did the shovelling never not trouble to lift out a rat even when the boss

one—there were things that went into the sausage in comparison with which a poisoned rat was a tidbit. There was no place for the men to wash their hands before they ate their dinner, and so they made a practice of washing them in the water that was to be ladled into the sausage. There were the butt-ends of smoked meat, and the scraps of corned beef, and all the odds and ends of the waste of the plants, that would be dumped into old barrels in the cellar and left there. Under the system of rigid economy which the packers enforced, there were some jobs that it only paid to do once in a long time, and among these was the cleaning out of the waste-barrels. Every spring they did it; and in the barrels would be dirt and rust and old nails and stale water—and cart-load after cart-load of it would be taken up and dumped into the hoppers with fresh meat, and sent out to the public's breakfast. Some of it they would make into 'smoked' sausage—but as the smoking took time, and was therefore expensive, they would call upon their chemistry department, and preserve it with borax and color it with gelatine to make it brown. All of their sausage came out of the same bowl, but when they came to wrap it they would stamp some of it 'special,' and for this they would charge two cents more a pound."

Elsewhere we are told that in the tank-rooms that are filled with steam, and in some of which there "open vats near the level of the floor," men occasionally fell into the vats; "and when they were fished out there was never enough of them left to be worth exhibiting,—sometimes they would be overlooked for days, till all but the bones of them had gone out to the world as Durham's Pure Leaf **Lard!**"

This is not all our author has to say about the food preparations that are prepared for the millions, but these revelations will certainly tend to make men and women look with greater favor on a cereal, vegetable and fruit diet.

#### VI. THE STORY.

The story is vivid, direct, natural and convincing, in style. It opens with a wedding-feast in Packingtown. The hero, Jurgis Rudkus, has just married little Ona, a fair-haired maiden who had won his heart in far-away Lithuania. Together the two families had come to America; together they were

fighting life's battles. They had found little difficulty in gaining positions in the packing-houses, and to all these simple-hearted people in this strange new world life appeared bright and full of promise. Thus the story opens in the dawn—a dawn that, however, is quickly overcast, and we pass from a day of gloom to a night of impenetrable darkness in which tragedy follows tragedy in appallingly quick succession. At every turn we say: This is the extreme; nothing can be more terrible; nothing can add to the horror or the bitterness of life. And then it is as if another door were opened by Fate and we are ushered into a still more appalling chamber of horrors.

In one sense the book is well named. In Packingtown we are in the jungle of modern brutal and brutalizing commercialism from which moral idealism has been banished, and because of its banishment the grandeur and moral greatness of the nation no less than the happiness and prosperity of the millions is giving place to the accursed military ideals of monarchies and to other principles and ideals as fatal to republican government or the normal development of the whole people as is the idea of the divine right of kings and emperors, of aristocracies or hierarchies, to oppress the people. Yet another title quite as expressive of this story would have been "The Miserables"; or perhaps an even better name would have been that which we gave to our studies of life in the social cellar—"Civilization's Inferno"; for here we see the miserables of America—the mighty and ever-increasing masses of poor and unskilled laborers, who are the victims of our social order and who are building the fortunes of multi-millionaires at the frightful cost of physical health, mental development and moral life. The series of pictures here vividly presented are scenes in the inferno of modern Christian civilization. They are as true as they are tragic, and they constitute so strong an indictment against the present social order that it is not strange that the upholders of plutocracy, the political bosses and the party-machines that are the bulwarks of corporate oppression, the spoilers of the people and their tools and servants, are eagerly striving to belittle the story. The conventionalists, reactionaries and upholders of unjust laws and enthroned iniquity strove in a like manner to discredit Dickens and Victor Hugo, and later to destroy the power of Zola, after the great

Frenchman had become an aggressive social reformer.

Jurgis, the hero, is a twentieth-century Jean Valjean, of a coarser mould, it is true; but in him as in millions of men and women to-day who have fallen under the wheel, who are the exiles of society, the divine spark awaits only the voice of Infinite Justice, and in the midnight of our hero's wandering, at the moment when it seems that no star can ever shine for him, Jurgis hears the voice. A new message of hope is sounded, the gospel of brotherhood is proclaimed. He hears, he accepts, he enters the ranks of Socialism to battle against the juggernaut of the commercial despotism that is destroying the nation. In his new work he also gains a position where he is able to earn an honest livelihood while striving to enlighten and uplift the miserables of the great city and nation.

So this volume, that opens in the dawn and passes from the gloom of a cheerless day into the pitiless darkness of a starless night, ends with the red flush of the morning lighting the eastern sky. True, most of the characters with which the story opens have fallen victims of the prevailing social order, but for the oncoming millions a new day is promised. The watchers on the towers have signalled the sleeping millions; the banners are unfurled, the light is breaking, the winter and the night are passing away.

One need not accept the programme of progress as definitely laid down in the closing chapters of this book in order to sympathize

with the work and the aims of those who are heroically and with splendid self-forgetfulness battling for the triumph of a nobler social order. One may believe that the juster day will come somewhat differently; that its advent will be marked by the great uprising of the people for the overthrow of the power of the criminal rich, by utterly destroying the political machines and bosses and establishing a true democracy through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and passing from this victory to a warfare for the establishment and maintenance of the fundamental demands of democratic government—equality of opportunities and of rights—through the destruction of privilege; through the taking over of all natural monopolies or public utilities by the people for the benefit of all the citizens; through sacredly guarding the rights of all the people, and through the orderly operation of government in the interests of each citizen; or, in a word, through the establishment of a true democracy in the place of the present plutocracy based on machine-rule, operated for the benefit and advancement of class interests. One may conceive of a programme of progress sufficiently radical and fundamental to conserve the rights, the development and the happiness of all the people, and at the same time somewhat less arbitrary than that which Mr. Sinclair believes to be the only way; but this conviction will in no wise lessen his interest in or appreciation for this really great and sternly moral story of the civilization's inferno of the twentieth century.

## THE LATEST AND ABLEST WORK ON THE RAILROAD-RATE QUESTION.\*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I.

*The Heart of the Railroad Problem* is one of the most important politico-economic works of the year. It is far and away the ablest popular discussion of the railroad rate question that has appeared. Professor Parsons is probably the best equipped thinker in America to treat this subject in a thoroughly au-

thoritative manner. For more than ten years he was a member of the faculty of the Law Department of the Boston University. He resigned his position in that important institution in order to be able to give his whole time to economic and historic research necessitated for the proper preparation of certain great works he had in mind, the first fruit of which was his magnificent book on *New Zealand*, a work which is admitted by the most competent thinkers of Australasia to be in-

\* *The Heart of the Railroad Problem*. By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph. D. Cloth. Pp. 384. Price, \$1.50, net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.



comparably the ablest book on that wonderful commonwealth that has appeared.

For twenty years the relation of the railways to the people has been the subject of special research by Professor Parsons, and during the past three years a very large portion of his time has been spent in the preparation of his great work, *The Railways, The Trusts and The People*, which is at this writing on the press of Dr. C. F. Taylor of Philadelphia. For the data for this work and the present volume Professor Parsons traveled over three-fourths of the United States and visited nine European countries, studying the railways, "meeting railroad presidents and managers, ministers of railways, members of railway commissions, governors, senators, and leading men of every class, in the effort to get a thorough understanding of the railway situation. He also made an extensive study of the railroad literature of leading countries, and examined thoroughly the reports and decisions of commissions and courts in railroad cases in the United States." In a word, every door of knowledge that promised to yield any important truth in relation to the railway question has been entered in quest of facts, and these facts, in the hands of a mind trained in legal processes and practiced in the art of teaching, have been so handled as to bring the salient truths clearly and entertainingly before the mind of the general reader.

Not only is Professor Parsons thus thoroughly equipped to speak with authority on the railway question, but he possesses the other three requisites essential to thoroughly trustworthy work. He knows his subject as perhaps does no other thinker in the United States, and everyone who knows the man knows that he is above all else thoroughly conscientious. No man in public life to-day would so scorn to mislead or practice any of the arts of the special-pleading pettifogger as would Professor Parsons. We have known him intimately for almost a score of years and have no hesitancy in saying that we do not know a man more absolutely conscientious, truth-loving or fair-minded than is Professor Frank Parsons. And he is as careful as he is conscientious. He looks on all sides of a question. He is judicial, fair and just. He has been called to appear before senatorial commissions, United States commissions and other representative bodies, and in every instance his thorough knowledge of his subject, his careful and just presentation of the differ-

ent views and his sound reasoning have profoundly impressed those to whom he has spoken.

A work by such a thinker would necessarily attract general attention and take a high place even though the subject was far less prominently before the public mind than is the railway rate question at the present time; but dealing with the most living issue of the hour in American politics, it is easily *the* book of the month.

## II.

The volume contains thirty-five brief chapters in which are discussed such questions as the following: "The Law and the Fact," "Passes and Politics," "Passenger Rebates and Other Forms of Discrimination in Passenger Traffic," "Freight Discriminations," "The Senate Investigation of 1885 and the Interstate Commerce Act," "Effects of the Interstate Act," "Substitutes for Rebates," "Denial of Fair Facilities," "Oil and Beef," "Imports and Exports," "Locality Discriminations," "Long-Haul Decisions of the Supreme Court," "Ten Years of Federal Regulation," "The Elkins Act and Its Effects," "The Wisconsin Revelations," "The Colorado Fuel Rebates and Other Cases," "Midnight Tariffs and Elevator Fees," "Commodity Discriminations," "Discrimination by Classification," "Private-Car Abuses," "Nullifying the Protective Tariff," "Summary of Methods and Results," "Fixing Rates by Public Authority," "Can Regulation Secure the Needful Dominance of Public Interest?" and "Hints From Other Countries."

It would be well for the country if several of the chapters of this work should be published in tract form and circulated by the millions. Take for example "Passes and Politics," in which the question of bribery by passes, courtesies and favors is presented in so lucid and entertaining a manner that if it could be put into the hands of the million there would soon arise a mighty protest against this most vicious and corrupting of all forms of bribery that would compel recreant lawmakers to enact legislation that would make the receiving public servants and the bribe-givers alike criminals. There, can be no great moral advance and no adequate justice for the people until government of the railroads and for the railroads, by bribery, is summarily stopped by penalizing the offering of a pass or a favor by a public-service com-

pany or the acceptance of the same, or any other favor, by a public servant. A few extracts from this chapter will give our readers a taste of the manner in which Professor Parsons discusses the subject:

"Many persons of wealth or influence, legislators, judges, sheriffs, assessors, representatives of the press, big shippers, and agents of large concerns, get free transportation, while those less favored must pay not only for their own transportation, but for that of the railway favorites also.

"A farmer and a lawyer occupied the same seat in a railroad car. When the conductor came the farmer presented his ticket, and the lawyer a pass. The farmer did not conceal his disgust when he discovered that his seat-mate was a deadhead. The lawyer, trying to assuage the indignation of the farmer, said to him: 'My friend, you travel very cheaply on this road.' 'I think so myself,' replied the farmer, 'considering the fact that I have to pay fare for both of us.'

"The free-pass system is specially vicious because of its relation to government. Passes are constantly given to public officials in spite of the law, and constitutes one of the most insidious forms of bribery and corruption yet invented.

"Recently the Pennsylvania Railroad gave notice that after January 1, 1906, no free passes would be issued except to employees.

"We watched with much interest to see what the railroad would really do when the time for full enforcement of the order came. In Pennsylvania, as was anticipated, the order has been used as a basis for refusing passes to the overgrown horde of grafters who have feasted so long at the Pennsylvania's tables. The railway does not want anything this year in Pennsylvania that the grafters can give it, and it is an excellent opportunity to punish the Pittsburgh politicians for allowing the Gould lines to enter the city. But in Ohio the situation is different, and, in spite of the recent order, the time-honored free passes have been sent to every member of the Ohio legislature. A press dispatch from Columbus, January 1, says: 'One of the notable events that marked the opening of the general assembly to-day was the unexpected arrival of railroad passes for every member. The Pennsylvania, first to announce that the time-hon-

ored graft would be cut off, was the first to send the little tickets, and the other lines followed suit.'

"The Pennsylvania is not alone in its delicate generosity to legislators and other persons of influence. The practice is practically universal. From Maine to California there is not a state in which the railroads refrain from giving passes to legislators, judges, mayors, assessors, etc. And the roads expect full value for their favors. Some time ago a member of the Illinois Legislature applied to the president of a leading road for a pass. In reply he received the following:

"Your letter of the 22d to President —, requesting an annual over the railroad of this company, has been referred to me. A couple of years ago, after you had been furnished with an annual over this line, you voted against a bill which you knew this company was directly interested in. Do you know of any particular reason, therefore, why we should favor you with an annual this year?'

"In many cases the pass is the first step on the road to railroad servitude. Governor Folk said to me: 'The railroads debauch legislators at the start by the free pass. It is a misdemeanor by the law of this State to take such a favor. But it seems so ordinary a thing that the legislator takes it. He may start out with good intentions, but he takes a pass and then the railroad people have him in their power. He has broken the law, and if he does not do as they wish they threaten to publish the number of his pass. He generally ends by taking bribe money. He's in the railroad power anyway to a certain extent, and thinks he might as well make something out of it. In investigating cases of corruption I have found that in almost every instance the first step of the legislator toward bribery was the acceptance of a railroad pass.'

"At the annual dinner of the Boston Merchants' Association, January, 1906, Governor Folk said: 'One of our greatest evils is the domination of public affairs by our great corporations, and we will never get rid of corporation dominance till we get rid of the free pass. That is the insidious bribe that carries our legislators over the line of probity. First seduced by the free pass, destruction is easy. No legislator has a right to accept a free pass; no more right than to accept its equivalent in money.' Even the laws against the free pass, Governor Folk says, often play into the hands

of the railways and emphasize and fasten corruption upon the State by putting legislators and officials at the mercy of the railroads in consequence of the fact that the taking of a pass is a violation of law, so that the railway has a special hold upon the donee as soon as the favor is accepted. This is likely to be the effect unless the law is so thoroughly enforced as to prevent the taking of passes, which is very difficult and very seldom achieved.

"A prominent judge who had been on the bench for years in one of our best States and had always received passes from various railroad companies, found at the beginning of a new year that one of the principal railroads had failed to send him the customary pass. Thinking it an oversight he called the attention of the railroad's chief attorney to the fact. 'Judge,' said the lawyer, 'did you not recently decide an important case against our company?' 'And was not my decision in accordance with law and justice?' said the judge. The attorney did not reply to this, but a few days later the judge got his pass. After some months it again became the duty of the judge to render a decision against the company. This second act of judicial independence was not forgiven. The next time he presented his pass the conductor confiscated it in the presence of many passengers and required the judge to pay his fare.

"The president of an important railroad is stated to have said that he 'saved his company thousands of dollars a year by giving annual passes to county auditors.' And a man who had been auditor for many years said that the taxes of the — railroad company were increased about \$20,000 a year because it was so stingy with its passes.

"Members of legislatures and of Congress have told me that after voting against railroad measures the usual passes were not forthcoming.

"The Hon. Martin A. Knapp, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, says: 'A gentleman told me that on one occasion he came from Chicago to Washington along in the latter days of November, and every passenger in the Pullman car, besides himself, was a member of Congress or other Government official, with their families, and that he was the only passenger who paid a cent for transportation from Chicago to Washington,

either for his passage or for his Pullman car.'

"Big shippers and their agents get them as a premium on or inducement to shipments over the donating railroad. When we went to the St. Louis Exposition we had to pay our fare, but the shipping manager of a large firm I have in mind was given free transportation for himself and family, though he was abundantly able to pay. In fact, those best able to pay ride free, while the poor have to pay for the rich as well as for themselves.

"President Stickney, of the Chicago and Great Western Railroad, said in a recent address before the Washington Economic Society:

"The law which makes it a misdemeanor for any individual not an officer of a railway company to use a pass was enacted by Congress and approved by the President eighteen years ago, and as an individual rule of action it was ignored by the congressmen who passed and by the President who approved it; and subsequent congressmen and presidents, with rare exceptions, have ignored its provisions. Traveling, they present the evidence of their misdemeanor before the eyes of the public in a way which indicates no regard for the law. The governors of the States, many of the judges,—in short, all officialdom from the highest to the lowest,—the higher clergy, college professors, editors, merchants, bankers, lawyers, present the evidence of their misdemeanor in the same manner."

Professor Parsons estimates that the probable free travel on the railways of America amounts to \$50,000,000 a year, which is of course a tax on those who do pay. How different are the provisions in countries where the government owns and operates the railways is seen from the following:

"The government roads of Austria, Germany and Belgium not only did not offer passes, but refused to grant them even when considerable pressure was brought to bear. The Minister of Railways in Austria informed me that he had no pass himself, but paid his fare like any ordinary traveler. No amount of personal or official pull could secure free transportation. The same thing I found was true in Germany. Only railway employes whose duty calls them over the road have passes. The Minister pays when he travels

on his own account. And the Emperor also pays for his railway travel. It is the settled policy of government roads in all enlightened countries to treat all customers alike so far as possible, concessions being made, if at all, to those who cannot afford to pay or who have some claim on the ground of public policy: as in South Africa where children are carried free to school; in New Zealand, where men out of work are taken to places where they may find employment, on credit or contingent payment; and in Germany and other countries, where tickets are sold at half price for the working-people's trains in and out of the cities morning and night.

"Even in England, though the roads are private like ours, the working-people have cheap trains, and public officials pay full fare. The King of England pays his fare when traveling, and if he has a special train he pays regular rates for that too. Members of Parliament also and minor public officials pay for transportation. Passes are not given for political reasons. The law against this class of discriminations is thoroughly enforced. But in this country not only members of Congress and other public officials, but some of our presidents even have subjected themselves to severe criticism by accepting free transportation in disregard of Federal law."

The chapter on "Passenger Rebates and Other Forms of Discrimination in Passenger Traffic" is equally interesting and illuminating. Space forbids our giving more than a brief quotation illustrating the private passenger-car evil that adds so enormously to the burdens of these who pay to travel or otherwise use the railways, as the enormous expenses lavished in this way have to be made up out of other receipts.

"In a tour to the Pacific coast and back a score of private cars at different times were attached to the various trains I was on. A friend who went a year or so later counted nine private cars on his journey in California, four of them being attached to the same train at the same time, and in the whole 9,000 miles he traveled the total number of private cars ran up to 54. Any trust or railroad magnate or governor of a State may have a private car with his retinue, while the lesser deadheads ride in the ordinary cars or Pullman coaches; and the common people pay for it all."

The above quotation reminds us of the remarks recently made in a conversation with

a gentleman of the highest character who for years was engaged in the auditor's office of a leading railway. He said the president and general manager both had their private cars. "When their families or friends desired to go on a jaunt the cars are at their disposal stocked with the finest viands, including liquors and cigars, and the road bears the expense."

"You mean the traveling public that does not enjoy this form of graft pays the tariff," we interposed.

"Yes, in the long run; but," he continued, "this road is at present making a very poor showing which is leading to a depression of the market value of the stock. Therefore the investors also feel the effect of this shameful extravagance that does not appear on the salary accounts."

It is not, however, until the reader enters the province of freight discriminations that the giant character of the moral criminality of the railroads casts its longest and most sinister shadow; for here, as Professor Parsons points out, is "a kind of discrimination that enables a railway manager to determine which of the merchants, manufacturers, mine-owners, etc., on his line shall prosper and which shall not; what cities and towns shall grow, what States shall thrive, what industries shall be developed."

The discussion of this important theme is as full and conclusive as the revelations contained are appalling. Here are facts marshaled in battalions,—facts so overwhelming and definite in character that one marvels at the moral obloquy of a great nation's public servants who remain indifferent in their presence. Only one explanation can be made the railways own the people's servants. They are the servants or tools of the corporate interests before they are the servants of the people. This is a legitimate result of giving franchises or rights of fabulous value, that create monopolies in public utilities, to private corporations. The privileged class, seeing what it means to be masters of the situation and to hold the millions of the nation in subjection, will go to any lengths to gain complete control, when that mastership means hundreds of millions of dollars for the privileged few. Thus the intellectually acute and morally degenerate become political bosses and brokers in politics for the benefit of their corporate masters. Through their instrumentality men thoroughly satisfactory to the

corporations are selected for the people to elect, and they systematically defeat the incorruptible and aggressively honest champions of the people and of civic morality who chance to be nominated. Moreover, as they have debauched the people's servants by the systematic bestowal of passes, favors and courtesies, so they have debauched and gained control of the great political machines by lavish contributions to campaign funds on condition that their interests are not to be antagonized. And this condition has gone on until the people of the nation have become a prey to the rapacity of the criminal rich who manipulate the great railways and other natural monopolies of the nation. Until the people take over all the public utilities, corruption will increase and the plutocratic influence will become more and more powerful in the nation.

The private-ownership of public utilities is destroying free government in America. It is corrupting national life in all its departments of activity where the financial ends of monopolists are concerned. It is lowering business and social ideals. It is blunting the moral sensibilities of church, college and the nation at large, and it is levying an enormous tribute from the wealth-creators of the nation. Moreover, these evils will necessarily grow so long as the natural monopolies of the nation or those public utilities which of right should belong to and be operated and owned by all the people are exploited by a few for their personal enrichment and aggrandizement. The only remedy for these evils is to be found in public-ownership, and the results wherever public ownership has been tried have more than justified the anticipations of the friends of free institutions and just and clean government. On this point we cannot refrain from noticing some of Professor Parsons' observations relating to the results of public-ownership in foreign lands, from the concluding chapter of this important work:

"Germany tried private railways for 25 years, and Austria tried them over a quarter of a century, and they have tried the two methods side by side ever since the public system was organized. In New Zealand, also, and Australia the two systems have been tried side by side. And in every one of these countries where they have thoroughly tried both systems the conclusion by an overwhelming consensus of opinion is that public railways serve the public interests best, and also

make lower rates and serve the people at less total cost. Switzerland, after a careful study of both systems in various parts of the world, came to the same conclusion, and her people voted 2 to 1 to transfer the railways to public-ownership and operation. All this is very strong evidence, and if we turn from the tangled web of an international comparison of averages and look at the principles and causes at work in the case, it will be clear that public-ownership tends to lower rates as well as to conserve the higher wealth.

"In the same country and under similar conditions otherwise than in respect to ownership and control, public-ownership tends as a rule to make lower rates than private-ownership. This tendency results from the fundamental difference of aim between the two systems. Private monopoly aims at dividends for stockholders; public-ownership aims at service for all. A normal public institution aims at the public good, while a normal private monopoly aims at private profit. It serves public interest also, but such service is incidental, and not the primary purpose. It serves the public interest so long as it runs along in the same direction and is linked with private profit, but when the public interest departs from or runs counter to the interests owning or controlling the system, the public interests are subordinated.

"Public-ownership aims at service, not at profit, and therefore gravitates to the lower rate-level, where traffic and service are greater.

"The State railways of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, and the Anglo-Saxon republics of South Africa and Australasia are absolutely free from unjust discrimination. There are no complaints or suspicions on that score. Shippers know to a certainty that their rivals are paying the same charges that they are. Even the most strenuous opponents of public railways do not accuse them of favoritism.

"The railways of New Zealand are not troubled with complaints of discrimination, nor those of New South Wales or Queensland or Victoria. And in these boiling and bubbling republics, if there were the slightest suspicion of a reason for attacking the Government management on this ground, it would be done by the political opponents of the administrations.

"The Government railways of Natal and Central South Africa are equally free from secret concessions and favoritisms of every kind."

There are those who, after denying that public-ownership would abate corruption and discrimination and finding themselves proved to be in the wrong, take refuge in the silly, shallow and essentially slanderous cry that while public-ownership in various foreign lands wherever tried, whether in New Zealand or Germany, Switzerland or Belgium, England or Austria, may have resulted in lessening corruption and increasing efficiency, it would fail in this country because the American people are too corrupt to be entrusted with the ownership and operation of public utilities. This slander on the Republic should be resented by every self-respecting citizen. The circumstance that the great

railway and other public-service corporations have steadily and silently gained control of political bosses and machines and by princely campaign contributions and other forms of bribery and corrupt practices have packed the government with their own attorneys and others complacent to them, only proves that the American people have one great and all-important duty to perform: Turn the rascals out; destroy the power of the privileged few to continue to debauch government, plunder the masses and reap hundreds of millions of dollars that should go to the individuals and the State.

Space forbids our further noticing this great work of Professor Parsons. Sufficient to say, however, that it is by far the most important, authoritative and comprehensive popular discussion of the rate question that has appeared, and no intelligent American should fail to read it.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**THE AUTHOR OF "THE CIVIC EFFICIENCY OF THE EDUCATED CLASS":** "The Civic Efficiency of the Educated Class" is a paper of more than ordinary interest and value to thoughtful friends of the Republic. The author is a fundamental thinker and a man of unusually broad mental vision. He graduated from Yale College in 1864 and holds the degree of Master of Arts from that Institution. Later he attended Princeton and Andover Theological Seminary, and for many years was actively engaged in ministerial labors. In 1871 he accepted the chair of English in Beloit College, which he retained until 1899. He was a contributing editor to the Century Dictionary and is an honorary member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

*Leaders of Civilization and Defenders of the People's Rights:* THE ARENA has given during the past few months several papers devoted to the fine constructive work being carried forward by genuine leaders of civilization and defenders of the people's rights. Among these were Professor BEMIS' admirable sketch of Mayor JOHNSON of Cleveland; the very notable pen-picture of the late SAMUEL M. JONES, the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo, by a scholarly journalist who had long known this apostle of human advancement; and sketches by the editor of EDWIN MARKHAM, the poet of democracy, DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS, the novelist of democratic progress WILSON L. GILL, the twentieth-century educator, and Judge BEN B. LINDSEY, the high-minded

and enlightened jurist whose great work is justly attracting the attention of the noblest minds in America. This month we publish an exceptionally fine paper prepared for THE ARENA by WILLIAM KITTLE, Secretary of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools of Wisconsin, on "Robert M. La Follette: A Statesman After the Order of Lincoln." The author is thoroughly acquainted with his subject and has followed Mr. LA FOLLETTE'S political life with deep and critical if sympathetic interest. Like hundreds of thousands of other patriotic Americans, he has found the fearless governor-senator an intrepid, honest and loyal popular leader, such as the people are everywhere calling for in the present crisis. In this issue we also publish a pen-picture of Mayor J. N. ADAM, another high-minded municipal leader.

*"British Egypt" and Its Author:* Readers of general literature will be deeply interested in the authoritative pen-picture of the events that led up to English occupation of Egypt and the results that have followed that important event, as narrated by Mr. ERNEST CROSBY in Part I. of his discussion of "British Egypt." Mr. CROSBY was for some time judge of the Mixed Tribunal at Alexandria and when holding this official position he gained an intimate knowledge of the facts with which he deals. The subject is one that will appeal to all persons desiring accurate knowledge relating to important events of contemporaneous history. In two further papers Mr. CROSBY will deal with later happenings and

their import in relation to English occupation of the land of the Pharaohs.

*"Direct Primaries"*: The American people are in the midst of the most important conflict that has been fought since the birth of the nation—a battle to rescue the Republic from as dangerous and as corrupt and subversive a power as ever attempted by stealth to destroy a free government. The privileged interests, controlling bosses and political machines, have in numerous instances robbed the American people of all but the form of free government, and they are to-day entrenched in power and are using that power to contest every effort of the voters to regain the government for the people. The Direct Primary, Direct-Legislation and the Right of Recall are all practical methods that would enable the people to meet the changed conditions of the present and to defeat the despotism of the criminal rich and overthrow their rule through the corrupt bosses and political mis-representatives who are the creatures of the trusts and privileged interests. Hence it is the duty—the sacred and imperative duty—of every citizen of America who loves the Republic to fight staunchly for all these great reform movements. In this issue we publish an excellent paper on "Direct Primaries" written by IRA CROSS whose recent paper on cooperative stores attracted such general and favorable notice.

*"The Socialist Programme"*: "For weal or woe," says Mr. SLADE in his admirable paper on "The Socialist Programme," "Socialism is developing apace in every country where industrialism has created a propertyless proletariat." And it is to give the general reader an intelligent conception of just what Socialism the world over means that he has prepared his paper for this issue of THE ARENA. The author has made a deep study of the subject and before preparing the paper he made a careful comparative examination of the platforms and programmes of the Socialist parties of the leading nations. This paper is remarkably clear and lucid, considering it is so condensed.

*"The Feminization of the High-School"*: Dr. WILLIAM LEE HOWARD, the famous nerve specialist and student of psychology, contributes a paper to this issue in which he protests against the mixed high-school. His views are shared by many prominent physicians and some educators, although, as we have pointed out in "The Mirror of the Present," they are in direct opposition to the views of other prominent heads of coëducational institutions—

educators who have for years carefully observed the actual results of the union of the sexes in university work.

*The Direct-Legislation Primer*: This month we publish Chapter II. of the Direct-Legislation Primer prepared for The Arena Clubs by leading Direct-Legislation authorities of America. It presents the subject of the popular Initiative in a manner which will make it readily understood by the general reader, and it also notices the various chief objections that have been advanced against this fundamentally sound democratic method of preserving free government. Next month we hope to publish the third and last instalment of the Direct-Legislation Primer. The Initiative and Referendum deal with Direct-Legislation, and in the supplementary chapter which is yet to appear the Right of Recall, Proportional Representation and Direct Primaries will be noticed as other fundamental and practical measures for preserving free government.

*Our Story*: In "Thin Tilly Westover" Mrs. HELEN C. BERGEN-CURTIS gives us a charming little realistic life-sketch that is strong in human interest and abounds in delicate touches.

*Mr. Mills' Paper*: The next instalment of Mr. MILLS' magnificent history of the war of corporate wealth against the rights of man in Colorado will deal with the labor troubles in Colorado and Idaho, and it has been thought best, owing to the conditions that prevail at the present time, to hold the matter back until our July issue, in order to give the proper historical connection with the events that will be the subject of this discussion. There has been a vast amount of newspaper writing done in the interests of the Mine Owners' Association, the Smelter-Trust and the great corporations of Colorado, which have long been striving to destroy the influence of organized labor in the West and to cast upon it the odium of crimes which have not, as yet, been proved, and which organized labor has resented as malicious calumny. Mr. MILLS will not only bring to the discussion the broad vision of a statesmanlike mind and the trained methods of one accustomed to impartially weighing evidence, but will also treat it in a spirit that shall harmonize with the principles of free government and the rights of man, rather than from the view-point of one who appeals to class prejudices in the interests of privileged wealth. This paper will be a very notable contribution to this distinctly great series.

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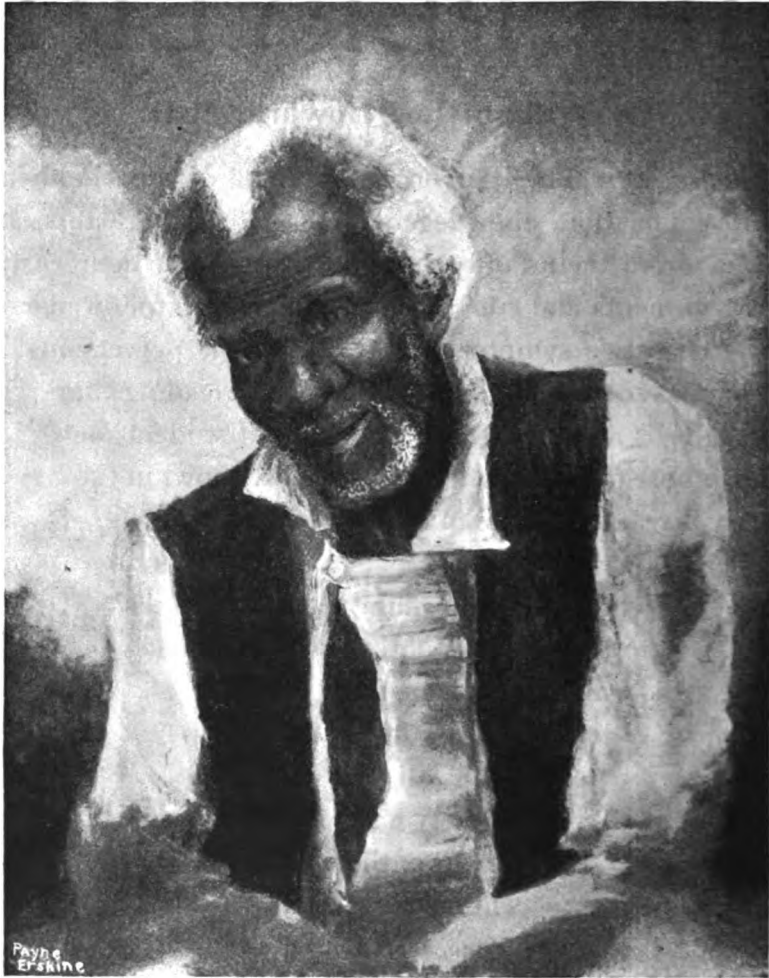
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The Club meets second Tuesday of each month until September, and then the second and fourth Tuesday of each month.

Place of meeting, Court Room of Court House.

THIS month we shall omit for the most part our regular Club News in order to give a brief abstract of one of the Denver Club's meetings, as it is typical of the Arena Club meetings, or rather it is a fair illustration of the general informal discussion which follows the different addresses or special features of the evening's programme, and will serve to show how thought-stimulating and helpful from the view-point of education along social, economic and political lines is the work of the Clubs. Indeed, they are proving a real factor in broadening the culture of all members.

The Arena Club of Denver is doing a splendid work. Its members have recently enjoyed addresses from a number of able thinkers representing widely divergent view-points. Among these speakers are the following: Hon. J. Warner Mills, President of the Arena Club; Mila Tupper Maynard, of the editorial staff of the *Denver News* and a well-known lecturer on social progress; Dr. S. T. McDermith; Otto F. Thum, the prominent labor leader; the Rev. H. W. Pinkham; Professor James E. Le Rossignol; Hon. Edwin T. Van Cise; Ellis O. Jones, formerly editor of the *Press-Post* of Columbus, Ohio; and Judge Ben. B. Lindsey.

On the evening we are about to notice, the first chapter of the *Direct-Legislation Primer* was read by the Secretary. This primer has been prepared expressly for the Arena Clubs of America by Professor Frank Parsons, President of the National Public-Ownership League and author of *The Story of New Zealand*, *The City for the People* and *The Heart of the Railroad Problem*; Eltweed Pomeroy, President of the National Direct-Legislation League; George H. Shibley, President of the People's Sovereignty League of America; the Hon. J. Warner Mills; Allan L. Benson; Dr. C. F. Taylor; Ralph Albertson, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League; J. P. Cadman; Dr. John R. Haynes; W. S. U'Ren and the Editor of *THE ARENA*. After the reading of the primer, President Mills called for free discussion on the question.

Mr. Otto F. Thum spoke of his deep interest in Direct-Legislation, and stated that he had just learned that the Executive Board and officers of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, comprising a number of Federations of the state, has decided to make Direct-Legislation the principal campaign issue this winter. They are going to make an aggressive fight for an amendment to the Constitution for the Referendum and the Right of Recall, so as to compel legislation demanded by the people. He also understood that the Typographical Union had endorsed the principle, so that in Colorado many strong organizations will from now on be engaged actively in a battle for the advance of Direct-Legislation. He further stated that the Cigarmakers "use the Referendum in everything. They have not had a convention in years, but use the Referendum altogether. It is an organization of forty or fifty thousand members, and has for the last ten



years transacted all of its business by the Referendum with considerable success." The Primer, he felt, was timely and important, especially in Denver, where several things will soon come up for a referendum vote, such as the ordinances providing for the Moffatt Road and the Tramway extensions. President Mills pointed out the fact that the Moffatt and Tramway propositions are to be submitted to the people in pursuance of the Rush Amendment, and Mr. Thum added that "the best thing we can do, as a club, is to endorse the movement and push it along so as to get a constitutional amendment" at as early a date as possible. He thought that perhaps the authors of the Primer were too confident as to the extent of the benefits that might be secured by the Referendum. Mr. Mills replied that it contained statements of opinions, but those opinions were based on facts. Take Switzerland, for example.

With that a member interrupted saying: "The Swiss people are honest and a uniform people."

Mr. Mills replied that "they are a mixed people—all nationalities and five religions. The Referendum was adopted in 1874, but the Initiative had not been introduced throughout the Republic before 1891."

Mr. Vogel suggested that the corporations had not gained much of a foothold then, and Mr. Mills replied that Direct-Legislation was introduced to curb the corporations. He showed how under Direct-Legislation the government had successfully taken over the railroads in a manner highly advantageous to the people, and continuing Mr. Mills said: "Direct-Legislation can do something here. Do you not think it would make short shrift of some of these questions that are interesting the people, such as whether there is any law above the Constitution in the state of Colorado? We would be enabled to decide any questions that may arise by voting directly instead of allowing important measures to be thrust aside by those who are said to be our representatives, but most frequently are misrepresentatives."

A member present then read passages from Mr. Russell's article on "Soldiers of the Common Good," in *Everybody's Magazine* for March, setting forth the prosperity of the Swiss people as a result of their adherence to pure democracy enjoyed through such practical methods as Direct-Legislation.

Mr. York spoke very feelingly in favor of Direct-Legislation. He had long felt how absolutely powerless he and scores of others were to influence the action of either political party. He saw what others saw—that the parties were being controlled by a few working for their own special interests, and that the great mass of the people were practically disfranchised. "I am an old man," he exclaimed, "but it gives me fresh hope—this movement for Direct-Legislation—for I feel that some day I and my sons will have a hand in helping to frame the laws of the country. We may be a real living factor in government,—city, state and national." He believed that Direct-Legislation would do more to uplift the political forces of the country than any other one thing that has been suggested for relieving the masses from the control of the bosses.

Rev. Mr. Pinkham said: "I have an item of interest, which, I suppose, will be in the newspapers to-morrow. At the meeting of the Ministers' Alliance to-day a young man informed us that another petition would be submitted to the councils. The movers back of the project are the young people of the Christian Citizens' League. They will work to establish an indispensable part of Direct-Legislation that will do more than aught else to lead to the enforcement of law. The petition refers to the administrative part of the government. The petition is for the Right of Recall." Mr. Pinkham agreed with de Toqueville that "the cure for the

evils of democracy is more democracy," and Mr. Mills suggested that it be a guarded democracy. This, indeed, is precisely what Direct-Legislation is—a guarded democracy or guarded representative government. It is based on the fundamentally democratic ideal that the people are the source of power, and insists upon the representatives of the people being representatives of the people instead of representatives of class-interests, and it guards government by reserving the right to veto legislation which does not represent the wishes of the people, and the right to initiate laws which are imperatively demanded by the people.

Mr. Vogel did not like the Primer's form—that of a catechism. Speaking from experience he believed that the prejudice of childhood survives to make unpopular anything that brings up the old nightmare of a catechism. Dr. McDermith did not agree with Mr. Vogel that the question and answer form is not the best way to present Direct-Legislation to the people. He felt that the first chapter of the Primer left practically nothing to be said, and he believed that it appeared in the best possible form—that of putting questions and supplying answers. This Primer, he felt, ought to be printed by the million and distributed by responsible parties among the people.

Mr. Vogel thought that the Initiative and Referendum would probably result in some unwise legislation, but each and every individual who took part in those movements would begin to think about things, and the thinking and learning would help him to be a greater and better citizen. He thought the Referendum would make us develop sociologically. We have reached the point, he insisted, in our development when the idea of a benevolent despotism is dead. What we should do now is to push along the road of real self-government as rapidly as possible.

Mr. Callicotte stated that he had been an advocate of Direct-Legislation since 1892. He traveled continually over the state and did all in his power to foster interest in Direct-Legislation. He has been the means of starting several Direct-Legislation Clubs, and also has done everything in his power to circulate literature that would enlighten the people.

Mr. Bradley said that "a few years ago he was on the Isle of Man where they have used the Referendum for a number of years, and it has proved very successful. They have the House of Keys which formulates the law. Then it must be read to the people from a knoll in the valley and receive their approval.

"Some years ago," he continued, "Home Rule and Public-Ownership for Denver were promised the people on the stump. When it came to the legislature, however, both parties were willing to give one or the other reliefs, but neither would unite to give both the measures the people demanded and which had been promised them. The measures got before the committee, but we could not for some time get them before the House. Finally, by a little stratagem I succeeded in getting them reported, to the amazement of the papers which declared that the graves had given up their dead, for there was a resurrection from the graveyard of the Denver City Charter Committee. A few days later the Chairman ordered that the bills should be held back, after he had come from the Governor's office. Shortly afterwards, I was told that the gentleman wished to see me in the cloak-room. On going there I found a prominent corporation lobbyist who tried every wile to induce me to hold back the bills as a favor to him, and treated me with some violent language when I refused. The next step the bills, which had been placed in the hands of the clerk to engross, were lost and they have never turned up since. The explanation of their loss, as given by the clerk, is as follows: After

the lobbyist left him, he went to the clerk and requested that the bills be shown to a supporter of the charter-movement who wished to read them over, but who did not desire to be seen about the House. He stated that the friend was waiting on the Colfax avenue steps of the Capitol. The clerk put the bills in his pocket and joined the man on the steps. The latter desired a more private spot for his reading, and suggested a carriage which was standing on the street nearby. Once in the carriage, they were driven rapidly to the railroad depot where the clerk was given a pass for Kansas City and told to stay in that place till he was ordered to come home. That was not until the Legislature had adjourned." The clerk, in exculpating himself, afterward told Mr. Bradley that he had always been ashamed of the part he took in the proceeding, but that he believed in party-rule. Direct-Legislation would put a stop to such betrayal of the people.

President Mills stated that they had in the hall a number of books kindly donated to the Arena Club by Mr. Herman and others, this being the first instalment of the Club's library. They also had letters from THE ARENA stating that their contribution to the library would be sent shortly. He suggested that a Library Committee be appointed. Mr. Vogel moved that the President and Secretary be elected a Library Committee with power to add to their number if desired, and the motion was adopted.

We have given this somewhat extended digest of a typical Arena Club's open court, or general discussion, which follows the special feature of the evening. The report is greatly abridged, and yet it takes as much space as we felt it possible to devote to the subject, as we wish to show how varied, informing and informal the discussions are.

#### **ANOTHER VICTORY FOR HONESTY AND PUBLIC MORALITY WON BY THE MUCK-RAKE MAN.**

Score another victory for law and justice won for the people by the much-abused muck-rake man who is such a nightmare to the high financiers, the thieves, the grafters and the machine politicians. On May 4th the United States Grand Jury at New York City indicted the sugar-trust and the New York Central Railroad, bringing in seven true bills on evidence secured and presented by the Hon. William Randolph Hearst. It will be remembered that when Mr. Hearst exposed the extortion, law-breaking and robbery of the coal and railroad-trusts and haled into court the magnates who controlled the criminal corporations, the hirelings of plutocracy in the press and the special-pleaders all along the line who are directly or indirectly beholden to the trusts, the monopolies and the great corporations began denouncing yellow journalism in general and Mr. Hearst in particular. But the people applauded. When, recently, the great radical journalist laid evidence of the criminality of the sugar-trust and the railways before the department of justice, thereby doing the work which the government should have done long before, again the cry was raised, and this time the opprobrious term of the "muck-rake man" was freely used by the various tools of privileged interests when referring to Mr. Hearst. But so convincing was the evidence presented by this muck-rake man that the government was forced to act. As a result the sugar-trust and the New York Central Railroad are indicted for criminal practices.

#### **A CLASS OF FIFTY YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN LISTEN TO DIRECT-LEGISLATION AT AN ARENA CLUB.**

Professor John M. Gillette, of the State Normal School of Valley City, North Dakota, sends an inter-

esting report of the Arena Club meeting held on April 23d, from which we make the following extract:

"Our Club met last Monday and discussed self-government,—the meaning of the Referendum and Initiative, the Referendum in America and the advantages of Direct-Legislation. Members of the Club prepared the papers and reports and gave them. They were exceedingly clear and comprehensive. After each report I emphasized and illustrated the essential points. Besides the Club-members, I invited my American History class of fifty members to attend, which it did. The members took notes and will be drilled and examined on Direct-Legislation as a part of their work. We shall next time consider other phases, and particularly many cases of state and municipal guarded representation.

"I desire to say that I like your *Primer of Direct-Legislation*, and will make use of its valuable points. I trust it will be published and widely used."

#### **THE STANDARD OIL, THE PRESIDENT AND THE MUCK-RAKE.**

The Standard Oil Company and the high financiers and grafters of Wall street and elsewhere had scarcely had time to fully congratulate each other over Secretary Taft's attack on the muck-rakers who were exposing the corruption of business and political life, before Commissioner Garfield handed the muck-rake with which he had been engaged in the yards of the Standard Oil Company, to the President, who wielded it in so vigorous a manner as to call forth the savage denunciations of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Archbold, who declared the statements of the President to be false. Mr. Roosevelt, however, has the machinery of justice at his command and without expense to himself and with nation-wide approval he can easily prove where the falsity lies. Will he do it, or is the Standard Oil Company, as one of its members is said to have declared, stronger than the government? We shall see.

#### **AN ARENA CLUB IN CHICAGO.**

A very promising Arena Club has been recently established in Chicago, the news of which has reached us too late for extended notice, which will, however, appear in our July issue.

#### **POEMS OF PROGRESS: A SUGGESTION.**

We this month begin publishing a series of notable poems of progress and democracy by the foremost poets of the people, and we suggest that some member be appointed by the President of each Arena Club to read these poems at some meetings of the Club. They could be read at the opening, before the regular order of business. We suggest this because we believe such poems as will appear in this series will prove a real inspiration to all who hear them, that they will stimulate nobler ideas and visions, and that by feeding the imagination they will lead to consecrated service in the high service of humanity—the emancipation and ennoblement of the people.

#### **THEY REGARD HIM CHIEF AMONG THE MUCK-BAKE MEN.**

The Standard Oil Company evidently holds that President Roosevelt is the most wicked of all the peevish muck-rake men, and the beef-trust-protecting Judge Humphrey is doubtless of the same opinion.

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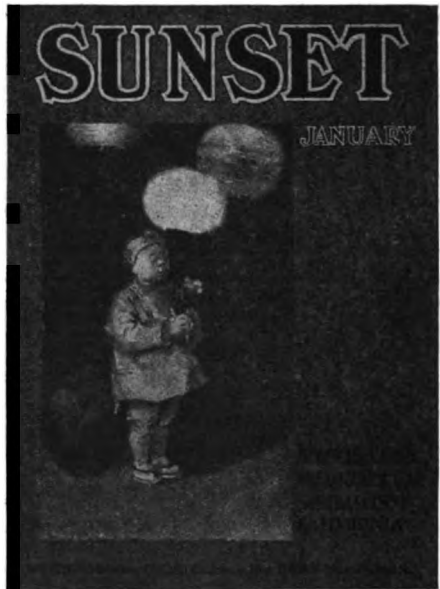
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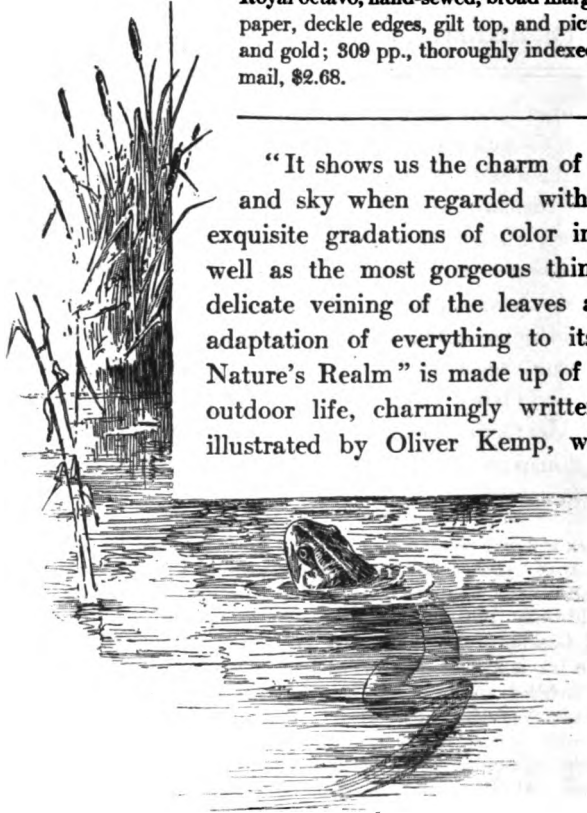
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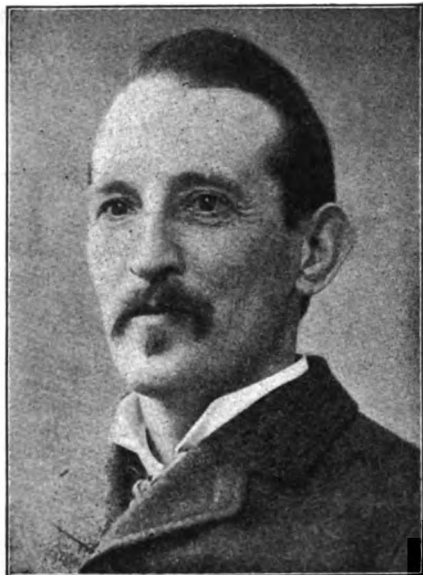
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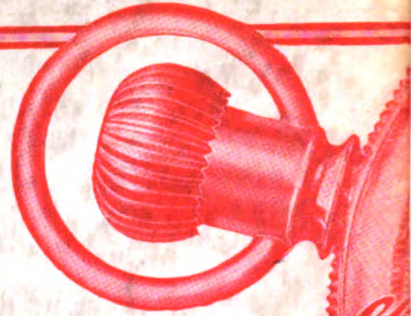
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