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EDITED BY B. O. FLOWER.

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THE ARENA.

No. LV.

JUNE, 1894.

THE BACK BAY: BOSTON'S THRONE OF WEALTH.

BY WALTER BLACKBURN HARTE.

It is one of the ironies of life that nearly all the beauty in the world which has its origin in the mind of man awakens almost as much pain as pleasure. Of course this is not by any means an invariable rule, for there are some minds not open to the soul of beauty, and there are others in which an æsthetic complacency excludes all moral feeling. But in the minds of the generality of men the spiritual element is bound up with a strain of sadness; and for such architecture is necessarily the least satisfying of all the arts, as it is so largely an irony upon the dwarfed and pent-up spiritual life of the beholder, reminding him of all those coarse and ugly accidents of life that deny and trample upon his spiritual rights of manhood. That is why poets and musicians look unmoved upon the most beautiful buildings, while poetry and music, the latter especially, release the imprisoned soul in almost every man, even of the least religious feeling. Poetry and music make all the world kin; but architecture, while it may be "frozen music," as Madame de Staël said, is so apt to oppress the imagination as frozen pride and hate that its abstract beauty is lost in the arbitrary moral outrages it suggests.

When, therefore, we say that there are lessons in political economy in bricks and stones, we may be sure that the poor and oppressed in spirit, at least, will understand. The ethi-

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cal spirit is still a dubious innovation in political econom, and so this figure may seem mere fantasy to many matter-of-fact minds that batten upon fictions. But this is a haphazard application of the new political economy that is beginning to emerge out of the distracting region of circumstance, upon which the light of experimental science is now being thrown, creating greater revolutions of thought than sentiment, and which we pray in due season may devour the old political economy, that has so well served so many generations as the hobby horse of greed and desire. It would, of course, be outraging all probability to assert that some sense of the impending change in the science of political economy is beginning to be felt by the political economists, for their severe adherence to the forms of logic, starting from wholly arbitrary and untenable premises, has long divorced them from logic. Nevertheless, we must say the students of a science which has so gloriously prospered upon sober but fantastical assumptions, the very *cumulus* of fantasy, should be quick to perceive the truth even in a statement containing too much of fancy for strict analysis.

Unfortunately, as we have quite a stroll before us, we cannot linger by the way for a very tempting digression; but we can perhaps leave a hint of it in the air, as cross-country riders in galloping through a village street leave a hint of fox hunting behind them in a whirl of dust and the memory of a patch of color.

The old political economy which still dominates the imaginations of the comfortable classes (and perhaps more emphatically the minds of the comfortable classes in this country than those of Europe, for here a continent has afforded elbow room for both greed and defeat) was a logical artifice, a grave fiction of arithmetic, a preposterous philosophical abstraction which imposed upon ignorance and bolstered up greed as a veritable picture of the real world. As a philosophy (it always commended itself to Shylock as so practical) for the governance of society, the reconciliation of the antagonisms of nature and the repression of the original passions of mankind, it found its final and logical conclusion in the comfortable doctrines and commentaries of Malthus — which, however, should receive the careful attention of all writers upon sociology, for, in unwittingly destroying the canting hypocritical fiction of a lurking provi-

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dence behind man's injustice for the succor of its victims, Malthus threw a startling light upon the orthodox political economy of his time and of our time. In this connection, too, Dean Swift's "Modest Proposal," in which he propounds a remedy for the cure of the misery and destitution in Ireland, is pertinent reading. Indeed, all of the amiable dean's writings are well calculated to foster reflection in the minds of those who hate and despise all disturbers of society.

But in this brief paper all we propose to do is to take a walk through the most beautiful and attractive streets of Boston, and reinforce our admiration, after the manner of good common-sense sojourners in strange cities, with an occasional glance at those provokers of æsthetic wonder, figures! We propose to keep our eyes open to all the æsthetic influences which are concentrated in the Back Bay, the most beautiful quarter of Boston. With a guide-book in our pocket — for the writer at any rate is a foreigner in this part of the city, although an inhabitant of another quarter ten minutes' walk away — we are going to explore, to the extent of our limited social opportunities, the beauties of the Back Bay, the region of comfort and grandeur, leisure and pleasure and luxury, fine dressing and fine manners, the land of opportunity, if not of extraordinary intellectual distinction — the colony of fortunates whom Almighty God sent ready booted and spurred to ride over the millions.

In a sane society, leisure would only be permitted to those who made some return in art or science or poetry to the community. In our beautiful anarchy those have most leisure among the merely rich who are most lacking in that moral and intellectual equilibrium, which, in older civilizations, sends the so-called "higher" classes into politics and other avenues of public life. But it is disgraceful for our higher classes to meddle with politics, except as the invisible intelligence behind the "machine," and so the most distinctly superior beings in our society make us but one return. They dine and wine and dance and dress and play in a world of security and sunshine, and then they live each week of beatitude over again in all the alluring importance of print in the Sunday newspapers. They make this one sacrifice to the claims of vulgar curiosity; and even the trifling expenditure which is necessary to balance the journalistic homage, could perhaps be better invested in purchasing some poor devil,

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A MARSH-LAND. The Back Bay in 1858, from a photograph.

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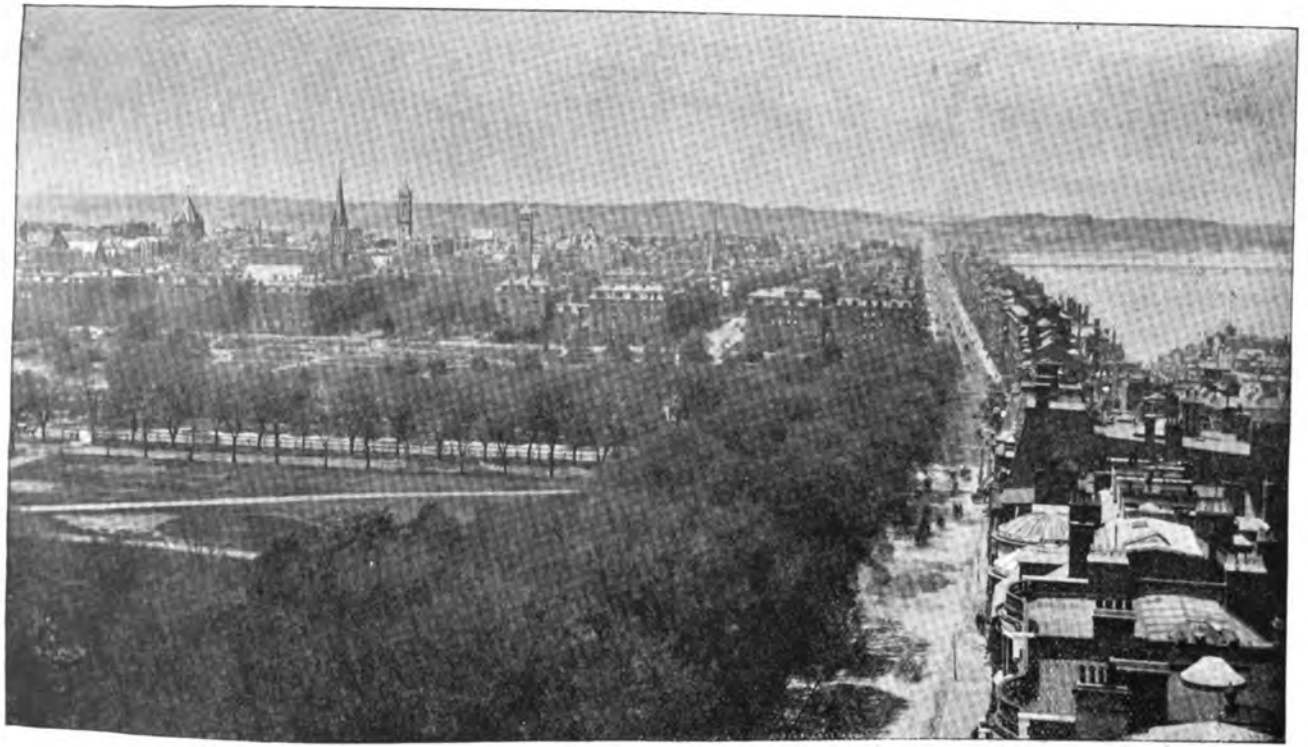

BOSTON'S THRONE OF WEALTH. The Back Bay of to-day, from photograph taken from Beacon Hill.

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whose hunger has rather preyed upon his vanity, a respite from the agonies of emptiness.

Our walk from the social wilderness of the South End, in which we dwell so resignedly as to be invariably "out" to all callers except the letter carrier, leads us naturally to Park Square, where, ordinarily, we turn sharply to the southeast and go about our business in the social promiscuity of Washington and contiguous streets. To-day we pause; and looking up for the hundredth time at the Emancipation statue, it brings a train of different reflections from those usually associated with it. Our colored brethren are to-day as free as we are. But to what extent are the millions of toilers free? Is the writer, daily concocting abominations for a degraded journalism, under the scourge of necessity, a free agent? Are these wretched industrial serfs, huddled together in all the back streets surrounding this bronze symbol of liberty, free in very truth, or is their freedom merely a philosophic abstraction with but one reality about it — the alternative of starvation? Lincoln was one of the world's great men, and this statue symbolizes the destruction of the ball and chain, but not the establishment of *freedom*. It will take many, many generations, and the sacrifice of thousands of the highest lives in those coming generations, before the world ever sees a glimmer of that freedom which alone is *real* — the freedom of the mind and will and soul to find their best and most perfect expression. But this is heresy! Well, we have the support of good Tory orthodoxy. Walter Bagehot, one of the Tory school, but also one of the clearest thinkers and most authoritative of modern economic writers, says of slavery: "It is so congenial to human nature that it has arisen everywhere in past times, as history shows; and even now, taking the world as a whole, the practice and theory of it are in a triumphant majority."

Our business to-day, however, takes us among the free, among those for whose freedom we, who belong to the substratum of society, pay such a terribly heavy price.

As we pass through the Public Garden into Arlington Street, the roar of the city comes to our ears chastened to an agreeable rumble, that ever and again dominates the rustling of the wind in the trees without bringing any unpleasant reminders. The clatter of a great city at this distance has a touch of peace and exaltation in it; this bustle and strife is

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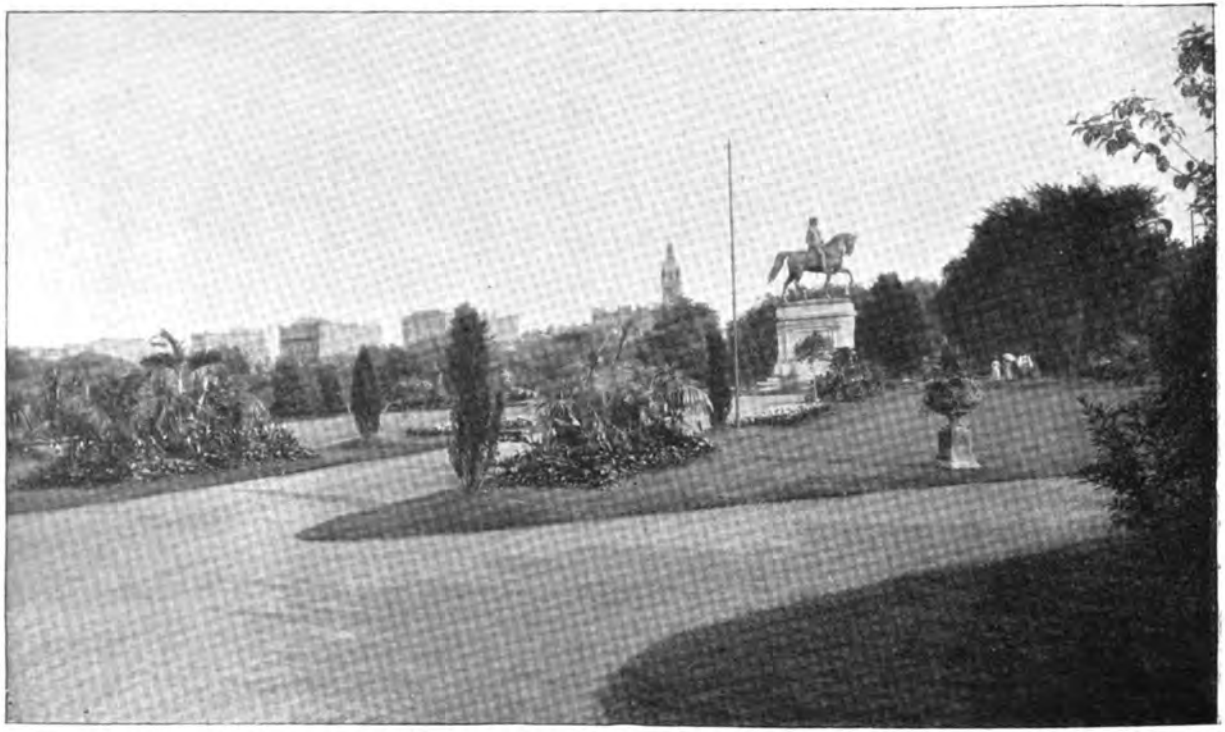

THE PUBLIC GARDEN, LOOKING TOWARD PARK SQUARE.

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then sufficiently abstract to suggest the pity and futility of it all, in the presence of the lurking sphinx of old Time, the keeper of the secrets of eternity and death, the silent mocker of life. Thrift and passion, hate, ambition, war, trade and the murderous strife of peace — all shrink to the importance of gnat stings in the mind, when it is seized with an unescapable but peace-bringing sense of the infinite stretch of days and nights. Only love, of all our human passions, retains a shred of grandeur and dignity in the shadow of this vague but Titanic evocation of consciousness. Surely under such a ban men need no spur to philosophy, to love and goodwill.

But here on the north corner of Commonwealth Avenue stands an imposing building. It looks massive enough to suggest that it was built to last hundreds of years. It is large enough to comfortably house two or three hundred people. Is it a hospital, a college, or an art gallery belonging to the state? We glance at our guide book. It is the town mansion of Mr. and Mrs. Thingumyjig — this great pile of stones is devoted to the sheltering of two not extraordinarily indispensable persons. Within thirty minutes' walk of this mansion are men and women huddled together, sometimes as many as seven or ten people in a cellar, without heat, without food, with but a bundle of rags to serve all as a bed, entirely deprived of the privacy and decencies of life, without which human associations are in danger of becoming lower than those of the beasts. Oh, but put away those disagreeable thoughts, and look down Commonwealth Avenue. What a noble thoroughfare! What delicious dreams one can dream beneath the swaying, sun-glinted, green arch of the mall. Yes; but we can appreciate the mall better at night, when the impudent stare of these windows is less constant and visible, and the trees whisper their tenderest sympathies to the torn spirit.

A glance around will reveal a great many spires pointing heavenward. There is no district in Boston where the churches are thicker. Evidently there are not lacking spiritual consolers among the rich. And then these are all *Christian* churches, temples erected to the honor and glory and worship of the humble carpenter, *Jesus Christ*, who ate and drank with publicans and outcasts, and whose gospel upon earth was summed up in His answer to the Pharisees

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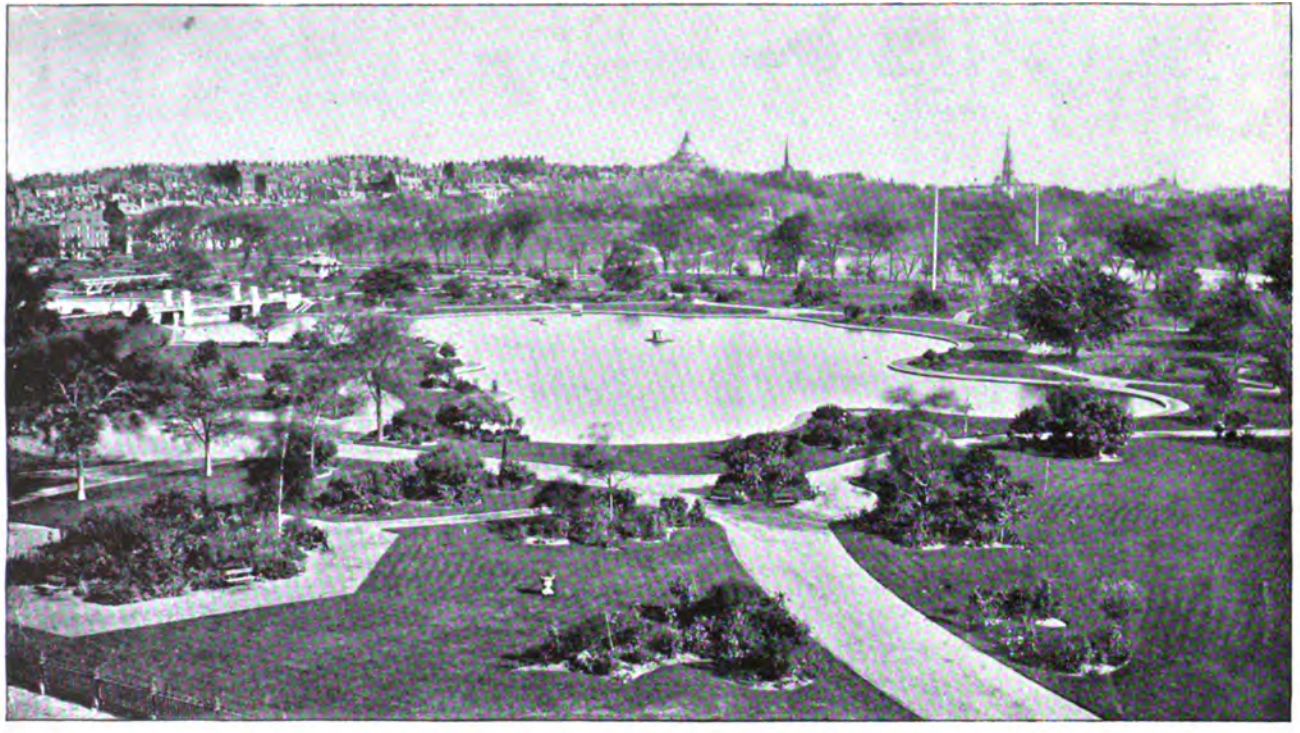

BEACON HILL, from near the Arlington Street entrance of Public Garden

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as to the greatest law of life: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is *like unto it*, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." We quote this at length, because it must certainly have escaped the attention of some of the most eminent expounders of Christ's gospel of universal brotherhood. The following chapter, the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, is also well worth perusal by some of the great personages of the churches. We should not so audaciously commend it to their notice, if we did not suspect from their harangues that they were so burdened with theological learning as to have acquired some distaste for good, homely, plain speech.

On the south corner of Arlington Street and Boylston Street stands the Arlington Street Church. It is a fine structure, with more simplicity of architecture than characterizes many of the more recently built churches in the Back Bay. It is worth noting that the original congregation of this church gathered in 1727 in a barn at the corner of Berry Street and Long Lane, now Channing and Federal Streets. In 1859 the old site was sold and the church followed the tide of fashion. The Arlington Street was the first church erected on the Back Bay lands. We go up and try the door. Like all other houses of God of the Protestant faith this temple is securely locked, except upon those regular occasions when it is opened for ceremonial and exhortation. The churches of Christ are horribly afraid to let a man inside their doors unless the calendar certifies that he is in a sabbatical and not a secular frame of mind. This house of God, locked while God's poor are houseless and cold and hungry and desperate, represents, according to the valuation of the city assessor, $350,000.

On the south side of Newbury Street, going west, stands the St. Botolph Club, which is the meeting place of the professional men of Boston, and is also, we understand, unique among the clubs as being in some fashion identified with the intellectual, and especially the literary, life of the city. We are told that literary men are on the membership list of the club, and, as we glance at the solid and imposing exterior of the building, and imagine something of its interior, we have a feeling that the work-a-day rank and file of American letters could not escape a sense of violent contrast between the

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ENTRANCE OF COMMONWEALTH AVENUE, FROM THE PUBLIC GARDEN.

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aristocratic usages of such a club and the esteem in which they and literature are generally held in the utilitarian world outside. Such a cosy place as a glance in the window reveals, is surely too enervating an atmosphere for the well-being of those vowed to a monastic life of letters. But then it is to be remembered that there are probably as many mild-mannered Jesuits, mere purveyors of words, in our contemporary literature as there are in Protestant pulpits; and there are hundreds of empty heads, just wise enough to hide their asses' ears beneath the cowl of the Sublime Order for the Dissemination of Fog, and these prosper in a commercial society, which dreads ideas as it does the plague.

Nearly opposite the St. Botolph Club, which symbolizes the recreations of the intellectual element of Boston, is another establishment, symbolizing the spiritual aspirations of Plutus, who seems to be cast by the fates for motley in this world, considering his love of religious mummeries and his temples raised to Pluto. This is the Emmanuel Church, which, however, is not so distinctly fashionable as some other churches in its immediate vicinity — Trinity, for instance; and in the assessors' books, it is only valued, land and building, at $168,000. These assessors' volumes at the city hall are an infallible barometer of the spiritual condition of Boston. A congregation possessed of proper fervor and devotion is always in a state of social ferment over the bricks and mortar question. Piety finds a safety valve in a passion for architecture and building. The Catholic church is the only one that is not ashamed of having poverty clinging to the skirts of its most beautiful temples; and although this bitter contrast is not that of an ideal state, still our meaning is clear — we are dealing here with *actual* conditions — the Catholic church is, and has always been, in closer touch and sympathy with the poor and miserable than the Protestant. The magnificent military organization of the Catholic church, and the intimate hold it has upon the imaginations of its people, prevent it from ever being seized with the complete lethargy that is practically making the Protestant churches merely social leagues among the rich, for the dissemination of a system of canting ethics in direct contradiction to the teachings of its Founder, from which the poor are turning heart-sick, disgusted, desperate.

But another fact shows how strong the religious instinct

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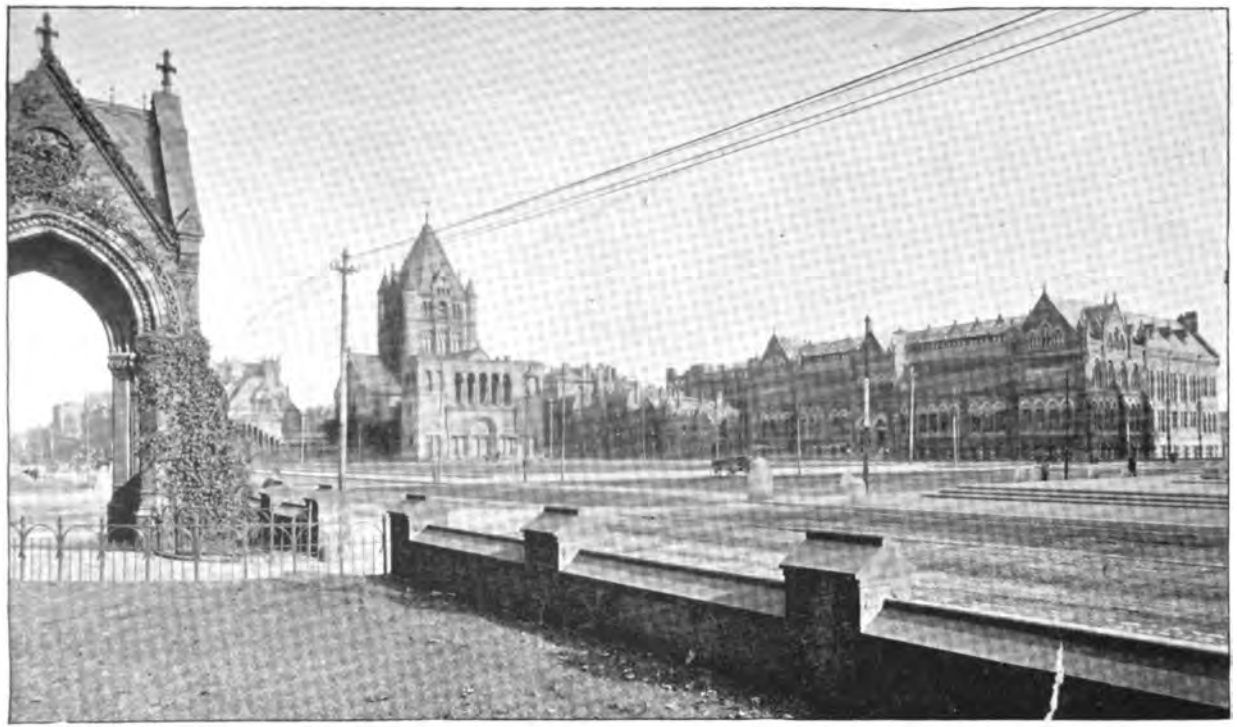

COPLEY SQUARE, from entrance of the New Old South Church, showing Trinity Church and the Museum of Fine Arts.

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is in the race. The masses, indifferent to the churches, fast learning to comprehend their real hidden political objects, are beginning to be curious about this religion of humanity which is creeping into the new literature and through all social modern thought. But it is the testimony of almost all who have seen anything of the slums that the most active agent for physical and moral good is the humble Catholic priest, whose business is the welfare of his flock, and not social ambition and the diplomacy needed to keep in the good graces of his deacons. The Catholic priest is, luckily, freed from all necessity to pander to the prejudices of his deacons, and is truly a minister and not an entertainer. To be quite fair, the Methodist ministers, who often suffer great privations on small salaries and short tenure, are the most devoted and sincere of the Protestant clergy, and they divide the honors of consecration to arduous and unapplauded work in poor parishes with the Catholic priest. In this matter of praise, we are taking the common view of the world, which only values applause from the rich.

A few steps along Newbury Street, and we come to the Central Church, on the corner of Berkeley Street. It is a fine-looking building, and has the tallest spire in the city. Over the main entrance is the inscription, "Christ is Risen," which may be interpreted as having absolved Christians of all moral obligation toward their fellow-men, or it may be interpreted as a severe indictment of the followers of Christ, who accept His gospel of "Do unto others as you would be done by" with a mental reservation of superior worldly wisdom. For what are we to think of Christians, who profess to believe in the divinity and teachings of Jesus Christ — who said of Himself all through His ministry that He came to teach publicans and sinners, to heal the broken-hearted and lift up those bruised in spirit — and who absolve their consciences with abstract fervor and perfunctory givings, which are as devoid of charity as manslaughter? The assessor says of this building that it is valued at $276,000.

We turn out of our way for a few moments to have a look at the First Baptist Church, on Commonwealth Avenue and Clarendon Street. It is notable as being worth $192,000, and it is conspicuous even in this region of fine palaces and temples, for its ponderous square tower, crowned by the four angels with golden trumpets, typifying the angels of the

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judgment. This is a rather curious idea, since, if one were strictly orthodox, it would be very difficult to believe that many of those who offer up their praises in the church below could possibly be saved, with their hearts so filled with mammon and so empty of charity.

Oh, but read the list of Boston charities — examine the figures! Yes, they are very interesting as an evidence of a conscience smothered in possessions. But we must repeat over and over again that throwing sops to Cerberus is not *charity*. Human hearts and minds and souls are the grandest of temples, and as long as millions of these are crushed and trampled under foot, broken and bruised by our laws and our trade and our pleasures and our greed, we can out-build Babel and our churches will still only be piles of bricks and stones, with no sanctity about them to save them from the scorn of God's true ministers, the poets of the people.

The reader will perhaps have observed the figures we have quoted. They are interesting, as showing how heavily the Almighty Creator of the universe has become interested, through His vice-gerents and the apostolic succession, in the holding of valuable real estate. So long as the churches are intrenched upon property, they may preach Malthus; it is a farce to preach Christ!

With the opening of this Back Bay region there was a remarkable exodus of clergy and churches from the bleak wilderness of streets invaded by semi-gentility, boarding-houses, dubious respectability and downright poverty and misery. The vice-gerents of God, probably in imitation of Mohammed's experience with the mountain, fly with the rich. The Ishmaelites are sure of heaven, we suppose, through their sufferings in this world — this is a popular doctrine among fashionable preachers — but the rich need laboring with.

On either side of this magnificent avenue, called, with a touch of reminiscent irony, Commonwealth Avenue (for all this region was created and once owned by the state), are the mansions of those fortunate ones who graciously permit the millions to toil for them upon their terms and conditions and for such length of time as they see fit, and then, dividing the proceeds, hand over to the workers enough to keep breath in them so long as they are needed, and devote

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A VIEW OF NEWBURY STREET, FROM BERKELEY STREET.

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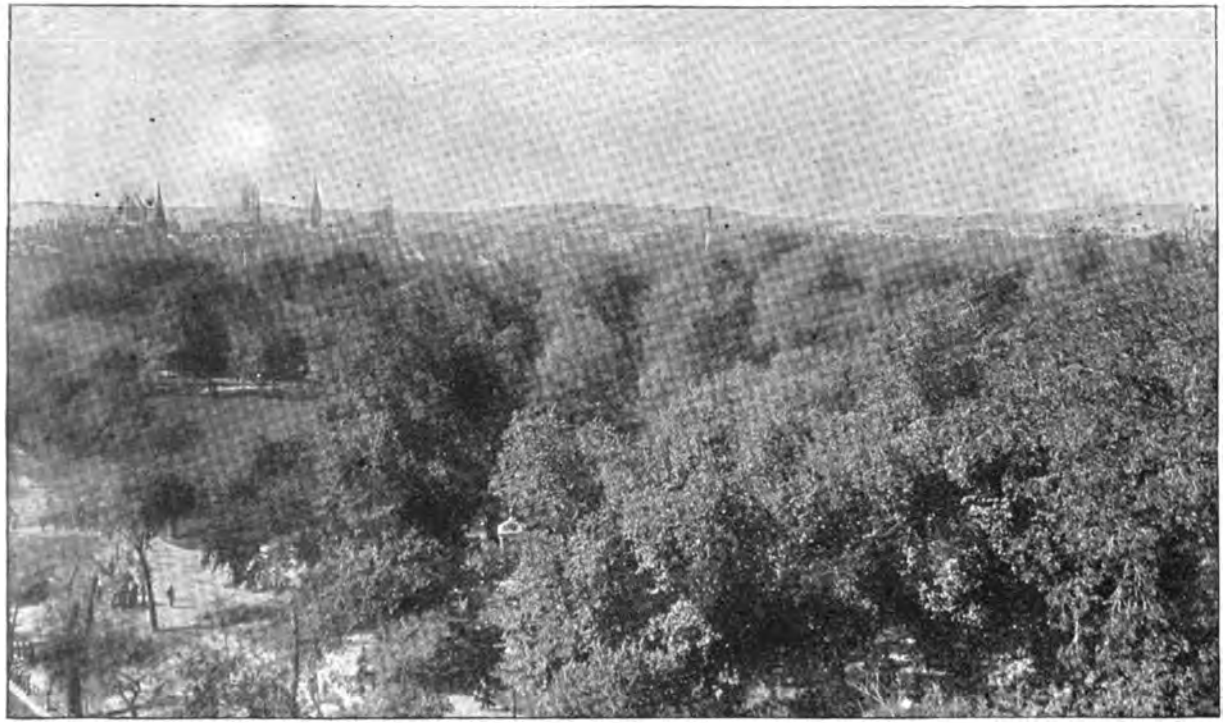

THE BACK BAY, from an elevation on Tremont Street, overlooking the Common.

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the remainder to maintaining themselves and families in such a fashion as to command the admiration of all who study their "Poor Richard" assiduously. The aggregate cost of the mere luxuries of the table consumed in this one street, would be sufficient to properly house the poor, stifling and degraded in the filthy tenements of Boston. But what is the use of saying these things? It is most probable that human nature, which through the centuries has made history so unnecessarily revolting, will remain unchanged through the centuries. The remedy does not lie in any appeal to humanity. That never served any cause yet. It lies in breaking the bonds of slavery through the ballot.

Here is a park and an avenue that belonged to the state. The only hold the state retains on the avenue is that it is to maintain a public mall in the centre. The avenue houses about three or four thousand people, including children and men and women in service. The state could have almost completely abolished the tenement-house evil in Boston, if when it owned this property it had kept it and erected large, healthy apartment houses after the manner of the Peabody and other buildings in London. There is room enough for more than a hundred thousand people in the length and breadth of Commonwealth Avenue.

But to whatever reflections it may give rise, the Commonwealth Avenue is a noble thoroughfare. The view from the Arlington Street end, the Public Garden in the foreground, with its foliage crowned with the soldiers' monument, with tier upon tier of windows and roofs, topped with the gilded dome, rising in serried lines, broken by spires and tall chimneys, of the semicircle of Beacon Hill, with the heavens ablaze with the sunset, is more than beautiful. Our architecture loses its harsh outlines under the humid skies of New England, and the panorama of the Back Bay, from Beacon Hill or some height on Tremont Street, is always beautiful, whether it be on a misty, a sunny, or even a rainy day. It is wonderful what satisfying grotesques, recalling chaotic dreams or Doré, the Back Bay with its many spires resolves itself into during a rainstorm or on a cloudy night, seen from Beacon Hill.

On the south side of Commonwealth Avenue stands the Hotel Vendome, of which it is only necessary to say that the luxury and the charges indicate the desires and mode of

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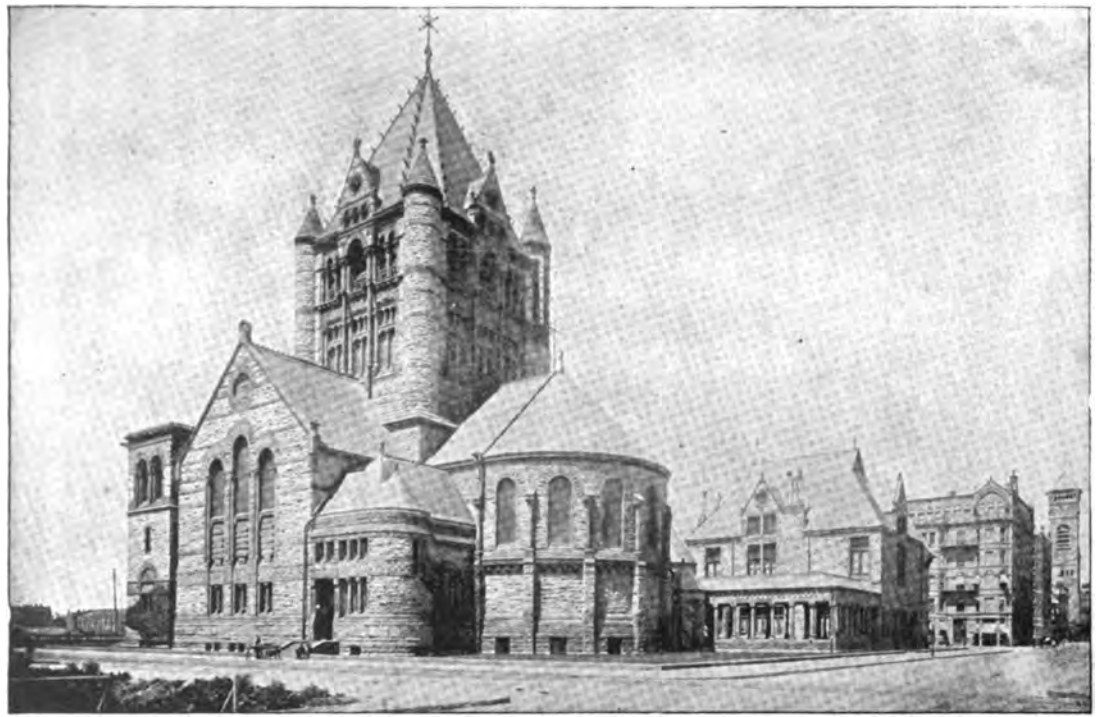

REAR VIEW OF TRINITY CHURCH, LOOKING TOWARD COMMONWEALTH AVENUE.

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living of the denizens of this neighborhood and of those who come here to visit them. Nearly opposite is the Algonquin Club, which exists because the membership lists of the Somerset and Union were full, and the waiting list must of necessity include many who would be dead before they were socially eligible. In order to escape the fate of not making their proper entry into swell clubdom until they joined society in a better world, the more recently rich aristocrats of Boston created the Algonquin and Puritan Clubs. The Algonquin from the outside is a palace of luxury, and as its sole object of existence is sociability, and the membership is composed of men of relative position in a money sense, the character of the club can be guessed.

Before leaving Commonwealth Avenue, we may perhaps be forgiven if we repeat a dreadful rumor. One side of the avenue is not so fashionable as the other. The writer does not know which side it is, but he has been told by persons supposed to be unimpeachable authorities on social Boston, that a person can live on one side of Commonwealth Avenue and still linger in that chill social world whose greatest crime is that, like the heavens, it is so vast.

Turning into Dartmouth Street we pass the Art Club, where the money of men of business keeps art in some sort of social countenance. And then we come out into Copley Square beside the New Old South Church. From whatever quarter one views Boston, the group of spires in and around Copley Square dominates the landscape. A Frenchman has said of Trafalgar Square in London that it is preëminently a centre for a great revolution, and the same compliment might be paid to this noble open space, which is especially striking, since such squares in the valuable portions of American cities are comparatively rare. But we must admit some larger measure of civic pride in the average Boston man, rich or poor, than is characteristic of the dwellers in some other American cities.

The New Old South Church is unique in its architecture. The massive tower, which leans a little, like the tower at Pisa, is the most notable feature of the structure; but a large lantern of copper, with twelve windows, lends it something of a Moorish appearance, which, while it may be architecturally a little hybrid, makes a very effective picture when the building is seen rising vaguely in the dusk of mid-

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night. When it was built the church cost nearly $500,000; it is now valued by the assessor at $505,000.

But the pride of Boston church-going people is the Episcopal Trinity Church, which is declared to be the finest specimen of church architecture in the United States. It is built after the French Romanesque style, and in its pyramidal massiveness it resembles many of the cathedrals in the south of France. The tower is entirely different from the campanile form, and it rises massively to a height of over two hundred feet. All the rest of the building is subordinate to this one great ponderous shaft. The red Ohio tiles, with which the tower is roofed, make it twinkle almost as brilliantly in the sunshine as the gilded dome itself, and on fine days it is seen from many points of the harbor rising like a flame out of the gray-blue mass of the city. Everything about the church, although in perfect taste, suggests wealth and luxury. This temple of the lowly Christ is valued at $800,000, and the pew-holders are worth many millions of dollars. Coming from the lips of these purse-proud, extravagantly dressed worshippers, the words of Christ's gospel strike the ear of a publican and sinner as the veriest travesty. If these disciples of Christ sold one hundredth part of their possessions for the housing of the poor, there would be hundreds of temples where there is now only one.

In this quarter one great pile of buildings succeeds another. In the immediate vicinity of Trinity are the Museum of Fine Arts, the New Public Library, the buildings of the Institute of Technology, the Natural History Hall, the Harvard Medical School and the palatial Hotel Brunswick. On Beacon Hill are the Puritan and Somerset Clubs, but since we cannot pass their portals, we will rest here on one of the free benches of the commonwealth in the Public Garden, redolent of flowers and peace. It is good to forget the world's great men, the great ones hailed by our contemporary society, in the long waves of music breaking through the trees. These blow true, no matter upon whose land they grow.

A word in conclusion. We have paid a good deal of attention in our walk to the churches. The reason is that they are not only the most beautiful buildings in the Back Bay, but they emphasize in the most obvious fashion the

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conflict between the social laws and villanies of our civilization, and the laws for the conduct of life enforced and reiterated over and over again by Christ in His teaching and in His positive commands to His disciples, among whom these people claim a place by faith. But as St. Paul says, "Though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and though I have all faith so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing." There is learning enough, and possibly abstract enthusiasm enough, in these churches, but no charity. It is fitting that this cluster of spires should dominate the sea of roofs, as they do, from whatever quarter one looks out over the panoramic sweep of the city. They are the symbols of complacent creeds of moral subterfuge, and as the popular zenith of the moral progress of our civilization, they should be conspicuous. These churches, as much as the mansions which surround them, are built with blood money, at the cost of blighted human lives and human souls. If we were not in charity bound against it, we could warmly wish that the orthodox ideas of the expiation of iniquity might not lack for absolute fulfilment.

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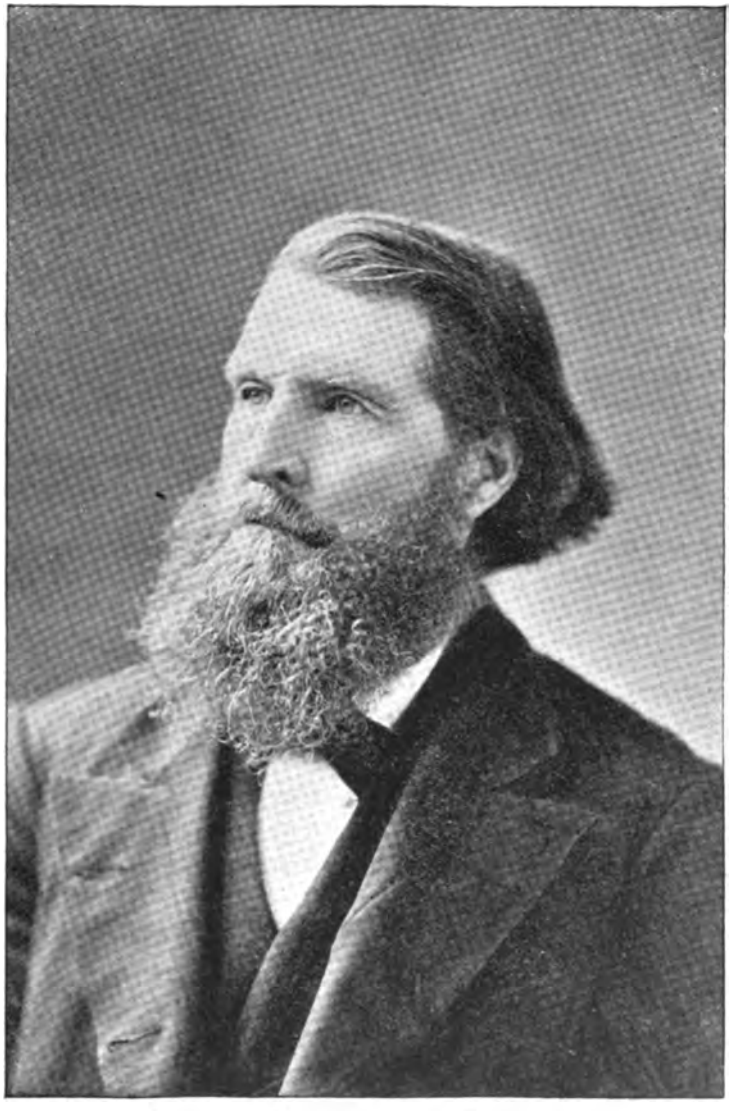

Very truly yours
B Hathaway

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A PIONEER POET.

BY HELEN E. STARRETT.

FIFTEEN years ago it was my fortune to be invited to read a paper before one of the then foremost literary societies of Chicago — the Philosophical. At the close of the reading, among friends and others who waited to speak a kind word of comment, I noticed an elderly gentleman whose face and garb indicated by almost unmistakable signs that he was from the country and that his profession was that of a farmer. Upon being introduced he said he wished me to accept a volume of poems which he had written. He also added, as he handed me the book, "I brought this with me with the intention of giving it to you if I liked your paper, and of taking it back with me if I did not." Such plain, direct speech at once interested and embarrassed me. Occupying at that time the position of literary editor of a Chicago paper, my first thought was that I was in for a review of a volume of verses that might be poetry and might be chaff — most probably chaff.

It was a bitterly cold night and the ride was long to my home, where I found that owing to the lateness of the hour the fire had died out and the rooms were of a zero temperature. Seating myself for a moment under the gas light, still muffled in my heavy wraps, I mechanically opened the book at the dedication page. The first words that struck my eye were:

All hearts the poet fires are his:
  The subtle link of mind to mind —
  The link we do not forge or bind —
    Most precious is.
We mine, not make, the golden ore,
  And love, like fabled fairy stone
  Divided, is not less but more,
And true love hath no jealousies.

I scanned the page critically to see if these lines were in quotation marks but could discern none. I turned another page or two and read, —

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Who shall the life so beautiful unseal us —
The life whose labor is a work of bliss?
When shall our doing of our doing heal us,
Our toiling rest us of our weariness?
Thou God within us, to ourselves reveal us
In perfectness!

and a little further down the page, —

Might bread alone appease this deathless yearning,
For bread alone to toil were meet and fit;
But oh, we feel, however dimly burning,
Within the soul the fire celestial lit;
If love be not the wages of our earning,
What profits it?

Another random turn of the pages and my eye fell upon, —

And if thy path no longer lies
Through spirit-haunts of moor and fen, —
If, as of old to prophet-ken
To thee the hills of Canaan rise,
With broader fields and ampler skies
And peopled wide with holy men, —

Remember still in charity
Thy brother's need is not as thine;
Or, conning deep each darker line,
Thou too, mayst find the mystic key
To every ward of mystery,
And see in all a truth divine.

"Why, he is a poet," I exclaimed; and despite the chaffing of a friend I sat for nearly half an hour under the chandelier in the icy atmosphere, reading poems that transported me into gardens gay with every flower of spring or summer, and fragrant with breath of roses and thyme. But beautiful and musical as were the descriptions of nature's aspects and voices, that which struck me most of all was the insight into the deeper questionings of life, with which the air then as now was rife. This man, this writer, this poet, I said, has considered all the vital questions of the day — labor, educacation, the emancipation of thought from the rule of dogma, the advancement and emancipation of women, the mission of sorrow — and his insight throws light upon them all.

To learn who my unknown friend was, was the next question. This was easily done, for I found that though so worthily entitled to fame on his own account, he was best known in literary and philosophical circles in Chicago as the husband of a very gifted woman; a woman whose essays on

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the German philosophy and philosophers were looked forward to each winter as red-letter evenings in the Philosophical Society. I learned that he was, as his appearance indicated, a farmer; that his was the prize fruit farm of Michigan and that it had been redeemed from the prairie principally by his own hand. In addition to his work on the farm, I learned that he had been a practical cooper and had with his own hands made hundreds and thousands of barrels, in the early days, carrying them by wagon to St. Joseph, thence to Chicago by boat — a distance of one hundred miles.

Of school learning he had little. Where, then, did he acquire the knowledge of rhythm and metre that enabled him to polish his verses into such perfection? I learned that he was a diligent and admiring reader of the old and standard poets; but the principal source of his ability was his innate poetic genius. Of this genius he was himself conscious. He regarded his gift as an inspiration from something outside of himself. Surely if ever there was an illustration of the truth that poets are born and not made, it was to be found in this farmer-poet of Michigan.

Mr. Hathaway's first volume of poems, the one that is still my favorite, was published nearly twenty years ago. It is entitled "Art Life and Other Poems." It takes its name from the first poem of the book, which is, in my opinion, one of the finest poems of aspiration in the English language. Not only this, but it is a poem of prophecy. Written over twenty-five years ago, it yet contains the germs and the foreshadowings of every great movement in civilization since. Its opening stanza is —

> What prophet wide with trumpet tongue is teaching
> The chained world its thought of liberty,
> Till loving hearts go out in meek beseeching
> And wild, unbosomed longing to be free?
> What stranger truth is new evangel preaching
> Of life to be?

No mere synopsis of this poem, which expresses the aspirations of humanity, can give any idea of its force and beauty. The poet, the prophet, is not daunted nor discouraged by the fettering conditions, the strife, the unrest. He says, —

> We are the lights on Life's mysterious dial,
> The radiant stops on Love's celestial horn;

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High heaven's orchestra on untutored trial,
With harps discordant, dolorous and forlorn;
Or waiting, hushed, like Egypt's stony viol
The flush of morn.

And again,—

As mountain pine, in rugged grandeur growing,
Finds nature's fullness in that bleak abode,
Or lowly blooms, its inner life outshowing,
The humblest flower that decks the meadow sod;
So finds the soul in art's diviner doing
Its home in God.

But surely there must have been some unusual ancestry behind this singer. And truly there was. His father was a poor orphan boy who in the early days of the century first bound himself till he was twenty-one, to a man of standing and character, and at the close of his apprenticeship married his master's daughter. He became a successful and, for the times, wealthy man in the lumber business. The commercial panic of 1837 swept away his accumulations, and to retrieve his fortunes he came, with his wife and children, to the wilds of Michigan — now the garden spot of the state. Here in a few short years death overtook him, and the burden of guiding the family fell upon a heroic mother. All the employments of pioneer days were hers — spinning, weaving, dyeing, and above all holding her family of seven children together at home. Benjamin was her main helper and stay and ever congenial companion.

Mrs. Hathaway was a profound thinker. Never shall I forget the impression made upon me when I saw her, in her eightieth year. Our talk happened to turn on Swedenborg. She told me, in the simplest and most direct terms, how she had thought out for herself a belief so in accordance with Swedenborg's doctrines that she was willing to subscribe to the belief of that church. Her look revealed the spirit that asked no aid from any human being in thinking out a faith for herself; as Emerson says, "There was no supplication in her eyes." Self-poised, self-sustained, she asked no intercessor between her spirit and eternal realities. She had the discernment to see the poetic, philosophic thoughtfulness and insight of her son, and she appreciated and encouraged it. There was no chiding or ridicule for verses chalked on barrel heads, or for hours spent in reading. That Mr. Hatha-

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way appreciated his mother is shown in his dedication of his first volume of poems to her: —

> Thou noblest type of womanhood!
> Thou who in manhood's evil day,
> As by the couch of infancy,
> Still faithful stood;
> Unfaltering, and with purpose strong,
> Rebuking all the hosts of wrong
> With, "Love is more than gift of song,"
> And "Virtue is the highest good."

Perhaps it is due to his mother, and to his wife — a truly wonderful woman, whom he met when he was a special student, as she likewise was, in the University of Michigan — that Mr. Hathaway's estimate of womanhood is the highest. Indeed he is radical to the last degree in what he would demand for and concede to her. In his most ambitious and profound poems, "The New Crusade" and "The Enchanted Wood," there is abundant proof that Mr. Hathaway considers the social upheaval in the ranks of labor as mainly inspired by her, never to be rightly adjusted till settled on the basis of the complete emancipation of woman along with her fellow toiler, man.

At the age of seventy-one our poet still cultivates his farm, and in appearance and energy would easily pass for a man under sixty. He comes to Chicago in the spring; sometimes bringing a car-load of fine apples, sometimes tons of dried fruit, the produce of his evaporators.

Mr. Hathaway himself regards his epic poem, "The League of the Iroquois," as his best and most enduring work. We are perhaps a little too near the Indian fully to appreciate and sympathize with the author in this fine epic, but doubtless it will be a classic for future ages. It was the product of years of special study. His last book of poems takes its name, "The Finished Creation," from the first poem, the myth of Isis and Osiris. It is a poem whose full beauty and import can only be appreciated by the mature, philosophic mind, but it, too, will become a classic. Mr. Hathaway has at present several other poems in various stages of production, and the earnest hope and expectation of his friends and admirers is that his present physical and mental vigor may long remain undiminished, and that we may have many more poems of insight and power from his pen.

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THE ENCHANTED WOOD.

A Story of the Druids.

BY BENJAMIN HATHAWAY.

They who of old deep in the sacred shade
  Of forest aisles their unhewed altars piled,
In thousand rhythmic voices understood
  The mystic language of the leafy wild;
      Though reverent, unafraid,
  They dwelt, as meet for nature's loving child,
      In an enchanted wood.

Now vanished all, — the Druids of old days:
  Fled is the faith that lit each altar flame, —
A faith as vast as is our human need;
  A faith to bid the fainting heart aspire;
      Whereof alone delays
  A failing memory, a forgotten name,
      In ritual and creed.

Oh! who shall bring again the vanished lore?
  Who read anew the secrets of the trees?
A tongue evoke from the insensate clod
  To minister our doubt, the soul's disease?
      Who shall again restore
  The old-time wisdom, that, inspired, sees
      Truth as it is in God?

* * * * *

A tale of vanished days: Though quaint and old,
  It is not that which moves me to rehearse
The story that I read when I was young;
  Nor yet for fame I fain would put in verse
      What clamors to be told;
  A simple tale, clad in rude speech and terse,
      And not in poet's tongue.

A story brief. A youth aspiring, bold:
"Truth clothed in myth?" Aye! that is why, may be,
That tale, so long ago, so far away,
  At threescore years and ten comes back to me.
      A paragraph may hold
  More truth than will suffice to filigree
      Ten sermons of to-day.

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It was the faith of a once noble race,
That in the shade where sacred altars rise,
They who for wisdom yearned, for virtue strove,
Held converse high with spirits pure and wise,
Held converse face to face;
To-day we look with sceptic's duller eyes —
See but the leafy grove.

No less than in all true belief, there lies
In unbelief a deep philosophy —
Philosophy to move the sceptic's awe;
He that is wise to-day, was yesterday
Aspiring to be wise;
Man sees no truth but that he wills to see,
In God's eternal law.

"The story!" Aye, indeed! I should have known;
The story — that is new, all preaching stale:
"Give us the tale! give us the tale!" Ah! well,
That story, too, is old. "Give us the tale
And let the moral go."
Nay! nay! the moral can alone avail —
For that the tale I tell.

It chanced a youth, from wonted paths astray,
Vain seeking far, he knew not what or where, —
Vague yearning for a more transcendent good,
A fairer world, a world where all is fair,
Beyond the beaten way
With vagrant footsteps wandered, unaware,
To an enchanted wood.

Behold! before him rose a vision bright:
A maiden fair, supreme in every grace
Of womanhood, such as all bosoms sway,
Upon him smiled; bent on him such a face
As images to sight
All that we dream of an immortal race,
And beautiful as they.

Abashed he stood, but reassured ere long,
While from her lips fell, like the dews of heaven,
In accents mild: "O fond, aspiring youth!
High-yearning heart! life's fairest gifts are given
Not to the brave and strong,
But him with whom the very gods have striven,
The seeker of all truth.

"O youth!" she said, in love's most witching tone,
"Thy simple faith my maiden heart has won:
The Genius of the wood behold in me!

— — — —

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Go find my home, and come at set of sun,
And I will be thine own;
Forevermore, the long day's labor done,
I will abide with thee.

"Yet know, some things there be thou canst not ken:
With seeking far my home thou canst not find,
That only is to inward vision known;
Not until one with me in heart and mind,
In life; then, only then
Shall that abode, in shady wilds enshrined,
Unto thine eyes be shown."

Though from his sight had fled that peerless maid,
The wood more lonely that he wandered through,
Oft rapt, he bore to each familiar shrine
His steadfast faith, and hence such comfort drew
As all his grief allayed;
For somewhere surely waited, fond and true,
That being most divine.

O woman heart! what fearful gift is thine,
Through which alone all men take heart of grace.
Warm as the noonday sun, yet chaste as warm,
Was hers, that daughter of the Druid race:
All virtues in one trine —
Truth, mercy, love — one in that peerless face.
One in that perfect form!

Though his the fate, despite deeds nobly done,
Unknown and poor, to wander up and down
A cold, unpitying world, one thought of her,
His bride to be, could all his sorrows drown:
Thought of that glorious ONE,
New in his soul, forgetting scoff and frown,
Could lofty purpose stir.

Skilled in all handicraft, his footsteps led
Where toil its guerdon brings; he sought to win
Thereby wherewith his heart might mercy show;
So oft the homes of grief, of want and sin,
Knew his familiar tread;
"I will," he said, "through ministry therein
Into her likeness grow."

And giving free to poverty its dole,
He sought thereby some erring one to save;
From passion's thrall to set the captive free;
And oft with pitying word, strong, helpful, brave,
Its sting from sorrow stole;
For with each pittance small his heart he gave —
The crown of charity!

On sped the years. That youth to manhood grown,
So learned in all the secrets of the wood,
Knew, as his own, the name of every tree;
Of each the mystic language understood;
All plants to nature known
He knew; knew which was evil, which was good,
And what their potency.

"My love is wise," he said, "both good and wise.
Does wisdom grow as from a tiny seed?
Or is all wisdom born with womanhood?
Though all I know thereof is wisdom's need,
This much in reason lies:
He that is wise — he that is wise indeed —
Must be both wise and good."

With joy like his who costly treasure finds,
Where pilgrim-feet the shrines of learning throng,
For love of her, all heights he would essay;
Become through knowledge wise, in virtue strong;
If with earth's master minds
On life's profounder themes he pondered long,
He might become as they.

To years of toil he gave still other years:
His heart through all held to its noble aim,
Nor owned the thrall of love's more tender ties,
Save of the ONE whose smile was more than fame, —
Love, time but more endears, —
Till, wiser than his teachers, he became
A teacher of the wise.

Yet not alone did wisdom's high desire
His aspiration bound: the poet's art
Could in his soul love's deepest fountain stir;
With simple song he could allay the smart
Of long delay; inspire
Each failing hope; therethrough his waiting heart
Lift nearer unto HER.

As to his harp he sang in measures strong,
Sore, fainting souls, fired to a nobler aim,
And touched to tears, their heart-full tribute brought;
He heard the sceptic's scoff, the critic's blame,
Nor hushed, for these, his song:
The songs he sang for love had brought him fame —
The fame he had not sought.

And ever thus, the poet's sweetest song —
A song, perchance, to charm the listening age —
He sings to give his aching heart relief;

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Oft when he seems, through his impassioned page,
To voice a people's wrong,
His soul but sings its sorrow to assuage,
Touched by a private grief.

"The story!" Ah! indeed — I so forget,
Still so afraid you will its moral miss,
I miss the tale. Now to the tale once more:
As stays some ill to mar life's highest bliss,
The saintly soul to fret,
Though fortune's smiles had made old burdens less,
He hence new burdens bore.

Though good to quench our thirst, deep waters drown;
Too glowing warmth becomes consuming flame;
Smiles that to virtue woo, to sin entice;
A friend can lift the heart to nobler aim,
A friend can draw it down;
The syren voice of soul-alluring fame
Is Satan's last device.

What wonder he, to whom came thronging all
Earth's fairest gifts — gold, honor, woman's smile —
Should feel again youth's fiery pulses stir;
His hungry heart, allured by passion's wile,
Should yield to beauty's thrall?
But not for long; that heart, unknown to guile,
Unsoiled, came back to HER.

Still seeking far, he deeper wisdom won,
The wisdom hid from all profaner eyes:
Throned on Orion's flaming car, to see,
In light beyond the light of morning rise
Or light of setting sun,
Where, through the circling constellations, lies
The path of destiny.

Why should we count it marvellous to find
That the untold vicissitudes that wait
On the revolving spheres, all heights above —
All cosmic change, with man coördinate,
Should, too, his being bind?
Not the malignant power we miscall fate,
But fate whose name is love.

O sacred lore! contemned of sceptic bold:
To read through all creation's wider plan
Love's horoscope: to know the worlds that roll,
That still shall roll through time's remotest span,
His ampler arms enfold;
To see in all, through all, the larger man —
In all the human soul.

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More learned, he saw new mysteries untold;
With deeper sight, a deeper mystery
He saw in each — its use, its end and aim;
And in the *use* he found the mystic key
To wonders manifold.
He in each bush a burning bush could see,
With Deity aflame.

He saw that up through earth and tree and brute,
Up from the clod, to souls in love enshrined,
Up through all things, a common purpose ran:
One life in all, though not a one in *kind;*
In each some *attribute*,
And not a whole — part of the heart and mind
Of man outside of man;

Still questioned why, of all phenomena;
Until he saw, as with new sense and fine,
In things diverse, a ONE in several parts;
Out of one heart the music most divine
And wood-birds' roundelay;
The love that murmurs in the mountain pine,
Yearns in all human hearts.

So deeply learned, he saw the Maker's plan
Alike in all; and, rapt in loving awe,
Looked on the vast, where Love Eternal broods;
Through æons far creation new he saw
Slow toiling up to man;
The tablets read of God's eternal law
Writ in similitudes.

Though far in learning's paths his feet had trod,
He held no less his youth's familiar creed —
His childhood's faith, through knowledge understood;
The faith that meets alone all human need,
His childhood's faith in God:
More clear he saw — he that is wise indeed,
Must be both wise and good.

As unto age comes childhood back again,
He, from afar, with wealth, O priceless store!
Won through long years in farthest clime and land,
From nature's deeply hid, profounder lore
And converse high with men,
Unto that forest home came back once more,
Led by an unseen hand.

To that enchanted wood, an honored sage,
Full-crowned with years, and not unknown to fame,
In virtue strong, last of the Druid race,

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He to that shrine a weary pilgrim came;
Though bowed with toil and age,
If not the same, in love and faith the same,
With wisdom's added grace.

There still, as erst, the unhewed altars stood;
Or bowed, like giants old, in silence grim;
Their message sealed, save to his clearer eyes;
The Runic page with moss of ages dim;
Low sighed the solemn wood,
As if it mourned the once familiar hymn,
Or fore-time sacrifice.

And oh! what thoughts of HER, that glorious one,
What tides of feeling swelled that bosom lone:
Had she, like him, love's long, long vigil kept?
Would she come back to claim him for her own—
Come at the set of sun?
"Oh! not until into her likeness grown,"
He said; and, resting, slept.

A sunset glory lay on all the land;
Along the wood the autumn splendors glowed;
Lit by that flame, his brow, transfigured, shone
As with the peace of some divine abode,
By airs celestial fanned;
The face of some old Druid priest it showed—
Looked from the cromleh stone.

The sunset deepened to a ruby sea.
An angel touched his eyes, and lo! his bride:
Behold! that peerless form before him stood,
Robed in a garb with hues celestial dyed:
"At last! at last!" said he.
"I have been with thee always," sweet replied
That Genius of the wood;

"But not until to perfect stature grown,
Of manhood come to its full heritage,
Couldst thou, dear love, behold me as I am;
Henceforth as one, our souls from age to age
Shall range the vast unknown;
While wisdom's blissful toils our hearts engage—
Life's crown and diadem.

"The vintage must full ripen in the sun
The summer long, before the juice is meet
To cheer and strengthen; so all love must be
Through knowledge ripened to be all complete;
And oh! belovéd one!
The long, long years can only make more sweet
The tie of destiny.

"O joy supreme! Yet not without their price
The joys of heaven: the harvest sown in time
The soul shall reap throughout an endless day;
Whoso would gain the height must, tireless, climb;
Fate-weighted are the dice
We throw of life! God's justice sits sublime,
Throned in eternity.

"Now to our home! There love shall youth restore:
Henceforth one aim our kindred souls shall fire;
ONE will we climb life's ever-brightening goal;
What we become we have; what we desire
We have forevermore;
To more and more become as we aspire
The while the ages roll!"

* * * * *

To whom so wills, that story may come true:
All souls may win a destiny as great;
For each some treasure beckons to be won;
He that would win the prize must toil and wait,
Must toil the long day through;
Nor less for each there waits a glorious mate—
Waits but the setting sun.

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THE SIXTH SENSE AND HOW TO DEVELOP IT.

BY PAUL TYNER.

PRESENT-DAY prognostications as to the future of humanity, wrought out by strictly scientific methods, point to developments no less strange than the prophetic dreams of the poet and the novelist. This is true in the domain of psychology as in that of sociology — sciences related much more closely than we are in the habit of considering them. Plato's vision in "The Republic," and Sir Thomas More's fanciful "Utopia," like William Morris' latest and most delightful picture of an ideal society in "News from Nowhere," are thrown into the shade by the unimaginative pictures of life in the twentieth century that have been built upon the logical development of the economic facts and tendencies set forth by Laurence Grönlund and other exponents of the scientific German school of socialism. M. Louis Figuier, in his "To-morrow of Death," and more recently in "Joys Beyond the Threshold," similarly evolves by irrefragable reasoning from absolutely scientific laws and phenomena, proof of the soul's existence after death, and evidence as to the probable nature of that existence, its occupations and pursuits, beside which every poet's dream of life beyond the grave, from "La Divina Commedia" of Dante to Mrs. Oliphant's "Old Lady Mary" and Mrs. Stuart Phelps Ward's "Gates Ajar," seem realistic and prosaic.

The famous French astronomer, Camille Flammarion, has recently given us a forecast of the history of the world from the present day until the final catastrophe, based, like M. Figuier's deductions, on scientific facts, and proceeding on scientific methods. Not the least interesting of the changes in the race which he traces is "the development of psychic faculties dormant for, perhaps, millions of years," and especially an "electric sense." M. Flammarion's prophecy is doubtless suggested by the fact that many individuals have already developed in some degree a "sixth sense," known

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variously as "clairvoyance," "clairaudience," and "psychometry." Except in confidence and among intimate friends, the individual in whom this sense has been developed is apt to be reticent regarding the fact, and is generally averse to any allusions to his power in this respect in mixed assemblages. Still I venture to say that there is hardly a reader of this page who is not himself or herself developed in this direction in some degree, or who does not number among his or her friends, one who "sees" or "hears" or "feels" things that are ordinarily beyond the so-called physical senses.

It seems to me that if we are to get substantial results from the investigation of this class of phenomena, the conclusions of one accustomed to analyze emotion and experience, on whatever plane it presents itself, and who brings this habit to bear on his own psychical experiences, should be taken into consideration. Many very worthy people, I am aware, insist that development of the psychic sense is an unconscious process and one that cannot be helped, though it may be hindered, by thinking or reasoning about it — that its processes are, in fact, unknowable and past finding out. Michelet says, "No consecrated absurdity would have stood its ground in this world, if the man had not silenced the objection of the child." In theology, in government, and in society, more than one iniquity has been perpetuated by this custom, now fast becoming antiquated, of smothering questions with the objection that a thing is "an incomprehensible mystery, reserved from man's knowledge, and beyond the finite understanding," — simply because the thing is not at once apparent. I believe not only in asking questions, but also in getting answers to them. The desire to know the nature and the laws of any phenomena, natural or supranatural, is, to me, evidence that such knowledge is obtainable. We shall develop the psychic sense most rapidly, not only in individuals but also in the race, by asking questions and knowing about it. More than that, I believe that the development of this faculty, as of all other faculties — beyond a certain initial, crude, and uncertain stage — must be conscious, and be thought about.

I class what are called psychometry, clairvoyance, and clairaudience together as one faculty, because, for reasons which will appear in another part of this paper, I believe all these phenomena to be the manifestations of one and the

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same sense in various stages of development. It is more than possible that the phenomena of hypnotism, telepathy, and the projection of the astral belong also to this sixth sense, and with other "phases," as the Spiritualists call them, are combined in its fuller development.

If I may be permitted to speak from my own experience, under certain unusually favorable psychic conditions, a sensitiveness of the psychic perception to objective thought images or pictures, sometimes taking the form of flowers or other symbols, then of places, cities, houses, landscapes, is first developed. Then follows the seeing of faces and forms — of those aggregations of thought and feeling we call persons. Seeing these things conveys to the mind distinct and intelligent messages, much as did picture writing among the Aztecs. Describing as simply as possible what is thus seen, one seems to be thrown upon his own mental processes to interpret in words the meaning of these pictures.

Soon it occurred to me that the persons who thus talked in symbols and pictures, must be quite capable of addressing me more easily and directly by speech, if I could only hear them. Why had I not heard them? Why is it that we often do not hear words distinctly addressed to us on the physical plane, from stage, platform, or pulpit, or in private conversation? It is because we do not *listen*. Listening is as active and positive a mental action as is speaking, sometimes. To hear the words spoken "in the astral light," to adopt the convenient Theosophical phraseology, listening with absolute concentration is all that is required. Listening so, the words must come with illumination and recognition to the brain. This I proved in subsequent experiences. Sitting quietly alone or with one or two sympathetic friends, my attention would suddenly be caught by hearing a new voice announcing an unseen visitor, or joining in the conversation. The words seemed to arouse the psychic sense more fully; the sense of presence would be followed by visual illumination, out of which appeared, vividly as in the flesh, the form and features of the ethereal visitor. Seeing, hearing, and "sensing" (if I may use the word to indicate a mode of perception for which we have no name, but which many people mean to express when they say they "feel it all over") seem to be combined in the marvellously rapid and easy interchange of thought which followed. Often words

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from the astral visitor would come quickly in response to uttered or unuttered questions of my own or of those sitting with me. At times these words reached me audibly, though their full meaning seemed to come slowly, as I endeavored to repeat them. Later this comparatively slow process was reversed, and the thought of the spirit would be flashed upon my brain and instantly grasped, only becoming audible as I heard my own voice expressing the spirit's thought—not in my words, but in those of the spirit.

Here, certainly, there was spirit communion in which were combined what is called clairvoyance, clairaudience, psychometry, telepathy, and hypnotic control, all merged in a single psychic sense, or rather sensitiveness, and all depending, evidently, on the degree of *rapport* established between the thought of individuals outside my personality, and the thought belonging to my own individuality. In none of these experiences am I unconscious, or entranced, for a moment. My own physical and mental consciousness is always held on to distinctly. Consciousness on the psychic plane is added to consciousness on the physical plane, not substituted for it.

Experiences in regard to the development of the sixth sense, I find, vary with differences of character and temperament. Other sensitives tell me that with them hearing came first and seeing only long afterward. Others, very delicately organized, are at first exceedingly sensitive to "impressions" or intuitions which plainly indicate the projection on their consciousness of thought from an intelligence quite outside their own, without coming through sight, touch, or hearing. Still others begin by acquiring remarkable sensitiveness to the psychical atmosphere of a room. For no material reason, their sleep is disturbed in one room, and all sorts of uncomfortable and disagreeable sensations are experienced; while in another room, perhaps in the same house, they will breathe freely and have a delightful feeling of serenity or cheerfulness. Still others begin by noticing peculiar sympathies or antipathies to the touch of certain objects. Comparing these various instances with my own experience, I cannot help thinking that the development of the sixth sense depends very much upon the side on which it is first recognized, and consequently to some extent restricted by force of habit. Development comes more quickly

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to the "seeing" than to the "hearing" sensitive, if I may judge from the cases familiar to me. Is it because form and color suggest sound more quickly than sound suggests form and color?

I am led to believe that the key to the best development of the sixth sense is to be found in its "psychometric" side. "If walls could talk!" "If things could speak!" are exclamations often heard from people, who would scout the idea, if told that walls and other things *do* talk, if we would only listen. Yet these same people would be puzzled to account for their strange inward sense of possibility, even while making a suggestion which they outwardly consider impossible.

I remember how, only a few months ago, the immense possibilities of the psychometric side of the sixth sense were suggested to me when witnessing a "reading" by a lady who enjoys a national reputation as an art critic, but whose remarkable psychic powers, or even her interest in such subjects, are hardly suspected outside a small circle of intimate friends. A letter in a sealed envelope was put into her hands, and she was asked to tell what she "saw." It was an ordinary letter accepting an invitation to dinner, from a person she had never seen or heard of in her life, and of whose very existence she was, up to that time, unconscious. The lady at once described the personal appearance of the writer of the letter, exactly and in detail, outlined his character, and related many remarkable episodes in his life, bringing his history up to the thought which swayed him in writing the letter. It was proven subsequently that her description and recital were accurate in every particular.

Soon afterward an opportunity came to me to test, for the first time, my own development in this direction. A guest in the house in which I live, of whose past personal history I knew absolutely nothing, had mislaid a small gold watch, in searching for which she manifested much anxiety, saying she would not lose it for the world, because she valued it as a keepsake. When the watch was found I was suddenly impelled to request that I be permitted to take it in my hands a moment. No sooner had my fingers closed upon the watch, than I saw a man wearing a peculiar smoking cap, whose appearance I described in detail. Then I seemed to be taken into his surroundings in the past, and

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described his habits, his circumstances, his manner of life, and even the furniture in his apartments, recounting a peculiar episode of his last illness. This was followed by distinct communication to the woman in the flesh from the man in the astral, with information as to his present condition, occupation, and opinions. The watch had been given to our guest by a near relative, whom she had nursed in his last illness ten years before, who was fond of wearing the peculiar cap described, and whose appearance and character, she said, had been accurately described.

This success, of course, led to further experiments in the same way. The results were varying, but sufficient to indicate to me that the personality, the thought and emotions of individuals remain in the *aura* of articles closely associated with them. This is particularly the case with handwriting, especially in letters of an emotional character. Going beyond the perception of what might be called these photographs in the astral light, it is evident to me that there is a close connection between this *aura*, impression, reflection, or whatever one may please to call it, and the living, intelligent entity of which it is an emanation, and that through perception of the *aura* is attained the power of establishing *rapport* — and consequent communication face to face — with that entity. The ego whose astral principle is thus projected upon the psychic perception of the sensitive may be still living in the flesh, or may have passed from the body a hundred or a thousand years before.

The important point, it seems to me, in connection with all this mode of perception, is a community of sensation between the perceived and the percipient. I have been able to describe with precision the emotions — whether of exaltation or depression, lightness or heaviness, health or disease — perceived by me, because I myself, in my own nervous and mental organization, *felt* those conditions. To illustrate more clearly, while recently sitting on a mountain-top veranda with a company of friends in the twilight, I saw in the astral a lady, who was an entire stranger, approach, and, looking earnestly at one of the company, suddenly put one hand to her left eye. "What does she mean by that?" I asked mentally. Instantly I felt a dull pain in my own left eye, which was succeeded by a gradual going out of the sight until there was total blindness. This sensation I described

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to my friends. One of them immediately recognized the lady as an old friend of her own, the wife of a United States senator, prominent in the history of the West, who had died about fifteen years before. This lady had received an accidental injury in the left eye, which resulted in entire loss of sight. She came now to deliver to her friend an important message concerning that lady's future work in the West. The pain and blindness in my own eye passed away in a few minutes, and have apparently left no unpleasant effects.

Anxious as I am to contribute what I can to the elucidation of this class of occult phenomena, I have been exceedingly reluctant to make my paper personal in so large a degree. But I find this is inevitable if I am to make it plain that I speak from individual experience, and not from information obtained at second hand. Like Mrs. Underwood, whose interesting experiences in regard to her writing under the control of invisible intelligences were related in THE ARENA some time ago, I had been for years as much an agnostic to all spiritualistic phenomena as a good orthodox Episcopalian can be expected to be. So far from desiring notoriety in regard to my own psychic experiences, I have sedulously avoided mentioning them, and not half a dozen persons outside of my own family have hitherto known anything of them. My field of work is so far removed from professional mediumship, that I am much more likely to be hurt than helped financially by the present revelation, so long as the mediocre-minded majority continue to verify Rochefoucauld's aphorism by "condemning what they do not comprehend."

I have said that I regard psychometry as the key to the development, on rational lines, of the sixth sense. Psychometry itself seems to be a development on the psychic side of that physical sense, which is at once the finest, the most subtle, the most comprehensive, and the most neglected of all the five senses — the sense of *touch*. While distributed over the whole surface of the body, through the nervous system, this sense is more delicate and sensitive in some parts than in others. The marvellous possibilities of its development in the hands, are shown in the cases of expert silk buyers and of coin handlers. The first are enabled, merely by touch, to distinguish instantly the weight and

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fineness of a score of different pieces of cloth hardly distinguishable to the eye. Girls employed in the mints, while counting gold and silver coins at an astonishingly rapid speed, detect at once the minutest difference of overweight or underweight in the coin passing through their hands. The remarkable sensitiveness developed by the blind in the tips of the fingers, under such scientific cultivation as that provided in the Perkins Institute, of which Laura Bridgman in the past and Helen Kellar in the present are such conspicuous examples, is familiar to most readers.

It may not be so generally known that recent *post-mortem* examinations of the bodies of the blind reveal the fact that in the nerves at the ends of the fingers, well-defined cells of gray matter had formed, identical in substance and in cell formation with the gray matter of the brain. What does this show? If brain and nerves are practically identical, is it not plain that, instead of being confined to the cavity of the skull, there is not any part of the surface of the body that can be touched by a pin's point without pricking the brain? It shows, moreover, I think, that, given proper development by recognition and use, a sensation including all the sensations generally received through the other physical organs of sense may be received through the touch at the tips of the fingers. It proves that a man can think not alone in his head but all over his body, and especially in the great nerve centres like the *solar plexus*, and the nerve ends, on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet. The coming man will assuredly perceive and think in every part, from his head down to his feet. Need I suggest the importance of remembering, in this connection, how much in our modern life is conveyed by the hand clasp, or the deep delight that comes to lovers in caressing touches, when impelled to pat the hands or the cheek of the beloved one, or to stroke her hair? It is through the emotional life that our sensitiveness is led from the physical to the psychic plane of sensation.

Through the sense of physical touch, apparently, one is first brought, on "psychometrizing" an object, into a vivid perception of an *aura* or atmosphere surrounding it. Every individual and every distinct object, animate or inanimate, is surrounded by an *aura* of its own, just as the earth and every other planet has its surrounding atmosphere. In this *aura*,

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as in a mirror, the sensitive sees reflected the history of the object, its significance in connection with the emotions, and such other associations with the personalities of its possessors — of the life and experience of which it formed a part — as he may bring himself *en rapport* with. As already noted, all this is not only perceived objectively, but is also "sensed" subjectively. The sensitive seems to merge his own personality in the *aura* of the object, and in his own person feels the pains and pleasures he describes.

The fact of this community of sensation, and its general recognition as a leading feature in the phenomena of psychometry, mind reading, thought transference, and hypnotism, bring us to the consideration of the force or agent outside of the personalties of either percipient or perceived, which is of vast importance. Nearly two years ago Dr. R. Osgood Mason published a suggestive study of a series of well-authenticated hypnotic experiments, in which he advanced the opinion that the chief agent in this and in a large class of other occult phenomena is a certain "vibratory medium." This hypothetical medium he compared to the atmosphere, in its quality as a transmitter of light and sound and smell, but far exceeding that medium in sensitiveness. He says: —

> In its widest sense, this force, by whatever name it may be known, is the medium of influence, which manifests itself throughout the world of organic life, from the simple cell to reasoning man; from diatom to prince, philosopher, or poet; the medium through which qualities are perceived, opinions formed, and loves established, independent of knowledge gained by ordinary sense perceptions, or any process of reasoning; the medium of intuition.

Dr. Mason, however, frankly confesses himself "unprepared to say whether this psychic medium is constant, existing in and pervading space, without special reference to its actual use, or a rare effluence . . . ether, vital force, or emanation — existing as an attribute of living, sentient beings, always in use to some degree, and, under favoring conditions, producing what seem to us marvellous phenomena."

My experiences and investigations lead me to believe that Dr. Mason's hypothesis, while exceedingly valuable and suggestive, falls short of accounting for the phenomena he describes. Neither a universal ether, constant and pervading all space, nor a rare effluence, existing as an attribute of living, sentient beings, will alone account for thought trans-

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ference, clairvoyance, psychometry, or hypnotism — to use many names for the one phenomenon of psychic perception. As has been shown, this perception depends more than aught else on that degree of *rapport*, which we can only designate by the entirely inadequate term, "community of sensation." To my mind, it is plain that these phenomena depend absolutely on *both* the universal ether, as a *medium*, and the emanation from sentient, living beings as a *force*, working upon that medium — as the painter works in colors or the sculptor in stone. We have two good English and all-sufficient words for that personal force, and for its operation. These words are *mind* and *thought*.

It is impossible to conceive of a universe without mind, for no matter is so crude that it is not the expression of mind — the result of thought — in some degree. But we can imagine a universe void of man, void of living, sentient beings, just as we can imagine the desolation of the middle of the Desert of Sahara, and comprehend that, with no ear to hear, it must be soundless; or imagine the depths of interstellar space, and know that, with no planetary atmosphere to refract the light of suns and stars, there must be blackest darkness. In an uninhabited universe — a universe filled simply with the primitive, universal ether — there would be mind, but it would be the expression of the negative thought of mind — the sculptor's stone waiting in the quarry, the painter's pigment still on the palette. So for all purposes of demonstration we may be permitted to distinguish "mind" from "matter," as the force itself, distinct from the medium in and through which it operates.

The next question is *how* individual thought operates on the universal ether. To answer this question completely will be to unlock the mystery of the ages. The mystery will be unlocked some day, as surely as the North Pole will be reached. Simply as the faintest suggestions, born out of the fleeting glimpses of illuminated teaching that have so far penetrated to my consciousness, I can only venture to present for the benefit of brother explorers some of the landmarks I have noted in pursuing this line of investigation.

The facts cited in regard to psychical phenomena seem to indicate that there is a certain *quality* or *condition* in the universal ether, only to be perceived by the development of a conscious perception and sensation of the same quality or

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condition in the constitution of the individual, of which constitution that universal ether must form the greater part. That this quality is not discoverable by mechanical processes must be apparent, since in its very nature it transcends matter in the ordinary sense of the word, and is beyond or outside the realm of physical perception.

It seems to me, therefore, that to perceive this quality of the ether or spirit filling all the universe, permeating all space, and pervading every particle of what we call matter — this substance whose universality, oneness, and constant vibration bring us into instant touch with the most distant stars — it is necessary that the percipient should be able to place himself *en rapport* with this quality. The clearness and fulness of his perceptions will be in exact proportion to the completeness with which he succeeds in attaining this state of consciousness.

In art, we already recognize the truth that the *quality* of the poem, the picture, the statue, or the musical composition — that is, its essential reality — is a thing beyond demonstration in terms of physical or material analysis. Like faith, it is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen." It is sensed not by eyes, or ears, or hands, but by the sixth sense. We appreciate the beauty of a poem or a picture only in so far as we can place ourselves in sympathy with the thought or emotion of the poet or the painter — so far as we can think *the same thought*, or experience the same emotion, that is expressed in the poem or the picture. To a certain extent, this power may be attained by intellectual cultivation. It is oftener the result of a development of that subtler spiritual faculty we call intuition; and the intuition, like the intellect, may be developed by education, by environment, and by exercise. All the intellect and learning of Carlyle did not enable him to appreciate, much less to write, such a poem as Keats' "Endymion," nor to enjoy the melody of Mozart's masses.

The question now arises: In what does this quality, so necessary to psychic perception, consist? By analogy with artistic powers and perceptions, and even more clearly, perhaps, with the familiar phenomena of chemistry, we may be justified in regarding this quality as harmony — harmony, in the first place, between the elements of one's own nature, and, in the next place, harmony of the individual nature

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with the thought or the person to be perceived psychologically. And the thought which alone can create and sustain this harmony is *love*.

Science is constantly expanding our knowledge of the marvellous qualities of the universal ether. Professor Draper, in his work on "Light," avows the conclusion that the universal ether, through light, registers and retains photographs of persons, scenes, and actions, ordinarily invisible, but which under certain conditions may become visible. The walls of every room, he says, contain, and might, if we knew how, be made to show forth the pictures stamped upon them, by the light, of every action that has taken place within them.

In the *Century*, recently, Professor S. P. Langley, of the Smithsonian Institute, described certain experiments, which demonstrate that bodies thousands of times heavier than the air itself, may be sustained in the air and propelled in it at great speed — the greater the speed, the less the power required to sustain the travelling body. Aside from Professor Langley's experiments in aërial navigation, we know that the ether sustains millions of planets in perfect equilibrium and moving in their orbits with almost inconceivable velocity. We know that it is capable of transmitting light, heat, and sound, and that it permeates every atom of the universe, even to the most infinitesimal molecules of the densest solids. We are beginning to learn that from this ether all the forms of the material universe are primarily evolved, and that into this ether the substance of all forms finally returns.

Harmony in color, in sound, or in form, is a matter of proportion arrived at by the appropriations or attractions of affinities. A form is perfect to the sight, in so far as its relative proportions in line and dimension harmonize with each other. The perfection of every living organism depends on the harmony of its vibrations. We know that all consciousness on the physical plane, comes to us in waves — vibrations, whether of sound or light, heat or cold. We know, too, that these vibrations vary almost infinitely in rapidity, and that, as a certain rapidity of vibration in the light waves produces red and another green, yellow or other shades, so a greater or less rapidity of vibration, in the sound waves, causes the different notes in music. The same law

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in regard to vibrations acts in causing health or disease, joy or sorrow, life or death.

Fill a room with air in which there is a certain proportion of nitrogen to oxygen, and that air is healthy and vitalizing. Change the proportions, by increasing the nitrogen or by cutting off the oxygen, and the air of that room becomes poisonous and deadly. In the same way, it is found that the body of a human being, in the last analysis of its material structure, is composed of oxygen and nitrogen. While a certain proportion of these elements is maintained, the body is in a healthy condition. Disease and death occur when this healthy equilibrium, or harmony of vibrations, is disturbed or destroyed by too great an increase of the proportion of nitrogen, or decrease of the proportion of oxygen.

The statement is made — and its suggestiveness is startling — that the proportions of oxygen, nitrogen, and hydrogen in the body of an individual, at any one time, are not only an absolute indication of his bodily condition, but will indicate his spiritual condition also. That is to say, the character and development of the ego itself determines the composition of the body, and the proportions of oxygen and nitrogen will be blended in exact relative proportions with the good and evil in the man's nature. Every good thought increases the proportion of oxygen, as a deep breath does, and lessens that of nitrogen, making the body finer and more beautiful. Every evil thought or impulse that is indulged increases the nitrogen, and has the reverse effect on body and soul.

Every one knows how true it is that debauchery, sensuality, anger, and avarice leave their marks on the face and in the figure of man and woman, in a plainly perceptible coarsening of the outward appearance, making it accord with the true inner nature of the person. It has not before been shown in print, I believe, that this coarsening of the form, of the texture, the color, are the indications of an actual material change, corresponding to the changes in the spiritual or inner man. Yet, on reflection, it will seem as natural that the quality of the soul should determine the quality of the body, as that the thought of the painter, rather than the size of his canvas or the quantity of his colors, should determine the quality of his picture. Long ago Spenser, in his "Faëry Queen," voiced this truth: —

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For of the soul the body form doth take;
For soul is form, and doth the body make.

It may seem unfair to adjudge as bad all who are uncomely or deformed, or to consider a handsome man or woman as necessarily good. It must be remembered that no form is final or fixed. Every form is subject constantly to the action of thought. The form of to-day may be the result of thought through a series of previous incarnations, working out slowly and gradually. The hunchback may be transformed into an Antinous, or the Antinous into a hunchback; but not suddenly. Nature makes no sudden leaps. The possibility of descent in the spiral progress of the soul continues even to the gates of paradise, as the possibility of ascent, through regeneration and reincarnation, is open, even to the soul sunk into the depths of hell.

Two facts of importance must be kept in mind. First, that actual *quality*, susceptible of chemical analysis, is the test, and that this quality may be in part concealed by appearance. All is not gold that glitters. Second, the attainment of a perfectly spiritualized body, i. e., of a body in which the chemical elements are blended in complete harmony, is in all probability the result of the garnered experiences of thousands or hundreds of thousands of years, through repeated incarnations of the ego in a series of bodies. It is the fruit of *experience* — of countless errors, of persistent effort of the divine germ to express itself.

In this connection, it is exceedingly interesting to know that this law, as to the relation between the spiritual development and the physical constitution of the body, may be carried to the logical conclusion that the quality of the body affords an infallible indication of the accomplishment of the object of reincarnation on this earth. Once the elements composing the body are combined in a certain proportion, necessity ceases for further reincarnation, for further experiences on the material plane. The achievement of this goal can only be determined, probably, by the soul's expression of its quality, and by its attraction of embodied or disembodied spirits of the same quality and development. "By their fruits ye shall know them." The future life and growth of that ego must be on higher planes of existence, in embodiments of finer or more spiritual substance, on more advanced planets.

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From all which, is it not plain that investigation which is to increase our actual knowledge of the nature of the universal ether in its quality as a medium, and of the individual thought in its quality as a force, must leave the beaten track of mechanical tests and measures, and seek the more spiritual and more scientific method of so analyzing and examining psychical phenomena, that we may learn how man may consciously and intelligently establish the utmost harmony and correspondence between the nature of the spiritual man and the nature of the spiritual universe? By thus bringing the mind into at least an approach to complete sympathy and unison with the Universal Mind, of which it is a part, man will surely be enabled to lift the veil of sensory illusion in greater and greater degree.

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THE SINGLE TAX IN ACTUAL APPLICATION.

BY HAMLIN GARLAND.

A THEORY that is morally and logically right will work in practice, but at the same time a practical example of the working out of the principle involved is valuable. The single-tax men seem to have such an exemplification in the case of New Zealand, where an effort has been put forth to discourage land speculation by means of a land tax. It is not precisely the single tax — probably the single-tax men will consider that its greatest fault — but its work of checking land speculation and breaking up the large estates is admitted.

I have before me the advance sheets of the Consular Reports from the Bureau of Statistics in Washington, wherein Mr. John D. Connolly, consul to New Zealand, gives his report. It is so valuable just now when the question of the single tax is being strongly advocated that I quote quite fully from it. Mr. Connolly begins by saying: —

LAND TAXATION IN NEW ZEALAND.

In the matter of taxation laws New Zealand excels as compared with the other Australasian colonies, and perhaps with many older countries. Here, at least, legislation has been introduced that has been most violently assailed as being experimental, socialistic, confiscatory and impracticable. But regardless of this terrible arraignment, the taxation laws have been fully and successfully established and given practical effect, even while other countries were theorizing on the same principles. . . .

It is true there were many who, through the public press, in the halls of legislation, and on the highways and byways of the country, proclaimed their belief that the changes in the incidence of taxation would surely involve the country in financial ruin; but subsequent events conclusively demonstrated how ill-founded were their apprehensions. The most determined opposition to the "new taxation" came from the moneyed institutions, loan companies, and the owners of vast landed estates. It was found, however, as soon as the new system became law and was thoroughly established and fully understood, that, instead of involving the colony in ruin, it had exactly the contrary effect. The credit of the colony in London (which is, of course, the centre of financial operations so far as the colonies are

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concerned) increased to an unprecedented degree. New Zealand's credit is better to-day on the London money market than is that of any other colony of Australasia.

As will be seen above the opposition came from the moneyed classes and from land speculators in the colony; they had no doubt about the effect of the tax. A synopsis of the system is given here.

Up to 1891 a land and personal-property tax was imposed; but during the years of depression the colonists generally complained of the personal-property tax as being a grievous burden. One of the first acts of the new government was to abolish the "property tax" and substitute an "improvement tax." All improvements on land up to $15,000 were exempt, but all improvements above that amount were taxed.

The deduction of mortgages and of improvements up to a value of $15,000 renders very many owners exempt from land tax, the total number of land-tax payers in 1891 being 12,557 out of a total of 91,501 owners of land in the colony. It will be borne in mind that there is an exemption of $2,500, so that no man pays any taxes for state purposes until his property is worth over the above amount. The special exemption just referred to reduces the number of taxpayers. An owner whose land and mortgages, after the deduction of mortgages owing by him and of improvements up to the value of $15,000, do not exceed $7,500 is allowed a deduction by way of exemption of $2,500 (already mentioned), and this amount gradually diminishes until it disappears altogether when an owner's assessed value, less reductions, reaches $12,500.

In addition to the ordinary land tax, a graduated tax is levied, and for this all improvements are deducted; but an owner is not allowed to make any deductions for mortgages owing by him, and he has not to include in his return any mortgages owing to him. This tax is not imposed on any owner the value of whose land, less the improvements thereon, does not exceed $25,000, and the lowest rate imposed is one-eighth of a penny in the pound. The rate gradually rises until it reaches twopence in the pound on the improved value of lands up to $1,050,000 or more.

This tax, it will at once be seen, is an approach to the single tax advocated by Mr. Henry George. In general principle it is the same; that is to say, it makes it difficult to hold land out of use and makes improvement easy by exempting it from tax up to the limit of $15,000.

The most interesting and valuable part of the report shows that the present tax has come along these years of experiment exactly in line of Mr. George's plan: —

In 1891, as already mentioned, the property tax was abolished and a tax on improvements substituted. In 1892 the tax act was so amended as to exempt all improvements under £3,000 in value, and

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in 1893 improvements of every kind were exempted and an income tax introduced instead. By the abolition of the tax on improvements a loss to the revenue of the country was sustained equal to about £37,000, but this loss will be compensated for in some degree by the scale of graduated tax having been increased.

Thus in three years the entire system of taxation has been almost completely changed, and, it is gratifying to say, with the most beneficial effect. Each change made was in the direction of relieving those who were least able to pay and making those to whom the additional burden of taxation would make no material difference contribute (what they had not hitherto done) a fair share of the revenue required in proportion to their means.

Let the reader note whence the opposition came. Mr. Connolly goes on to say: —

It was persistently alleged by the banking and moneyed institutions generally, and also the large land owners, that the radical changes made in the incidence of taxation would result in such a serious loss to the revenue of the country that borrowing must again be resorted to immediately to defray the expenses of the government, but the results have proven they are not prophets.

The common people, however, having felt the good effects of this system, returned the promoters of it to power with *the largest majority ever given a government in New Zealand.* The significance of this is that they have discovered the barrier to progress, landlordism, and propose to abolish it.

In addition to this land tax with its exemptions, they have also a graduated land tax and an income tax. The income tax is not satisfactory thus far, but of the graduated land tax Mr. Connolly says: —

GRADUATED LAND TAX.

There is what is known as a graduated land tax, in addition to the ordinary tax of the same kind, on land values over £5,000 ($25,000) in round figures. The object of imposing this additional tax is to compel those possessed of large estates and who are holding them for speculative purposes to either subdivide or offer such lands for *bona fide* settlement.

Under the circumstances, the justice and wisdom of this act are quite apparent when it is remembered that 1,766 owners hold from 1,000 to 10,000 acres each, 232 owners hold from 10,000 to 50,000 acres each, and thirty owners hold over 50,000 acres each.

The improved value of land held by fourteen land owners amounts to $27,690,245, while six owners hold land the improved value of which is $12,813,900. The total value of unimproved land held in large areas — say from 5,000 acres upwards — in 1892 amounted to the vast sum of $272,360,875. Thirty-two companies, such as banks, land and loan companies, insurance and mortgage societies, own 1,321,036 acres, the improved value of which is given by the com-

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missioner of taxes at $12,916,405; and the unimproved value is by the same authority said to be equal to $9,467,690. From the foregoing figures, it will be observed that it has become necessary to take some steps to prevent the further accumulation of vast estates and the withholding of them from settlement and development. *Though the graduated tax is not regarded as being too burdensome, yet it is to a large extent having the desired effect. Many of the immense estates are being freely offered to the government at their taxable value, while some are being cut up in suitable farms and offered at public auction.*

It remains to say that all the evils expressed in the above figures can be duplicated in America, both east and west; for while the monopoly of *acres* of land is more obvious, it is not more destructive or dangerous than the monopoly of city lots.

The ordinary land tax is about two mills on the dollar, and the graduated tax begins at less than half a mill on the dollar and rises as the holdings increase until those holding a million dollars' worth of land pay an additional two pence on every pound, or in round figures a cent for every dollar. If so slight a tax as this would work such results it is plain that a heavier tax upon these corporations, loan companies and large land owners would break them up sooner and give the homesteader and farmer a much earlier opportunity. Florida, Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, any new country seeking for immigrants, should consider well this plan of New Zealand.

Laws that encourage speculation do not encourage settlement. To exempt improvement and to burden the speculator will do for our West and South that which the land tax has confessedly done in New Zealand — bring back prosperity and faith in the nation.

In order to discourage absentee landlordism the reformers in New Zealand have imposed an extra burden of twenty per cent additional tax upon those who have been absent three years. This however is only a quibble. All landlordism should be made unprofitable, absentee or resident.

With regard to the single tax itself, Mr. Connolly goes on to remark: —

THE SINGLE TAX.

That there is very little difference between the present land tax and the single tax as proposed by the single taxers, as they are called here in New Zealand, is easily shown. The principal points of difference may be briefly explained. The single tax would be levied at

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a uniform rate and without exemption upon all properties, irrespective of size. The mortgagee would be treated in precisely the same manner as the owner, i. e., it would consider him as being part owner of the improvements, as well as of the land. There would be no absentee tax; all land owners would be treated alike. The £500 exemption, the absentee and graduated tax (exclusive of the income tax) are the only diverging features as between the single tax and the present land tax.

Mr. Connolly a few years ago bitterly opposed the single tax. He seems now to understand very thoroughly the arguments of the single-tax men and comes very near to agreement. *Apparently* the American farmer is a land owner. As a matter of fact he is a renter or wage-earner. He has very little land value to tax, and as under the single tax all his improvements would be exempt and all indirect taxation abolished he would be one of the greatest gainers. He is now quite landless. He owns under mortgage or he rents. These conditions existed in New Zealand but are being changed by the tax on land values.

At the same time it is worth the while of the single tax men to consider the matter of an exemption in connection with the introduction of the single tax among the American farmers. It would need to be a small exemption, say $750 or $1,000. In some states it could be $1,000. The case would then stand. The farmer would pay no taxes on his improvements, and no taxes on his land values until those values rose above $1,000. Let him also remember that *improvement value* is exempt; it is merely the site value which must exceed the thousand-dollar limit.

Personally I feel certain that an exemption is not needed, because on the majority of farms in *bona fide* farming districts the improvements exceed the site value of the land, and the farmer having his stock, tools and buildings exempt would at once pay less taxes than now. In cases where the land value exceeded improvements, the exemption of improvements from taxation would make improvement easier, and the decreased price of lumber, coal, iron and other commodities which would be released from monopoly would also aid in making improvement easy. In short the man who feels the New Zealand tax, and the man who would feel the effects of the single tax, is the man who is living by rents, or by interest, which is only rent in another form. In other words the man who earns his living will find his burden

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lightened, while the man who lives in the sweat of his neighbor's face will find that power cut down.

In the case of New Zealand another point is of special value. Mr. Connolly says: —

> The number of taxpayers has decreased under the land and income tax by nine thousand twenty-eight, while the revenue has increased $100,000. It is to the absentee and graduated tax that the increase may be attributed.

This is to say the poor have been released from tax and the monopolist has been made to shoulder part of the load. Observe that this would not have happened if the tax had been placed upon the *improvements* of the wealthy, for if placed upon anything whose price could have been raised to cover the tax, the consumer would have paid his original burden and more too, in *indirect taxes*. Being placed upon land values it *decreased the price of land* and brought it into the market, thus making it impossible to shift the tax.

This is a fundamental principle of the single tax. It makes land plentier and therefore lower in price, and it cannot be shifted by raising the price of land so long as land is being brought into the market in increasing quantities, for the price of land would fall and not rise.

That the single tax would have an instant effect on the wages of working men is also shown by this report, for not only has the colony been steadily prosperous through the hard times of the last year, but it has absorbed without ill effects a constant stream of working men.

The effect of the tax on land values is precisely like that of opening new land to settlement. It brings it out of the speculator's hands into the settler's hands. It passes out of the hands of the monopolist into the hands of the contractor and builder. Speculation employs no labor. The moment speculation surrenders its hold, use begins and prosperity begins. This was proven in New Zealand.

The effect of opening new lands by taxing speculation reacts through all trades. It benefits the shop girl and the mechanic as well as the settler, the gardener or the builder. There is an empire of land held out of use right here in our eastern cities and their suburbs. This land can be opened to use in one way and only one way, by making it unprofitable to hold it out of use — that is, by taxing it precisely the same as if it were in use.

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This is the fundamental idea of the plan pursued in New Zealand with such fine results, and this is the fundamental principle of the single tax. The working farmer has no more cause to fear it than the mechanic. It will lift the burden which they have borne so long upon their bowed shoulders, and it will tax back into the common treasury a value which the whole people creates and which a few monopolists at present enjoy.

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THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE HEXATEUCH.

BY PROF. L. W. BATTEN.

THE object of this paper is to present to the intelligent public a specific problem of the higher criticism of the Bible. Our method will be to state the conclusions reached by the modern higher critics in regard to the Hexateuch, and the facts on which these conclusions are based.

Much is sometimes said in ridicule about the conflicting opinions of the critics.* As a matter of fact, while there are certain extravagant opinions, the agreement on all the essential points is remarkable. As my object is to show what has been done by the application of critical methods to one particular part of the Old Testament, no effort will be made to ascertain anything new, but rather to state the points in regard to which the verdict of the modern critics is practically unanimous. Such an article is certainly timely; for while the results of critical methods have been accepted largely by Biblical scholars, the ordinary intelligent Christian either holds aloof from them with a certain amount of fear, or accepts them on authority without investigation. It is desirable for every intelligent person to know whether these critical results are merely shrewd guesses, or sure inductions from facts which no one can question. Many even of the friends of criticism have a vague fear that the results may be unwholesome. A statement of the facts is the best evidence of the groundlessness of such fear.

Our subject is the Hexateuch, not the Pentateuch: the book of Joshua is inseparably bound up with the books which precede. The Jews in their arrangement of the canon separated Joshua from the earlier books, and made it the first of the series called the Former Prophets. That was done because the Pentateuch was taken as the law book, and on this ground Joshua was excluded. But Joshua brings us to the real termination of the early history. Deuteronomy

* A critic may be conservative or radical; he is a critic just the same. For convenience, I use the term of those who have accepted modern results.

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ends with the death of Moses, breaking off the history at a critical point. The first stage in the history of Israel ends, not as the tribes were preparing to cross the Jordan, but after the conquest and settlement of Canaan. Then again, the documents which are discovered in the Pentateuch are continued in Joshua. That is to say, the same sources from which the Pentateuch was compiled furnished the material for the book of Joshua.

There are four chief documents in the Hexateuch. The first is the so-called "Priest's Code," which runs through the entire Hexateuch, including the whole of Leviticus. It is the most complete of all the documents, as it was used by the compiler as the basis of his work, very little being omitted. In the historical portions this writer is particularly interested in the origin of the great religious institutions, such as the Sabbath, circumcision and the passover. This document is indicated by the symbol P.

The second document is found in all the books except Leviticus, and is characterized by the use of the name Jahveh.* To this author we owe the second account of the creation, the story of the Garden of Eden, that of Cain and Abel, and much of the partriarchal history. This writer is called the Jahvist, and his work is indicated by the symbol J. His stories are primitive and interesting. His religion is intensely anthropomorphic; he tells us, for instance, that God walked in the Garden of Eden in the cool part of the day, that He came down and closed the door of the ark for Noah, smelled the odor of Noah's sacrifice, etc.

The third document was once confused with P, because the same name was used for God; but it was discovered that in literary characteristics this writer was much more akin to J than to P. He is called the Elohist (E). From his interest in the northern tribes he was probably a resident of the northern kingdom. In style J and E are so much alike that it is difficult to separate their narratives. In Genesis it is comparatively easy, but in the other books the more cautious critics satisfy themselves for the most part by separating JE from P.

The fourth document comprises the main part of the book of Deuteronomy, and is indicated, therefore, by the symbol

*Jehovah is composed of the consonants of one divine name (Jahveh) and the vowels of another (Adonai), which was substituted for the former by the Jews.

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D. Either the author of this book or some one else closely akin to him in literary style and religious spirit, has contributed also certain parts of Joshua.

Much has been said in regard to the manner in which these documents were compiled into their present form, but so much at least seems clear. J and E were first combined into one narrative, and then the result was united with P. As a rule duplicates were excluded, but occasionally they were placed side by side, as in the account of the creation. But more frequently, the Priest's Code was taken as the basis, and portions of the JE narrative were woven into P, as in the story of the flood. The compiler or editor has apparently contributed very little. Additions supposed to be made by him are indicated by the symbol R. If the theory of such a compilation seems absurd, it is only necessary to remember that the Jews' method of composition was very different from ours. We read our sources, digest them, and then give the result in our own way. The Jewish historian did little more than select extracts from original sources. If the four gospels had been preserved in a harmony only, the result would not be very different from the phenomena of the Hexateuch.

Having now stated the important conclusions reached by the critics, I will present some of the evidence on which these results are based, for it is to be borne in mind that the critical analysis of the Hexateuch is not based on mere speculations, but upon facts.

That there are different documents in the Hexateuch appears first from double narratives of the same events. The most complete example is the duplicate of the creation. The first from P (Gen. i. 1–ii. 3[a]), the other from J (Gen. ii. 4–25[b]). A careful study of these two narratives will show that they cannot possibly have come from the same writer. P invariably uses the divine name Elohim; J uses Jahveh Elohim. The difference in style is very marked in the Hebrew, and is indeed not wholly obscured in a translation. In many cases the two sources use different words to express the same idea.

The two writers look at creation from different points of view. P represents the creation as accomplished in a cycle of days, six for the creative work and the seventh for rest. J, on the other hand, is not concerned with time. In P the

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world in the beginning was a chaotic mass, and was covered with water. The water was drawn off from the land, and then vegetation springs forth. J represents the earth at the beginning as barren for lack of water and of cultivation. The rain falls and man is created to till the soil, and then vegetation appears. In P the last act in creation was man, and that not an individual, but the race, and of both sexes. In J the first creature was an individual man, and the last was the woman, the animal creation coming in between. P's account includes the universe, J's only the earth. The conception of God in the two accounts is very different. In P the Almighty fiat is sufficient. God only needs to say "Let be," and the creation is accomplished. In J God fashions the man out of dust, breathes into his nostrils, puts him to sleep, takes a rib and fashions it into a woman. God is represented as experimenting. The one man must not be left alone; a suitable helpmeet must be found for him. The animals are created for this purpose, and it is only when man fails to find a helpmeet among them that the woman is created. The interest of P lies in the institution of the Sabbath day. In J the chief interest centres in man. He is made first, and the other things created are for his benefit.

The story of the flood is an interesting case in which the two accounts are woven together, though each is tolerably complete in itself. Certain differences are to be noted. According to P two animals of each kind were taken into the ark; according to J seven pairs of clean animals and one pair of unclean. According to P the flood was caused by the breaking up of the great deep as well as by the opening of the windows of heaven. "Some great terrestrial commotion is thus implied" (Ryle). According to J the flood was produced by a rain storm which lasted forty days and nights. According to P the flood lasted over a year; according to J there were seven days' warning, forty days' rain and twenty-one days' subsidence — sixty-eight days in all. The same differences of style and theology are found as in the creation stories, and indeed run all through the Hexateuch.

Further evidence of a decisive kind is found in the three codes of laws which are found in the Hexateuch. These are the so-called Book of the Covenant (Exodus xx.–xxiii.), Deuteronomy, and the Priest's Code, found chiefly in Numbers and Leviticus. There are other laws closely akin to

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the Book of the Covenant which were due to J or E, so that the three codes may be represented by the symbols JE, D and P. A comparison of the laws will show that in many cases the same laws are found in all three codes, with variations that are sometimes quite unimportant and sometimes very considerable. We shall examine a few of these cases.

1. *The Sabbatical year.* Exodus xxiii. 10, 11 provides that the land should lie fallow every seventh year, in which year the fruit of the vineyard and the olive yard should not be gathered. The object of this provision is that the growth of the seventh year may be left for the poor and the beasts. Deuteronomy xv. 1–11 makes no provision for rest for the land, but provides that in the seventh year there shall be a complete release of debts of Jews but not of foreigners. This law is made expressly in the interests of the poor. In Leviticus xxv. 1–7 provision is made for the land to have its Sabbath rest, during which there is to be no reaping nor pruning of any kind. The natural growth was not to be given to the poor, but could be eaten by the owner and his household in the field.

2. *Hebrew Slaves.* According to Exodus xxi. 2–11, the Hebrew slave was to be set free in the seventh year. If he was single when he became a slave he alone should be released. If he was married when he became a slave his wife was to be set free also. If his wife had been given to him by his master during his time of slavery, the wife and children remained the property of his master. If the man chose he could refuse his release and be branded a slave forever. A maiden sold by her father had not the right of release. If her master espoused her and then did not marry her she could be redeemed, but her master could not sell her to a foreigner. If the master gave her to his son for a wife she was to be treated not as a slave but as a daughter. If her master married her and then took another wife he was not to relinquish her support or cease the marital relations on penalty of her freedom. According to Deuteronomy xv. 12–18 the released slave was not to be sent away empty, but provided with food and clothing. The slave might elect to remain with his master. According to Leviticus xxv. 39–46 a Hebrew taken for debt must not become a slave, but only a hired servant, and must be released with his children in the year of jubilee.

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3. *The Place of Sacrifice.* According to Exodus xx. 24 the altar was to be made of earth, and the promise was given that at any place where Jehovah caused His name to be remembered He would come to His people and bless them. According to Deuteronomy xii. 1–28 the provision of JE is expressly forbidden. No sacrifice of any kind is to be made except on the one altar in the one place Jehovah chooses. Permission is given, however, to kill animals for food at other places, care being taken that the blood be properly shed. In Leviticus xvii. 1–9 the law is most stringent against any sacrifice except by the priest at the door of the sanctuary. The penalty is blood-guiltiness and exclusion from the privileges of the nation; exception is made, however, in the case of animals slain for food. The actual usage in the earlier history was to sacrifice at any place that was convenient, in accordance with JE. Saul offered sacrifice on the battle-field. Samuel went down to Bethlehem to hold sacrifice.

The question now arises, How are the three codes, with their many similar provisions and their many discrepancies, to be explained? To suppose that all three codes were issued by one man during a period in which there was very little change in the national life is a great strain on one's credulity. Everything becomes clear on the critical hypothesis according to which the Book of the Covenant is the earliest code, probably Mosaic in origin, and in agreement with the actual usage of the early Hebrews. The Deuteronomic Code is based on the Code of the Covenant, abrogating some features, developing others, and making many new provisions to meet the wants of a more developed national life. The peculiar features of the Priest's Code are due, not so much to a difference of time as to a difference of condition. Whether it is a later development than the Deuteronomic Code or not is still a disputed question. But of that more below. A careful study of the three codes in their entirety will furnish the best evidence of their belonging to different periods in the life of the Hebrew people.

The burning question concerning the documents from which the Hexateuch is compiled is in regard to their respective dates. While the verdict of critics is not unanimous on this point, it is sufficiently so for all practical purposes. It is best to begin with the book of Deuteronomy

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because there is the surest ground. If the critical results in regard to that book cannot be maintained nothing else can. We read in 2 Kings xxii. that in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, Hilkiah, the high priest, sent word to the king that he had found the book of the law in the temple. This book of the law was first read to the king privately and then, by his command, publicly before the people. It made a profound impression upon both king and people. What was this book of the law? Professor William Henry Green and others who hold the traditional view, maintain that it was the entire Pentateuch. But the following evidence shows that it was the book of Deuteronomy: 1. The Pentateuch could not have been read twice by Shaphan in one day; the circumstances require a short book. 2. A careful study of the book of Deuteronomy in connection with Josiah's reformation will show that this reformation was based wholly on the laws of Deuteronomy. 3. The prophet Jeremiah (Jer. xi. 1–8) was commanded to preach the new book of the law in Jerusalem and the other cities of Judah. The references to the book of the law in this passage correspond to Deuteronomy. Moreover a careful study of Jeremiah's prophecies after the reformation of Josiah shows that his thought was permeated by the ideas of Deuteronomy.

But the question still remains whether the book had been really lost, or was first produced at this time and represented as an old book in order to secure for it a greater authority. It seems clear that whenever the book was written it had never before seen the light. Its contents are equally surprising to Hilkiah the priest, Shaphan the scribe, Josiah the king, the elders and the people. Moreover it contains regulations of whose existence there is no evidence before this time. The great point about which the discussion has revolved is that of the high place worship. The patriarchs offered sacrifice at many ancient sanctuaries. We have already seen that the Book of the Covenant assumes that altars will be set up in various places. In the book of Deuteronomy the high places are expressly forbidden (xii. 29–32). No sacrifice was allowed except at the central sanctuary. Now if this law had been in existence since Moses' day, how are we to account for the fact that Samuel sacrificed at such places, that Solomon's famous vision was at "the great high place," that the most pious kings of Ju-

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dah — namely, Asa, Jehoash, Amaziah, Uzziah and Jotham — all sacrificed in the high places? It is scarcely conceivable that these men should have violated a plain Mosaic law. It is true that the action of these kings is condemned by the author of the book of Kings, but he writes from the point of view of his own times, when the Deuteronomic law had been generally accepted. The *massebah* or consecrated stone, and the *asherah* or sacred pole, are closely connected with the high place worship. Jacob, Samuel and Joshua all set up *massebahs*. These were regarded as a proper part of the equipment for worship by Hosea and Isaiah. Both are explicitly prohibited in Deuteronomy (xvi. 21, 22).

As to the date of J and E it is not easy to fix anything definite. They are certainly earlier than Deuteronomy, and all critics agree that they fall between Solomon and Amos. There are many allusions in these documents which show that they belong to a time when the Israelites were settled in Canaan. Driver truly says that they belong to the golden age of Hebrew literature. Which of these is earlier it is not possible to determine accurately, though the weight of opinion is in favor of assigning J to a somewhat earlier date than E.

P has been the greatest problem of all. On account of its being the foundation of the Hexateuch it was formerly regarded as the earliest document. But since the date was seriously studied that conclusion is seen to be erroneous. It is manifestly later than Deuteronomy, for many of its provisions show a later stage in the development of Israel's history. The priest and Levite in D are synonymous. In P the Levites are degraded to a subordinate positon. It seems equally clear that P is later than Ezekiel. The priest prophet, as an appendix to his prophecies, formulated an ideal code for the new Israel (Ezekiel xl.-xlviii.) A comparison of his code with P makes it reasonably certain that P is a later code, so that it cannot be earlier than the Babylonian captivity.

We have left but small space to consider the question of authorship, but indeed, much is not required. If the Hexateuch is composite and the dates assigned above are approximately correct, Moses was not the author, and no modern critic pretends to know who the various authors were. Like most of the other writings of the Old Testament, these documents are anonymous.

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The denial of the Mosaic authorship is the sore point with traditionalists. It seems strange that they should be aggrieved if one examines the basis of the venerable claims that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch; for the Pentateuch does not make such a claim for itself, and the character of the Jewish tradition was sufficiently shown by Professor Horton in a previous number of THE ARENA. Indeed the Pentateuch itself contains statements which exclude the Mosaic authorship. Moses is constantly spoken of in the third person, and from what seems to be a distant point of view. Moreover it is expressly stated that Moses wrote certain laws. In saying that Moses wrote a part of a book it is clearly implied that he was not the author of the whole.

If these reasons persuade any one that the traditional view of the Hexateuch is wrong, it need not persuade him that the religious value of the books is in any way impaired. Other authors were inspired as well as Moses. But after all it is not a question of consequences but of fact. If these things are so, we must accept them. That they are so is the verdict of a very large proportion of the men who are now devoting their time and talents to the study of the Old Testament Scriptures.

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THE ELECTION OF POSTMASTERS BY THE PEOPLE.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK, LL. D.*

The constitution of this union of states, adopted by our forefathers at Philadelphia in 1787, was a very remarkable instrument. In many respects it was the most admirable framework of government which the ages had produced. But like all human productions it had its faults. The generation which made it added no less than twelve amendments. Three have since been added. Another, providing for the election of United States senators by the people instead of by the legislatures of the respective states, commands popular approval and will no doubt be adopted. The necessity for it has been fully demonstrated. It is, besides, practically adopted in several states already by the custom of the state party conventions nominating a candidate for the approaching vacancy in the senate and the members of the legislature being elected upon an implied or express pledge to vote for their respective party's candidate for senator, in conformity to the custom which requires electors to vote for the presidential candidate named in advance by their party convention.

But there is another amendment which time has also demonstrated to be a necessity. Public sentiment has crystallized in its favor wherever the subject has been discussed. The welfare of the republic requires its adoption. The provision which vests the appointment of postmasters in the president and heads of department, according as congress may direct the classification, was doubtless a suitable and proper one when the constitution was adopted. The number of postmasters was then a few hundred. It was thought then that the president or the postmaster general, in one of whom all these appointments were vested, according to the classification by congress, would make inquiry and be in-

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formed as to the fitness of the appointee — in short, that they would really be the *appointing* power.

Now that the number of postmasters approximates 75,000 this is entirely impracticable. Counting 300 working days per year and six hours per day given entirely and solely to appointments, with an average of only fifteen minutes' consideration to each case, the four years of the postmaster general would expire before 29,000 appointments are made, or two-fifths of the postmasters; this, too, with a total neglect of all the other and more important duties of that office, unless outside of official hours. The appointing is in fact done by a power not recognized as possessing the right to appoint, and on whom it would not have been conferred in 1787 if the suggestion had then been made. Nor could such provision be placed in the constitution if it were attempted to-day.

We have thus in fact an army of 75,000 men appointed to office illegally, in a mode not provided by the constitution, and which could not be placed in the constitution to-day by the people's will. The appointment of this army of office holders is as to the presidential postmasters practically vested in the senators from the state, and of the lesser postmasters in the member of congress for the district, when these are of the same political party with the president or influential with him. When these legislative officers are of the opposite political party or not personally in favor with the president, the appointment is virtually vested in local party leaders who act without the responsibility and publicity of office.

Aside from the fact that such modes of appointment are unconstitutional and illegal, and that as matters stand it is impossible for the mode to be changed, since neither president nor postmaster general can possibly become acquainted with the fitness and character of such a host of appointees, there are many other objections to the system in force as to the appointment of postmasters, among which may be named as the most potent the following: —

1. It gives the executive an overshadowing influence with the legislative department. This is always dangerous in a free government. As it is recognized that the senator or congressman, as the case may be, is the real appointing agency, subject to the president's option to place the exercise

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of such power in some party leader, every candidate for an appointment is so much pressure brought to bear upon the senator or congressman that he shall conform his views to the president's upon leading questions. Our constitution, framed under ideas prevalent over one hundred years ago, gave the executive what has heretofore proven undue weight and influence in the government. He is in fact an elective king, for a term of years, with an authority exceeding that of any crowned head in Europe except the czar of all the Russias. But this additional influence, not contemplated by the constitution, makes his authority and influence overwhelming.

It is but recent history that the president declared his wish and intention that a certain important financial matter nearly affecting the people at large should pass congress. There was no secret made that senators and congressmen not supporting the executive view would find no favor at the White House. It is also generally believed that the pressure of applicants for office and their friends was so great upon senators and representatives that many of them deserted their declared and often announced convictions of a lifetime that they might receive executive approval of the appointments which they wished to make in behalf of their personal or party friends, according to customary usage, and as a part of the perquisites of their legislative offices. It is no secret that this was the most potent influence in carrying the measure through congress. Without this presidential influence can it be doubted that the measure would have failed? What was then so easily done can be done again and again on important occasions, until congress shall be little more than the beds of justice of the old French parliaments which met simply to register the decrees of the sovereign.

2. The system practically in force is injurious to the legislative department itself, which should not be invested with the appointments. It often leads to "trades" and combinations for the appointment of individuals as postmasters on account of their influence instead of their fitness and acceptability to the public. In this way, not infrequently, nominations and elections are secured. As the "patronage" is yearly increasing, with the value and number of postmasterships, this source of public corruption will grow.

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It is no answer to say that many senators and congressmen — let it be said if you will, a very large majority of them — do not bestow these appointments with any view to reward past services or secure future support, but with an eye single to the public good. Still the constitution is perverted by the bestowal, in practice, of any part of the appointing power upon members of the legislative department. That some of them abuse it and that the system affords, nay invites, misuse, is a condemnation of it. The only test of a postmaster's appointment should be fitness and acceptability to the public of the locality he is to serve. The best judges of those qualifications are the people themselves, expressing their opinions and wishes in the matter as collected from the ballot box.

Besides it interferes with the discharge of their proper functions that legislators should be practically thus invested with the appointing power and called upon to decide upon the advantages of making this or that appointment. Then too, as already stated, it destroys the independence of the legislative department by making it subservient to the executive, in order to avoid the veto which the latter can place upon a senator's or representative's appointments and thus destroy all chances of renomination. The best men in both branches of congress would be glad to be relieved of this thraldom and to be relegated to their constitutional duty of legislating for the best good of the people, unswayed by outside and personal considerations.

3. From the standpoint of the people, the present system is equally injurious. It is educating a host of men to look not to the people themselves as the source of all power and authority, but to regard the appointing power as something beyond and above the people. It is creating a mass of courtiers and political traders, who rely for appointment not upon fitness or public approval, but upon the "pull" they may have on the virtual appointing power — the senator or representative whom they may have aided to bring into office or to whom they have advanced money either *bona fide*, or sometimes, it may be, under the guise of a subscription to the campaign fund. The opportunity which corruption is afforded is great. Let us hope it is not often used.

These being some of the evils, and they are great ones — which will assuredly become greater — what is the remedy?

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There is but one. It is the only one which freemen have ever found with which to break the force of executive tyranny or prevent corruption in the appointing power. That is to resume the power themselves and to select their servants at the ballot box.

This would not only remove the evils above indicated and others, but would have most important results.

1. In the first place a presidential election is now a strain upon the whole country. The postmasters and other officials connected with the postal service number one hundred thousand. These, with their families and others closely allied to them, form a vast army of a half million of people who are dependent upon the success of a presidential candidate. Double as many more expect appointments if the other side win. If each postmaster were elected by the people of the locality, this would be no longer the case. Whether postmasters should be selected at the ballot box by personal preferences or on party lines, still the wishes of that particular locality would succeed, irrespective of the success of any particular candidate for the presidency. This would remove one of the great inciting causes of a conflict, which, exciting enough in any view, has been so aggravated as to have caused a civil war in 1860 and nearly caused its repetition in 1876.

2. The change would relieve the president of a personal strain from applications for office which has contributed to, if not directly caused, the death of more than one incumbent of that high office and crippled the usefulness of others. It would give the executive, as well as the legislative, department time to devote to proper and appropriate duties.

3. The change would check the growing tendency to centralization which threatens to absorb local self government in the centripetal attraction of public office.

4. This would deprive the opponents of a governmental telegraphic and telephonic service of their only valid argument against it, which is that it would increase the number of federal appointees. The number of postoffices might be largely increased with a telephone at each office, except at one or two large offices in each state which might be telegraphic for the purpose of relaying and forwarding long-distance messages. With low governmental rates this change would more than double the benefits and usefulness to the people of the postoffice department. With postmasters

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elected by the people, there can be no longer objections urged against increasing the number of federal appointees from fear of augmenting the pressure for patronage which now threatens to paralyze both the executive and legislative departments of the government.

Nor are there any practical difficulties as to the manner of election. The territory around each postoffice could be divided off into a precinct by a board provided for the purpose by statute with provision for subdivisions and changes by the department in a manner which would guard against abuse. Each four years when a president is elected, a postmaster for each of these postoffice precincts could be chosen, exactly in the same manner that a constable is elected in each township when the governor and other officers are voted for by the state at large. This would not add perceptibly to the expense of elections.

The postmasters thus elected would give bond and be subject to removal for cause, just as the appointed officials are now, and would be in all respects subject to the same regulations as now except that when removed for cause the cause might be tried at the next federal court. If the charges were not sustained the officer would be reinstated. In case the charge was proven a new postmaster would be elected for the unexpired term at the next congressional election, if it should not be a presidential election year.

The strongest objection against the election of postmasters by the people is that it was not provided for in the constitution of 1787. But neither was the present system of virtual appointment by senators and representatives provided for by that constitution. It is a fungus growth and dangerous to the health of the republic; it should be removed.

It is said that this world of ours has three motions — one its diurnal revolution on its own axis, another in its wide annual sweep around the sun, the third as it is drawn along with the whole planetary system in the rush of the sun towards the distant point in the heavens to which it has been flying with more than the velocity of a cannon-ball since creation's dawn. The three motions combined describe a spiral. As the earth thus spins down the spiral stairway of the stars, the lapse of every twenty-four hours sees us removed three millions of miles from the point in space occupied by us at the same hour the day before. With the

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whole world thus earnestly "on the move" can it be seriously contended that the constitution alone shall stand still? That it had imperfections has been shown. The generation that made it was wise enough to amend it, and succeeding generations have done the same. Now we are face to face with other imperfections which have come with the lapse of time — the manner of electing senators, and the immense growth of, and perverted mode of dispensing, patronage or appointments to office. Is not this generation wise enough and strong enough to grapple with these questions?

Whatever may be said in favor of civil service as applicable to clerkships and other subordinate positions, it is very clear that life appointments under civil service rules are not desirable for postmasters who are thrown directly in contact with the people and whose acceptability to the people they serve is of the first importance. Nor is favor in the eyes of a congressman, ambitious perhaps of further honors or mindful of past favors, a proper basis for appointment. If the people are wise enough to elect presidents and congressmen, governors and judges, why can they not be trusted to select senators and postmasters?

When the constitution of 1787 was framed there was a large element cautious of committing much power to the people. It was an unknown and untried experiment. Senators were to be chosen by the legislatures. It was feared to trust their election to the masses, but time has demonstrated that the latter would have been the better plan. Judges were to be appointed for life by the president. Yet hardly a state constitution retains now such a feature. The few hundred postmasters were to be appointed by the president or the postmaster general. Now that they number nearly three-fourths of a hundred thousand, and are increasing in number at the rate of three to five thousand per annum, their appointment is practically changed and is made by members of congress and senators or unofficial political leaders. A century of experience in self-government and the spread of education among the masses have been of little value if they have not brought proof of, and increased confidence in, the capacity of the people to select their own officers. The development of republican government must take that direction. The continued bestowal of so large a number of

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offices, increasing steadily in number and value, by patronage, can only result in increasing and widespread corruption. Trust the people. While they remain honest and intelligent they are the proper and only safe depositories of the power of selecting their own servants. Whenever the day shall come that they shall cease to discern their own interest or shall become corrupt, a stronger form of government, not resting on the people's will, may be found, but not a purer one.

The writer is one of those who steadfastly believe in the capacity of the people for self-government and that progress in the direction of a purer, better government, a government which shall be for the people, is to be found only in the extension of a government which is by and of the people. In the curtailment of patronage, which is a survival of government by officials, and the selection of postmasters and all other officers as far as possible by the people, is to be found the only solution of many of the difficulties and evils which now surround us. This will not be the "conclusion of the whole matter," but it will be a very long step in the right direction. Other difficulties will arise with our development in wealth and population. Wisdom will be found to solve them as they shall press on us.

"There are great truths that pitch their shining tents
Outside our walls, and though but dimly seen
In the gray dawn, they will be manifest
When the light widens into perfect day."

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A NEW DISEASE.

BY ELBERT HUBBARD.

CIVILIZATION (like success) has its penalty. Granting all the wonders that invention has wrought, and admitting our splendid progress along certain lines, the calm observer still sees that we have bought these things with a price. Have we paid too much? If you are not in haste let the future tell.

In civilized countries the state protects the individual, and thus through lack of exercise the individual in time loses the capacity to protect himself. Our forefathers, who wrestled with wind and storm and dared the elements, or faced wild beasts or savage men as wild, laughed at danger. They went into battle with stouter hearts than we take to the dentist's. We are so busy making money and so fearful about the money we have made, so alert and breathless for "facts," that what we have gained in height we have lost in girth.

As a consequence we have acquired a few things beside money and facts. Among these acquisitions are a whole host of diseases—exhaustion, paresis, nervous prostration and various brands of debility; each of which is presided over by many self-appointed specialists (like the gods of old) who offer us "consultation free." Several men have immortalized themselves by palming off on us brand new ailments and naming these diseases after themselves. As the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table has said, "Their names go clattering down the corridors of time like a tin kettle to a dog's tail." Who can conceive of the mischief that Dr. Bright brought about by booming his disease!

Schemes for "self treatment" are thrust at us from the columns of every daily, and as we walk the streets we see in shop windows dainty little plush boxes containing hypodermic outfits, advertised as holiday presents. As we journey by rail announcements of "the only sarsaparilla" and "the

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kind that cures" greet us from barn roofs that should be sacred to moss and silky gray shingles; we look out to enjoy the landscape, and we behold references to "that tired feeling" that give it to us. We take up the paper to read the doings of the great men of the earth, and our eyes light on pictures of worthy housewives who have gained a pound a day — or lost it, as the case may be. Pepsin, hypophosphites, bromide, cocaine, chloral, are sold on every hand. The opium smugglers are making such vast fortunes that they bid fair to rival in society the Coal Oil Johnnies.

The latest thing in neurotics is *paranoia*. No doubt it has always existed, but until a disease becomes popularized, so to speak, it cannot consistently lay claim to a technical name. The distinguishing symptom of this malady is fear. The victim is very sure that some one is plotting against him. *He knows it*. For many months this fear may be upon him and his intimate friends see nothing wrong in his manner. But he is alert, vigilant and on the lookout. Suddenly some day he sees his wife sprinkle a white powder in his soup. It is salt, but you could never convince him of that fact. He refuses the soup, and his life for the time is spared. Next day he slyly exchanges his cup of coffee for hers. She does not drink all of her coffee — he knows why, but keeps the information to himself. Certain conspirators come to his house in the disguise of rag-peddlers, milkmen, etc.; he sees them and mentally makes note. He observes these men afterward on the street but they pretend not to see him; they turn their backs and walk away. He confronts them, they are astonished and protest their innocence — "just as the guilty always do."

The ropes are being drawn tighter around the helpless victim. He sees his children are eying him — yes, even they have joined the enemy. A neighbor comes in and assumes a friendliness that he does not feel; it can be seen in his eye. Relentless hate is on the poor fellow's track — ruin, disaster, disgrace, death. Sleepless nights follow days of hot anxiety, and one of two things happens. The unhappy wretch in frenzy strikes down his wife or son or neighbor who he imagines is about to wrong him, or he flies to a distant city to elude his pursuers. Arriving there he detects still other villains on his track; breathless, with bloodshot eyes and blanched face, the cold sweat standing in beads on his fore-

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head, he rushes into a police station and demands protection. He gets it; for every police captain has seen more than one just such case.

It is a well-known fact that when a man is in a condition ripe for suggestion he accepts the thought of another. So *paranoia* is often known to have its beginning in the suggested hate of some one else. It is possible for a whole family to become infected with the same hallucination. So many instances of this kind are to be found recorded in treatises on nervous disorders that it would be like platitude to give them here.

An insane idea may run through an entire community, as the hallucination of witchcraft did in Salem in 1692, when nineteen innocent persons were hanged on testimony that was deemed unimpeachable. The witchcraft fear found root in a soil already full of apprehension. A perusal of Cotton Mather's sermons will quickly show that he taught of a God of wrath who proposed to damn certain people and save others. This God was jealous, petty, trifling, capricious, and could be pacified only by certain things. People who believe in this sort of a Supreme Being have minds ready to be inoculated with any other combination of fear and hate that may be thrust upon them by a strong suggestion. Salem has made a stain on the pages of our history that will last even beyond the time when the United States of America lives only in legend and fable.

There are now strong symptoms of a social *paranoia* to be seen in certain parts of our country. If the antidote is not given it may become a scourge that will hold our fair name up as a byword and a hissing before the civilized world. This disease has found a favorable soil in many sections, especially in the rural districts of the West. The widespread financial depression has hit the farmer hard. The rustle of the mortgage has sung in his ears night and day, and visions of a gigantic summons and complaint, backed up with writs of ejectment, have haunted his dreams. And no matter how much they claim that the tears of pity have put out the fires of hell, yet the good old doctrines of "total depravity," "endless punishment" and the angry God are still preached throughout the land. Bad legislation, bad crops and bad theology are a trinity of bad things. The result has been that a condition favorable to a suggestion of

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hate and fear has been prepared; and the suggestion has come.

A year ago I was visiting an old farmer friend in Illinois, and very naturally the talk was of the great Fair. Was he going? Not he—he dared not leave his house a single day; did I not know that the Catholics had been ordered by the pope to burn the barns and houses of all heretics? It sounded like a joke, but I saw the gray eyes of this old man flash and I knew he was terribly in earnest. With trembling hands he showed me the pope's encyclical, printed in a newspaper which had a deep border of awful black. I tried to tell this man that Pope Leo XIII. was a wise and diplomatic leader and probably the most enlightened man who had been at the head of the Roman church for many years; and by no human probability could he do a thing which would work such injury to the Catholics as well as the rest of humanity. (This pretended encyclical has since been proven and acknowledged a forgery.) But my argument was vain. I was taken to the two clergymen in the village, a Presbyterian and a Methodist; both were full of fear and hate toward the Catholics, with a little left over for each other. They were sure that the order to kill and burn had gone forth.

And so in many towns and villages as I journeyed I found this quaking fear. In many places men were arming themselves with Winchester rifles; many preachers never spoke in public without fanning the flame; A. P. A. lodges were rapidly initiating new members, and lurid literature which was being vomited forth from presses in Louisville, Chicago, Omaha and Kansas City was being sent out broadcast.

For a year I have endeavored to find proof that the Catholic church in America was arming and drilling men or countenancing such action, as so boldly stated by the leaders in the A. P. A. In many cities I have been given permission to search every part of convents, monasteries and churches where arms were said to be stored. In vain has been my search. I have used all methods known to detectives to find any Catholic in possession of orders to maltreat his neighbors. No request or suggestion or hint showing a desire to injure Protestants have I ever been able to trace to a Catholic priest, bishop or other dignitary. And it is now the conclusion of all unprejudiced men who have investigated the matter that the letters, "encyclicals," "bulls" and orders

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which are being printed in various A. P. A. papers and purporting to come from the Roman Catholic church are flagrant forgeries.

The A. P. A. seeks to spread hate; it thrives by fear, and its only weapon is untruth. This broadcast sowing of falsehoods is doubtless done by men who are thriving by it politically and financially, and the real victims are the people who believe these outrageous stories, subscribe for the papers and pay dues to be initiated into the A. P. A. lodges. Yet whenever any one has taken up pen to try to stop the insane panic he has been greeted as "a Jesuit hireling." Occasionally, however, we get a clear note of protest from such well-known men as B. O. Flower, Washington Gladden and David Swing; men who have so placed themselves on record in the past that their attitude toward Rome cannot possibly be misunderstood.

As for myself I do not recognize the church of Rome as a "divine institution" any more than I regard the New York Central Railroad as such. I have just as much faith in the infallibility of Chauncey M. Depew as I have in that of the pope. Both are pretty good men as men go. When they met a few months ago they grasped hands, as all men should — as equals. Among other things Dr. Depew told his holiness that many of the Central's most faithful and trusted employees were loyal Catholics. And it is a fact that nearly one half of the men in the employ of railroads in the United States are communicants in the church of Rome.

Some weeks ago it was my privilege to ride from New York to Albany on the engine of the Empire State express. The engineer was a little, bronzed, weather-beaten man of near fifty. I showed my permit, and without a word he motioned me to the fireman's seat in the cab. He ran around his engine with oil can in hand, then climbed to his place and waited for the conductor's signal to start. I was watching, too, and back in the crowd I saw the hand swung aloft; at the instant, the engineer turned and made a quick motion as if crossing himself, seized the lever, and we were off. For exactly three hours the telegraph poles sped past, and we rolled and thundered onward through towns, villages, cities; over switches, crossings, bridges, culverts and through tunnels and viaducts at that terrific rate of a mile a minute. The

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little man at the throttle looked straight out ahead at the two lines of glistening steel; one hand was on the throttle, the other ready to grasp the air brake. I was not afraid, for I saw that he was not. He spoke not a word, nor looked at me nor at his fireman, who worked like a Titan. But I saw that his lips kept moving as he still forced the flying monster forward.

At last we reached Albany. What a relief it was! My nerves were unstrung. I had had enough for a lifetime. The little engineer had left the cab and was tenderly feeling the bearings. I turned to the fireman: —

"Bill, why does he keep moving his lips when there at the lever?"

"Who — th' ole man? Why, don't you know, he's a Catholic. He allus prays on a fast run. Twenty years he's run on this road with never an accident — the nerviest man that ever kicked a gauge cock, he is, 'swelp me!"

Bill is not a Catholic, neither am I, but we do not ask whether the engineer who pilots us safely to our destination is Presbyterian or Baptist; we only ask that he shall be a man who knows his business and is willing to do it. And yet the A. P. A. are clamoring for the removal of all Catholics from the employ of railroad companies; and their oath of initiation requires that the candidate shall never give employment to a Catholic provided a Protestant can be found to do the work.

It is a somewhat curious thing that this hatred and insane fear of Rome is almost entirely confined to orthodox Protestantism. The Quakers, Universalists, Unitarians, liberals of all sorts and the "infidels" are not alarmed. But a reference to the A. P. A. papers will show a fine array of names of orthodox clergymen who are "waging the war." And the more orthodox they are the fuller of fight they seem. "High church" talks extermination of Catholicism, but "low church" is not panic-stricken.

The persecutor and the martyr are of the same type. And in this case it is brother against brother — a family feud. The orthodox Protestant brother who is so busy organizing A. P. A. lodges is made from the same stuff as the hated Catholic. They are both "Christians" and both "sincere." The distinguishing feature in the religion of each is that they teach that Jesus of Nazareth did not have a man for

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his father, and that only by a certain belief in this Jesus can we escape perdition.

Show an Eskimo three horses, a black, a gray and a bay, and he can scarcely see any points of resemblance in them. But a skilful horseman will quickly detect that the conformation, temper and quality of endurance in each is about the same — in fact that they may all have had the same sire and dam. If you are selecting one of these horses for your own use, the expert judge will tell you to take your choice; they are all of one breed — it is only a matter of taste in color. So it is with these man-made religions (all formulated, organized institutions of every sort and kind are man-made). Calvinism, High Church Episcopalianism and Rome are all cut off from the same piece of cloth.

They all teach a mixture of superstition and morality with a dash of universal truth, but this latter is not insisted on. They have all persecuted and cried "Whoa" and "Stop thief" to progress. Art has suffered at the hands of Protestantism, science has been checked and thwarted by all, and on the hands of each is the blood of innocent men. Yet their purpose is to do good.

We know the excellent work of the Jesuits among the Indians: we know the lives of La Salle and Marquette. We know Francis of Assisi and the priests who have given their all to leper colonies and still other leper colonies scourged by vice and sin. Then we know of the splendid work of that army of women who toil without pay and who labor without hope of earthly reward in hospitals, asylums and wherever tender hands are needed. On battle-fields where "Christians" have gone forth to kill each other, their white flag of peace is always seen. They whisper words of comfort to the dying, they close the eyes of the dead, they straighten the stiffening limbs, and by their presence lend a show of decency to the last sad scenes.

Then we know the good work of the Protestants. We know their Chautauqua circles, the Society of Christian Endeavor, the W. C. T. U., the College Settlements, the Asylums, Hospitals and Homes. Catholic and Protestant alike pray to one God, and He who hears the cry of the nun as she watches by the bedside of the dying, hearkens also to the prayer of the Protestant mother.

The light of reason has recently sent gleams of glorious

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truth through all religions. All are coming nearer together, and in many sections we see the dawning of a better day by the uniting of Christian people for practical progress. So be it. But we can go forward only as we leave hate behind. Let Protestants, Catholics and lovers of truth everywhere be willing to strike hands for good, and let us say as a united people, that in this glorious land there is no room for a secret society that seeks to spread broadcast hate and fear! For if we sow hate we must reap hate. We awaken in others the same attitude of mind that we hold toward them. "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."

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THE NATIONALIZATION OF ELECTRICITY.

BY SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

WHO has not read with pleasure that one of the fairy stories of the Arabian Nights which tells of a fisherman who one day happened to drag from the deep a vessel of peculiar shape? Removing the strange seal which closed the aperture, he beheld a thin streak of smoke rising out of it, growing more compact and voluminous until it had turned into a column covering the whole horizon. The cloud finally assumed the shape of a giant, who threatened to take the life of his liberator and benefactor. Though the fisherman begged for mercy, pleading ignorance and innocence, the giant would have destroyed him, if the fisherman had not in the nick of time persuaded the giant to hide again in the vessel. Then closing the aperture, he became master of the situation and able to prescribe terms.

Strange as is this fiction, fact is still more strange. The present generation is confronted by a similar giant who has grown almost out of nothing. Though he does not threaten the life of the community, but rather shows willingness to yield his powerful neck to the yoke and serve humanity like a faithful slave, still we stand in awe before him, doubting whether we dare trust him implicitly or whether, in some of his features, he may not become a dangerous foe to us, exacting a disproportionate tribute which we would not care to pay. This giant, in plain language, is called electricity.

Within one generation, this subtle force has conquered the world; the whole surface of the globe has been covered with the wire netting of electric plants of all descriptions, so that this earth, if viewed from one of her sister planets, must look as though some gigantic spider had spun his web around her. There are people yet living who remember the first telegraph. I lately met a gentleman who, with great pride, told me that he delivered by contract, the first telegraph poles that were erected; and it seems but yesterday that the first trial of

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telephonic communication was made here in Boston — I think in Music Hall — before an assembly of astonished witnesses.

The surprise of the fisherman in our fable could not have been greater, when he beheld a giant rising out of the small vessel, than is the wonder of our present age, in beholding the unexampled growth of electricity and its rapid adaptation to all kinds of services. By means of electricity, the news of the world is brought to us at a moment's notice; by means of electricity, the voices of friends, with all their characteristic inflections, are carried to us over the space of thousands of miles; electricity floods the largest cities with a sea of light at any given moment; electricity, transformed into force, drives and propels heavy cars loaded with freight or passengers.

Still this giant has not grown to full proportions; he is yet a mere child and may after reaching maturity surpass the most extravagant expectations. Metaphorically speaking, the social body has suddenly evolved a system of nerves, by which its most distant parts, its minutest cells, are placed in intercommunication and sympathy with one another. We may stand in awe before the ruins of the buildings which the civilized nations of antiquity have left to tell us of their enterprise; we may wonder how Egypt could have built her pyramids, Greece her temples, Rome her highways; but whatever are the bequests of ancient culture and ingenuity, never before has the world been blessed with benefactions such as are represented to-day by electricity.

Now then, who is to own this young Hercules? Whose slave is he to be? Whom is he to serve? It is a pertinent question: Shall such an immense force, a force that promises to revolutionize the whole world and to reshape all its institutions, become the private property of a few, or shall it become the property of all? Shall the miraculous lamp of Aladdin raise one or a few men to princely station, or shall it become the benefactor of all mankind? Shall this nervous system of the social body be controlled by a few of the cells of the organism to their own advantage, for their own profit, or shall it become an integral part of the body itself?

At the time when electrical science was born and the first telegraph was introduced, nobody foresaw to what dimensions the new invention would grow; no wonder, therefore, that

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it was looked upon as if it were a mere toy, and that it was left to private enterprise to develop and utilize it. Even to-day, the true relation in which electricity stands to social welfare is not fully understood; even to-day, people do not seem to comprehend that it is the full nerve force of a nation which they hand over to private companies, when they permit them to control telegraphs, telephones, electric lights or other electrical contrivances. As in the case of railroads, it is not so much the saving or losing of a few millions of dollars which concerns us, but it is the influence which those who own such a powerful agent can exert, through its power, upon the social body. I will state but a few of the many reasons why electricity should be owned by the people themselves, and not by a few interested parties among the people.

1. Like all blind forces of nature, electricity possesses, with the power of doing good, also the power of working harm. What would man be without fire?—and still he must be eternally watchful to see that this useful servant is kept in strict confinement and not allowed to run riot in a self-chosen course. So electricity is an agent that should be handled with great care. Unless this force is carefully supervised, life and property are constantly threatened by it. When private companies are permitted to control such a force; when they are granted the privilege of covering the streets of a city, or even the housetops, with their network of wires they should be held responsible for all damages occasioned by their ward, either accidentally or by negligence. It is understood that such a responsibility exists; but that is a mere theory, not carried out in practice. The individual member of society will find it impossible to win a lawsuit against a corporation. In the majority of cases, the distinction between unavoidable accident and negligence is so minute that it is difficult for a jury to decide which is which.

The people, represented by their government, should be the keepers of so dangerous a servant; they could make him diffuse his beneficent services and they alone would have full power to control his malevolent spirit. For some time, it was felt in our large cities that the dangers brought upon the citizens by electrical contrivances were out of proportion, and the demand to bury wires under ground was frequently pressed. The rival companies, however, could not agree about the right *modus;* absolutely nothing was

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done to remove these dangers, and some time will yet pass before anything will be accomplished that will give satisfaction. If the government had had control of electricity, wires would have been underground long ago, and dangers coming from them, either by accident or negligence, would have been reduced to a minimum.

2. It is easy to advance, but difficult to retrace steps once taken. People have accustomed themselves very easily to receiving news from all over the globe at short notice, but although mankind existed for uncounted thousands of years without such accommodations, it would form one of our greatest discomforts if now we should be deprived of such intelligence. In fact, if, by an accident, telegraphic and telephonic communication is interrupted, it seems a great hardship, and not rarely does it happen that vast sums of money are lost through it. The whole business life that permeates the community is nowadays based upon the assurance of telegraphic communication. Is it wise, therefore, to leave such a power in irresponsible hands? Would it not be wiser, is it not a case of self-protection, that the people themselves, as represented by their government, should manage this great source of intelligence?

Under this head falls the relation in which telegraphs and telephones stand to the press. News can be collected and spread only by means of a thoroughly organized system of telegraphic communication with the newspaper world. All our opinions are shaped and all our decisions influenced by the news as presented to us. From false premises we come to false conclusions, and from a false representation of a fact, most naturally a false decision will spring. The telegraphic nerves reach the public mind, the very brain centre of the people, and it will depend every time upon the correctness with which the news is brought to it, what action the whole body politic will take. An alarming despatch may cause a financial panic and work a great deal of harm before its falsity is proven and its text contradicted by another despatch. Favoritism shown to one newspaper that is not granted to another, can lift up the one and repress the other, much to the harm of truth and to the injury of the people whose sentiments these papers are supposed to voice. Such an immense power to shape public opinion should not be left to irresponsible parties; it should be in

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the hands of the people's representative, the government, whom they can hold responsible for every action.

It will not be amiss to direct the attention of the reader at this juncture to the fact that when we speak of the government, we frequently allow a false impression to take hold of us. It passes generally as a truth that the government is a power to be feared by the governed; a power the interests of which are diametrically opposed to those of the people, and the policy of which is always one of self-interest to the few who have risen to the control of the political machine. This tendency and the delight with which the ruling powers are usually attacked, have sprung from historical grounds. Despotism and monarchism — and even in our days, democracy, which rules by majorities — have ever proclaimed themselves not the servants but the masters of the people. All these governments represented interests which the people did not share. If such a government decided to treat its subjects well, it was done from the same motives that the farmer treats his cattle well, viz., in order to grow richer and more comfortable by so doing, but not out of mere love for them. The functions with which the government was intrusted were in conformity with that very idea, and, strange to say, almost every government depended, for its safety against its own subjects, upon the bayonets of an army.

No wonder, therefore, that people were ever distrustful and jealous of the power of the government; no wonder that they would not intrust it with more wealth or force than was absolutely necessary; no wonder that they would rather give over their railroads and the giant, electricity, to private corporations than to their own government. But given a ruling power that does in fact represent the people, the interests of which are identical with theirs, and the functions of which are to carry out the will of the people, there is no reason why all these forces should not be intrusted to its care. It would be like distrusting oneself, if the people should distrust their own government.

3. Although it is not the purpose of this article to reiterate what has been well said by others, and although the benefit which would result from the nationalization of electricity, expressed in dollars and cents, does not impress the mind of the writer of this article as it impresses others, he cannot deny that great economic advantages would accrue to the

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people if they owned all electrical plants. It has been demonstrated time and again that cities are illuminated more cheaply and better where the municipality owns the plants, than where these are in the hands of companies. The telegraphic service in Germany, where the government owns the telegraph, is cheaper, more accurate and more reliable than here, and as a consequence, the Germans, who are not nearly so lavish in their expenditures as we are, still use the telegraph to a greater extent than we do. In support of the plea that as far as the telephone is concerned, people should leave well enough alone, it is claimed that, while any other industry can reduce prices as the volume of its business grows larger, the increase in telephonic business is accompanied by an increase in expense. The larger the number of subscribers for telephonic service grows, the greater are the benefits which the subscriber receives, but at the same time, also, the expense is more to which the company is put in order to accommodate them all. Granted that this plea rests upon a solid foundation, it has still been proven time and again that what is done by the people itself, can be carried out in such a manner that even if burdensome the hardship is not felt. As an example may be quoted the mail service, which does not pay expenses but leaves annually a deficit to be covered from the people's treasury. This deficit would not occur, and the mail service would even leave a profit, were it not for routes that are carried with great expense through vast stretches of land not yet sufficiently populated to make their post offices self-sustaining. Still the people do not feel this burden so much as they would if the rate of postage were increased or if communication with such out-of-the-way places were cut off. In a similar manner and with good management, telephonic intercommunication could be enjoyed by the people to a much greater extent than it is now, if the government owned the telephones.

Since the introduction of electricity in its various branches, a vast army of employees has been formed. With every progressive stride which electricity takes, that army will still increase and the number of operators, linemen, electrical engineers, and allied workers will surely rise into the millions. Left at the mercy of soulless companies, they are forced to seek protection in consolidation, and thus again are created two hostile camps — the company and the union of its em-

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ployees, who oppose each other as antagonists. In a wrangle between them — no matter which side is right and which is wrong — the interests of the people suffer every time. It would therefore be a blessing to both the people and the army of electrical workers if electricity were nationalized. The nation would offer fair compensation for the work done and a life position for the faithful worker; strikes would not occur, and another large portion of the population would be taken out of the battle field of competitive warfare.

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HONEST AND DISHONEST MONEY.

(SECOND PAPER.)

BY HON. JOHN DAVIS, M. C.

IN a former paper on this subject, I stated the requisite conditions for the establishment of a safe and honest money system. There must be an established and responsible government, engaged in the collection and disbursement of revenues. The money must be received in the government revenues, and it must be endowed with the quality of legal tender. Then, if executed in a style of art above the arts of the counterfeiters, and issued in volume of reasonable proportion to the amount of revenues collected, we have the proper conditions for a safe and honest money system, precisely as good as the issuing government — no better, no worse.

I now call attention to the French assignats; and the question at once arises as to whether any of the requisite conditions of a safe, honest and sound money system were present in France at the time of the issuing of the assignats, or at any time during their circulation? They were issued first, in March, 1790, several months after the overthrow of the regular government. "The various revolutionary governments" which followed each other in rapid succession, collected but little taxes, and could not in any proper and regular manner receive the assignats in the government revenues. There was no established government which was competent to confer on the new money the quality of legal tender. Merely an edict of a revolutionary convention could not either confer or enforce the law of legal tender for money, any more than it could enforce any other law which it had no power to enact or enforce. Neither did the revolutionary governments limit the issue of paper in any reasonable proportion to its limited receivability in the revenues. It was largely overissued. This, of course, reduced its value. But it was not the French issues which finally destroyed the value of the assignats. The English issues in the form of counterfeits completed the work of degradation which the French issues had begun. The mechanical execution of the assignats was rude and easily counterfeited; and the British government embarked

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largely in the business of forgery, in order to destroy the French finances and ruin the enemy.

Mr. Thomas Doubleday, an English writer, relates the case as follows:—

The accession of England to the hostile league of the European powers went far to produce this catastrophe; and, to complete the work, the minister had recourse to a device, novel as a mode of warfare — that is to say, the forgery of the paper money of the enemy. This procedure on the part of Mr. Pitt has since been denied, but its truth rests upon indisputable evidence, and the attempt was quite characteristic of a politician who knew better than most men that money constitutes the real sinews of war. If success be a justification, then, were justification needed, is this attempt fully justified; for it completed the annihilation of the credit of the assignats, in spite of the terrible means adopted by the French Convention to force their circulation. It is not a little curious, however, to reflect that, within a very few years after the destruction of the French assignats — that is to say, in 1797 — Mr. Pitt should himself have been driven by the force of circumstances to adopt this very expedient and risk the hazardous step of relying upon an inconvertible paper circulation; and that this measure, the fruit of imperious necessity alone, should be classed by his eulogists and by the first Sir Robert Peel among others, among the brilliant phases of his administration. — Doubleday's "Life of Peel," Vol. I., pp. 38–42.

Mr. Stephen D. Dillaye, of Philadelphia, in his history of the assignats and mandats, 1877, speaks of the British scheme of counterfeiting the French assignats as follows: —

But finding that the revolution was stronger than the clergy, stronger than the nobility; that imperial France was conquering the enemies of liberty everywhere; that nation after nation was yielding to its power; that its armies were victorious, and its principles, developed by its constitution and laws, were such as reason and humanity approved, the clergy and the nobility set criminal law, honor and every principle of honesty at defiance, and organized forgery and made the passage of counterfeit assignats an occupation — thus attempting by crime, by stealth and by villainous and secret infamy to undermine the credit of the assignant, deprive France of its resources and overthrow the revolution. — "Assignats and Mandats," p. 32.

This business was prosecuted by individuals in a small way in Belgium and Switzerland, but mainly in the city of London, under the eye and approval of William Pitt, the premier of England.

The history proceeds as follows: —

Seventeen manufacturing establishments were in full operation in London, with a force of four hundred men, devoted to the production of false and forged assignats. The extent and the success of the labor may be judged by the quantity and the value they represented. In the month of May, 1795, it was found that there were in circulation from 12,000,000,000 to 15,000,000,000 francs of forged assignats, which were so exact in form, appearance, texture and design as to defy detection except by the most minute examination and exact knowledge of the secret signs by which the initiated were taught to distinguish them. — "Assignats and Mandats," p. 33.

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Taking all the facts into consideration, it cannot be said with any show of reason and truth that the assignats had a fair trial as money. With no established government or sovereignty, they were not in any true sense a legal tender. There being little revenue collected, they could not be properly honored or received in the revenues in any reasonable proportion to the amount issued; and being rude and easily counterfeited, it was easy for the counterfeiters to inflate them to the point of worthlessness. There was not a single condition on which to base a safe money system in France at the time the assignats were issued. Not an enterprise, on the farm, in the shop, or in the entire fields of science or industry, could have succeeded with so many essential conditions lacking. And yet, in spite of all difficulties, the French assignats made the revolution a success. They overthrew the monarchy and became the means of permanently subdividing the great landed estates of the nobility into homes for the people.

Mr. Alison, in his "History of Europe," Vol. IV., p. 371, states this part of the case very clearly. After mentioning the evils arising from the fall of the assignats, Mr. Alison says: —

> On the other hand, the debtors throughout the whole country found themselves liberated from their engagements; the national domains were purchased almost for nothing by the holders of government paper; and the land, infinitely subdivided, required little of the expenditure of capital, and became daily more productive from the number and energy of its new cultivators. These vast alterations in the circulation induced social changes more durable in their influence and far more important in their final results than all the political catastrophes of the revolution; for they entirely altered, and that, too, in a lasting manner, the distribution of property, and made a permanent alteration in the form of government unavoidable, from a total change in the class possessed of substantial power.

In Vol. VI., p. 3, Mr. Alison further says: —

> A great part of the landed property of the country had passed into the hands of several millions of small holders, who might be expected to be permanently resolute in maintaining their possessions, etc.

After the confiscations had converted the great estates into "public domain," the assignats became the agency by which the lands were subdivided into small homes. The assignats were products of the "revolutionary governments." They performed a good work in giving homes to the people. As money they were precisely as good as the issuing power — no better, no worse. They lived as long as the revolution, and went down with it. The last insurrection was put down by Napoleon in 1795; the assignats finally fell to the point of worthlessness in 1796. The revolution fell into the arms of Napoleon, the most bitter foe of all forms of paper money. He often said that he

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never would issue paper money. But when it came to the test he was compelled to do so until by his victories he was able to live entirely upon his enemies. Mr. Alison's History of Europe, Vol. VII., p. 100, states the manner of his military robberies as follows: —

> The victories of Ulm and Austerlitz provided the means of solving the [financial] difficulty. From the moment the Grand Army crossed the Rhine, it was fed, clothed, lodged and paid at the expense of Germany. On the 18th of November, an edict of the emperor directed the transmission of all funds to the Army of the North to cease, and on the 18th of December a similar order was given in regard to the Army of Italy. Thus the three principal armies of the empire ceased to be any longer a charge upon its finances, and the tributary and conquered states bore the burden of the greater part of that enormous military force by which they were overawed or retained in subjection. This system continued without intermission during the whole remainder of the reign of Napoleon.

That was the plan of the "honest money" man for raising revenue. All rights of property were as much violated as they were by the revolution, and all the rules of honorable warfare were set aside as much as they had been by the English counterfeiters of the French money.

Now comes another view of the case. Napoleon came into power as a pronounced "honest money" man. After he got fairly started and became able to live upon the enemy, he issued no more paper of any sort. He carried on war on the coin basis entirely, getting his coin by all means whatever, both fair and unfair. On the other hand, the English government was compelled to adopt paper. In 1797 coin failed utterly in England. The bank paid out its last silver sixpence, and there was no other resource but paper. The proper requisite conditions for the success of a paper money existed in England, as they did not in France during the revolutionary governments. England was an organized and responsible government; it collected and disbursed revenues; it could give to its money the quality of legal tender; and the British paper money was a success.

Now let us mark the following results of a struggle between intrinsic and non-intrinsic money in time of war. It began in 1797–98. The contest closed in June, 1815, at Waterloo. Napoleon and "honest money" went to the wall. Napoleon was taken to St. Helena as an exile. England and her paper money triumphed. England became mistress of the ocean; she acquired an empire which encircled the globe, and dictated the policies of the continent of Europe. Mr. Alison ascribes these successes and triumphs to the paper system of William Pitt, and says that without it "England would long since have been a province of France."

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After the fall and banishment of Napoleon, when paper money had completed its triumph over metal, Sir Archibald Alison describes the situation and the cause of national success as follows: —

It would be to little purpose that the mighty drama of the French revolutionary wars was recorded in history if the mainspring of all the European efforts, the British finances, were not fully explained. It was in their boundless extent that freedom found a never-failing stay; in their elastic power that independence obtained a permanent support. When surrounded by the wreck of other states, when surviving alone the fall of so many confederacies, it was in their inexhaustible resources that England found the means of resolutely maintaining the contest and waiting calmly, in her citadel amid the waves, the return of a right spirit in the surrounding nations.

Vain would have been the prowess of her seamen, vain the valor of her soldiers, if her national finances had given way under the strain; even the conquerors of Trafalgar and Alexandria must have succumbed in the contest they so heroically maintained if they had not found in the resources of government the means of permanently continuing it. Vain would have been the reaction produced by suffering against the French revolution, vain the charnel-house of Spain and the snows of Russia, if Britain had not been in a situation to take advantage of the crisis; if she had been unable to aliment the war in the peninsula when its native powers were prostrated in the dust, the sword of Wellington would have been drawn in vain, and the energies of awakened Europe must have been lost in fruitless efforts if the wealth of England had not at last arrayed them, in dense and disciplined battalions, on the banks of the Rhine.

How, then, did it happen that this inconsiderable island, so small a part of the Roman Empire, was enabled to expend wealth greater than ever had been amassed by the ancient mistress of the world; to maintain a contest of unexampled magnitude for twenty years; to uphold a fleet which conquered the united navies of Europe, and an army which carried victory into every corner of the globe; to acquire a colonial empire that encircled the earth, and subdue the vast continent of Hindostan, at the very time that it struggled in Spain with the land forces of Napoleon, and equipped all the armies of the north, on the Elbe and the Rhine, for the liberation of Germany?

The solution of the phenomenon, unexampled in the history of the world, is without doubt to be in part found in the persevering industry of the British people, and the extent of the commerce which they maintained in every quarter of the globe. But the resources thus afforded would have been inadequate to so vast an expenditure, and must have been exhausted early in the struggle, if they had not been organized and sustained by an admirable system of finance, which seemed to rise superior to every difficulty with which it had to contend. It is there that the true secret of the prodigy is to be found; it is there that the noblest monument to Mr. Pitt's wisdom has been erected. — Alison's "History of Europe," Vol. VII., p. 1.

To the suspension of cash payments by the act of 1797, and the power in consequence vested in the Bank of England, of expanding its paper circulation in proportion to the abstraction of the metallic currency and the wants of the country, and resting the national industry on a basis not liable to be taken away either by the mutations of commerce or the necessities of the war, the salvation of the empire is beyond all question to be ascribed. — Alison's "History of Europe," Vol. XIV., p. 171.

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I will now mention another monetary experiment of great interest. I refer to the currency of Argentina, which was one of the most diabolical and successful schemes ever concocted by greed for the spoliation and enslavement of a nation. The Argentine Republic in South America is a country of magnificent resources and possibilities. The people are an energetic, hopeful and enterprising race. They have full confidence in their own capabilities and powers of accomplishment. With such a people and in such a country the great London money power found a fat and easy victim. The great financiers found Argentina a land of promise. They at once set to work to make it a land of promises. In the first place there was very little coin in the country. That class of money, being continually drawn away by the foreign trade, utterly failed to meet the necessities of a growing and rapidly developing country. Rather than stop and sink into a dead, apathetic barbarism, the people were willing to try paper. They appealed to the financiers, who are always ready with advice and officious help on such occasions. They are always ready to aid a people as the brigand aids the traveller.

So in accordance with the teachings of the dark ages, they instituted a paper currency founded on coin. The coin was not there, but it was said to be there; and the people believed the story until somebody wanted the coin. Then the truth came out. Coin and confidence having failed, of course the paper failed. The effort was to float four dollars of paper on one of coin. It was the old, old story, trying to balance a cone on its apex. It succeeded awhile in a nervous sort of way, as usual; and then, as usual, it failed. There was not a single requisite condition observed in either its issue or management, and yet it is held up before the world as an example of the failure of paper money. It would be just as fair and honest to remove the cylinder or piston from a steam-engine, and then pronounce the failure of that engine as proof positive that all steam-engines must forever fail.

The financiers also established a mortgage bank in Buenos Ayres, to make loans on all manner of landed property. Loans were made on long time at six to eight per cent interest, besides commissions. A ring was formed between the directors and certain favored brokers, for the absolute control of the business of the bank. No one could obtain a loan who did not make application through these brokers. And in order to make the profits as large as possible, the value of the lands on which the loans were made was raised to extravagant figures. The land mortgages were called *cedulas*. Many millions were issued, and millions of them went abroad and, eventually, became a coin debt against the people.

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But the real currency of the country was bank paper, issued almost without limit. The American consular report for 1884 says, —

> The original notes were printed in London; they were poorly done and easily forged.

The bank-note printers of London, as already stated, forged the Continental currency of this country during the War of Independence by the wholesale. They did the same thing with the French money in 1790. And these forgeries were committed with the sanction and by the authority of the British government. The printing of the bank currency of Argentina was an uncommon opportunity for them. To what extent it was improved we have no means of knowing. But it was evidently too good a chance to pass unnoticed by adepts, when the notes "were poorly done and easily forged," and the dies were in their own hands. One authority on the subject says, —

> It was discovered after a time, that, through trickery, there were several millions more of this irredeemable paper money than had been supposed.

That fixes the charge of forgery beyond dispute, and how many ship-loads of forged currency came from London to Argentina, no man will ever know. But when it was loaned to the people and to the government, it took the form of gold bonds, on which the people must forever pay interest. Those same London counterfeiters and their American friends and champions speak in derision of the financial experiment in Argentina, as a "cheap money paradise."

In Consul Baker's report for November and December, 1889, I find that the republic had afloat at that time, in the form of bank currency, $191,000,000, counting nothing for coin or counterfeits. Besides the bank currency, they had at that time $400,000,000 of paper afloat in the form of *cédulas*, or land loan currency, and the amount was rapidly increasing. This land currency could only be redeemed with land through the slow process of foreclosure, which was very tedious for everybody except the banks, which were specially favored by the laws. It was not receivable in the revenues of the government, nor a legal tender. It was largely over issued, making, with the bank currency, over $600,000,000 of currency for a population of about four million people, or about $150 *per capita*, besides the counterfeits.

The report gives a table showing the total foreign public debts of the country to be nearly $400,000,000. This enormous sum is payable in coin to foreigners. The coin is not in the country, and it cannot be had. The bonds have depreciated. The

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British money lenders have felt the loss. Even the house of Baring Brothers, London, was shaken. That great house thought it had found a good thing in the Argentine bonds; and so it had. But "It bit off more than it could chew," and was choked. If the chewer was thus punished, what shall we say of the chewed? The people of Argentina owe a coin debt to foreigners amounting to about $100 *per capita* for every man, woman and child in the country. Besides that, the people are mortgaged to the home banks and speculators to an amount even greater. The country is in a deplorable state. It is coming to a condition like that of Egypt, when the money lords will own everything and the poor laboring people will suffer everything. This is a fair specimen of money-power legislation, when the speculators and money loaners have their own way in full, as in Turkey, Egypt and some other countries.

The financiers sustain a state as the cord sustains the hanged.—*Toussenel.*

If I were asked to say if there is any escape for Argentina from her difficulties, I would reply that there is a plain and easy remedy if the country can adopt it. But Argentina is so completely in the hands of the money changers of London, that the country can hardly have any legislation for the benefit of the people. The very first step in the way of relief would be a law making the coin bonds of the country payable in the same kind of money that was borrowed. It is not the custom of the money loaners to loan coin, but to loan the cheapest currency they can lay their hands on. They usually buy up the cheap currency of the country, loan it to the people and to the government, and then in due time collect the interest and principal in coin. This is the boasted "honest money" system; and every money loaner and speculator swears that it is right, branding anything short of it as repudiation.

But is it not time for peoples and nations to pay less attention to what speculators say? Have not the people been turning their pockets wrong side out to get the applause of speculators, counterfeiters and pirates long enough? Argentina should declare all bonds payable in the same sort of money and currency that was borrowed. That will shut off the demand for coin. When not needed coin will remain in sight. The next step will be to receive all money of the country in the revenues of the government, and make it legal tender for all debts and taxes in the provinces and among the people. These steps will raise the value of the paper currency and convert it into money. Then the present currency should be called in and reissued in the highest style of art, and the volume reduced, especially burning up all counterfeits. When the great public creditors are com-

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pelled to take the same currency in payment that they loaned, they will cease to swell its volume with counterfeits, as inflation of any and every sort tends to lessen the value of all the dollars afloat. When it is made the interest of the great counterfeiters to watch the lesser ones, a good thing will have been done for all concerned.

Another scheme, known as the John Law financial experiment in France, early in the eighteenth century, was very similar to the crime against Argentina. It was born of the same parents, nurtured by the same spirit of greed, and led to the same baleful results. John Law is mentioned in history as the son of an Edinburgh jeweller and money changer. After a career of gambling, duelling and reckless adventure in every capital in Europe, he turned his ingenuity to the invention of schemes of finance and banking. He went from city to city, seeking acceptance for them. He appeared in Paris in 1716, just after the death of Louis XIV., when the regent, the Duke of Orleans, was confronted with "a national debt of more than three billions, which made national bankruptcy imminent."

Here we have three necessary factors for a new and absurd financial scheme: 1, An utter failure of coin to meet the monetary necessities of the people; 2, An impecunious and ignorant young king; 3, A smart and unscrupulous financier.

The plan was to convert all France and all the colonial possessions of France into one grand mortgage and basis for the new French currency. Twelve billions of francs were loaned to the king to pay off his debts; and every wild scheme, suggested by rascality and approved by ignorance, was put into practice, without any regard for the requisite conditions for a safe and honest money system. And yet the John Law money scheme is held up to the world as proof that paper money must forever prove a failure. As well cite the case of a drunken driver on a six-horse coach who should throw his reins to the winds, and then, with whip and yells, should start on a mad career through the busy streets of a city, as proof that coach driving with horses must forever prove a failure. The team should have been properly harnessed, the driver well skilled in the use of reins and whip, and, especially, he should have been duly sober. Under such conditions the use of vehicles drawn by horses is a pleasant and profitable success. So with the creation and management of a money system. When the proper conditions of success are fairly and honestly observed we have an honest money which cheats nobody. But when the requisite conditions are not observed, we have a dishonest system which cheats the people for the benefit of the financiers.

The shylocks who desire to oppress the people through the

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scarcity and costliness of their gold have wearied the universe, descanting on the failure of paper, in cases where the conditions of success were absent. They never mention the cases where coin has failed, and great nations have been saved by paper.

Sir Archibald Alison tells us that coin failed in the Empire of Rome after the battle of Cannæ, and that the Senate issued an inconvertible paper currency for the Roman Empire. "This currency," says Alison, "equipped the legions" which gained the victories of Metaurus and Zama, and saved the empire.

In 1171, coin failed utterly in the Republic of Venice. The government adopted a paper credit money which fulfilled every monetary requirement, making Venice the centre of the world's commerce for a period of six hundred years.

In 1776, coin failed in this country, and our fathers adopted a paper currency which gave us our American liberties.

In 1797 coin failed utterly in England. The Parliament adopted a paper currency, which, Mr. Alison says, saved England from becoming "a province of France."

In 1813 coin failed on the continent of Europe. England, Russia and Prussia issued a joint paper money, which saved the continent of Europe from the power of Napoleon.

In the United States there were twenty issues of treasury notes before the late war. Those issues were receivable in the revenues of the government, and were always preferred to coin. During the civil war, coin having entirely failed, this country adopted various forms of war currency. All of that currency which was receivable in the government revenues, was at all times as good as gold as long as it circulated; and all admit that the half-legal greenback saved the American union from dismemberment.

At the close of the Franco-German war, France was stripped of her coin by the German indemnity of a thousand millions of dollars, besides the heavy levies made on the French cities occupied by the Germans, and the great cost of her own armies. The French nation was on the brink of financial ruin. Yet by the liberal use of legal-tender paper, the national recuperation was prompt and complete. So thorough and perfect was the financial recovery of France that her stock of gold to-day is greater than that of any other nation. Thus may it truly be said that when coin failed in France, paper saved and enriched the country.

These are special examples of the virtues of paper money. Now let us take a general view: Paper money has been more used in this country than in any other; perhaps more than in all others combined. Beginning with the first years of the eighteenth century, we have, in a space of about two hundred years, tried nearly all the systems of paper known in history. What has

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been the result? Let Sir Archibald Alison, in his "History of Europe," state the case: —

Thus America, albeit splendidly furnished by all the blessings of nature, might have been chained to a slow progress, and at length slumbered on with a population doubling, like Europe, in five hundred years, were it not for one discovery which supplied all deficiencies, and kept it abreast of its destiny. This discovery was a PAPER CURRENCY. This powerful agent for good or for evil was never more required, and has nowhere produced more important effects, than in the United States of America. It is historically known that the establishment of their independence, like the successful issue of the war of Rome with Carthage, and Great Britain with Napoleon, was mainly owing to the paper bearing a forced circulation, which was so plentifully issued by the insurgent states during the course of the contest. — Vol. VI. (Second Series), p. 250.

Thus it appears, in view of all the facts, that paper, and not coin, is the savior and developer of nations. In time of war it is the only resource of the people, and in time of peace, the best device known to man. Give it the same monetary power by law, and it is patriotic and true to the country of its birth, in times of war and peace. It saves in time of danger, and begets prosperity and thrift in times of peace. Sir Archibald Alison suggests that a safe and honest money must be "adequate and retainable." It must not consist of exportable coin, nor be based on coin, subject to the fluctuations of the world's commerce and the wild schemes of the gold gamblers. Mr. Alison says: —

To put this domestic currency on a proper footing, it is indispensable that it should be issued by *government, and government only*. . . . It belongs to practical men to devise the details of such a system; but if honestly set about by men of capacity, nothing would be more easy of accomplishment. And it may be safely affirmed that if the requisite change is not made, the nation will continue to be visited every four or five years by periods of calamity which will destroy all the fruits of former prosperity. — "History of Europe" (New Series), Vol. VI., p. 119.

A domestic currency conforming to the conditions set forth in the foregoing discussions is an "honest money." Its monetary value must be the first and main consideration. The bullion value of the material endowed with the monetary function is not only of no use, but if it equals or exceeds the monetary value it is not to be trusted in times of danger. That one feature makes it exportable and unreliable. It makes it a soldier of fortune, serving only the rich who can pay most for its favors. Its great bullion value makes it an exportable, fluctuating and "dishonest money," dangerous to all who trust it.

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HIGH NOON.

BY ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

TIME's finger on the dial of my life
Points to high noon. And yet the half-spent day
Leaves less than half remaining! For the dark,
Bleak shadows of the grave engulf the end.

To those who burn the candle to the stick,
The sputtering socket yields but little light.
Long life is sadder than an early death.
We cannot count on ravelled threads of age
Whereof to weave a fabric; we must use
The warp and woof the ready present yields,
And toil while daylight lasts. When I bethink
How brief the past, the future, still more brief,
Calls on to action, action! Not for me
Is time for retrospection or for dreams;
Not time for self-laudation, or remorse.
Have I done nobly? Then I must not let
Dead yesterday, unborn to-morrow shame.
Have I done wrong? Well, let the bitter taste
Of fruit that turned to ashes on my lip
Be my reminder in temptation's hour,
And keep me silent when I would condemn.
Sometimes it takes the acid of a sin
To cleanse the clouded windows of our souls
So pity may shine through them. Looking back
My faults and errors seem like stepping-stones
That led the way to knowledge of the truth
And made me value virtue! Sorrows shine
In rainbow colors o'er the gulf of years
Where lie forgotten pleasures. Looking forth
Out to the western sky, still bright with noon,
I feel well spurred and booted for the strife
That ends not till Nirvana is attained.

Battling with fate, with men, and with myself,
Up the steep summit of my life's forenoon,
Three things I learned — three things of precious worth,
To guide and help me down the western slope.

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I have learned how to pray, and toil, and save:
To pray for courage, to receive what comes,
Knowing what comes to be divinely sent;
To toil for universal good, since thus
And only thus, can good come unto me;
To save, by giving whatsoe'er I have
To those who have not — this alone is gain.

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SOME SOCIAL IDEALS HELD BY VICTOR HUGO.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

For many generations to come the writings of Victor Hugo will inspire man in his struggle for a larger and truer life, because they are vivified by conscience. They are more than the works of an intellectual genius; the quality of human sympathy is everywhere present, while not infrequently the prophet or seer presents fundamental facts in which the lessons of history and the wisdom which alone can exalt humanity are condensed into a few electric sentences which thrill the heart and burn great truths into the reader's brain.

All subjects affecting the happiness of man or the elevation of the race were as personal to Hugo as though they vitally concerned his dearest friend. Thus when the news reached Europe, that sentence of death had been passed on John Brown the poet was affected as though his own son had been condemned. He immediately wrote an appeal for the prisoner's pardon, as eloquent and prophetic as it was earnest and impressive. In it he uttered these words, which are thoroughly characteristic of the man and his work: "Has a cry of pity time to make itself heard? It matters not, our duty is to raise our voice."

On May 13, 1839, while witnessing "La Esmeralda" in a Parisian theatre, word was brought to Hugo that Barbes had been condemned to death for the part he had taken in an insurrection. Hurriedly entering the green room the poet wrote a few lines to Louis Philippe, making a touching allusion to the death of the little Princess Mary and the recent birth of the Comte de Paris. This appeal for the pardon of a fellow-man was as follows: —

> Oh, by the child that is gone, fled away like a dove,
> Oh, by the prince that is born, and claims your sweet love,
> The tomb and the cradle their messages send,
> Be gracious! show mercy! and pardon extend.

The message moved the king to tears, and the petition was granted.

These illustrations reveal the breadth or universality of the poet's sympathy. Humanity in misery or sorrow ever moved him with that divine mother-love impulse which is the keynote

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in the anthem of humanity's redemption. "Les Miserables" is more than one of the noblest works of fiction which the world possesses. It is a remarkable social study, a prayer for a higher ideal of justice, a heart-cry for a more humane public spirit, a noble picture of the divine in man and of the possible evolution of the child of an adverse fate from an embittered Ishmaelite to the personification of a noble manhood, made luminous by loving self-sacrifice. But Victor Hugo went much farther than merely stating unjust conditions and portraying the actual working of unjust laws. He had an intellectual breadth rare among prophets and reformers, which enabled him fully to appreciate the importance of employing multitudinous agencies in order to correct the monstrous social evils which exile joy and crush out hope.

He was not, however, blind to the fact that there are certain broad lines upon which civilization must move if justice, happiness and progress are to wait upon her footsteps. He knew that tyranny might reside elsewhere than in royal palaces, and that despotism was as fatal to happiness and development if it manifested itself through a narrow, intolerant popular spirit as if it emanated from a throne. He realized that the brain of man must not be fettered by the slavery of a mediocrity which still worshipped in the graveyard of the past, with its face turned away from the dawn. In a word, he saw with prophet vision that *freedom* must always be the handmaid of *justice;* that *liberty* cannot be exiled from the side of *progress* if the happiness and the moral and intellectual development of men are to mark the new time which his keen perception clearly discerned, and for the early advent of which he labored with unflagging energy. This truth is of paramount importance at the present time, for civilization is facing a social revolution which will mark a new era for man, provided thoughtful and sincere reformers, who love justice more than they value their lives, are wise enough to see that no threads of a possible despotism enter the fabric of the new social order. This danger was perfectly apparent to Victor Hugo, and he frequently pointed out the all-important truth that lasting progress without freedom is an utter impossibility: —

> He who is not free is not a man. He who is not free has no sight, no knowledge, no discernment. Freedom is the apple of the eye, the visual organ of progress, and to attempt, because freedom has inconveniences and even perils, to produce civilization without it, would be like attempting to cultivate the ground without the sun.

In the presence of the grave social wrongs which oppress the people on every hand, there is danger that shallow expediency may at times come between the public and the ideal of progress which is waited upon by freedom no less than justice; and this can be averted only by holding firmly to those things which are

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so fundamentally right that they compass the full requirements of justice without destroying the free development of the individual. Victor Hugo, though one of the most ardent and radical social reformers of his day, uttered a solemn note of warning along this line thirty years ago. He pointed out the danger lurking in the theories of a school of socialistic thinkers who went to the barrack for a pattern of government, instead of recognizing the root source of social misery and removing it by the establishment of just conditions, while guarding liberty and fostering individual development. On this point, which impresses me as being of transcendent importance, he made the following thoughtful observations, thus setting forth his conception of true socialism and avowing himself to be a socialist*:—

What an aim—to construct the people! Principles combined with science, all possible quantity of the absolute introduced by degrees into the fact, Utopia treated successively by every mode of realization—by political economy, by philosophy, by physics, by chemistry, by dynamics, by logic, by art; union gradually replacing antagonism, and unity replacing union; for religion God, for priest the father, for prayer virtue, for field the whole earth, for language the word, for law the right, for motive-power duty, for hygiene labor, for economy universal peace, for canvas the very life, for the goal progress, for authority freedom, for people the man. Such is the simplification. And at the summit the ideal. The ideal!—stable type of ever-moving progress.

The transformation of the crowd into the people—profound task! It is to this labor that the men called socialists have devoted themselves during the last forty years. The author of this book, however insignificant he may be, is one of the oldest in this labor. "The Last Day of a Condemned Prisoner" dates from 1828, and "Claude Geux" from 1834. If he claims his place among these philosophers it is because it is a place of persecution. A certain hatred of socialism, very blind but very general, has raged for fifteen or sixteen years, and is still raging most bitterly among the influential classes. Let it not be forgotten that true socialism has for its end the elevation of the masses to the civic dignity, and that, therefore, its principal care is for moral and intellectual cultivation. The first hunger is ignorance; socialism wishes, then, above all, to instruct. That does not hinder socialism from being calumniated and socialists from being denounced. To most of the infuriated tremblers who have the public ear at the present moment, these reformers are public enemies; they are guilty of everything that has gone wrong.

* * * * *

Certain social theories, very distinct from socialism as we understand it and desire it, have gone astray. Let us discard all that resembles the convent, the barrack, the cell and the straight line. *To give a new shape to the evil is not a useful task. To remodel the old slavery would be stupid.* Let the nations of Europe beware of a despotism made anew from materials which to some extent they have themselves supplied. Such a thing, cemented with a special philosophy, might easily endure. We have mentioned the theorists—some of them otherwise upright and sincere—who, through fear of a dispersion of activities and energies,

* These quotations are taken from different parts of Victor Hugo's wonderful work "William Shakespeare," an excellent translation of which has been made by Prof. M. B. Anderson and published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, Ill.

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and of what they call "anarchy," have arrived at an almost Chinese acceptance of absolute social centralization. They turn their resignation into a doctrine. Provided man eats and drinks, all is right. The happiness of the beast is the solution. But this is a happiness which others might call by a different name.

We dream for nations something besides a felicity made up solely of obedience. The bastinado sums up that sort of felicity for the Turkish fellah, the knout for the Russian serf, and the cat-o'-nine-tails for the English soldier. *Let these involuntary philosophers of a possible despotism reflect that to indoctrinate the masses against freedom, to allow appetite and fatalism to get a hold upon the minds of men, to saturate them with materialism and expose them to the results* — this would be to understand progress in the fashion of that worthy man who applauded a new gibbet and exclaimed, "Excellent! We have had till now only an old wooden gallows; but times have changed for the better, and here we are with a good stone gibbet, which will do for our children and our grandchildren!"

The issue involved is so momentous that the profound truths uttered in this warning should receive that calm, thoughtful consideration which characterizes true statesmanship and marks the prophet who is also a philosopher.

While pleading eloquently for breadth and a due appreciation of liberty when reformers sought to bring about a wider measure of justice, Victor Hugo recognized the necessity for a union of those who loved humanity, truth and progress, against enthroned and soulless conservatism. "At the point now reached by the social question," he exclaims, "*all action should be in common.* Isolated forces frustrate one another. The hour has struck for hoisting the 'All for all.'" Another thought impressively presented by our author was the sacred trust imposed by duty upon high-thinking men and women. There are those in life to-day who much resemble the hyena, the tiger, the fox, the vulture and the cormorant. There are others who are drones in the hive of life. Perhaps we cannot reach these persons by appeals to conscience any more than we can the spaniels who fawn at the feet of avarice, but men and women of conscience will find themselves thrilled by these noble words: —

To live is to have *justice, truth, reason, devotion, probity, sincerity, common sense, right and duty welded to the heart.* To live is to know what one is worth, what one can do and should do. *Life is conscience. . . .*

There is something beyond satisfying one's appetite. The goal of man is not the goal of the animal. A moral lift is necessary. The life of nations, like the life of individuals, has its moments of depression; these moments pass, certainly, but no trace of them ought to remain. Man, at this day, tends to fall into the stomach; man must be replaced in the heart, man must be replaced in the brain. The brain — this is the bold sovereign that must be restored! The social question requires to-day, more than ever, to be examined on the side of human dignity. . . .

Thought is power. All power is duty. Should this power enter into repose in our age? Should duty shut its eyes? And is the moment

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come for art to disarm? Less than ever. . . . The human caravan has reached a high plateau; and, the horizon being vaster, art has more to do. This is all. To every widening of the horizon, an enlargement of conscience corresponds. We have not reached the goal. Concord condensed into felicity, civilization summed up in harmony — that is yet far off. . . .

Great is he who consecrates himself! Even when overcome he remains serene, and his misfortune is happiness. No, it is not a bad thing for the poet to be brought face to face with duty. Duty has a stern likeness to the ideal. The task of doing one's duty is worth undertaking; truth, honesty, the instruction of the masses, human liberty, manly virtue and conscience — these 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 is slave. A grim settlement is impending, and it will be accomplished. All thinkers must work with that end in view.

Consecration of self to the cause of human brotherhood — that is the august duty which confronts the awakened conscience. The poet points out the supreme need, and then places the responsibility on the individual. This is not pleasant to the self-loving nature. It is easy to place the blame elsewhere, but until each individual has made the great renunciation, until each has striven to the uttermost, by working, by talking, by voting, by writing, and in every way possible, to overthrow present unjust conditions and usher in a new day of peace and concord, of hope, of justice and freedom, a weight of guilt rests on the soul. Duty calls to the conscience. It is the old cry, "Who is on the Lord's side?"

Nor is it a time when the responsibility can be shifted. If a thief is robbing your neighbor, you have no right to close your eyes and remain silent; if a murderer is approaching the bed of a brother man, your conscience is not quit of guilt if you hold your peace; if a virgin is being polluted and there is a possibility that you can save her from contamination, great is your guilt if you refrain. Now those hideous wrongs are daily taking place through the operation of infamously unjust social and economic conditions which can be abolished. And what is more, the victims, instead of being three, constitute a mighty commonwealth, made up largely of the world's wealth producers. He who closes his eyes at a tragic moment like the present, when unjust conditions are driving strong men to suicide, making paupers of thousands, and placing before struggling maidenhood the dread alternative of starvation or prostitution, may well expect to find blood on his soul when he passes into the to-morrow of life.

To those who prefer to live rather than to exist, to those who love, dream and aspire, to those who are haunted with an ideal, Victor Hugo delivered a message couched in these burning words,

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which comprehend a great renunciation — the dedication of oneself to the service of humanity: —

Let us consecrate ourselves. Let us devote ourselves to the good, to the true, to the just. . . . The function of thinkers in our day is complex. It is no longer sufficient to think — one must love. It is no longer sufficient to think and to love — one must act. To think, to love and to act is no longer sufficient — one must suffer. . . . The future presses. To-morrow cannot wait. Humanity has not a moment to lose. Quick! quick! let us hasten. The wretched hunger, they thirst, they suffer. Alas! terrible emaciation of the poor human body. There is too much privation, too much poverty, too much immodesty, too much nakedness, too many houses of shame, too many convict prisons, too many tatters, too many defalcations, too many crimes, too much darkness; not enough schools; too many little innocents growing up for evil! The pallet of the poor girl is suddenly covered with silk and lace, and in that is the worst misery; by the side of misfortune there is vice, the one urging on the other. Such a society requires prompt succor. Let us seek out the best. Civilization must march forward; let us test theories, systems, ameliorations, inventions, reforms.

But before all, above all, let us be lavish of the light. All sanitary purification begins by opening the windows wide. Let us open wide all intellects; let us supply souls with air. Let the human race breathe. Shed abroad hope, sow the ideal, do good. One step after another, horizon after horizon, conquest after conquest; because you have given what you promised, do not hold yourself quit of obligation. To perform is to promise. To-day's dawn pledges the sun for to-morrow.

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THE FALL OF NEW BABYLON.*

BY JAMES G. CLARK.

"Be still, and know that I am God!"
This message fell distinct and low
While wealth, with steel and iron shod,
Crushed out the cries of want and woe;
And from the scourged and bleeding throng —
As if to end the age-long tryst —
With eyes rebuking gilded Wrong,
Shone forth the wondrous face of Christ.

Men heeded neither voice nor look —
For Mammon's vampires asked for blood —
And what were signs and omens took
The forms of conflict, flame and flood;
The tempest down the mountains whirled;
The lightnings danced among the crags;
And far below the breakers curled
And raised on high their battle flags.

The ocean's heart with angry beats —
Swayed by the earthquake's fiery breath —
Uplifted cities, troops and fleets
And hurled them down to wreck and death;
Then rose the death yell of the Old —
The old, dark Age of ruthless gain,
Of crouching thieves and warriors bold
Who slew the just and robbed the slain.

For he who led the hordes of Night —
The Monarch of marauding bands —
Went down before the Sword of Light
That flashed upon the plundered lands;
And stretched upon his mighty bier,
With broken helmet on his head,
And hands still clutching brand and spear,
The King at last lay prone and dead.

The birds of conquest o'er him swooped
In baffled rage and terror wild,

* Inscribed to the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, author of "The Golden Bottle," a story at once fascinating, philosophic and prophetic; a new Utopia, which vividly outlines the civilization of to-morrow, wherein humanity is emancipated from the despotism of capital.

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The silent Fates around him stooped
    To deck with flowers their fallen child;
And where the powers of shore and wave
    Together clashed in border wars,
With systems piled upon his grave,
    They left the meteor-son of Mars.

The cruel rule of craft and pelf
    Had vanished like a midnight pall,
The cold, hard motto, "Each for self,"
    Had melted into "Each for all."
For every human ear and heart
    Had heard the message, "Peace, be still!"
And sought through Freedom's highest art
    For oneness with the Perfect Will.

The star of strife had ceased to reign,
    And Venus woke with tender grace
Between the lids of sky and main
    And smiled upon a nobler race;
And as a brute foregoes its prize
    And cowers before the gaze of day,
With backward look from baleful eyes
    The wolf of Usury slunk away.

From ocean rim to mountain height
    All Nature sang of glad release;
The waters danced in wild delight
    And waved a million flags of peace;
For he who held the world in thrall
    Through greed and fraud and power of gold,
Had seen the "writing on the wall,"
    And died like Babylon's King of old.

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A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

BY ANNIE L. DIGGS.

On the 9th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1894, a strange scene was enacted at the capital city of the greatest republic on earth.

In the police court of the District of Columbia, behind the iron grating which separates the spectators from the accused, there was ranged a company of forty men. A "captain of industry" took the witness stand to answer to the charge of "bringing an organized body of men into the city for unlawful purposes." This "Captain" Primrose testified that the forty arraigned were not vagrants as charged, but men of industry, wealth producers, men of sobriety, of honesty, men of trades, men of education. Among them were machinists, stove makers, gardeners, carpenters, mechanics of various useful sorts. Three of them were college graduates, several had strong letters of recommendation from former employers, all had lived in the East, but had gone west in quest of work. Hard times, like the star of empire, had taken them westward, and it was "stay west and starve" or get back east where they fondly hoped to find better times.

At San Antonio, Texas, these working-men had entered into an agreement to go east in a body, feeling that they would stand better chance of obtaining work and of securing humane treatment in an organized capacity than if they went singly, trudging along in ordinary tramp fashion. Their objective point was the East, but their purpose was to seek employment along the way at every city and town or on the farms, the fortunate ones to aid the others. No purpose of intimidation or threat was theirs; instead, mutual helpfulness, strengthening of courage, and answering each for the other as to good character. Much suffering was their lot, sleeping out of doors on snowy ground, with scant clothing, scantier food, weary, footsore marches, yet all the time courage. Some of the number were young men out of whom hope and spirit had not been crushed, and these sang and joked and kept the company cheerful. Singly or alone, the usual tramp fate of the calaboose, the stone pile, or starvation would have been their lot. Organization has been useful to those captains of industry, the Vanderbilts, the Rockefellers, the Have-

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meyers; it also served well this later-fashioned captain of industry — Captain Primrose. In the one instance the captains of industry exploited the labor of others. The result is millions, and partnership with the congress of the United States. In this later instance the captain is himself a laborer and producer of wealth; result, poverty, homelessness and a place behind the bars in the police court of the national capital. Organized industrialists, with a real captain of industry in command, are a dark menace in these days.

Between San Antonio and Cincinnati several of the men found work. At Cincinnati the usual quest for employment was without avail, and it was at that point that Captain Primrose and his company of forty industrialists walked into the trap which led to arrest and imprisonment. The captain had applied to the yard master of the Baltimore and Ohio railway at Cincinnati for work; failing in that he made a plea for transportation eastward. With full knowledge and cheerful acquiescence of the local railway officials Captain Primrose and his men were given a box car and started on their way. It was known that they had no money and understood that no fare was to be asked for. Their car was attached to a through train for Baltimore. The unsuspecting men little knew that they were being shadowed by a detective who telegraphed the police officers at Washington of the oncoming of a company of men who were travelling toward the capital of the United States as an organized body. At a division point the box car of industrialists was dropped from the Baltimore train and attached to a Washington train. At Eckington, a station two miles outside the city limits, a spot for future history to mention shamefully, the car was dropped and the entrapped men were unloaded. For two hours, fifty-eight stalwart district police, some mounted, and four police wagons, had been waiting to arrest, search and imprison these work seekers. Searching they found as weapons of defence and offence, combs, tooth brushes, and the razor of the company barber. Fifty-eight full-armed, well-fed policemen moved on in grotesque procession guarding the community from forty-one unarmed, travel-worn, hunger-faint American citizens whose only crime was poverty. Militarism must outnumber industrialism fifty-eight to forty-one that the "established order" of society be maintained.

For two black nights and the intervening Sunday these men were incarcerated with thieves, toughs and criminals of other sort. Not all the Christians of the city passed that Sunday at church; some there were who "visited Him in prison."

The shadowing detective took the stand against the men; he knew the car had been freely given them, yet he testified that they had "taken possession, and that the conductor had been

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afraid to demand fare." The judge laid much stress upon the "organized" feature as the dark phase of the case; *that* savored of evil, that portended mischief. The great effort of the prosecution was to stigmatize and prejudge the Coxey case; to warn these audacious marching fellows to stay away from Washington. The industrial culprits were made to feel that to be Coxeyites would be to brand them as dangerous characters, unfit to be outside the workhouse or the prison limits. Captain Primrose testified that they were in no way connected with Mr. Coxey, had not expected nor wished to join the "Commonweal petitioners"—indeed were but slightly informed as to Coxeyism and therefore not tainted with any bold, bad design to petition congress, their chief concern being work and "protection," not so much of the congressional variety, but *real protection* from hunger and homelessness.

The Federation of Labor had secured legal counsel. A. A. Libscomb and Congressman Hudson of Kansas, without fee, made splendid protest against this outrage of human rights, this crime against civil liberty. The plot to railroad these men through the police court, convict them of vagrancy, stigmatize them as vagabonds and criminals, and send them to the workhouse *as a warning to the Coxey commonweal to stay away from the national capital*—this plot failed.

It went hard with the prosecuting attorney to lose this case against the "tramps," "vagrants," "vagabonds" and "Coxey men." But there are some things which even capitalism entrenched behind courts and bayonets is too shamefaced to do in broad day and in defiance of law—as yet.

A thousand men were at the court room door to welcome the discharged captain of industry and his fellow workers.

A square away the statue of Abraham Lincoln looked down upon the scene.

And it all happened in this year of freedom 1894.

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A PRESENT-DAY TRAGEDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

On the night of the 28th of March, 1894, in a little mortgage-darkened cottage on Olive Street, in the city of Carthage, Mo., a strong man looked for the last time into the hungry eyes of a devoted wife and four little children. This man's name was John Petersen. He belonged to the patient, proud-spirited, taciturn and long-enduring Scandinavian race. He preferred to suffer alone in silence rather than beg. For twelve years he had lived in the town of Carthage, and the reputation which he had made during this long period was that of a strictly honest, honorable, steady, industrious laborer. His character was unblemished, and, being a skilful carpenter, until last year he had found little difficulty in securing employment. With the panic, however, came a cessation of steady work, and during the autumn, notwithstanding his persistent and unremitting efforts to obtain employment, he found little to do. Since the early part of January he had not been able to get work, although he had tramped from town to town begging the privilege of earning enough money to save his wife and four little children — the youngest a baby and the eldest only ten years of age from starvation. Disappointment met him at every turn. On his home rested one of those "certain and unfailing signs of prosperity" (?) — a mortgage. He had fallen in arrears $100, and expected soon to be exiled from this little home through foreclosure.

On the night in question a great conflict surged in his breast. He had determined to set out early on the following day on another tramp in search of work. But his children had gone supperless to bed and he saw the effects of slow starvation in the haggard face of his wife. He was a man of few words. At length he said, "I cannot leave you and the children to-morrow morning without anything to eat, and I am going to get something." In vain his wife pleaded with him, saying she would rather beg from door to door — something which he understood would be almost as terrible for her, possessing that sturdy, independent spirit of the Swedes, as for himself. He shook his head and remained silent. The clock struck ten, eleven, twelve. The town was at rest. Then this industrious, hard-working slave, who was also a

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loving father and devoted husband, slipped quietly from his home. He took no weapons of defence with him.

II.

Some time later a policeman on his rounds, while flashing his dark lantern into each store as he passed, beheld a man crouching behind a counter in a grocery. Quickly rushing to the rear of the building, he found a window had been raised fourteen inches. The policeman calked to the man to surrender, but received no answer. He then climbed into the store and started toward the man, who had taken down a sack of flour, and had filled a bucket with some other provisions. The man ran around the counters and tried to get to the open window. Finding this impossible unless he could divert the attention of the policeman, he threw a scale weight toward him. The weight struck a sack of flour and fell on the floor. The officer dodged and the man was enabled to reach the open window and climb out before his pursuer could fire upon him. The officer, however, followed, calling to him to stop at once or he would kill him instantly. The man paid no heed. The policeman fired. The fugitive, after continuing his flight for some distance, at last fell groaning on the sidewalk. A physician was summoned, but before aid could reach him John Petersen was dead!

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CHILD SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

I.

The Child, the Factory and the State, by Alzina Parsons Stevens, Assistant Factory Inspector for Illinois.

He who has seen the misery of man only has seen nothing; he must see the misery of woman. He who has seen the misery of woman only has seen nothing; he must see the misery of childhood. — Victor Hugo.

This paper is written to set forth something of one phase of the misery of childhood — child labor, and will deal especially with the miseries of the wage-earning child in factory and workshop.

The census of 1880 gave the total number of wage-earning children in the United States, in all occupations and industries, as 1,118,258. The long-delayed census of 1890 is not yet at hand, but two bulletins recently issued, devoted to "Statistics of Manufactures," give returns upon child labor in this division of industry, some of which will be used in this article.

Before any of these are quoted the reader must be warned that all census figures upon the employment of children are invariably too low. They are here used mainly as a basis for comparisons. The method by which census statistics upon employees are gathered leaves it possible for employers and parents to make false returns concerning children. Inclination and interest prompt both to "raise" the age of the child at work, and most employers are so far ashamed of the practice of employing children that each returns less than the actual number. All persons who have been officially engaged in gathering statistics of the employed, under either municipal, state or national authority, know that this is true.

In the census bulletin just at hand the table of manufactures by states gives the total number of employees of both sexes and all ages as 4,711,831, the total number of children as 121,494, or a little more than three per cent of all employed. "Children" in these census reports are males under sixteen years and females under fifteen years.

It is seen by this table that it is not where labor is scarce, but where competition for work is keenest, that there is the largest percentage of children in the total number employed in manufacture. Thus five children are credited to Wyoming, nine to

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Arizona, one only to Nevada, while Pennsylvania has 22,417, New York 12,413, Massachusetts 8,877. Certainly the older and more densely populated states report on a greater number of establishments and employees, but that does not affect the comparison between states as to the ratio of children to adults. For example, the Nevada report is upon 95 establishments, employing 620 persons, only one a child; while Pennsylvania's report is upon 39,336 establishments, employing 620,484 persons, of whom 22,417 (or about one in twenty-three) are children.

The colossal mining industry of Pennsylvania, the agricultural and mercantile business of the state, not among occupations here reported on, also have thousands of children employees. We have good authority for assuming that there are now more than 125,000 wage-earning children in that powerful and wealthy state where to-day men are fighting to the death for a chance to work, and entire families are starving because the man of the household is idle.

The authority upon which we base this estimate of Pennsylvania's wage-earning children is its Bureau of Industrial Statistics. In the report from that bureau which constitutes Part III. of the Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, 1886, we find the following compilation of the number of wage-earning children. Unhappily there is no reason to suppose the number has since decreased. Says Mr. McCamant, chief of the bureau: —

> The [1880] census returns for Pennsylvania give the number of youths from ten to fifteen years of age in the three grand divisions of industry, other than manufactures, mechanical and mining [agricultural, professional and personal service, trade and transportation] as 46,629. There can be little doubt that this number was too small at the time the census was taken, but assuming it to have been correct, and allowing for the natural increase of child labor, there would be in 1887 not less than 50,000 children thus employed, which added to the 75,000 employed in manufacturing and mining, would swell the total number of children employed in various occupations to 125,000.

In giving tables upon children employed in other states, Mr. McCamant says: —

> The figures in the tables are based on the census returns which, if compiled for other states as erroneously as they were for Pennsylvania, will be found much too low.

CHILDREN AND THE ILLINOIS FACTORY LAW.

The Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, established in 1879, which has issued seven biennial reports, has never furnished any information on child labor in the state. The factory and workshop law was enacted by the last legislature and received the signature of Governor Altgeld on July 1, 1893. It provided for the appointment of an inspector, assistant inspector and ten deputy inspectors, of whom five should be women, and requires

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an annual report to be submitted to the governor of the state on December 15. Without doubt these reports will in future furnish much information relative to the employment of children, for which the inaccurate census returns are now the only source. In addition to the five women deputies, Governor Altgeld appointed a woman chief and a woman assistant, positions which in all other states having factory inspectors are and have always been filled by men.

As assistant inspector I have seen in eight months much of the "miseries of childhood" in the Illinois workshop and factories. I am glad of the opportunity to give ARENA readers some glimpses at these miseries, for "light, more light" on the child labor problem will surely lead to a righteous solution of it.

From the first official report upon our work, now in press, which covers the five months between July 15 and December 15, 1893, Chief Inspector Florence Kelley has kindly given me leave to quote. I avail myself of this privilege several times in the present paper, confident that no more useful data can be furnished on the subject of child labor.

The provisions of our law have threefold purpose; to regulate manufacture in sweat shops, to establish eight hours as the legal work-day for all females, and to regulate and limit the employment of children. The sections regarding children read as follows: —

§ 4. No child under fourteen years of age shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment, factory or workshop within this state. It shall be the duty of every person, firm, corporation, agent or manager of any corporation employing children to keep a register in which shall be recorded the name, birthplace, age and place of residence of every person employed by him, them or it, under the age of sixteen years; and it shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation, or any agent or manager of any corporation, to hire or employ in any manufacturing establishment, factory or workshop any child over the age of fourteen years and under the age of sixteen years, unless there is first provided and placed on file an affidavit made by the parent or guardian, stating the age, date and place of birth of said child; if said child have no parent or guardian, then such affidavit shall be made by the child, which affidavit shall be kept on file by the employer, and which said register and affidavit shall be produced for inspection on demand by the inspector, assistant inspector or any of the deputies appointed under this act. The factory inspector, assistant inspector and deputy inspectors shall have power to demand a certificate of physical fitness from some regular physician of good standing in case of children who may appear to him or her physically unable to perform the labor at which they may be engaged, and shall have power to prohibit the employment of any minor that cannot obtain such a certificate.

§ 5. No female shall be employed in any factory or workshop more than eight hours in any one day or forty-eight hours in any one week.

§ 6. Every person, firm or corporation, agent or manager of a corporation employing any female in any manufacturing establishment, factory or workshop, shall post and keep posted, in a conspicuous place

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in every room where such help is employed, a printed notice stating the hours for each day of the week between which work is required of such persons, and in every room where children under sixteen years of age are employed a list of their names, ages and places of residence.

The 1890 census bulletin reports upon 20,482 manufacturing establishments in this state, and gives the total number of children employed in them as 5,426. In five months' work we found 6,576 children in 2,542 establishments, a reason for once more challenging census figures, although in our work girls under sixteen, as well as boys, are counted children. The census returns, it will be remembered, place girls over fifteen years among adults, but reckon boys under sixteen as children.

An immediate good result from the enforcement of § 4 of our law was that several hundred children under fourteen years were taken from the factories. In Chicago a daily report of these children, giving their names, ages and places of residence, was forwarded to the compulsory department of the board of education, that truant officers might see the children did not go from the factory to the street but to school. In "hardship" cases, where there was extreme poverty in the child's family, appeal was made for the child by the chief inspector to the School-Children's Aid Society or some kindred organization. Before our law took effect children seeking work secured from the board of education certificates or permits, the purport of which was either that the child was over thirteen or that, for reasons deemed sufficient, he or she was granted permission to work under that age. These certificates and permits were secured on the mere statement of the child or parent, false statements were common, and therefore we found in factories hundreds of children who ought to have been and might have been in school.

Our law applying only to workshops and factories, the board of education still issues permits for children under fourteen years to work in other than manufacturing occupations. That further legislation for the child, extending to mercantile business, is needed, will be acknowledged by any person who will stand on any one of the main thoroughfares of the business portion of our city on a morning between 6.30 and 7.30 o'clock, and watch the processions of pale and puny children filing into our great dry-goods emporiums, to jump about nine and ten hours a day — in holiday season twelve and thirteen hours — to the cry, "Cash!"

A second good result from our very thorough system of handling affidavits, and the requirement of the law regarding office registers and wall records, is that the number of children employed who are over fourteen years and under sixteen years is being constantly reduced. Many children to whom we issued age affidavits in the first months of our work were found to have

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been at work two, three and four years, though not yet sixteen. To-day no employer in workshop or factory in Chicago thinks of putting a child under fourteen at work, and many of them are refusing to employ any boy or girl who has not passed the age of sixteen years. They "will not be bothered," they say, with employees who come under §§ 4 and 6 of our law.

Those who have not yet come to see that child labor is absolutely and unqualifiedly an economic loss, oppose our law as detrimental to the community and an injury to the individual child. Specific cases of hardship from the discharge of children are cited. No sound economic reasoner will adopt such sentimental tactics. Child labor is good or evil, *per se*, as it affects the child, society and the state. The proposition that it is good must be supported by logic and facts of general application; if it be evil, no individual suffering must stand in the way of its abolishment.

Nothing in our work has surprised me more than the revelation it has been of the migratory methods pursued by employed children, and this revelation has for me forever disposed of the only argument I could accept in favor of child labor, that it afforded a sort of industrial education, a labor capital, for the boy and girl who must depend upon manual labor for a livelihood in adult years. They talk with insufficient knowledge who say it is an advantage to boys and girls to have work because they have "steady occupation," "a chance to learn a trade." The places where boys and girls are learning trades are the exception. The places where fortunes are being built up by employing them in droves are the ones where most of them are found working! In these the condition of work and wages is so unsatisfactory that employment in them is a mere makeshift. One place will be no better than another and one change will follow another. It is not a trade that is learned in the great workshops where child labor is the foundation of a company's riches. What the child does learn is instability, unthrift, trifling with opportunity.

On Aug. 23, 1893, I inspected a candy factory where I found eighty children under sixteen years. Their affidavits were inspected, and sixty-three were found correct and were so stamped. The seventeen children without correct affidavits were sent home. On September 8 another inspector visited this factory and found seventy-one children at work, with sixty-five affidavits awaiting inspection. Only one of these bore the stamp of my previous inspection, two weeks before. The seventy children were a new lot, and all but one of those I had found in this place had flitted off to other work. In the same factory on September 11 — only three days later, and one of those a Sunday — a third inspection found one hundred nineteen children, and another lot of affidavits.

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This candy manufacturer now wants to employ only girls over sixteen. He will find plenty of them, but he cannot get them at four and one half cents an hour, which is the average wage of the little girls employed in this trade.

Concerning this drifting about of children Mrs. Kelley says in her report: —

> It is a matter of the rarest occurrence to find a set of children who have been working together two months in any factory. They are here to-day and gone to-morrow; and while their very instability saves them from the specific poison of each trade, it promises an army of incapables to be supported as tramps and paupers. The child who handles arsenical paper in a box factory long enough becomes a hopeless invalid. The boy who gilds cheap frames with mercurial gilding loses the use of his arm and acquires incurable throat troubles. The tobacco girls suffer nicotine poisoning, the foot-power sewing-machine girl is a life-long victim of pelvic disorders. But the boy or girl who drifts through all these occupations, learning no one trade, earning no steady wage, forming no lasting associations, must end as a shiftless bungler, a jack-of-all trades, master of none, ruined in mind and character, as the more abiding worker is enfeebled or crippled in body.

ROBBED OF LIFE AND HEALTH.

The census bulletin classifies the mechanical and manufacturing industries of the United States in 1890 in 363 divisions. In 330 of these the employment of children is reported, the number employed in each ranging all the way from less than ten up to 23,432 in cotton goods factories. More than one third of all the children employed are engaged in the manufacture of textiles, the total number reported for this industry being 37,105; woollen goods come next to cotton goods with 4,626 children at work, then hosiery and knit goods employing 3,916, silk goods 2,866, the remainder employed in the manufacture of gloves, mittens, felt goods, etc.

These figures call attention to a lamentable fact well known to those who have investigated child labor; namely, that these helpless toilers are always found in greatest numbers where the conditions of labor are most dangerous to life and health.

In textile manufactures the complicated machinery which is necessarily a part of the modern plant threatens the life and limbs of the careless child; the atmosphere, even in those exceptional factories where the best sanitary appliances are in use, is not one in which normal development of a growing child is possible, and the hours are inhumanly long.

Another industry in which employment is extremely injurious to a child is the tobacco trade, and in this the census returns show 8,158 children engaged. Nicotine poisoning, with all its insidious effects, finds many more victims among factory children than among all the boys who are voluntary devotees of the weed,

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consumers of the "deadly cigarette" included. A popular war is waged upon the cigarette, but have you heard any outcry concerning the factory-poisoned child?

Inspectors unaccustomed to the heavy-laden atmosphere of the cigar factory are frequently made ill for days by going through one where several hours are required for a thorough inspection, including the handling of affidavits for fifty or more children employed in the place. The necessity for keeping the tobacco leaf damp while it is being handled is the reason given for the exclusion of fresh air. To know how a child is affected who breathes this atmosphere all day, bent over a tobacco bench, take up her hand and examine the shrunken, yellow finger tips, the leaden nails; lift her eyelid, and see the inflammation there; examine the glands of her neck, her skin; lay your hand upon her heart and note its murmur. Nor does the injury to the girl child in the cigar factory end with herself. The records of the medical profession show that women who have worked in the tobacco trade as children are generally sterile. When their children are not stillborn, they are almost invariably puny, anæmic, of tuberculous tendency, the ready prey of disease.

In the glass industry the census returns 6,819 children employed. This is another industry where boys are wrecked. Other occupations which we have found injurious to children, upon which the census returns show from 2,000 to 4,000 employed in each, are the steel, iron, brass, furniture, clothing and printing trades.

Among the occupations in which children in Chicago are most employed, and which most endanger their health are: Frame gilding, in which work a child's fingers are stiffened in a short time; button-holing, machine stitching and hand work in tailor or sweat shop, the machine work producing spinal curvature, and for girls other diseases which mean lifelong pain and loss of power to bear healthy children, while the unsanitary condition of the shops makes even hand sewing dangerous; bakeries, where children slowly roast before the ovens; binderies, paper-box and paint factories, where arsenical paper, rotten paste and the poison of the paints are injurious; boiler-plate works, cutlery works, and other metal factories, where the dust produces lung disease, the handling of hot metal, accidents, the hammering of plate, deafness. In addition to diseases incidental to the trades, there are the conditions of bad sanitation and long hours, almost universal in the factories which employ children.

There are wealthy corporations and firms in Chicago to-day holding contracts with the parents or guardians of employed children, releasing the employers from liability in case of accident to the child. Does any one suppose an employer would hold

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such contracts as these, unless accidents to those in his employ were numerous, and might be made costly if prosecutions followed?

Ingenious safeguards are a part of the construction of many modern machines, but accidents are always possible where operators are careless. The proprietor of a fine metal stamping factory in this city was lately showing me some of the latest patents in safeguards on some die machines. I knew children were frequently injured in that particular factory, and could not refrain, having such good opportunity, from asking why this should be so with such machines. The reply was "Accidents never happen until the children get careless." This is no doubt true, but if it be offered as an excuse for the mutilation of children it is an aggravation, rather than a mitigation, of the crime against the child. To be careless is one of the prerogatives of childhood.

Unfortunately our Illinois law as now operative gives us little power to remove any child from its place of work because of its environment. One recommendation of Mrs. Kelley's report is that a law similar to the Ohio law covering this point should be enacted in Illinois. The Ohio law empowers factory inspectors to order the discharge of any child found working in a place "where its life or limb is endangered, or its health is likely to be injured, or its morals may be depraved by such employment." This is the best and most comprehensive enactment I have ever seen for the regulation of child labor, though I fail to see how its proper enforcement would leave any child in any factory, and I observe from the census returns that Ohio still has 6,551 children in its manufacturing establishments.

The power of the Illinois inspectors, so far as they have any power to require that only healthy children shall be employed and these only in safe and wholesome places, is found in the last clause of § 4 of the Workshops and Factories Act, already quoted.

If all the physicians whose diplomas entitled them to rank as "regular physicians of good standing" were competent to pass upon the physical condition of a child, and if all competent physicians were too conscientious to issue a certificate that a child can continue at "the labor at which it may be engaged" without first visiting and examining the place of labor, this health inspection clause of our law would serve the purpose for which it was intended. What might be done under it to rescue children from death and physical decay is indicated by the following extract from Mrs. Kelley's report, concerning health examinations that have been made under her personal supervision: —

During four months 135 factory children have been given medical examination at this office. Health certificates were required for these

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children because they were undersized or seemed to be ill, or were found working in unwholesome shops or at dangerous occupations. They were children sworn by their parents to be fourteen years of age or over.

Each child was weighed with and without clothing; had eyes and ears tested; heart, lungs, spine, skin, joints and nails examined, and 40 measurements taken.

Of the 135 children 72 were found sufficiently normal to be allowed to continue work. Of the 63 refused health certificates 53 were not allowed to work at all, and ten were stopped working in unwholesome trades, as tobacco stripping, grinding in cutlery factory, running machines by foot power in sweaters' shops, and crimping cans: these were advised to look for lighter work.

Of those to whom certificates were refused, 29 were undersized, otherwise normal; i. e., their parents had probably forsworn themselves as to the children's ages. Certificates were refused because of defects to 34, or 26 $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent of the number examined.

Several diseases often exist in the same child. There were 14 children with spinal curvature, 12 with heart murmur, 6 with lung trouble, 24 with enlarged glands, 25 with defective sight, 6 with defective hearing, and 50 with defective teeth.

GIRLS.

The examination of girls resulted as follows:—

From sweat-shops, 30 examined; 5 had spinal curvature; 1 had organic lesion of the heart (mitral insufficiency); 2 irritable hearts; 2 were anæmic, and one of these had incipient phthisis.

From tobacco factories, 11 were examined; 1 had spinal curvature; 1 enlarged glands in neck and axilla; 2 defective sight.

From baking powder factory, 8 examined; 1 had spinal curvature; 1 enlarged glands; 2 were near-sighted and slightly deaf; 1 had sore hands from using crimping machine; 1 had mutilated forefinger from a swedging machine.

From feather duster factories, 7 examined; 2 had enlarged glands in the neck.

From gum factory, 4 examined; 1 had spinal curvature.

From candy factories, 16 examined; 2 had diseases of the skin.

From book binderies, 4 examined; 1 was anæmic; 1 had enlarged glands in the neck.

From necktie factory, 1 examined; heart murmur.

From yeast factory, 1 examined; normal.

From cracker bakery, 1 examined; undersized, otherwise normal.

From box factory, 1 examined; had organic lesion of the heart.

From pop-corn factory, 1 examined; anæmic.

Total number of girls examined, 85; certificates granted, 50; certificates refused, 35.

BOYS.

The examination of boys resulted as follows:—

From sweat shops, 6 examined; 3 had spinal curvature; 1 hernia; 2 enlarged glands.

From cutlery factory, 12 examined; 5 had enlarged glands; 3 tuberculosis; 2 spinal curvature.

From tobacco factories, 9 examined; 4 had enlarged glands.

From metal-stamping factories, 10 examined; 2 had enlarged glands; 1 bronchitis; 1 tuberculosis; 1 spinal curvature; 1 syphilis.

From picture frame factories, 3 examined; 1 was anæmic and had enlarged glands; 1 tuberculosis.

From candy factories, 2 examined; 1 had skin eruptions.

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From glass sign shop, 1 examined; normal.
From shoe shop, 1 examined; normal.
From cabinet shop, 1 examined; normal.
From organ factory, 1 examined; normal.
From cracker factory, 1 examined; had phthisis.
From photographic enlargement shop, 1 examined; was anæmic and scrofulous.
Not working, 2 examined; normal.
Total number of boys examined, 50; certificates granted, 22; certificates refused, 28.

Commenting upon these examinations Mrs. Kelley well says:—

This record, formed in four months by volunteer work done by two busy physicians in the intervals of private practice, indicates an appalling deterioration of the rising generation of the wage-earning class. The human product of our industry is an army of toiling children, undersized, rachitic, deformed, predisposed to consumption if not already tuberculous. Permanently enfeebled by the labor imposed on them during the critical years of development, these children will inevitably fail in the early years of manhood and womanhood. They are now a long way on the road to become burdens upon society, lifelong victims of the poverty of their childhood and the greed which sacrifices the sacred right of the children to school-life and healthful leisure.

The two volunteer physicians are Dr. Bayard Holmes, of the Chicago College of Physicians and Surgeons, who superintended the examination of the boys, and Dr. Josephine Milligan, a resident of Hull House during the past winter, who examined all the girls, visiting in every instance the place where each was employed, and to whose ardent sympathy in our work, active aid, trained skill and well-poised judgment we are debtors.

Of the reckless employment of children in injurious occupations, the following example is one of several given by Mrs. Kelley in her report:—

Jaroslav Huptuk, a feeble-minded dwarf, whose affidavit showed him to be nearly sixteen years of age, weighed and measured almost exactly the same as a normal boy aged eight years and three months. Jaroslav cannot read nor write in any language, nor speak a consecutive sentence. Besides being dwarfed, he is so deformed as to be a monstrosity. Yet with all these disqualifications for any kind of work, he has been employed for several years at an emery wheel, in a cutlery shop, finishing knife blades and bone-handles, until, in addition to his other misfortunes, he is now tuberculous. Dr. Holmes, having examined this boy, pronounced him unfit for work of any kind. His mother appealed from this to a medical college, where, however, the examining physician not only refused the lad a medical certificate of physical fitness for work but exhibited him to the students as a monstrosity worthy of careful observation. He was finally taken in charge by an orthopædist, and after careful treatment will be placed in a school for the feeble-minded. The kind of grinding at which this boy was employed has been prohibited in England for minors since 1863, by reason of the prevalence of grinders' phthisis among those who begin the work young.

Of the reckless issuance of certificates by physicians, Mrs. Kelley says:—

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If the certificates are granted merely *pro forma*, upon the representation of the employer and the child, the object of the law is nullified. The physician who grasps the situation and appreciates the humane intent of the law, will always find time to visit the factory and see under what conditions the child is working. Otherwise his certificate may be worse than valueless, and may work a positive injury to a child whom the inspectors are trying to save from an injurious occupation. Thus a healthy child may wish to enter a cracker bakery, and unless the physician visits it, and sees the dwarfish boys slowly roasting before the ovens, in the midst of unguarded belting and shafting, a danger to health which men refuse to incur, he may be inclined to grant the certificate, and thereby deprive the child of the only safeguard to health which the state affords him. Similar danger exists in regard to tobacco, picture-frame, box, metal-stamping and wood-working factories.

The following example is given in the report: —

A delicate-looking little girl was found in a badly ventilated tailor shop facing an alley, in the rear of a tenement house. The bad location of the shop, its vile atmosphere, and the stooping position of the child as she worked, led the inspector to demand a health certificate. Examination at this office revealed a bad case of rachitis and an antero-posterior curvature of the spine, one shoulder an inch higher than the other, and the child decidedly below the standard weight. Dr. Milligan endorsed upon the age affidavit: "It is my opinion that this child is physically incapable of work in any tailor shop." The employer was notified to discharge the child. A few days later she was found at work in the same place, and the contractor produced the following certificate, written upon the prescription blank of a physician in good and regular standing: "This is to certify that I have examined Annie Cihlar, and found her in a physiological condition." A test case was made, to ascertain the value of the medical certificate clause, and the judge decided that this certificate was void, and imposed a fine upon the employer for failure to obtain a certificate in accordance with the wording of the law. The child then went to another physician, and obtained the following certificate: "To whom it may concern: This is to certify that I have this day examined Annie Cihlar, and find her in my opinion healthy. She is well developed for her age, muscular system is in good condition, muscles are hard and solid; lungs and heart are normal. The muscles of right side of trunk are better developed than upon the left side, which has a tendency to draw spine to that side. I cannot find no desease [sic] of the spine." The sweater, taught by experience, declined to reëngage this child until this certificate was approved by the inspector, and the inspector of course declined to approve it.

Not always, however, does the illiteracy or ignorance of the physician furnish us the opportunity of having certificates issued by him declared worthless. Too often certificates have been furnished which are according to the letter of the law, when the physician issuing them has never seen the factory where the child is employed, and is ignorant of the effect upon the child of the work it is doing. For issuing certificates physicians charge from fifty cents to two dollars, and one frequently costs more than the child's earnings for a week. We offer the examinations and the certificates free of cost, but because employers know that certificates will not be given by our physicians unless the child is

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really able to work and the factory conditions are good and safe, they forbid the children to come to us, and force them to go to physicians they name.

In trying to save children from accidents, we have had to meet and succumb to the same obstacle. In a great metal stamping establishment the chief inspector recently called the attention of the head of the wealthy firm to the danger to which his employees were exposed because of unguarded shafting and machinery. There were a number of minors in the factory, and she notified the gentleman that, because of this danger of death or mutilation, she required a health certificate for each of them. A week later a deputy inspector was sent to the factory and found a health certificate, in proper form, on file for every minor employed. One of these certificates was already superfluous. The little boy for whom it had been obtained had been killed in the factory the day before.

Some day, we hope, the factory law of Illinois will be improved in many respects, and among other things will provide for inspection of machinery, boilers and elevators, clothing the inspectors with power to order any necessary changes. In older states, where by successive acts of legislatures a labor code has been built up, such laws have been enacted. Our power under the present law I have indicated. The limitations of the law are already keenly felt by those who have benefited by its provisions, and there is much talk of legislation in the near future to extend its scope. To the agitation and persistence of the intelligent and organized wage-workers of the state is due all credit for the law of 1893. In the hands of the same men and women lies the power to secure further legislation in the interest of labor, whenever they may determine to have it.

ROBBED OF EDUCATION.

The school census of Chicago for 1892 gave returns showing 4,194 males and 4,538 females — a total of 8,732 — between the ages of six and fourteen years who were not attending any school. The number of those between the ages of twelve and twenty-one years who could not read or write the English language was returned as 4,458. Mr. Albert G. Lane, county superintendent of public schools, in an address before the Chicago Methodist Union, Jan. 23, 1894, said: —

There are between 3,000 and 4,000 boys and girls in Chicago that may be practically called waifs so far as home influences are concerned; they are not in the schools, but are out upon the streets, and are finding their way to the county jail and to the bridewell. A compulsory educational law was passed with the expectation of effectually dealing with this problem of the care of the waifs, and yet last year 743 children under

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sixteen years of age were sent to the bridewell, and 1,641 others, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years, imprisoned.

By letting these children remain outside of the school and on the streets, we are training them for the future criminals of this great city. The state or city should take hold of them and compel them to attend school. If they are incorrigible an institution should be provided where they could be placed and kept until they become submissive. There is absolutely nothing being done to-day for these waifs, and it is the duty of every citizen to insist that the state take hold of this great problem that now confronts us.

We heartily concur in Mr. Lane's demand that the state take hold of the problem of common-school education for all its children, and to these 3,000 and 4,000 waifs we would insist shall be added the 6,576 children our five months' inspections found in the factories.

At this writing (March, 1894) the school census of Chicago for the current year is being taken. From an examination of the reports already handed in, a writer on one of the morning newspapers reaches the conclusion that the completed returns will show the total number of unemployed to be very much below the anticipated figures. (To ascertain the number out of work was made a special feature of this school census.) He further says: —

In spite of the fact that Chicago is a city largely made up of foreign-born people, the school census of 1894 will show that nearly all the children now in the schools were born in this country. A mere glance at the sheets turned in every day proves that a very small percentage of the school children are foreign-born, even in the cases where both parents are recorded as natives of some foreign country. All the little Bohemian and Polish children of the west side, all the German boys and girls who roll on the grass of Lincoln Park, and all the Irish lads who carry dinner pails down to the foundry are just as American as is the man whose remote ancestor gave the Indian chief a string of beads and a keg of rum in exchange for a township. This school census of 1894 will demonstrate that a cosmopolitan city may become an American city in short order, if only there are children growing up all the time.

After reading this very Chicagoesque paragraph, I looked over the reports of the medical examinations made in the factory inspector's office in February, 1894. The total number of children examined during the month was forty-six. In answer to the question, "What is your father's occupation?" in fifteen cases the reply set down was "Out of work." To the question, "Is your father living or dead?" the answer in six cases was "Dead." Here were twenty-one families out of forty-six without the natural bread winner.

In only one instance was the child the only one in the family, but in sixteen cases the child was the only member of the family at work. In eighteen cases the number of members in the family, parent or parents included, was six or more than six. The

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highest number was a family of sixteen persons, for whom one fourteen-year-old girl is at present the only provider.

The nativity of these children is divided as follows: Born in the United States, 11, all of foreign parents; in Germany, 10; in Poland, 9; in Bohemia, 9; in Russia, 4; in Hungary, Austria and Canada, 1 each.

Twelve of the children spoke very broken English, or none at all, and could neither read nor write English. Of the entire forty-six only three were found in really normal condition. Of the hundreds of children the inspectors found at work during the month, these forty-six were ordered to procure medical certificates because something in their physical condition or their shop surroundings indicated that they were not fit to work where found. But the conditions of home life, and the lack of schooling for the forty-six, as shown by these reports, is likely to be, in equal proportion, the condition of the rest of the hundreds who were not examined.

From the forty-six cases the following are selected to show how very "American" are the children we are "growing up" in factories.

Nettie Zelusky, born in Poland; 15 years old; father out of work; has also mother and 7 brothers and sisters; no one working in the family but herself; has been running sewing machine in sweat shop 2 years; weighs 90 pounds; speaks broken English.

Frances Petilewicz, born in Poland; age 14 years, 4 months; father a bricklayer out of work; is fifth-born in a family of 14 children; working in sweat-shop; 13 years in this country; barely understands English and speaks it very brokenly; never attended public school.

Nellie Balzer, born in Poland; age 15 years, 1 month; machine operator in sweat shop; 9 years in the United States; cannot speak a word of English, nor read in any language; did not know whether or not her father was working, nor how many brothers and sisters she had.

Annie Vodoraske, born in Bohemia; age 14 years, 1 week; speaks broken English; has been working in a sweat shop 11 months; father out of work; only one working in a family of 6; earns 75 cents a week.

Kate Platkoeska; born in Germany of Polish parents; 16 years old and 4 years in America; does not know her letters; oldest of five children; has been working a year.

Bessie Ridwiska, born in Poland; did not know her age; four years in Chicago; cannot read in any language; cannot speak English; works in sweat shop.

Kate Fetissoch, born in Poland; 14 years old, and has been

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working in sweat shop 2 years; 7 years in the United States; cannot speak English.

Samuel Greenburg, born in Russia; age 16 years, 6 months; works in tin shop; does not know his letters.

We cannot compile such records as these, we cannot pass in review the hundreds of children of whom these are types, and feel confident that we can have "an American city in short order if only there are children growing up all the time." So much depends upon how they are growing up!

The condition of illiteracy among factory children is the same wherever they are found, unless the state steps in between the greedy or unfortunate parent and the unscrupulous employer, and the child victim. The New York factory inspectors reported to the legislature of that state in January, 1887: —

> Thousands of children born in this country or who come here early in childhood are unable to write; almost as many are unable to read, and still other thousands can do little more than write their own names. Possibly one third of the affidavits of the parents examined by us in the factory towns were signed by a cross mark, and it seems to us that when the children who now require these affidavits grow up and have children of their own about whom to make affidavits, the proportion of cross marks to the papers will not be decreased. Very few American-born children can tell the year of their birth, the state they live in, or spell the names of their native towns. Extended experience and close questioning have satisfied the inspectors that something ought to be done by the state to educate those who are now on the verge of manhood or womanhood.

In 1889 the New York law was amended so as to require that factory children under sixteen years must have at least a rudimentary education in English. If a New York inspector now finds a child who cannot read intelligently a sentence from a morning paper, and who cannot write his or her name legibly, such child may be sent from the factory and ordered to school. A similar course is pursued in Massachusetts, that state also having an educational qualification in its factory law. Our Illinois law does not yet touch upon the question of the factory child's education.

THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE FACTORY CHILD.

Those who know most of factory life conditions will be first to say that considered as a place for moral training the factory is little better than the streets. Certainly there are manufacturing establishments where the moral tone is as healthy as in a well-ordered home, and where the environment in no way suggests or is provocative of vice. But these model establishments are distinctly *not* those where wealth is being accumulated from child labor.

There are factories in which dissolute adults are employed

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among children, and sow their moral pestilence unchecked; where petty bosses tempt young girls to evil courses, and the example of trifling favors shown one poor, weak girl who yields demoralizes many more. There are factories where the very sanitary arrangements expose children to temptation and disease, and the rules violate their natural modesty. There are factories in which children are worked into the late evening hours, and then turned out unprotected to seek their homes by streets where the immoral side of life is at such hours openly flaunted, and vicious lures draw the unwary steps of tired boys and girls down to moral death. There are factories in which the entire roll of female help is made up of young girls who are grouped at work with men so vile that the presence of a woman of mature age scarcely checks their flow of ribaldry. There are factories where one of the hourly occupations of little boys and girls is to run to the beer saloons with the pails of the older workmen. These are glimpses at conditions among which factory inspectors find the little children working, of the environment of a child in that class of factories run by employers who fatten on child labor.

Not every waif, not every factory child, becomes an invalid or a criminal, a menace to society or a burden upon it; but that any so environed with evil in the most crucial years of a human life — the formative years — pass through to sound manhood and womanhood is a miracle. Whether the child becomes the victim of our present industrial system through the neglect, the greed or the misfortunes of those who should be its natural protectors, it is not responsible for its condition. It is robbed of childhood, of education, of health, of innocence, even of the desire for knowledge, happiness and virtue, and for all its losses some one other than the child is responsible. The question arises, and one day it must be answered, What power can be invoked for the child's protection?

THE STATE AND THE FACTORY CHILD.

Society and the state are impoverished when material out of which useful citizens could be made is recklessly wasted, ruthlessly ruined. To every child of the state, for the sake of society and the common good, leaving the child's own needs and rights out of the question, should be guaranteed an education, and an education that should be more than a mere absorption of primary school teachings. "Character development must be the keynote of to-morrow," says Editor Flower in THE ARENA. For the child of to-day should be provided all those conditions which will give it fair opportunity to develop on the morrow into the man or woman of good health, sound brain and clean life. From our present relation toward the child to this just and ideal one is

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a long distance to travel, and doubtless many way stations will mark the advance. But let us set out. The start will be something.

A demand for the abolition of child labor would be a good first step, and it is one that will early be taken if the spirit of reform be directed to an investigation of the evils of child labor. It is doubtful if any one who has made such investigations, officially or unofficially, would refuse to subscribe to these four propositions: —

1. No child should operate a machine by its own physical power.

2. No child should be allowed among steam-driven or electricity-propelled machines.

3. No child should be suffered to stand all day, or sit all day.

4. No child should be shut all day within the walls of a factory, a workshop, a mine, a store or an office.

If all the world, or even an active minority of those who move the world — and the legislators — can be brought to consider these propositions, child labor will cease, for every child at work to-day, except those employed in agriculture, is subjected to not less than two of these conditions.

It is high time, too, that the citizens of this republic recognize the right of every child to a good common-school education. The evening school cannot and should not afford the only education to which the child is entitled. When a child has worked all day it is unfit, physically and mentally, for study. It is cruelty to suggest such a substitute, and folly to expect general good results where it has been adopted. This proposition will not require argument or illustration for any father or mother of little children.

The short-term school is not a satisfactory substitute for the full term of a school year. On the contrary, it serves as an avenue through which the employer, the parent and the child escape compliance with any compulsory features of school or factory laws. Wherever the three-month limit to a child's school year is allowed an inspector always finds that the children have "just been to school," or are going next week, or next winter, or some other time than the particular time when their schooling is being investigated.

The factory system for children and the common-school system will never flourish together. Because we have tolerated the one, we have caused the other to be non-effective where it is most needed. It is time to change this. In the present paper we can only outline suggestions as to the means and methods to be pursued in this crusade. Neither the helpless child nor the helpless or guilty parent can be counted on for the work. As

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for the employer, he whose profits are ground out of child labor can have no other interests in the common schools than that of the wolf in the sheepfold.

There should be, it seems to me, no shrinking from the proposition that it is the duty of the state, and its best policy as well, to see that all its children are in school until they have reached and passed the age of sixteen years. The right of the state to compel school attendance is conceded. It should also exercise the power of making that attendance effective by providing school books — ay, even food and clothing if need be. Whatever may be necessary to the achievement of the purpose for which the common school was founded, the state may with propriety be called on to secure and to administer.

THE OUTLOOK.

The growing altruistic spirit of our age, the trend of recent legislation, an awakening public conscience, give promise that the day of these suggested changes may be nearer than the unobservant are aware. Labor laws are yearly raising the age under which children may not be employed, prohibiting their employment in mines and other dangerous occupations, and imposing restrictions which make their labor less and less profitable to a manufacturer.

In states where these laws are operative and enforced, reports show a diminishing number of children employed. Thus the New York inspector says in his report for 1893 that the number of children under 16 years found employed during the year is a fraction under 34 in each 1,000 persons, as against 38 in 1,000 in 1892, and 112 in 1887. The decrease in 1893 was 70 per cent over 1886, when the law restricting employment of children first went into effect in that state. A census bulletin of 1890 gives the total number of children employed in 167,844 establishments of 100 cities as 52,414. In the census of 1880 returns from the same cities showed 92,821 children in 78,033 establishments. There are certainly hundreds less children at work in Illinois today than there were eight months ago, when our law took effect.

Sentiment adverse to the exploitation of children is gathering momentum in many unnoted directions. A curious illustration of this has been shown in prosecutions of employers for violations of the child-labor sections of our law. Where jury trials have been demanded, the court has found it almost impossible to get men to serve who would say that they were "not opposed to child labor," and therefore could "give the defendant a fair trial."

Public opinion will sometime settle aright this question of the relation of the state to the child. Public opinion will sometime

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eliminate the factory from the child's life. Public opinion will sometime cause to be entered as formal judgment that a nation that suffers child labor is unchristian and uncivilized, its code of laws inhuman, its people without moral sense or moral courage. And when that time comes, the public will say it has always held such opinion!

Speed the day!

II.

Child Labor an Obstacle to Industrial Progress, by Alice L. Woodbridge, Secretary of New York Working Women's Society.

It seems strange that in an age of progress like the present so little consideration is given to the subject of child labor. Those who hope for radical changes in our social and industrial systems seem oblivious of the fact that the employment of children is one of the greatest obstacles to be overcome.

The evil effects of child labor are manifested in many ways. It is a fact beyond dispute that wages are lower, hours of labor generally longer, and the quantity and quality of production inferior, in the industries in which children are employed. In the mad race of competition merchants and manufacturers take no thought for the morrow. They do not realize that the employment of cheap labor retards production and eventually closes the market to all. They ignore the fact that the working classes are the purchasing classes, and that by employing children at reduced wages they lessen the opportunities of employment for adult workers and the consumptive powers of the community.

In 1880 there were 1,118,000 children under sixteen years of age employed in mines, factories and mercantile establishments in the United States; this about equalled the number of able-bodied adult workers who were unemployed and dependent upon public or private charity.

We are apt to think of child labor as an old-world idea, probably because the majority of child workers are the children of foreign-born parents; but many of the countries of Europe have far more efficient laws regarding the employment of children than at present exist in this country. As yet but twenty-one states have enacted laws restricting the employment of children in factories, and but five have placed restrictions upon the employment of children in mercantile establishments. No doubt one of the greatest inducements for immigration to this country lies in the opportunities of employment for children, and is taken advantage of by shiftless and unscrupulous parents who see in coming here a chance of being supported.

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Many of our most intelligent citizens favor the employment of children, and point with more or less pride to the fact that they commenced work at the age of ten or twelve and are none the worse for having done so; but such people do not realize that the conditions of employment to-day are very different from those of twenty-five years ago. Labor-saving machinery does not by any means signify economy of physical strength. The general conditions of labor are often far more exhausting than before the age of invention. Although it is possible for young children to operate powerful machinery, yet it is often the case that as much ability is required of the machine minder as of the skilled artisan. We would consider it very inhuman to require a child of twelve to become a skilled mechanic, yet the labor performed by children is often as arduous. Thousands of young children operate machinery running at the rate of twenty-five hundred revolutions a minute while hand and brain must keep in pace. Adult workers find the noise and jar of machinery a constant wear upon the nervous system; what, then, must be the effect upon the undeveloped child?

Few realize what children employed in factories must endure. In our textile factories children walk twenty miles a day. Two thirds of the yarn manufactured in this country is spun by children under sixteen years of age. In our thread mills children walk nearly as many miles. In button factories children eyelet twenty gross of buttons a day. In our great feather factories all through the hot weather children stand ten hours daily steaming feathers over pipes from which volumes of hot vapor are constantly escaping. Our postmen and policemen work but eight hours daily, and have the benefit of fresh air and sunshine; but the children of tender years are constantly running to and fro in the vitiated atmosphere of our mercantile establishments, from ten to sixteen hours daily. Those employed as stock girls are seldom allowed to use the elevators and are all day bearing heavy burdens up and down long flights of stairs. The average wages of these children is but $1.60 per week and they are fined for absence, tardiness and all mistakes. It is frequently the case that children are promoted to the position of saleswomen yet receive the wages of cash girls. Many merchants claim that they cannot conduct business without a system of fines because of the indifference of employees to their work; but the very system, the constant surveillance of floor walkers and superintendents, the stern exactions of business, are incentives to indifference. The majority of these children are engaged for low wages because they are incapable of performing the duties required of them and then fined for their inability.

It is often stated that children are better off at work than they

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would be at home, as they live generally in tenement-house districts where associations are not conducive to morality; but the fact that their associates in workshops and factories are also from tenement-house districts seems to be overlooked, and the moral atmosphere of places where children are employed is seldom superior to that of the tenement house. Immorality among working people is generally the result of physical and mental degeneration, and one of the strongest arguments against the employment of children is that they are the offspring of the working people. The children of the so-called upper classes are far better able to perform labor than the children of the poor. The majority of our child workers inherit weakened constitutions from overworked and underfed parents; they are born with unnatural cravings for nourishment, for rest, for recreation, and they need larger opportunities for development than the children of the more fortunate classes.

In states where factory laws are enforced inspectors tell us that it is impossible to judge accurately the ages of the children employed because children of the poor are stunted in growth. It is reasonable to suppose that the mental faculties are also slow in developing, and it is certainly a great injustice to require of such children tasks more arduous than are placed upon the well-developed child. Our most eminent physicians say that no healthy child should be employed before the age of fifteen, and then only for half the time required of adult workers.

The majority of child workers have tenement-house homes. They leave the vitiated atmosphere of shop or factory for the yet more loathsome atmosphere of the tenement. Exhausted by the long day's work they go home to scanty food, hard beds and crowded rooms. The limits of home are too narrow for common decencies to exist. They rise unrefreshed from their slumbers and go forth with appetites unsatisfied. With mind and body exercised far beyond the natural limits, it is impossible for them to appreciate the innocent pleasures of childhood; they become the victims of abnormal appetites and desires and moral degeneration naturally follows. This is proven by the fact that seventy per cent of the children in reformatories are the offspring of the working people.

Many believe that it is necessary for children to be employed, that often families could not exist without the assistance of the children, and that it is the duty of the child to sacrifice itself to the parent. Yet statistics prove that the employment of children reduces rather than increases the family income. In our large manufacturing towns where entire families are employed it is often the case that the wages of adults become so reduced that the head of the family finds it to his interest to assume the house-

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hold duties while wife and children become the bread winners of the family. Under the sweating system the competition which has forced the youngest children to become bread winners has also steadily reduced the wages of the entire family.

In urging the duty of the child to its parents the far more binding and important obligation of the parent to the child is often forgotten. Those who take upon themselves the position of parents should remember that every right has its attendant duty and that it is the duty of the parents to provide for the highest physical, mental and moral development of their offspring. The inhumanity of the parent to the child is often the direct cause of man's inhumanity to man. To force a child whose only inheritance is a weak constitution into employments which require the fullest development of mind and body is an act which out-Herods Herod.

The average child worker is looked upon simply as the manipulator of a machine. No thought is given to the fact that it possesses powers which if developed would add inestimably to its own and the general happiness. Its worth is estimated by the pitiful dollars which it brings to its parents, the increased profits which it brings to its employer. Its mind becomes permeated with the selfishness and greed which have thus far turned the civilization and enlightenment of all nations into a curse to the masses; it is starved in body, warped in intellect, corrupted in morals and an impediment to all progress.

The prosperity of all nations lies in the development of the working classes. Humanity is ever interdependent. Invention is so fast increasing that it is but a question of a few years when the productive powers of the country will exceed the consumptive powers. Increased enlightenment means increased needs, and it is necessary for the general welfare that all classes shall attain the highest state of civilization possible. Upon the weak shoulders of our child laborers depends to a great extent the welfare of the nation, and it is to the interest of all humanity to see that every possible opportunity for mental, moral and physical development is obtained for them; if they are deprived of these rights by the unscrupulous it is the duty of the state to protect them, and strenuous efforts should be made in their interest. The present laws regarding the labor and education of children are utterly inadequate, and further legislation should be enacted. It is far better that the cases where child labor seems necessary should be cared for by the state than that so many children should be made the victims of grasping employers. Life is worth more than meat, and character than money bags.

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III.

Data Compiled and Condensed from the Original Sources, by Professor Thomas E. Will, A. M.

From fifth report of Industrial Statistics for Rhode Island, 1891: "We find then in Rhode Island children who are obliged to work to support honest but poor parents, children who are obliged to support indolent parents, and children who are obliged to add their mite to the fund of greedy parents. In every condition of the parents the child is the sufferer." P. x.

Opinions and reports of superintendents, members of committees, principals and teachers of schools in answer to question No. 2 submitted by Rhode Island Bureau of Industrial Statistics: "Should there be any discrimination in the law as to the age in view of the different occupations in which children are employed, etc.?"

Answer, blank No. 37. "The law should forbid the employment of girls under fifteen years of age. They are to be the mothers of the future, and we should pay more attention to their physical, mental and moral well-being. The long hours in the mill, the associations there formed, the freedom from home restraint, the deprivation of educational advantages, are evils which are sure to react on society. This question seems to me a matter of self preservation. We cannot raise men from overworked, ill-fed, ignorant women." Pp. 29,30.

Reply of a physician to same inquiry. Blank No. 304. "As the air in the mills and manufactories becomes foul through lack of proper ventilation, and as the hours of confinement are long and close attention to the work is required, it seems to me that girls, especially, should not be received until they have reached the age of maturity." Pp. 34,5.

Answers to question No. 3: "What influence does the employment of children have upon the employment and earnings of adults, both male and female?"

Answer, blank No. 12: "If practicable it would be a good law to forbid the employment of the children of a family, so long as the adult members of the family are unemployed. Many a shiftless parent is now supported in idleness by the labor of his young children." P. 36.

Blank No. 42. "Throws many out of work and makes many more work at starvation wages, or become tramps." P. 36.

Blank No. 50. "If children were not employed it is evident that adults would have to do the work."

Blank No. 52. "Employers in many instances take advantage of youthful labor because of its cheapness."

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Blank No. 69. "Reduces wages and makes chances for honest adult labor harder." P. 36.

Blank No. 79. "Detracts from them. Has done so seriously in this place." P. 37.

Blank No. 163. "I know here many married men, and boys and girls eighteen and twenty years old, idle for want of work; and the little children and little sisters and brothers eight, nine and ten years old working for five and ten cents a day, others for one dollar and dollar and a half a week. Parents are obliged to send little children to the mill to work for almost nothing, to prevent the family from starvation, to give something to eat to the rest of the family, to those very ones who should work and are willing to work." P. 38.

Question No. 4: "What effect does employment have upon the health, morals and education of children?"

Blank No. 20. "As a rule it impairs the health, corrupts the morals and limits the education of children." P. 43.

Blank No. 29. "With majority of children education after going to the mill practically stops." P. 43.

Blank No. 37. "A growing child shut up day after day for ten or eleven hours in a close, hot atmosphere becomes stunted and enfeebled, becomes old before his time; and associating with older people learns habits which still more help to injure his physical system." P. 44.

Blank No. 42. "Breeds consumption, ruins morals and kills education. Education is no more to be thought of after the children get into the mills." P. 44.

Blank No. 68. "My experience as a teacher has shown that the majority of pupils lose all interest in their studies as soon as they are old enough to leave school and go to work." P. 46.

Blank No. 87. "Most pernicious upon children. Most of them at an early age are hardened. And yet the home (?) influence is terrible to contemplate. They are unfortunately handicapped from birth; the home pushes them down, the streets aid and the mill adds its evil influence. It is a wonder if any are good." P. 48.

Blank No. 129. "This class furnishes a large part of those who succumb to consumption every year. They work in heated buildings and consequently are more susceptible to colds, which develop rapidly and which they have no strength to withstand. Observation but confirms this, and it must be evident to any one who has seen the sallow faces of children who are employed by scores and hundreds in manufacturing establishments." P. 48.

Blank No. 179. "The puny faces, the dark circles under the eyes, the slender frames that shrink from exposure, seen in a factory village, point to the inference that we are raising up a

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class similar in physical and mental characteristics to the allied classes in the great English manufacturing centres." P. 52.

Blank No. 281. "Long hours of exhausting labor, especially in ill-ventilated and unhealthy places, is undoubtedly injurious to the health and should be proscribed." P. 57.

Blank No. 304. "Absence of pure air and sunlight, living in over-heated rooms and inhaling air loaded with particles of fine dust are four great factors in creating the tendency toward consumption and pneumonia." P. 58.

Blank No. 329. "Children who are employed under fifteen in cotton mills, are as a rule, poor, sickly-looking children and never become fully developed; and seventy per cent have more or less lung trouble." P. 59.

A synopsis of the replies given by superintendents, members of committees, principals, teachers, clergymen and physicians to the series of questions of which the above are a part, shows an overwhelming sentiment against child labor in factories, and a general conviction that such labor leads to the lowering of wages and the throwing of adults out of work, and that it is destructive to health and morals.

The summary of statistics of child labor in Rhode Island shows that there 2,977 male and 2,296 female children employed in that small state alone.

The report of the Connecticut Labor Commission for 1885 contains, among other things, the following statement from a Catholic priest whose work brings him daily into contact with these matters in a place where they are most serious: "The great evils are: (1) The employment of children under the age of twelve years, or, in general, at an age when they are most easily influenced morally and mentally, and when, owing to exhaustion from long and continuous hours of labor, they become physical wrecks. (2) Becoming physical wrecks, they cannot and do not fill the places which they ought to fill in the community, and simply drag out a miserable existence and degenerate to a purely mechanical animal, having no ambition to be anything else. . . . Any scheme will be welcome which will prevent overseers from tyrannizing over little ones, making them suffer for any possible grudge the overseer may have against a relative, and of course of which grudge the children are, it may be, even entirely ignorant and innocent." Pp. 46–7.

"The worst of these abuses seem to have been done away with in that place [the Baltic Mills] but there are many mills, especially among the less important ones, where it has been *impossible to detect them*." Pp. 48–9.

"Some people who have paid no attention to the matter find it hard to believe that children under ten years were thus em-

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ployed in factories. Unfortunately it is true that they are. It is impossible to tell in how many cases. The efficient agent of the State Board of Education, who is charged with the enforcement of the law relating to child labor, cannot himself tell . . . . A great evil . . . . To let parents and employers between them coin money out of the work of children of that age is morally bad and socially dangerous."—Statement of Commissioner of Labor Statistics for Connecticut. P. 50.

Of all the states in the Union Massachusetts is best equipped with legislation against child labor. This legislation, moreover, is rigidly enforced; so rigidly, in fact, that Chief Wade, of the District Police, declares it as his conviction that the evil has been practically extirpated in this commonwealth. So confident is he of this and so anxious is he to enforce the law to the letter, that he would regard it as a favor to have any one report to him a single case in which the law is violated.

Yet here again we may find another of the countless illustrations of the fact that mere restrictive legislation that stops short of the seat of the disease is by no means an unmitigated blessing. When, in a family that has been supported by the labor of the entire household, several bread winners are taken from factory or workshop and forced into school, one of two things must follow; either the wages of those who continue at work must rise until the family income stands at the former figure, or the standard of living must fall. Even though wages should rise until the old income is reached hardship will be felt, for the reason that minds unfolding under the influence of the public schools will feel the need for a higher and less swinish life than has hitherto, in many cases, been possible for them.

Yet one familiar with the lives of the working people in the clothing industry in Boston, where sweating and the accompanying evils exist, declares that not only have wages failed to rise in the cases under consideration, but they have actually fallen. Why this should be done we may easily understand on recalling the omnipresence of the unemployed; many of whom, as an employed trade-unionist recently declared to the writer, are as competent and worthy as many still at work. Rather than beg or starve such men will work for the most wretched subsistence. How, then, can wages be forced up to make good the income lost by transferring children from factory to school?

In such cases, as the writer's informant avers, the sole recourse, the drop in the standard of living, is actually adopted. When we remember the pregnant statement of Chief Wadlin and of Mill that a reduction in the standard of living is one of the most serious calamities that can befall a people, since it means a lowering of the standard of civilization, we shall be slow in flying

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to such restrictive enactments as an ultimate. The experience of Massachusetts, the banner state in labor legislation, proclaims more loudly than could *à priori* deductions from first principles, the necessity of striking at the root of our industrial evils, instead of snipping off a twig here and a leaf there from the deadly upas tree.

IV.

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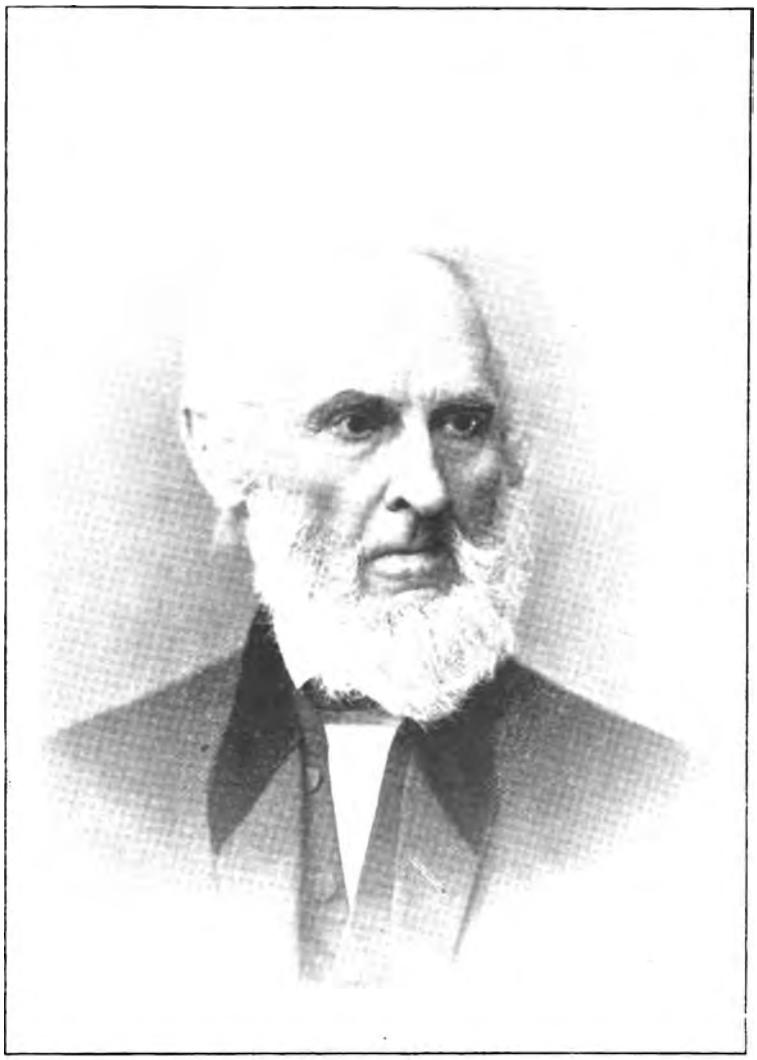

John G. Whittier

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THE ARENA.

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ENVIRONMENT; CAN HEREDITY BE MODIFIED?

BY HELEN H. GARDENER.

SECOND PAPER.

BUT heredity is not the whole story, any more than the foundation is the whole house.

Several times when I have spoken or written upon the basic principle of heredity, I have been met by questions like this: "Then you must think it is hopeless. With these awful facts and illustrations of the power and persistence of heredity before us, we must recognize that we are doomed before we are born, must we not? If there is, as you say, no escape from our heredity and its power and influence, what is the use of trying? Why not let go and just drift on the tide of inherited conditions? If these conditions are unfortunate for us, why not just accept the tragedy; if favorable, drift in the sunlight that our ancestors turned upon us, and let the world wag as it will?—*we* are not responsible." I confess that each time this sort of reasoning comes to me it finds me in a state of surprise that it is possible for thoughtful people—and naturally those are the ones interested in reading or talking upon this subject—I confess it surprises me anew each time to find that it is possible for such people to reason so inadequately and to remain blind except in one eye.

It is undoubtedly true, that, do what we will, labor as we may, heredity has established beyond the possibility of doubt that an apple cannot be cultivated into a peach. Once an

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apple always an apple. That is the power of heredity. That is the foundation of the house. But there is another story. Plant your apple tree in hard and rugged soil; give it too little light and too much rain; let some one hack its bark with a knife from time to time; when the boys climb the tree let them strain and break it; let Bridget throw all sorts of liquids about its roots, — in short, let it take "pot luck" on a barren farm with Ignorance for an owner and Shiftlessness for his wife, and the best apple tree in the world will not remain so for many years. The apples will not degenerate into potatoes, however; heredity will attend to this. But they will become hard and knotty and sour and feeble and few as to apples; environment will see to that.

Now suppose you had sold that farm to Intelligence and given him for a wife Observation or Thrift. Suppose that they had dug and fertilized and nourished and pruned that tree (I do not mean after it had been ruined, but from the start). It is quite true that you need never expect it to bear Malaga grapes. Heredity will still hold its own, and the *kind* of fruit was determined at birth (if I may be permitted the form of speech), but very much of the *quality* of the fruit will depend upon the conditions under which it grew — the environment. So, while it is true that our heredity is as certain as the eternal hills, and, as a famous biologist recently said in my hearing, dates back of the foundation of the Sierra Nevada mountain range, so that each of us carries within us mementos of an age when language was not and, as he humorously said, "Man has in his anatomy a collection of antiques — we are full of reminiscences"; still it is equally true that the power of environment, the conditions under which we develop or restrict our inherited tendencies, will determine in large part whether heredity shall be our slave-driver or our companion in the race for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Let me illustrate in another way. Suppose that you are born from a family which has for its heritage a history of many and early deaths from consumption. Suppose that you have discovered that the tendency is strong within yourself. Is it for that reason absolutely necessary that you buy a coffin plate to-morrow and proceed to die with lung trouble? By no means. Knowing your inherited weakness you guard with jealous care the health you have, and it may be that

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your intelligent consideration may secure to you, in spite of your undoubted inheritance, the threescore years and ten; while your robust neighbor, with lungs like a bellows and the inheritance from a race of athletes, may succumb to the March winds which he braved and you did not. Maybe "quick consumption" will carry him off while you remain to mourn his loss.

I know a man in New York City who had what is called a "family history" of consumption, who was rejected on that ground by every life insurance company in this country thirty years ago. Well, that frightened him within an inch of his life; but with that inch he set to work to build his house "facing the other way," as he expressed it to me when I met him ten years ago, when he was, as he still is, a hale, hearty old gentleman. He is not and never could have been exactly robust; but he is as well, as happy and as content as the average man who has not inherited his unfortunate potentiality. It is true that nothing but intelligent and wise care all these years, nothing but his temperate and judicious life, could have compassed this end. I use the word temperate in its general sense. So far as I know he has not denied himself any of the best of life, which he has been amply able to secure; but he has at all times kept his house "facing the other way." His hereditary threat, while it has not driven him with a lash, has, it is true, lived in the back yard — which it does and will and must with us all, no matter what our environment or wisdom may be; but we need not foolishly throw open the windows, swing back the doors and invite it to take possession, while our own individuality moves down into the coal cellar.

I have taken as illustrations in both of these papers inherited disease and its developments, but this is done only for convenience and because it will explain more fully, clearly and easily to most people what is meant. That our heredity is equally strong and certain in its mental and moral potentialities and tendencies is also true.* It is likewise true that the environment — the conditions under which we develop,

* "Alienists hold, in general, that a large proportion of mental diseases are the result of degeneracy; that is, they are the offspring of drunken, insane, syphilitic and consumptive parents, and suffer from the action of heredity." — *Dr. Arthur McDonald*, author of "Criminology."

"To one at all familiar with the external aspect of insanity in its various forms, it seems incredible that its physical nature was not sooner realized. Had the laws of heredity been earlier understood, it would have been seen that mental derangements, like physical diseases and tendencies, were transmitted." — *Prof. Edward S. Morse.*

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curb or direct our natural tendencies — has a great and modifying *rôle* to play.

It is sometimes asked, if children were changed in the cradle, and those of fortunate parentage carried to the slums to be nurtured and taught and those from the slums placed in the cradles of luxury, would not all trace of mental, moral and physical heredity of a fortunate type disappear from the darlings of Murray Hill in their adopted environment of squalor and vice; and would not the haggard and half-starved, ill-nurtured waifs of Mulberry Bend blossom as the rose in strength and virtue in their new environment of luxury and of wholesome and healthful surroundings? Just here a digression seems necessary; for while I have no doubt that the change (even on the terms usually implied) would work wonders in both sets of infants, still it is to be remembered that for such a test to tell anything of real value to science, the exchange would need to be made upon another basis from that which is generally used as an argument, because it is wrongly assumed that the children of luxury (as a rule) are born with clean and lofty heredity. This is, alas, so far from the case that it is almost a truism that "the highest and the lowest" (meaning the richest and the poorest) are "nearest together in action and farthest apart in appearance only." They both give to their children tainted mental, moral and physical natures with which to contend. The self-indulgence of the young men of the "upper classes" leaves a burned out, undermined and tainted physical heredity a certainty for their children, while the ethical tone of such men — their moral fibre — is higher only in appearance and the ability to do secretly that which puts the tough of Mulberry Bend in the penitentiary because he has not the gold to gild his vices and to dazzle the eyes of society. The exchanged children, therefore, would not be so totally different in inherited qualities, after all. They would have alike a tainted ancestry. Their physical natures are the hotbeds of vices or diseases that are to be developed or curbed according as environment shall determine. But the foundation in both cases — the ground — both mental, moral and physical, is sowed down and harrowed in with the tainted heredity. The mother in both instances, as a rule, is but an aimless puppet who dances to the tune played by her male owner — a mere weak transmitter or adjunct of and for and to his scale of life. There-

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fore to point to the fact that to change these classes of infants in the cradle is to exchange (by means of their environment only) their mature development, also, from that of a Wall Street magnate to a Sing Sing convict, tells nothing whatever against the power and force of heredity. It tells only what is always claimed for fortunate or unfortunate environment — that

> "It gilds the straitened forehead of the fool,"

or that

> "Through tattered clothes small vices do appear,
> Robes and furr'd gowns hide all; plate sin with gold,
> And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks;
> Arm it with rags, a pigmy's straw doth pierce it."

Let us start fair. Let us understand that no environment can create what is not within the individuality — that heredity has fixed this; but that environment does and must act as the one tremendous and vital power to develop or to control the inheritance which parents stamp upon their children. Notwithstanding, *you* are personally responsible for the trend, the added power and development you give to much that you inherit. You are personally responsible to the coming generation for the fight it will have to make and for the strength you transmit to it to make that fight. Many a father and mother transmitted to their "fallen" daughter the weakness and the tendency to commit the acts which they and their fellows whine about afterward as "tarnishing the family honor." If they had tied her hand and foot and cast her into the midst of the waves of the sea expecting her to save herself they would be no more truly responsible for her death, be it moral or physical.

And let me emphasize here that I do not attribute all of the moral and physical disasters of the race to the fathers of the race. By no means. I believe with all my heart that the mothers have to answer for their full share of the vice, sorrow and suffering of humanity. Woman has not, perhaps, been such an active agent, and much of the wrong she has done to her children has been compassed through what have been regarded as her very virtues — her sweetest qualities — submission, compliance, self-abnegation! In so far as the mothers of the race have been weakly subservient, in that far have they a terrible score against them in the transmission of

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the qualities which has made the race too weak to do the best that it knew — too cowardly to be honest even with its own soul.

I do not believe that the sexes, in a normal state, would differ materially in moral tone. Why? Simply because throughout all nature there is no line of demarcation between the sexes on moral grounds. The male and the female differ in qualities, but neither is "better," "purer" nor "wiser" than the other — dividing them on the basis of sex alone. I do not believe that women are (under natural and equal conditions) better or purer than men, as is so often claimed. I do not believe that men are (under natural and equal conditions) wiser and abler than women. These are all artificially built up conditions, and they have fixed upon the race a very large share of its sorrow, its crime, its insanity, its disease and its despair. They have weakened woman and brutalized man. Children have been born from two parents, one of whom is weakly self-effacing and trivial, narrow in outlook and petty in interests — a dependant, and therefore servile; while the other parent is unclean, unjust, self-assertive and willing to demand more than he is willing to give. These conditions have morally perverted the race so that it will continue long to need those evidences against, instead of for, civilization — almshouses, insane asylums, reformatories and prisons.

It is usual to point with vast pride to the immense sums of money we spend year by year to support such charitable and eleemosynary institutions, instead of realizing, in humiliation and shame, that what we need to do, and what we can do, in great part, is to lock the stable door before the horse is stolen; that what we need to do, and what we can do, in large measure, is to regulate conditions and heredity so that we can take vast pride in pointing to the *small* sums of money needed year by year to care for the unfortunate victims of inherited weakness or vice. We don't want our country covered with magnificently equipped hospitals, asylums, poorhouses and prisons. What we want is intelligent and wise parentage which shall depopulate eleemosynary, charitable and penal institutions. We don't want to continue to boast of a tremendous and increasing population of sick or weak minds encased in sick or weak bodies — half-matured, ill-born, mental, moral and physical weaklings who drag out a

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few wretched years in some retreat and then miserably perish.

We want men and women on this continent who shall be well and intelligent and free and wise enough to see that not numbers but quality in population will solve the questions that perplex the souls of men. We want parents who are wise and self-controlled enough to refuse to curse the world and their own helpless children with vitiated lives, and who, if they cannot give whole, clean, fine children to the world, will refuse to give it any. Nothing but a low, perverted and weak moral and ethical sense makes possible the need of an argument on this subject. It is self-evident the moment one stops to ask himself a few simple and primitive questions: "Am I willing to buy my own comfort and pleasure at the expense of those who are helpless? Am I willing to be a moral and physical pauper preying upon the rights of my children? Am I willing to be a thief and misappropriate their physical, mental and moral heritage? Am I willing to be a murderer and taint with slow poison their lives before they get them? Am I willing to do this by giving to them a weak and dependant and silly mother and a father who is less than the best he can be — who arrogates to himself the prerogative of dictator who has no account to render?"

All these questions apply to the health of the nation and to what it shall be in the future. When we speak of the health of a nation, we are so given to thinking of the physical condition, only, of its citizens that the more comprehensive thought of their mental, moral, ethical and business health is likely to escape our minds. Indeed, I fancy that few persons realize that even in the matter of business ethics and general moral outlook (including the nation's political policy, of course) heredity cuts a very wide swath. But it is true that national business morals are as distinctive from generation to generation as are the physical characteristics, well-being or mental qualities of the different peoples. Some one will say, "True, but all this is due to difference of environment," — forgetting that the special features of our environment itself (outside of climate and soil) are due primarily to the hereditary habits and bias of its people. Natural selection, *per se*, ceased to have full force the moment man reached the stage when he was able to control artificial means of pro-

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tection or power. The "fittest" ceased to be so upon the basis of inborn quality. Artificial means — from the use of a sharp stone to overcome a stronger (or "fitter") antagonist, on up to the skilful application of money where it will do the most good — took the place of primary "natural selection," and the "fittest" to survive in the mental, moral, physical, financial or political arena became he who could command the artificial means of guiding and controlling the natural forces of primary "selection." The "tough" lives in the "slums" primarily because his parents did. He inherited his social and ethical outlook as well as his physical form, and the mould in which his thoughts have run was fashioned by nature and secondarily fixed by an environment or surrounding which also came to him as a part of his inheritance.

Heredity and environment act and react upon each other with the regularity and inevitability of night and day. Neither tells the whole story; together they make up the sum of life; and yet it is true that the first half — the part or foundation upon which all else is based and upon which all else must depend — has been taken into account so little in the conduct and scheme of human affairs that total ignorance of its very principle has been looked upon as a charming attribute of the young mothers upon whose weak or undeveloped shoulders rests the responsibility, the welfare, the shame or the glory, the very sanity and capacity, of the generations that are to come!

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WHITTIER'S RELIGION.

BY W. H. SAVAGE.

In the olden time the poet was "the maker." Taking for his world-stuff the crude materials of the common earth and the formless annals of the common life, he shaped them anew, and made of them fair realms for souls to dwell in. Seeing, as other men did not, the divine art that was trying to express itself upon the world-stage, he made it visible to his fellows, as they were able to discern it. Touched by his hand common events and common landscapes took on meanings unknown before, and grew radiant with an undreamed inner glory. Hence, in all ages, the poet has had it for his mission to show that common things are never really commonplace; that nature and life are revelations of spirit, ever changing glimpses of the eternal mind. For to show men what the seer beholds from his mount of vision is to remind them

> That very near about them lies
> The realm of spirit-mysteries.

And so, by a necessity grounded in the very nature of things the true poet is doomed to be an evangelist of God and a prophet of religion.

Our Whittier was one of this elect line of seers and makers. In his ear

> The harp at nature's advent strung
> Had never ceased to play;
> The song the stars of morning sung
> Had never died away.

To his eyes our rugged New England was a holy land, the White Hills were authentic Sinais and Olivets, and the Merrimack a river of God, whose wavelets were set to the measure of a ceaseless psalm. The necessity laid on him as a poet was accepted by Whittier with the glad and solemn earnestness of a prophet, and for sixty years he was more influential as a teacher of religion than any other man in America. Believing as he did in God and human nature he

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was a foredoomed emancipator. Whether the slave was black or white, whether the tyrant was an evil law or a superstition that held men captive in the service of an infinite hate, Whittier never ceased to proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that were bound. And he had the felicity, rare in the experience of prophets, of living to see his message heeded both by the state and the church.

What the religion of Whittier was and how he proclaimed it in his verse I shall try to show in this paper. As far as possible I shall give the poet's sentiments, as he himself gave them to the world, in his own lines.

In order to understand him aright we need to remember that he came of a Quaker lineage, spent his boyhood in a Quaker household, and accepted fully "the one distinctive doctrine of Quakerism — the Light within, and the immanence of the Divine Spirit in Christianity." This doctrine was the basal proposition of his religious thinking, and so he always looked for God not in creeds nor in books, but in his own soul and in the world about him. God, for him, was not a reminiscence — not an absentee Lord of the world and of men, but a Presence glorifying nature and inspiring the daily life of His children. Essentially a mystic, he found in this Quaker faith the charter of his spiritual freedom and his warrant for doing what most Christians fail to do — for living like a son of God. It was as a son of God that he became a reformer and an Abolitionist. He had no liking for the life he was compelled to lead amid the strife of tongues. A passage from his "Tent on the Beach" shows that he understood himself, and helps us to understand the story of his inner life: —

> And one there was, a dreamer born,
> Who with a mission to fulfil
> Had left the muse's haunts to turn
> The crank of an opinion mill;
> Making his rustic reed of song
> A weapon in the war with wrong;
> Yoking his fancy to the breaking-plough,
> That beam-deep turned the soil for truth to spring and grow.

Dreamer and mystic as he was, he was also a New England Puritan, and he served his turn at "the crank" with a Puritan's grim devotion to duty. "His rustic reed of song,"

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made into a weapon, had a point that pierced through body and soul of many a champion who managed to parry the blows of Garrison's bludgeon. In such poems as "The Pastoral Letter," "Moloch in State Street," and "Official Piety," he turned his crank and used his weapon in a way that gave to both church and state a bitter foretaste of the judgment which was to come, which was to prove the rustic "dreamer" a better Christian and a truer statesman than any of those who were then misguiding the people of the land.

The spirit in which he did his part in the great struggle for the rights of man is finely exhibited in his lines to Johannes Ronge, the young Silesian reformer of 1846 : —

> Strike home, strong-hearted man! Down to the root
> Of old oppression sink the Saxon steel,
> Thy work is to hew down. In God's name then,
> Put nerve into thy task. Let other men
> Plant, as they may, that better tree whose fruit
> The wounded bosom of the church shall heal.
> Be thou the image-breaker. Let thy blows
> Fall heavy as the Swabian's iron hand
> On crown or crosier which shall interpose
> Between thee and the weal of Fatherland.
>
> Leave creeds to closet idlers. First of all
> Shake thou all German dream-land with the fall
> Of that accurséd tree, whose evil trunk
> Was spared of old by Erfurt's stalwart monk.
> Fight not with ghosts and shadows. Let us hear
> The snap of chain-links. Let our gladdened ear
> Catch the pale prisoner's welcome, as the light
> Follows thy axe-stroke, through his cell of night.
> Be faithful to both worlds, nor think to feed
> Earth's starving millions with the husks of creed.
> Servant of Him whose mission high and holy
> Was to the wronged, the sorrowing and the lowly,
> Thrust not His Eden promise from our sphere,
> Distant and dim beyond the blue sky's span;
> Like him of Patmos, see it now and here,
> The New Jerusalem come down to man!
> Be warned by Luther's error. Nor like him
> When the roused Teuton dashes from his limb
> The rusted chain of ages, help to bind
> His hands for whom thou claim'st the freedom of the mind!

These downright words are the expression of Whittier's practical creed, which was that in the long run the only thing

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that is good and safe is that which is righteous and just. He had no hesitation about mixing religion with politics, and he believed in democracy because it made it possible for the religion of the whole nation, and of every man in it, to find expression in the laws and the life of the people. How noble his ideal of democracy was, and how high his faith in its possibilities, he showed in his poem under that title, written in 1841 — on election day: —

Bearer of Freedom's holy light,
  Breaker of Slavery's chain and rod,
The foe of all which pains the sight
  Or wounds the generous ear of God!

Beautiful yet thy temples rise
  Though there profaning gifts are thrown;
And fires unkindled of the skies
  Are glaring round thy altar-stone.

* * * * *

O ideal of my boyhood's time!
  The faith in which my father stood,
Even when the sons of lust and crime
  Had stained thy peaceful courts with blood!

Still to those courts my footsteps turn,
  For through the mists which darken there,
I see the flame of Freedom burn —
  The Kebla of the patriot's prayer!

The generous feeling pure and warm,
  Which owns the right of all divine;
The pitying heart, the helping arm,
  The prompt self-sacrifice, are thine.

Beneath thy broad, impartial eye,
  How fade the lines of caste and birth!
How equal in their sufferings lie
  The groaning multitudes of earth!

Still to a stricken brother true,
  Whatever clime hath nurtured him,
As stooped to heal the wounded Jew
  The worshipper of Gerizim.

By misery unrepelled, unawed
  By pomp or power, thou seest a man
In prince or peasant, slave or lord,
  Pale priest or swarthy artisan.

* * * * *

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And there is reverence in thy look,
For that frail form which mortals wear
The spirit of the Holiest took,
And veiled His perfect brightness there.

Not from the shallow babbling fount
Of vain philosophy thou art;
He who of old on Syria's Mount
Thrilled, warmed, by turns, the listener's heart,

In holy words which cannot die,
In thoughts which angels leaned to know,
Proclaimed thy message from on high,
Thy mission to a world of woe.

That voice's echo hath not died!
From the blue lake of Galilee,
From Tabor's lonely mountain side,
It calls a struggling world to thee.

Thy name and watchword o'er this land
I hear in every breeze that stirs,
And round a thousand altars stand
Thy banded party worshippers.

Not to these altars of a day,
At party's call, my gift I bring,
But on thy olden shrine I lay
A freeman's dearest offering:

The voiceless utterance of his will —
His pledge to Freedom and to Truth,
That manhood's heart remembers still
The homage of his generous youth.

Several of these stanzas have been set to music and are widely used as a hymn in the public worship of God. Did any man ever go farther in mixing politics and religion? Whittier's voting mood was so high that the ordinary citizen finds it hard to climb up to it in his Sunday-praying mood! His "Democracy" was the justice and generosity of God, incarnate in human society.

In his poem entitled "Among the Hills," he has given us his vision of a future in which such a democracy shall be no more the dreamer's ideal but the reality of man's daily life: —

O Golden Age, whose light is of the dawn
And not of sunset, forward, not behind, —
Flood the new heavens and earth, and with thee bring

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All the old virtues, whatsoever things
Are pure and honest and of good repute,
But add thereto whatever bard hath sung
Or seer has told of when in trance or dream
They saw the Happy Isles of prophecy!
Let Justice hold her scale, and Truth divide
Between the right and wrong; but give the heart
The freedom of its fair inheritance.
Let the poor prisoner, cramped and starved so long,
At nature's table feast his ear and eye
With joy and wonder; let all harmonies
Of sound, form, color, motion, wait upon
The princely guest, whether in soft attire
Of leisure clad, or the coarse frock of toil,
And, lending life to the dead form of faith,
Give human nature reverence for the sake
Of One who bore it, making it divine
With the ineffable tenderness of God;
Let common need, the brotherhood of prayer,
The heirship of an unknown destiny,
The unsolved mystery round about us, make
A man more precious than the gold of Ophir,
Sacred, inviolate, unto whom all things
Should minister as outward types and signs
Of the eternal beauty which fulfils
The one great purpose of creation, love —
The sole necessity of earth and heaven!

Nothing nobler and more beautiful than this in the way of prophecy has been written by the hand of man. It has all the magnificence of the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah, with the added grace of a brotherly kindness that sees in Gentiles equal citizens of the world that is to be.

We have already had unmistakable intimations of Whittier's belief regarding the character of God and the principles of His government. It is hardly possible to read a single page of his without coming upon such intimations. He regarded God as, in fact as well as in name, "our Father in heaven," and his writings express everywhere his simple and complete trust in the divine goodness. In a conversation with a distinguished Englishman, he had been speaking of the enduring and gloomy influence of the old Puritan doctrines upon the minds of New Englanders, of their pernicious darkening of life and literature, and of having himself come under the cloud of Calvinism.

"But," said his visitor, "you never could have been a Calvinistic Puritan."

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"Nay, thee are right," said Mr. Whittier, "the world was much too beautiful and God far too good. I was never of that mind."

In a letter published in 1886, he said, "Slowly but surely the dreadful burden of the old belief in the predetermined eternity of evil is being lifted from the heart of humanity, and the goodness of God, which leadeth to repentance, is taking the place of the infinite scorn which made love well-nigh impossible."

In one of the most beautiful poems that ever came from his pen, he has given to the world the doctrine he held regarding God's method of dealing with sin and sinners. The poem is called "The Two Angels": —

God called the nearest angels who dwell with him above:
The tenderest one was Pity, the dearest one was Love.

"Arise," He said, "my angels! a wail of woe and sin
Steals through the gates of heaven, and saddens all within.

"My harps take up the mournful strain that from a lost world swells,
The smoke of torment clouds the light and blights the asphodels.

"Fly downward to that under world, and on its souls of pain
Let Love drop smiles like sunshine, and Pity tears like rain!"

Two faces bowed before the throne, veiled in their golden hair;
Four white wings lessened swiftly down the dark abyss of air.

The way was strange, the flight was long; at last the angels came
Where swung the lost and nether world, red-wrapped in rayless flame.

Then Pity shuddering wept; but Love, with faith too strong for fear,
Took heart from God's almightiness and smiled a smile of cheer.

And lo! that tear of Pity quenched the flame whereon it fell,
And with the sunshine of that smile, hope entered into hell!

Two unveiled faces full of joy, looked upward to the throne;
Four white wings folded at the feet of Him that sat thereon!

And deeper than the sound of seas, more soft than falling flake,
Amidst the hush of wing and song the Voice Eternal spake:

"Welcome, my angels! ye have brought a holier joy to heaven;
Henceforth its sweetest song shall be the song of sin forgiven!"

When these lines had got into print they caused no small stir. We are informed in the New Testament that there

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were people who thought that Jesus was sometimes "beside himself," and needed to be corrected by those whose hearts never got them into indiscretions. Mr. Whittier was from time to time taken in hand by people of the same sort. His "Two Angels" gave them an opportunity to apply correction, and they proceeded to point out to him that he had gone too far, that there was such a thing as having too much faith in God. His reply to their criticism was "The Eternal Goodness," a poem that has won for the writer the gratitude of millions who never saw his face, and even makes us grateful to the fault-finders who occasioned the writing of it. The poem is too long for quotation, and too familiar to need quotation. A shorter and less generally known poem, written many years later, reaffirms the faith that has made Mr. Whittier the deliverer of so many who, like "The Minister's Daughter," feared God but found it impossible to love Him: —

> The Rabbi Ishmael, with the woe and sin
> Of the world heavy upon him, entering in
> The Holy of Holies, saw an awful Face
> With terrible splendor filling all the place.
> "O Ishmael Ben Elisha!" said a voice,
> "What seekest thou? What blessing is thy choice?"
> And knowing that he stood before the Lord,
> Within the shadow of the cherubim,
> Wide-winged between the blinding light and him,
> He bowed himself and uttered not a word,
> But in the silence of his soul was prayer:
> "O Thou Eternal! I am one of all,
> And nothing ask that others may not share.
> Thou art almighty; we are weak and small,
> And yet Thy children: let Thy mercy spare!"
> Trembling he raised his eyes, and in the place
> Of the insufferable glory, lo! a face
> Of more than mortal tenderness, that bent
> Graciously down in token of assent,
> And smiling, vanished! With strange joy elate,
> The wondering rabbi sought the temple's gate.
> Radiant as Moses from the mount, he stood
> And cried aloud unto the multitude:
> "O Israel, hear! The Lord our God is good!
> Mine eyes have seen His glory and His grace;
> Beyond his judgments shall his love endure;
> The mercy of the All-Merciful is sure!"

When Joseph Cook asserted, after Mr. Whittier's death, that our poet had been a preacher of the doctrine proclaimed

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by the Monday lectureship, he showed a very just sense of his own need of a good endorser. He also showed a great and, it is to be feared, a well-grounded confidence in the ignorance of his hearers.

What Whittier believed regarding "the word of God" was simply the doctrine of his fathers; the Friends always meant by "the word of God" the Inner Voice that speaks in each man's soul, never the Book that is known as the "Bible." Concerning this latter Mr. Whittier said, "I believe just so far in the Bible as it believes in me." The authentic inspiration comes to souls. Its open fountain is God and not a book. It uses all the languages that men use, speaking to each man in his own tongue wherein he was born. This is the Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light, and to this our Quaker singer held from first to last.

> Who scoffs at our birthright? The words of the seers,
> And the songs of the bards in the twilight of years,
> All the foregleams of wisdom in santon and sage,
> In prophet and priest, are our true heritage.
>
> The Word which the reason of Plato discerned;
> The truth, as whose symbol the Mithra-fire burned;
> The soul of the world which the stoic but guessed,
> In the Light Universal the Quaker confessed.

In these lines from his "Quaker Alumni" our poet declares that the Bible of the Hebrew and the Christian is but one utterance of the Voice that has ever been speaking to all men everywhere: —

> Truth is one;
> And in all lands beneath the sun,
> Whoso hath eyes to see may see
> The tokens of its unity.
> No scroll of creed its fulness wraps,
> We trace it not by school-boy maps.
> Free as the sun and air it is
> Of latitudes and boundaries.
> In Vedic verse, in dull Korán,
> Are messages of good to man;
> The angels to our Aryan sires
> Talked by the earliest household fires;
> The prophets of the elder day,
> The slant-eyed sages of Cathay,
> Read not the riddle all amiss
> Of higher life evolved from this.
>
> * * * * *

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Wherever through the ages rise
The altars of self-sacrifice,
Where love its arms has opened wide,
Or man for man has calmly died,
I see the same white wings outspread
That hovered o'er the Master's head.

* * * * *

So welcome I from every source
The tokens of that primal Force,
Older than heaven itself, yet new
As the young heart it reaches to,
Beneath whose steady impulse rolls
The tidal wave of human souls;
Guide, Comforter, and inward Word,
The eternal Spirit of the Lord!
Nor fear I aught that science brings
From searching through material things;
Content to let its glasses prove,
Not by the letter's oldness move
The myriad worlds on worlds that course
The spaces of the universe:
Since everywhere the Spirit walks
The garden of the heart, and talks
With man, as under Eden's trees,
In all his varied languages.
Why mourn above some hopeless flaw
In the stone tables of the law,
When scripture every day afresh
Is traced on tablets of the flesh?
By inward sense, by outward signs,
God's presence still the heart divines;
Through deepest joy of Him we learn,
In sorest grief to Him we turn,
And reason stoops its pride to share
The childlike instinct of a prayer.

In one of his published letters Whittier said (in 1870): "Quakerism, in the light of its great original truth, is exceedingly broad. As interpreted by Penn and Barclay, it is the most liberal and Catholic of faiths." How wide its fellowship is, the lines above quoted amply illustrate. How grandly the Quaker faith comes forth to the rescue of man's respect for God and for himself, when Christian Endeavor conventions applaud clerical denunciations of the Parliament of Religions, and when so many churchmen in their blind terror over the higher criticism are running for cover with their Bibles wrapped in the yellow blanket of some old creed!

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All readers of Whittier are aware of his boundless reverence and admiration for the character and life of Jesus. The poem "Our Master" is a very noble and eloquent expression of his feeling on the subject. By his use of language some of his readers have been led to suppose him a believer in the church doctrine of the Trinity, in spite of the fact that his "Trinitas" is distinctly a heretical document, embodying ideas that were condemned by the church in the third century. The explanation of all the seeming contradictions in the writings before us is found when we remember that Whittier was a Quaker, and that Christ was to him "the Inward Word." In the only poem that makes reference to the Trinitarian formula, he rejects the traditional doctrine as incomprehensible.

> That night with painful care I read
> What Hippo's saint and Calvin said, —
> The living seeking to the dead!
>
> In vain I turned, in weary quest,
> Old pages, where (God give them rest!)
> The poor creed-mongers dreamed and guessed.
>
> And still I prayed, "Lord, let me see
> How Three are one, and one is Three;
> Read the dark riddle unto me!"

And when the riddle was read, the adoring soul of the questioner found his answer in a revised version of the old heresy of Sabellius: "There is one God who reveals Himself in three ways, to meet the threefold needs of His children."

> The equal Father in rain and sun,
> His Christ in the good to evil done,
> His voice in thy soul; — and the three are one!

A short time before the poet's death, an old friend, a man of Quaker lineage, called upon him, and the two talked long over the great matters that had engaged their thoughts during the many years of their acquaintance. As they were about to separate Mr. Whittier said, "They would call thee and me Unitarians." In these words we have his thought about himself put into plain prose, and it agrees exactly with the statement made by Dr. Holmes shortly after his old friend's departure, "We felt that we were on common ground."

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We have already seen that Whittier believed religion to be the product of a divine inspiration coming direct to the souls of men, and dependent on no infallibility of Bibles or creeds, on no special rituals of worship. Years ago, he called attention in a published letter to the fact that science and criticism would be likely to invalidate the supposed foundations of faith, and urged men to turn to the only safe guidance, "the Inner Light and the Voice of God in the soul." The same matter finds noble and forcible expression in his "Vision of Echard": —

What if the earth is hiding
  Her old faiths, long outworn;
What is it to the changeless truth
  That yours shall fail in turn?

What if the o'erturned altar
  Lays bare the ancient lie?
What if the dreams and legends
  Of the world's childhood die?

Have ye not still my witness
  Within yourselves alway,
My hand that on the keys of life
  For bliss or bale I lay?

Still in perpetual judgment,
  I hold assize within,
With sure reward of holiness,
  And dread rebuke of sin.

A light, a guide, a warning,
  A presence ever near,
Through the deep silence of the flesh
  I reach the inward ear.

My Gerizim and Ebal
  Are in each human soul,
The still, small voice of blessing,
  The Sinai's thunder-roll.

The stern behest of duty,
  The doom-book open thrown,
The heaven ye seek, the hell ye fear,
  Are with yourselves alone.

Holding such views as these Whittier could not have been other than an optimist regarding the outlook towards the world's future. Dependent for their safety on no device

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of human wit, the years to come were safe in the goodness and almightiness of God. And so he could sing: —

> The airs of heaven blow o'er me;
> A glory shines before me
> Of what mankind shall be, —
> Pure, generous, brave and free.
>
> A dream of man and woman
> Diviner but still human,
> Solving the riddle old,
> Shaping the age of gold!
>
> The love of God and neighbor,
> An equal-handed labor;
> The richer life, where beauty
> Walks hand in hand with duty.
>
> Ring, bells in unreared steeples;
> The joy of unborn peoples!
> Sound, trumpets far off blown,
> Your triumph is my own!
>
> * * * * *
>
> I feel the earth move sunward,
> I join the great march onward,
> And take, by faith, while living,
> My freehold of thanksgiving.

We turn naturally from these thoughts of man's earthly future to ask what our poet held concerning the unseen that lies beyond. We find his writings filled with hints which show that he meditated much and earnestly upon the matter of the future life, and that his belief in such a life was confident and full of cheer. Mrs. Claflin reports him as saying, "The little circumstance of death will make no difference with me; I shall have the same friends in that other world that I have here, the same loves and aspirations and occupations. If it were not so, I should not be myself, and surely I shall not lose my identity." He was always deeply interested in what used to be called "ghost stories," and he and Mrs. Stowe would sit and talk far into the night, of ghosts and spirit rappings and other matters that now engage the societies for Psychical Research. He believed that the Inner Light could be trusted to guide one in the business of daily life as well as in matters purely spiritual, and he found many confirmations of this in the ex-

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periences of his Quaker friends. And all this was quite in keeping with the Quaker belief that life here is in constant touch with the Great Life that is the fountain of all being. According to this belief the gates between the seen and the unseen are always ajar. The life here and the life there flow from the Eternal, are lived in the Eternal, and because of this are always safe and good.

More than any other of our poets, Whittier was the singer and the prophet of the common people. The air of the country and the atmosphere of the home breathe everywhere through his lines, and mingling in some strange, sweet way with all familiar sights and sounds are hints of unseen spiritual presences, of nearness to unseen realms and relations to wider and sweeter destinies. "Snow-Bound" is a rare bit of realistic art, and yet the reader is never quite sure that he is in Haverhill and not in some rural district of heaven — a region to which healthy and right-minded boys would like to go. No man can exactly tell where Essex County ends and soul-land begins. Has not our poet shown himself a true seer by revealing to us that it is all soul-land, here and there alike? — as in these words addressed to his sister: —

> I cannot feel that thou art far,
> Since near at need the angels are;
> And when the sunset gates unbar,
> Shall I not see thee waiting stand,
> And white against the evening star
> The welcome of thy beckoning hand?

More than any other of our singers he makes heaven a true home-land, where real people dwell and where friends can find each other and find life good: —

> I shrink from unaccustomed glory,
> I dread the many-voicéd strain;
> Give me the unforgotten faces,
> And let my lost ones speak again.
>
> Mine be the joy of soul-communion,
> The sense of spiritual strength renewed,
> The reverence for the pure and holy,
> The dear delight of doing good.
>
> No fitting ear is mine to listen
> An endless anthem's rise and fall;
> No curious eye is mine to measure
> The pearl gate and the jasper wall.

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For love must needs be more than knowledge.
  What matter if I never know
Why Aldebaran's star is ruddy,
  Or warmer Sirius white as snow!

I go to find my lost and mourned-for
  Safe in Thy sheltering goodness still,
And all that hope and faith foreshadow
  Made perfect in Thy holy will.

In the same strain are the closing stanzas of the lines addressed to Lydia Maria Child: —

Then let us stretch our hands in darkness,
  And call our loved ones o'er and o'er;
Some day their arms shall close about us,
  And the old voices speak once more.

No dreary splendors wait our coming,
  Where rapt ghost sits from ghost apart;
Homeward we go to heaven's thanksgiving,
  The harvest-gathering of the heart.

Very touching in their revelation of what was deepest in Whittier's soul, his noble modesty, his love of goodness and his love of friends, are the words of the prayer entitled "At Last," — the petition that was in his heart and on his lips during all his later years: —

When on my day of life the night is falling,
  And in the winds from unsunned spaces blown,
I hear far voices out of darkness calling
    My feet to paths unknown, —

Thou who hast made my home of life so pleasant,
  Leave not its tenant when its walls decay;
O Love Divine, O Helper ever present,
    Be Thou my strength and stay!

I have but Thee, my Father! let Thy Spirit
  Be with me then to comfort and uphold;
No gate of pearl, no branch of palm I merit,
    Nor street of shining gold.

Suffice it if — my good and ill unreckoned,
  And both forgiven through Thy abounding grace —
I find myself by hands familiar beckoned
    Unto my fitting place:

Some humble door among Thy many mansions,
  Some sheltering shade where sin and striving cease,

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And flows forever through heaven's green expansions,
The river of Thy peace.

There, from the music round about me stealing,
I fain would learn the new and holy song,
And find at last beneath Thy trees of healing,
The life for which I long.

He had done his best with the trust committed to his hands; he had fought a good fight in the greatest struggle of modern times; he had loved God and his fellow-men with a simple and utter devotion; and with this prayer in his heart he came to life's western gate. Pausing there for a moment as he saw the sunrise of a perfect September morning once more make glorious the hills and fields and river of his love, he gazed again on the faces of those he held dear and whispered, "My — love — to — the world." And so, having said this, he departed.

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MONOMETALLISM AND PROTECTION.

BY C. S. THOMAS.

"What is that which I should turn to, lighting upon days like these?
Every door is barred with gold, and opens but to golden keys."

THE political contest of 1892 was waged upon an economic issue whose magnitude involved all others in the darkness of a total eclipse. Its persistent clamor for recognition had long been acknowledged and avoided by the cautious leaders who feared its influence because of its importance. Before then it had come, as an unbidden guest, to every national convention since 1864, either to be frightened into silence by beating the tom-toms of sectionalism, or juggled into obscurity by the lofty rhetoric and sonorous jargon of party platforms. Politicians had in a more than double sense paltered with public opinion in their discussions of its character and tendencies, and with cheerful optimism counted upon the future to evolve some congenial condition whose atmosphere would stifle it unto death.

But the issue of tariff reform, like another Hercules, only strangled the pythons which were sent to destroy it. Its great underlying principles were near the heart of humanity, and closely intertwined with the essentials of liberty and justice. Its advocates appealed to the consciences of men and the honesty of governments. They were instant in and out of season. They stormed the citadel of the classes, strengthened the apprehensions of the weak, inspired the resolutions of the strong, quickened the reluctance of the timid and stimulated the enthusiasm of the zealous. They were undaunted by the successive disasters of ever recurring conflicts, and renewed the warfare with the conviction that no just cause waged in behalf of the rights of man was ever lost. And so the struggle went on until with one acclaim the national Democracy declared for a system of import duties for revenue only.

The advocates of protection had already offered the gage of battle. Its ready acceptance was accompanied by an af-

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firmation of the soundness of the avowed Republican financial policy, and followed by a sort of tacit agreement to relegate the currency issue to the rear, as a theme possessed of neither interest nor consequence. Its relation to the issue of protection and tariff reform was not admitted, and the few who sought to give it the prominence which its tremendous importance deserved, were either silenced by the clamors of the dissentient public or compelled to take refuge for the time among the ranks of the politically discontented. But scarcely had the sound of Democratic jubilation over the victory of November died away, before it became apparent that the disjointed character of the national finances, resulting from the demonetization of silver in 1873, and its subsequent compulsory coinage and purchase under the Acts of 1878 and 1890, presented the opportunity to contend that it had produced conditions and was threatening calamities so direful and far-reaching in their consequences, as to demand the undivided attention of public opinion and the immediate consideration of legislative and executive authority. The little cloud, no larger than a man's hand, had overspread the economic sky with a black pall whose menacing thunders proved true portents of the storm which followed.

I shall not weary the reader with a recital of events which began with the deliberations of the Brussels conference and closed with the repeal of the purchasing clause in the Sherman Act. They mark the establishment of gold monometallism in the United States, as the first result of a change of administration effected by an overwhelming anti-protection sentiment. This circumstance conduces to their importance; for monometallism is protection applied to the substance selected as the material from which is coined the sole money of ultimate redemption. Each expression is, in other words, the equivalent of the other, in its relation to the metal which is vested with mint privilege and money function, to the exclusion of all others. And to the advocates of tariff reform, after securing control of the government, belongs the questionable honor of extending complete and unqualified protection to gold, by uniting with their adversaries for that purpose, thereby making the task of reducing imports on all commodities enormously difficult if not impossible of accomplishment.

It requires, I think, no great amount of argument to es-

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tablish the proposition that if the people were by statute prohibited from the use of all kinds of meat except beef, or of all kinds of grain except wheat, the two privileged articles mentioned would enjoy the highest type of protection. Their value would increase with the increasing demand for them, while the products which before were used for food either in connection or competition with them, would become practically worthless and disappear from the markets. A prohibitory duty imposed upon competitive products would be far less efficacious for protection than such a law. Indeed the theory of protection, in its last analysis, leads to such conditions; for if it be good for our people that they be taxed for the benefit of the producer by being compelled to pay artificially increased prices for his competitor's wares, it is surely better that the price for such wares be so greatly enhanced as to make their sale impossible. In that event prosperity should be not only certain but permanent. "Home markets" would thus necessarily be created for the protected industries; and the miserable followers of the prohibited ones might either compete with their more fortunate countrymen, or enter their employment at the higher rate of wages for the establishment of which all protective schedules are exclusively designed.

These principles, founded upon all the logic of protection, have, up to this time, never been applied except to gold. When the nation went protection mad, and tariff ran riot through Congress with McKinley astride its back, legislation halted far before the goal of prohibition. That extreme was left as an experiment for the future. A reform Congress has tried it with gold, and the "object lesson" has thus far been an instructive albeit a most disastrous one. The motive which induced protectionists to coöperate in the enactment of such a measure is easily perceived and clearly understood, but the policy of their allies seems to be at variance with every principle of tariff reform.

The purpose of protection is to enhance prices by a forced reduction of competition and consequent limitation of supply to demand. Its adjustments, made in the interest of the one, are vehemently alleged to be intended for the benefit of the other. It imposes upon the tax payer the additional burden of paying a royalty upon every necessary of life, the only consideration for which is the assurance of the bene-

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ficiary that such royalty is the corner-stone of national and individual prosperity. It has been given full play for more than thirty years in the domain of our national industries. As one result, every one of them is controlled by a gigantic combination whose existence is a menace to free government, while workmen by tens of thousands are needy in a land of limitless extent and resources. It is a system which sprung from greed and injustice, and whose products are monopoly and pauperism.

The purpose of monometallism is to enhance the value of credits by limiting the volume of the circulating medium. Its adjustments, made in the interest of the annuitant and the money lender, are earnestly declared to be for the protection and benefit of the general public. It imposes upon the debtor an additional burden by decreasing the price of his products and labor, and taking more of both for the liquidation of his debt than were necessary for that purpose when it was contracted. It gives full control of financial affairs, and thereby of all other affairs of men and of governments, to a single class. It makes money the object rather than the instrument of commerce, and harnesses all enterprise, all energy, all business, all property, all the wealth and all the labor of the land to the chariot of the money changer. It is the capsheaf of protectionism, its choicest flower and rarest fruit. It is worth all other forms of protection combined; for with it all the others may be continued or dispensed with as selfishness or ambition may demand.

Monometallism was established by Great Britain in 1816. Gold was the metal of its choice. The automatic system of money which naturally and wisely gave to the debtor the option of making payment in either gold or silver, thereby preserving and continuing the equilibrium of the ratio between the two, was discarded. Britain was then an advocate of protection. The better to protect gold at the expense of silver, she decreed that the Bank of England should pay £3 17 s. 10½ d. for every ounce of gold which might be tendered, regardless of its actual value. At the same time she laid on the Corn Laws as a concession to the agriculturists for their support of Lord Liverpool's Act, and because she feared lest otherwise her gold would be exported to pay for wheat. For thirty years thereafter she followed her general policy of protection. When she finally abandoned it she

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made gold an exception, that she might gather it as tribute from all the nations of the earth and thus completely subject them to her continuous domination.

When Chevalier in 1858 sounded the alarm against gold, and warned Europe of the consequences of a golden inundation from Australia and California unless silver was protected by giving it also the money function, Germany and Austria gave heed to his council, but England never wavered. She had dependencies scattered over both hemispheres, some of which produced gold, but none of them silver. They needed for the metal the protection which her financial policy would give, and gold continued as her standard of value. So late as 1888 six members of the Royal Monetary Commission pronounced against the formation of a bimetallic union, for the reason, among others, that "Australia and other of our colonies, *as large producers of gold*, might take objection to it. . . . The interests of our Australian and other gold-producing colonies must also be considered. Their deposits of gold are one of their principal sources of wealth, and any measure which tended to check gold mining or to depreciate that metal would, in all probability, injuriously affect the prosperity of the colonies and react upon the trade of the mother country with them." This sounds strangely like the resolutions of a modern wool growers' convention.

Said Mr. Allard, one of the Belgian delegates to the Brussels conference: "The monetary question is transformed day by day into the tariff question, and protection increases throughout the world without our knowing perfectly the cause of the phenomenon which is found to exist everywhere. Did we not see, even in England, on May 19, 1892, Lord Salisbury make a profession of protectionist faith at Hastings? These are serious revolutions, which should especially attract the attention of England, the cradle of free trade, the country which, under the influence of Cobden, was the first to enter the path of commercial freedom. Let England not forget what I have just proven clearly, that to persist in her present *monometallism* is to incite *protectionism*. Bimetallism implies the idea of free trade."

No advocate of gold monometallism at that conference assumed to question the truth of this assertion. I do not think that it has ever been challenged, although the literature of politics for a twelvemonth has been very largely devoted to

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a discussion of monetary problems, and congressional debate has explored the entire domain of financial history. Indeed the policy of the gold men from 1816 down to the present hour has proceeded upon the recognition of its verity. Events have justified the correctness of this assumption, and to-day protection finds its chief source of strength in the advocacy and adoption of monometallism, although many of its sincerest supporters are among the ablest opponents of the tariff. This statement is abundantly justified by a brief consideration of the course pursued by the beneficiaries of our import laws since the election of November, 1892. The result was a total rout of the Republican party, which had staked its all upon protection and lost. The victory of the tariff reformers was so overwhelming that its opponents pretended to be better pleased since it gave abundant opportunity to the victors to demonstrate the soundness of their theories by the test of legislation. The country resigned itself to the coming change and looked forward to the inauguration of the new president with the belief that sorely needed industrial and commercial reforms would commence with his administration. Tariff organs from one ocean to the other, with a pretence of sincerity, counselled their vanquishers to adopt no half-way measures in their change, but to give the country the fullest opportunity to judge of the new methods and contrast them with the old.

But protection, like any other beast of prey, is always dangerous until it is dead. It had been stricken down in spite of the formidable weapons of falsehood, prejudice, force and corruption which it had used so long and so well. It had gone through the outward form of surrender and seemed to content itself with sullen predictions of coming disaster. But gloomy forebodings of what would be, should its grasp upon the nation's throat be loosened, were nothing new. The people had become accustomed to them from constant repetition, and knew full well that the ills they might encounter could not be worse than those from which they had long suffered.

The effects of currency contraction are well known. A reduction of the volume of money in circulation speedily produces disaster, to the injury, if not the ruin, of nearly all classes of people. Prices fall, enterprise is destroyed, mines and manufactories close, industry is transformed into idle-

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ness, commerce becomes stagnant, agriculture is prostrated and debtors are made bankrupt for lack of ready funds. Mr. Balfour has well said that no more paralyzing or benumbing influence ever touched the enterprise of a nation. What blood-letting is to the individual, currency contraction is to the people, and a people suffering from the acute stages of such a calamity are in no mood for what may be termed experimentative industrial legislation — especially if they, or a large part of them, can be made to believe or to fear that their woes are caused not by their slender stock of money but by the menace of impending legislative reforms. Could prosperity be banished from every department of industry and commerce ere Congress met to carry out the last expression of the public will, its purpose could be thwarted by the very agency which called it into being and every recipient of protection retain his darling duty for years to come. Small wonder, then, that every tariff organ and beneficiary beyond the precious metal states, at once assailed the national finances and demanded currency contraction by the recognition of gold alone as money.

The situation was eminently favorable for their assault. The Democratic party, whose masses had always been and still were devoted to the gold and silver money of the constitution, had nominated and elected to the presidency a man the range of whose financial vision was bounded by the limits of Manhattan Island. Of his sincere devotion to the cause of tariff reform there could be no question; yet, like many of his followers, he could never be made to realize that such reform is impossible unless it can be effected during a period of abundant money circulation, and that low prices, consequent upon the scarcity of money, by enabling protectionists to attribute them to the operation of their tariff system, deprived their adversaries of the benefit of their most potent argument against it. The policy inaugurated by Secretary Foster, of redeeming treasury notes in gold only, although expressly payable in coin at the option of the government, coupled with the European demand for gold resulting from its adoption as the standard by Austria, and from the financial disasters of Australia, enabled the advocates of monometallism to drain the federal treasury of its gold, export it to the old world, and by attributing its movement to public apprehension as to the fiscal future of the govern-

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ment, create an overwhelming demand for the repeal of the Sherman Law and the demonetization of silver. The national banking system, wholly dependent for its existence upon the continuation of the national debt, menaced by the threat of the repeal of the tax on state bank circulation, and anxious both for a new issue of government bonds and the cessation of all government issues of paper money, eagerly joined the crusade. The tariff beneficiaries whose subsidies were threatened, saw a certain means of escape from impending disaster by the destruction of silver as money, coupled with an opportunity to attribute public and private suffering to the menace of anti-protective legislation; and they, too, clamored for repeal.

The sudden closing of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, the immediate fall in the gold value of that metal and of all staple products, the consequent panic which swept the habitable globe, presented at last the much desired opportunity. All the national ills were attributed to the mischievous operation of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Law (itself a protection measure, designed and enacted by protectionists), whose repeal would be followed by an immediate return of prosperity and happiness. Congress was hastily convened in special session, and the president, in a message teeming with ponderous platitudes, urged it to do away with the obnoxious measure without delay. The press reënforced the recommendations of the executive with threat, entreaty and invective. Finally, after three weary months of debate, the senate reluctantly voted for unconditional repeal, and the last vestige of legislation for the coinage of silver was swept away.

No advocate of tariff reform will seek to defend the Sherman Law. Its enactment was a misfortune to bimetallism, and its operation was opposed to the elementary principles of monetary science. It was forced upon the advocates of free coinage, and its administration by the avowed enemies of silver contributed more powerfully to the spread of monometallist sentiment than all other agencies combined. Many serious evils can be laid at its door, but the charge that it caused the financial calamities of 1893 is not one of them.

After repeal, what then? The issue of bonds to the amount of $50,000,000 and their purchase by the banks to be used as a basis of circulation, on the one hand, and the

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never ending but effective cry that "Hard times are caused by the menace of the Wilson Bill" on the other; a depleted treasury with but little money in circulation, accompanied by a veto of the bill intended for the coinage of the seigniorage silver, because "It would operate to injuriously expand the money volume"; a series of overwhelming Republican victories at the polls as a result of the pitiable efforts of the Democratic party to reduce the tariff in the face of constantly falling revenues; the great forward movement of economic reform, checkmated by its opponents deftly using its advocates as pawns; an unconditional surrender by the dominant party to the national banks; an increase of the national debt and, per consequence, of the annual expenditures; a divided and disheartened Democracy, an abandonment of one of the chief features of its policy, and an inability to effectuate the other by reason thereof.

Gold monometallism, having been established by Mr. Cleveland as the representative of an element which did not elect him, must be maintained, regardless of its effect upon the progress, the happiness or the general welfare of the country. Since gold is the standard, its departure from our shores necessarily creates grave apprehension among all classes of people, and that in time stimulates hoarding, diminishes the circulation, produces further fall in prices and threatens panic. Hence that which we have must be kept at home and more must be obtained, even if we have to buy it with bonds and tax the people for their payment both of principal and interest. But since we are a debtor nation, and since if we get more gold we must increase our obligations, it follows that our gold must leave us in spite of ourselves unless we repudiate our debts, or pay them in commodities instead of gold. The first we cannot do; the last is feasible only by so adjusting our international trade as to secure a large excess of exports over imports, and that we can do, says the protectionist, by a system of tariff schedules, devised by the Carnegies and enacted by the McKinleys. Stated concisely, the contention now is that since we have our coveted gold monometallism, we cannot, being a debtor nation, maintain it except by a continuation of our present tariff system. Therefore protection, heretofore a debatable proposition, is now a national necessity.

This line of reasoning, barely hinted at before the com-

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mencement of the present year, is now boldly adopted by the advocates of protection. It is, indeed, one of the strongest, if not the strongest, which can be urged in its behalf. Mr. Henry B. Russell, a recent contributor to the *American Journal of Politics*, calls attention to the estimated decrease in the amount of our annual revenues which must result from the passage of the Wilson Bill, argues that its enactment into law will cause an increase of imports and a decrease of exports, in consequence of which our general interest charge on securities held abroad must be paid in gold instead of commodities, and concludes with the following reflection: —

> Such a turn in affairs would play havoc with our gold reserves and our gold standard *at the very time when they should be the objects of our tender care and careful management.* Large exportations of gold have produced uneasiness when there was really no ground for it. An extensive exportation just now would create good grounds for uneasiness. Such an exportation may be expected to some extent, early in 1894, but especially after the imports now held back are dumped upon the market. If the Wilson Bill, or one no more protective in character, be made a law by July 1, there will be abundant reasons for expecting a premium on gold in this country by next November, if not sooner.

Such reasoning as this, accompanied by a standing threat of gold exportation should Congress dare to relieve the monetary situation by investing the treasury with authority to do anything except to issue bonds, and attended by a fall in prices without precedent, ingeniously but falsely attributed to the natural operation of the McKinley tariff upon consumption, cannot well be refuted. Indeed it finds support in the suggestion by the Indian council of an import duty on silver bullion, and in the proposition of Mr. Westland in the legislative council at Calcutta to provide for the deficit in the Indian budget by the imposition of an import tax of five per cent on all commodities save cotton, yarns and manufactures; both of which result from the tentative experiment of last summer towards placing India upon a "gold basis." It vindicates Mr. Allard's assertion at the Brussels conference, and reveals as with the powerful glare of a search-light the intimate connection between the scheme to demonetize silver and the scheme to thwart, if not destroy, the possibility of tariff reform.

President Andrews, in a most admirable contribution to the April number of the *North American Review* (prior to

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which time the greater part of this article was written), has demonstrated the proposition that "Tariff reform depends upon monetary reform, and can never achieve its end in any satisfactory degree without a radical modification of the monetary conditions which now prevail." Until this fundamental truth shall be grasped and its great importance fully realized by the friends of the one, they must continue to be in the future as they have been in the past, the unconscious but potent instruments for the accomplishment of the designs and purposes of the enemies of the other.

So long as gold alone is invested with the attribute of ultimate redemption, the supply of the world's stock of money must be woefully inadequate for the transaction of the world's commerce and industry. So long as this condition exists, the majority of the nations must suffer all the horrors of a monetary famine, and values measured by the volume of circulation must fall. So long as values fall, the nations actuated by the law of self-preservation must resort to unnatural and artificial methods for the arrest of the general tendency, and for the acquisition of revenue to balance the account of receipts and expenditures. So long as they are forced to do this, protection must be regnant, and efforts to reduce or limit the range of taxation will be as Quixotic in results as the famous onset against the windmills. We have joined the gold alliance; we have proclaimed war against silver, the greatest part of whose annual product is ours; we have destroyed that option which makes bimetallism automatic, — and we stupidly wonder why the fickle public, which shouted tariff reform in 1892, now threatens us with political extermination if we dare to carry out the programme it then prepared. Verily our president is a famous pilot; but since he unshipped the rudder and threw it overboard, he must not complain if the crew wonders where the wind and the tide will bear them. Did he suspect nothing when his protectionist adversaries united in one grand chorus of rejoicing over the outcome of his financial policy?

But it may be asked, Is there no remedy? Shall the nation continue indefinitely in this condition, the bound thrall of a favored class, the helpless victim of protection and monometallism? Shall we surrender to present conditions and remain inert through sheer despair? I think not. The signs of an awakening are even now upon us. The necessity

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of a plentiful and stable money supply, increasing in volume with the increase of wealth and population, always conceded in the abstract, will soon be demanded in the concrete. The enormous rise in the value of gold, made evident by the enormous decrease in the value of everything else, is perceived to be the true source of our industrial and commercial depression. The nation, "while rapidly growing and vehemently struggling for enlarged means," is clearly seen to be "restrained in golden fetters which admit neither of enlargement nor increase in time for or proportion to its necessities." The intimate correlation between the value of silver and staple products, and created principally by the constantly varying rates of exchange, affords a constant "object lesson" to producer and consumer, whose enlightened conviction will soon find expression at the polls. Agitation, which "unconditional repeal" was to destroy, was never more universal.

Tariff reform will be triumphant in the end, but the hosts which cluster around its banner will raise the battle cry of bimetallism before their victory shall be achieved. Even now the inroads which it has made upon public sentiment suspended the executive veto of an important financial measure for days, and politicians inquire with anxious solicitude of the progress which it is making. "Take care, Mr. Statesman, cure or change it in time, else it will beat all your dead institutions to dust. Hearts and sentiments are alive, and we all know that the gentlest of nature's growths or motions will in time burst asunder or wear away the proudest dead weight man can heap upon them."

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OCCULT SCIENCE IN THIBET.

BY HEINRICH HENSOLDT, PH. D.

Vox clamantis in deserto.

THE great Himalayan mountain system, which extends, in a gigantic curve, from the Pamir Plateau to the frontiers of China, and which forms an almost insurmountable rampart between the fertile plains of Southern and Southwestern Asia and the vast, arid table-lands of the interior of the great continent, has, to this day, almost completely prevented the contact of the Aryan races with one of the strangest of peoples in the strangest of countries.

Thibet, at the beginning of this century, was but a vague geographical conception; it was scarcely more than this forty years ago, and even at the present day it may be asserted that we know much more about "darkest Africa" and, in a certain sense, more perhaps about the visible portions of the moon's surface, than of one of the vastest regions in the heart of Asia. On a map prepared by G. Valk of Amsterdam, dated 1705, Thibet is marked as a *city*, located in the "kingdom of Kashgar," about 100 miles north of Cabul, under Lat. 38°. Now the nearest point of Thibet is quite 500 miles to the *east* of Cabul, while the city of Lhasa, which is probably meant by "Thibet," is situated at least 1,300 miles southeast of the Afghan capital. Similar amusing instances of geographical *naïveté*, in reference to this subject, might be cited by the score, without going back as far as 1705.

The Polo brothers (Marco, Nicolo and Maffeo), who traversed Thibet about the year 1300, were probably the first Europeans who entered the "land of the Lamas," but the statements of Marco, in regard to this period of his strange career, are so vague that his work affords little satisfaction to the student. It is interesting, however, to note that these intrepid adventurers entered Thibet by way of the Pamir, a feat which no western traveller has been able to imitate since then.

In 1328 Friar Odoric of Pordenone, a Spanish missionary, is supposed to have reached Lhasa *via* Cathay (China), and three centuries later the Jesuit Antonio Andrada, following up the sources of the Indus, entered Thibet from the west and succeeded in making his way to the headquarters of Lamaism. Neither of these travellers has contributed anything of value to

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our knowledge of the land and the people, and the same may be said in reference to the enterprise of two other missionaries, D'Orville and Gruber, who started from Peking in 1660 and arrived at Lhasa after a perilous journey of fifteen months.

As a general rule, little satisfactory information is to be expected from missionaries, who undertake the exploration of an unknown region chiefly, if not solely, in the interest of an organized superstition. Their one-sided theological training almost invariably disqualifies them from making trustworthy observations on anything beyond the mere incidents of their journey or sojourn, and even these are but too often colored by the narrow personal bias of their task. Missionaries have furnished very readable and entertaining diaries, full of the details of personal adventure, but they very rarely have enriched our conceptions of the ethnology, biology, geology or even geography of the countries on which they presumed to enlighten us. The true explorer must add to his other qualifications those of a sound scientific training, combined with a keen, penetrative judgment. There is small value in our knowing that a certain missionary has tried to convert sundry "heathen" in an ill-defined part of Central Asia, or that a blustering newspaper reporter, who could barely distinguish a turtle from a lizard, has succeeded in crossing "darkest Africa."

In 1774 Warren Hastings (governor of British India and a distinguished Orientalist) despatched George Bogle on an embassy to the Teshu Lama of Shigatsé in southern Thibet and, according to the Encyclopædia Brittanica, he was the first Englishman who ever set foot in the mysterious land beyond the mountains. Bogle did not get as far as Lhasa — this being, indeed, beyond his plan — but thirty-seven years later Thomas Manning, another sturdy Briton, crossed the Himalaya in the neighborhood of Sikkim and intrepidly proceeded onwards, reaching the stronghold of northern Buddhism in March, 1811. His conduct there was not, however, characterized by great prudence, and he was speedily expelled, or literally kicked out of the holy city within a day after his arrival. This so disgusted him that he at once made tracks again for the south, recollecting some urgent business at Nagpur, and thanking his stars when he ultimately found himself once more safe and sound on Indian soil.

There is no record of any European having ventured into Thibet within the next three decades, and it is not until the year 1844 that we come upon the first serious attempt to solve the secrets of a region which has so long provoked and tormented western curiosity. In that year two French missionaries, the fathers Huc and Gabet, of the congregation of St. Lazare in

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Paris, started on their memorable "Journey through Tartary, Thibet and China," and, in the guise of lamas, entered Thibet from the east, near the famous Lamaserai of Koonboom. Following a long-established caravan route, they reached Lhasa, after manifold adventures, on Jan. 13, 1845, and resided there for several months, being comparatively well received and kindly treated. They were ultimately forced to quit, by order of the Chinese governor, in conformity with instructions received from Peking, and compelled to retrace their way to the east, instead of being allowed to proceed to India, as they desired.

The work of Huc is so well-known and accessible (having been translated into many languages) that I will not occupy space here with further details; but I may point out that it abounds in many ludicrous errors, owing to Abbé Huc's singular ignorance of the most well-established physical facts, and to his curious lack of information in the rudiments of almost every branch of natural history. These worthy priests could discourse learnedly on the respective merits of Origen and Augustine; but they were delightfully unconscious of the fact that the earth's atmosphere is not of the same density at high altitudes as near the sea level, — thus, for instance, attributing the distressing effects produced on their breathing organs, when traversing regions of great elevation, to "noxious gases, escaping from clefts in the mountains," etc. Thus the work of Huc, although charmingly written, is hardly more than a journal of personal adventure, which leaves us but little the wiser for its perusal.

Coming down to recent times, the names of some half dozen travellers might be mentioned, who have braved the dangers of Thibetan exploration, although no one of them succeeded in reaching the abode of the Dalai Lama. Notable among these is the Russian colonel Prejevalsky, who, with a carefully selected party of Cossacks, entered Thibet from the north, in 1884, but was compelled by the Chinese authorities to return, when almost within sight of Lhasa. His observations, on the topography, ethnology and natural history of Northern Thibet are however, of considerable value, and the account which he himself has given of his various attempts to penetrate into Bodland, or Thibet proper, constitutes by far the most important information on Thibet hitherto furnished.

Finally the journey undertaken by W. W. Rockhill in 1888, of which an account was published in the *Century* magazine (November, 1890, to March, 1891) * will be in the recollection of many. Rockhill, who had been attached to the United States legation at Peking, entered Thibet at Hsi-ning, near the Lamaserai of Koonboom, passing the great Koko-nor Lake, and follow-

* See also "The Land of the Lamas," by W. W. Rockhill, Century Company, 1891.

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ing for some distance the route taken by Huc, Prejevalsky, Kreitner and others, but turning again eastward near Jyekundo, recrossed the Chinese frontier, after having traversed about 1,000 miles of Thibetan territory. Although this exceedingly able explorer did not come within 400 miles of Lhasa, he saw a goodly portion of Eastern Thibet, and his notes and observations are of great interest, in addition to being the latest on record.

How is it that so vast a portion of our planet's surface should, for centuries, have remained *terra incognita* to our western civilization, and that even in an age like the present, when commercial enterprise and the restless efforts of science are incessantly applied to the task of removing obstacles which stand in the way of gain on the one hand, and of knowledge on the other — in an age when private ambition is enhanced a hundredfold by the spirit of rivalry among nations — how is it, I repeat, that our sole information respecting the immense regions known as Thibet should be based on the meagre observations of a few travellers along the same caravan route — travellers, moreover, of whom only two or three really deserve the name of explorers?

Let us try to form an idea of the extent of the country. Fifteen hundred miles from east to west and eight hundred from north to south, are dimensions which should command our respect, if but from a strictly geographical point of view; but at the rate in which our knowledge of Thibet is progressing it seems more than likely that the whole of Central Africa will be mapped out and surveyed, and even the problem of the North Pole solved before this great Asiatic table-land has been thoroughly explored. According to the latest computations the area of Thibet exceeds 700,000 square miles, or equals the whole of western Europe, including Germany, France, Spain and England. A map of Thibet, cut out and placed on that of the United States, drawn to the same scale, would cover all the space between New York and Denver on the one hand, and most of that between Chicago and New Orleans on the other.

This enormous territory is inhabited by less than four million people — not bloodthirsty savages, like the Apaches of Arizona, or murderous fanatics, like the Bedouins of Arabia — but by a peaceful pastoral race which in frankness, hospitality, honesty and general kindness is not surpassed by any other on the face of this globe.

There *are*, indeed, a few predatory tribes, such as the Goloks, who inhabit the mountain slopes of the Yung-ling Range, along the eastern frontier, and who make occasional raids into the lowlands; but their depredations are confined to a comparatively small area, and they deserve the appellation of thieves rather than that of robbers, as they seldom resort to violence but, for

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the most part, limit their enterprise to the noble sport of sheep stealing, under cover of darkness. These eastern vagabonds must not, however, be confounded with the Thibetans proper, who are an essentially honest and peaceful race; they differ from them completely in language as well as physiognomy, and in my opinion are a branch of the great Karén family of autochthonous Asiatics — a race which once inhabited a considerable portion of Southeastern Asia, but went down before the superior force of Mongolian and Aryan invasion. The miserable hill tribes of Assam, Burmah, Siam and Cambodia, as well as of certain parts of the Chinese empire, are, in all probability, remnants of this once dominant race.

If the Thibetans were an unruly, quarrelsome or warlike people, the Chinese would have found it impossible to establish their authority among them so easily, and to hold the country in subjection with so slight a show of military force. The whole of Thibet is garrisoned by four thousand Manchoo soldiers, one-half of whom are stationed at Lhasa, while the remainder are scattered over the chief trading points in the south and east; the frontiers being practically unprotected, except by nature's huge ramparts. Now if we consider that it is only since 1720 that the Chinese had possession of the country — which surrendered without a struggle — further comment on the peaceful and submissive character of the people will be unnecessary.

The difficulties of Thibetan exploration are, in the main, attributable to two distinct causes — one natural, the other artificial — viz., to the peculiar geographical position of the country which, from the south, west and north is wellnigh inaccessible, and to the spiteful policy of exclusiveness followed by the Chinese, a policy which is solely aimed at and enforced against representatives of the white race.

Thibet is at once the greatest and the most elevated table-land in the world. Its height above the sea level averages 14,000 feet, equalling that of the loftiest peaks in the Rocky Mountains; indeed it is doubtful whether there exists any point within Thibet proper of a less elevation than 10,000 feet. The city of Lhasa has an altitude of nearly 12,000 feet (twice that of Denver), exceeding by several thousand feet that of some of the most elevated abodes of man on the globe, such as the city of Mexico, Quito, Bogota, etc. Fortunately a great part of the Thibetan plateau is located in the semi-tropical belt; the latitude of Lhasa being 29° 40′, or about that of New Orleans; but life at such altitudes, even in equatorial regions, is attended by serious physical discomforts, and is supportable only by those who have been duly acclimatized by a long-continued process of natural selection. Only the most robust can endure the pulmonary disturbances

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brought about by a sudden transference from a low to a very elevated region; the rarefied atmosphere of Denver even proves distressing to the lungs of many New Yorkers. A greater volume of air must be inhaled in order to supply the necessary quantity of oxygen to the blood, and the chest of the average lowlander is not large enough to permit so great a distension of the lungs.

Thus one of the prime causes why Thibet has remained *terra incognita*, while Africa, Australia and the polar regions have constantly attracted the best exploring talent, will be readily understood. The immense territory is almost completely surrounded by mountain ranges of appalling magnitude which, especially along the southern, western and northern frontiers, constitute formidable barriers against ingress. From the Pamir Plateau in the extreme west (the "world's backbone") radiate the great natural ramparts, which shut out India on the one hand, and the Tartar countries of Bokhara and Turkestan on the other. No Asiatic or western conqueror has ever dared to penetrate this mountain world, and even Genghis Khan, the scourge of Asia, whose ravages extended from Peking in the east to Moscow in the west, was obliged, when invading Northern India, to take the circuitous route, *via* Kashgar and Afganistan, instead of crossing Thibet.

Secure on their lofty plateau, and practically isolated from the rest of the world, the people of Thibet have remained undisturbed for ages, and have developed characteristics for which we would vainly search in any other race of the globe. The Chinese "conquest" has not produced the slightest change in their mode of life, or exercised any appreciable influence upon their peculiar culture. Indeed, the author's observations in Western, Southern and Eastern Thibet warrant him in stating that a prolonged contact with the Chinese will tend to lower rather than elevate the ethical status of the people. The childlike simplicity and confiding honesty of the natives are being taken advantage of in the most shameful manner by crafty Chinese traders, and it is to be feared that these wily representatives of an essentially egotistical and rascally race will continue fleecing and corrupting the unsophisticated Thibetans till they sink below the level of the most degraded northwestern Tartar tribes.

It would be folly to shut our eyes to the fact that the Thibetans occupy a very low position in the scale of human advancement, especially if judged from our western standard of civilization. Their culture is inferior to that of most semi-barbarous races, comparing unfavorably even with that of certain Indian tribes of the American continent, such as the Pueblos, Zunis, etc. In

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physiognomy and general appearance they strongly resemble the inhabitants of Swedish Lapland, as well as the Eskimos of Northern Siberia, being short-sized, broad-shouldered and possessed of the same singular Mongolian features. Indeed, the Thibetans are, perhaps, the most ill-favored of Turanian races. A close inter-breeding during many centuries of isolation has produced a striking facial similarity, and has developed a peculiarly repulsive normal type of countenance. A broad,but very low, forehead, excessively prominent cheek bones, small, oblique eyes and coarse, bristly black hair are characteristics which do not materially encance the beauty of the "human form divine," but the most singular peculiarity of the Thibetan face is the almost total absence of the bridge of the nose. Among a dozen Thibetans, chosen at random, hardly one will be found whose nasal organ is not so completely flattened or sunk in the middle as to be practically in level with the eyes. Seen in profile, such a face presents a ludicrous appearance; there is one continuous line of cheek bone, with the tip of the nose sticking out like a solitary beacon. But a compensatory providence has added to the ears what is lacking in proboscial circumference, and it is but fair to state that the auricular appendages of the average Thibetan are of generous size.

Looked at from a strictly ethical standpoint, the Thibetans do not gain overmuch on closer acquaintance. Their personal habits are exceedingly filthy, and there is much in their general conduct that cannot be otherwise than revolting to our more refined and sensitive natures. Their morals — if we limit this term to its sexual signification — are very lax; more so, perhaps, than those of any other Asiatic race. The lasciviousness of the women is almost incredible, and all modes of debauchery are openly practised. Moreover, the comparative scarcity of females has led to the disgusting institution of polyandry, which has flourished in Thibet for centuries — five and more men frequently sharing one woman among them — and nothing impresses the traveller more painfully than the scandalous indifference, or rather contempt, in which female chastity is held among that singular people. Hospitality, for instance, requires that the host place his wife, daughter or other female relative at the disposal of the guest, a custom which appears to be rigorously adhered to, and which, in the case of civilized travellers, is bound to lead to embarrassing situations, inasmuch as a refusal to accept the proffered cheer is interpreted as a slight.

The Thibetans furnish a striking example of the fact that a nation may be sexually depraved, and yet otherwise possessed of sterling virtues, such as frankness, hospitality and a scrupulous honesty. Sexual morality, in our sense, is an artificial product;

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it is not born in any race, but is peculiarly a result of education. If the children of any western nation — no matter how civilized — were transferred to Thibet, example and precept would speedily make of them what the Thibetans are now. Those who still imagine that man has "fallen" from a state of pristine purity are lamentably mistaken. Man's moral conceptions are elevated in proportion to his growing culture, and the observations of all enlightened travellers have clearly shown that immorality is nowhere greater than among so-called primitive races.

Now the reader will wonder how so uncouth and semi-barbarous a people as the Thibetans could be possessed of an "occult science," or could, indeed, have developed *any* degree of knowledge which — except on purely ethnological grounds — deserves our attention. These degraded Mongoloids, with their repulsive countenances and filthy habits, dwelling for the greater part in miserable tents, and eking out a precarious existence on the barren wastes of a country largely abandoned to wild animals — what can they teach us pampered heritors of an immeasurably superior culture? This question has been frequently advanced during late years; in fact ever since the claims and assertions of the founders of the present theosophical movement have invested the very name of Thibet with a halo of mystery. An ever increasing sentiment of doubt as to the truth of these strange tidings, has manifested itself, even in those who are eager to clutch every straw in the line of occult demonstration and who would fain be convinced of the fact that living men can accomplish miraculous feats or are in possession of transcendental wisdom.

It would, indeed, seem difficult to reconcile so great an incongruity, viz., that a race of poor-witted Mongolian shepherds should have been able to discover forces unknown to our western culture, and should have succeeded in solving secrets which all the profundity of a Plato vainly struggled to cope with. "Are such things likely?" urges the sceptic, and with a pardonable exultation he throws out such hints as "It is curious that your would-be gnostics always locate their mystic fountains in some inaccessible region," or "Soon our Herbert Spencers, Fiskes, Hartmanns, *et hoc genus omne*, will desert their libraries and go to school with the gypsies."

Now it is always easier to be ironical than logical in polemical discussion, and the thoughtless almost invariably applaud him who appeals to the risible faculties rather than to the reflective ones. It is so much more edifying to laugh and sneer than to meditate and ponder when dealing with intricate problems, especially where philosophical acumen is conspicuous only by its absence. A short time ago the author received, from England, a

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copy of a sorry sheet, entitled *Light*, a journal of "psychical, occult *and* mystical research," published in London, with a three-column article of vituperative criticism on his "Adepts of Serinagur." An anonymous champion of Theosophy—as expounded by the late lamented and infallible Mme. Blavatsky—has deemed it expedient to buckle on his armor and fight the air with all the gusto of a circus clown. Instead of advancing valid, or even plausible, arguments, his tactics are the usual ones resorted to by "critics" of his calibre, viz., deliberate misrepresentation, ridicule and personal abuse. This tremendous occultist is particularly disgruntled because the real adepts, as found and described by the author, do not exactly correspond with the ideal ones as evolved by his inner consciousness, aided by the literature of "Zanoni," etc. "The adept, such as he [Hensoldt] draws," he exclaims, "is a very poor creature compared with the grand being depicted by Bulwer Lytton and described by Mme. Blavatsky," and then he winds up with a doleful lamentation of the fact that magazine editors are so reluctant to allow "*real* Theosophists" to air their grievances and give the public the benefit of their very coherent cosmology.

Ideals, alas! are but too frequently destined to be shattered by a discovery of the sober realities which underlie them—a truism of which even our ingenious antagonist must be aware. It would have been easy enough for the author to depict just such an adept as this competent critic delights in, but then he would have had to present a fairy tale rather than a plain record of his actual experience. As to the blindness prevalent among editors of the great magazines (poor, benighted souls!) it is indeed much to be feared that it will cause them to persist in refusing valuable space to the vague and fantastic reiterations of a "revelation" based on nothing but the dogmatical assertions of a female Joseph Smith.*

The occult science of Thibet *is not of native growth;* it is an imported article. It is no more a product of Thibetan research or intuitive perception than the learning of Alexandria was indigenous to the Canopic Nile region. The great mistake under which Theosophists, as well as students of Oriental culture in general, have been laboring ever since the subject of Thibetan gnosticism has been broached—a mistake which has been deliberately fostered and promulgated by parties who could be specified—is that of crediting a race of uncouth shepherds with almost superhuman attainments. Our Theosophists, of course, will reply that they never have credited the Thibetans as a *race*, but only certain individuals among them (viz., the Mahatmas)

* Is it not rather curious that Theosophists are ever ready viciously and unmercifully to assail those who offer even the mildest criticism on their tenets? This in the face of their much-paraded altruism! "Peace on earth and goodwill to all men" is constantly on their lips, but woe to him who in the least ruffles their feathers.

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with the possession of occult power and wisdom; but as these master minds are, by implication, Thibetans, the case is not materially improved by the qualification.

When the great Genghis Khan, after having plundered every accessible Asiatic country north, west and east of the Himalayas, entered India by way of the famous Khyber Pass (about the year 1221) a mournful era began for the unfortunate Punjaub, which at that time was the headquarters of northern Buddhism. True, the Mongolian hordes did not get beyond the Sutlej River, but the Punjaub proper — undisturbed by foreign invasion from the days of Alexander — was at their mercy, and they so thoroughly ravaged it that for many subsequent generations the country was practically abandoned to the tiger and the jackal. The Buddhist pagodas of Bukkur, Lullee, Umritsur, etc., as well as the monasteries and seats of learning at Rajun and Kanishkapura, fared particularly ill at the hands of the conqueror, who, furious on discovering that they could not furnish the expected amount of treasure, had the priests put to the sword and the buildings razed to the ground.*

It was during this time of sore affliction that a number of Sanscrit scholars, priests and esoteric initiates sought refuge in Thibet, where the precepts of Buddhism had already been widely disseminated by teachers and missionaries from the beginning of the fourth century. Personal fear, probably, was but a subordinate factor in determining this exodus; it was the desire for a secluded locality, where they might follow their meditations, free from the contingency of disturbance, which tempted at least the gnostic element to the other side of the great mountain rampart. Others sought and found a temporary refuge in the wilds of Kashmir and along the entire slope of the northwestern Himalaya, while a few made their way into Rohilcund and Rajputana.

How many real gnostics, during this calamitous epoch, succeeded in reaching Thibet, it would be difficult to ascertain, but the author has grounds for believing that the number of those who became permanently located there must have exceeded forty.

Nearly two hundred years later, viz., in 1398, when the Punjaub had fairly recovered from the blight of this invasion, Tamerlane led his freebooters through the Khyber, crossing the Indus at Nilab and subjecting the country once more to the horrors of pillage. Then a second and last exodus of learned ascetics

* Genghis Khan, whom some historians have taken pains to represent as a religious fanatic, was a plunderer pure and simple. His greed for gold and gems almost savored of insanity, and wherever his avarice was appeased, he was tolerant of all creeds. It was only when balked of his prey, or otherwise disappointed in his expectations, that he made religious zeal a pretext for carnage, and displayed a vindictiveness and rapacity that would do credit to a modern lawyer.

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and mystics took place, of whom a number went beyond the mountains and joined their brethren in Thibet.

Thus it came about that the greatest revelations of Hindoo wisdom were carried to a country whose autochthonous population is about as poor in intellectual attainment and general culture as any Asiatic race, and thus we have the very simple explanation of a seeming incongruity, which has been a puzzle to many while it has called forth the unstinted sarcasm of others, viz., that supreme wisdom may coëxist with supreme ignorance, or that in a country where the average intelligence is as low as in Thibet, a few individuals should hold the key to nature's greatest secrets.

In a second part of this paper the author will present some curious details in reference to Thibetan gnosticism, together with such facts as have come within his observation during eighteen months of travel in Thibet proper. The author, when preparing for his Thibetan journey at Darjeeling, was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of one Tsong Shéra, an esoteric initiate attached to the court of the Panchén Rempóchee of Trachee-lun-po, who volunteered to accompany him as far as the Lamaseria of Borán-chu, on the Tsang-po River (the upper Brahmaputra) from which point the author afterwards succeeded in reaching Lhasa without much difficulty. The author can furnish documentary evidence to show that he resided at the Thibetan capital for a period of nine weeks, during which he was in daily contact with Buddhist scholars, initiates of various grades, and high dignitaries of the court of the Dalai Lama. The great monastic establishments of Amdo, Labrang, Serkok, Koonboom and Trachee-lun-po, as well as numerous minor Lamaserais and retreats of the mystic brotherhood, were likewise visited, and some of the information thus collected will be entirely new to the western student.

(*To be concluded.*)

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INDIA SILVER, WHEAT AND COTTON.

BY SAMUEL LEAVITT.

In 1892 J. Howard Cowperthwait, of Brooklyn, N. Y., printed a book called "Money, Silver and Finance." He claims to be a business man, and states that he is in the saddle "making war against silver theories." He discusses, in the usual style of gold basis books and papers, "prices, wages, debtors, exchange, currency and bimetallism," and has a chapter on "India and Her Silver Rupee." It is with this chapter only that I wish to deal, since the rest embodies the hackneyed arguments of gold monometallism.

As to India, he has made an earnest effort to answer the arguments of those who claim that one chief cause of the American financial depression is the fact that the English have been, for many years, buying our silver at an average of ninety cents an ounce, and working it off in India at about $1.37 an ounce, for wheat, cotton, etc.; and thus getting these staples into England at such low rates, that American wheat and cotton growers, whose prices are fixed at Liverpool, have been losing thereby from $300,000,000 to $500,000,000 annually.

A little more extended statement of the position of the advocates of free coinage, with regard to this matter, is as follows: Up to 1872, when demonetization of silver began in Europe, very little wheat and cotton were brought there from India. That country never competed with us in the markets of Europe for those staples, until the so-called fall of silver, but in reality rise of gold, made it profitable to the European buyers to purchase these products with exchange bought at a heavy discount. When silver went up here, two months after the Sherman Bill passed, July 14, 1890, from about ninety cents an ounce to $1.21½, the shipments of wheat and cotton from Calcutta were checked. People thought that the United States really meant to push again toward free coinage of silver. They found out otherwise

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within a month, and silver dropped again; and wheat and cotton with it.

In proof of the assertion that "the fall of silver" has caused an immense annual loss to American farmers, the American Bimetallic League furnishes the following figures: —

At the price of wheat in 1873 the value to the farmers of the crop of 1889 would have been $563,000,000, instead of $342,000,000, a difference of $221,000,000. This would have gone a long way toward paying off mortgages.

The cotton crop of 1888, at the price of cotton in 1873, would have been worth to the South $515,000,000, instead of $292,000,000, its actual value in 1888.

The influence of the rise of gold, called "fall of silver," upon the profits of American farmers, is one of the most important features of the silver question. But the gold basis men have nowhere that I have found — except in the book in hand — ventured to face the facts openly. Even the Chicago *Tribune*, the ablest advocate of gold basis in this country, carefully avoids this question. On September 5 it ventured on a feeble rebuttal, headed "Misleading Iowa Farmers." This consisted mainly of dogmatic denials. It coolly denied, directly or by innuendo, that the British price of wheat and cotton is controlled by that of those staples in India, and that by the price of silver; also that the American prices are fixed at Liverpool, and that the purchasing price of silver — at least until the recent arbitrary stoppage of free coinage for the Hindoos — has remained about the same as formerly, for all India products. That these things are so is known to all well-informed economists.

The only point of any force made by the *Tribune* was that increase of railroad facilities within twenty years has caused an easier access to markets in India.

An able and well-illustrated paper called *Coin* lately started in Chicago, holds three deadly parallels up to view on its title page. Three thermometers are ranged side by side. They register the selling price of wheat, cotton and silver from 1872 to 1893. They start with wheat at $1.47 per bushel, cotton at 19.3 cents per pound and silver at $1.32 per ounce. The prices fall with marvellous uniformity to these 1893 rates; wheat 68 cents, cotton 7.2 and silver 75 cents.

But the most striking proof extant that gold has risen

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since 1872, so that the gold dollar—if such a coin still existed—would be about $1.75, instead of the silver dollar being a 50-cent one, is given in testimony from the leading gold basis economists of Europe. The "First Report of the Royal Commission," on page 17, gives the following: Date 1888. Tables are arranged to show the prices of commodities measured in gold at different periods. Here are figures that bear directly on prices in 1873, the date of silver demonetization, and the last years given, to wit, 1887 and 1888. One hundred is taken for the average price and basis for index numbers.

The *Economist* gives prices in 1873 at 134; in 1888 at 101, a decline of 33 per cent. Dr. Soetbeer gives in 1873, 138; in 1887, 103, a fall of 35. Mr. Palgrave gives in 1873, 104; in 1887, 73, a fall of 31. Mr. Sauerbeck gives in 1873, 111; in 1887, 78, a fall of 33 per cent. Mr. Giffen gives prices of British exports in 1873 at 132; in 1886, 82, a fall of 50 per cent. The same author gives British imports in 1873 at 107; in 1886, 74, a fall in prices of 33 per cent.

Cowperthwait starts out in his chapter on India with the assertion that if gold had appreciated in this country, real estate and rents and wages would have gone down. Farming real estate has gone down terribly, even in such states as Ohio. Real estate in cities, being, like gold, abnormally petted by wrong laws, has generally risen. Some lines of wages have risen. But the general rewards of labor show a very small rise compared with the reward of capital, seen in the fact that 24,000 people own half of our $62,000,000,000 of wealth.

After confessing, as the *Tribune* does not, that the Hindoo "has been growing rich at our expense," and "has an advantage of 20 or 30 per cent over American competitors," our writer tries to divert the reader's attention by pointing out that the Hindoo has to pay more for European gold-priced goods than he used to pay. All very well and lucky for the Hindoo. He doesn't care much for foreign goods anyhow, and the high price has set him to manufacturing till he has disturbed the English calico and muslin weaver and begun to supply both Hindoos and Chinamen with cotton goods in a way that makes Lancashire nearly crazy.

The *Tribune* admits that with the gold-based money of Europe and America you can buy commodities, on the average,

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at prices say thirty per cent below the average of 1872; and seems to think that a point is made by saying, "If you cannot buy at low prices with India rupees, Mexican dollars and Eastern silver money, still, when you do change your money into these moneys, you obtain say thirty per cent more of them than you could have obtained in 1872." He thus naively substantiates our position. England would be well pleased to trample our silver money down to the level of that of silver nations. Hitherto, by Bland bills, etc., our patriotic citizens have been able to prevent such degradation. At this writing, it would seem that we can do so no longer for the present.

Cowperthwait goes on to say, without proof, that there is now a *plethora* of silver in Asia, for which there is no outlet. He quotes a letter from Secretary Foster of November, 1891, that says: "The shipments of silver from London to India during the first nine months of the present calendar year, show a reduction of over $17,000,000 as compared with the same period of the prior year; while the shipments of silver to China show even a greater decrease." Thereby hangs a curious tale. During August, September and October, 1890, I was intimate in Wall Street with financial magnates who had their expectations realized by the rise of silver to $1.21½, in September; but were utterly dumbfounded by its subsequent rapid fall to near $1.00. They felt that some immense power had decreed the fall of silver, in spite of all efforts to the contrary.

There is nothing more in Cowperthwait's chapter on India that calls for special answer. But a big book could be written in general rebuttal of his position. I will give some testimony from several different authorities. "Licet ab hoste docere" is a very reliable old Latin motto. As our side considers England an enemy of ours in this connection, we are always glad to get testimony that favors our position from them.

In June, 1886, an important meeting of the British and Colonial Chambers of Commerce was held in London, at which there was an animated discussion of the silver question, and its bearings upon the commerce of India. Sir Robert N. Fowler, M. P., the London banker and ex-lord mayor, said that "The effect of the depreciation of silver must finally be the ruin of the wheat and cotton industries of America, and the development of India as the chief wheat

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and cotton exporter of the world." To that same board J. C. Fielden testified that "Wheat — all wheat — would be worth $2.00 to $2.50 per quarter more than it is were silver at par."

The English Royal Commission appointed to consider the silver question, announced that cheap silver was stimulating the industries of India, and freeing the English "from dependence upon the United States for wheat and cotton." How feeble all the Jesuitical talk of the gold basis papers seems compared with such stunning statements from our "natural enemies."

English rulers have been, of late years, in a curious predicament about the question in hand. Cheap silver brought cheap wheat and cotton from India and America; but it was death to English wheat growers. Again it stimulated Indian production, and made it easier to get heavy taxes out of the Hindoos. But, of late, two new factors that have decided the English to try to raise the price of India silver have arisen in the problem. These are the wonderful growth of cotton factories in India, because of cheap cotton and dear English cotton goods; and the fact that the British India officials, who wish to spend most of their money in England, find that their big India silver salaries are cut down about one-half when turned into English gold currency. Widows and orphans of India officials living in England, are specially pinched by this change of value.

Damondez Garhundos of Bombay, one of the richest and most benevolent men of India, visiting the World's Fair lately, corroborated the above view of the causes of the stoppage of silver coinage in India except on government account, and the fixing of the value of the rupee to 16 d. He said it was to cripple Indian factories, and raise the purchasing power of rupees. He added: "Already our factories have reduced the hours of work from twelve to six. Suffering and destitution are widespread; but the natives have no voice in the government." All this sounds very familiar to those who know of the methods used of old by England to squeeze the Irish and the American colonies.

On the very day that President Cleveland sent his late message to Congress, Mr. Chaplin, president of the board of agriculture, said in the House of Commons: "By a single stroke the government has depreciated by fifteen per cent the

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value of the silver held by the population of India. A more flagrant act of public plunder has never been committed by a civilized government. The result has been a convulsed financial situation from China to Peru. If the repeal by the American Congress of the Sherman Act should become inevitable, it would be partly due to the error that has been committed in India. . . . The government must be held responsible. Their action could not fail to appreciate gold throughout the world, while increasing commercial difficulties everywhere." Mr. Balfour, leader of the English Conservative party, followed this speech with one in which he said of the action of the Indian Council in demonetizing silver, that "The government had been driven to commit a financial crime."

England had full practical warning of the effect of trying to introduce gold basis into India. Several years ago the Dutch who control Netherlands India tried the experiment; and Van der Berg, president of the Java bank, says that, as a consequence, all the industries of that part of Asia are declining. The foolish Dutch thus made commerce subordinate to its instrument, money; and made it impossible for Java to trade on equal terms with the 600,000,000 people of India and China.

The *Manufacturer* of Philadelphia wisely lays much stress upon the point that the fixing of a fiat value on the rupee would, if it could be maintained, help the English manufacturers, because it will stop the fluctuation of the values of India currency. When people bargain to pay or receive money, they generally want to be sure that the currency used will not vary before the settlement is made. But the Hindoo who sells muslin to Europe and is paid in gold, has been specially benefited by the constant rise in gold, because he was always a gainer.

The fixity of value of the rupee hitherto existing among silver nations has greatly helped India in sales of goods to China, etc. A striking proof of the value of fixity of silver is seen now in Mexico. Lawrence D. Kinsland, president of the St. Louis Spanish Club, and head of a large manufacturing concern, returned lately from Mexico, reporting that orders for $7,000,000 worth of goods placed in the United States and Europe had been cancelled within three months. A merchant might buy a bill of goods when silver was at say

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40 per cent discount, and have to make settlement at 70 per cent. A Mexican merchant had to pay, lately, $4,500 Mexican for $2,600 in New York exchange.

Again, as to the Hindoo. The fact that he paid his taxes in the oldtime rupee has been good for him, and bad for the British rulers. But this general prosperity of the native Indians the English are trying desperately to stop.

The horror with which the action of the Anglo-Indian government struck thoughtful English patriots was shown above. One of their ablest bimetallists, Sir Moreton Frewen, has lived much in this country, and has given us many of our best points on silver. On June 28, he wrote thus from London to the governor general of India: —

My dear Lord Lansdowne: Thanks for your letter written on the eve of the Herschell (Indian) report reaching you. It has been a very bolt from the blue, this closing of the Indian mints. The issue who can tell? Here in London, men's hearts are failing them. A stroke of your pen in Simla, and the mining exchange in Denver is deserted; and says the *Times* this morning, "The quotation for silver is purely nominal."

As the good ship Victoria foundered in a moment, so has our boasted currency system gone down. The empire (Indian) has passed, in a moment, from what Sir Louis Malet used to call "unrated bimetallism," with open mints, to rated bimetallism with closed mints.

The Indian who owed a rupee last Monday then owed just 165 grains of silver. Forty-eight hours only have elapsed, his contract is vitiated, and if he would pay his debt, he must buy his rupee not with 165 grains of silver at the mint, but with 191 grains of silver in the open bazaar. . . .

Unless the United States demonetize gold (which I regard as far from improbable), they will suspend all silver purchase now. The issued dollar, which is, to-day, worth only 58 cents, will fall to 30 cents at least. Here is 70 per cent profit open to any man, all the local sympathies being with him, who will coin silver illicitly in the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains. Should such a contraband currency oblige the United States to call in and demonetize their silver dollars, France must do the same. Here would be a currency contraction that would leave no bank or mortgage company solvent in the Western hemisphere.

Remember that "forever and ever" the rupee of 165 grains must be the legal tender of India. You can never hope that the silver currency can be called in and a gold currency substituted. A gold standard, yes, but not a gold currency. And what is going to be your position when the Sherman Act is repealed? The gold value of the silver bullion in the sixteen-penny rupee will be, at most, eight pence. Now suppose a war with Russia. Your great bulwark, an "honest rupee" is gone; and half the expense of the Russian cam-

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paign is paid by her armies invading you with silver bars and with a portable mint. Many wars have been fought and won thus. Surely the very Achilles heel of such a country as India is in a "dishonest dollar," a rupee that won't stand the test of the melting pot.

But fortunately for the world, the Indian gold basis experiment has proved a dead failure. Witness the following from New York *Times*, August 20, and Chicago *Herald*, September 6. Both are gold papers. The *Times* article is a cablegram from London. It says that the allotment of council bills the previous week at 15¼ d. per rupee is a breakdown. The Indian banks in London are almost the only buyers of these bills. They can cover their Indian liabilities also by shipments of "rupee paper," as the Indian debt, payable in silver, is called. Before the mints closed, they could also ship silver bullion. They shipped $60,000,000 of it last year. The argument in favor of closing the mints was that these banks would then only ship council drafts and rupee paper. As the latter is in small amount, it was thought that this would bring such a call for council drafts that a maximum was practically fixed at 16 d., by providing that the Indian government should receive sovereigns in exchange for rupees. At that rate, it pays better to ship gold to India, and buy rupees there than to bid for council bills above 16⅛d.; the fraction covering the cost of shipping gold.

It was thought the Indian goverment would accumulate in time sufficient gold to adopt a gold standard. Testimony before the Herschell committee made plain that this would not work. The natives would buy silver for ornaments, and to hoard, when they found it was cheaper than rupees, and the banks would draw against such shipments. Again, the high rate of exchange would restrict exports from India, and stimulate imports, and thus cut down council bills. Again, people having gold in India would take advantage of higher exchange to bring it home.

Trouble started June 26, when the mints closed to the public. The India banks refused to pay even 15⅞ d. The government in revenge "committed an act of incredible folly," by refusing to coin the silver afloat at the time the mints closed. Here was a loss of $1,500,000 at one time to the banks. They retaliated by refusing to buy council bills.

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This brought a deadlock. Silver continued to go forward and capital was withdrawn. The banks ignored the council, which sold no drafts for five weeks. August 15, government yielded, and twelve lacs of rupees were allotted at 15¼d. The condition had not materially changed by December 1. Many think this means a return to private coinage.

The Chicago *Herald* gives a letter from Sir David Barbour, financial member of the Indian Council, which is of interest to our extreme gold men. He says: "I have no hesitation in saying that an international agreement for the free coinage of both gold and silver, and for the making of them full legal tender at a fixed ratio, would be far better for India, and all other countries, than the establishment of the single gold standard; even if the latter course be possible."

The bringing on of a gold standard was always objected to by the heads of the Indian government. But the friends of gold asserted that the rupee would be kept at a parity with gold, as the five-franc piece is kept in France and the silver dollar here. The *Herald* concluded thus: "Financial writers in London admit the failure of the experiment, and they are beginning to see that something else must be done to cure the derangement of the Indian exchanges. It looks now as though England would no longer discourage the reassembling of the Brussels congress; or insist upon terms to which this country cannot accede, as the condition upon which the Indian mints will be reopened and kept open to silver."

I agree with those radical American friends of bimetallism who have no faith in international money congresses, and with those who see just ahead of us some "Missouri compromises" that will revive business for a year or two. Some see, in the beyond, the demonetization of both gold and silver, and their relegation to the condition of mere merchandise.

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THE LAST PROTEST AGAINST WOMAN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.*

BY JAMES L. HUGHES, PUBLIC SCHOOL INSPECTOR, TORONTO.

ONE reads Professor Goldwin Smith's essay on "Woman Suffrage" with a feeling of regret that a man who signed John Stuart Mill's first petition in favor of the enfranchisement of married women should have written such a paper. Liberal men and women must regard his generous appeal for woman's greater freedom as more in harmony with the best thought of the present age than the writing of his essay. Every one will recognize the moral courage of the man who writes to correct what he conceives to be the errors promulgated in his youth, but many will doubtless see in his attitude of both earlier and later years, the same tendency to oppose the trend of popular thought. There is nothing unnatural in a conflict between the opinions of the same individual in youth and age, when maturer thought and broader vision overcome early prejudices and imperfect knowledge, but regret must always be felt when advancing years transform a champion of liberty into an opponent of reforms for which he once labored.

Professor Smith's reason for changing his attitude is "that the women of his acquaintance for whom he had most respect, and who seemed to be the best representatives of their sex, were opposed to the change." This is not a very logical argument. Professor Smith is too liberal a man to refuse the franchise to all women because some women do not recognize the duty of voting. Duty is the broad ground on which the question rests. Thousands of true, pure, home-loving women sincerely believe it to be their duty to vote, in order to help decide great social and national questions that affect the well-being of their country and their homes. They surely have as well defined a right to desire to vote as Professor Smith's friends have to oppose woman's enfranchisement. The women of my acquaintance whom I most esteem do wish to vote. They do not, however, wish to compel Professor Smith's friends to vote; neither should his friends have the right to prevent mine from voting. This is an age of

* A reply to Professor Goldwin Smith's essay on "Woman Suffrage."

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individual liberty. Right and duty and conscience should guide us. Even majorities should never tyrannize over minorities in such a way as to prevent the honest expression of opinions in the most effectual way—by marking a ballot.

Professor Smith's article is a discussion of the marriage relations of men and women; of the admission of women to universities and to professions; of the relative amounts paid men and women for their work and similar questions, quite as much as of suffrage. All these are related to that of suffrage indirectly, it is true; but they should be introduced into a consideration of the suffrage question only so far as the enfranchisement of women can be shown to be of evil or good influence in regard to them. It seems unnecessary to discuss, in an article on woman suffrage, the merits or demerits of all the efforts made to secure woman's freedom. If allowing woman to vote prevents her marrying or unfits her for home duties or leads to want of true harmony in the family, these are clearly legitimate reasons against woman suffrage; but beyond these limits, the matrimonial subject, historical or philosophical, is logically out of place in dealing with the right or wrong, the expediency or inexpediency, of woman suffrage. The same criticism holds in regard to other matters incidentally related to the subject under consideration. The fact that Mill in his "Subjection of Women" may be wrong in his views concerning marriage, or that an occasional intemperate advocate of woman suffrage, may have attributed woman's subordination to man's wicked desire to enslave her, does not justify so able a writer as Professor Smith in a further entanglement of subjects not logically related. He should have swept away confusing elements. Most advocates of woman's enfranchisement will agree with Professor Smith's opinion that "Woman's disabilities are the results of primitive conditions under which both men and women suffered, and from which both are in process of emancipation. Whatever may now be obsolete in the relations of husband and wife is not a relic of slavery but of primitive marriage, and may be regarded as at worst an arrangement once indispensable which has survived its hour." In this conclusion of his elaborate argument Professor Smith is more nearly correct than Mill, logically and historically. It is equally true, however, that very many liberal men and women think that the present conventional ideal of marriage retains some of the evils of that "primitive arrangement" which have survived beyond their proper hour. Such questions will be considered in this article only so far as they are directly related to woman suffrage.

The general basis on which woman suffrage should stand or fall, as laid down by Professor Smith, is clear and fair:—

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That to which every member of a community, whether man, woman or child, whether white or black, whether above or below the age of twenty-one, has a right, is the largest attainable measure of good government. If this [woman suffrage] or any other political change would be conducive to good government, the whole community has a right to it; if it would not, the whole community, including women or those, whoever they may be, whom it proposes to enfranchise, has a right to a refusal of the change.

What is good for woman, is good in the same measure for man, and ought not for a moment to be withheld.

The plain question is whether the exercise of political power by women would be generally conducive to good government; if it would not, the concession would be a wrong done to the whole community.

These statements are honorable and just. Woman demands no special laws. She asks her place as a citizen, and wishes only to stand, a free woman, side by side with her brother man to aid in working out the highest destiny of humanity. Where her influence would be evil instead of good she has no desire to go. More than this, she is willing to trust enlightened and liberal men to decide in regard to the justness and the wisdom of her claims to the right of a higher and broader sphere of duty.

Professor Smith is right, too, when he says, "As to the equality of the sexes, no question is necessarily raised." The question of woman suffrage can be settled entirely independently of abstract discussions regarding woman's complete equality with man. Many fair-minded people are driven to take an antagonistic attitude toward woman suffrage because its advocates unnecessarily raise incidental discussions regarding the equality of the sexes which are misleading. It is fair to advocates of equal suffrage to say that their use of the word "equality" has been misunderstood. The claim to equality does not mean that woman's nature is the same as man's; but that woman should be equal with man in legal rights, and free to use her power for good as man may—by pen and tongue and vote. The questions of equality in brain power, in physique and in natural tendencies, cannot logically be made the basis of argument either for or against woman suffrage. Whatever woman's powers are, they constitute her individuality, and this individuality is the complement of man's, and is as essential as his in securing perfect harmony in any department of human work.

Beyond this point, even Professor Smith's beautiful language cannot charm us into partial agreement with him. The reasons for differing from his conclusions will be found in the following answers to his arguments, which are given in his own words:—

"A man may have liberty without a vote, and a vote without liberty." This statement is more epigrammatic than accurate. No man is free in the true sense of the word unless he has the fullest rights of citizenship, independent of all limitations. The right to vote is the highest test of liberty.

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"Women cannot claim the suffrage as a class, since they are not a class but a sex." The injustice of refusing the suffrage to a sex is much greater than refusing it to a race or a class. No race or class includes half the people in the world. But women do not claim the suffrage either as a class or a sex; they claim it as individuals—as beings created by God, and held responsible for their acts quite as much as men are. They realize their power to think, and they ask the right to crystallize their thoughts into effective agencies against evil. They deny that the fact of being women destroys their individuality or relieves them of responsibility. Women do not think it right to give the suffrage to any class as a class, but to all honest individuals capable of using it intelligently.

"For an abstract claim of right there appears to be no foundation. Power which is natural carries with it right, though it is subject to the restraint of conscience." This is simply a beautifully masked assertion of the horrible doctrine that "Might is right." It ignores the fact, too, that intellectual and spiritual powers are the highest powers, and that they are "natural powers" quite as much as physical force is. Nothing but the inherited tendency to assume superiority for the male sex, could lead a liberal and cultured man to state that man has any abstract right to vote that does not belong equally to woman. Woman is governed by law as man is; woman may own property and pay taxes as man does; woman is interested in the home and in the state as fully as man is; woman is as much interested in her children as man is; woman is a responsible individual quite as much as man is. It is utterly unjust to say that every abstract claim of right that can be established in favor of man's voting, does not belong equally to woman.

"Man alone can uphold government and enforce the law. Let the edifice of law be as moral as you will, its foundation is the force of the community, and the force of the community is male. Laws passed by the woman's vote will be felt to have no force behind them. Would the stronger sex obey any laws manifestly carried by the female vote, in the interests of woman against man? Man would be tempted to resist woman's government when it galled him." Women have made no proposal to establish a government by women. They strongly object to government by one sex, either male or female. It is not possible to have all the men voting on one side, and all the women on the other. All women do not think alike, nor will they ever vote unanimously any more than do the men. It is purely imaginary to speak of woman's government. Government will always be maintained by a majority composed of the united votes of men and women. Moreover votes are now cast in the ballot box, and it will not be

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possible to find out whether the majority consists chiefly of men or of women. Therefore it is clear that the question of force cannot be brought into the suffrage discussion. The force of a nation must remain on the side of the majority. But modern governments do not rely on force for their existence or for the execution of their laws. The edicts of despots had to be forced on unwilling people. Rebels to-day know that their rebellion is not against kings or governments, but against the will of the people. Men submit to laws because they have shared in making them.

"The transfer of power from the military to the unmilitary sex involves a change in the character of a nation. It involves, in short, national emasculation." Again it is assumed that woman suffrage means woman's rule and man's dethronement. Again it must be stated that unity of rule is the aim of all reputable advocates of woman's enfranchisement. It is probable this would result in "a change in the character of the nation," but not such a change as that dreaded by Professor Smith. The "war" argument is a very old one, often answered. Women suffer as much as men from war. Their hardships at home are often equal, and their anxieties greater than those of the soldiers on the field or in the camp. These soldiers are husbands, sons, brothers or lovers of sorrowing women. Many women labor in hospitals and various other ways for the soldiers. Woman's work is not man's work, nor man's work woman's, in war or in peace; but her work is quite as needful to the world's advancement, both in peace and war, as man's. The time cometh, too, when "War shall be no more," and, however men may sneer at woman suffrage, woman's work will aid in the fulfilment of this prophecy.

"One of the features of a revolutionary era is the prevalence of a feeble facility of abdication. The holders of power, however natural and legitimate it may be, are too ready to resign at the first demand." This is an age of evolution, not of revolution. In the suffrage question, for instance, no one proposes to disenfranchise man and enfranchise woman in his stead. That would be revolutionary. The proposal of this era is to recognize the duty and extend the right of voting to interested, intelligent and responsible human beings who are not now enfranchised. This is just and reasonable evolution. It may seem presumptuous to hesitate to accept the statement of so eminent an historical authority as Professor Smith, but the impression does not prevail generally that the holders of power are too ready to resign at the first demand. Absolutism granted the Magna Charta with a very bad grace. The swords of the barons were more cogent than the king's "feeble facility of abdication." The privileged holders of authority have never shown a tendency to yield gracefully even

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to the demands of freedom and justice. It is a glorious truth that as men grow more free, they become more just. Each generation transmits more liberal instincts than it received. Relics of barbaric injustice are swept away rapidly by the ever rising tide of popular freedom. More can be accomplished now in a year of light than formerly in a century of darkness. The high priest of aggressive liberalism should not describe the surrender of wrong to the ever increasing power of enlightened progressiveness as the "feeble facility of abdication."

"The elevation of woman is a different thing from assimilation to man." Woman does not ask assimilation to man. She could not be assimilated if she wished such a change. God made her woman, and she cannot make herself man. Her mental and moral nature is as distinctive as her physical nature. Just why Professor Smith imagines that the suffrage would assimilate her to man is not clear. He grants woman the right to think, and to express her thoughts in books or on the platform. These things do not assimilate her to man; neither would the marking of a ballot paper.

"Woman, if she becomes a man, will be a weaker man." This statement rests upon a misconception. Women do not wish to be virified. Women are not virified by public work. They write learnedly on public questions without loss of womanly tenderness or grace. Surely Professor Smith does not expect that going once in four or five years, or even once a year, to vote will make a woman virile. Lucy Stone could quell riotous mobs at anti-slavery meetings, but she was always a sweet-voiced, modest little woman, and she loved her husband and babe as well as any wife or mother ever did. Mrs. Howe and Mrs. Livermore have struck strong blows nobly for woman's freedom, and for many other great reforms, but the tongues whose eloquence raised the people to great deeds, also sung sweet lullabies to happy children in their model homes. They are now silver-haired women more than seventy years old, but they are as distinctly womanly as any of their Christian sisters in the world. Women cannot be transformed into men. If they could be there would be less hope in their enfranchisement. Woman suffrage will not merely increase votes—it will bring a new element into the voting power of the world. Women are essentially different from men, and they cannot become like men. The unity of the woman element with the man element in character, is as essential to true harmony and true progress in the state as in the home.

"If woman becomes a man she must be prepared to resign her privilege as a woman. She cannot expect to have both privilege and equality." Thoughtful women demand no privileges because they are women. They would be satisfied if they could stand be-

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side their brothers on a perfectly equal footing. They reject subordination, and they resent the patronizing gallantry which assumes their inferiority or their vanity. They see that their sex has been weakened both by subjection and by sentimental gallantry. It is not complimentary to men to assume that they are courteous to women because they believe them to be inferior or weaker, or that men would be less polite to women if women had the privilege of living up to their highest ideals of duty by taking part in the development of their country. Neither is it complimentary to womanhood to tell women that they have special privileges because they are effeminate, and that they will lose these privileges unless they respectfully keep their places in the sphere assigned to them by men. Even Professor Smith's exquisite language fails to give dignity to this old "Then you may stand in the street car" argument.

"What leaders of the women's rights movement practically seek is, for the woman power without responsibility; for the man responsibility without power." Both these statements misrepresent the men and women who advocate woman suffrage. Women recognize their responsibility; at least those who ask enfranchisement do so. Experience would deepen this sense. Some women do not ask the right to vote simply because they do not recognize their responsibility, but those who clearly see it merely ask the right to do their duty. Women do not seek to take the power out of men's hands but wish to share power as well as responsibility with them.

"The number of women who have spontaneously asked for the change appears to be small." Every extension of the franchise from the time of Simon de Montfort to the present, might at first have been objected to on the same ground. No other unenfranchised body ever awakened to a sense of the injustice of being refused the ballot so rapidly as women have, during the past ten years. If this argument had force, it might have been used to prevent every progressive movement in the development of civilization. Even Christianity itself must have been condemned if it had been tested by the number who "spontaneously" asked for it.

"There appears to be a tendency among the leaders of the revolt of woman to disparage matrimony as a bondage, and the rearing of children as an aim too low for intellectual being." It is natural to suppose that this general statement is limited to the female leaders of the so-called revolt. No one would charge such men as Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, Phillip Brooks, Joseph Cook, T. W. Higginson, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Bishop Simpson, Charles Sumner, Chief Justice Chase, Charles Kingsley, Professor Huxley, or more than half the mem-

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bers of the British Parliament with such a tendency. The Countess of Aberdeen is president of the Woman's Enfranchisement Association in England. Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore and Julia Ward Howe led the woman suffrage movement in America. The leadership of these noble women did not interfere with their motherhood. All distinguished women do not marry — neither do all distinguished men.

"Women must bear and nurse children, and if they do this, it is impossible that they should compete with men in occupations which demand complete devotion as well as superior strength of muscle or brain!" This argument might fairly be ruled out of a discussion on woman suffrage, but it may be answered in several ways. Women do not wish to compete with men in all occupations. They are the best judges of what they should or should not do, and every rule of fair play demands that they be allowed to decide for themselves. Not all women get the opportunity of marrying. Voting is not a laborious occupation, requiring "complete devotion as well as superior strength." It means but a pleasant walk and a few minutes' time. Canvassing will not always be an important factor in elections, and so long as it has to be done, married women with young families can be spared from taking part in it. There are plenty of men and unmarried women, and widows and married women with grown-up children, to do all the essential work of electioneering. Voting would waste none of woman's strength, and not so much of her time as is needed to make a fashionable call. But many married women have to bear and raise their children, and earn most of the money for their support, too. There are too many cases in cities where women support drunken husbands in addition to their children, yet on election day the husband may vote for the politicians who license the drink traffic, while the suffering wife has no right to vote for the protection of herself and her children.

"Hitherto the family has been a unit, represented in the state by its head; a change that throws the family into the political caldron surely calls for special consideration." Hitherto the family has not been represented at all as a unity. One unit in the family has represented himself and assumed to represent others. The man who gathers the adult members of his family together to consult them with a view of representing the opinion of the majority of them by his vote, would be a curiosity. No man can, with any sense of fairness, be said to represent his family unless he does this. The family has not always been a unit, because, in many cases, the father and several adult sons in the same family have votes. This fact has not disrupted the peace of reasonable families. It is a strange conception of family harmony that husband and wife must think alike in re-

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gard to all subjects. This would not be true harmony, it would be mere sameness; and it is only logically conceivable on the surrender of the individuality of one to that of the other. This can never occur without degradation to the one who has to submit. Woman has had too much of such degradation. Why should two reasonable beings cease to recognize each others' right to independent judgment because they are married to each other? Woman suffrage will elevate the condition of both husband and wife. The wife will be emancipated from a subjection pronounced by God to be a curse, and the husband will be saved from the debasing selfishness of believing himself to be the only member of his household worthy of being entrusted with the dignity of voting.

"When party lays its hand on the home, those who care for the home more than for party receive a warning to be on their guard." The home should be a vital element in national life. Whoever brings the home element to bear more directly on politics is a benefactor to his race. The larger the voting power of a home, the greater its influence becomes in moulding the laws by which homes are to be governed. Woman directly represents the home, therefore she should vote.

"Man's life is more or less public, while that of woman is in the home." Granting the correctness of this statement, does it not prove the need of women suffrage in order that the home may be represented in the body politic? Is the home of so little consequence to the state that it needs no direct representation? The home element is the most important in the state; and the fact that "The life of the woman is in the home" proves beyond a doubt that woman is naturally intended to speak and vote for the home.

"Men feel as a sex the full measure of responsibility in public action. This is not felt as strongly by their partners." It would be a great blessing if by a stroke of his magic pen Professor Smith could make men live up to the first of these statements. Comparatively few men realize the sacred responsibility of public action, even in voting. It may be true that men feel public responsibility more than women. There is only one way in which it can become clear to the mind of either man or woman, and that is by doing duty. Self activity is an absolute essential in revealing thought, feeling or responsibility. Women will feel the responsibilities of public duties when they are allowed to perform them.

"Have women as a sex any wrongs which male legislators cannot be expected to redress?" This is not the question. Women do not ask the right to vote merely to redress their wrongs. They ask the franchise because they believe themselves to be important elements in the national life of the country in which they live.

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They seek to vote and claim the right to be elected to positions on school boards, municipal councils, and even in legislatures, parliaments and congresses, in order that they may elevate the tone of public morals, and aid in securing laws for the protection of their brothers, sisters, sons and daughters. They do not wish to vote only for women or on questions relating to women. They know that "Unconsciousness of sex is essential to the best work of either sex." They wish to stand side by side with men in working out the grandest destiny of the race. It may not be out of place to say, however, that male legislatures never can represent women fully. No legislature composed of one class or sex ever has represented or ever can represent another class or sex. Again, until women are allowed to vote no legislature of any kind can possibly represent them. Representation necessitates voluntary choice on the part of those represented. Unless a parliament is elected by women as well as men it cannot claim to represent women in any accurate sense.

"Male legislatures have already gone far in giving women statutory protection." Women do not ask protection. They ask justice. They ask recognition of their powers, and of their right to use them. They ask freedom to perform their duty as they conceive it. True women resent man's ideal that woman is a weak and delicate being to be protected. From what are they to be protected? The only protection they need is from man himself, in his assumption of their just rights and privileges. Woman claims liberty, not protection. She is not content with barbaric or oriental subordination, nor with the equally degrading ideal of an extravagant chivalry. She asks recognition as a good, sensible, human being, with powers as distinct and as essential as man's, which she purposes to use in coöperation with man in working out human destiny.

"There remain few bars to the competition of women with men in the professions and trades." Why should there be any artificial barriers in woman's way to prevent her doing any honest work for which she has a taste, and for which she deems herself fitted? What right has man to raise any barriers against woman? What right have women even to bar any pathway against an individual woman who wishes to walk therein? Liberal men and women are rapidly sweeping away the conventionalities that have crippled the efforts of women circumscribed their spheres and dwarfed their very souls; but every step towards the light has been taken in opposition to unprogressive men and conventional women who vainly tried to check enlightening truth.

"That women have confidence in the justice and affection of men their present appeal shows; for it is from man's free will that they must expect the cession of the suffrage." Women have

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confidence in the justice of enlightened and unprejudiced men, and they are now engaged in enlightening man and freeing him from his dwarfing prejudices. The fact that the ablest modern theologians and social scientists and many of the greatest statesmen are in favor of woman suffrage, gives woman confidence in man's justice. The recent majority in the British House of Commons naturally strengthens the confidence, but it does more, it increases woman's faith in the justice of her cause. Woman asks man to undo a great wrong, and she believes he will be wise enough to recognize woman's responsible individuality, and just enough to free her from the restrictions of a primitive civilization. The fact that woman appeals to man for justice, does not prove that women should be satisfied to allow man alone to continue to make the laws, but the reverse. She appeals to man because at present he holds the power in his own hands, so that her appeal cannot logically be used, as Professor Smith uses it, for the basis of an argument against woman suffrage.

"Is it not because women have kept out of politics, and generally out of the contention arena, that they have remained gentle, tender and delicate women?" Politics should not be degrading. It is discreditable to men that the sacred duty of statecraft should be associated with any processes or experiences of a debasing character. But the presence of woman purifies politics. The women of Wyoming are as womanly and as gentle as those in the neighboring states where women do not vote. The women who lead in municipal reforms in England, or who champion the cause of woman's enfranchisement there, are as true and pure and sweet-voiced as those who are conventional models. Politics should mean high thinking on social and national questions, and the carrying out of calm decisions by voting for right measures. Thinking about her country's history and present condition, its hopes and relationships to other countries, need not destroy a woman's gentleness. Strength of character does not rob woman of her witching charm. The condition of politics, as admitted by Professor Smith, indicates the need of woman's elevating, purifying influence.

"At present the demand in England is only for the enfranchisement of spinsters and widows. But this limitation, while it betrays a consciousness that there would be danger to the peace and order of the family, is understood to be merely a stroke of tactics. Widow and spinster suffrage is the thin edge of the wedge." Women have not been satisfied from the beginning with "widow and spinster suffrage," nor did they ever admit for a moment that the enfranchisement of married women would "endanger the peace and order of the family." Women accepted just what men were liberal enough to give, and men declined to

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allow married women to vote because "They were already represented by their husbands." Professor Smith admits that "From the political point of view there would be manifest absurdity and wrong in making marriage politically penal, and excluding from the franchise the very women who are commonly held to be best discharging the duties of their sex, and would be likely to be its fairest representatives." The advocates of women suffrage say "amen" to this. They think it strange that men are willing to allow a woman to vote until she marries, and then say to her practically, "Since you were foolish enough to marry a man you are no longer worthy of being trusted with a ballot." Such a law is absurd and wrong, but women did not make it. The law that women would like to have prevail everywhere is that in force in New Zealand, — "Every person of the age of twenty-one years shall be entitled to vote in all elections."

"The woman of the political platform does not limit her ambition to a vote. She wants to sit in Parliament or in Congress." Why not? Many of the men in any parliament or congress could easily be replaced by women of larger intelligence, greater breadth of view and better education. There are plenty of women of leisure whose duties would permit them to assume the responsibilities of representing their fellow citizens in parliament. There is no new principle in this idea. Women have long been elected to positions on school boards and municipal councils. It might, as Professor Smith says, "shock the prejudices" of some conventional people at first to see women in Parliament, but prejudices have a habit of being shocked by the practical developments of our progressive age. The best thing to do with prejudices is to shock them. Prejudices must always yield to common sense and justice, and each successive generation becomes freer from the bondage of prejudices. It will be a great event in the world's history when the first woman takes her seat in Congress or Parliament. When the happy time comes, the world will marvel that it took so many centuries to accomplish such manifest justice. There is no danger that women will turn all the men out of Parliament. It would be as unjust and as unwise to have the men ruled by women alone, as it now is to have women ruled by men alone.

"Wyoming and New Zealand have made the experiment of woman suffrage. Let them fairly try it, and if the result is good, let the rest of the world follow. Let Wyoming and New Zealand try it, say for ten years." This does not seem unreasonable. So thorough a student of history as Professor Smith knows that every great reform and scientific development has been demonstrated to be impossible by learned theorists who opposed it. He knows the crushing effect that experience has had on "impossible

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theorists." It was clearly demonstrated by the scientific men of England that a locomotive could not run on smooth rails, but the locomotive ran, and has been running ever since. It is prudent to close an essay against woman suffrage by suggesting that it be tested. It is evident that Professor Smith's opinion, if not his hope, is that the experiments he suggests will prove woman suffrage to be a failure. But woman suffrage has been tested for twenty-five years in Wyoming, and legislators, judges, ministers and newspaper writers unanimously pronounce it in all respects a success. The present governor of that state forcibly says, "Not one of the predictions of its opponents has been verified." Professor Smith affirms, "The neighboring states, which must have the clearest view of the results, have not been induced to follow the example of Wyoming." The ink with which these words were written was not long dry when Colorado by popular vote adopted woman suffrage by a splendid majority. The test has been made in England, in Canada and in nearly every one of the United States for years. Women have voted in school and municipal elections, and have been elected to public offices and to representative bodies, with only good results. There is no logic, but only prejudice, to prove that what is just and wise in school and municipal elections is not wise and just in parliamentary elections. The test suggested has been made and woman suffrage is a fixed element in human development. Women have shown themselves capable of taking an intelligent part in public affairs; they have to submit to laws on the same conditions as men; they pay taxes; they are producers of wealth; they are deeply interested in moral and philanthropic work; they naturally represent the home, and they are reponsible human beings. Every male enemy of the home may vote. Mothers see saloon keepers and profligates, who aim to destroy their sons and daughters, helping to make the laws, while they themselves are unable to do so. Ignorant foreigners, uneducated men of native birth, weak young men without experience or training, are allowed to vote in all elections because they are males; but the most cultured and intelligent women are refused this right because they are women. Sex slavery is more indefensible than race or class slavery; and the complete emancipation of woman will be a grander triumph for justice and truth and liberty than the granting of freedom to any race or class in the history of the world.

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THE HIGHER EVOLUTION OF MAN.*

BY HENRY WOOD.

A NEW light is breaking in upon mankind. Its dazzling rays are penetrating into the cold, dark caverns of gloom and pessimism, and transforming them into the abodes of warmth and brightness. The clear-cut outlines of divinity as engraven in humanity, long obscured by the deep shadows of materialism, now stand out with unmistakable sharpness. The genial glow, the soft radiance of which falls upon the faces of all who turn towards it, witnesses a quickening impulse which causes souls to become vibrant with supernal harmony. Under its transforming influence the hardness of daily duties fades out, and life receives a new inspiration. From every direction comes a chorus of voices proclaiming the dawn of a brighter dispensation for humanity.

A dogmatic and materialistic Christianity is giving place to one that is both spiritual and scientific. The dry and shrunken forms of traditionalism, which since the days of the primitive church have largely lost their vitality, are being superseded by a living faith which meets the yearnings of humanity and demonstrates itself before the astonished gaze of thousands who are just emerging from the thraldom of materialism. The organized church, believing that she possesses a finished and infallible revelation, largely misinterprets the signs of the times as manifested in the new and living power of an ideal Christianity. While the good news of the higher thought and life is quietly and without observation permeating her rank and file, yet she formally and officially turns her face away from the "Sun of Righteousness who has arisen with healing in his wings."

All who are seeking the truth for its own sake have much in common. By whatever *name* they may call themselves, they should mutually accord to each other such recognition

* Substance of a paper read at the Congress of Scientists which was held in San Francisco May 29 to June 4, 1894.

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as will tend to unify those forces which are able to lift men above materialistic and dogmatic systems. The students of Christian science, metaphysics, mental science, psychology, theosophy and spiritualism, though occupying different standpoints, each looking at some peculiar and often over-emphasized aspect of truth in its various relations to the higher life of man, should at least accord one another friendly recognition. The tendency toward faction, sect, system or school is strong, often unconsciously so. The age is an analytical one, and only by breasting strong currents on every hand can we behold the impartial and perfect proportions of truth. The unification of all things is the grandest ideal of this remarkable period. We need more synthesis and less analysis —an all-around view rather than a one-sided one. Each part and section of the objective realm must be regarded as interdependent, and studied in its relation to the greater whole. Like the bone of an animal or the branch of a tree, a single phase of truth is meaningless when out of its relations. The great book of human history has *faction* written upon every page, but the time is ripe for a broader range. The seeker after truth, knowing her inherent value, need not hesitate to follow her through the bars of prejudice and popular misconception. She will never reveal her riches to those who fear the criticisms of the worldly wise and bow the knee to conventionalism.

The grand interpretation of a true evolutionary science brings to light a universal interrelation. This was not apparent so long as men limited orderly law to the realm of an earthy materialism, and only its later and higher application could finally round out the seeming fragmentary and irregular mass. Evolution, intelligently translated, shows not only that all things have a place but that all have a use. Nothing stands by itself. This fact should stimulate charity and toleration towards all whose standpoints do not command a range quite like our own. We cannot afford to repeat the history of the past by gazing so long at one side that all others become dwarfed.

The divine human economy is like a great mirror in the clearness of its reflections of truth; but devotion to sect, system, school or person shivers it into contradictory fragments. If we link ourselves to a Paul, an Apollos or a Cephas we receive our inspiration at second hand. They are all good as chan-

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nels, but not necessarily infallible as standards. But free from any personal ambition, there may be a wholesome emulation among the disciples of spiritual science in efforts to give out somewhat of the divine inspiration in all its native purity.

The grand postulate of the present movement toward a higher plane of human life and aspiration, is: God is in His universe, the One Life, Mind, Intelligence and Will, in limitless and orderly manifestation. This is not pantheism, neither does it impinge upon man's free agency and individuality. It brings God into our consciousness as our Native Element, in whom we live and move and have our being. He is no longer a foreign potentate and arbitrary law-giver, far away and difficult of approach. We are learning that we may come into loving communion with Him without the intervention of bell, book, external sanctuary, organization or ritual. Our souls may feel the warm embrace and enjoy an actual contact with the great, fatherly, ever-present "Over-soul." We are practically demonstrating that man does not live by bread alone but by "every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." We have discovered the Central Source accessible to all, from which flow life, strength, vigor and wholeness. We find that as we open the door of our consciousness, all positive good is waiting to enter. God has been besieging us with all the exuberant riches of His nature and we knew it not.

We have fed upon the husks of traditional philosophies, theologies and systems when a life-giving nectar was flowing by our side. We have been in bondage to the seen and temporary, when we could have asserted our freedom through the potency of the unseen and eternal. We have failed to recognize the brotherhood of man because we did not feel the Fatherhood of God.

In this quickening era the artificial walls of scholasticism and conventionalism are disintegrating, and men are looking within and are surprised to find God's image in themselves and one another. As human and external authority crumbles, the divine tribunal at the human soul-centre assumes its normal and righteous prerogative. The concept of a capricious supernaturalism is laid aside among the crudities of the past, and the Divine Will recognized in universal expression as infinite order, harmony and love. The God-voice in man is becoming audible, and he finds the eternal code written not

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merely on ancient tables of stone, but plainly inscribed upon the living apartments of his own nature. Even the science of physics is gaining in subtlety and refinement until it seems ready to melt into metaphysics. Sacred and secular truth are found to be only the golden and silver sides of one and the same shield.

Religion and science, after frowning at each other for ages, not only are becoming reconciled, but all things are being made ready for a nuptial feast in the not distant future. The time has come when man can no longer put asunder what God hath joined together. The funereal shadow of evil, which for so long has cast a black pall of gloom over the world, and in whose sable folds have been wrapped sin, sorrow, disease and death, is found to have only a subjective existence — man's creation, not God's. Through the dark windows of his own lower nature man has looked out upon God's beautiful universe, and logically the prospect has appeared gloomy.

Two great fundamental truths have come into general recognition during the latter years of the nineteenth century. They may be concisely defined as the creative power of thought, and the order of mental or immaterial causation for human expression.

In the past, the thinking faculty has been largely left by the human ego to be the sport of every passing breeze and impulse. It has been open to the entrance of all the miscellaneous rubbish which floated into the field of its environment. Under the well understood conditions of the present, it finds a way, not only to reject things not of its own selection, but actually to create objective beauty, harmony and wholeness, through subjective processes, scientifically regulated. As men introspectively turn towards their truer and deeper selves and discover the pattern given them "in the mount," they become conscious of the possession of divine powers and prerogatives. Acting no longer in the character of exiles and transgressors, they begin to manifest the inner Christ ideal which before has been latent or sleeping. All that God manifests in the universe is good, and His children in the kingdoms within and below them may exercise a corresponding power in creative work after the divine model.

The discovery that the springs of causation are all from the interior realm is a truth not yet admitted by modern material-

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istic science, but its well demonstrated philosophy cannot much longer be doubted or denied. Men have practically regarded themselves as bodies having souls, rather than as souls possessing bodies. To invert the normal order of causation introduces an endless variety of disorderly manifestations, until their negative regularity, to mistaken sense, clothes them with authority. Traditional theology has formed a partnership with *materia medica* in regarding man, primarily, as a material being. A soul is conventionally based upon a brain, and a brain upon a physical, mechanical organism. Such a materialistic philosophy legitimately fruits in a helpless and hopeless pessimism. This has forced scholastic theology to formulate a scheme or plan of salvation which has necessarily been accounted as supernatural. Man by natural and spiritual law is attracted only toward that which is regular and normal, therefore the unreasonableness and abnormity of the assumed scheme have repelled him. It was destitute of drawing power.

Spiritual evolution kindles the aspiration of the human soul, because it is in the direct line of lawful sequence. It is an orderly road that ever leads onward and upward. Dogma, through the assumption of inherent depravity, and its views of evil as a great entity, nearly or quite a match for the Eternal Goodness, has filled the human consciousness with gloom and anxiety. A great harvest of disorder and disease has thereby been projected into manifestation.. Not content with conferring upon evil unlimited power as a universal principle, it has also set up an arch personality at the head of its kingdom, as an ideal embodiment of wickedness. Through the formal installation of an unnatural depravity, insisted upon, men have virtually inferred that they are made in *its* likeness, and the image of God has been relegated to the misty background. The divine consciousness in man has thereby been smothered for lack of breathing room.

Sinfulness by nature has been the great doctrine imbedded in traditional confessions, and to double the burden of actual transgression, that of Adam and Eve has been added to the scale of human misery. Man's guilt has been held up and analyzed before him until its sombre shadows have lowered over his whole horizon.

Materia medica, being a correlative of dogmatic theology, confirms human animality and materialism, by the virtual

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assumption that man is a body having some attenuated quality called a soul. It strives to patch up this material tenement from without so as to induce the soul-quality to remain so long as is possible. It infers that the brain constitutes the basis of thinking, and that the automatic movements of its gray matter give tone and quality to the mind and its products.

Starting from such a basis, it is not strange that the therapeutics of the past has been an ever shifting and self-contradictory system of negation and guesswork. The innumerable negatives of a distorted consciousness upon which realism has been conferred, which have craved positives for their rectification, have had still more negatives administered, until all the various lacks of good have been divided, subdivided, classified and multiplied. A great host of apparent ills has thereby been marshalled, and their diagnostic outlines are ever being searched for in man. His consciousness has been made ready for them, so that when their applications are made, they fit as does the key to a lock. The distorted and inverted vision produces a morbid subjectivity, and this externally manifests itself in deformity and disease. The usurpation of the flesh-man, who is only a claimant, lies at the foundation of all human infelicity. When this pretender is content to occupy his normal and secondary place the whole established order is friendly to him. Man's delusive and false consciousness, which persuades him that he is primarily a material being, constitutes an ever recurring "fall." His only enemy is his own false and pretentious selfhood of animality.

Those things which are most useful and beautiful, when inverted and abused become most baneful. Thought may be a beautiful builder or a malign destroyer. With orderly and powerful creative energy, when rightly directed, it may invigorate the human form divine, purge it of impurity and cause it to thrill with harmonious vibration and wholeness. From the spiritual plane it may illumine and vivify the intellectual, social, æsthetic and industrial faculties in man, giving him a well rounded and ideal development. It is a "power house" of such wonderful capacity that its dynamics, when exercised in accord with law, can hardly be estimated or conceived.

The spiritual storehouse of man's nature contains rich

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treasures deposited by divine beneficence, and thought is the key that unlocks and bestows them. Intelligently directed, it is the "prayer without ceasing." Man exercises his prerogative as a son of God in proportion as, through his own volition, he enters into possession of his allotted kingdom and wisely transforms and rules it. In the deep recesses of his own nature he may uncover a fountain from which will flow forth new and ever ascending aspirations and ideals.

The most startling and unconventional truth which the higher thought is bringing into human consciousness is graphically expressed in the much misunderstood aphorism, "All is good." Viewed in the clear illumination of spiritual science it is found that even negations have their uses, and that so-called evil actually has a provisional and educational goodness. But as it is only a passing phase or condition, it should not be identified with a goodness which is ideal and positive. The negative goodness of suffering may be compared to that of rows of thorn-bushes, ranged on either side of an upward path, which keep travellers from wandering from the ascending track into bottomless quagmires which lie on either hand beyond the troublesome barriers. The thorns are uncomfortable but they guard from fatal pitfalls. Evil is the growing pains of a lower consciousness which is being pushed from behind towards a higher altitude. It is the subjective friction which marks the uplifting process. It is the cross upon which the internal and intrinsic Christ has been raised, exercising his drawing power upon the human ego.

But nowhere does the rare beauty and logic of the modern higher thought shine out more clearly than in its transcendent idea of God. The kingdom of the Divine mind is infinitely beautiful, harmonious and unitary. It is not divided against itself and does not share its universal dominion with any malign power whatsoever, either with or without a personal headship. God is the Eternal Goodness in limitless manifestation through the whole cosmic economy. As compared with traditional creeds and philosophies, what supernal honor does new spiritual science confer upon God when it relegates evil from the supremacy of a great objective entity or principle to that of a mere human subjective condition which is educational and temporary! All of God's creations are good, and He made all that was made. Evil is therefore

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a work solely of man's contrivance — the objective reflection of his own inharmonious subjectivity.

It is a glorious truth that the basic principles and tendencies of the universe are good and good only. If, in the words of the immortal Tennyson, there be

> One God, one law, one element,
> And one far-off, divine event,
> Towards which the whole creation moves,

and that grand consummation be beneficent, then all the infinitely varied processes and sub-processes by which this result is to be secured must, at least, be provisionally and potentially good in their trend and significance. Earthy, local and sensuous gravitation seem downward, but the divine and universal attraction is upward. The God-consciousness in the soul of man will never lose its drawing power, and as the sap in the tree overcomes gravity and rises to manifest itself visibly and richly in leaves, flowers and fruits, so humanity will finally attain to its divine accomplishment.

The great cycle of a universal evolution, the vaster part of which lies above and beyond the limited horizon of material vision, is the supremest accomplishment of modern thought. It is the great key which unlocks the mysteries, solves the problems and deciphers the hieroglyphics that abound on every hand. It lets in a flood of light upon the deepest questions that can occupy the mind of man, including those of his origin, development and destiny. It penetrates to the foundation principles of his being, and through the laws of its economy points out the path of the soul's progress and unfoldment. It retranslates the sacred literatures of the world, showing a hitherto unrecognized unity, and broadens the scope of inspiration, proving that it is not limited to any one race, nation or period. It does not lower the normal divinity of the Christ, but lifts all humanity towards it. It ennobles the former idea of God from that of a capricious Being, making plans, providing for emergencies, and susceptible of improvement by listening to selfish petitions for changes upon His own part, to the Universal, Unchangeable Intelligence, eternally and infinitely good, who has never done less than the best, however our small sense may have understood it.

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The soft golden dawn which comes after a long night of materialism is but a slight forecast of that glorious day, in the light of which the chains of human bondage will fall off and a general emancipation be proclaimed.

"Watchman, what of the night?" Traveller, its weary hours are drawing to a close, when man will awake to the discovery of his own divinity.

Friends, let none of us be jealous of names, schools or personal leaderships, but, without settling down to rest in the byways which afford but single aspects of truth, walk round about her and behold her marvellous complexity in unity. We are interdependent, and each has a place in the great temple of the whole. Every stone, brick and piece of mortar is needed and nothing else can serve its purpose.

The great and real heresy of this heresy-seeking epoch is not a divergence from the formulated systems but a non-recognition of the "Comforter." The authority of synods, councils and assemblies has been set up in the place of the Indwelling Spirit. Such a rejection of the "Guide into all truth" precludes "forgiveness" while it continues, because the question is one of condition and not of remission. To forgive is not a matter of debit and credit, and does not imply an escape from natural consequences; but it is rather a substitution of the Christ-mind for that of the flesh. The overcoming energy of the divine influx frees from the dominion of sin, and the dismission of penalty comes as a normal result. The seed of spirit brings forth a harvest of its own kind.

The Christ told His followers that He must go away in order that the Guide might be recognized. He saw the strong inclination of the human mind to fasten itself to material forms instead of looking deeper and grasping the grander invisible Presence. The eyes of the world have been focussed upon the historic personality of Jesus rather than upon the indwelling, intrinsic Christ who is God with and in us. Paul in referring to material limitations expresses this vital truth: "Therefore know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." The theology of the creeds still knows Christ after the flesh. The cross and the death overshadow the inner and the imparted life. The living Christ seeks and needs personal embodiment now as much as He did eighteen

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centuries ago. A history that tells *about* the manifestation through the personality of Jesus cannot take the place of needed incarnate expression in general and in particular. To dwell in the letter and form is to miss the spirit and reality.

Because of this loss of vitality the works which were to follow those who believe, as an attestation, have been signally lacking. Spiritual vigor finds natural outward expression in physical and mental holiness, which signifies wholeness. The inward ministry of the Spirit is the vital nourishment which feeds to its fruition the whole complex human nature. The rare and unfamiliar supernatural Holy Spirit of scholastic theology must become the natural and familiar Companion and Guest. The unfolding of the divine germ which is planted at the soul-centre of man touches and inspires his threefold nature to its utmost limits.

If we would gather the golden harvest of spirit we must sow and cultivate in harmony with its established order. Conforming to divine method we enlist Infinite Power in our service, but disregarding it we "fight against God." The higher consciousness now becoming so general is the harbinger of a new dispensation. Man is learning to coöperate with God through the intelligent translation of law. The day will soon dawn "when all shall know the Lord," not merely in a restricted theological sense, but as the normal Inspirer of humanity. The divine order provides that the "word be made flesh," or come into externals. The word is thought in articulation. Its living energy projects it into expression and by its visible fruit its quality is manifested.

Transactions that in the past have seemed miraculous, when interpreted by a broader knowledge of spiritual law are found to be orderly and normal. In proportion as we make our own wills plastic to the Divine Will we receive infinite reënforcement.

The kingdom of grace and the kingdom of law, which are really one, need to be unified in human consciousness. The moral code, although seemingly wide and complex, converges at one grand focus and its name is Love. Material gravitation is weak in comparison with the drawing power of this universal spiritual law of attraction. Neither space nor sensuous limitation can offer any obstacle to its harmonious vibrations. God sends out the thrilling pulsations of His

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life to His offspring of every grade and condition, and unless they close themselves they will receive and pass them on. The divine involution is the basis and inspirer of human evolution, therefore it is man's business to express God. Potentially all men possess a divine sonship; but in many cases the educational discipline of a "far country" comes with its severe lessons as a preliminary to the manifested character which only appears on the return towards the "Father's house."

Just in proportion as man conquers the subjective world within himself he will reign in the objective kingdom without. When the serpent of his own lower nature is perfectly tamed he will no longer fear objective serpents, and if he "drink any deadly thing it will not harm him." Then will he come into possession of his rightful dominion, and his sonship, before potential and ideal, will press forward into outward and actualized demonstration. The inspiration of the closing nineteenth century, glorious as are its developments, is only like a few drops before a plentiful shower which will make the seeming boundless wilderness of human infelicity bud and blossom with perennial beauty.

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JUSTICE FOR JAPAN.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

PERHAPS the average American knows little and cares less about the political excitement which prevails throughout Japan, and which has been steadily increasing for twenty years. And yet the one issue which is as all-absorbing with the Japanese as was the slavery question with us in the closing days of the fifties, concerns every American who loves justice and values the honor of the republic.

When in 1858 the present treaties between the United States, Great Britain and some of the continental powers on the one hand and Japan on the other were negotiated, it was specially stipulated, as we shall presently see, that on or after 1872 either of the contracting parties might demand revision by giving one year's notice of such desire. Our treaty, of which the others are the counterparts, was negotiated when Japan was under feudal rule, and when we were as ignorant of her civilization as she was of ours. Moreover, the little empire was completely at the mercy of the great Christian nations, which had successively impressed her with their power, so that at the time these treaties were negotiated she was in much the same position as a disarmed person surrounded by a cordon of troops.

There is no denying the fact that she had no free choice in agreeing to the terms of this treaty, although it is probable that had she been less ignorant in regard to matters relating to foreign diplomacy she would have succeeded in securing important modifications in her favor, and it is probable that our consul-general, Hon. Townsend Harris, expected many concessions to be demanded when he drafted the treaty. But the ignorance of the Japanese in regard to all such matters and their feeling of helplessness in the presence of these giant powers led them to accept the terms proposed which, however galling, would last for only fifteen years, for Article XIII. of this treaty provided that

After the 4th of July, 1872, upon the desire of either the American or Japanese governments, and on one year's notice given by either party, this treaty and such portions of the treaty of Kanagawa as remain unrevoked in this treaty, together with regulations hereunto annexed, or those that may be hereafter introduced, shall be subject to revision by commissioners appointed on both sides for this purpose,

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who will be empowered to decide on, and insert therein, such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable.

And it never occurred to the Japanese, who are a people very sensitive about national honor and justice, that the great Christian nation which not only pledged itself to the provisions of the treaty, but which had proposed this concession, would ignore it after the specified time had elapsed. An admirable digest of the important features of this treaty and those negotiated by several European powers shortly after its acceptance, is given by Dr. David Murray* in his recent work on Japan: —

These treaties fixed dates for the opening of the cities of Yedo and Osaka, and provided for the setting apart of suitable concessions in each of them for residence and trade. They provided that all cases of litigation in which foreigners were defendants should be tried in the consular court of the nation to which the defendant belonged, and all cases in which Japanese citizens were defendants should be tried in Japanese courts. They fixed the limits within which foreigners at any of the treaty ports could travel, but permitted the diplomatic agent of any nation to travel without limitation. They prohibited the importation of opium. Commercial relations were attached to the treaties and made a part of them, which directed that a duty of five per cent should be paid on all goods imported into Japan for sale, except that on intoxicating liquors a duty of thirty-five per cent should be exacted. All articles of Japanese production exported were to pay a duty of five per cent, except gold and silver coin and copper in bars. These trade regulations stipulated that five years after the opening of Kanagawa the export and import duties should be subject to revision at the desire of either party. The treaties themselves provide that on and after 1872 either of the contracting parties may demand a revision of the same upon giving one year's notice of its desire.

The treaty is objectionable to Japan in several respects, but the most offensive provision, the one which galls her people almost past endurance, is Article VI., which is as follows: —

Americans committing offences against Japanese shall be tried in American consular courts, and when guilty shall be punished according to the American law. Japanese committing offences against Americans shall be tried by the Japanese authorities, and punished according to the Japanese law. The consular courts shall be opened to Japanese creditors, to enable them to recover their just claims against American citizens, and the Japanese courts shall in like manner be open to American citizens for the recovery of their just claims against Japanese.

All claims for forfeitures or penalties for violations of this treaty, or of the articles regulating trade, which are appended hereunto, shall be sued for in the consular courts, and all recoveries shall be delivered to the Japanese authorities.

Neither the American nor Japanese governments are to be held responsible for the payment of any debts contracted by their respective citizens or subjects.

It will be seen from the above that this provision takes from

* "The Story of Japan," by David Murray, Ph. D., LL. D., late adviser to the Japanese Minister of Education (pp. 329, 330).

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Japan the power to try or punish foreigners who commit crimes against her people. This places Japan in the class of barbarous nations, which in itself would be offensive to a far less sensitive and enlightened people. Besides the practical workings, as will be shown, prove that the Japanese in many cases have received no adequate justice for crimes committed against them.

Since 1872 Japan has sought in vain for the promised revision of the treaty.* On this point Dr. Murray, whose intimate knowledge of the question renders his testimony of special value, observes †: —

These stipulations in reference to a revision of the treaties, and especially of the tariff of duties to be paid on imported goods, have been a source of great anxiety and concern to the Japanese government. The small duty of five per cent which it has been permitted to collect on the goods imported, is scarcely more than enough to maintain the machinery of collection. And while the initiative is given to it to ask for a revision of the treaties, it has never yet been able to obtain the consent of the principal nations concerned to any change in the original hard terms.

Another provision in the treaties which has been the occasion of endless debate is that which requires all foreigners to remain under the jurisdiction of the consuls of their respective countries. It is claimed on the part of the Japanese that this provision, which was reasonable when the treaties were first made, is no longer just or necessary. The laws have been so far perfected, their judges and officers have been so educated, and the machinery of their courts has been so far conformed to European practice that it is no longer reasonable that foreigners residing in Japan should be under other than Japanese jurisdiction. It is earnestly to be hoped that these sources of irritation between Japan and the treaty powers may speedily be removed, and that the efforts of this progressive race to fall into line in the march of civilization may be appreciated and encouraged.

Since the negotiation of this treaty, more than thirty years ago, it is safe to say that no nation on the face of the earth has made more rapid or uninterrupted progress along the highway of en-

* Mrs. A. E. Cheney, in her admirable paper on "Japan and her relation to Foreign Powers" (ARENA, September, 1893), thus summarizes the statement written by Mr. Harris, the author of our one-sided treaty, in 1875, or seventeen years after he negotiated it: —

"'The tariff fixed in the treaty of 1858 is fixed by me, and about its articles I never consulted any one. After the draft was made it remained intact without alteration from any Japanese official. As the Japanese had no experience in levying the tariff on imported goods, or to manage the income from the custom house, I was obliged to settle as above, though it was an example never known before. Really the Japanese officers frankly said that they had no knowledge in such matters, and consequently they entirely relied upon my decision, putting their full trust in me.'

"This was in feudal times, when the Japanese newly came into contact with foreigners. In his treatise on exterritoriality, again he says in substance: —

"'The gift of the exterritorial right to the Americans in Japan, as is stipulated in the treaty, is the thing which is against my conscience. When I spoke with the secretary of state in the United States of America he admitted the injustice of the interference with the internal law of a foreign country, and he said, "But how can we do otherwise when we stipulate a treaty with an oriental country? — as, for instance, the treaty between the United States, Turkey, Persia and all other barbarous races is the same, not being altered even in congress." I am now old and am very sorry that I cannot take off these unjust articles before I die. I hope that in the future others at least will witness the change.'

"This is the substance of the statement of the American consul-general."

† "Story of Japan," by David Murray, Ph. D., LL. D. (pp. 330, 331).

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lightenment than Japan. The feudal rule, with a certain lawlessness similar to that which characterized Europe during the middle ages, has given place to a constitutional monarchy; the government has sent numbers of Japanese students to various universities throughout the great nations of Christendom, and these young men have shown how remarkably bright is the opening intellect of this wonderful people; law and order have supplanted a condition often lawless and despotic, while the arts and sciences, education and philosophies of the Western world have been eagerly appropriated by this progressive race in the far East. Besides this, the more we come in contact with Japan the more clearly do we see that we have misjudged her people in regarding them as uncivilized. They have demonstrated that while being intensely patriotic they are peace-loving. Their sense of justice is keen. They are progressive, and possess in a high degree that delicate respect for the feelings of others and a natural desire to please that are essentially the marks of fine breeding and real culture. Moreover, they are a patient and long-suffering people, but the consciousness of being treated unjustly by the great powers is creating, as it naturally must, a feeling of bitterness in the minds of the Japanese. And at this point it will be proper to give a view of this question from the standpoint of an eminent Japanese scholar, Mr. Kinza R. M. Hirai,* which will enable us to appreciate better the feelings of our fellow-men in Japan, and it is always important that we learn to place ourselves in the position of the other party when we are considering questions involving right and justice. Mr. Hirai thus sets forth the issue as seen through Japanese eyes:—

By the convention at Yedo (present Tokyo), in 1858, the treaty was stipulated between America and Japan, and also with the European powers. It was the time when our country was yet under the feudal government; and on account of our having had but little intercourse with other nations for over two centuries, since the Christian rebellion of 1637, diplomacy was quite a new experience to the feudal officers, who put their full confidence upon Western nations, and without any alteration accepted every article of the treaty presented from the foreign governments. According to this treaty we are in a very disadvantageous situation; and amongst the others there are two prominent articles which deprive us of our rights and advantages. One is the exterritoriality of western nations in Japan, by which all cases in regard to right, whether of property or person, arising between the subjects of western nations in my country, as well as between them and the Japanese, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the authorities of the western nations. Another regards the tariff, which, with the exception of five per cent *ad valorem*, we have no right to impose where it might properly be done.

It is also stipulated that either of the contracting parties to this treaty, on giving one year's previous notice to the other, may demand a revision thereof, on or after the first of July, 1872. Therefore in 1871 our govern-

* Address on "Real Position of Japan towards Christianity," delivered at World's Parliament of Religions.

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ment demanded a revision; and since then we have been constantly requesting it, but foreign governments have simply ignored, making many excuses. One part of the treaty between the United States of America and Japan concerning the tariff was annulled, for which we thank, with sincere gratitude, the kind-hearted American nation; but I am sorry to say that as no European power has followed in the wake of America in this respect, our tariff right remains in the same condition as it was before.

We have no judicial power over foreigners in Japan, and as the natural consequence we are receiving injuries, legal and moral, the accounts of which are seen constantly in our native newspapers. As the western people live far from us, they do not know the exact circumstances. Probably they will hear now and then the reports from the missionaries and friends in Japan. I do not deny their reports being true; but if a person wants to obtain any unmistakable information in regard to his friend, he ought to hear the opinions about him from many sides. If you closely examine with your unbiased mind what injuries we receive you will be astonished. Among many kinds of wrongs, there are some which were utterly unknown before and entirely new to us heathen, none of whom will dare to speak of them even in private conversation.

It is perfectly right and just that we reject this whole treaty, because its term has already passed, and because it is the treaty negotiated and signed by the feudal *shogun* and his officers without the ratification of the emperor; but it is not desirable to injure the feeling of good friendship which now exists between Japan and the West. Would not the people of America and Europe think that they were trampled upon and their rights ignored, if they were denied the application of their judicial power over those cases which occur at home? Would not the western nations be indignant and consider that they were deprived of their independence, if they were compelled to renounce their rightful custom duty?

With the treaty issue plainly stated by such competent authorities of the Western and Eastern civilizations as Dr. David Murray and Mr. Hirai, we will now notice some cases cited by Japan to show how cruelly she suffers through being deprived of the right of trying those who commit crimes against her people. Those I summarize are furnished by Mrs. A. E. Cheney * as a few typical cases about the truth of which there is no question: —

1. It will be remembered that according to the treaties there is one article which Japan absolutely forbids being imported — opium; and yet, in the seventies, an Englishman, in open violation of the treaty, imported opium. The customs officers objected, but the offender succeeded in getting the forbidden poison into Japan. Suit was brought, but the Englishman was tried before an English officer named Wilkinson, who ruled that if the importer paid a duty on the forbidden article he might import it. Here a petty officer practically abrogated the treaty, or, rather,

* I desire to acknowledge here my indebtedness to Mrs. A. E. Cheney for much valuable information relating to this subject. I have also cited some illustrations elaborated in her able paper on "Japan and her Relation to Foreign Powers," ARENA, September, 1893. Mrs. Cheney, in addition to having made this question the subject of exhaustive study, has access to the representative journals and magazines of Japan, and is also intimately acquainted with Kinza M. Hirai, Kuichro Shimada and other Japanese scholars in this country.

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rode roughshod over it. In further speaking of this case Mrs. Cheney says: —

All the Japanese newspapers, including the Tokio *Times*, published by the foreigners, discussed this question of injustice severely, and the people scattered the papers containing these articles everywhere among the foreigners in Japan, hoping to perpetuate the memory of the outrage done to their country. The English parliament did not close their eyes to this question; and Max Stewart, a member of the lower house, asked if it were true that the English judge admitted the importations of opium in spite of the treaty, and also what the English government would do to justify itself. The English government could not give a satisfactory answer, and evaded the question, saying that no official information had yet reached it.

Let us suppose that some heathen nation had thus violated a solemn treaty, would England or our republic have permitted the wrong to pass unrighted? And because Japan is weaker than Britain, is it not all the more reason why this great Christian power should have investigated the crime and brought the offender to justice? This, more than a thousand missionaries, would have predisposed Japan to regard Christianity in a kindly way, for it would have been a practical demonstration of the ethical truth upon which Jesus reared His religion of life.

(2) One night in 1892 an English vessel, disregarding the marine law, sailed forth without ship lights. It ran into a new Japanese man-of-war which was entering the Inland Sea. The latter vessel sank almost instantly, most of her crew being drowned. The captain with difficulty saved himself, by means of a rope thrown him from the English vessel. He informed the ship's officers that he was the captain of the sunken man-of-war, whereupon, instead of receiving kindness, he was placed in the third cabin and brutally neglected. Japan brought a suit with the usual result — she lost her case. We all of us know, if we are candid with ourselves, that the masterful Anglo-Saxon race is not over-sensitive when dealing with those whose skin is of a different hue from our own. The story of the American Indian, the history of negro slavery, the annals of East Indian conquest — all lend color to the awful indictment of injustice which Japan is ready to bring up with full specifications when the great Christian powers will consent to give ear to her petitions for simple equity.

(3) In citing individual cases Mrs. Cheney refers to one too horrible to relate, regarding the treatment of a Japanese woman, a crime before the enormity of which the healthy imagination sickens. And yet, she adds, the perpetrator of the deed remains unpunished. We are further informed that it is no uncommon thing for bands of sailors and other rough characters among the foreigners to go to the public bathing houses on pretence of

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bathing, and when there "they forcibly break into the women's department and attempt to outrage the female bathers, yet from this horrible indignity Japan gets no protection."

(4) Here is an important case. An American procuress went to Japan. She landed at Yokohama and began her nefarious traffic in vice. Soon, one by one, the fairest daughters in many of the most highly respectable families disappeared. About fifty girls thus dropped from sight. Evidence which seemed absolutely conclusive was accumulated. Even Japan expected that the woman would receive punishment, "but," says Mrs. Cheney, "judicial power being in the hands of foreigners this procuress has lived safely in Japan over five years." It would seem that the procuress had as much influence with the American officers before whom she was tried as some of the proprietors of houses of evil fame have over the police in some of our great cities.

That we may better understand the feelings of the Japanese, let us suppose that China discovered the secret of aërial navigation, and also that her chemists succeeded in manufacturing dynamite and other combustibles far more deadly than anything known to our civilization; that, using our treatment of her people as an excuse, she invaded our republic with her aërial fleets, destroying our cities and devastating our plains, until our people, prostrate and overpowered, cried for terms. Then let us suppose that China declared that at best we were barbarians, only a few centuries removed from savagery, and that it was evident her citizens could not receive justice from our courts, hence all grievances against Chinese or alleged crimes committed by Chinese, must be tried by the Chinese consular agents, at least for a term of fifteen years. (1) Now let us suppose that our treaty provided that a certain poison, which was destructive alike to physical life and moral vigor, was, contrary to the express terms of this very treaty, imported by a Chinaman, who found that by so doing he could become immensely rich; suppose that we demanded redress for this clear violation of the solemn treaty, but that instead of receiving justice we were met by a venal or brutal Chinese judge who ruled that if a duty was paid the *prohibited* article could be imported in violation of the treaty, would not all our people smart under this crime committed by a government more powerful than ours, and would such action predispose us to favor the religion of such a civilization. (2) Suppose during this time Chinese sailors who thronged our docks were in the habit of making raids upon our Turkish bath houses during ladies' hours in order to outrage the persons of the bathers, and we failed to secure justice or even protection from the danger of future crimes of the same foul character. (3) Again, suppose during this period many of the fairest, purest and most guileless of our

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girls and young women one by one disappeared, and upon investigation it was found that there was an immense amount of convincing evidence that they had fallen the victims of a Chinese procuress who was growing rich through her nefarious business, while her victims were probably being subjected to the most horrible indignities as instruments for the brutal, bestial gratification of Chinese travellers and sailors; and when we had secured evidence which would readily convict the offender in our own courts, let us suppose the Chinese officer before whom the case was tried so managed it that his countrywoman not only escaped but continued her life in our midst. I say let us for a moment imagine these crimes and indignities being forced upon us, and then let us imagine that when the time had elapsed for a revision of the treaty, China stolidly refused to accede to the pledge she had made and ignored our demand; let us place ourselves in the position of patient, long-suffering Japan, and ask how we would feel under such treatment, remembering at the same time that since 1872 Japan has asked in vain for simple justice.

II.

In view of these facts, the reader will be interested in a brief survey of the present political situation in Japan, where the one burning, all-absorbing question is that of treaty revision.

There are in Japan at the present time five important political bodies,* known as the Liberal Party, the Union Club, the Progressive Party, the National Association, the Doshi Club. These parties, however, may be grouped into two divisions, especially when considering the question of national policy relating to treaty revision. The Liberal Party and the Union Club advocate a wise, friendly and enlightened policy along the lines of universal brotherhood. They represent the spirit of altruism and progress, although they are no less intensely patriotic than their opponents; nor do they feel less keenly the injustice their nation is suffering through the indifference of the great Christian powers than do their opponents. The other three political bodies are reactionary in their policy and favor retaliation on the part of Japan.

In order to bring clearly before the reader's mind the relative positions held by the opposing parties, I give below the manifesto of the Liberal party: —

We are obliged to publish this manifesto to give light to blind politicians who make others blind.

To open inland to foreigners revising the treaty is one of the objects of our party.

* I am indebted to Mr. Kuichro Shimada, a scholarly Japanese gentleman, who through Mrs. Cheney kindly furnished the *data*, facts and manifesto given in this portion of this paper.

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So long as our country has intercourse with other countries she must take up the law of international intercourse.

Every nation has three great prerogatives. They are self-government, independence and equality. These rights ought never to be abolished by any people.

Our present treaty was made in feudal times and, not being a complete one, ought to be revised. Its most objectionable article stipulates that our government cannot punish any foreigner who lives in the limited settlements. This is a great detriment to Japan. Our present treaty should have been revised twenty-two years ago, according to agreement, but owing to many objections it still remains unchanged.

The foreign ministers' revised treaty bills were always opposed by our party, and were laid aside because they ignored the independent rights of Japan.

At that time there was no objectionable word about foreigners living inland. The treaty between Japan and Mexico allows the Mexican to live inland. No objection was made to it, while at present in many districts there are foolish people who oppose our steps without knowing what a treaty is.

However, we have settled public opinion about treaty revision, our bill passing through the parliament last year. Our hope now is that our government will adopt it and work as it commands.

The three great points are as follows: (1) Let foreigners follow our laws as they do in other countries. (2) Let us hold the power of the custom house. (3) Let them stop the shore trade.

Out of these points we make the following articles: —

1. We allow foreigners to live inland — excepting in some parts of Hokkaido and Okinawa and other islands.

2. We do not allow foreigners to become owners of land, mines, railways, canals, ships and dockyards.

3. We will give no monopolizing power to any country unless we get the same reward as other nations would receive for like service.

4. Such reciprocal rights as are given by other countries to each other by virtue of treaty, must be received by and conceded by our country.

5. The first and second of the above articles may be made according to the convenience of Japan, but the third and fourth articles are the basis of treaty equality between nation and nation.

We ought to determine to abrogate our present treaty at any time, if objection is made by any nation to the revision. The great weakness of Japan is her hesitation. We must arouse public opinion and agitate the subject until something is accomplished.

Our opponents have made seven objections to mixed living, as follows: — (1) Ours will be lower than the other races. (2) Our land will become others'. (3) Our interest in arts will be taken away from us. (4) Our commerce will become others'. (5) Our religion will be destroyed. (6) Our holy customs will be degraded. (7) At last our governmental power will be captured by foreigners.

The Liberal party argue against these seven articles.

The Progressive Party, the National Association and the Doshi Club represent the Conservatives. They are the Tories or Bourbons of Japan, and are the legitimate successors of the party known as the *Jo-i*, which, in the fifties, advocated the expelling of all the "barbarians." Of course the Progressives and their associates do not advocate expulsion, but they do not favor extending any further privileges, while they would resort to re-

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taliatory measures, which they believe would force the Western powers to lend an ear. They urge that all the requirements of the treaty which Japan has a right to enforce, but which have largely been ignored, owing to the friendship felt by her for the Western world and the natural kindliness of spirit among her people, be enforced with the utmost rigor. This, they urge, would make the country a wearisome place for foreigners. For example, the treaty sets apart certain quarters for foreigners, and within these narrow limits the foreigners are required to dwell. But this has been largely evaded, and, in fact, Japan has been very lenient in compelling the fulfilment of various provisions of the treaty which would put the foreigners to inconvenience or cause annoyance to travellers. In regard to the last class, for instance, the treaty requires all travellers to have their passports renewed every thirty days, a requirement which is practically obsolete. Thus, in many ways, the strict provisions of the treaty, which if enforced would become the source of great injury, vexation and trouble to foreigners, whether inhabitants or travellers, have been ignored by the Japanese. The reactionary party would so rigorously enforce the letter of the treaty as to compel the foreigners to leave or cry out for revision that they might remain with comfort and profit.

It is very doubtful whether the policy of the Progressives would succeed. Indeed, it is most probable that it would result in so prejudicing the great powers that the little empire would not secure such favorable terms as would follow the complete triumph of the Liberals. But while questioning their wisdom, we can easily understand how such a sentiment and such a theory have grown in the minds of a large number of the Japanese as a legitimate result of their long-borne injustice.

The restrictions demanded by the Liberals in their manifesto are interesting and suggestive. They show wise forethought and a comprehensive grasp of things which relate to the future welfare, prosperity and glory of Japan. They insist that the *land and the natural monopolies, which properly belong to the state or the whole people, shall not pass into the hands of foreigners.* This is a provision as wise as it is just. We in this country are beginning to see the result of having permitted vast tracts of our fertile plains to pass into the ownership of foreign capitalists who are drawing from our nation rich returns upon property which our people are rendering more and more valuable each year. Moreover, the natural monopolies should be the property of the state, owned and controlled by the state for the benefit of the whole people. Had our countrymen recognized this important fact and early acted upon it, we should not to-day find our nation menaced by an arrogant and unscrupulous plutocracy and confronted by

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the tragic spectacle of honest industry begging for an opportunity to earn a livelihood on a portion of the earth marvellously favored by nature, and in a nation rich beyond compare in money's worth.

III.

We now come to notice this question as it relates to the United States. (1) The demand of Japan is merely a demand that we keep our pledge — *to ignore it is to dishonor our flag.* (2) Her demand is *just.* This I think will be admitted by all broad-minded men and women who are great enough to rise above unreasoning bigotry, fanaticism and narrow prejudice, and whose knowledge of the situation is sufficient to render them competent to judge intelligently of the matter. (3) To promptly recognize her petitions would be manifestly *wise* as well as just. The Japanese cherish a warmer feeling for our people than for any other nation, and it is the part of wisdom for us to cultivate and encourage this kindly feeling. The commerce of Japan should be welcomed to our harbors and our ships should supply the land of the mikado with those things she desires from the Western world.

Her civilization is essentially unlike ours, hence we each have much to gain from the other. Only ignorant or pitifully bigoted people to-day imagine Japan to be uncivilized. It is a land in which education is compulsory; a land of colleges, private and public schools. It is a land of art — quaint and unique to us, but perhaps our art impresses them in much the same way. In ethics as well as manners and general exhibitions of refinement, her people frequently put Christians to the blush. The Japanese are a patient, long-suffering people, and few nations have a keener sense of right and justice than the dwellers in this little oasis of progress in the far East. Moreover, they have shown a willingness, nay, rather an eagerness, to adopt whatever the Western civilization could offer which was higher, better or more helpful than that which they possessed. Therefore it will be wise as well as just and honorable for the republic to recognize the rights of Japan without further delay.

Then, again, it is specially fitting that the nation which compelled Japan to open her ports to the world — the nation that negotiated the treaty about which there is so much feeling — should boldly take the initiative in the matter. Even if we descend from the plane of statesmanship and set aside all considerations of national honor, justice and far-sighted wisdom, and look at the problem as politicians, allowing ourselves to be governed entirely by expediency, still it would be manifestly the proper thing for our government, by promptly taking the lead in the

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matter, further to cement the affection of Japan to the republic and make future, reciprocal favors still easier for us. We need Japan, she needs us, and it would be unfortunate for the United States if she should permit England to take the lead in this affair. It would be a commercial loss to us as well as a palpable demonstration to Japan that this Christian republic of the New World was not great enough to be wise or high-minded enough to be just.

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THE BABIES IN THE STREET.

BY MARTHA FOOTE CROW.

HAD Thy quick ear, O God, to earth been turned,
  Above the psalm intoned and pealing bells,
Thou hadst a soft, pervasive wail discerned; —
  It is the babies, God, the babies sweet,
    Dying upon the street!

Their eyelids lift, and looking up they see
  Thy steadfast stars that sing of steadfast law;
Their eyelids fall, the stars of destiny
  Never again those wondering eyes will meet,
    A-fading in the street.

Because Thou couldst no better token find
  To show Thy heart, Thou didst by mother-love
Our love entreat. Deep-bosomed rest enshrined
  In arms of mothers clasped unfailingly
    Should Thy dear comfort be.

But mother-love has failed, and mothers thrust
  Their babes out in the night and leave them there.
Should their love fail, Thou saidst, Thine we should trust;
  Yet on the babies' heads the cold rains beat,
    Dying upon the street.

Virtue of women, choice commodity,
  Buys gewgaws, sense delight and eye-flash power, —
With breath of babes that did not ask to be,
  Soft breath of babes that know nor fear nor strife,
    Yet have not asked for life!

Virtue of women, fate's most cherished pledge,
  Forfeit to grinding greed, pawn of despair, —
This dainty morsel dulls starvation's edge,
  Poured out with tender life in rain and sleet
    To melt upon the street.

Yet let the tender life sink down to death,
  Like water spilt and lost. 'Tis better so.
And do thou treasure, God, the babies' breath,
  If thou hast built among thy realms of bliss
    A treasure house for this!

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Far better thus. Let them not live to see
  Their mother's shame dovetail the ancient scheme
Of human life, her pang its blood-stained key —
  Yet oh! to see them lying there so sweet,
    Dying upon the street!

If but their veritable fathers saw
  Them there, the gutter-cradled ones! — their wrap
Undainty paper soiled and whipped, the raw
  Night breezes knifing their soft feet,
    In foulness of the street.

Where are Thy men that boldly stand and say
  The unquivering word, hurl it in devil's teeth?
No child of theirs rots out its little day
  In slime of slums? Cut through their lethargy,
    And bring them here to see.

Send down Thy ladies fair, reposeful, clean —
  Half-sisters only to the forfeit clan —
Let madam on the velvet cushion lean
  And glimpse between the wheels familiar eyes.
    God pity her surprise!

Send down Thy champions, prosperous and well-fed,
  That never knew the watering of the lips
At hunger's pinch, the spasm at sight of bread;
  And while to peace the babies' breathings sink,
    Let them stand by and think!

And send Thy troops of pitying angels; such
  Alone will cherish these poor children, these
Whose blue and stiffening lips the blissful touch
  Of human mother's breast shall never meet,
    Dying upon the street.

Angels, for all their tears, can never right
  The wrong done to these unreplying babes;
Yet let them weep until their grief shall smite
  Hard hearts that leave the babies there so sweet
    To die upon the street.

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THE CRUSADE OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

BY HENRY FRANK.

An irresistible tide of moral and reformatory thought is sweeping over all the lands of Christendom. The cry of the poor and downtrodden, out of the depths of social iniquity, is at last heard even by the unwilling ears of potentates and prelates.

But it has required years and years of agitative thought to arouse even the slightest ripple on the surface of popular interest. The abodes of the "submerged tenth," the condition of the white slaves of society, the unabashed and boastful tyranny of the legalized slave-masters of the world — the money changers, landlords, rent rakers and interest mongers — these were subjects, which to mention on the highways would have caused the speaker to be decorated with a shower of eggs; and to even whisper in the pulpit would have dashed the pews into paroxysms of hysteria, called forth indignation meetings, and eventuated in the final banishment of the usurpatious pastor as a heretic damned from the beginning of the world.

How changed are all these conditions in the short space of ten years. It almost approaches absurdity, to-day, to regard a preacher of the single tax as a religious heretic. Yet the first intimation of my own approaching and unceremoniously condemned heresy, while pastor of a large and conservative church, within the period of the last decade, was created by the publication over my own signature of a few papers in explanation and praise of this now most innocent, but "devoutly to be wished for," economic reform. But to-day the whole world is aroused to the real condition which exists in our distorted social relations.

At one time it was thought that some of our thoroughly civilized and ultra-cultured civic centres, such as Boston, were devoid of extreme cases of destitution, and that in such centres the presence of the agitator and economic reformer was uncalled for. There the profoundly relieved pulpiteers might, with impunity, indulge their luxuriant visions of the heavenly abodes of the blessed, "saved by the blood of the Lamb," for they discerned none on earth whose feet were incarnadined in the wine press of human suffering and privation. But "Civilization's Inferno," like a sudden blast of thunder out of a clear sky, speedily shook them from their perches of ease and disclosed to their astounded

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eyes horrible scenes of poverty and squalor writhing under the very shadows of their sacred steeples!

There is no longer any excuse for ignorance of the curseful and unwarrantable condition of the oppressed masses. That pulpit which is to-day silent though ignorance, is criminally silent. That minister who seals his lips, while he hears, to his dismay, the pitiful cries of the famished and the fainting, or who apologetically mumbles a few platitudes about charity, while *justice is outraged*, is but worthy of the scorn of all sincere followers of the humble Galilean, and unworthy of the nervous grasp of the bony hands of starving multitudes clutching at his garments imploring his aid for their relief! If the rich pews of our fashionable churches cannot comfortably endure the pleadings of a preacher who, discerning the social inequalities and consequent injustice prevalent in our present civic system, dares utter his convictions and hurl the truths home to their hardened hearts, then the people will erect a pulpit for him and congregate in throngs to hear and uphold him.

Such are the marked changes in the present world of thought wrought during a single decade. And what wonder! Do we not now all know that annually thousands of poor families are evicted from their homes because of their inability to appease the rent raker; that the broad, blossoming and fruitful prairies of this, the richest land under the heavens, are literally covered with a blanket of mortgages whose aggregate runs into the millions; that with money enough in our national coffers and in the safety vaults and banks of private citizens, properly utilized, to give employment at a fair wage to all, still factories and shops are everywhere shut down, looms are silenced and bread is withheld from the mouths of idle toilers; that consequently four million able-bodied workmen are thrown out of employment, many of whom are now wandering in hordes across the continent, begging for bread and work, with mutterings of coming storms upon their lips; that every day the rich are growing richer, the poor poorer; that in spite of adverse laws and public protestations, octupi in the form of trusts and combines are every year growing huger and more threatening; that millions of our richest acres have been recklessly thrown away to avaricious corporations out of which they are extracting enormous profits from poor settlers in the form of extortionate rents or speculative prices; that millions of acres are also irreclaimably in the hands of hireling aliens who tighten their grasp as the cry of poverty grows more piercing; that, with their babes starving at the breasts of half-dead mothers, strong men, frantic with horror, are begging fruitlessly for labor; that bread-stuffs are so reduced in price that the producer can scarcely afford to continue their

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cultivation; that the body politic of our own country and of the entire world is in a state of paralysis, simply because there is not a sufficiency of the life fluid of commerce — money — flowing through its flaccid veins; and that, despite these fearful conditions — feverish invitations to a bloody revolution — the monstrous Shylocks who control our legislators and own our government will not allow even such legislation as will temporarily alleviate the sufferings of the age; that our chief magistrate himself pleads the cause of the prince more eloquently than that of the pauper, and asseverates that the pauper can find relief only by yielding more privileges to the prince; that if he will still further sell himself into slavery by giving the prince more bonds at an infinitesimal interest, on which he may issue more money at extortionate and usurious rates, the pauper may hope for mercy.

Are not these facts, I say, patent to all? Therefore the masses are praying for the advent of a political Moses who will lead them out of this wilderness of destitution and distress. It is, then, a very significant and suggestive circumstance that at such a critical juncture there should suddenly spring up one of the most mysterious and general movements of the age. For whether the marching of an army of unemployed from all sections of the country, with Washington, D. C., as the objective rendezvous, be regarded seriously or as a huge joke, nevertheless none can deny that the feeling of the masses back of this movement and their heroic efforts and fixed purpose cannot be regarded with indifference or disdain.

For the last few months the destitute condition of the unemployed has been a subject of intense interest to the entire nation, and has called forth universal expressions of sympathy. Every town and city in the land, every benevolent association, and many of the churches have exerted their utmost energies for the relief of these unfortunates. Nevertheless such relief has been necessarily but transient and desultory, and the great mass of the unemployed has not only not diminished in numbers, but has, on the contrary, grown to such amazing proportions as to create a feeling of mingled terror and pity in the breasts of all who realize the situation. Vast quantities of provisions have been distributed among them. One great New York daily (the *World*) gave away over one million loaves of bread, while another (the *Herald*) distributed thousands of dollars' worth of clothing to the deserving. Many cities established temporary relief works, and for a period gave employment to hosts of men. All this was of course good in its way, but it effected nothing as to the final solution of the problem of the unemployed. After a brief period the provisions were exhausted, the means of chari-

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table institutions were overstrained, work ceased upon the public highways, and the hordes of downcast toilers were again turned loose to meet what fate might overtake them.

Deep and terrible mutterings of despair arose on all hands. Multitudes of hungry men, without the wherewithal to sustain themselves or their families, wandering around the streets of our cities and over our broad prairies, seemed the surest possible forerunner of the long prophesied revolution. Without dispute we are to-day resting on the crater of an inactive volcano. If the fumes and flames which have long been smouldering beneath the surface are not soon afforded peaceable relief, it cannot be doubted that they will ultimately force their way out of their suffocating depths and leave havoc and desolation in their path.

To me, therefore, it seems very significant that at such a juncture there should be organized an "Army of *Peace*," or "Army of the Commonweal," or "Industrial Army," whose avowed purpose is the discovery of a path out of the wilderness and a solution of the social problems free from the shedding of blood.

But it is asked, "Who is mobilizing the army?" simply to reply, "A band of hypocritical and dishonest agitators." This may be true or false; I cannot speak advisedly. I observe that many of the reform periodicals, as well as the subsidized press, speak very prejudicially of some of the leaders and with apparent facts to sustain them. But the misfortune of leadership (if such it be) does not affect the merits of the movement or necessarily characterize it. The masses who are thronging to this "army" are earnest, serious, sincere but despairing workmen, many of whom on the Pacific coast I personally interviewed. They believe, whether their leadership prove true or false, that they will successfully reach the nation's capitol, and if they do, they believe that the congressmen who represent them will not dare to refuse them legislative relief. While they may be mistaken in their methods and judgment, still we cannot deny them our sympathy, however much we may question their wisdom.

In Los Angeles, Cal., I delivered a lecture in a large hall on Sunday morning. Among the multitude of people who came to listen to a discussion of social and religious problems, I observed to my amazement several companies of the recently organized "Industrial Army." They marched through the streets of the city, in front of many of the churches, with emblematic ensigns flying, five hundred strong, and as they filed into the hall and quietly took their seats they were greeted with thunderous applause. I noticed that my most attentive and appreciative listeners were these some sallow-faced and sad-hearted unemployed.

I very earnestly interviewed "General" Louis Fry, who has

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since marched seven hundred men from California, and at this writing has successfully carried them as far as Missouri, with the desertion of scarcely a man. I publicly asserted my opposition to his scheme on prudential grounds. Therefore I keenly catechized him. But I soon saw he was both earnest and intelligent, and I also soon learned that the purpose of the "army" was wholly peaceful, and no thought of insurrection or depredation was entertained.

The following question was sternly put to him: "If you succeed in assembling an army as you hope to, what action will you take provided the government interposes and prevents your progress?

Quick as a flash came the eloquent response, "Lay down as prisoners of war and demand that the government provide for us." This really ingenious and pitiful reply brought tears to many eyes and a response of approving applause.

That the readers of THE ARENA may have a correct understanding of the exact purpose of this uprising I will quote the following from their published "Preamble and Constitution":—

Why is it that those who produce food are hungry? Why is it that those who make clothes are ragged? Why is it that those who build palaces are houseless? Why is it that those who do the nation's work are forced to choose between beggary, crime or suicide, in a nation that has fertile soil enough to produce plenty to feed and clothe the world; material enough to build palaces to house them all; and productive capacity, through labor saving machinery, of forty thousand million manpower, and only sixty-five million souls to feed, clothe and shelter?

Recognizing the fact that if we wish to escape the doom of past civilizations something must be done and done quickly:

Therefore we, as patriotic citizens, have organized ourselves into an Industrial Army, for the purpose of centralizing all the unemployed American citizens at the seat of government (Washington, D. C.), and tender our services to feed, clothe and shelter the nation's needy; and to accomplish this end we make the following demands: First, government employment for all her unemployed citizens; second, the prohibition of foreign immigration for ten years; third, that no alien be allowed to own real estate in the United States.

It cannot be denied that these men know what they desire, however ungrammatically their leaders may express themselves. Their discipline is almost as perfect as that of a military army. The following is the obligation they assume on signing the muster roll:—

I have sworn to support the constitution of the United States and the Industrial Army.

To obey all lawful orders that may be said, sent or handed to me by those authorized to do so.

To render cheerful support and assistance to all officers and comrades of the Army.

To never violate any law of the United States or such state or territory in which I may be, or aid or abet any riotous conduct.

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To respect the right of property and law and order.

To never act in any manner to bring discredit upon the Industrial Army or the United States.

Aware, as I am, of the strict and severe discipline which prevails in the army, I am amused as well as disgusted by the press despatches which narrate the depredation perpetrated by some of its members. We may be prepared for all manner of falsehoods from the capitalistic classes relative to these wretched men. The subsidized press is doing all in its power to spread prejudice and disaffection toward the army among the people of the country.

I have run down every rumor I have heard so far and have found it to be absolutely false. Some reporters on the San Francisco papers asserted that members of the army were consorting with dynamiters and anarchists in a dingy hall on Mission Street. I visited the men in that hall, addressed a large mass of them packed solidly together in a poorly ventilated room; and I wish to call the attention of the public to the fact that though I am very sensitive to the rank odor of whiskey and beer, I detected not the slightest whiff of this offence either in the atmosphere of the room or on the breaths of the individuals. Be this said to their honor. As for anarchism, a certain reckless speaker followed me and mouthed very objectionable and insurrectionary utterances, but he was immediately reprimanded for his pains. I saw several hundred of them march through the streets of San Francisco to-day, beginning their long, dreary journey to Washington, and a more orderly and peaceable company of men or a more heart-piercing spectacle I have not witnessed since I used to watch the sad prisoners of war march through the streets of Chicago into old Camp Douglas.

The die is cast. In despair these wretched men are crossing the Rubicon. What the upshot will be only history can record. But woe to him who seeks to hurl a firebrand into their midst! Woe to him who seeks to stir these into insurrection with the hope of injuring their cause! Woe to him who laughs these earnest men to scorn, for he laughs best who laughs last, and the idle laugh may be turned into an endless moan.

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HOW THEY "BOOMED" THE ELGIN STREET CHURCH.

BY A. R. CARMAN.

"Now, I'll tell you," said Charles James Osborne, coming down from his reflective attitude — in which he nursed the ankle of his right leg on the knee of the other — to a confidential stoop with feet planted well apart, his elbows resting on his knees and his hands forming what would have been a parallelogram if his thumbs had only been as long as his fingers. "I tell you, Mossop, what our church needs is a 'boom'."

Mossop, who never melted into the confidential, turned slightly toward him and smiled in the stiff wrinkles about his eyes — but not in the eyes themselves — as one who would say, "If there is any sense underlying that joke, let us have it."

"Yes," went on Osborne, now including the listening group with a sweep of his specially confidential eyes, "that church of ours wants a 'boom'. It's a good property. It's really not far from the residence part of the city — Nelson Avenue is an artery flowing right down to its door — a beautifully paved drive. It's large and roomy. And yet" (straightening back in his chair again) "there's hardly a lot — I mean, hardly a pew taken."

"Well, let's 'boom' 'er, then," said Perkins, with an enthusiastic tone and a laugh that went as suddenly as it came. "We're the men to do it."

"Yes," agreed Mossop in a quiet, unthawed tone, "though I fear that the deacons would not like to hear the word 'boom' applied to the church."

The three other men who were present smiled assent to this observation.

This group of four were the "solid business men" — as the phrase went — of the Elgin Street Church. They were the members of the managing body who usually "financed" the affairs of the congregation and who had accordingly great weight in its councils. Among themselves they were in the habit of referring to the other managers as the "deacons"; not from any lack of respect for their undenied religious qualities, but simply to express the impression that lurked in their minds, half pity and half commendation, of the lack of worldly shrewdness on the

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part of these men. The four — Osborne, Mossop, Perkins and Livingston — were successful city men who had made a good deal of money, mainly by lucky speculation. Charles James Osborne had been for years a real estate dealer and nothing else, and was found at the head of many an enterprise for the bettering of special localities in the suburbs. Mossop was a more dignified and impressive speculator, having got on his feet, it was understood, by buying and selling a branch railway; though since then he had certainly widened the territory that these feet could press very much by putting through "deals" in real estate. Perkins was another land trader with a penchant for municipal politics — had been alderman for a term or two; and Livingston was a silent individual who was much about the stock exchange and the grain market.

* * * * *

As a result of many councils growing out of the above chat, the Elgin Street Church was finally "boomed." The "deacons" were ready and anxious for any proper scheme that would attract the worldly to the sanctuary and extend its sphere of usefulness; and the proposal of the quartette was simply that they should strengthen the choir, bring on a noted preacher who should be easily the best in the town, and do a little judicious advertising. But all this would require a good deal more money than could be got by ordinary means out of the congregation. A subscription paper was started, but it came back to the "four" with a tremendous disproportion between the new autographs and the new dollars it had collected. Penmanship and penury seemed to go together among the "brethren."

Finally Mossop, as being the most sanctified talker of the quartette, was put up to propose a scheme to the board by which the "four" would assume all financial responsibility.

"We believe," said Mossop to the deacons, "that an exercise of a faith in God is all that is required to make this church a power in Israel. That belief has reached our pocket-books. But of course, we cannot afford to subscribe and wholly give to you so large a share of the money needed as now remains after the other members of the congregation have done their best. But, as I say, we believe that the money will come back again. So a few of us to whom God has given business prosperity are willing to devote what business talent we may have to this church for, say, two years; we to have absolute financial control of it, taking all receipts and paying all expenses. At the end of the two years, we would hope to deliver back to your care a prosperous, self-sustaining church."

"Well," heartily ejaculated Benjamin Wilson, one of the leading "deacons," turning his big, beaming, bewrinkled face

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toward his colleagues, "they ain't a-going to get rich out of it, anyhow. I say it's a generous offer."

But there were doubtful smiles in the room.

"How are you going to pay yourselves in two years?" asked one mild-eyed little gentleman with a touch of the scholarly in his face.

"Oh! we shan't care to be wholly repaid, of course," returned Mr. Mossop, dodging the question.

"If you men don't like this scheme," pushed in Osborne, who feared the thoughtful doubt that was spreading over the group, "then double — no, quadruple your subscriptions, or I'll vote to close the doors. I don't fancy a lingering death."

"Tush, Osborne! they'd be crazy to refuse it," remonstrated Perkins in a very audible "aside."

The dilemma put so brutally by Osborne did its work, and the scheme was ratified. The "four" exacted from the deacons, however, a pledge of secrecy for the time, reminding them that we are commanded to be as wise as serpents as well as harmless as doves, urging that it would not do to lose the successful shepherd they had in view through an overboastfulness, which might stir up unworthy feelings in the city, and induce some other church to offer him more than they could risk.

"There is no use of our being fools, just because we are Christians," said Osborne on this point to his three fellows. "If I wanted to put some new suburban property on the market, I wouldn't plump the whole blessed farm right down on the public without warning. I'd begin to educate public opinion up to it, and never mention my farm till people were inquiring for it. Now I venture the assertion that two-thirds of the people of this city know very little of Dr. Harrison. We must have the babies crying for him before we put him in the market."

Consequently little anecdotes began to appear in the city newspapers, reflecting incidentally the notorious fame of Dr. Harrison, who, it will be guessed, was the secret "hope" of the syndicate; and as a climax, he was brought to preach anniversary sermons at the Elgin Street Church, crowding the edifice to suffocation. His popularity in the town proved to be beyond all conjecture, and it was plain that the syndicate had but to secure him as a pastor to fill the church. This was done; and the public learned of it through the following "news item," the joint product of the "four": —

REV. DR. HARRISON SECURED.

That small section of the public which were able to obtain entrance to the Elgin Street Church on the occasion of its late successful anniversary, and which therefore had the pleasure of hearing the Rev. Dr. Harrison, will be delighted to learn that he has accepted a "call" to fill that pulpit permanently. Of his eloquence there is no occasion to

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speak, the story of his success having preceded him here. People will ask themselves, "Why hear inferior sermons elsewhere when the best is to be had at the Elgin Street Church?" [This sentence was Perkins' contribution.] All seats free for the month of October. The choir has been strengthened by the addition of Miss Marie Sunshine, soprano, and Mr. Bandini, baritone. Several lines of street cars pass the door.

* * * * *

"I s'pose I keep my old pew," said "Deacon" Wilson, dropping in on Osborne, the secretary of the syndicate, a day or two later.

"No pews have been allotted yet, Mr. Wilson," returned Osborne. "We shall have to ask pretty stiff pew rent, you know."

"I s'pose, I s'pose," returned the old man with pretty well hidden consternation; and then, after a moment, burst out almost defiantly, "Well, what'll my old seat be? The missus and me has sat there for about forty year now, and I guess we've got to have it."

Osborne was writing and did not look up to reply at once.

The old, wrinkled face let a startled look escape to the surface for a moment, but mastered it at once by putting on a pathetically exaggerated jaunty air: "Yes, as my boy used to say," he went on in a higher key, "they come high, but we must have 'em. Yes," (a forced chuckle) "they come high, but we must have 'em. They come — why don't you tell me how much?" he suddenly demanded fiercely, all his thinly assumed humor giving way before the flood of his anxiety.

"Because I can't tell you just yet," said Osborne, sticking his pen behind his ear and turning a little fretfully towards him. "The pews are all free now, you know. You can go and look over the — eh — you can go and see how you like the location, you know — you" — growing more nervous at every word.

"How I like the location?" from the astonished Wilson. "Why, I've sat there" —

"Yes, yes, I understand," broke in Osborne. "I didn't exactly mean that, you know. The fact is," getting up, coming to the counter and speaking very impressively, "we don't intend to rent pews until — eh — until — you understand — until we know their worth better."

A petrified stare of wonder from Wilson.

"Until," went on Osborne, "we know what the demand for them is going to be. Then we can set a price better, you see." A few tiny white beads of perspiration had gathered on his forehead as he talked, but the stupefied Wilson only stared.

"Why," gasped the latter, after a painfully long silence, grasping at a straw, "the board 'll help you fix the rent."

"No, the board won't," retorted Osborne quickly, and a little

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sharply, "we're the board now, you remember; and we've got to repay ourselves for our outlay out of the pew rents."

"And you don't know yet what rate is proper," said Wilson in helpless wonder.

"No, not yet," replied Osborne, with a return of more of his old manner. "we'll see how the public bite before we name a figure. But I say, Wilson," — confidentially — "if I were you, I'd sorter make up my mind to take a less — eh — salable pew. Your old one will bring a high price."

"I can pay it, I guess," said the old man, stiffening up. "You ain't a-going to auction 'em off?" he asked suspiciously, his shaggy brows coming together.

"We've decided on nothing as to method yet," returned Osborne uneasily and with a conciliating air. "I'll let you know at once as — "

"All right. Good-day," and with a rare dignity, the old gray-haired father in this suddenly popular church walked out of the door; but in his eyes there was more of misery and lurking fear than of dignity.

The story of this interview was very soon known to the "old guard" of the Elgin Street Church. Most of them, however, could not decide whether it was a piece of godly shrewdness on the part of divinely gifted brethren, or an invasion of worldly wisdom into the sanctuary. So they waited. But Henry Price, a man of some means and an old member, decided to get his pew at any cost, and went to Osborne to say that he would pay five dollars more than their top price to get it now.

"But," said Osborne, in an unguarded moment, "your pew is not in my district. Perkins has it, I think."

Perkins, when Mr. Price came to him, thought that Osborne must have told him the whole arrangement, and so was charmingly frank about it all.

"I'm sorry I can't give you a figure yet, Mr. Price," he gushed. "Why, the public are not half tickled up so far. Wait until Brother Harrison makes his speech at the Civic Reform meeting to-morrow night — I've been giving him some pointers, you know — and you won't be able to keep the populace off the ground. The rate'll go up a dollar a foot."

"What?" ejaculated Mr. Price, "a dollar a what?"

"Oh, there I go, thinking of land again," laughed Perkins. "Well, it's so very like it, you see. We four put a dummy value on each of the pews to commence with — the total to just reach the amount we needed to 'boom' the church; and then, as we chipped in our cash, we each picked out pews to equal our contribution, on the understanding that each man would look out for himself — get what he could for the pews, you know."

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This flood of light decided the "deacons." It was not godly shrewdness but worldly speculation. Indignation ran high, and they called a meeting.

* * * * *

The lecture hall of the church had seldom been so full or so electric with tense excitement. The "four" were there, sitting together at the right front, with a small gathering of new members behind them, mostly smooth-mannered business men. Through the quieting half hour during which the heterogeneous assemblage bubbled and simmered slowly down into the doubtful order of expectant silence, they individually had indignant little encounters with representative "deacons," when they talked of "agreements" and one's "word of honor" and "men who broke their most solemn pledges" and "legal rights" and the like. The "deacons" were flustered and confused and angry, and much given to telling each other of the enormity of "gambling in the very seats of God's house."

Dr. Harrison had been asked to take the chair and "see fair." At about 8.20 he walked leisurely upon the platform, and came to a stop opposite the table, garnished with a flowered cover, a glass pitcher of water and a goblet.

"My dearly beloved brethren," he said, and everybody ceased conferring with everybody else to listen. The sisters looked as if, at any rate, this good man would know what to do. The deacons were watchful, and the "boomers" quiet and confidential. The lithe fingers of the minister were passed through his wavy hair. His eyes grew sadder and more pathetic. "We are met here," his mellow voice went on presently, "under the most melancholy of circumstances. This church, to which I was so lately called of God to devote my humble and, I trust, my consecrated talents, is torn with dissension. The sheep are all scattered and at war with one another before they have so much as learned to know the voice of their new shepherd. What can I do?" and thus on with excuses for his position as a helpless spectator of the scene. The eager conferences over the seat-backs were renewed one by one; and there was quite a buzz to die down as he closed, pouring out his oily tones that had so little oleaginous moral force in them.

Then he studied the petition asking for the meeting, for a moment or two, through his glasses; and finally asked Brother Price, as the first signer, to explain its object.

"Brethren." And all eyes were turned to where the tall, commanding figure of Henry Price had risen, his stern eyes afire. "I have no need to tell the men of Elgin Street Church why this meeting has been convened. You are called together, on the responsibility of a few of us who learned an unholy secret, to

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rescue the house of God from the desecrating fingers of a syndicate of gamblers."

And the old man swung round to look the quartette fairly in the face.

"The pews of this consecrated edifice are at this time the subject of speculation," he went on. "That arch spirit of mischief" (his tremulous hand went up in a dramatic gesture) "that has risen from the pit for the entanglement of the people — that lust to reap where nothing has been sown — has forced the entrance of this house erected to the glory of an honest God. Here where the citadel of honest labor and an honest wage should stand, this demon of speculation has come — a demon that my brethren know full well has tempted many a trusted banker and confidential guardian of another's wealth to his ruin. Widows and orphans have been robbed at its instigation. Men cease to be honest producers that they may chase the prizes of sudden wealth it carries. And now" (dropping his voice) "not to delay you any longer — though a night of speech would not relieve my heart — we are called upon to decide whether or not this fiend shall find a home and a working headquarters in this church."

Deep "amens" told that Mr. Price had spoken for his brethren. There was a few moments' pause of almost absolute silence, and then a slight movement in the "boomer's" corner announced that Mr. Mossop was rising. He was as erect as the last speaker, but his eye was cold and searching — was, indeed, used in its proper function of conveying information to the mind, and not set ablaze with the unspeakable language of the heart. His voice was calm and of a deprecatory tone.

"Our esteemed Brother Price," he began, "has been very eloquent about the moral side of this transaction; but he has neglected to tell what he thinks of the morals of a body of men who would make a bargain, profit by it to the full, and then flatly refuse to carry out their side of it."

"Hear! hear!" put in Charles James Osborne, at the same time cocking his eye approvingly at the ceiling.

"This affair has been merely a plain, straightforward, business transaction," Mr. Mossop continued. "This church was in difficulties. We made it a proposition whereby we pledged ourselves to help it, providing a means, of course, by which we could partially repay our subscriptions. That proposition you accepted with open eyes" (waving his genteel hand toward the "deacons"). "None of you would have taken our end of it. None of you believed there was any chance of our recouping ourselves. Still that did not keep you from letting us in, if we were foolish enough to go. But we had faith — in the Lord, shall I say?"

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"No! no!" "Shame!" "Blasphemy!" came from the "deacons."

"Well, at all events," Mossop went imperturbably on, with a ghost of a smile on his lips, "we had faith in something and put up our money. We brought Dr. Harrison here." (That reverend gentleman looked a little less oily than usual, at being compared to an improved style of drainage or an asphalt pavement put down to "boom" the value of a suburb.) "We, in short, fulfilled our part of the contract, and now you eminently moral and honest men are met together to see whether or not you will repudiate yours." And the unruffled Mr. Mossop sat down, and Perkins remarked half audibly, "*That's* the kind of talk!"

None of the "deacons" seemed in a hurry to tackle the iceberg that had floated in amongst them; but presently earnest Benjamin Wilson got up, his gray hair distraught and his lips inclined to tremble: —

"I'm one of th' men thet made thet bargain" (there was a high nasal rasp in his tones), "and I never intended t' sell th' house of God for immoral purposes."

A ringing round of applause spoke the delight of the gathering at this reply, and the old man stood nodding his head emphatically over it for a full minute before he went on: —

"Why, ez things stands now, these men ken say who shall and who shall not worship God in this here church. I, myself, who has come here sence a boy, ken be barred out of thet door ef I'm too poor t' pay ez much for a pew ez some top-lofty folks from Greystone Aveynoo." ("That's true," in a high treble from Mrs. Wilson.) "A poor man turned out of God's house because he's too poor! No, never, while *I've* a vote here. I'll tell ye what we'll do. We'll take the church back agen, an' we'll hev a mission stoodent t' preach — and do without fire" ("Hear, hear") "before we'll hev it turned into a 'den of thieves.'"

He got got another round of applause, and then the strident tones of Osborne broke in: —

"Be careful, my friend. We're not thieves." Then taking advantage of the break, Osborne rose to his feet and continued: "There's no use talking nonsense about this thing. Speculation is not stealing. What would have built up this city and opened the new streets and paved them, and lined them with happy homes for poor and rich alike, if it hadn't been for an enterprising spirit among our people? That's what speculation does. And now I put it to you right here — you church members — how many of you will say that speculation is a bad thing?"

"I will," promptly retorted Henry Price.

"Oh! you're a crank," returned Osborne, "and anyway you've made your pile — and p'raps you never speculated in

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coffees and teas! But, come now! What do the rest of you say?"

"Well, Mr. Osborne, I'll tell you what I think," said a thoughtful looking man with business wrinkles about his eyes. "Speculation is all right in worldly matters. 'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's,' but to speculate in the privilege of finding a place in God's house is blasphemous."

"That's it," came pretty generally from the "deacons," "that's the point."

A young-faced, bright-eyed man, with a widened forehead, full, light hair and an argumentative voice, arose in the rear of the room and said, "I would like to ask the last gentleman who spoke a question."

"Very well, go on," said that person, kneeling half up in his pew.

"You think it wrong to speculate in the privilege of finding room in God's house?" The words came with impressive directness.

"Yes," assented the questioned party.

"Well, then," continued the questioner, "I would ask you: *Is this not God's earth?*"

As a gust of wind breaking upon a calm lake compels the surface to tell of its coming, so this new idea rippled across those speaking faces, one here and one there, that happily covered a mind high enough in the hills of thought to catch the passing air.

"I don't think we all quite understand you," came in mellifluous tones from the reverend chairman.

"I will try to make it plainer, then," the young man readily assented. "I may be wrong, but I believe that it is more important that a man shall live than that he shall attend church. You are complaining here that a few men have obtained possession of all the pews, and propose to make personal profit out of your necessity to worship here. You must come here to church, is the theory. You cannot come without their consent; therefore you must pay them what they ask — or stay outside. That is a great wrong, you think. It may result in preventing a poor member from coming to this church at all. A poor man shut out from the house of God because of his poverty! It is blasphemy to you — and rightly so.

"But" (and the speaker became more intensely earnest) "suppose this were the only church for you in the world, and you had to get in here or die spiritually, how immeasurably the wickedness of this speculation in the very means of spiritual life would be augmented! Outside and under us lies the earth. It is the only earth open to man. He must live on it or die. It is God's earth, given alike to all His sons and daughters. But yet

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— there as here — a few men have obtained control of it; make profit out of our necessity to dwell on it: and have the power to deny us the privilege of life."

"Nonsense," sneered Perkins.

"It is not nonsense," hotly rejoined the young man, now thoroughly aroused. "Men do die because they are denied access to land. The slums of our cities are murder traps where men, women and children, pitchforked together by other men who are holding land for speculative purposes, die every day for lack of pure air and sunlight. Speculation creates nothing. Speculation of every kind is gambling for values created by other means; but speculation in the basis of human life — betting that one's fellow-men will so sorely need a certain portion of the earth's surface that they must pay the gambler double what he risks on it — getting in the path of natural growth, and piling humanity back on itself until, overcrowded, asphyxiated, festering in filth and disease, it must pay your price — is the cruelest form of gambling yet born of hell. A game of cards for high stakes — ph! is a virtue beside it!"

Several brethren vied with each other for possession of the floor now, and the one who got it said: —

"I am sure no one imagines that we endorse the wild language to which we have just listened. We are not met here, at all events, to resolve ourselves into a community of cranks. I am as much opposed as any one to this putting of our church pews up, to be knocked down to the highest bidder. In spite of the whirlwind that has passed, I denounce this soiling of the church with the methods of the stock broker as immoral and blasphemous. But to call the element of chance that runs through most of our business life, gambling, is absurd and impracticable. I admire Brother Osborne for the way he has built up some portions of this city, but my — eh! — religious feelings are not to be kicked about the floor of an auction room; no matter how legitimate that institution may be in its proper place."

From this time the discussion followed these calmer and more reasonable lines — the young man in the rear had made appeal to lesser feelings than those he evoked all too cheap — and, before the gathering separated, this practical and common-sense view of the situation had brought forth its legitimate offspring, a compromise. A compromise, be it understood, is an arrangement by which both parties preserve the principles for which each contended, through some unimportant sacrifice of purely immaterial details.

As the meeting dispersed, Henry Price sought out the young firebrand at the back of the room, and they went out together.

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HIDDEN MUSIC.

BY ELIZA CALVERT HALL.

"A BLOTTED score," I said, and tossed it by.
But he, with reverent hand and meaning smile,
Lifted its pages to the instrument,
And o'er the ivory keys his fingers drew.
Ah, what a strain! My listening soul threw off
The heavy burden of her wild desires,
And memory hushed her sad, importunate song.
In the swift-flowing music's tide I flung
My baffled hopes and my ambitions vain,
As a child throws aside its withered flowers;
And sudden calm upon my spirit fell —
I bowed my head and dreamed of death and heaven.

O life of mine! Albeit thy weary years
Perplex me with their seeming emptiness;
Though good and ill, sharp joy and sharper grief,
Success and failure, discord, harmony,
Stand side by side in contradiction strange, —
A purer sight than mine perchance discerns
Some heavenly meaning in thy hopeless maze,
And, at the last, the Master's tender touch
May draw from thee a symphony divine.

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AWAKENED — A SOCIAL STUDY.

BY WALTER BLACKBURN HARTE.

It was about two o'clock in the morning, and bitterly cold. A drizzle of rain was falling, and the deserted, narrow, ill-lit streets, in the occasional grayness of the rain, looked spectral. Above and around the buildings loomed up, nebulous and grotesque in outline, like the vague horrors of a nightmare; a bunch of lights in far-away eastern and northern windows merged together in a sudden dull glow and disappeared, then reappeared, growing more and more distinct through the mist, until precipitately put out with a puff of wind and rain. The pendant gas lamps of the station, threw fantastic shadows across the wet platform, and occasionally their flickering yellow light was caught up in the dead windows in the immediate neighborhoods. The headlights, or suddenly opened furnaces, on shunting locomotives, flared up, staining the shadowy darkness of the north a momentary crimson or yellow; once or twice a down-town train rattled into the other side of the station, and in a clatter of cries and slammed doors glided out, to be swallowed almost at once in the black shadows rising palpably through the twilight of the rain and the street lights.

The switch car from the City Hall Station had just landed about half a dozen poor wretches of the night at the Chatham Square Junction. All looked poor, cold and worn; they were at a glance, journalists, concert hall artists, musicians and others impossible of classification. One or two were talking desultorily, interrupting each other frequently to stare down the track for the headlight of the train from the Battery. Others were leaning wearily against the railings guarding the exit-pit, with an air of persons reconciled by habit to late hours and long delays.

Among these, leaning, almost propped against the empty news stand, was a woman — the only one on the platform. One or two men glanced at her, and with elevated brows, smiled at each other. She did not notice them. Her gown was almost threadbare, wet and draggled at the heels; her jacket was pinned together, and water was trickling from her hat over her brows, seaming her whitened and carmined cheeks. She heeded it not. She looked straight into the dark windows opposite, and saw a host of old faces. She glanced at the slimy streets below, which she had paced the long night through, and shuddered. She had

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eaten nothing all day. She was too faint to walk another step, and had cowered under the stairway by the station to sleep or to die—she hardly cared which. A man she had accosted had laughed in her face, and then, peering closer, had stopped and given her ten cents. *And she had taken it.* At thirty-five this was the end! Looking into the dead windows she lived over again those years; and then lived over the yesterdays in anticipation of the morrow. To-morrow—ah, how she dreaded it!

A click of the signal at the further end of the station made the group start forward with some show of animation. The woman walked waveringly across the platform and held on to one of the pillars.

A golden flare suffused the mist, then reddened—and the train glided into the station. The woman stepped into the nearest car, and was about to sink into the first vacant seat, when her eyes met those of a man opposite. She half reeled and caught feebly at a strap. The man sprang to his feet and, steadying her by the arm, pressed her into a seat. Then he sank beside her; and his face was as blanched as a man's who has seen a loved one fall back on the pillows dead.

"God! Is it you, Mary?"

"Yes. Oh, Will, Will!—"

There was a long silence, and then she drew away from him, and said quietly:—

"It *is* I, Will, and it is *not I.* All that remains of the old Mary is my love for you. Oh, I have longed for this—I have longed for this—and now, I would to God I had died ten years ago!"

She buried her face in her hands; and then suddenly looking up at him, and then rapidly in the mirror in the panelling, she shuddered. "I have murdered the old Mary, Will,—but I was so friendless, so poor, so miserable, and I dared not die."

He had been intently studying her hollow, painted cheeks, her sunken eyes and miserable garments, and a horrible shrinking possessed him. In a flash he recalled the Mary he had known and loved, the Mary who had loved him so dearly ten years ago, the Mary he had ruined, who had given up her home, her old life, everything for him. And then as the present picture, like a pitiless acid, burnt itself upon his mind, blotting out the old one forever, he shivered with horror at the Mary who loved him in spite of all.

"I am so sorry—so sorry," was all he could say in a trembling voice, in which her quick ears discerned disgust and pity merely. "If I had only known it would come to this. Oh, my poor, Mary, my poor Mary!" A sob shook his frame.

"Don't grieve. It was not your fault. You are like other

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men—you didn't think. I was like many poor women who love —I did *not want* to think. And now we meet like this after all these years."

He was silent. What could he say? Mixed with his pity was a great cowardice, a feeling of pain that swept away his remorse, a desire to shut out this horrible present, to press this folly back into the old, unaccusing past. Why did her love outlive her degradation, when his had died a year after his first folly? He kept watching the signs on the stations as the train stopped, longing for the Grand Central Station, where he intended to alight and cut across town to his hotel.

"Oh, I have sinned, and I have suffered. Yes, I have suffered horribly."

"Ah, but I have sinned, too — I, I did this thing! You have paid the penalty and I have gone scathless."

"It is nothing, nothing since God has sent you to me."

An almost frightened look came into his eyes.

"But, Mary," he said hurriedly, "I am powerless to make reparation now. All that is over — you must remember, I am married. I have come East on business. I leave to-morrow. But I am a rich man now, and anything I can do for you to relieve your necessities—" and he took out his pocketbook.

"Oh, no! no!" she cried, pushing away his proffered bills. "Not money from *you*. I could not take money from you. I would rather die—I would rather rot and starve—starve." And she fell into a paroxysm of tears.

"But, my poor girl, I am anxious to save you from this degradation. I—I am sorry, I can do no more."

He rose to look at the station they were just gliding out of.

"The next is mine," he said, quietly. Come take this money."

"Oh, do not leave me—I can't bear it. Let me see you again. I love you—I love you! I am bad, degraded, unsexed, what you will, but I love you. O Will, even a brute can love!"

"But I am married now."

The words recalled her to herself. They had escaped her before, or their significance had. She looked for the first time at the other passengers to see if they were watching her. A great despair seized her; she smiled almost unconsciously, as she had done with a breaking heart so often in the shadows of the horrible streets below.

"Well, good-by. No," refusing the money with a smile. "Good-by."

He hesitated on the platform, and looked back at her; and then the conductor pushed him off, slammed to the iron gate—and he was gone.

She sank back into her seat in a kind of stupor. She did not

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know the stations they were leaving behind. She did not look at the other passengers. She sat and smiled to herself, seeing and hearing nothing. She forgot where she was; she forgot who and what she was; the spectres of the streets no longer existed for her. She sat in her despair, smiling and dreaming. She was in the old, quiet country town with her father again. The ten years of misery in New York were blotted out: it was as if she had awakened from a nightmare.

At One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street the conductor passed through the car, and shook her gently. "Come, Molly, old girl, wake up."

Then he paled a little, and raising her chin looked intently into her wide-open eyes. They were glazed and sightless. Her head dropped upon her breast.

She had awakened. She was with God!

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CRUCIAL MOMENTS IN NATIONAL LIFE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

HUMANITY is rising. Life, as a whole, is ascending. This fact will become obvious if we trace the progress of man from the dawn of history to the present time, in such a comprehensive manner as to include the people in the aggregate rather than special classes, and when we also bear in mind the fact that races, civilizations and nations, no less than individuals, have their periods of "depression and exaltation," that at moments in the existence of peoples and nationalities, no less than in the course of individual development, great crises arise. Two gates open before the people; two paths are visible; *a choice is made between self love and divine love.* Then one gate closes, and for a generation, a century or a cycle, the life of the nation, race or civilization slowly rises or falls. These supreme moments are destiny-fixing in character; they give a trend to thought, and thought colors life. If the higher impulses rule, if the divine rises superior to the animal, or, in a word, if the spirit of "All for all" is more potent than the spirit of "All for self," the civilization, race or nation is rejuvenated. It receives a *moral uplift* — a baptism from above, which is *the oxygen of the higher life.*

While, however, it is true that taken as a whole, and comparing various stages of depression and exaltation with corresponding stages in the ebb and flow of nations and civilizations, it will be found that humanity is slowly rising, the important fact must not be ignored that the rise of man is accelerated or retarded by the influence of the individual. No one is absolutely negative. *Every life exerts an upward lift or a downward pressure,* and therefore a grave responsibility rests upon each human soul. When individuals forget the sacred duty imposed upon them and abandon the cause of justice, progress and humanity for material comfort and selfish gratification, manhood from the zenith to the nadir of social life suffers for the sins committed. When a nation comes to worship gold rather than goodness, so that the poor and unfortunate are ground to servitude, while rare, sensitive natures, whose ideals are high and whose thought runs ahead of the time, are systematically misrepresented, abused and misinterpreted, that nation enters upon a fatal decline which,

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though it may be lingering as a slow consumption, must terminate in death, unless the people can be aroused so that opinion-forming currents, which have become polluted by the gold of avarice, no longer influence them, and, under the impulsion of a new hope and a grim determination to secure justice, an awakened manhood succeeds in changing the current of national life.

When in the history of a nation the shell of conventionalism encrusts a civilization, a gross and deadly materialism crushes faith and hope, turns the index-finger downward, and sneers at the ideals of duty, justice and love by whose leverage the world is raised; when human sympathy becomes paralyzed in consequence of self-absorption; when capital becomes more precious than human rights; when life is less sacred than property; when the letter is enlarged and the spirit disregarded; when theology magnifies the importance of form, rite and ritual while industry begs in vain for employment; when widows starve and orphans grow up amid an environment of moral death; when divine love is at a discount, and the faith so loudly proclaimed by the lips finds no responsive echo in the deep recesses of the soul — then we have the melancholy spectacle of a nation which has reached a point beyond which it cannot go without forever losing the soul which made progress possible, and which alone held the element of perpetual rejuvenation. Then the voice of the divine speaks through prophets, poets and seers, crying "Choose." On the one side are duty, justice, love and stern morality; on the other the selfishness of pure animalism expressed in luxury, voluptuousness and venality. The moment is supreme. The coronal region struggles with the basilar for final supremacy, and the issue is life or death; not necessarily a sudden going out if the lower triumphs, for sometimes, as in the civilization of Rome, a slow and terrible agony of decay precedes the final downfall.

We are to-day facing one of these great crises. Professor George D. Herron voices the common conviction of earnest students of social conditions when he says: —

> We are in the beginnings of a revolution that will strain all existing religious and political institutions, and test the wisdom and heroism of the earth's purest and bravest souls. It will not do to say the revolution is not coming, or pronounce it of the devil. Revolutions, even in their wildest forms, are the impulses of God moving in tides of fire through the life of man.

The slogan cry of "All for all" is far more noble than the creed "All for self" which has held sway in the past. The dogma of the divine right of property has too long obscured the rights of man. Plundering by law may be safe, but it is not moral, and throwing a few millions of acquired gold into the lap of philanthropy, conventional education or a church more awake

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on the material than the spiritual side of her being, may be politic, but such acts do not take away the woe pronounced by Jesus upon the Pharisees who paid tithes and posed as philanthropists while they "devoured widows' houses" and ignored the "weightier matters of the law," such as "judgment and mercy."

The hour for dreaming is past. Not a moment is to be lost if the republic is to be redeemed. From this time forward plain speaking will be in order. The time for the soul to assert its supremacy has arrived; blessed is the man or woman who makes the great renunciation, and consecrates life to the cause of the people and for the restoration of the republic from the rule of the Assyrians.

"Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand,
Ere the doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?
Though the cause of evil prosper, yet 'tis truth alone is strong,
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng
Troops of beautiful tall angels, to enshield her from all wrong."

"He's true to God who's true to man; wherever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun,
That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves most base,
Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all their race.

"'Tis ours to save our brethren, with peace and love to win
Their darkened hearts from error, ere they harden it to sin;
But if before his duty man with listless spirit stands,
Erelong the Great Avenger takes the work from out his hands."

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THE CITY UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS.

BY PROF. THOMAS E. WILL, A. M.

THE time has now come when lovers of God and man in every city should seek each other out and unite to save society from the toils of the serpent of monopoly and class interest that are slowly strangling it. A handful, however, can accomplish nothing save by effecting a union of the forces that actually or ostensibly stand for progress and the public weal. Arrayed against them in their attempt to effect such a union they will find not only the parasites and spoilers who live on the producers and who may be expected to oppose every movement destined to liberate society from their grasp, but that inertia which must always be overcome before movement can be imparted to the great mass whether animate or inanimate.

More discouraging, however, than either of these impediments will be found the spirit of sectarianism which, while long recognized as a bane of religious bodies, one can quickly discover for himself to be no less characteristic of those organizations supposed to stand the farthest removed from the blind conservatism commonly attributed to most religious societies; I allude to reform bodies themselves. Until reformers as well as religionists can grasp the great truth that some sound and therefore helpful principle lies at the basis of every creed that has secured wide acceptance among men; that every considerable body of people working for individual salvation or social deliverance is or has been inspired by the vision of some face of the thousand-sided prism of truth, and that, therefore, the point of view which has proved so attractive to some noble souls should be helpful to us all;—until, in a word, reformers cease to regard as fools or knaves all who do not subscribe unconditionally to their creed, pronounce their shibboleth and swear by their gods, we can hope to do little in opposing the gigantic interests that laugh at mere differences of opinion when the question of maintaining their power and battening on the body politic is at stake. Laborites, reformers, church people and altruists in general *must* abandon their sectarianism long enough to unite for the accomplishment of certain imperative reforms, or our civilization must prepare to follow Rome and Greece as these followed the hoary civilizations that lay behind them.

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To organize the moral, religious and progressive forces in a city I would suggest the following

METHODS.

1. *The Programme.* The first requisite for solid reform work is a general and aggressive campaign of education. Every panic is said to be followed by a religious revival. What we now need is a revival not simply of religion — though a revival of the kind of religion Jesus preached and taught is badly enough needed, Heaven knows! — but a revival of common-sense and political economy that will enable us to discover the cause and cure of panics and poverty in general, and will lead us to forsake the sin of charging up to God the responsibility for the infamous deeds of men.

The national committee of the Union for Practical Progress has prepared the following programme of topics for the consideration of unions throughout the country: —

Programme

until the second Sunday in

June: Child Labor.

July: Public Parks and Playgrounds.

August: Prison Reform.

September: Municipal Reform.

October: The Problem of the Unemployed.

November: Best Methods for Combating Political Corruption.

To the thorough-going reformer such topics may savor of superficiality, while to the non-student they may seem bewilderingly complex. To the latter I would say that as most rivers find their source in a few great centres, as Switzerland or the plateau of Central Asia, so most social problems as certainly originate in a few great evils to which they can be as surely traced as the rivers to their mountain nests. To the former let me suggest that nothing should be easier than for the properly equipped reformer to take as his text almost any one of the above topics, show why such a problem or evil exists, and then show that the cure can be effected only by measures in harmony with those first principles upon which the social organism rests. The reformer who cannot do this needs another term or two in school.

For the benefit of Union workers and others who may be interested in the programme, a copious bibliography for each topic will be prepared and published in good time by THE ARENA, the New York *Voice*, and such other publications as may be willing to lend their columns to aid the movement.

2. *The Class.* To a considerable extent the treatment accorded the above programme will be purely popular. In every considerable community, however, there should be some able and

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willing to do solid, scholarly work on the investigation of social and economic questions. For the benefit of such, classes for systematic study should be established. The Chautauqua movement has already proved the practicability of doing high-grade work out of college; while the possibilities of University Extension are superb.

As a basis of study one may take the above programme supplemented by the bibliography and such other helps (see "The Press" below) as are already provided, or may be should the demand warrant it. In other cases classes should be formed for the systematic study of political economy, social problems, social ethics, political science, institutional and industrial history, the history of civilization and the like. Any one of these studies may be so presented as to throw a brilliant light upon present-day issues. If a University Extension lecturer who regards it his duty to reveal rather than conceal such truth as the people most need to know, can be secured for a course of lectures on one of the above lines, an extension class should by all means be organized. Failing the lectures or even the class, the isolated student, possessed of the will to work, may accomplish much by solitary study and by conversation with friends who, while not themselves able to study, are willing to learn from others.

We should understand, once for all, that what anatomy and physiology are to the physical body, economics and general sociology are to the body politic. Allowing for exceptional cases — clairvoyants who can see through the one and prophets and seers who seem able, instinctively, to read the other — we may lay it down as a general principle that he who seeks to prescribe for either body while ignorant of the laws of its being or unwilling for any reason to respect those laws, is a quack and unworthy the public confidence. Yet since quacks abound in the halls of legislation, while the scientific legislator, finding his way by any chance into their midst, would become at once an object of derision, a public sentiment must be created that will expel the horde of charlatans from legislatures and congress and entrust the affairs of the nation to men at least as well equipped for their work as the cobbler is required to be for his. For the creation of such a public sentiment what agency, save the twinges and shocks of panic that bespeak the approaching paralysis of the social body, can be more effective than a myriad of classes, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land, studying the causes of panics and the brood of evils that infest society? The aphorism, "We must educate or we must perish," is to-day taking on a new and deeper meaning. The education we need to-day is not the kind that prepares the individual to "get on" — "by getting somebody else off" — but the kind that will

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enable us to detect the methods of the vampires that prey upon society and to save society from their ravages.

3. *Helpers and Speakers.* It should be the ambition of the Union for Practical Progress, as it is said to be of the Roman Catholic church, to find a place and a work for every man, woman and child, from greatest to least, who enters its organization. A list of speakers should early be prepared, comprising first, men and women of prominence who, though they may not have given special attention to social questions, are nevertheless interested in the objects of the movement and willing to aid it by their presence and voice. Such assistance may be found of great value in a community where those whom the Union leaders may desire to enlist seem, for any reason, to be shy of the movement. The list should contain, in the second place, professed students of economics, industrial and social problems and sociology; reformers, labor leaders and the like, especially those who are influential with any considerable class in society and are not, at the same time, so intemperate or ill-balanced as to be unable to contribute to the success of the movement.

The speakers should be fully utilized. Engagements should be arranged for them to address labor and reform organizations, ministers' meetings, young people's religious societies, Chautauqua meetings and the like, and also the regular Sunday evening meetings to be spoken of later.

The "Helpers" should include a multitude who are willing to perform clerical work, run errands, deliver letters, make engagements, circulate petitions, raise funds, talk Union in religious and social meetings or in private to their friends, and, in general, to do any work for which they are competent and by which they can aid the cause.

4. *The Pulpit.* Religion everywhere is marked by the spirit of awe and reverence for the mysteries of the universe and for the Infinite Power by which all things consist and in which we live, move and have our being. Yet religion is more than mere wonder and awe, expressing itself in worship and observances. Religion, as the name implies, is a power that *binds* — binding primitive man slavishly, but civilized and spiritually enlightened man intelligently and loyally to God.

And since the Creator of man must also be the Creator of society; and since science shows that there is as truly a natural order in society as there is in the constitution of man himself — a divine ideal slowly realizing itself through the process of the centuries; and since man, as a free moral agent, may by his individual choice and activity help or hinder the working out of the divine ideal whether in his own character or in the social order; — genuine religion calls for the joyous allegiance of man to this divine plan,

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and for cheerful coöperation, by word and work, in the establishing of the divine order and the realization of the divine ideal in the hearts of individuals and in the institutions of society. Thus does religion prompt and enable man to fulfil the splendid Pauline conception and become indeed a worker together with God.

Hence it follows that religion has to do with society exactly as it has to do with individuals; and the gospel that is directed only to A and B, and that seeks to save the world by saving successively the butcher and baker and candlestick-maker, while ignoring the society of which they form a part and by which they are limited and moulded, is not only a half gospel, but must fail to accomplish even the special object at which it aims. To work on individuals is indispensable, but it is insufficient. The world, if ever saved, will be saved by recognizing the difference between the *individual* and the *institution*, and by seeking to save not the first alone, leaving him to work on the second, but by working simultaneously and persistently on both. All-round religion demands the saving of both the man and his society, while science and experience show the folly of trying to save the individual alone. As well seek to elevate the blacks while ignoring the brutalizing effects of slavery, or to moralize the inmates of the Black Hole of Calcutta while disregarding the conditions that changed men to fiends. If religion is to regain its slipping hold on men it must come out from the cloister and grapple with the social environment that neutralizes much of the best-meant effort of religious teachers.

The Union must enlist the clergy. Some of these are beyond redemption. With those who have grown old in the belief that the sole duty of the preacher is to "preach the [half] gospel and administer the sacraments" no time should be wasted. Others there are, however, especially among the younger men whose minds have not yet crystallized, who recognize that the church is for this world as well as for the next; and that, like the church of the old regime, unless it lays hold of vital issues and thus justifies its existence, the time may come when it will have no existence to justify. These are the men to interest. One such man, ablaze with the prophetic fire and consecrated to the work for which Jesus gave His life, is worth more than a regiment of survivals who devote themselves to the task of safely landing an aristocratic "remnant," a divinely elected or self-elected handful of believers, on the other side of Jordan.

These clergymen, whether "orthodox" or "heterodox," who stand for the new civilization, should be the right arm of such a movement as this that seeks reverently, devoutly, heroically, in the fear of God and for the love of man, to save the world before the day of its salvation is past. Let the Union leaders secure

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their churches, *on regular service occasions*, for mass meetings at which the corporate conscience may be aroused, the mind awakened to the evils that confront us, and the will enlisted in the cause of human deliverance. Let services be held, Sunday after Sunday, at church after church, for the consideration, by Union speakers, of the special Union topic for the month; and, on the second Sunday in the month, let the pastor speak upon the Union topic.

Some object that the clergy are not prepared to discuss intelligently sociological topics. Yet, intelligently or unintelligently, we know that many ministers do discuss such subjects, if not in the pulpit then with the pen and in conversation. The present generation of clergymen cannot be expected to take another course in the seminary or graduate school; if they are to learn at all the significance of living issues they must learn while actually in the harness; and how can they learn better than when, under the stimulus of a great national, concerted movement, they seek to prepare a discourse, a synopsis of which will be given to the world in the newspapers? The clergy, like other social classes, business men, working-men, law makers, writers, must be instructed concerning the new issues; and the Union for Practical Progress provides the opportunity and the incentive for such instruction.

Reformers who hoot at the idea of utilizing the church and the religious sentiment are like those who formerly laughed at steam and electricity. Once yoke religion to the car of social regeneration and the stars in their courses will fight for the cause. Recognizing the splendid work that religion has done in all ages of the world we must recognize also that to-day far too much of the moral force generated in religious meetings is wasted as prodigally as the physical energy liberated by winds, tides and ocean currents. Let the religious Niagara be harnessed and set to work.

5. *The Travelling Congregation.* It must now be conceded that most people in the United States do not attend church. Statistics published from time to time by the Young Men's Christian Association conclusively prove this fact. Yet in every city there are many people who, if interrogated, will be found to remain away from church not from hostility to religion but from the feeling that ordinary religious services have little connection with actual life. If religion could be brought down from the clouds to dwell among men and if its terminology could be translated into the speech of mortals, they would gladly seek once more the vacant pews. Others, again, though perhaps caring little for religion as such, and regarding it as merely the survival of a primitive superstition, nevertheless recognize in

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the church an influential and powerful social institution whose aid, if it could be secured, would be most valuable to the cause of social progress. Both of these classes can be recruited in considerable numbers for the Travelling or Itinerant Congregation. Members of this body agree to attend, as often as practicable, the particular church in which the Union topic may chance to be discussed. By doing so they themselves secure instruction; by their presence and sympathetic attention they encourage the reform speakers who, at times, might otherwise find themselves addressing a congregation of icicles; they are afforded the opportunity to do personal work by conversation and the distribution of literature; and last, and perhaps most important of all, they may make it possible for the Union leaders to find access to churches that, otherwise, would be barred against them. The explanation is simple. Ministers, like other public speakers and like managers of places of public instruction or amusement, like good houses. If, when asked to devote a service to the Union topic, the minister is informed at the same time that in case he complies the Travelling Congregation will be present and will pack the house to the doors, one can easily appreciate the potency of such an argument. Furthermore, ministers who are genuinely interested in the question of "reaching the masses" should hail the Union movement with enthusiasm for the reason that by coöperating with it, they can most effectually reach this army of the hitherto unchurched now crowding to their doors.

The particular church at which the Travelling Congregation will meet should be regularly announced in the newspapers in the column devoted to Sunday Services.

6. *The Young People's Missionary Society.* For an account of the nature and methods of this body see the article in the April ARENA by Rev. Walter Vrooman on "The Church as a Missionary Field." In a word this society is composed of young people who believe that the dark continent of America is as worthy of salvation as is Africa or Asia; and who feel that the battle for civilization must be fought here, rather than there where it has either long since been lost or where the light of civilization has not yet dawned. Their special duty is to awake the church, and particularly the young people of the church, to the new issues with which the industrial movement has brought us face to face. They prepare a list of the churches in their city or neighborhood, together with a list of the prayer meetings, young people's meetings, Bible classes and all other services at which a stranger may speak. They then assign one of their number to visit church No. 1, another to church No. 2, another to No. 3, and so on until the number of churches is exhausted. At the appointed time each young missionary appears at the meeting to

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which he was assigned and, when opportunity offers, rises in his place to speak for the new Christianity which is simply the Christianity of Christ: the religion whose lustre has long been dimmed and whose place, in far too many cases, has been usurped by the base metal, the conventional Christianity of the churches. He speaks of the new crusade designed to rescue the holy places in every city from the Saracens whose god is "respectability" and power; who hate the real Christ and His followers as intensely as did ever Pharisee or scribe, and who affect piety only that they may rule the synagogue and spike the guns that a genuine Christianity would turn upon them and all their works. Having spoken his piece, advertised the new movement and invited all interested to the next missionary meeting, the young missionary stands ready, at the close of the service, to distribute literature concerning the work or to talk to the few who may be interested to learn of something outside the grooves in which run their ordinary lives.

The next week another missionary appears at this same service, and the following week still a third, each rousing the inert to the demands of the new times; until, at last, one or more recruits are enlisted who will assume the task of carrying on the missionary work in their home church. Thus, one by one, the churches will be affiliated with the central body and led to coöperate in the general Union movement.

This missionary work should not be confined to the churches, but should be extended to all the literary, social and reform bodies in the city to which the missionaries can find access. In this way, in time, most or all of the altruistic and progressive organizations in the city can be so bound together and brought into such direct connection with the central body that prompt and effective coöperation will be made possible, and the agencies that work for good will be able to enjoy the advantages so fully appreciated and used by the agencies that make for self-seeking and social destruction.

7. *The College and Other Higher Institutions of Learning.* One of the freest of the forums that as yet survive the present decay of free institutions, is the college literary and debating society. In such societies all sorts of questions of public interest are discussed, the preference being decidedly for live topics. The work of organizing these societies and bringing them into the National Union for Practical Progress is well under way, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania having already entered the league of colleges. These colleges, and the others that will soon be enrolled, will debate frequently, if not each month, the special Union topic. All cities in which Unions are established should see to it that such col-

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leges, seminaries and the like as are within their reach are brought into the "Intercollegiate Debating Union."

8. *The Press.* This tremendous engine that has rendered such yeoman service to special classes and class interests must be used in aiding social progress. In the minds of those who know of the venality, cowardice and subserviency to the will of classes of which many great dailies are guilty, the question will at once arise, Is this possible? I answer that here, as in the case of the pulpit, we must not demand too much at the outset. The temperance man must not expect to see the liquor organ array itself at once against the saloon, nor must the friend of good city government hope to see a Tammany journal turn against Tammany. At the same time experience shows that the press may be counted on to do much. Newspaper men boldly declare that the newspaper is run with an eye single to dividends; that its one object is to make money. But the principal way whereby the newspaper makes money is by selling papers. Let the public interest once become aroused in any matter whatever, from a revival meeting to a prize fight, and its demand for news on this subject will speedily be met by a large part of the press with a corresponding supply. Now let the pulpits begin preaching on the Union topic, the colleges debating it, the platform proclaiming it and the missionaries talking it; and, with his eye as ever on the main chance for the Almighty Dollar, the enterprising journalist will climb over the backs of his competitors to seize the latest news items regarding the great moral movement.

Other papers and publications there are that are actuated by a more worthy motive. The reform editor, when not himself a mere organ grinder, will gladly give space to Union matter as soon as he appreciates its purpose and possibilities. These and all other papers into which even a three-line notice can be got should be assiduously cultivated. In addition to THE ARENA, which will contain abundant matter each month, the New York *Voice*, *Public Opinion*, *American Home Life* (Boston), the *Homiletic Review* and a constantly growing list of papers and magazines will publish matter concerning the movement.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any person in sympathy with the purposes and plans of the Union and willing to aid its work by contributions, though small, of money or time, or both, should be admitted to the ranks of the local union, regardless of age, sex, class, color or creed.

GOVERNMENT.

That the government of the local union may be simple yet effective it should provide for three bodies — the managing board, the executive committee and the advisory board. The

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Managing Board

will be made up at the outset of the dozen or two who are sufficiently interested in the work to shoulder the responsibility. Though close corporations have an unsavory record, it will be necessary, for a time, that this body be self-perpetuating. The managing board will have full and final power for the settlement of all local questions. It should employ a secretary whose entire time may be devoted to the Union work. It should meet at stated times, and oftener, if necessary, at the call of the secretary.

The managing board will elect and delegate power to the

Executive Committee,

a small body—say of five members, including the secretary—who, in the intervals between the meetings of the managing board, will attend to the Union work. The chief burden, however, will rest upon the shoulders of the secretary, who should, therefore, be selected with great care.

Advisory Board.

Religious, semi-religious, reform, labor and progessive bodies of all sorts should be invited to affiliate themselves to the local union, and to elect, for a period of one year or more, a representative to the local advisory board. It should be the duty of this representative to write at least annually to the local secretary, suggesting topics for discussion, lines of work to be taken up or abandoned, improvements in methods, and any other matters that may seem to him calculated to promote the efficiency of the work. Through the existence of such a board the evils of excessive centralization may be avoided and the managers of the local union may be kept in touch with the affiliated organizations.

That a local union organized on the above lines, or any organization desiring to work with the National Union, may become affiliated to the National Union, it is desirable, though not imperative, that such body adopt the name, "The Union for Practical Progress." It is required that it shall adopt the national programme, also that it shall make monthly reports to the national secretary. These reports should state the number of letters sent out to clergymen and to organizations whose coöperation is desired, and the number of replies received, specifying how many of these were favorable and how many unfavorable. The reports should contain such news notes as may be of value to the national committee and such general suggestions as the local secretary may desire, or may be instructed by his home organization to make. No dues from the local unions to the national body have been prescribed; nevertheless voluntary subscriptions for the aid of

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the national work will be welcome. All local unions, however, as well as other bodies desiring to affiliate with the National Union, are asked to pay a registration fee of one dollar.

Though the presence of the national organizer would greatly aid in the formation of a local union it is not essential. One man or woman possessed of ordinary judgment and thoroughly in earnest can organize the movement. Every such person who reads these lines should at once set about the work. Literature showing more fully the methods employed in Boston will be sent, on application, to such as think of organizing their home cities.

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PUBLIC PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS: A SYMPOSIUM.

I.

ABSTRACTS FROM AUTHORITIES AND WRITERS ON THE SUBJECT, COMPILED BY THOMAS E. WILL, A. M.

The Situation in Many Cities.—New York: "Is it not a dismal reflection, that in all the broad districts from Murray Hill to Harlem, there will not be—away from the large parks—a single breathing space of any description? There will be nothing but the same long row of houses, all alike, the same endless, wearisome rectangularity which is already spread over the best parts of the city . . . certain to be the result if we go on as we have commenced. . . . City will be great dull place, tiresome to ourselves and unattractive to strangers. . . . The great avenues and boulevards will run, most of them, mile after mile, without any kind of variety or break. . . . Cross streets will be as bad. . . . Even now we twist our necks to look at the new synagogue. . . . When new cathedral is finished we will twist our necks still more to look at that." Such are the effects of economizing land so closely. "The lower end of Fifth Avenue is about the only example of a well shaded street left in the city. We regard our streets merely as a means of getting from one place to another. . . . The 'promenade,' so distinctive a feature in French and German life, is quite unknown to us. We decorate our houses, but have no idea of beautifying the street that we pass through every day." ("Importance of Foliage in the City"—I. F. C.—C. A. W., pp. 3, 4, 7.)

The same article, page 8, calls attention to the fact that the annual exodus of well-to-do city people to the country is a result largely of the unattractive character of the city and its heat, due to the absence of parks, gardens and shade trees.

Playgrounds.—Many writers emphasize the necessity of establishing playgrounds for children in the cities—a necessity that should be evident to any one who has observed children playing on the burning sidewalks and in the dusty streets of a great city. (See Boston Metropolitan Park Report—M. P. R.—pp. 9, 67, 68.)

Bearing upon Public Health.—Slum areas in crowded sections are sometimes cleared away, as in London, by the public authori-

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ties, "as the only means of securing the light and ventilation so necessary to health. Wherever this is done in crowded localities there is always a marked decrease in the death rate" (I. F. C., pp. 4, 5).

"The sanitary history of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, of Paris and Frankfort, furnishes conclusive testimony of the excellent services rendered by open spaces. Since narrow streets have been broadened, slums cut through and squares opened up in crowded districts, the public health of these towns has wonderfully improved. . . . Multitudes of young children in our large cities die every year, especially during the hot weather, for want of pure, fresh air. Sixteen thousand under five years of age perished in New York alone during 1887. Nearly 1,000 died in a single week — shocking record of massacre. But it is hardly a surprising one when we consider that 1,016,135 of New York City's total population live in tenement houses . . . and but scant provision has so far been made for open spaces in densely crowded localities. . . . Urban life promotes physical degeneration. Sanitary authorities now tell us that there is practically no third generation in the average New York tenement." ("Park Areas and Open Spaces in American and European Cities,"—P. A. and O. S.—by E. R. L. Gould, Ph. D., expert, U. S. Department of Labor, in publications of American Statistical Association, June, September, 1888, pp. 51, 52, 54.)

The healthful influence of trees and plants is ably set forth by John H. Rauch, M. D., in his "Report on Public Parks with special reference to the City of Chicago." He first calls attention to the familiar biological fact that as animals give off carbonic acid gas and inhale oxygen, so trees and plants exhale oxygen and inhale carbonic acid gas; thus each rejects that element which is necessary to the other, and therefore the association of the two should be healthful to both. (See pp. 33–38.)

Continuing, he calls attention to a series of facts "clearly proving that the infection and diffusion of malaria or noxious emanations are arrested by trees, whose structure and canopy of foliage act in a threefold capacity—first as a barrier to break the flow, second as an absorbent of those emanations, and third as eliminators of oxygen." The first instance is a thick forest on the south side of Rome protecting the "southern portion of the city and the neighboring districts from the baneful influence of the effluvia of the Pontine Marshes. This rampart has been removed and the country has become proverbial for its unhealthiness. . . . Among the Romans the advantage of such barriers had long been recognized. Trees were planted in rows and masses to guard against the diffusion of malaria. The practice was enforced by law, and recorded in the Roman Tablets."

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Dr. Rauch also instances a case of a negro plantation in Alabama where the cabins were separated from a creek by a row of trees. The health of the negroes had been uninterrupted for some eight or ten years — scarcely a case of fever occurring. Later the forest was cleared away and fever prevailed among the negroes with great violence until frost. The negro quarters were afterwards removed to the opposite side of the creek about the same distance from it, but with an intervening growth of timber, after which no cases of fever recurred (p. 39). The author quotes from Bartlett "that whole families have resided near the Pontine Marshes, and, by the intervention of shrubs and trees have escaped for years the noxious effects of the mephitic vapors which these putrid waters engendered." "Army physicians," says Dr. Wilson Philip, "therefore recommend having a wood, if possible, between marshy grounds and an encampment."

From Dr. Lewis he quotes: "It is the received opinion that living vegetation protects the human system from the deleterious effects of malaria" (p. 40). From M. Carriere he quotes: "To cover the fields, the edges of marshes and the whole extent of the soil with an abundant vegetation, is equal to placing on the surface of unhealthy regions a reparative apparatus of the greatest power. Trees, therefore, must have a large share in the amelioration of the country, in consequence of the quantity of leaves they furnish" (p. 42). "Lieutenant Maury believed that a few rows of sunflowers planted between the Washington Observatory and the marshy banks of the Potomac had saved the inmates of that establishment from the intermittent fever, to which they had been formerly liable. Dr. Rauch also instances the fact that when cholera was epidemic in Burlington, Iowa, those houses protected by trees were relatively exempt (pp. 43, 44). On page 49 he notes the fact, which has been dwelt upon by others, that the denudation of hills and mountains of their natural wooded covering interferes with electrical distribution and so aids in inducing cyclones.

In an address in Faneuil Hall, June 7, 1876 (see pp. 20–25 of "Parks for the People": Proceedings of a Public Meeting held at Faneuil Hall) Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes shows that "A single physician by a single and simple measure (the provision of ventilation in a lying-in hospital) saved more lives than were lost at Waterloo by the British army and all its allies," the Prussians alone excepted. He then proceeds to show from this how the lives of city children could be saved by enlarging the lung capacity of the city — the parks and playgrounds, thus affording air in the congested districts.

Moral Significance. — "Foul air prompts to vice, and oxygen to virtue," wrote a late eminent physician, "as surely as the sun-

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light paints the flower of our garden. The tired workman, who, after the day's labor, needs repose and the relaxation of home, is apt to be driven from it by the close atmosphere of the house and the street in which he lives. He would if he could, get into the fresh air of the country, but as he cannot do this, he seeks the relief which drink and other excitements yield. If there was an attractive park convenient he would seek it as instinctively as the plant stretches toward the light. The varied opportunities of a park would educate him and his family in the enjoyment of open-air pleasures. Deprived of these, he and his are educated into the ways of disease and vice by the character of their surroundings" (P. A. and O. S., pp. 53, 54).

Advantages Accruing from Open Spaces.—These are enumerated as follows by Lord Hobhouse: "They are the constant source of health and innocent enjoyment of all within their reach. It is difficult to conceive any lapse of time or change of circumstances which shall take away their value. They are available, if properly placed, to the very poorest classes. They are a kind of charity which cannot be demoralized and cannot be abused or jobbed. They do not require any very great amount of labor or wisdom for their management, which is the point at which endowments for other purposes are apt to break down after their first founders are gone" (P. A. and O. S., pp. 54, 55).

How to Secure Relief from Congestion.—Mr. Sylvester Baxter, secretary of the Boston Metropolitan Park Commission, on p. 73 of the report already referred to, instances the heroic treatment of the congestion nuisance enforced by the city of Liverpool. "To get rid," he says, "of a slum-like locality that was a source of disease and crime, the city condemned the territory, demolished the buildings, and built thereupon, around a hollow square, blocks of model dwellings for working people, the sanitary appliances being of the very best description, and the central square devoted to the purpose of a garden playground.

"This idea has been followed by the Coöperative Building Company of Boston, which . . . has built a substantial block of dwellings about a central space of 80 x 100 feet. The apartments are most conveniently arranged, and are to be let at moderate prices, while the central space is to be used for playground and garden purposes for the tenants. Under such circumstances the evils attendant upon a dense population appear to be very thoroughly overcome" (p. 73). On p. 74 of this report appears a cut of a block of artisans' dwellings erected by the municipality of Liverpool, England.

The author of I. F. C. (p. 6) believes that individual initiative could also accomplish much if not all that could be desired toward relieving congestion. He says: "A few property owners could

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easily so combine as to create many charming little spots, veritable oases in the weary deserts of brown stone, each of which would become in time a nucleus of fashion and value, and amply repay its original cost, as was the case with St. John's Park and Gramercy Square. The large estates disposed of at auction, lot by lot, almost every day, some comprising an entire block or more, would no doubt bring more profits to the owners if a third or fourth part of the ground were reserved for a square, public or private, and the remainder so arranged as to front pleasantly upon it."

On p. 5 this writer shows that such a public improvement as a park or garden exerts a very marked effect in raising the value of the land abutting upon it. This fact should afford a clew which our English friends have begun to recognize, if not yet to act upon in thorough-going fashion. Mr. Basil Holmes, secretary of Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, London, writes that his association holds "that open spaces in towns should be compulsorily provided, and, as buildings extend, so shall open spaces be provided for the newly built area. The question of cost comes in, and, inasmuch as the open land near town has become valuable through no action of the owner, many people consider that it would not be unfair that the owner should be compelled to pay, say a ten per cent tax on all new ground rents, for the provision of open spaces, or that he himself should have to reserve as open land an adequate proportion of his property. But we have not come to that here yet, and at present open spaces are paid for out of the rates which are levied on the occupiers" (M. P. R., p. 78).

Any one familiar with the single tax proposal can not only see the propriety of the above suggestion, but the tremendous effectiveness of the socialization of ground rents, entire, not only in making possible the provision of park areas *gratis* but in abolishing completely that congestion which is one prime curse and menace of the city.

On pp. 10, 13, 79 and 82 Mr. Baxter points out the wisdom of providing in advance, as has been done in Chicago and some other western cities, park areas so liberal in extent and so widely scattered that the future needs, even of a great metropolis, may be effectively anticipated.

Mr. Gould, in P. A. and O. S. (pp. 56–59), gives valuable statistical tables showing park areas in America and the Old World. Among the many books and articles mentioned in the bibliography or quoted above we may note the following:—

"The Famous Parks and Playgrounds of the World" is a beautiful volume, richly and profusely illustrated — an education in itself.

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"Downing's Landscape Gardening and Rural Architecture" is not only helpful for students but stimulating in its exhibition, by means of numerous fine engravings, of the possibilities of the higher civilization.

The Boston Park Commissioners' Report for 1876–79 and the West Chicago Park Commissioners' Reports, 1870–79, are also valuable.

For citizens of Boston, the Boston Metropolitan Park Report for 1893 will be found especially serviceable.

II.

A Historical Sketch, by Henry L. White.

During the year 1890 several hundred sermons on social reform topics were preached in the various churches of New York City, but they were delivered independently of one another, without method or plan. Although they added in their way to the cause of popular education, they were passed by quietly, attracting little notice from the press.

On Sunday, Nov. 22, 1891, one hundred prominent New York clergymen preached all the same day in behalf of a single reform — playgrounds with fresh air and sunshine for the thousands of children in the crowded wards. The preceding Saturday twenty-seven Jewish rabbis spoke in behalf of the same measure. For two weeks the daily papers gave unprecedented space to the movement, one morning paper devoting more than a page a day to the work for a week. The movement received editorial comment from the daily papers in every large city of the country and many European journals. The simple fact that one hundred Christian ministers and twenty-seven Jewish rabbis should all speak out together and act as a unit in behalf of a modest humanitarian measure, was a surprise to the thoughtful people of the world, and was universally considered by the press as a wonderful piece of news.

Here is the original circular sent out to the clergy of the city, Nov. 13, 1891: —

An attempt is being made to unite the moral forces of New York City and vicinity for concerted effort in carrying through such reform measures for the benefit of the poor as can be agreed upon.

The first practical reform to be taken up will be the establishment of parks and playgrounds for children. When the city is thoroughly aroused as to the great need for more air and sunshine for the young, other evils will be attacked and positive measures advocated.

The plan for the winter is to have weekly mass-meetings, each to be held in a different church or synagogue and addressed by several well-known speakers. It is certain that these meetings will be reported in full by the great and progressive daily papers, and more than fifty

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ministers have already agreed to coöperate with the movement and announce the meetings from their pulpits.

The first meeting will be held in the Marble Collegiate Church, on the corner of Twenty-ninth Street and Fifth Avenue, on Thursday, November 19, at 8 P. M. The subject for discussion will be, "How Can this World Be Made a Better Place to Live in, Beginning with New York?"

It is the desire of the committee on organization that the new movement be the subject of discourse in as many churches and synagogues as possible on Saturday, November 21, and Sunday, November 22. Where other subjects have already been chosen for both morning and evening addresses, a few words are requested upon the subject in the form of an announcement.

We will be obliged for an expression of your opinion regarding the new movement, with any suggestions you may offer, and ask for an answer whether or not you will speak upon the subject November 21 or 22.

(Signed) THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Rev. Josiah Strong, *Chairman.*
Rev. Walter Vrooman, *Secretary.*

Concerning the movement at the time, Rev. Charles H. Eaton, to whose church on Fifth Avenue Mr. Carnegie is a large contributor, said in a newspaper interview: —

The movement for combined moral effort is an omen of better times. When men cease to be fanatics, and reason together and work together for the common good irrespective of theological opinions, this world has already become a more pleasant place to live in. Not to say anything about the special reforms to be accomplished, such as the establishment of parks and playgrounds, or the opening of the public schools at night, I see one very great reform accomplished already when the orthodox sits by the unorthodox, the Christian by the Jew, the mystic by the rationalist, and all strive together for the public good.

If good people can ever learn to unite in carrying into effect those things on which they do agree, forgetting for the time the questions on which they differ, the greatest reform of our century will have been made. One thing to be done to secure peace and comfort to men and subdue the spirit of strife in the world is to destroy, root and branch, the spirit of sectarianism. Sectarian strife is the great leakage whereby the power of the churches is worse than lost. Once destroy sectarianism, keep the various denominations from quarrelling with one another, and they will have to go to work to make this world a better place to live in, for they won't have anything else to do.

Another feature of this movement which encourages me very much is that the press and pulpit are working together. The only thing I fear is that the present move towards a union is only a flirtation. When the marriage is solemnized and known to be permanent, the flaunting evils of our city will rapidly disappear. The leaders of all that is bad are now trembling at the mere announcement of the engagement. Let the proposed wedding of the press and pulpit really be celebrated, and a higher civilization will be born. I am heart and soul with the combination, and will leave nothing undone that I can do to insure its success.

Rev. Heber Newton, in an interview published in the same paper, said: —

The possibilities for good that may come from a combination of the religious and humanitarian societies of our metropolis and the daily

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press are infinite. No ideals are too high to be converted into actualities by the coalition of these mighty instruments of our time. We can fear no danger from without. We would be invincible if we were assured against dissolution from within. The great danger is that as we begin our work jealousies and personal bickerings will arise and we will be divided. Division is apt to arise either among the clergy or among the newspapers. Our one hope of strengthening the bonds of unity is to immediately throw our combined force into some great practical reform with such enthusiasm that personalities and small ambitions will be forgotten. My idea is that we should take up one reform at a time and not drop it until it is carried to a successful issue. Then we will be ready to begin another with a better chance of success.

There is no more pressing need in our city now than for more parks and playgrounds for children in the crowded quarters. Where the body is dwarfed for lack of fresh air, sunshine and healthful exercise, the educator has no material to work on; the spiritual teacher receives no response to his appeals. It is impossible to build perfect men except on perfect animals. Physical regeneration must precede the development of the spiritual life. After a half day's romp in a playground, a child may profit by an hour in Sunday school; but Bibles will not take the place of bread, sermons will not be listened to by men and women insufficiently clad, and platitudes will not serve the children instead of play and sunlight. The death rate among the children during the summer months is simply astounding. The question of open spaces for the young is not one of sentiment; it is one of life and death. We should have parks surrounding every schoolhouse. If there is no room we can tear down enough tenement houses to make room, and the city can afford to pay for them.

I am glad to see that a large number of the ministers of the city are going to introduce the social questions into their pulpits. It is an important forward step in social evolution.

The following words of Rev. Josiah Strong, general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, were published at this time: —

The perils that menace our civilization are rapidly increasing, and the time has come for a more intelligent coöperation and for vigorous action by all interested in the general good. It is of boundless importance to establish some means to educate, consolidate and express Christian and moral public opinion and to afford some channel for concerted action and organized effort. Organization is one of the most marked characteristics of nineteenth-century civilization. It is necessary to great results whether in commercial, business, political or religious enterprise. The really dangerous evils of New York are such by virtue of their effective organization. The weakness of the church is its lack of organization.

Within the memory of many the various Christian denominations were openly hostile to one another. When peace existed it was much like that of Europe to-day — an armed peace. At the formation of the Evangelical Alliance in London, forty-three years ago, upward of eight hundred representatives of more than fifty denominations met together, and formally laying down the arms of their unchristian strife, made declaration of inter-denominational fellowship. The Washington conference of 1887 was a most significant and memorable expression of the conviction that the exigencies of the times cannot be met with mere kindliness of speech or the profession of fraternity, but imperatively demand the active coöperation of Christian men of every name. That was a most important step in advance. *The time has come for another forward movement.*

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Rev. William S. Rainsford also endorsed the plan heartily. Below are his words of encouragement and advice: —

The great questions of our time demand a closer union of the moral forces of society. There is much room for improvement in our methods of helping the poor. There is now an immense amount of wasted energy. A great deal of enthusiasm is misdirected and positively hurtful. Much good ammunition is thrown away. All of our previous attempts to improve the condition of the "slums" and dark portions of our city have been like scraping the soil with a harrow when a steam plough was needed. Notwithstanding the sacrifices and noble attempts that have been made to help the poorer classes, the evils we have sought to antagonize are increasing faster than our power to cope with them. All good people are beginning to realize that we must grapple with the sources of poverty. We must not only fight with individuals, but with causes. We must arouse public feeling and awaken the public conscience. We need some overpowering enthusiasm that will enable us to attack an evil at its root without asking how difficult will be the task of removing it.

It is an encouraging sign, that men and women of all creeds and denominations unite in the work. The basis of the new movement is that persons who realize the needs of the suffering thousands of this city have no time or inclination for sectarian dispute. Our minds should be so completely absorbed in our common task that we would forget our differences.

Rev. Madison C. Peters uttered these burning words concerning the movement in which he was a devoted worker: —

What New York City needs is a general waking up: something big enough and of sufficient importance to arouse the slumbering powers of the people. An eminent man said recently that one of the benefits of the late war was that it accustomed the people to great ideas. Our own times demand men of great ideas and great hearts. We need men capable of meeting great emergencies, of grasping great opportunities. We need men who can originate and execute great plans. The needed resources to carry them into effect will not be lacking. I believe that the new union of religious and humanitarian societies for the renovation of this dirty and wicked city will call forth these latent powers, and make great men of those now filling humble positions in life. I believe it is the beginning of a new enthusiasm that will sweep away like a flood the accumulating evils of our modern cities.

I believe in enthusiasm. It gives a man irresistible power. As Lord Lytton says, "Truth accomplishes no victories without it." Emerson tells us that every great and commanding movement in the annals of the world is the triumph of enthusiasm. All will agree that New York is greatly in need of something. I believe that the most apparent want is for some overwhelming enthusiasm. This will come of the union of vast numbers of people for some great end. I think I see in the organization just starting and the mass-meetings now being arranged, the cloud no bigger than a man's hand that will eventually transform our city by washing away completely the corruption and wrong that now seem all-powerful.

If there are young men and young women who are ambitious to live in the hearts and affections of those who come after us, by their heroic actions and noble accomplishments, here is their chance. The proposed union of all good people for a simultaneous attack upon the strongholds of crime and immorality offers a grander field to those who wish to make

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their short lives in this world count for something than the crusades or any of the struggles, ancient or modern, in behalf of human progress. If twelve million Romans sacrificed their lives to gratify the ambition of Cæsar; if four million Frenchmen laid down their lives on the war path cut by Napoleon through Europe and whitened foreign shores with their bones, those who believe in the coming of God's kingdom on earth, who believe their efforts can add to human happiness and make New York a better place to live in, should be willing to make some sacrifices and forego some pleasures for the new endeavor which promises so much.

The whole of New York was aroused on the subject of playgrounds for children. Plans were drawn up by the park officials for the expenditure of $75,000 in improving a corner of Central Park for the little ones; "Rutgers Slip," a vacant space in the Seventh Ward, previously used as a dumping ground for old iron and broken wagons, was set aside for a playground; a large plot of ground on Second Avenue and Ninety-second Street was fitted up by private subscription for the children, and now, under the Small Parks Act, several blocks of the vilest tenements of New York are being torn down at "Mulberry Bend" and "Corlears Hook," and in their places two breathing spaces will soon be opened in the most densely populated portion of the city.

But the question will be asked — Why did the movement stop after one grand effort? The answer is very simple, and there is a lesson in it for those now engaged in the work of forming a permanent union of moral forces.

In the first place, one of the great New York daily papers claimed the movement as the result of its efforts, and tried to exploit the enthusiasm aroused for the purpose of increasing its circulation. As this particular paper was believed by the majority of earnest people in New York to be a venal, unscrupulous concern with no ideal but the dollar, they lost interest in the movement when they thought that it was connected with this sheet. Then, too, the other papers, prompted by jealousy, took up the weapon of ridicule and used it with terrible effect.

The inherent weakness of the movement, however, was that it was made up entirely of the clergy. Not one of the prime movers, not even a committeeman, was a layman, and the women were ignored entirely. At the first mass meeting held in the Marble Collegiate Church about eighteen hundred persons crowded in to hear of the proposed reform work. But all the speakers were clergymen, and soon ill feeling arose, with petty jealousies, and not being anchored by any lay organization, the union after one sublime effort fell to pieces.

A great lesson was learned, however, and the active spirits of the old Union for Concerted Moral Effort, enriched with the experience gained from this first experiment, have entered with renewed enthusiasm the new Union for Practical Progress.

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III.

Playgrounds for Children, by Walter Vrooman, founder of the New York Society for Parks and Playgrounds for Children.

No reformer has ever started to work for his fellows, no preacher has ever gone forth in behalf of a high ideal, but he has been repulsed by vast multitudes of men and women physically incapacitated to comprehend high ideals, who have nothing in them that can respond to a generous enthusiasm. Especially is this physical degeneracy observable in our large cities. There a sad proportion of the children must develop not into healthy men and women, but into monsters. They are often old before they are young; they are drudges before they are playfellows; they have a taste for tobacco and beer before they know the rules of football.

Four years ago there were in New York City three hundred fifty thousand children without a single public playground that they could call their own. The city owned nearly six thousand acres of parks, but not one single square foot was set aside entirely for the children. These park lands were not only a long distance from the reach of the very poor, but they were managed on the principle of our competitive system of industry, and each little bareheaded and barefooted child was expected to hold his own against the domineering plans of selfish men. As a result of this system, those who walk were, by regulations prompted by favoritism, put at a serious disadvantage with those who drive carriages. The poor were sacrificed for the rich, the children for the grown men.

The beautiful corner of Central Park known as "the Green," which was originally laid out for the school children, became monopolized by professional sports. Early in 1890 an agitation was started in the city to return this "Green" to the children with interest. About thirty meetings were held and much work was done in behalf of the measure, and the expert officials of the park department made drawings for the improvement of this space, recommending the expenditure of seventy-five thousand dollars on the work. The execution of the plan, however, was indefinitely postponed because of the violent opposition of Park Commissioner Paul Dana of the *Sun*. The *World*, a rival paper, had advocated the measure.

The New York Society for Parks and Playgrounds for Children was formed Oct. 28, 1890, at Diocesan House, New York, Bishop Henry C. Potter presiding at its first meeting. It was incorporated soon after under Chapter 293 of the State Laws of 1888, authorizing the incorporation of societies for providing parks and playgrounds for children in cities, towns and villages,

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and granting special privileges to such societies. The incorporators were Bishop Henry C. Potter, Rev. Charles F. Deems, Rev. Alexander Mackay-Smith, Rev. David H. Greer, Rabbi Gustav Gottheil, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, Prof. Felix Adler, Charles B. Stover, Woodbury G. Langdon, DeWitt J. Seligman, Walter Edwards, A. C. Bernheim, Henry R. Beekman, Andrew H. Green, Erastus Wiman, William R. Stewart, Abram S. Hewitt and Walter Vrooman.

The society found that City Hall Park had in part been diverted from the purpose for which it was laid out, by the erection of government buildings in it; that St. John's Park had been covered by a railway freight station; that the elevated railroads had encroached on Battery Park; that Hamilton Square, at Sixty-sixth Street and Third Avenue, had been filled with buildings; and that Rutgers Slip, the only open space possessed by the densely crowded seventy thousand inhabitants of the Seventh Ward, had for years been covered with old iron, broken wagons and the general rubbish of merchants too stingy to pay storage room.

Chapter 320 of the Laws of 1887 authorized the expenditure by New York City of one million dollars yearly for small parks in the crowded districts. Under the operation of this law the East River Park at Eighty-sixth Street and Avenue B was extended in 1890 at cost of about seven hundred thousand dollars. But the power conferred by the statute, of expending one million dollars annually, has never been fully exercised in any one year until 1893, and in some years has not been used at all.

Through the efforts of this society, however, buildings are now being torn down at Mulberry Bend, one of the most squalid quarters of the city, and a park is to be made in place of the vile tenements thus destroyed, at an approximate cost of one million five hundred thousand dollars, part of which will be paid by assessment upon property in the neighborhood. Besides this, property is already condemned for park purposes at Corlears Hook, Cherry Street, and on Hudson and Leroy Streets, and soon these unhealthy locations will have breathing spots. A large proportion of each new park is to be devoted exclusively to the children. One important work of the society is to exert its influence to secure for the people of the city the benefits which would result from the full annual expenditure of one million dollars for more parks and playgrounds, and to oppose further encroachment upon parks now open. In Washington Square a section of broad asphalted roadway, little used by traffic, has recently been closed to vehicles by the erection of iron posts, and set apart as a playground for the children of the neighborhood, who daily enjoy it in great numbers.

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President Wilson of the Board of Health has declared that the inspection of the tenement house district showed that the Tenth Ward has an average of five hundred ten souls to the acre, a population more dense than that of Cairo, Egypt, or Pekin, China, and much more so than that of any other civilized city of which returns have been received. The children of this quarter are many of them denied entrance to the schools because of the criminal avarice of the board that makes the appropriations; they are driven from their crowded homes in the morning; they are chased from the street by the police when they attempt to play, and beaten with the broom handle of the janitor's wife when found in the hallways or on the stairs. Their condition is most miserable. No wonder they learn to chew and smoke tobacco before they can read, and take a fiendish delight in breaking windows, in petty thievery, and in gambling their pennies. These beginnings of vice and crime are the only outlets they have for the powers with which nature has endowed them. These practices are their only amusement, and happiness to them becomes synonymous with vice.

One of the first practical accomplishments of the New York Society for Parks and Playgrounds was the establishment and maintenance of a model playground on East Ninety-second Street, at a cost of two thousand dollars, raised by private subscription. One corner was covered with sand for the babies; swings and ropes, little wagons, seesaws, wheelbarrows and hobby horses were supplied in abundance, and for the larger boys footballs and gymnastic apparatus were purchased. Soon the place became the happiest spot in New York City. Every day it was filled with five hundred rollicking boys and girls who otherwise would have been moping or attempting to find recreation in ways that would destroy their physical power instead of building it up. But although this one model playground was and is still a grand success, its influence reaches only five hundred of the three hundred thousand children who are in need of just such a place. The experience gained by the society in raising funds for this ground has proved that private charity cannot supply this great need, and that if any appreciable opposition to the tendency toward physical degeneracy in our large cities is to be made the cost must be paid by the public by means of government.

The present attitude of our park officials is that it is better for grass to grow green over children's graves than yellow under their feet. This must change, and a portion of every existing park must be devoted exclusively to the little ones. Then we must have more parks in all the crowded wards of our great cities.

But it is true that in towns and villages, also, children do not

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get more than a fraction of the possible benefits from their play. The best grounds are used by the grown population in their senseless scramble for wealth. Parents and older brothers and sisters afflicted with the fever of civilization have lost all interest in children's sports and neglect the little ones, and as a result the roughest and most pitiless of the boys are monarchs of the few open spaces on which they are permitted to play. Left alone, the tyrannies children practise upon one another compare in cruelty with the oppressions exercised by the brutish governments of grown men. The children should not be left alone. In every town and village there should be improved playgrounds, with trained overseers to direct the sport and serve as protectors for the weaker and more sensitive boys and girls. More ethics and good citizenship can be instilled into our embryo rulers by a play master in a single week than can be inculcated by Sunday school teachers and Fourth of July orators in a decade.

Is it not time that the older generation modify its efforts in accumulating buildings, ships and precious metals for the generation to come, and begin to do something toward securing to it that greater treasure — physical and mental health?

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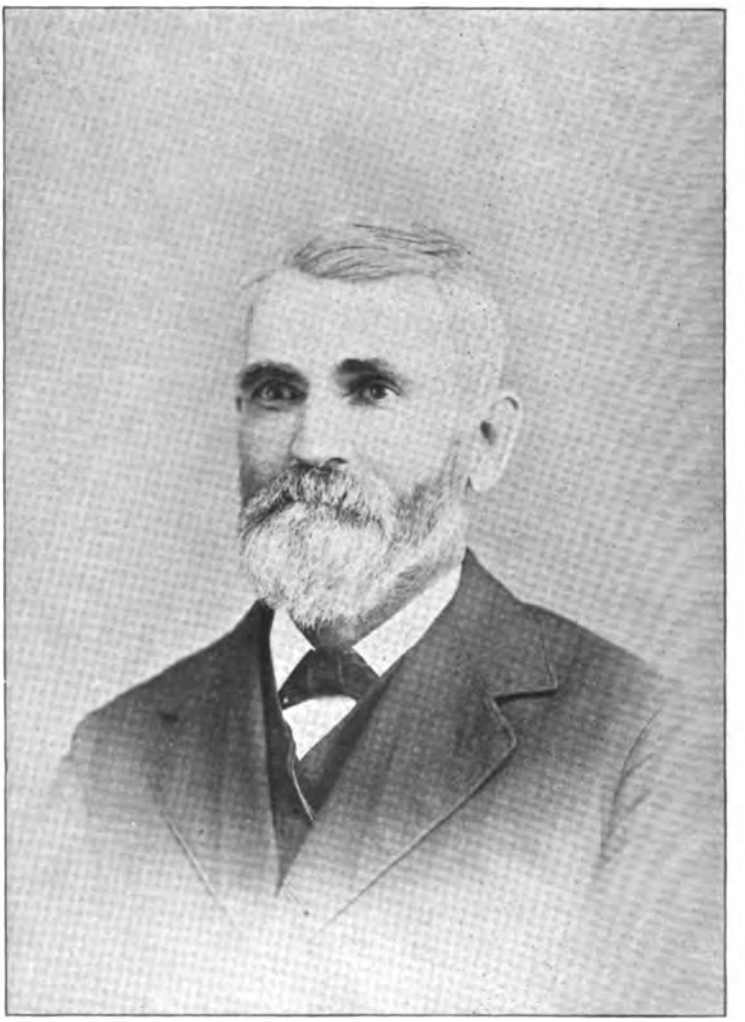

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THE VALUE OF HYPNOTISM AS A MEANS OF SURGICAL ANÆSTHESIA.

BY JAMES R. COCKE, M. D.

THE one thing that differentiates our modern civilization from the civilizations of the past is the general diffusion of knowledge among the masses. With our advances in specialism there goes hand in hand the advancement in general knowledge by the people. The great reforms in politics, medicine and religion have almost without exception been caused by popular need as expressed by its pronounced demand.

In writing this article I hope to meet the popular demand for more extended knowledge upon the subject of hypnotism. So many absurd and vague notions about hypnotism are current at the present day, that I will first make my own ideas clear as to what the hypnotic state really is.

The hypnotic state is that condition of mind in which it is so dominated by an idea that all or part of the manifestations of consciousness may be subjugated to the idea, even to such an extent that consciousness itself will be absorbed by the predominating suggestion. There are a number of ways of inducing the hypnotic state. Different degrees of this state can be produced, according to the means employed to impress the psychic life of the patient.

If I wish to hypnotize a patient I have him look fixedly at a bright object held about fifteen inches from the eyes. I tell him that he must look fixedly and think only of the object at which he is looking. Holding a bright coin in one hand,

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I place the other hand on the wrist of the subject over the radial artery and watch the pulse carefully. If the subject is a good one, in from three to four minutes the heart will beat more rapidly, the pulse will become bounding, and the pupils of the eyes will dilate. When the changes take place in the pulse and pupils, I tell the subject that I will absorb his consciousness, that his eyelids are growing heavy, and that he feels the warm blood coursing through his veins. I insist then that he cannot hold his eyelids open, and command him to close them. Gently stroking his right hand, I tell him it is growing numb. I suggest to him that his limbs are growing heavy, and that I am still absorbing his consciousness. Then I command him to sleep. If the hypnotism is successful, he will breathe deeply, and his face will have a peculiar, set expression.

I then begin testing the sense of touch, either by a sharp instrument, or better by two small wire brushes connected with the poles of a Faradic battery. If the patient is thoroughly hypnotized he will not respond even to quite a severe shock from the battery. If I wish to hypnotize him sufficiently to perform a surgical operation, I continue to suggest to him that he is unconscious, until, placing the electric brushes over the supra orbital nerves (just over the eyebrows), the electricity will not cause him to evince pain. When this region is insensible to pain, it is then safe to operate.

Many writers upon hypnotism have divided the hypnotic state into three stages. I think this division is unwise, for there are a number of mental stages vaguely classed as hypnotic, and any arbitrary division of them will frequently mislead the operator.

In the article written by me for the December number of THE ARENA, I stated that only a certain number of people were susceptible to hypnotic suggestion. I wish to modify that statement, for I have found that a much larger number of people than I supposed could be hypnotized, if only I could obtain from them six to eight minutes' absolute volitional obedience. Let me make myself clear.

Take any man, let him look you squarely in the eyes, and command him to begin rotating his hands; tell him to increase the speed, and speak to him very rapidly; if this is continued, the pupils of the average man will dilate in about

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six minutes', and, in from eight to twelve minutes, a more or less profound degree of hypnosis will be induced. Since the first of last January I have tried this method upon about fifty people, and found that whenever they would give me six minutes' volitional obedience, I could induce the hypnotic state in the following six or eight minutes. In other words, I believe and hope to prove by experiment that a very large number, say ninety per cent, of all upon whom it may be tried can be hypnotized in a greater or less degree if they will give the hypnotist a few minutes' volitional obedience. If I am right, this will make hypnotism applicable in a great many ways which are not known at the present time.

The hypnotic state can also be induced by a person looking at his own eyes reflected by a mirror, into rippling water, or by looking at a couple of rapidly revolving polished metallic discs.

I believe from experience that hypnotism can and will supply the place now held in medicine by morphine and other opiates, in at least from seventy-five to eighty per cent of all the cases in which these or similar drugs are now used. The question is often asked me both by medical men and laymen, if hypnotism is as injurious as morphine and other opiates, to say nothing of chloroform, alcohol, ether, laughing gas, etc. I will make the matter clear by describing very briefly the action of some of these drugs.

Morphine is the drug generally used for the purpose of allaying acute pain. To its disagreeable and injurious effects, thousands of people in this and foreign lands can testify. Who has not felt the terrible nausea in about eight or twelve hours after taking the drug by the mouth or by a hypodermatic injection? Alas, we all know too well the brilliant intellects which have been clouded or rendered useless by this magic drug. But leaving out the danger from the morphine habit, the drug, when used either to produce sleep or to quell pain, so interferes with the digestion of food and the elimination of waste products by the bowels, that the best and most careful medical men use it now only when the suffering is so great that to withhold it would be cruel.

Now hypnotism naturally can have no bad effects upon the digestion. I have hypnotized a large number of acutely ill people, and I know that it has acted as a sedative without producing apparent harm in the cases to which it was prop-

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erly adapted. I have never seen it produce acute delirium in the sick. Morphine will frequently do so, however. Hypnotism never endangered life. Morphine when used hypodermatically may do so, if it is by accident injected into a vein. There are conditions in which hypnotism may be injurious to the mind. Morphine may injure the mind in as many cases, if not more. One is not likely to form a bad habit of being hypnotized. The morphine habit, unfortunately, is already too frequent.

The disagreeable after effects of chloroform and ether are too well known to require much comment. Both have proved fatal in a large number of cases. The other leading narcotics — chloral, bromide, etc. — all have very disagreeable immediate and remote consequences, especially when used for a long time. The claim may be urged that all persons cannot be hypnotized. Many persons are kept wide awake by opium and other narcotics if used in safe doses, but they are all ultimately injurious if used long.

I will now briefly mention a case which was benefited by the prolonged use of hypnotism. He was a young man, suffering with a very painful affection. The disease was insidious, and for technical reasons cannot be described here. Suffice it to say, however, that it was one which rendered him miserable by day, and, owing to severe pain, made sleep impossible by night. Most cases of this disease (over ninety per cent) prove fatal. In addition to the severe pain, the temperature of the patient varied, he being quite feverish in the afternoon and evening. He was emaciated and was so ill that he could not stand upon his feet. He was in the habit of using, besides morphine, large quantities of other sedatives which, owing to the severe pain, gave him little relief.

When I first saw him, I think he was without exception the most thorough nervous wreck which it had ever been my lot to treat. Every function of the body was disordered. Repose could be had neither with nor without narcotics. Superadded to this condition was an intense, restless, mental anxiety, which could not be controlled by ordinary means. The slightest noise and slightest movements caused him both acute physical pain and intense mental distress. He was well educated, of an excellent family, and used his utmost will power to control himself.

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I saw him the first time about nine o'clock in the evening, and a more heartrending, brave struggle I never witnessed. There, lying upon his surgical fracture bed, was a young man, intelligent, handsome, who was bravely battling against constant pain. He took my hand between his two slender, wan hands, and made an appeal to me to give him sleep, more eloquent than any lawyer's appeal to a jury in behalf of a much afflicted client.

A necessary examination caused him considerable pain. As soon as this was completed I told the patient that he would sleep. I did not believe it. The pulse was about 130 per minute, and he quivered constantly with pain. I did not think it possible that any one in such a condition could be hypnotized at the first trial. However, the light in the room was turned down, and the patient was told to look at a coin in the manner previously described. In two minutes the pulse fell from 130 to 108 per minute. I told him that he was getting sleepy, that his eyelids were heavy. I could tell by the pressure of his hand that his mind wandered from the coin twice. In thirteen minutes he was breathing deeply, and the whole body was in a state of repose.

While he was in this condition, I asked him if he had pain. He answered, "Yes." I commanded him to sleep, and told him he was feeling no pain. In twenty minutes he was in a deep trance. I tried the reflexes of the body and found their intensity diminished. I still commanded him to sleep until his respirations were only sixteen per minute; they were very deep. The brow was cool and did not response to firm pressure over the supra orbital regions. Sleep was again commanded, and I retired from the room.

The patient lay in the hypnotic state three hours and forty minutes. He awoke moaning, and begged for morphine. We found that some of the surgical apparatus needed in his care was disarranged, and as a result he must be suffering intensely. Again he was hypnotized much more easily than the first time, and lay in the condition two hours and twenty-five minutes. Having given him a good night, we were hopeful of a good day.

Now came the severe test of hypnotism. It was necessary that certain surgical procedures, for which chloroform or ether are generally used, should be performed. I will not harrow the feelings by a minute description of the details, but will give

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some idea of the difficulties without appealing too much to the emotions.

It was necessary to treat an abdominal wound four and one-half inches in length, into which we had to pass a long rubber tube, around which was packed a large quantity of iodoform gauze, this in turn being firmly secured by properly adjusted straps of surgeon's plaster. This enormous raw surface had to be carefully cleansed with what is termed an antiseptic solution. Fluid had to be injected through a rubber tube deep into the abdominal cavity. This daily dressing would have necessitated the use of chloroform or ether every time had it not been for the blessed use of hypnotism.

Some conception of the amount of pain saved by hypnotism may be formed when I state that the pain inflicted by these procedures would probably equal, if not exceed, that caused by the extraction of eight or ten healthy teeth. In the hypnotic state not only was this procedure accomplished without pain, but the nerves of the patient were spared the shock of the daily administration of chloroform. The use of morphine was entirely discontinued after the first hypnotic *séance*. Owing to the constitutional condition of the patient the wound healed slowly, and it was necessary to cleanse and drain a very large raw surface. As a result of the wound the patient was obliged to lie on his back, and he could not move for fear of pain. By means of hypnotism this pain was gradually subdued, and the man nursed back almost from the jaws of death itself.

I have dwelt somewhat at length upon the case just mentioned. For seven weeks this patient has been hypnotized twice or three times a day for the purposes previously mentioned. The intensely nervous, irritable man, worn out with pain, has been brought back to a condition of comparatively healthy mental and nervous equilibrium, and that stern friend of the human race — pain — has been dismissed, as there was no further use for him. Sleep, hitherto wooed in vain by drugs, came to this tired sufferer, and now the summer days, which are covering all nature with a mantle of beauty, dawn again for this young life and bid him hope and give him sweet promise.

I cannot reproduce upon paper my seven weeks' experience with this case. His very critical condition made my presence

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necessary a greater part of the time. When using hypnotism I felt like one of the magicians of old; but I was fired by a better and nobler purpose than to astonish and please, realizing that pain, like some evil spirit, would vanish at a properly directed command or suggestion.

I wish to emphasize another point in regard to this patient. Prolonged suffering had completely broken down his self-control. I found that by suggestion, during and after the hypnotic state, I could get him to exercise his will with renewed vigor, and that instead of hypnotism being an injury to the mind, as has been claimed, it was a source of health and vitality.

I have used hypnotism frequently in minor dental operations, extracting teeth, etc. It is more efficient and more lasting than nitrous oxide gas, and leaves no disagreeable effect. A physician attempting any surgical operation, and using hypnotism as an anæsthetic, must be sure that the patient becomes thoroughly unconscious. This knowledge can be gained, as I previously mentioned, by the use of Faradic electricity applied with wire brushes. The patient may be semi-conscious and feel pain, and yet be unable to make it known by outcries or gestures. But if electricity is used, the face will be so sensitive to it, that an expression of pain or other evidence of it will be given. If he is wholly unconscious there will be practically no change in his expression when the brushes are applied to the supra orbital nerves.

Can the art of hypnotism be taught? Yes, most assuredly. It does not depend upon any hidden, mysterious force inherent in a few gifted individuals. Its operation is simply the intensification of one idea by some form of impression made upon the nervous system.

The lower animals can be hypnotized, and will obey hypnotic suggestion in a direct ratio to our ability of impressing our ideas upon their minds. This intensification of a mental state inhibits, then, if carried far enough, the centres of sensation in the brain, and in this way insensibility both to pain and touch may be produced.

In very susceptible persons the hypnotic state can be prolonged for a number of hours. Some forms of it resemble very closely the condition known to medical men as catalepsy, if indeed the states are not identical.

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One does not always need to be deeply hypnotized in order to obtain the best remedial effects. Simple suggestion will sometimes relieve many apparently severe conditions. Intensify these suggestions and you at first have the patient interested. Carry it a degree farther and you have interest and attention gone mad. They carry themselves so far that all consciousness is for the time inhibited. These degrees of intensification of the mind resemble in their manifestations the great law of acoustics, which is that, when bodies are in vibration, the ear can detect a certain given ratio of them per minute, as noise; then as the vibrations increase in rapidity, a low-pitched musical tone is heard, and as successive vibrations follow with greater rapidity, the tone rises in pitch until there are so many vibrations per minute that the human ear ceases to hear them. So a moderate degree of attention in the mind produces ordinary thought; carry it a little farther and you get intense mental activity; still a little farther and the human mind is blank.

All new things and all old things used for new purposes must and should stand the test of sharp conservative criticism and the most searching scientific investigation. That hypnotism, in its application to surgery and as a means of relieving pain, may withstand these tests and prove a blessing to myriads of sufferers, must be the hope of all who seek the alleviation of pain.

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THE PRESENT CONFLICT FOR A LARGER LIFE.

BY REV. M. J. SAVAGE.

It is not a question with us, I take it, as to whether our life shall be a warfare. To be alive means that we are engaged in some sort of struggle, reaching forth to some sort of attainment. If we are engaged in selfish effort, seeking purely personal ends, even then it is a fight of faith; for men fight only for those things in which they believe, and which they trust they can attain. But if it be a selfish struggle for personal ends, though it be a fight of faith, it is not a good fight of faith. That means that we shall strive after unselfish ends — those ends which include the general welfare of man.

More than thirty years ago we were engaged in a good fight of faith. We were fighting for country, for liberty, for the welfare of humanity. It was a fight of faith, because we believed in the country, we believed in humanity, we believed in the principles of liberty and righteousness which we thought of as underlying our present social and political order. It was a good fight, because we were on the side of humanity, of liberty, of peace, of universal order and universal advance. But, when the last flag of our enemies disappeared from the sea, and when General Lee gave up his sword at Appomattox, the battle was not over. One phase of the struggle for liberty, for truth, for righteousness, for humanity, was indeed ended. But this is a warfare that lasts for life; and peace has her struggles, her failures, her victories no less important than those that are connected with the use of arms. There are battles still in which we must be engaged on one side or the other; battles which concern the honesty and welfare, the prosperity — yea, the very existence — of our country that we love. We must be engaged in them, I say. For, even though one be indifferent and listless, and suppose himself out of the ranks of either side, that inertia, that lack of interest, that failure to devote oneself, is a power constantly exerted in behalf of the enemy; and every true man and every true woman must be positively enlisted on behalf of those principles which concern the welfare and progress of man.

I propose to discuss here with some freedom what I regard as the condition, the dangers and the needs of our country at the present time, as an indication of the direction in which the duty

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of every intelligent and every earnest patriot lies. If there be any one, man or woman, who is not interested in a theme like this, then that is only one more reason why some one should speak; for that lack of interest is itself an element of the danger which confronts us, and that threatens our peace, our prosperity and our progress.

I wish my readers to note, in the first place, that an orderly, peaceful, just and progressive government is beyond all possibility of comparison the most important institution on the face of the earth. Nothing educational, nothing humanitarian, nothing in charitable work, nothing that deals with the principle of ethics, nothing religious, can compare for one moment in prime importance with the existence of an orderly, equitable, peaceful and progressive government. Why? Because the existence of such a government is the very condition of the life and growth of all these other things. Just, for example, as I would say that the existence and purity of the atmosphere is the most important thing in all the world to everything that breathes, because it is the prime condition of everything else, so I say that the existence of the government which I have been describing is the most important thing in the world, because it is the condition of business prosperity, the condition of physical and family life, the condition of prosperous social order, the condition of education and art, of industrial peace and prosperity; of all those things, in short, that make up the varied and complicated interests of human lives.

In the next place, while the existence of this kind of government is the most important of all things for us so long as we are inhabitants of this earth, the creation of such a government is the most difficult problem ever presented to man. Have you ever stopped carefully to consider that? The creation of an orderly, just, peaceful and progressive government, I say, is the most difficult achievement ever presented to man. For consider that this human race of ours has been here on this planet something like two or three hundred thousand years, and in all that time humanity has never yet succeeded in creating the kind of government I have just described. There does not exist to-day on the face of the earth a government concerning which the intelligent student feels at all sure that it has in it the elements of perpetuity, of continued health, growth and power. If there be one, it is this one here of ours in our beloved America; and the only reason why we are at all hopeful that we may have solved the problem is that the deepest and most careful thinkers of the world pronounce this federal representative system of ours, that allows freedom to the town, to the city and the state, and yet bands all these free states in one grand federation, a system which

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seems to have in it the elements of elasticity, of power, of adaptation and continuous growth, which are necessary to any government that is to last.

Mr. John Fiske, in the opening chapter of his book, "The Beginnings of New England," speaks of three types of government. One is the oriental, which was created by the conquest of other peoples which were held in slavery; that is, conquest without incorporation. The people that were conquered did not become a part of the people who conquered them. The next great system, he says, is the Roman system — conquest with incorporation, but without representation; that is, the people were made a part of the Roman government, they were allowed to become Roman subjects, but they had no representatives in Rome. The foreign provinces were ruled by men sent out from Rome. Then there is the American system. For the first time in the history of the world a government is devised which includes conquest, or the spreading of its influence, the acquirement of new territory, with incorporation; that is, people become a part of ourselves, and, at the same time, with representation, so that every man to the furthest limits of our territory has a voice in determining what the policy and future of this country shall be. This seems to promise perpetuity.

But now I wish to enter upon an ungracious task. We have assumed here in this country, with a sort of happy-go-lucky spirit, that, whatever may have happened to oriental nations or to ancient Rome, or whatever may have happened to what we are accustomed to call the "effete despotisms" of the world, we are in the hands of some "manifest destiny" that can insure continuous progress in spite of our selfishness and in spite of our folly. But in a universe governed in accordance with law, in a universe the essential principles of which are righteousness, where all the power of the Omnipotent is in favor of keeping the universal laws — in a universe like this there is no safety for those who ignorantly or foolishly or wantonly or under whatever motive disregard or break these laws. There is no guarantee for the perpetuity of this magnificent government of ours except the intelligence, the honesty, the watchfulness, the unselfish service of its citizens. There is nothing to prevent our going the way of all the races of the world except these things.

Now let me call your attention to a few conditions that seem to me to contain in them the elements of danger, and which we need to guard against and correct. I shall not enter into these things with any great amount of elaboration or with any aim at logical order. I can only touch here and there on certain points that will illustrate the things I have in mind.

In the first place, look at the condition of our great cities. I

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think every intelligent and thoughtful student of human history and of the principles of human government, must confess that, whatever success our representative government may have met with in other departments of its life, at present it is a lamentable failure in our great cities. I speak dispassionately and calmly when I say that it is probably true that there are no cities on the earth outside of Turkey, India and China and those parts which we hardly call civilized, that are much more poorly governed than our great American cities. Ignorance, partisanship, venality, corruption of every kind exist here as they do not exist in most cities of England, of France, of Germany, of any part of Europe that claims to be civilized. We know perfectly well, that in these great American cities to-day the rights and the welfare of the whole people are almost never dominant. We know perfectly well that any great measure which is brought up for consideration or treatment is rarely treated on its merits. We know perfectly well that, if a man has a political "pull," if he belongs to some powerful and wealthy corporation, he is likely to get what he wants, whatever may become of the rights of the people at large. We know that business principles, that economy, that justice, are every day trampled down in the interest of persons, in the interest of parties, in the interest of corporations. I repeat, there are few worse governed cities in the civilized world. I question if there are any as badly governed as are some of our great cities. This sort of thing cannot go on forever. This is not only true of our cities, it is true of some of our states, where it is a childlike delusion to suppose that the people really govern. You know that the United States Senate is made up, to a very dangerous degree, of men who are not sent there because they are wise, not sent there because they are good, not sent there because they are statesmen or because they care for the interests of the country. They are sent there because they have money enough to open the way, and for no other reason under heaven. This sort of thing cannot go on and public prosperity continue.

What is the cause of certain things that threaten us? I will discuss for a few moments four types of the ballot which contain within themselves dangers against which we need to guard ourselves, and the right treatment of which contains the cure so far as possible for these dangers. First, there is the ignorant ballot. I think we have made a terrible blunder in this country in admitting such large masses of ignorance to the ballot box. I think, for example, that, under whatever grand philanthropic, humanitarian impulse it may have been done, it was a terrible mistake to admit masses of utterly uneducated and uncivilized black men to the rights of the ballot. Do not misunderstand me. I would fight for the rights, for the political equality, of the blacks,

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if necessary. But I mean we have committed the blunder of supposing that twenty centuries of long and laborious civilization could be leaped in twenty years; that you could take a man from the lower range of barbarism, and by putting a ballot in his hand lift him over those twenty centuries to the level of civilization. What we ought to have done, I think, was to have held out the ballot to the black man as a reward of merit, giving every intelligent black man the ballot, and offering it to every unintelligent one just as fast as he made himself intelligent enough to wield it safely. We do not remember that ignorance may be more dangerous than rascality. The rascal may see what is for his interest, and vote that way; an ignorant man votes without any guide, and the chances are that he votes wrongly. No man ought to have the right to vote in this country unless he is intelligent enough, not only to read and write, but to understand the underlying principles of our government, and what makes the difference between this government and those that have preceded it, and gone down under the advancing forces of the world's civilization. We cannot go back — we cannot take the ballot out of the hands of those who have received it; but I believe we should begin to fight to have restriction used from this time forward which shall prevent the accession to the ranks of the voting people of this country of any more irresponsible ignorance. Then we can trust to Providence and to death; ignorance will die out after a while if we do not create any more, and the government will at last come into the hands of those who know what it means to vote.

There is another kind of vote that we need to guard against in this country. That is the foreign vote, the vote of those who come here and who do not understand our language and do not know what our country is. We are suffering as a country from what I may call a terrible indigestion. We have received great masses of ignorant people from all parts of the world, and we have allowed them to come here so fast that we have not been able to turn them into Americans. Henry Ward Beecher on a certain occasion years ago, when he was arguing in favor of letting any people come here as fast as they might, said that, when an elephant bites off a branch of a tree and swallows it, the elephant does not turn into a tree — the tree turns into an elephant. But if you let the elephant try to swallow a whole tree or a whole forest, there will be no assimilation, and the elephant will die. That has been the trouble with us. We have been trying to swallow a foreign element more rapidly than we can digest it. In Chicago to-day — I speak of it only as an illustration — great masses of the population have not become Americanized. In that city whole squads of men are marched to the polls by some

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man whose headquarters is a grog-shop; and these men cannot speak three sentences of intelligent English, and have no more idea of the polity of the United States and what it stands for than they have of the geography of the back side of the moon. This is not only a blunder--it is a crime against everything that is sacred in American civilization. I believe we ought to restrict immigration, and not let it come any faster than we can Americanize it. Let it come as fast as we can do that. I do not care if the whole world comes here, if we can turn them into Americans. We need to restrict immigration along the lines of that principle.

Then I would have another thing done. I would not have any foreigner naturalized until he can speak and read our language, and until he has been here long enough to breathe the American atmosphere. For example, think of what has been taking place in the state of Wisconsin. A struggle for life and death in that state has been going on as to whether the children in public schools shall learn the English language. American citizens who cannot speak our tongue, who cannot read our history, who have no way of understanding what this country stands for!

There is another thing we need to guard against. I do not like to hear this talk about the Scandinavian vote, the German vote, the Italian vote, the Irish vote. There ought to be no vote in this country except the American vote. Here is a political party or a number of newspapers catering to the German vote. What right have we to have a German vote in America? What right have we to have an Irish vote? What right to have anything but an American vote? Until you get ready to be American, do not touch a ballot; and, when you are American, stop talking about any other kind of vote except our own.

There is another kind of ballot which is a constant menace against which we need to guard. That is the religious ballot. No man ought to be allowed to wield the ballot in this country unless his oath of allegiance to the United States is regarded in his innermost heart and conscience as superior to any other allegiance on the face of the earth. If any man places his religious opinions above his citizenship, he has no business to be a citizen, if that is his interpretation of what it means to be religious. Whether it be a Methodist fighting for a particular way of keeping Sunday, whether it be a Catholic owing superior allegiance to the Pope and the Vatican, whether it be a Presbyterian trying to get the name of God into the Constitution, or whatever it may be,—any man who does not regard his allegiance to his country and her welfare as supreme over all considerations when he has a ballot in his hand, has no business to touch the ballot.

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He is a traitor to his country. I do not care if he betrays it to his conception of God, he is a traitor just the same; for, from the point of view of the citizen, the one supreme interest over everything else is the welfare of the country.

So much for the kind of ballot we need to fight for. We cannot go back, I suppose. You cannot induce people who already have the ballot to vote to give it up. But we can strive for recognition of these principles now and henceforth; and then perhaps we shall be able to outgrow and slough off the evils with which we have overloaded ourselves and which threaten to sink us.

With this one restriction, I am in favor of woman suffrage. I am not ready to vote to give the ballot to every woman, because I would begin with every new thing we do to recognize this principle. I am in favor of giving the ballot to every intelligent woman who is capable of seeing what the ballot means and is able to wield it for good. There ought to be in voting no distinction in regard to color, nationality, religion or sex, but one absolute condition of intelligence and devotion to the welfare of the country.

I wish to call your attention to one other thing. I shall not be able to go into it with any elaboration or detail. I refer to the signs of industrial unrest. We may laugh as we please at "Coxey's Army," but it is a symptom. Symptoms as they appear on the surface may seem slight enough; but they mean always internal disturbance, they mean the possibility of diseases that may threaten the vitals. We are passing through a great industrial period of turmoil and unrest. The tendency everywhere is to the accumulation of business powers in the hands of a few. The small dealer is dying out, is becoming absorbed in larger corporations. As an extreme illustration of what this thing may come to, it is true to say that the whole earth to-day is practically dependent for its oil supply upon the two great corporations who have condescended to divide the world between themselves. This is the tendency in every department of business. Perhaps you will be surprised when I say that not only can we not help this, but that I, for one, would not help this if I could. I believe the tendency is in the right direction. I believe that God has not quite forgotten His world; that He is still here, taking a hand in managing human affairs. I believe that this tendency will go on until it reaches the extreme limit; and at last, to the surprise of those who have not studied human tendencies, it will blossom out into coöperation.

I do not expect any sudden change. This is a universe governed in accordance with the laws of universal evolution, not a universe governed by cataclysms and revolutions, except when

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people do not keep up with the order of affairs. I believe that tentatively, here and there, in favorable places, there will be a tendency, as the years go by, towards a control of the business affairs of the world on the part of the people for the interest of the people. And I believe that ultimately this will mean shorter hours, will mean leisure for all, will mean comfort for all. I believe I am talking with entire sanity and within the limits of that which is perfectly possible. The time will come — and it will come right along the lines of present growth and progress — when men shall have a little leisure to think and read and cultivate any taste for art they may possess, to become acquainted with their families, and to develop the higher sides of their natures. I believe that what you and I need to do to help on this condition of affairs is not to obstruct the tendencies that are going on, but to study them and help them and prevent friction.

I wish every man and woman who reads this would study a little book called "The Social Horizon." It is published by Sonneschein, London. It is anonymous, except that it is by the author of "Life in our Villages." It is by a man connected with one of the London newspapers. He gives the clearest and simplest statement of what is going on in the industrial and social world, and of the possible hopeful outcome of it, that I have anywhere seen. I wish you would read this book, and then try with good heart and hope to help on the tendencies that work for a higher civilization. Because I believe in God, I believe in the future of humanity. I do not believe that this world has been going wrong from the first, or that it is going wholly wrong now. I believe that we are capable of moulding and shaping conditions, and that humanity is going forward.

Only one point more. During this great change there must be much suffering; every birth-throe means a pain; yet it means the beginning of a new life. While we are going on, then, to this new condition of affairs, what shall we do? I want to call your attention to a movement all over this country that I look to with a good deal of hope, because I trust that it can relieve and help the conditions while we are going through these changes. Some of you may know that there is already organized a body which calls itself a Union for Practical Progress. Statesmen, merchants, novelists, poets, prominent men of every class of citizens in our great cities, are becoming interested in it, and are becoming members of this union. The aim is to have an organization in every city, in every town, of this country, and then to have a national organization. What do its promoters propose to effect? They are having lecturers sent all over the country. They are writing and distributing tracts and leaflets all over the land. They are appealing to the pulpits with wonderful success.

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One part of their scheme is something like this. They select some important matter of interest, some topic that ought to be considered, some phase of practical social or industrial reform, and then, according to a plan which has been partially carried out, all the ministers in every denomination in every large city of the country will speak on that great theme on the same Sunday in the year, so that a great universal blow is struck for the welfare of men. What kind of topics are they discussing? The tenement-house evil, for example. Every man who studies the matter at all knows that the mean, dirty rookery that is not fit for human beings to inhabit is the best kind of property you can have in a great city. We are learning a lesson with great hope in it. Men in New York and a woman in Boston, from purely philanthropic motives, have constructed tenement houses of a model character, and have found them good investments. There can be no decent life, no intellectual life, no hope for industry, while three or four families — men, women, and children — drunken and sodden, are packed in one room, the children growing up breathing an atmosphere like that, and we standing by and expecting them to become respectable citizens.

That is one evil they are attacking. Another is child labor. You know, if you stop to think of it a moment, that you cannot have a child engaged in hard labor, making money for the support of the family so that it has not any time to learn, without making it impossible for it to grow up a decent citizen.

Then another evil is the sweating system, which means an attempt to grind down the workman to the very lowest point of wages upon which he can live, and to have work done in dirty tenements where there are germs of disease threatening the public welfare in every direction. Men and women, when they go shopping, are frequently very glad because they have struck a bargain; and yet do you know that these bargains generally mean that you are wearing or ornamenting yourselves with the heart's blood of somebody? It means that somebody is working for wages upon which no decent, honest person can live. I do not say that you shall not invest in bargains because this is true, for your declining to purchase something that is cheap will not secure the perfect condition of things; but I want you to understand what it means, and, when the opportunity comes to strike it a death blow, I want you to do it.

Another one of the things which this Union for Practical Progress is fighting is the saloon evil. I will be perfectly frank with you. I am not a total abstainer myself: I am not a regular drinker, either. I do not believe that the world's salvation is coming along those lines. If I had my way, I would not interfere with what a man chooses to eat or to drink at his own table

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and with his own family; but you ought to know that the saloon, as it exists, whatever your belief or practice may be, is a threat day and night to intelligence and honesty and political life, to industrial prosperity, to everything that is dear to our hearts in our grand, noble land. There ought to be some way, there is some way, by which people who believe this can unite to limit this evil, and prevent its spread, and perhaps by and by wipe it out altogether. I have been hoping that in this commonwealth we would have sense enough to try that system * which has been presented before the legislature this winter, and see whether it would not accomplish something. It has one grand merit. It ceases under that system to be for the personal pecuniary interest of any man to sell liquor; and is not right here, in the selfishness of men who wish to make money, the root of the saloon power?

Such, then, are some of the things that we can help on by our interest, by our intelligent discussion and effort, while the great changes of the country are going on under the larger providence of God. Are we not engaged in religious work when we are fighting this great fight of faith? What is religious work? What is the difference between the religions of the world? Every single religion under the broad heaven claims that the thing it lives for is to help men and women into right relations with God, into right relations with each other; to help men and women to be true and just and loving and faithful. The differences between the different religions are merely differences as to methods of doing this; every one of them claims to have the same great end. We then, when we are striving to attain these results are engaged in the highest and grandest of all religious work. We are trying to make men and women what they ought to be; we are trying to build here on earth the ideal republic. When we shall have succeeded in establishing the ideal republic, we shall find that we have built and have become citizens of the city of God.

* The Norwegian system.

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PRENATAL INFLUENCE.

BY SYDNEY BARRINGTON ELLIOT, M. D.

In the last article we gave many opinions and cases from eminent authorities, proving the truth of prenatal influence. We are now prepared to give illustrations showing how desirable qualities may be imparted to the future offspring through this great force, and how undesirable ones may be guarded against. The reason that such illustrations are not more glaringly frequent, and that so many cases are on record of *physical* deformity, similar to those given in the last article, is obvious. The bodily defect is apparent at the birth of the child; the mental defect or mental quality of whatever kind, is obvious only at a later period, and by that time the various causes of mental distress, of mental work or of the mental states, whatever they have been, during the gestation of that child, have probably been forgotten; so that while it may be said there are few, none at all perhaps, who are not more or less affected by prenatal influence, they are necessarily few whose peculiarities, tendencies and idiosyncrasies can be accounted for.

The following cases, carefully selected from well-known authors, from prominent physicians and from my own practice, will illustrate how the laws of prenatal influence may be taken advantage of to better future generations.

The case of Napoleon Bonaparte affords an interesting illustration. His natural inclination for war while still a mere child was remarkable. The subject was ever in his mind, he was constantly talking of it and anxiously looking forward to the time when he could enter upon a military life. When he was only a few years old he delighted in thunder storms; he loved to hear the peals of thunder and to see the lightning. This tendency was so strong that sometimes it was impossible to induce him to seek shelter during a storm; instead, he would expose himself to the elements, delighting in their fury. Although he had four brothers none of them ever displayed any fondness for war

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while young, nor at any time marked military ability. This remarkable instinct for war is accounted for as follows. Napoleon's mother was surrounded with scenes of battle — skirmishes and quick marches, during the months preceding his birth. She accompanied her husband on horseback upon a military campaign, and moreover deeply interested herself in strategy and the arts of war. She thus conferred upon her son a love of conquest and a military genius before which all Europe trembled for many years.

Robert Burns is another noteworthy instance of remarkable genius imparted through prenatal influence. His mother was of cheerful disposition, though in humble and often pinched circumstances. She had an excellent memory for old songs and ballards, and she sang them constantly as she went about her household duties. By the constant exercise of this order of mental faculties, she conferred upon her eldest son a degree of ability which she herself did not possess.

M. A. de Frarière has given some interesting cases, illustrating how musical talent has been conferred on the offspring as a result of the mother cultivating this talent in herself during gestation. He has also given examples in which the parent or parents were possessed of marked musical talent, but who had children of no musical ability, as the mother was not exercising her musical faculties during the time she was pregnant. The value of these cases from this writer is enhanced by his having personal knowledge of each.

The first case is that of Luigi Ricci, who on August 15, 1861, when he was only eight years old, directed the singers at the Basilique de San Guisto, at Trieste, where they performed a mass of his own composition. The church was crowded. In an account of Luigi, written at Boulogne, the writer says, —

> Every one in the town attributes the precocious musical intelligence of the little Luigi to the exceptional position in which the mother found herself while *enceinte*.

Wolfgang Mozart was another notable instance of latent musical talent, as was also the daughter of Madame Borghi-Mamo. M. de Frarière says that in each of these children the wonderful display of musical genius is accounted for by the mother exercising her musical talents and being sur-

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rounded by musical people during her pregnancy. He goes on to say: —

I learn from the brother of the celebrated Wolfgang, who died at Milan, and who, by the way, had no disposition for music, that their mother had cultivated music during the early years of her married life, but that she had afterwards abandoned it and even taken a dislike to it after her first two *accouchements*. Then this brother was born under the latter influence, and he had no musical talent.

In regard to the little daughter of Madame Borghi-Mamo, the *Journal le Nord*, Nov. 14, 1859, contained the following lines: —

The little daughter of Madame Borghi-Mamo, three or four years of age, already displays a decided talent for music. It is wonderful to hear this *virtuose en herbe*, who has never received a lesson, as you may imagine, sing from one end to the other the part of Rosine from having heard it practised. She reproduces with her little crystal voice all the turns, all the elegances and all the most delicate expressions and flourishes. No shade of the impersonation escapes this miniature Rosine. At the time when Madame Borghi-Mamo was *enceinte*, she sang constantly; she even sang on the very eve of the day on which they could print that mother and child were doing well.

Zerah Colborn (born in Cabot, Vt., Sept. 1, 1804, died March 2, 1840) was a prodigy in arithmetical calculation. At six years of age he manifested such powers of computation as to astonish the learned world. Questions in multiplication of five places of figures, reduction, rule of three, compound fractions and obtaining factors of large numbers, were answered with accuracy and with marvellous quickness. Among the questions propounded to him on his visit at Harvard College were the following: How many days and hours in 1811 years? His answer, given in twenty seconds, was 661,015 days, 15,864,360 hours. How many seconds in eleven years? The answer, given in four seconds, was 346,896,000. The reason for this remarkable arithmetical talent was that a few months before his birth, his mother, who had never been taught arithmetic, had on her mind for a day and a night a puzzling question as to how many yards of cloth a given amount of yarn which she had would make. To a person understanding arithmetic this would be a simple problem, but she had to do it by a mental process, without rule, and this extraordinary effort on her part was organized in her child and made him a genius in mental arithmetic.

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The following case, with the facts of which we were conversant, will show how business ability may be conferred. The family of H. was an old and distinguished one, yet in all their history there was not one member of it who had any marked business ability, although renown in various professions was attained by many. In the present generation, however, there is one who is possessed of excellent business capacity. This tendency showed itself in early years, and so strong was the latent force that he overcame the most serious obstacles in his commercial career, and is now considered a man of unusual business ability. The reason for this was that his mother, although a most unpractical woman, had her attention constantly diverted to business matters of serious importance, during the time she was pregnant with him. Not only was the mother a very unpractical, unbusiness-like woman, but the father, as well as a large family of brothers and sisters, was the same to a degree which unfitted him entirely for any position requiring much business capacity.

In the case of Mrs. R., personally known to the writer, there was manifested early in life an unusual literary tendency, almost uncontrollable, that took the special direction of dietetics and health reform. This is accounted for by her relatives in the following way: Her father was a physician and during the time her mother was pregnant with her, was engaged in writing lectures on hygienic subjects, and the mother took a great interest in his work, acting the part of home critic, assisting him in every way she could.

Two cases which occurred in the family of Dr. S., dean of —— Medical College, relate especially to adaptability to the medical and legal professions and were told by him in person to the writer. One of his sons was a born doctor, and it was attributed to the mother during this son's gestation devoting much of her attention to medical subjects. It might be claimed by some that this talent was inherited from the father. This cannot be said, however, of another son, who took little interest in medical subjects, but was naturally adapted to the bar. Dr. S. stated that this was owing to the mother, when pregnant with this son, spending much of her time studying legal questions.

Dr. Edward Garraway cites the following case *: —

* *British Medical Journal*, 1886.

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A lady of refined taste was in the habit of sitting before a group of statuary, with one little figure of which she was greatly enamored. This was a Cupid reposing, his cheek resting on the back of his hand. When her baby was born, his resemblance in form and feature to the little Cupid was at once striking. On seeing him the next day in his cradle, I perceived he had assumed the precise attitude of the statuette — the cheek upon the back of the hand; and this position he invariably, and of course involuntarily, adopted during sleep not only throughout infancy, but up to advanced boyhood, when I lost sight of him.

The following case is cited by Dr. Britton: —

Some time since we met with a youth who had finely moulded limbs and a symmetrical form throughout. His mother has a large, lean, attenuated frame, that does not offer so much as a single suggestion of the beautiful. The boy is doubtless indebted for his fine form to the presence of a beautiful French lithograph in his mother's sleeping apartment, which presented for her contemplation the faultless form of a naked child.

We have other such cases which we would like to give but space forbids their admission here. Some of the most interesting were given by the following physicians: — Dr. R. Osgood Mason, through Dr. M. K. Bowers,* K. N. Fenwick, A. M., M. D.,† Dr. A. Newton, Dr. J. Adams and Dr. Williams.‡

The following case is an impressive one. I knew all the circumstances and can vouch for every detail. Other physicians besides myself were connected with the case, and can testify as to every circumstance in connection with it. Among them were Dr. J. Adams, Dr. J. B. Hall and Dr. C. S. Elliot. The case is that of a child with an unusually good physique, born under adverse circumstances. The mother had a particularly weak digestion, and when she was five weeks pregnant with this child was taken with the most violent nausea and vomiting. For ten weeks it was irresistible. At times she had to be fed artificially as her stomach rejected everything. After this period of sickness she recovered partially, although she was never free from indigestion during the entire period of gestation. She was strongly urged to exert every effort to insure the good physique of her child, as her own was so frail. This she was most anxious and determined to do, and exerted all her force of will in the effort. From this time until the child's

* *New York Medical Record*, 1891, Vol. xl.
† *New York Medical Record*, Oct. 17, 1891.
‡ *St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal*, December, 1881.

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birth — five months and a half — she did all in her power to exert a favorable influence over her child. She lived only on the simplest kind of food, following out the diet, hygienic laws, system of bathing, dress and, as far as she could, the exercising and all the other instructions as laid down in the chapter on "Hygiene of Pregnancy," in Ædœology. The result was that when the child was born, instead of being a puny, wailing little sufferer, as many expected, it was strong and vigorous. She was a most unusually healthy child; was a perfect sleeper — never kept the nurse awake one hour at night after the first three months — and as she grew older she grew more sturdy. When I last saw her, at the age of two years and two months, she was as perfect a specimen of a healthy child as I ever met. Her father (as well as her mother) is one whose digestion is naturally weak.

It has been noted that among the Italian peasantry, unlettered and uncultured as they are, the thoughtful features of the Madonna are often easily recognized in the faces of the children. Nor is this to be wondered at when it is remembered that almost every religious edifice in that country is provided with beautiful representations of the Virgin, and when we recall the intense adoration of the image which is dominant in the Italian woman's soul.

Dr. William R. Lowman, in an article entitled "Resumé on Maternal Impressions," published in the *Medical Record*, Aug. 17, 1889, says: "Observers of large experience with the illegitimate say that the mental suffering of the disgraced mother reacts on the children, arrests development, produces mental deficiency, or in after years, even though under the best moral care, the offspring oftentimes follows the mother in a life of sin. The sins of the parents shall be visited on the offspring, and this law of impression is the means of transmissal."

This scarcely admits of a doubt, but at the same time it is not necessary that a father or mother should live what is known as a "life of sin" in order that their child should be of a perverted sensual nature, as the following case will show; and who cannot recall such cases, even among the most moral people? Mr. and Mrs. R. M., most refined people of the highest standing, have a daughter naturally bright and attractive, but whose dissolute life is a great cause of sorrow to them. The heartbroken mother, like

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many another if the truth were known, told the writer that she and her husband blamed themselves for it as a result of over-indulgence during pregnancy.

H. Pendleton, author of "Parents' Guide," is authority for the following case: —

Mrs. A. was a melancholy instance of strength of mind perverted to selfish ends. Ambitious of power and influence, she was unscrupulous in the means by which they were obtained. Owing to her plausibility and pertinacity, she once was elected to an office of trust in a benevolent society of which she was a member. This was a situation of great temptation to one whose selfish sentiments predominated, as the event proved; for at the expiration of a year she was dismissed under the imputation of having appropriated a portion of the funds of the society to her own use. During the year in which she held this office, Mrs. A. gave birth to a daughter, whose first characteristic manifestations were a marked tendency to theft.

The author of the last case is also authority for the following, and it illustrates well the evils on the child's side of attempting to produce abortion: —

The lovely Louisa M., an intimate friend of the writer, remarkable for her good sense and kindness of disposition, at the age of twenty-five married a man of superior abilities, enjoying the advantages of an ample fortune and the best society. Their residence was charmingly situated, overlooking a noble river, great extent and variety of country, and surrounded by many beautiful objects of nature. The interior arrangements comprehended all that was desirable in the way of literature and the arts; noted, also, as the abode of hospitality and the kindliest feelings. Thus situated, their children were born under the most happy influences — were beautiful, bright, and some of them highly talented. At the age of thirty-eight the mother ceased bearing children, and felt happy at the thought of being at length free from the confinement attending the cares of infancy. This state of things continued for a few years, but was unexpectedly changed by symptoms of pregnancy. This was a most unwelcome prospect for one who had entered into the dissipations of fashionable life, and was determined in future to enjoy and not suffer. To avoid the approaching calamity, various means were resorted to, but were unsuccessful. After much discontent and repining a girl was born, inheriting a large portion of the unhappy, repining and bitter temper which possessed the mother for months previous to her birth. The attempt to violate the laws of the Creator in this instance has been most signally punished, for in the perverse, rebellious spirit and cloudy brow of her unhappy daughter, the mother now recognizes the temper in which she so imprudently indulged during her pregnancy.

The great harm to the child of attempting abortion, if unsuccessful, can readily be seen. The case of Guiteau, the

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assassin of President Garfield, illustrates this. It will be found with others of its kind, in the part on "Limitation of Offspring" in Ædeology. While abortion is undoubtedly wrong from a moral, physiological and legal standpoint, the prevention of conception, on the other hand, is equally, undoubtedly right when for different reasons children are not desired and when there are simple, harmless, hygienic, yet entirely effectual, methods of preventing conception; and every parent or prospective parent should be informed as to their proper use.

The next case is that of a child whose amiable disposition is unequalled by that of any I have ever met with among the young or old. He was the younger of two boys, aged six and eight at the time my attention was called to them. In 1890 first one and then the other of these boys was stricken down with scarlet fever complicated with diphtheria. For several weeks I was constantly in attendance upon them. I saw them at all times and under all conditions and had ample opportunity for noting their different characteristics. The younger boy was the most amiable, cheerful child I had ever known. If he could speak at all he would always greet me pleasantly and, when necessary, would go through the most trying ordeals without the least complaint or murmur. He was not only amiable with me but with the nurse, his mother and those around him. He was beloved by all who knew him, and from his parents I learned he was so at all times; his mother's own words were, "He is the sunshine of my life." He was not what could, in any way, be termed a goody-goody, submissive child, but a bright, active, merry little fellow. From his mother I learned the following history. When she was pregnant with him, an old school-mate, to whom she was very much attached, visited her. They used to go over the old times of their childhood days. The friend was very jolly and witty, and, as the mother expressed it, "a jolly time we had. I would laugh by the hour over the stories R. would tell, and we were constantly in a state of merriment. When we were not together I would often laugh to myself when I thought of the good times we had." It is not to be wondered at that her boy should have such a lovely disposition. It was purely a matter of accident, as the mother had no idea of the influence she had over her child while yet unborn; although it is to

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this mighty influence, and this alone, that her child's disposition was due. The other boy was of a quiet, retiring disposition — a book worm — and like his father, who was sullen and morose, by no means a favorite with his associates; while the mother was of an even disposition.

Would that all mothers could be so situated during the most critical period of a child's life! Even if a woman has to sacrifice other things — her pleasure as well — it is nothing more than should be expected of her. What are nine months of a little self-denial compared with years of tiresome toil with a fretful, peevish child; and can a few months of the mother's life be compared to the lifelong happiness and success of her child, and that of future generations?

There are times, of course, when an expectant mother is surrounded by circumstances not the most favorable, which she may not be able to control; or she may be abnormally irritable and morbid at this time. But she should not allow this to work to her child's detriment, for if she will only struggle against it, even if not altogether successful, her child will certainly reap the benefit. How many cases there are where mothers have been in an unhappy state of mind during pregnancy, yet who have had amiable, cheerful children, because they consciously or unconsciously fought against it.

We have many more illustrations, but it would be impossible to give them here; for further cases we must refer to Ædœology.

In the above cases we have seen instances where parents entirely lacking in any special talent have had the most gifted children. Nor was this due to education, for in nearly every instance this latent talent developed itself strongly in early life. That the cultured and able minded have children entirely wanting in their parents' good qualities, is a well-known fact. There are cases where the children possessed beauty of face and form, the parents of whom were entirely devoid of it; we have also seen that through prenatal influence a child can be almost perfect in physique and constitution whose parents are far from being so. We have seen instances where virtuous, refined parents have had the most depraved children; where those of happy disposition have had the most unhappy children; and where those not remarkable for their amiability have had the most amiable

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and cheerful children. To sum up, we have seen instances in which physical, intellectual and moral characteristics have been imparted to the offspring of parents who have been wanting entirely, or to a great measure, in such attributes, and in every instance it has been due to prenatal influence. Like two chords strung in unison, if we strike one the other vibrates; so the fœtus responds to the maternal tension.

With the facts before us the following conclusions are warranted.

By the rightly directed use of prenatal influence we are able to form and mould the physical, mental and moral characteristics of our children. All future parents are under a solemn obligation to their Maker, to society and to future generations for the physical, intellectual and moral characteristics they impart to the offspring they bring forth.

The next and last article of this series will give in detail the essentials for a well-born child — what is required of the parents, etc.; the physique, intellectual ability and morals of the child will be considered; and it will be of vital interest to every reader.

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MONEY IN POLITICS.

BY HON. JOHN DAVIS, M. C.

UNDER the above heading may be discussed three distinct phases of the question: —

First, The direct or indirect corruption of individuals for immediate political results.

Second, The control of public sentiment through a subsidized literature and other means of public information for the purpose of misleading, debauching, moulding and controlling public sentiment.

Third, In a broader and truer sense we may say that money is in politics when it becomes a political question.

This last view of the subject will be the centre of the present discussion. The others are but means to an end in political matters. The money question is now in politics to stay until it is settled. It came prominently to the front in the days of Jefferson and Jackson, but was overshadowed and pushed aside by the slavery question. It was natural that the lash and the bloodhound with their noise and uproar should attract public attention first, while the serpent escaped observation until later times. But at length the serpent in the grass, with his insidious and deadly processes, has been studied and understood. The biting and poisonous qualities of usury have been aptly compared to the venom of the viper, and the crushing effects of currency contraction and falling prices, are well illustrated in the merciless constrictions by which the boa prepares his victims for consumption.

The contention at present is well defined. On one side it is the determination of the fund holders of the world to adopt for money the single gold standard. This means severe and continued contraction of money and falling prices for the products of labor and the commodities of commerce. It means that the bond and mortgage shall be eternal, and that the holders of them shall receive on their investments, money twice or thrice as valuable as the money they loaned. It means that labor must produce and sell twice as much property to meet the billions of monetary obligations of the world as equity demands. In other words, it means dangerous accumulations of wealth and power in the hands of a favored few, and the most abject and merciless

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penury for the wealth producers and tax payers. This is the logical and unavoidable outcome of reducing the volume of money for the supply of the increasing populations of the world to the single gold standard. It is like confining a young and growing ox to a stake with a chain of fixed length, allowing him to crop no blade of grass beyond the circle marked by his tether, while the growth of the animal demands more pasture from day to day instead of less. As he walks his hungry rounds, winding up his chain about the centre of the contracting circle, his condition aptly illustrates the case of the commercial world with a gold-basis money, falling prices, increasing bankruptcies, decaying industries, idleness of labor, distress of humanity, and muttering revolutions in every quarter of the globe.

Money is the blood of commerce and industry. It is our "Prometheus" which brings to earth the heavenly fire for the use of men, creating all the civilizing arts and industries. It is this precious boon which plants hope in the human breast. Without money there can be no civilization. With a decreasing volume of money civilization must decline and, if not relieved, finally perish. It is this Prometheus of our civilization which it is now proposed to bind to the rock of a single scarce and costly metal. The manacles are forged, with "Strength" and "Vulcan" ready to do the bidding of Jupiter. Æschylus, the Greek tragedian, pictures the hideous work of binding Prometheus, and the reason for it, as follows: —

Strength. Now Vulcan, to thy task; at Jove's command
Fix to this high-projecting rock this vain
Artificer of man; each massy link
Draw close, and bind his adamantine chains.
Thy radiant pride, the fiery flame, that lends
Its aid to every art, he stole, and bore
The gift to mortals; for which bold offence
The gods assign him this just punishment;
That he may learn to reverence the power
Of Jove, and moderate his love to man.

* * * * *

Vulcan. The manacles are ready, thou mayst see them.
Strength. Bind them round his hands; with all thy force
Strike, nail them fast, drive them into the rock.

* * * * *

Across his breast draw now this stubborn bar
Of adamant, fix firm its sharpened point.

* * * * *

Downwards with all thy force enring his legs.

* * * * *

Strike hard, drive deep their penetrating points.
Severe his eye who nicely scans these works.

* * * * *

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Prometheus. I hid from men the foresight of their fate.

* * * * *

I sent fair hope to inhabit in their hearts.

* * * * *

Nay more, with generous zeal I gave them fire;

* * * * *

And by it shall give birth to various arts.

* * * * *

These arts I taught. And all the secret treasures
Deep buried in the bowels of the earth,
Brass, iron, silver, gold, their use to man,
Are my inventions all; and, in a word,
Prometheus taught each useful art to man.

— *Potter's Æschylus.*

In addition to this picture, the classical dictionaries tell us that Jupiter chained Prometheus so that the vultures might in the daytime consume his liver, which was restored each succeeding night. And it seems that this is now the plan of the men who are striving to bind to a single commodity that indispensable agency which has brought comfort and all the civilizing arts into the world. They do this because of their avarice, that they may, day by day, prey upon and profit by the earnings of toil.

On the other side, opposed to the gold-standard men, we find the friends of civilization, hope and progress. They believe money should have a sound and stable basis, far broader and safer than gold. They would base all money on *the demand for payments — on its uses* — growing out of the quality of *legal tender*. This is the basis on which the money metals themselves rest when used as money. It is the safest of all foundations for a "sound and stable money system." Without it there can be no sound and safe money of any sort. It is a basis that can grow and expand with the increasing demands of commerce. A money system on this basis is the Prometheus which brings the fire of heaven to earth, with its light and warmth, giving life and all the civilizing arts to man.

It was an expansive money which saved the Roman people after their defeat at Cannæ; which saved the colonies of America in their struggle for independence; which saved England in her long contest with Napoleon; and which, more recently, saved the American Union from dismemberment. These are some of the achievements of money founded on *the demand for payments*, arising from the quality of *legal tender*, in cases where gold and gold-basis money had utterly and ingloriously failed. It is this necessity of civilization and human progress that the Shylocks now desire to abolish. Then as the people, for want of money, tramp and die like the ox with diminishing tether, starving for want of pasture, the vultures of the money centres can fatten up-

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on the vitals of their victims, as the vultures of Scythia daily devoured the liver of the chained Prometheus in the Grecian tragedy.

There are three points of attack upon an expansive money system: (1) Silver must be demonetized and made unfit for a money basis. (2) The legal tender decisions of the Supreme Court must be reversed or set aside. (3) The example of the long and glorious history of the Bank of Venice must be destroyed. These points carried, gold remains the only available basis for money. This is the Scythian crag to which Prometheus must be bound, helpless, within the reach of the merciless vultures of the great money centres.

(1) Silver must be degraded and demonetized. Then, with all the gold in their power, the control of the money, and through that the control of the wages of labor and the prices of all property, becomes practicable, and the slavery of the human race complete. The plan of this conspiracy as respects this country was begun early in the seventies. I will not go into details; the story is threadbare. I select a few guiding statements, however, as marks of the serpent's trail.

In 1816, silver was demonetized in England for amounts above forty shillings. This was found to be a profit to the creditor class. In the course of time it was determined to make further conquests. In 1870 a coinage bill was prepared, it is said, by the secretary of the United States treasury. It was introduced into Congress, and the discussions, amendments, speeches and conferences began. The object was not hidden. It was a fight on silver from the beginning.

On Feb. 9, 1872, Mr. Potter, of New York, said: —

> Then in the next place, this bill provides for the making of changes in the legal-tender coin of this country, and for substituting as legal tender coin of only one metal instead, as heretofore, of two. — *Congressional Globe*, Feb. 9, 1872, p. 2310.

On the same day, Mr. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, said:—

> Now, sir, every coin of ours that is not gold is subsidiary. Our silver dollar, half dollar, and every other coin that is not gold is subsidiary. As gentlemen seem to express surprise at this proposition, I repeat that silver coin is subsidiary. . . .
>
> Again, sir, by a mistake in our law it has become impossible to retain an American silver dollar in this country, except in collections of curiosities. They would, if coined in considerable numbers, be a source of enormous profit to the silver bullion dealers of New York. Let me show you. The silver dollar required by our laws is worth three and a half cents more than our gold dollar, and is worth seven cents more than two half dollars. — *Congressional Globe*, p. 2311.

During the same discussion, Mr. Stoughton, of Michigan, said: —

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The silver coins provided for are the dollar — 384 grains troy — the half dollar, quarter dollar, and dime, of the value and weight of one half, one quarter and one tenth of the dollar, respectively; and they are made a legal tender for all sums not exceeding five dollars at any one payment. The silver dollar, as now issued, is worth for bullion three and one quarter cents more than the gold dollar, and seven and one quarter cents more than two half dollars. Having a greater intrinsic than nominal value, it is certain to be withdrawn from circulation whenever we return to specie payment, and to be used only for manufacture and exportation as bullion. . . .

Much of this difficulty has arisen from the impracticable attempt to make the silver coins conform absolutely and intrinsically to the gold standard. The office of the silver or "subsidiary" coins is to supply the public want for small change. They are made the tokens of value, not the value itself, and are designed only for exchange and circulation at home, up to, but never in excess of, the requirements of trade. In Europe they range from five to ten per cent below the gold standard of value, thus paying a seigniorage to the government and preventing their exportation. Under our laws, the difference between the nominal and real value of silver coins, excepting the silver dollar, is about four per cent. — *Congressional Globe*, pp. 2308–09.

Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts, chairman of the coinage committee, explained the subject more fully, as follows: —

The bill under consideration is believed to contain all that is valuable in existing laws, with such new provisions added as appear necessary, to those best acquainted with the subject, for the efficiency and economy of the public service in the important department to which it relates. The bill was prepared two years ago, and has been submitted to careful and deliberate examination. It has the approval of nearly all the mint experts of the country, and the sanction of the secretary of the treasury. Mr. Ernest Seyd, of London, a distinguished writer who has given great attention to the subject of mints and coinage, after examining the first draft of the bill, furnished many valuable suggestions which have been incorporated in the bill.

While the committee take no credit to themselves for the original preparation of this bill, they have given to it a most careful consideration, and have no hesitation in unanimously recommending its passage as necessary and expedient. . . .

Section 16 reënacts the provisions of existing laws, defining silver coins and their weights respectively, except in relation to the silver dollar, which is reduced in weight from 412½ to 384 grains; *thus making it a subsidiary coin* in harmony with the silver coins of less denomination, to secure its concurrent circulation with them. The silver dollar of 412½ grains, by reason of its bullion or intrinsic value being greater than its nominal value, long since ceased to be a coin of circulation, and is melted by manufacturers of silver-ware. It does not circulate now in commercial transactions with any country, and the convenience of those manufacturers in this respect can better be met by supplying small stamped bars of the same standard, avoiding the useless expense of coining the dollar for that purpose. The coinage of the half dime is discontinued for the reason that its place is supplied by the copper nickel five-cent piece, of which a large issue has been made, and which, by the provisions of the act authorizing its issue, is redeemable in United States currency. — *Congressional Globe*, pp. 2304–06.

Further along in the progress of the bill it was amended and greatly changed. On Feb. 12, 1873, it became a law. It

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authorized the coinage of the trade dollars and the subsidiary coins. They were made lawful money in amount of five dollars in one payment. The standard silver dollar was not mentioned. But in June, 1874, by a revision of the laws on coinage, all of our silver coins, including the standard silver dollar, were deprived of their legal-tender quality in amounts above five dollars. After that came the law of 1876, depriving the trade dollar of the legal-tender quality; the law of 1878, restoring the standard dollar as lawful money in all payments; and the law of 1879, making the halves, quarters and dimes lawful money in amounts not exceeding ten dollars in one payment. The laws of 1878 and 1890 provided for the limited coinage of silver dollars; but the law of 1893, passed at the special session of the Fifty-third Congress, was intended to stop the further coinage of the standard silver dollar in this country. Several countries in Europe have passed through experiences like our own.

(2) The second step is a vigorous war on the right of Congress to issue legal-tender paper, and on the Supreme Court decisions declaring that right. The war commenced as far back as 1884, and has been quietly pushed ever since. I have on my table a little book written by Mr. J. K. Upton, banker, assistant secretary of the treasury during the administration of President Arthur, with an introduction by Mr. Edward Atkinson. It is entitled "Money in Politics." I quote as follows (pp. 169, 170): —

> The court holds that in the issue of notes Congress has such power as accords with the usage of sovereign governments, and that the power of impressing upon these bills or notes the quality of being a legal tender in the payment of private debts was a power universally understood to belong to sovereignty in Europe and America at the time of the framing and adoption of the Constitution of the United States.
>
> No such omnipotent power was ever claimed for Congress by the most ultra Federalist in the early days of the republic, as that conceded to it by this court, and measures looking to a reversal of the decisions of the *court by an amendment to the Constitution* expressly prohibiting to Congress such powers, have already been introduced in that body. Such an amendment will, in time, doubtless, become a part of the organic law of the land. Meanwhile the sacredness of contracts, the stability of wealth, the success of business enterprises, and the prosperity of the whole country, must depend upon the integrity of that body, whose actions have too often been the result of successful log-rolling, or have been dictated by a political caucus.
>
> Thirty years ago, this same court decided that the negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, and only four years of bloody war reversed that decision. The pending amendment to the Constitution, reversing the legal-tender decision of the same court, should be vigorously pressed to adoption in season to prevent, not another war, but national disgrace and bankruptcy.

Mr. Atkinson, in his introduction to the book, levies war on the general legal tender for money, as follows (pp. 19, 20): —

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It is singular that the attention of very few persons is ever drawn to the fact that in international commerce there *is no statute of legal tender*, and cannot be; hence that all international transactions are settled by the weight of the various metals, chiefly in the pound sterling, which is simply a name for a given number of grains of gold.

It would be very interesting and instructive if some one learned in the law would investigate and explain the first conception *of an act of legal tender*. Its modern purpose is twofold. First, to perpetuate the evidence that one party to a contract has made an effort to comply with its terms according to his understanding of it. This could be accomplished in many different ways. The second function of a legal-tender act is one which has been perverted by legislation and by the recent decision of the Supreme Court, even to the full extent of a declaration of the court that it is within the power of a *legislative body to coin paper into money* and to make the promise of a dollar, carrying no obligation for its performance, equal to the coin itself in the discharge of a contract.

This is perhaps the logical outcome of a series of acts of legislation which must have originally been born in fraud and *bred in corruption*. This function of an act of legal tender must, in the nature of things, have originated in the act of a despotic power, conceived for the purpose of forcing the acceptance of a debased coinage in the liquidation of debts, in order to steal the property of the people without their knowledge.

In reply to the position that there is no statute of legal tender in international commerce, it may be stated that there is no statute for collecting debts in international commerce, and that there is no international money. All international trade is barter, pure and simple. But when we adopt the use of money, and enact laws for the collection of debts, then trade is no longer barter; things take a more definite shape, and statutes are necessary to define the rights of parties in the transactions of business. When a man owes a debt which is collectible by law, there must be some legal definition as to what will lawfully cancel the debt. If it be money, then that money must have the quality of paying the debt and stopping the legal process. This is the necessity which gives origin to the legal-tender quality of money. Lawful money is a means of paying debts and lifting mortgages, in cases where creditors prefer the property to the money. The conception of the act of legal tender came with the use of money, and it has been at all times the prerogative of civilized governments to enact laws of legal tender. It would be interesting and instructive if Mr. Atkinson would explain how a civilized and commercial people could manage their business affairs without the law of legal tender for money.

(3) The last step in the present programme is to destroy the example of the history of the Bank of Venice. It is no easy matter to overthrow the uniform testimony of six or eight centuries of authentic history; yet there is no enterprise too great for greed to attempt, and, in the service of the money power,

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tools and agencies can be had for any work. In a matter of literature like this, the work must necessarily be a scholarly one, and men who aspire to academic fame must be found and employed. A laudable ambition will sometimes stimulate to action in cases where bribery, or even the offer of money for legitimate work, might be refused.

The latest and boldest attack made on the history of the Bank of Venice is by Prof. Charles F. Dunbar, of Harvard University, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, April, 1892. No man in his right mind would think of attributing to the professor any but the highest and purest motives. When we consider his education as a believer in the gold basis for money, and the very laudable and innocent ambition for academic honors which naturally dominates the scholarly mind, a better agent for the work which the Shylocks now have in hand could hardly be found. It was but necessary to suggest that there was a new discovery to be made in a congenial line of thought, which would parallel in importance the discovery of an error in the Copernican theory of the universe, and a scholarly mind would at once be fired with enthusiasm. Hence, this profound effort for the misleading of mankind, by an able writer, without the cost of a cent to the men who expect to reap large profits from the labor.

The disbeliever in the Copernican theory of the solar system scouts the idea that this great, heavy earth rests on what appears to him intangible nothing, or that it can go dashing through space at cannon ball speed with nothing but unseen fiat to curb its mad career. He prefers to believe that things are as they seem — that the earth is flat; that it rests on rocks, or on the back of a turtle, or on the shoulders of Atlas; not caring to inquire as to the support of the rocks, the turtle or the Titan. To sustain his materialistic views, he will grasp straws and reject the most irrefragable testimony. Like the professors of Padua, he will deny everything and utterly refuse to look through the telescope of Galileo, lest his crude notions should be disturbed.

So the gold-basis men deny the facts of history and embrace the most absurd theories, rather than believe that money is a creation of law — a device of man — and not a product of nature. They admit that non-legal paper may rest on gold, but forget to note that gold, as money, rests on law; and that, without law, gold is not money. They forget that *gold gets most of its commercial value from the monetary demand for it — the uses for it — created by law;* that, in short, all money, ultimately, like the bank funds of Venice, rests on law.

As to the Bank of Venice, Professor Dunbar enters a general denial. He assumes that there was no public bank in Venice

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prior to the year 1584. In proof of his position, he quotes a law of 1619, by the Venetian Senate, which he says established the great Banco del Giro, and this he calls the Bank of Venice. He also stated (April, 1892), that the subsequent history of that bank had not been written. A few months later, however, he acknowledged his mistake, admitting that the history of the bank since 1619 had been written and ably written. This admission proves that Professor Dunbar desires to do what is right, and that, though doing important service for the money changers, he does it innocently, as did the Jews when they stoned Stephen. Is it not fair to say that if the professor overlooked the obvious and ably written history of the Bank of Venice after 1619, he may also have overlooked at least some portions of the less observed history prior to that period?

The law quoted by Professor Dunbar is dated May 3, 1619, and was enacted because of a loan of silver to the republic by one Vendramin, amounting, perhaps, to some 500,000 ducats. The law provides that the bank officers and employees shall be as follows: —

A journalist with salary per annum of	Duc. 240
A comptroller	120
Two bookkeepers, Duc. 240 each	480
Two assistants with Duc. 96 for each	192
Two examiners with Duc. 60	120
Two assistants with Duc. 72 for each	144
A teller to serve also as cashier	120
A servant	48
	Duc. 1,320

In all 1,320 ducats. — *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, April, 1892, p. 373.

That is the entire working force of "the most considerable bank in Europe" — "the clearing house of the commercial world." It was to do the business of a republic which had been for centuries the receptacle of the riches of Europe and the East; which had carried the crusaders to Palestine at the rate, sometimes, of six millions of dollars for a single trip, with return cargoes containing the wealth of Asia, the spoils of Constantinople, and the annual tributes from the emperor of the Greek empire, which in a single levy amounted to fifteen hundred pounds of gold. The story that a dozen persons should do the entire work of the one great bank of this powerful and rich government is so absurd that the mere mention of it must refute it. And, if we eliminate the second copy of bookkeeping, the entire work of the bank, including floor sweeping and chores, was to be performed by ten persons, as mentioned in my second paper on "The Bank of Venice." The law indicates the capital of the

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bank to have been about half a million ducats, which is certainly a small amount for the great government bank of the mistress of the commercial world.

Now if the law of 1619 was not the origin of the Bank of Venice, it is but fair that I should point out with some certainty the actual origin of that institution. I do so most cheerfully. Hazlitt's "History of Venice," London edition, 1860, tells us that the republic obtained a voluntary loan from citizens in the year 1160, with the intention of paying it back with interest. But the heavy expenses and losses of the war with Constantinople, in 1171, not only prevented the repayment of that loan, but compelled another, which took the form of a compulsory levy or forced loan. These circumstances and the needs of the government led to the organization of the Chamber of Loans, which afterward took the form of a bank with transferrable credits for the payment of debts. The loan of 1160 by Ziani (the doge), and several wealthy citizens amounted to 150,000 marks; equal to 300,000 pounds sterling, or $1,500,000. The refunding of this loan, and the arrangement for the management of the forced loan to cover the expenses of the year 1171, constituted the necessity and the foundation for the Chamber of Loans described in Hazlitt's history, as follows: —

It became evident that, unless the government at once took some prompt and vigorous step, national bankruptcy would ensue; and that was a consummation to which it was impossible to look forward without extreme regret and alarm. The course which Ziani pursued in this emergency, though not altogether without precedent, was sufficiently novel and remarkable. By the advice, it is to be presumed, and with the consent of the privy council, his serenity determined to make an assessment amounting to one per cent on the aggregate property of every household; and, in order that the fullest effect might be given to the measure, a new office was instituted under the title of the Chamber of Loans (*Camera degl' Imprestidi*), composed of three members who were designated the *Camerlenghi del Commune*, and whose special duty it was to frame a report and keep a register of the means of every person in the commune liable to such assessment. The assessment realized by this process was allowed to bear an interest of four per cent, payable half yearly in March and September, until a more prosperous aspect of affairs should admit the restoration of the principal. The foregoing measure was the earliest recourse among the moderns, to that great and important system of funding which became, at a later period, a recognized branch of the political economy of nations; and the Bank of Venice was the oldest institution of the kind in Europe. — Vol. I., pp. 407–08.

In addition to the testimony in my second paper on "The Bank of Venice," I offer selections from Hazlitt's history, to show the magnitude of the Venetian finances and commerce, proving from the very nature of things, that there must have been in those early days, a governmental "fisc," or "Bank of Venice":—

It may be remembered that when the emperor Emanuel Comnenus renewed in 1174, the trading charter of the republic, he promised that

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a sum of 1,500,000 marks (3,000,000 pounds) of silver should be paid in periodical installments to the ducal fisc, as an equivalent for the losses which he had inflicted during a series of years on Venetian commerce. Of this large amount Emanuel, himself, discharged only 1,300,000, leaving on his demise in 1180 a residue of 200,000 marks (400,000 pounds), payable by his son and successor Alexius. — Vol. II., p. 19.

My readers will remember that on the fall of Constantinople, one half of the spoils of the city fell to Venice. Hazlitt describes the wealth of the captured city as follows: —

In a letter which he addressed to the Pope in the same year, the Count of Flanders asseverated that "There was more wealth in the Greek capital than in all the rest of Europe together"; and the marshal of Champagne has not hesitated to record a conviction that "since the beginning of the world, never was so much riches seen collected in a single city." It seems that the property divided between the two nations was computed at 900,000 marks of silver, or 1,800,000 pounds; and if it be true, as is stated by Gibbon, that "the secret far exceeded the acknowledged plunder," the total amount might represent a sum of 4,000,000 or 4,500,000 pounds." — Vol. II., pp. 84, 85.

The fall of Constantinople planted the standard of St. Mark on almost every maritime city and seaport town from Lido to Durrazzo, and from Durrazzo to the Golden Horn." — Vol. II., p. 105.

Petrarch, an eye witness, when residing in Venice, described her shipping and commerce as follows: —

From this port I see the vessels departing which are as large as the house I inhabit, and which have masts taller than its towers. These ships resemble a mountain floating on the sea; they go to all parts of the world amidst a thousand dangers; they carry our wines to the English, our money to the Scythians, our saffron, our oils and our linen to the Syrians, Armenians, Persians and Arabians; and, wonderful to say, they convey our wood to the Greeks and Egyptians. From all these countries, they bring back in return articles of merchandise, which they diffuse over all Europe. They go even as far as the Tanais. The navigation of the seas does not extend farther north; but when they have arrived there, they quit their vessels, and travel on land to trade with India and China; and after passing the Caucasus and the Ganges, they proceed as far as the Eastern Ocean. —Vol. III., pp. 213, 214.

I could fill many pages with authentic testimony as to the widespread and magnificent commerce, the boundless resources, wealth and great power of the Republic of Venice, during a period of six or eight centuries. And yet we are expected to believe that Venice had no public bank prior to 1584; and that, some years later, their public bank was managed by about one dozen persons, including the higher officers, the bookkeepers in duplicate, and even the *single servant* who swept the floors and did the chores. Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, that this is the supreme and scholarly effort of the money power of the world, aiming to discredit the history of the Bank of Venice, because its example disproves the theory of the gold basis for money. A common bank of the pres-

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ent day with one per cent of the business of the Bank of Venice, would need a greater working force than is authorized by the Venetian law of 1619. The capital of that bank, too, was insignificant as compared with the Chamber of Loans, in the latter part of the twelfth century. Evidently that law of 1619 was merely an opening of the cash office with *giro* qualities, as was frequently the case, after a close of several years, as mentioned by Colwell.

I now ask attention to another feature of the Venetian finances. Besides the bank funds for large payments by transfers on the books, and besides the cash office for smaller special purposes, there was an interest-bearing debt. This debt arose from the policy of limiting the bank deposits to the needs of business, and not expanding the bank funds recklessly to the full amount of the expenditures of the republic. And my readers may be surprised to learn that, while the non-interest bearing bank funds were at all times above par as compared with coin, the interest-bearing bonds were never at par.

Mr. Sidney Dean, in his "History of Banking and Banks," states a well-known fact as follows: —

> Near the close of the nineteenth century, while the bank credits were at a premium and in demand, the bonds of the Venetian government were quoted at sixty per cent of their nominal value. It is clear from this that the bank credits had something behind them more substantial than popular confidence in the government of the republic itself.—P. 15.

The question at once arises in full force and prominence, What was that "something" behind the circulating bank credits "more substantial" than was behind the government bonds? Both the bonds and the bank credits had the "popular confidence in the government of the republic" behind them. The bonds also had the promise of coin redemption and the profits of interest to sustain them. The bank credits had neither the promise of coin redemption nor, at that date, the profits of interest to rest on, but "something more substantial." What was that "something"? There can be but one answer. That "something more substantial than confidence in the government of the republic," more substantial than coin redemption and the profits of interest, was *the demand for payments* — for use as money — arising from the *quality of legal tender* in the usual transactions of business.

To show that this apparently strange fact is nothing unusual, it may be remarked that during the Napoleonic wars the non-interest bearing, legal-tender English currency was twice as valuable as the three per cent gold-bearing bonds of England. In proof of this I ask attention to the following statement of Mr. Alison in his "History of Europe" (Vol. VII p. 68 note): —

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The public creditors were frequently, in the three per cents, inscribed for much more than 100 pounds in consideration of sixty pounds advanced. In particular, in 1807 they received no less than 140 pounds of stock for each sixty pounds paid.

That is to say, the British three per cent bonds were worth only forty to sixty per cent of their face value, while at the same time British legal-tender currency was circulating in the channels of business at par with gold. On this latter point Mr. Alison (Vol. IV. pp. 224, 225), says: —

Notwithstanding all that the spirit of party may have alleged, there does not appear ever to have been any trace of the latter effect (the depreciation of paper) in this country, or that at any period a higher price was exacted for articles when paid in bank notes than in gold.

These facts clearly prove that the demand for payments, arising from the quality of legal tender, is far more powerful in sustaining the value of government paper than is the expensive adjunct of interest or usury. The same thing is plainly proven by the fact that during our late war, the gold-bearing American bonds were frequently twenty to fifty per cent below par as compared with coin, while that portion of our currency which was receivable in the government revenues, was uniformly at par with coin.

It is not now difficult to understand why the Venetian funds of the *Banco del Giro* (Bank of Circulation) were usually forty to sixty per cent more valuable than the interest-bearing Venetian bonds, which were not legal tender, and hence could not be used as a medium of ultimate payments in the transactions of commerce.

It is also easy to understand why the gold men, who are so determined to bind our monetary Prometheus to a single commodity basis, are striving with might and main to overthrow the example of the Bank of Venice. They have discarded and degraded silver, after the successful use of that money metal by the world for forty centuries, and, like the supporters of chattel slavery in the fifties, there seems to be no enterprise too great for them to attempt. Nor are there wanting men of renown and ability to do the bidding of the money power, as there were not wanting in former times men willing to serve the slave power. But there must be a limit to every scheme of unrighteousness. Xerxes had his Thermopylæ, Napoleon found his Russia and his Waterloo, George III. his Yorktown, and chattel slavery its Appomattox. Then why may not our modern, all-conquering, most comprehensive and least merciful of all tyrants, find its last ditch, when its aggressions shall have fully aroused an enlightened and liberty-loving people?

A savage can readily perceive that the earth will support heavy burdens, and that a burden may be lifted by a man or

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drawn by a horse; but he may doubt that the yielding water of the sea can bear a ship with a cargo of a thousand tons, and that said ship can be driven to all parts of the globe by the fickle and unreliable winds of heaven. And when we tell him that a few ounces or pounds of super-heated vapor of water will drive a ship of iron through the billows of the ocean at the rate of hundreds of miles per day, we excite his derision. Then if we say to him that the unseen and imponderable thing known as electricity can act more powerfully and more speedily than steam, he will lose patience. If we go still farther and try to explain to him that the entity known as the mind and will of man is still more powerful, subtle and active than either water, steam or electricity, and that these godlike attributes can harness to its service all the potent elements of nature, he will no longer listen to us.

Now it is this last and greatest power, known as the will of man, enacted into law by a sovereign government, which is the true basis for money. Of course the untutored mind cannot comprehend this; and yet this is the broad, sound and stable basis for money which has always succeeded and never failed when fairly tried. It is this broad and safe basis for money that the gold vultures desire to discredit and abolish. They desire to bind the Prometheus of our civilization to the rock of savagery, and to give us, instead, the open box of Pandora. To do this they corrupt the corruptible; they flatter and cajole the ambitious; and, through a truckling and subsidized press, they mislead the unsuspecting. All this has been done and is being done to degrade silver, to destroy the sovereignty of the government over money, and to discredit the glorious and convincing example of the Bank of Venice.

Already our civilization shows symptoms of distress and decadence. Through shrinking money and falling prices, industry is stagnant, bankruptcies are increasing, debts and taxes are becoming more burdensome; families are losing their homes through foreclosures and forced sales; able-bodied men by millions are tramping and begging for bread; women and children are famishing for the want of food, raiment and shelter; mothers and little ones infest the streets, or retreat into loathsome dens and slums, no longer able to live otherwise; churches and schools are languishing for lack of money, the revenues of colleges and great universities feel the stringency of the times, and teachers and professors are dismissed because of insufficient funds to meet expenses. I wonder that such scholarly gentlemen as Professor Dunbar have not observed these threatening symptoms of social decadence.

Rome experienced the same distresses through the failure of

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the gold and silver mines of Greece and Spain. Roman society was disintegrated, and the population of Europe fell off one half. The history of those times is very painful to read. The Christian civilization of the present day is entering the penumbra of the same eclipse which darkened, distressed and decimated Europe for a thousand years. Relief came through the discovery of the American mines, expanding money and raising prices for labor and its products. An expansive money system is the chief remedy in such cases. With the broad and safe basis of legal tender, we may at once have increasing money and rising prices. This will give quick and lasting relief. The cries of distress will cease; the recuperation of society will begin; the burden of debts and taxation will gradually wear away; and our Christian civilization and free institutions will be preserved. Popular enlightenment is the necessity of the hour. Patient, earnest and persistent work in spreading the light among men is the duty of every patriot.

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THE LAND QUESTION AND THE SINGLE TAX.

BY S. B. RIGGEN.

WERE some huge Colossus or Gulliver to intercept our planet as it whirls through space, and pick up the earth, as an orange, with his left hand, and the inhabitants of the globe, as Lilliputians (including all the machinery of production, save land) with his right, the most obtuse would soon see the relation which labor bears to land. The little people in his right hand would very soon cease socialistic agitation; labor unions and kindred societies would spend very little time over the eight-hour movement or scales of wages; *doctrinaires* would have little relish for polemical discussions over the tariff and money questions; but the one all-absorbing question would be, "How can we get back to the earth?" Colossus, or Gulliver, would soon be at a loss to know whether he held in his right hand the inhabitants of earth, or a gigantic single-tax club. No sooner would these little people realize their situation, than negotiations would be opened with Gulliver for access to the earth. In answer to the appeals from the little folks, he would probably inform them that the planet was his by right of conquest, and that he would permit them to use it only upon terms satisfactory to himself. This the Lilliputians would hasten to accept, as the only means of escaping wholesale starvation. Gulliver, the symbol of landlordism, would of course fix terms upon a basis of securing to himself all the produce of the inhabitants of the planet, save barely enough to keep them alive.

Now this is precisely the condition of civilization to-day. Landlordism stands between the producers of wealth and the earth, and by a sliding-scale process levies tribute upon industry to the extent of all that labor produces, save a bare subsistence. It seems strange that the industrial world awakens so slowly to a realizing sense of this stupendous fact. It seems queer that the world doesn't, at a single leap, grasp the truth that wealth in all its manifold forms consists

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in nothing else than bits of land fashioned or shaped by human hands in suitable ways to satisfy human wants. The moment that this plain truth dawns upon suffering humanity, that moment the shackles of industrial slavery will fall from our limbs; that moment involuntary poverty will disappear from the face of the earth, like frost before the sunshine. Thenceforth enforced destitution, with its attendant wretchedness, will be found only in history. In claiming this startling result as one to flow from the adoption of the single tax, we are hooted at by some, regarded as utopian dreamers by others, and by still others met with all kinds of absurd, illogical arguments in their futile efforts to shake our position.

The most forcible as well as the most scholarly argument against the single tax that I have seen, came from the pen of Professor Huxley, and appeared some years ago in a series of papers in the *Nineteenth Century*. He simply pleads the principle of population as announced by Malthus. This plea would justify the commission of every crime prohibited by the decalogue, and as many more as the disordered imagination of the most fiendish fiend could conjure up.

Single taxers are not, as many suppose, flying in the face of well determined natural law. We do not ignore the fundamental law of natural selection and survival of the fittest; we only seek to give this law free play. There is abundant statistical testimony going to show that increased subsistence does not necessarily multiply the human species, as is the case with other forms of animal and vegetable life. This evidence sets at naught the Malthusian theory.

That the law of natural selection and survival of the fittest will continue to play its ordained part in human affairs, after the physical wants have been adequately provided for, no intelligent single taxer for a moment denies; but we believe its operation will be confined to man's intellectual and spiritual nature, not his physical. Herbert Spencer, probably the profoundest thinker of modern times, gives it as his opinion that the physical man is complete. It therefore becomes the burning necessity of the hour to do away with this unnatural strife for bread, which so stifles and suppresses the higher nature in man. And this can be done by readjusting our system of land tenure so as to make land accessible to labor, its companion in production. This is the object and purpose of the single-tax movement.

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It seems a platitude to say that all men have equal rights to the use of the earth — that the earth is the common heritage of all mankind; this is too self-evident even to require statement. It should go without saying. No man with a normal mind and heart can deny this, and look a fellow creature in the face. And yet we are now supporting a system of land tenure which flatly contradicts this truth. Many good and estimable people, through want of mature thought on the subject, deny this. To them there seems an abundance of land for all who desire it, and our present system of private property in land appears the very corner-stone of our civilization. They seem to think that improvements cannot be made upon land, unless the improver own a cone, the apex of which is the centre of the planet and the base infinity. Suffice it to say this is a mistaken idea, as any one in search of truth, rather than support for an injust institution, can easily ascertain.

Single taxers recognize the necessity for permanency of occupancy quite as clearly as other people, and there is nothing in our proposition to disturb it, any more than in the present system. All the single-tax plan calls for is that the unearned increment accruing to land shall be converted into the public treasury, instead of being, as now, appropriated by individuals. This is but simple justice; as any fair-minded person will upon a little reflection admit.

I scarcely think it necessary to define to the intelligent readers of THE ARENA what is meant by *unearned increment*. Yet, since such important reasonings hinge upon it, it may be well briefly to do so. The term itself, it may be said in advance, raises the question of legitimate ownership. Unearned increment is a name given to that value which attaches to bare land, separate and apart from all improvements. It is an increment or increase in value given to land through the presence of population; to which the owner contributes only in the proportion of one to the total population, when he occupies the land in person; or, if he is an absentee, to which he does not contribute at all. It is called an unearned increment, because its owner has not earned it. Had the owner earned it, the term would not be applicable; the prefix *un* would have to be lopped off of the modifying word. Therefore I say, the term itself raises the question of rightful ownership. And I would say, in passing, that this term is

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not one invented by the single-tax school. It had a fixed place and meaning in economic science and literature, long before single taxers were heard of. From this it readily appears that the term unearned increment is, after all, but a figure of speech. For in reality there can be no such thing as unearned increment, except as it may be said of the reproductive forces of nature that aid us in production, and the term is not used in this sense. This something called *unearned increment* is, strictly speaking, an *earned increment;* but it is called unearned increment because *those who get it do not earn it, and those who earn it do not get it.* This so-called unearned increment is produced by the thrift, enterprise and presence of the whole community; and by no one in particular, except in the proportion that one bears to the whole, as above stated.

Now this blunder, this continuing wrong, this unholy practice, this form of injustice which society now tolerates, is the one barrier standing between our present condition of industrial slavery and that of industrial freedom. Single taxers propose to emancipate mankind by a simple act of justice — by simply taking for the community this unearned increment, which the community alone produces, and leaving to the individual the exclusive right to use and enjoy all he produces; his rights to produce being limited only by the equal rights of all to the use of the earth.

Now this unearned increment, great as it is when measused by dollars and cents, would not of itself, other things being equal, relieve industrial distress a great deal, even were it collected and distributed ratably among the people producing it. This is not the great blessing to flow from the single tax, but only an incidental benefit. It is true the great fund thus collected would entirely abolish the necessity for taxation, and to that extent be a wonderful help. The single tax, be it remembered, is not a tax at all, in the sense in which the word tax is commonly used. It is a plan for levelling up or equalizing the rights of all to the use of the earth, by collecting, for public account, unearned increment, or, that which is the same thing, land values; which, attaching to any given piece of land, simply represent the difference in its productive power over the poorest land in use, or the best land that can be had for nothing. Land that can be had for nothing, or the poorest land in use, is said to have no

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value. By this is meant, no value in exchange; it may have a utility value, but having no value in exchange, it has no unearned increment attached to it.

Now, as I say, while the converting of these unearned increments into the public coffers would be in itself a prodigious help, it would be but an incidental benefit, considered apart from the consequential benefit which will flow from it. The first result of this act of justice will be to confine the users of land to such an amount of it as can be put to the best use. All incentive for withholding land from use would be at once destroyed. And the second or attending benefit will be that measureless quantities of good land will be thrown open to any and all who want it.

The unpardonable sin of our present practice of allowing individuals to take unearned increment, does not consist so much in the wrongful appropriation of what does not belong to them, as in the fact that the privileges thus accorded, turn civilization into a hotbed of gamblers, wherein dealers in land tie up all the land they can, and, withholding it from use, hope thereby to become the fortunate possessors of slices of this unearned increment. True, their hopes are not always realized, but in their efforts to accomplish their purpose, they do all they possibly can to bring their fellow creatures to terms by withholding from them land, the only basis of life. And herein lies the essence and core of our industrial trouble. Land speculation is universal wherever our system of land tenure prevails, and will continue as long as the present system is maintained. In the very nature of things it cannot be otherwise, so long as society holds out such a temptation.

In a word, the trouble with industrial society is simply that, since individual right to unearned increment is respected, we are turned into a society of gamblers, wherein the majority of men seek land more for the sake of unearned increment than for the production of wealth; in consequence of which the access to land by producers of wealth is made so difficult that widespread distress and destitution, such as now characterize civilization everywhere, are the inevitable result. For wealth is produced only by the application of labor to land, and the facility with which labor can reach land, determines the facility with which wealth can be produced. When single-tax advocates speak of abolishing

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involuntary poverty, they mean to do so by abolishing the barrier now standing between labor and land; and when this is accomplished, there can be no such thing as involuntary poverty. For since the source of all wealth is land; and since land exists in such unlimited quantities in excess of all human needs; and since there is always as much available labor as there are human beings to be provided for, — it follows that for people to go hungry, with plenty of good free land lying open before them, would be quite as absurd as to go thirsty while camping on the shores of Lake Michigan. The sole cause of the dearth of employment, of which we hear so much at the present time, is because the land, nature's opportunity to work, is withheld from the workers. So many good and even thoughtful people cannot see this; they are veritably blind.

In reply to single taxers, people so often say: "Why, we cannot all be farmers, miners, stock raisers, horticulturists and the like. Your proposition might be well enough for this class, but what will that do for the artisans, factory operatives, merchants, professional men and the multitude who wouldn't know how to farm, were the whole world open to each of them?" Just a very little reasoning, in a logical direction, will make it perfectly clear to such inquirers, that the single tax wouldn't if it could, and couldn't if it would, turn all the producers of the world into agriculturists. It would simply result in a natural and free subdivision of labor, wherein each person could choose the kind of employment for which he was best suited or qualified, and in which he saw the best opportunity for promoting his individual welfare. Skill and special aptitude in any calling would determine one's position in the industrial world, then as now; with this difference, that the land, the final employer of all, would be open to labor, and the worst misfortune that could befall any worker would be that he might have to avail himself of a natural opportunity to work. And this, to the great majority of the race, would be considered no misfortune at all, but a positive boon.

In reasoning on this subject, it should always be kept clearly in mind that opportunities for employment are separated into two grand divisions, *natural* and *artificial*. A natural opportunity to work is an opportunity furnished by nature — where the laborer appplies his energies directly to

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nature, without the intervention of an employer, as where one farms, fishes or mines for himself. An artificial opportunity is where the laborer works for another person, firm or corporation for a stipulated reward. In a word, a natural opportunity is to work for oneself, an artificial opportunity is to work for some one else. Our complex social organism often makes it difficult to see this at first glance; yet a close analysis shows that every productive worker in the world comes under one of these two heads. Now the trouble with the existing order of industrial society is, that the former or natural opportunity to work is practically cut off, and producers are left to fight and scramble with one another for artificial opportunities; and, these artificial opportunities being inadequate to supply the demand for work, there follows a competition among workers, which results in reducing wages to a starvation point; and even when this point is reached, many are left unemployed. It is this competition for artificial opportunities of employment, with natural opportunities cut off, that causes such an outcry against what socialists call "the competitive system."

The employers in the artificial opportunities are the capitalists we hear so much about, and against whom so many well meaning but misguided producers are contending, striking and fighting. These much-abused capitalists, naturally, are doing the best they can for themselves, and will of course buy labor as cheaply as possible, just as they do the other materials of which their finished products are composed. The truth of the matter is, the capitalist is just as much a victim of the present unnatural, one-sided competition as the laborer, and stands just as sorely in need of relief. And therefore it is, as we single taxers say, that capital and labor, being essentially the same thing — capital itself being but stored-up labor — should and would be friends and mutual helpers, under a condition where natural opportunities are free. With natural opportunities free, a worker could work for a capitalist or not, as he might see fit. As it is now, he *must* work for a capitalist, because he cannot work for himself, as natural opportunities for him to do so are closed against him. This little difference makes all the difference in the world — the difference between that of being a slave and that of being a free man.

Another class of persons said, "What great gain can come

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to the users of land, by paying unearned increments into the public treasury instead of to the landlord — since, in any event, they must pay them?" The answer is plain. First, the user of the land will participate in this enormous fund negatively, by being relieved from all taxes; and positively, by enjoying with other members of the community any public enterprises which the community might undertake, with any surplus fund left in hand after the ordinary expenses of government are met. For that matter the community could make a *per capita* dividend with any unearned increment surplus over and above ordinary expenses. But this, probably, would not be done. The surplus — and there would be a large one — would probably be used for providing free for public use, such things as lights, water, street railroads, public roads, schools, libraries and a hundred and one things in which the community has a common interest. Secondly, unearned increments (which by the way would no longer be unearned increments, for reasons already explained) would be enormously reduced — reduced in something like the proportion that all land, used and unused, bears to the land now in actual use. Moreover, unearned increment would not have to be paid on all land, but only on that land having a rental value. Immense quantities of land possessing great utility value, and now possessing a corresponding rental value, owing to the vast quantities of land withheld from use, would possess no rental value whatever under a system where occupancy is limited to use. Its utility value would, however, not be impaired; on the contrary it would be augmented. And thus it is we say that through the operation of the single tax, free land would exist for all who might want it — good free land, free even from unearned increment or rental assessments. The great bulk of farming land will, for instance, wholly escape not only taxation but also unearned increment assessments, when the single tax is adopted.

There are still other persons who say, "Well, even if your single-tax reform *will* give everybody who wants it, a farm for nothing, that wouldn't help us much, for every one knows that farmers who own farms now are starving to death." So they are, and why? Simply because the market for their products is dried up, through the inability of those to whom they would sell, to buy. To market is to trade, and a man

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with *something* to trade can make no exchange with a man who has *nothing* to trade, for obvious reasons. And the reason those who would buy if they could, cannot buy, is because their opportunities of employment have been restricted to artificial opportunities, with the result as already pointed out. It must not be forgotten that the prosperity of a producer depends as much upon the ability of others to buy, as upon his own ability to produce. And a man's ability to buy depends wholly upon his ability to produce.

The production of wealth, in all its forms, consists in various modifications of bits of land. Some men produce one thing, some another, and others still other kinds of things, each according to his opportunities, industry, skill or natural advantage. The surplus of each man's product is taken to the market, and there traded or exchanged for other things. All trade with all, and each is supplied with various things, according to the opportunity he has had to produce.

Some people tell us that the single tax is all well enough in theory, and may be adopted some time away down in the dim future, when human nature changes, and every one is willing to live according to the golden rule. To such we would say, that human nature is plenty good enough for our purpose here and now. We have no fear but that as soon as men awaken to the fact that land monopoly is responsible for all involuntary poverty in the world; that land monopoly stands directly in the way of material progress; that private ownership of land is an institution without a single principle of justice to stand upon, but that it flatly contradicts the self-evident truth that all men have equal rights to the use of the earth; that it is worse than folly to prate about the equal rights of all to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and at the same time deny equal rights to the earth, the source of all three; and that this underlying basis of all the great industrial wrongs can be wholly and completely wiped out, by simply concentrating taxation on land values;—I say when men awaken to a consciousness of these facts, they are here and now quite good enough to act promptly. In fact they are too good, or if you please, selfish, not to act.

We have had the golden rule preached to us long enough. We know by precept and experience that honesty is the best policy. The civilized world cares no longer to have these

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things dinned in its ears. What is wanted now is a chance to practise those virtues; and this all the world knows is utterly impossible under prevailing conditions. Some may come a little nearer than others, in their attempts to reach these ideals, but all fail woefully, not for want of will but for want of opportunity.

The adoption of the single tax will work an imaginary hardship upon the comparatively few who now, through the control of natural opportunities, fasten themselves as parasites upon the workers of the world. So does the abatement of a small-pox epidemic work a hardship on the doctors. But in one case as in the other, I think the general advantage outweighs the special hardship.

There are many other phases of the question that I should like to touch upon, but space granted me forbids. As a closing word, kind reader, I beg of you, if you have not already done so, to study this question. If we are wrong, show us how and why. If we are right, cast in your lot with us and aid in ushering in with the new century a civilization worthy of the name, and the undying gratitude of a long suffering humanity shall be your heritage and reward.

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THEN DAWNED A LIGHT IN THE EAST.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE civilization of Christendom to-day resembles in so many respects the civilization of the Roman Empire of two thousand years ago that it presents to the philosopher, the student of sociology and the reformer a subject for serious reflection, which if ominous is by no means hopeless, to those who bear in mind the fact that at this remote and sombre period, when through the music of life ran the note of despair, and men existed rather than lived, there came into the world a new song, deep, rich and melodious. A new influence entered the soul of man, energizing and electrifying life. A moral uplift changed the current of thought, fanned into flame an almost quenched spark of spirituality, and gave a new dignity to manhood, while it gilded the future with a great hope.

Our modern civilization is greatly indebted to three ancient centres of intellectual life — Rome for her laws, Athens for art, Jerusalem for religion. In this paper I desire to notice civilization in these three capitals of thought at the time of the Cæsars. We shall find mankind in the midst of triumphant animalism, in which revolting lust and refined savagery, extensive wealth and abject penury, frequently made all the more hopeless and repellent by sanctimonious hypocrisy, existed on every side. And in this night time of the human soul we shall see a light dawn in the East, a revivifying hope come into the heart of man through the teachings of the gospel of human brotherhood. And we shall further see that so long as the high spirit of altruism dominated the new religion, so long as it was pervaded and controlled by peace and love, it gained momentum, and its influence bore humanity toward the age-long dream of happiness through justice, freedom and love.

II.

The student of history cannot fail to see that existing conditions to-day find many striking parallels in the Roman civilization at the dawn of our era, with this important difference. We are on a higher round of the spiral ladder; for we must not lose sight of the fact that although there come from time to time periods of

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depression and partial eclipse, when not unfrequently nations die, and sometimes whole civilizations are blotted from earth, yet on the whole man is slowly but surely rising. The trend of life is Godward. Thus for example, we find that in the olden days slavery existed in two forms; those who theoretically were free, as are our industrial millions to-day, were in reality slaves to capital, while chattel slavery also flourished in its most revolting form. Furthermore, with us education and popular franchise render the condition of our industrial slaves less pitiable because they have the ballot at their command.

With these thoughts in mind we will view social conditions as they were two thousand years ago; and at the outset we shall be impressed with the important fact that apparent national prosperity does not necessarily imply the presence of happiness, for, unless justice be present, the reverse is indicated. Rome, at the time of which we speak, might have impressed the superficial stranger as being at once happy and prosperous. Augustus had "found her a town of huts; he left her a city of marble." She was the undisputed mistress of the civilized world; streams of golden tribute poured into her coffers from all quarters. But the Roman world had, to paraphrase a striking expression of Hugo's, fallen into her stomach. The worship of material things was the real religion of the age; which is to say that the coronal region of the national brain had become benumbed by the paralysis of gross materialism. The animal had strangled the spiritual; the ideal was eclipsed by the sensual. When conscience is deadened the well-springs of life begin to dry up; when the divine promptings cease to move the heart of a nation, death soon fastens upon her vitals.

I remember when a small boy the keen delight I felt one summer afternoon as, while walking with my mother to a neighbor's, I caught sight of a forest tree clothed in the gorgeous tints of autumn. Its mantle of scarlet, gold and russet was accentuated by the deep, quiet green of the trees on every side. I eagerly called my mother's attention to the beautiful spectacle. She said, "That tree is dying; the brilliant colors at this season are the sure signs of its death." I was sad. In a few moments we passed the tree and I found it had been girdled. Its splendor was the hectic flush of death which gave a fleeting beauty to the expiring child of the forest. So Rome two thousand years ago resembled that dying tree, but she mistook the hectic flush for the blush of returning youth. At this period wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few. Capital was sacred but life was hardly worth the saving. According to Plutarch, slaves were often bought in the Roman camp for less than one dollar of our money.

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The moral degradation at the social nadir was only surpassed by the revolting immorality in high life. A well-known historian * gives a glimpse of the bestial corruption of this period among the ruling classes in the following startling language: —

Messalina has attained the preëminence of being regarded as the most abandoned woman earth has known. It is recorded that every man in the household of the emperor was her paramour. Officers, play-actors, buffoons, slaves, all were alike welcomed by her. Her atrocities were far too shameful to be recorded. The ladies of her court were compelled to practise in her presence the same shameful enormities in which she indulged, and whoever refused was punished with torture and death.

Intellectual training without moral culture was a characteristic of high life. In vain did the Stoics attempt to stem the tide of degradation. The idle rich had long since become vicious and lawless; the idle poor had become criminal and debauched. The great struggling millions found life day by day more hopeless and their burdens grew gradually heavier and heavier. A savage spirit existed everywhere. Human sympathy was no longer discernible in public spirit. On the one hand the plutocrats gorged; on the other the proletariat starved. Luxury existing by the side of want is an unfailing sign of moral disintegration. Virtue seemed dead, hence it is not strange that passion and savagery governed the human heart. The historian Froude has given us an admirable characterization of this period in the following graphic words †: —

It was an age of material progress and material civilization; an age of pamphlets and epigrams; of salons and of dinner parties; of senatorial majorities and electoral corruption. The highest offices of state were open, in theory, to the meanest citizen; they were confined, in fact, to those who had the longest purses or the most ready use of the tongue on popular platforms. Distinction of birth had been exchanged for distinction of wealth. The struggle between plebeians and patricians for equality of privilege was over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society. The free cultivators were disappearing from the soil. Italy was being fast absorbed into vast estates, held by a few favored families and cultivated by slaves, while the old agricultural population was driven off the land and was crowded into towns. The rich were extravagant, for life had ceased to have practical interest except for its material pleasures; the occupation of the higher classes was to obtain money without labor, and to spend it in idle enjoyment. Patriotism survived on the lips, but patriotism meant the ascendancy of the party which would maintain the existing order of things, or would overthrow it for a more equal distribution of the good things which alone were valued.

Religion, once the foundation of the laws and rule of personal conduct, had subsided into opinion. The educated in their hearts disbe-

* "History of Italy," by John S. C. Abbott, p. 312. See also Juvenal, and Keightley's "History of Rome."

† "Cæsar," by Anthony Froude.

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lieved it. Temples were still built with increasing splendor; the established forms were scrupulously observed. Public men spoke conventionally of Providence, that they might throw on their opponents the odium of impiety; but of genuine belief that life had any serious meaning, there was none remaining, beyond the circle of the silent, patient, ignorant multitude. The whole spiritual atmosphere was saturated with cant—cant political, cant religious; an affectation of high principle which had ceased to touch the conduct and flowed on in an increasing volume of insincere and unreal speech.

Describing his own time the philosopher Seneca wrote: —

All things are full of iniquity and vice. We struggle in a huge contest of criminality. Daily the passion for sin is greater and the shame in committing it less. Wickedness is no longer committed in secret; it flaunts before our eyes, and has been set forth so openly into public sight, has prevailed so completely in the breasts of all, that innocence is not *rare* but *non-existent*.

A further glimpse of the state of Roman society is given by Archdeacon F. W. Farrar* from which I take a few expressive lines: —

There have been many ages when the dense gloom of a heartless immorality seemed to settle down with unusual weight; there have been many places where, under the gaslight of an artificial system, vice has seemed to acquire an unusual audacity; but never probably was there any age or any place where the worst forms of wickedness were practised with a more unblushing effrontery than in the city of Rome under the government of the Cæsars. A deep-seated corruption seemed to have fastened upon the very vitals of the national existence. It is surely a lesson of deep moral significance that just as they became more polished in their luxury they became more vile in their manner of life.

In the age of Augustus began that "long, slow agony," that melancholy process of a society gradually going to pieces under the dissolving influence of its own vices, which lasted almost without interruption till nothing was left for Rome except the fire and sword of barbaric invasion. The old heroisms, the old beliefs, the old manliness and simplicity, were dead and gone; they had been succeeded by prostration and superstition, by luxury and lust.

It was an age of cruelty. The shows of gladiators, the sanguinary combats of wild beasts, the not unfrequent spectacle of savage tortures and capital punishments, the occasional sight of innocent martyrs burning to death in their shirts of pitchy fire, must have hardened and imbruted the public sensibility.

The mere elements of society at Rome during this period were very unpromising. It was a mixture of extremes. There was no middle class. At the head of it was an emperor, often deified in his lifetime and separated from even the noblest of the senators by a distance of immeasurable superiority. He was, in the startling language of Gibbon, at once "a priest, an atheist and a god." Surrounding his person and forming his court were usually those of the nobility who were the most absolutely degraded by their vices, their flatteries or their abject subservience.

The ceremonies of religion were performed with ritualistic splendor, but all belief in religion was dead and gone. "That there are such things as ghosts and subterranean realms not even boys believe," says

* "Seekers after God," by F. W. Farrar, D. D.

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Juvenal, "except those who are still too young to pay a farthing for a bath." And yet the highest title of the emperor himself was that of *pontifex maximus*, or chief priest, which he claimed as the recognized head of the national religion. "The common worship was regarded," says Gibbon, "by the people as equally true, by the philosophers as equally false, and by the magistrates as equally useful."

It was an age of the most enormous wealth existing side by side with the most abject poverty. Around the splendid palaces wandered hundreds of mendicants, who made of their mendicity a horrible trade, and even went so far as to steal or mutilate infants in order to move compassion by their hideous maladies. This class was increased by the exposure of children, and by that overgrown accumulation of landed property which drove the poor from their native fields. It was increased also by the ambitious attempt of people whose means were moderate to imitate the enormous display of the numerous millionaires.

It was an age of boundless luxury — an age in which women recklessly vied with each other in the race of splendor and extravagance, and in which men plunged headlong, without a single scruple of conscience and with every possible resource at their command, into the pursuit of pleasure. There was no form of luxury, there was no refinement of vice invented by any foreign nation, which had not been eagerly adopted by the Roman patricians. "The softness of Sybaris, the manners of Rhodes and Antioch, and of perfumed, drunken, flower-crowned Miletus," were all to be found at Rome. There was no more of the ancient Roman severity and dignity and self-respect. The descendants of Æmilius and Gracchus — even generals, consuls and prætors — mixed familiarly with the lowest *canaille* of Rome in their vilest and most squalid purlieus of shameless vice.

And it was an age of deep sadness. That it should have been so is an instructive and solemn lesson. In proportion to the luxury of the age were its misery and exhaustion. The mad pursuit of pleasure was the death and degradation of all true happiness. Suicide — suicide out of pure *ennui* and discontent at a life overflowing with every possible means of indulgence — was extraordinarily prevalent.

Such was the state of civilization in Rome.

Passing eastward from Italy we find that Greece at this time presented a spectacle less tragic but very melancholy. Society was permeated with artificiality. There was a hollow ring to conventional life on every side, but there was also a deep heart hunger for something better. The golden age of Pericles had long since departed, and the great philosophers whose intellects are still the wonder and admiration of the world had passed away, to be followed by a horde of pitiful imitators and empty-pated sophists who were little better than sounding boards — bodies without souls — talking machines who, having little faith, hope or love, had made philosophy a profession in order to enjoy ease. Of this age the late Professor Edwin Hatch observed that it was *

a world which had created an artificial type of life and which was too artificial to recognize its own artificiality . . . a world whose schools, instead of being laboratories of the knowledge of the future, were forges

* "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usage upon the Christian Church," by Professor Edwin Hatch, D. D.

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in which the chains of the present were fashioned from the knowledge of the past. . . . Philosophy, which had been a profession, had also become degenerate; the philosophers had made philosophy unreal.

The Macedonians, in all probability, would have struggled in vain for the conquest of Greece had not the old energy of Greece given way before the growing love of show and amusement. "The rich also," observed Professor Fyffe, "grudged giving the state anything and tried to escape taxes."* After the conquest of Greece by the Macedonians the degeneracy rapidly increased. Temples were reared on every side, but religion gave place to a sensuous materialism in the popular heart.

And yet here, in the midst of a life so characterized by insincerity, so essentially superficial in character, were numbers of men and women who thirsted for something which their hollow education, their shows, games and amusements, their multitudinous temples and elaborate ceremonialism, signally failed to supply. There was a deep heart hunger for something real and sincere, something which possessed the power of restoring faith, awakening hope and kindling that comprehensive love which extends to all sentient beings, and marks the zenith of life's aspirations as boldly as sensualism marks its nadir. This feeling was seen on every side. We are told that the Apostle Paul found a temple dedicated to the "unknown God." What could be more pathetic? The hungry spirit of the age had also turned to Homer for food. Dr. Hatch tells us: "The verses of Homer were not simply the utterances of a patriotic pen with a patriotic meaning for a patriotic time. They were the Bible of the Greek races." In fact, while the shallow and artificial held such powerful sway, an under current of deep feeling was also a marked characteristic of this period in Athens.

Leaving Greece we enter the Palestine of the period. Here it is noticeable that religion had degenerated into soulless formalism, and theology concerned itself with the outside of the cup of life. The phylacteries were enlarged and the prayers lengthened. The deep, earnest cry of faith was drowned by the self adulation of the pompous Pharisee or the jangling voices of warring sects. The Sadducees sat in high seats and scoffed at the dream of a future life. The people were expected to regard rigidly the outward form and narrow dogma of sect and race. They were taught to hate the Samaritans as idolaters and perverters of the truth rather than love them as brothers who, if erring, were brothers still. The masses were in intellectual bondage to those who taught conventional religion with their mouths, while their lives perpetually contradicted all that was vital or uplifting in religion. Moreover, the yoke of a foreign government weighed on the

* "History of Greece," by C. A. Fyffe, A. M.

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nation, and the people were compelled to bear a crushing load imposed on them by the merciless rapacity of extortioners who, under the cloak of the law, robbed the poor of wellnigh all but their daily bread.

At this time when vital faith had flown, when hope was dying and love was withering as a canker-eaten flower, there came out of a little obscure village in Galilee a serene soul, whose inner nature was nourished by a great and abiding faith in *the ultimate triumph of good, and in the reality of a Divine Father, who dwelt in light and whose name was Love.* This lofty soul felt what only the most spiritual and sensitive natures are capable of appreciating, *the weight of the people's miseries.* Nor was this all; He possessed that energizing faith in the divinity of man which renders it possible for him to rise above savagery, greed and sensual joys; His brain was aflame with Love; a great hope filled His heart; the dream of a universal brotherhood based on the golden rule dwelt in His mind, as an ideal haunts the brain of a sculptor until he yields to his impulses and gives it expression. He was philosopher enough to realize that if His ideal was to take possession of the hearts of others something more than theory must be manifested. His life was the expression of His dream. His words and deeds carried with them a potency which boldly contrasted with the perfunctory teaching of the conventional religionist of His time. His lofty faith and overmastering passion for justice, the ever present sympathy for those sinned against, spoke of the presence of something which answered the heart cry of the noblest and most divine human emotions. His life was an expression of the persistent ideal which, throughout all ages, has haunted the brains of the noblest sons of earth, and with each succeeding epoch appears more plainly to the vision of the prophets, seers and poets — the ideal a redeemed humanity, a brotherhood cemented by all encompassing love and made strong by a living faith and never vanishing hope.

This age-long dream, which has impressed its stamp upon the prophets of every age and is admirably summed up by Victor Hugo in the sentence, "Concord condensed into felicity, civilization summed up in harmony," — this high ideal, though as yet far off, is nevertheless the pillar of fire in the world night, and it grows brighter with each succeeding triumph of civilization. Jesus, perceiving the possibility of its realization, worked tirelessly for its consummation. His deeds and teachings were not entirely unappreciated even in His own day; a few who followed felt the profound depths in their own souls stirred, and they in turn became intoxicated by that high and luminous faith which leads men and women to make the great renunciations and dedicate

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life's best efforts and energies to the cause of justice and the weal of man. Soon the fires kindled in Galilee spread over Palestine. The Serene Dreamer alarmed respectable conventionalism in church and state. The ever recurring tragedy followed — the prophet of Galilee faced a tragic death.

But martyrdom always exerts a strange influence on the brain of man after unreasoning hate and prejudice have died away. The halo of heroism, at once fascinating and positive in its influence, extends from the man who faced death for what he believed to be divine truth, to the idea or conviction taught by the martyr. And so the central truths promulgated by the great Nazarene— *the reality of the Divine Life whose name was Love, the sonship of man, the brotherhood of all the children of men* — from glittering generalities became life-governing convictions. The strong faith, the great hope, the luminous love which characterized His life and teachings, fired the hearts of those who dwelt with Him. They tried to return to their nets, but were impelled to higher duties. He who is touched by the divine flame cannot again find contentment on the self-plane. The peace which comes from doing good, the great calm of the soul which is known only to those who make the great renunciations, and devote thought, deed and life to truth, justice and love, forever closes the gate of life against sordid greed, selfish gratification and *pseudo* pleasures which characterize the life of the unawakened spirit. And so these once simple-hearted fishermen became torch bearers of life in the hour of humanity's night. They carried throughout Palestine, Greece and Italy the gospel of faith, hope and love, and this light from the East revived the divine in the hearts of the despairing.

So long as the words of Jesus were followed, so long as conduct or life, rather than hollow dogma and abstract belief, was the test of religion, the new truth spread. Neither the wilful falsehoods, the base slander, the ignorant misconceptions which represented the new religion as the incarnation of vice wedded to blind superstition, nor yet the terrible persecutions carried on with merciless ferocity, availed to check its onward march in the empire of the human mind. It possessed the germ of permanent progress, for it was alive with the spirit of divinity. Before its followers floated the ideal of a broad and gentle spiritual supremacy which is destined to redeem the world. And this marvellous growth continued until a change came, the culmination of which, as the late Professor Edwin Hatch* pointed out, was reached when "the centre of gravity was changed from *conduct*

*The late Professor Edwin Hatch, D. D., it should be remembered, was one of the most learned scholars in the orthodox Protestant world. The fact that he occupied a chair in Ecclesiastical History in Oxford University indicates his high scholastic standing.

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to *belief*," and the religion of the "*Syrian peasants*" merged into the world of the "*Greek philosophers*."

When this great change came, to the superficial eye Christianity had triumphed. She had become respectable; she had exchanged the religious life for creedal theology; conventionalism was ready to subscribe to Christianity, for the insincere and artificial could now by profession enter a church which would have barred them so long as the rigid requirements of the *religion of life* as laid down by Jesus were made the test of discipleship. At that moment the seeds of spiritual death found root in Christianity. She had conformed to the requirements of conventionalism.

Dr. Hatch calls attention to the important fact that the Sermon on the Mount, which was the promulgation of a new law of conduct, belonged to the world of the Syrian peasants, and that it stood on a lofty mountain peak in the forefront of the ministry of Jesus; while the "Nicene Creed — a statement partly of historical facts and partly dogmatic inferences — belonged to the world of the Greek philosophers, *and in it ethics had no place*."

The vitality inherent in the teaching of the new religion gave it saving power, but with the change in the centre of gravity an avenue was opened for the church to become a temporal power, a prize for worldly ambition, an instrument for persecution, a throne for bigotry, as well as a home for the hollow artificiality which exalts the letter and disregards the spirit, thus paralyzing spiritual progress.

Jesus exemplified in His life the profound truth that faith, hope and love are the well-springs of spiritual life, which is the soul of enduring civilization. It is important, however, that we do not confuse spiritual life, which is the quickening of all that is highest, sweetest, purest and most noble in man, with dogmatic theology and creedal religion, which are frequently far more destructive to soul expansion and the development of the inner life than the agnosticism which is the result of revolt against that soulless and formal worship of creedal theology, which was almost as prevalent in the days of Jesus as it is with us, and which He thus scathingly denounced: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye devour widows' houses, and for a prêtence make long prayers. Ye pay tithe of mint, anise and cummin, but omit the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith; ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful without but are within full of dead men's bones." True spiritual life is broad, sweet, tender, just, beneficent and inspiring. In its atmosphere the spirit of persecution and hate withers and dies.

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It was because Jesus possessed so large a degree of this spiritual life, which expressed itself in human sympathy, in serene faith in the ultimate triumph of Good, in courage to denounce sin in high places and to unmask the hypocrisy which blasts while it pretends to bless, that His life has been an inspiration to millions of earth's noblest sons and daughters; even in the face of the persistency with which the spirit has so often been ignored, and the letter, even of doubtful origin, has been emphasized by those who claim to be His followers. Jesus emphasized the dignity of human life; He demanded that it be lifted to a higher level, that it might see and feel the light and warmth of a broad existence. He appealed to the coronal regions of the brain and awakened the conscience.

No civilization can long endure after the spiritual ideal is eclipsed. There must be present in the heart of man a strong, abiding faith in a fairer to-morrow. There must be present that large hope which inspires moral courage, coupled with the radiant love which is the soul of the golden rule; that love which "suffereth long and is kind, envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth."

The message which this age brings to us, instead of being a wail of despair, is at once a lesson and an evangel because it gives to the riper judgment and more developed soul life of the present time the golden key to progress, felicity and concord.

I imagine no one who reads the annals of this night time of the human soul will fail to be startled with many points of resemblance between the Roman empire under the Cæsars and Christendom to-day. The worship of gold, political corruption, social degradation, moral debauchery in high life and the savage spirit which always rises in society when conscience yields sway to self-gratification; all these evil conditions are present to-day, as they were present when Seneca uttered the lofty truths of stoicism, when Diana was the glory of Ephesus, and when the austere voice of a prophet was heard crying in the wilderness of Judea.

But we must not overlook the fact that while in the older time there arose one lofty, serene soul who taught faith, hope and love and gave expression to the divine in daily life; to-day the same trinity of human redemption is uplifting and electrifying the thought and shaping the lives of millions of human beings throughout the whole world. The light which filled one soul two thousand years ago is blossoming to-day in city and country, in the marts of business life, and in the most remote mountain recesses. Hence, while recognizing the darkness which surrounds us, while mindful of the savage and conscienceless character of a determined and corrupt conventionalism, and without underesti-

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mating the resources of alarmed plutocracy, I feel that there is no cause for discouragement at the present moment.

"Be strong and fear not," — such should be the watchword for men and women of conscience everywhere. Let us remember that while he who at this critical moment throws himself upon beds of ease, closes his eyes to the great wrongs to be righted and prophesies smooth things, is recreant to duty; on the other hand, he who allows pessimism to paralyze his arm or who chills the welling enthusiasm of youth by giving voice to doubt and despair, is none the less criminal. There never was a moment in the history of civilization when the subtle forces for light were so diffused and yet so united as to-day. It is true the walls of crumbling thought and outgrown beliefs are falling on every side; the fires of hate and intolerance are flaming forth; the air is filled with dust and smoke; clouds overshadow us, and the hyenas of greed and the tigers of injustice are prowling over the fields of life, but beyond and above the clamor of death peals forth a divine symphony. The lark's prophet voice makes melodious the vibrant air, and lo, the east is purpled with the coming day! Courage, men and women of the new time! Let the bugle of progress sound clear and strong! Let the standard be unfurled! Forward!

"It breaks — it comes — the misty shadows fly;
A rosy radiance gleams along the sky;
The mountain tops reflect it calm and clear, —
The plain is yet in shade, but *day is near*."

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ALICE MEREDITH BURN (wife of David W. M. Burn, A. M.).
Mrs. Burn is leader of the Rational Dress Movement in New Zealand.

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MALE AND FEMALE ATTIRE IN VARIOUS NATIONS AND AGES.

BY ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK.

Mr. Goldwin Smith is one of a class of amiable gentlemen, of undoubtedly benevolent intentions, who have taken upon themselves the onerous task of deciding somewhat dogmatically what the feminine half of the human race ought to be, to do, to think, to want and to wear. No shadow of doubt as to his fitness for this self-appointed mission appears ever to have flitted across Mr. Smith's manly mind, and it seems almost cruel to have to criticise when he evidently means so well; but it is ever our duty to be cruel to fiction if, thereby, we may be more kind to truth. Mr. Smith apparently imagines that the world began with male man living scrupulously within one "sphere," and with female man living rigidly within another "sphere," each having different tastes, habits and occupations, and wearing different costumes. His amazing misconception of the actual habits and customs of the male and female of the human race, is displayed in the following despairing sentence in his recently published essays: —

> Woman has made her way to the smoking room and has mounted the bicycle. She began to adopt male attire, and nothing but her own taste stopped her. After all, nature has made two sexes.

Now this implies that Mr. Smith really believes that nature gave man a taste for tobacco not shared by woman; that bicycle riding in the streets is a peculiarly unfeminine action; and that nature bestowed upon man ability to create for himself peculiarly "male attire" to which woman has no title. While it would, of course, be pleasing to feminine vanity to believe that the feminine half of the race had never possessed the weakness of smoking, and that the occasional woman to whom Mr. Smith refers as having "made her way to the smoking room" is a new and extraordinary departure in the female race, truth utterly refuses to allow us to lay this flattering unction to our feminine souls. We may say, possibly, that woman shows superior sense in having, in some countries, left off smoking, but it will never do to say she "has made her way to the smoking room and has

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mounted the bicycle" as if these two were equally modern, equally innovating and peculiarly unfeminine customs. For, as a matter of fact (sad as it may be) originally, there was not a particle of difference between man's love of tobacco and woman's enjoyment of that enticing weed.

The narghile of Persia is as constantly used by the most refined, delicate and cultivated ladies as by their male relatives. Barth tells us that the "noble Touareg ladies," distinguished for their intelligence and learning, the mothers of well educated and courteous children, yet smoked as constantly and as openly as did their fathers, husbands and brothers, during his residence among them. And a Russian or a Spanish Christian would be as amazed were cigarette smoking referred to as a purely masculine prerogative as would the noble dames of Persia, Turkey, Arabia or Africa. Now this fact may be painful, disgraceful, reprehensible; but it is a fact, and we point it out to Mr. Goldwin Smith because the first, and the one indispensable, requisite of a mentor to womankind is accuracy in regard to the premises upon which instruction is founded.

Then as to mounting the bicycle, this is the tamest of tame proceedings compared to the well-known, thousands-of-years-old feminine custom of riding in the most public and crowded city streets astride of a donkey or a camel. Yet those modest sisters of ours in the Orient who ride astride camels are the most intensely conservative, the most gentle, submissive, quiet creatures imaginable, and would probably consider Mr. Goldwin Smith a lunatic if he objected that such practice is "unwomanly." It is womanly because women do it. That is the only test nature knows of. Since this is the case, why should it now agitate him to discover that the womanly women of Christendom, who cannot afford camels, are betaking themselves unto bicycles?

But it is with regard to "male attire" that Mr. Smith is most wildly astray. Indeed, I doubt if there is any other subject regarding which so much popular ignorance prevails and about which so much nonsense is talked. To hear the average person orate one would suppose that nature created male man fully clothed in a bifurcated garment, and gave him an indisputable patent, whose claim is good for all eternity, against infringement by the other sex.

It is a pity to have to shatter an illusion so dear to millions of men. But the truth must be told sometime, for there is nothing hid that shall not be known, and the time for preaching this truth upon the housetops seems to have arrived. The truth is, man did not invent, nor did he first wear, that bifurcated garment which is variously designated as "trousers," "breeches," or "pantaloons." Prepare for a shock, dear brothers of the

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(1) Scotch Highland Costume.

(2) Modern Syrian Male Attire. (3) English Civilian Dress, 1375.

(*Enc. Brit.*)

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Occident; don't let the wave of information swallow you up alive! The fact is that trousers were a purely feminine invention, created by woman for her own special wearing, and man was actually reproached by his contemporaries for copying feminine fashions when he first began to adopt trousers for his attire!

The earliest allusion to this garment is by a historian who lived in Greece about 450 B. C. He is describing the costume of various troops, of the Caspians, who wore "goat-skin mantles," of the Thracians, the Cilicians and numerous other races, clothed in tunics* and half-boots, but the Persians, he tells us, "wore on their legs loose trousers," and "the Medes marched equipped in the same manner as the Persians, for the above is a Medic and not a Persian costume." Now another Greek historian supplies a missing link by the information that this peculiarly feminine fashion which the Persians copied from the Medes, was the invention of Queen Medea, who gave her name to, and ruled over, that portion of the human race known to us as the Medes. Says this Greek historian, Strabo, "Trousers are proper to be worn in cold and northerly places, such as those in Media, but they are not by any means adapted to inhabitants of the South"; but he adds that after the Persians conquered the Medes, "The custom, however, of the vanquished appeared to the conquerors to be so noble, and appropriate to royal state, that, instead of nakedness or scanty clothing, they endured the use of the feminine garment, and were entirely covered to the feet." But it is not alone in "cold and northerly places" that women invented trousers for their outdoor apparel. The first white men who visited Senegambia, as early as the sixteenth century, found the beautiful Fellatah women wearing short, close-fitting trousers as an equally appropriate costume for the tropics, and the same fashion abides to this day in Morocco, Algiers and Tunis.

Since it is thus established that the bifurcated garment was a feminine invention for female attire, woman, in returning to "divided skirts" or "oriental trousers," will merely return to a perfectly womanly, eminently sensible fashion of her own original creation.

The first clothing manufactory of which we have even mythical record was set up in a garden whose whereabouts is still somewhat uncertain (although ingenious speculative geographers have done their best to fix its locality), and we are told that the first costume of the male and female of the human race was there concocted out of the same material, in the same manner. It is an interesting comment on Mr. Goldwin Smith's present views of

* The tunic is a loose frock reaching a little below the waist, which was worn by both sexes.

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PREVAILING STYLES IN MALE COSTUME WORN BY KINGS AND NOBILITY AT VARIOUS PERIODS IN FRANCE.

(1) HENRY II., 1547.

(2) LOUIS IV., 1712. (3) JOHN, COUNT OF NEVERS, DUKE OF BURGUNDY, 1405.

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totally different "spheres" for man and woman, that this most ancient picture of their beginning represents them working as equals, in precisely the same way, to clothe themselves in exactly the same costume. The man is not reported as objecting that "This is woman's work," nor the woman as protesting, "This is man's work," but both are depicted sewing away, side by side, in a spirit of true comradeship. It is true we cannot take oath as to the cut of those first manly and womanly habiliments, for the historian merely relates that the man and woman sewed "things to gird about them." But the chief point, and that to which I call Mr. Goldwin Smith's thoughtful attention, is that in the earliest model reported, attire was precisely alike for both male and female.

Another point which may well be noted in passing is that it was then considered as manly for man to sew, as it was womanly for woman. Oddly enough, in some parts of the world man has never ceased to sew, and Rev. Duff Macdonald assures us that in East Central Africa this industry is considered as pertaining to the special sphere of man, insomuch that "divorce may be effected if the husband neglects to sew his wife's clothing," women seeming to prefer more active occupation. The Rev. Duff Macdonald is a Presbyterian missionary, and records this as a fact gained by personal observation.

From the astoundingly minute apron, which seems to have been the only article originally worn by woman, she gradually progressed to divers swathings of more and more voluminous extent, until at length she was doubly and trebly covered from the crown of her head to the tip of her toe, and her sleeves and her veils had become marvels of superfluous encumbrance. And in every item of what is now ignorantly supposed to have always been purely feminine dress, man has at some period of history, in some parts of the world, been her close imitator, just as she has imitated him in painting the face and piling feathers, etc., on her head.

For thousands of years man wore skirts; scanty skirts, full skirts, plaited skirts, long skirts or short skirts, whether fighting, trading, preaching or manufacturing, precisely as woman does now (for she is still engaged in all these occupations in some parts of the world). Man has worn single gowns, double gowns, gowns trailing in the dust in true street-sweeper fashion, apparently without a thought of impropriety in such imitation of female attire; and woman has never interfered with this sincerest form of flattery, as far as has been discovered. He has copied woman's puffed sleeves, her slashed sleeves, her two yards long "angel" sleeves, her short sleeves above the elbow. He has worn rings on his manly fingers and, if not exactly bells on his

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(1) Style of Dress Worn by Ancient Assyrian Kings and Nobles.
(2) Bedouin Arab. (*Enc. Brit.*) (3) Male Dress known as Toga. (*Enc. Brit.*)

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manly toes, fringes of tinkling bells on his elaborately embroidered gown, necklaces around his manly throat, rings in his manly ears, adornments of jewels, flowers, feathers in his ringleted manly hair, and ribbons, ruffles, laces and precious stones wherever these could be added to his bedizenment.

Now in the face of these facts, it is one of the most comical curiosities of history, first, to find Father Tertullian, in the third century of the Christian era, in his treatises remonstrating with the men of Greece and Rome — of civilized Christendom — who had tentatively begun to adopt "that effeminate costume — trousers," laying aside their "manly robes"; and now to find Father Goldwin Smith, in the nineteenth century, in his treatises solemnly rebuking the women of Christendom who have begun to adopt "male attire" — modified trousers; both worthies alike sublimely unconscious of the whimsical pranks of Queen Custom, who has made men and women dress alike in one period of time, change dress in another period, and then dress alike again in other centuries with perfect equanimity. In 220 A. D., Father Tertullian explains that he does not think men should wear their gowns long enough to trail in the dust, as is the fashion of many third century Roman gentlemen, but he vehemently reprobates all thought of abandoning this manly garment for the "effeminate" bifurcated garment imported from Persia. To-day Father Goldwin Smith does not care what women wear so long as they stick to gowns and eschew the erstwhile effeminate trousers, because, "after all, nature has made two sexes!" (We never know how amusingly absurd man can be until he gets to writing about the intentions of nature concerning woman.)

When the Jews living in Palestine had forgotten about their long-haired distant relative, Absalom, they wrote much about short hair for men and long hair for women as a natural peculiarity, asking, "Doth not even nature itself teach you, that if a man have long hair it is a shame unto him? But if a woman have long hair it is a glory to her." Long hair, however, was not peculiar to the men of ancient Israel alone. The manly Assyrians allowed their curled tresses to flow down on their masculine shoulders with artificially careless grace; and the manly Athenians coiled their long locks on their masculine heads, in a knot fastened with golden grasshoppers. As we all know, the manly Chinese continue to wear their yard or two of braids neatly wound round and round their manly occiput.

In the second century of our own era Father Clement of Rome was still reproaching men for their love of finery, saying, "For though not allowed to wear gold, yet they enwreath their latchets and fringes with leaves of gold; or, getting certain spherical figures of the same metal made, they fasten them to their ankles

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(1) MODERN COSTUME WORN BY KOREAN GENTLEMAN.

(2) ALGERIAN COSTUME worn by Mrs. W. D. McCrackan at ball given by Governor of Algiers.

(3) THE AMERICAN BICYCLE COSTUME.

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and hang them from their necks." Veil-wearing men are earliest referred to in the Homeric poems, when "Ulysses, taking a large purple veil in his sturdy hands, drew it over his head and covered his beauteous face; for he was ashamed before the Phœcians, shedding tears from under his eyebrows. But when the divine bard had ceased singing, having wiped away the tears he took the veil from his head, and taking a round cup he made libations to the gods; but when the bard began again . . . Ulysses again, covering his head, mourned." The manly veil, then, seems to have been, as it were, a sort of portable tent, into which emotional men could retire to escape observation when they wished to indulge in the luxury of weeping.

In the deserts of Africa and Arabia all men constantly wear veils even to this day, probably as a shield from the glare of the sun and the driving sand. But it is noticeable, however, that among one of the most intelligent of the former tribes, women, though living the same outdoor life as men, never wear veils at all, while their male relatives never take their veils off, either night or day, though they wear them in such shape as to keep only the upper and lower parts of the face covered. Sometimes these manly veils are fashioned precisely like our country girl's sun-bonnet; sometimes they are in one long strip, wound round the manly head, crossed at one side of the manly neck, the ends hanging down the manly breast and over the manly shoulder. The noble Roman wore his veil in somewhat similar style. In Christendom the manly veil was first transformed into a hood with a huge rosette on one side and long flying streamers, then into a band round the chin and over the head, and finally it vanished by imperceptible changes.

Down to the fourteenth century there was almost no distinction between the dress of English men and women of rank, save that when riding to battle, men wore short skirts instead of long ones, covering their legs with long hose or with bandages. The Englishman's first bifurcated garment appeared about the twelfth century and was very full, like that of the Oriental women, but, unlike theirs, was extremely short, reaching only half-way down to his knees; gradually it grew longer, until in the seventeenth century it had descended just below the knee, where it was tied and decorated with flying knots of ribbon and deep, full ruffles of lace. So recently as the sixteenth century, however, we find Christian philosophers still rebelling against the effeminate trousers, or breeches, as particularly unsuitable for men. Montaigne, philosophizing on the power of kings and courts to set sensible fashions, saying, "Let kings but lead the dance and we shall all follow," declares: "Whatever is done at court passes for a rule throughout the rest of France. Let the courtiers but fall out

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Regular Military Costume of Greek Soldiers of To-day.
From photographs taken recently.

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with these abominable trousers . . . they will see them all presently vanished and cried down."

But, undoubtedly, man's ultimate rejection of the gown and adoption of the effeminate oriental trousers (after discarding their unnecessary fulness) was due to a survival of the fittest in costume. Experience proved this bifurcated garment to be the perfection of sensible clothing for outdoor wear, adapting itself, as it easily may, to every sort of active business or pleasure, and this is, undoubtedly, to become the costume again worn, in unison, both by the feminine sex which originally invented it, and the masculine sex which has now universally borrowed it, the variation being merely in color, fulness and material. Already women in Christendom are returning to this bifurcated feminine costume for bathing, gymnastic exercise and bicycle riding. In the Orient it has never gone out of fashion during tens of thousands of generations. The missionary Dukes thus describes one of millions of active, energetic women to be seen daily in the streets of Northern China: "Her pretty feet are bare, her trousers scarlet with dark blue figuring around the ankles. The trousers reach to a little above the ankles. Round the waist an apron is tied which falls to the knees; the jacket fits almost as close as a jersey, and round the forehead, an inch or so above the eyebrows, a coronet of black satin gives a pleasing appearance to the head."

Imagine what a blessing such a costume would be (of course, with proper foot and head covering) to the 500,000 women who toil as agricultural laborers in these United States; or to the 3,000,000 who travel daily through dust or storm to the task of earning their own livelihood in shops and factories; or to the millions of housewives who now work in and about their dwellings, painfully and senselessly encumbered with long and heavy skirts. Robes, really, belong only to the perfectly idle rich whose duties are performed by servants, or to the poor only as a purely indoor holiday costume. The student of a university, or the clergyman in a pulpit, may with propriety continue to wear long and flowing gowns as at present; but the artisan, the merchant, the soldier, throughout the whole world, have now pretty generally discarded gowns when bent on business purposes—only the smock-frock of an English peasant, the short danseuse-like petticoat of the Greek soldier, or the plaited plaid skirt of the Highlander, surviving to remind us of the bygone days when all adult men wore this style of female attire.

Prejudice against change in costume, in habits, or in ideas, is the sure mark of the provincial, who judges the world as might a mouse born in a peck measure; such prejudice is the unfailing sign of narrow mentality. To the child or the savage, whatever

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it is accustomed to is right solely because it is custom. Reason has nothing to do with it. The child has a horror of anything which will make him different in fashion from his fellows, because he has not yet developed individuality. So, too, the savage will for centuries continue to burden himself with cumbrous dress impeding his locomotion, or with enormously heavy and uncomfortable structures of hair, shells and feathers injuring his freedom of head movement, simply because it is a fashion stumbled into by his ancestors.

Courage to adopt what reason demonstrates to be the best attire for any occasion requires an independence of intellect to which the world as a whole has never yet fully attained. Our American statute books are actually still disgraced by laws forbidding women to wear what sort of a garment they please, even when it be a garment pronounced of perfect excellence and propriety for the street wear of men! The petty despots of a Texas city government have lately solemnly decreed that women are forbidden to wear even that modified form of their original Medean costume known as the "divided skirt!" Could despotic imbecility go further? It is nothing but one and the same foolish spirit of lingering savagery which perpetuates unhealthy foot-binding by women in Southern China, the unwholesome wearing of monstrous woolly wigs by men in the courts of England, or the enormous feather head-dresses of an American Indian, and which tries to legally dictate woman's garb in the United States.

A human being should cultivate absolute indifference to public opinion in dress, every one wearing what suits his or her purse, taste and occupation. The greater the freedom, the greater will be the variety of experiments in costume, and the greater these, the sooner shall we arrive at the ideal human costume. There are many reasons why it would be well that the street dress of men and women should be identical. On the streets they should be citizens, on one plane of equality, and the less there is in garb to indicate sex the better, as dress would then often be a woman's best protector.

Most, if not all, of the present physical inferiority of woman to man, is a pure product of her present weakening costume. On a stormy day, she is a spectacle for mingled tears and laughter—tears for her stupid clinging to senseless fashion; laughter for her ludicrous unfitness for locomotion. Hair blowing about; a hat which has no reference to the shape of her head, piled with ornaments fit only for twelfth century Englishmen or nineteenth century American male savages; impeding skirts, now wrapping themselves round her struggling limbs, now flapping miserably wet around her ankles, now clutched up in one hand, while the

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other hand strives to hold purse, packages and umbrella; the whole costume generally of frail, unserviceable material. As we reflect upon the amount of time, thought and money, worse than wasted in such clothing of woman, we may well doubt whether Christian civilization has thus far given her anything in costume to be thankful for.

Were women arrayed in clothes requiring no thought whatever when they were once donned, in fabrics suitable to all sorts of weather, with hats fitting their heads and shading their eyes, and with some twenty or thirty pockets to dispose of personal belongings, we should hear very little about the need of helping them on and off of street-cars, giving them seats to which they are not entitled in public places, and treating them generally like beings of a physically inferior order. The single fact that wherever men and women are found little cumbered by clothing, there women display ability to work even harder and more steadily than men, is sufficient to prove that the weakness of women in Christendom is purely artificial; though, of course, their indoor life is as great a factor in their present degeneration as their unnatural costume. The women of Northern and Southern China well illustrate the difference between woman sensibly clothed, with limbs free, and engaged in healthful, open-air employment; and woman oppressed and enfeebled by trailing gowns, voluminous sleeves, bound and crippled feet, and wholly engaged in enervating domestic occupations. The peasant of Northern China is strong as a man; she truly lives and enjoys life, and her children are like her. The aristocrat of Southern China is weak as a hot-house vine and vegetates like an exotic, suffering herself, and training her daughters to endure physical torture, while poets wax eloquent over her "lily-like grace" and her "golden feet," rendered useless, through fashion, for the natural purposes of pedal extremities! But as we look dispassionately at the tortured waist, the compressed feet and the hampered bodies of the women of our own race, we discover that we are by no means in position to throw stones at the aristocrats of China. More outdoor life, in sensible clothing, is to-day the chief need for woman in all modern civilizations. Hence her greatest benefactors are those who, instead of discouraging her by incorrect representations of what is womanly, will stimulate her to courageous use both of bifurcated garments and bicycles, welcoming, instead of forbidding, the divided skirt for every form of outdoor exercise.

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OCCULT SCIENCE IN THIBET.

BY HEINRICH HENSOLDT, PH. D.

PART II.

The first Truth is of Sorrow. Be not mocked;
Life which ye prize is long-drawn agony. — *The Light of Asia.*

IN my paper entitled "Among the Adepts of Serinagur," published in the January and February numbers of the ARENA, I described how I found my way into the Vale of Kashmir and became the guest of Coomra Sami, an initiate famous throughout the Punjaub, who, with four others of the mystic brotherhood, had taken his abode in a secluded part of the upper Serring Valley — now a lovely wilderness of cypress and *chenâr*, abandoned to Kashmiri "cliff-dwellers" and their flocks of Angora goats; but once the site of the great city of Kanishka-pura, in the palmy days of early Buddhism, when the Punjaub was the seat of learning, and the banner of the blue lotos floated from the palace of old Kanishka.

In India there are to be found, at this day, hundreds, if not thousands, of individuals of the type of Coomra Sami, although comparatively few have risen or will rise to a degree of occult power and wisdom equal to that which he possessed. Like the hermits of the Middle Ages these men live in austere seclusion; either in the solitude of India's great forests or in the hill country, always selecting some locality as remote as possible from the contingency of disturbance. The impenetrable jungle region along the Malabar coast of the Peninsula is full of these recluses, and they are numerous also in the hills of Mysore, in the Neilgherries, along the Nerbudda and Jumna, and even in the Rajputana Desert. Their place of abode — usually a primitive bamboo hut — is often cunningly constructed in imitation of nature, to ensure concealment or attract as little attention as possible, so that even the expert hunter will often pass by these silent retreats without in the least suspecting their presence.

In my "Wonders of Hindoo Magic" (see December ARENA) I have pointed out that these recluses may be divided into various classes, and that the Yoghis and Rishis are, practically, teachers or prophets, who have a mission to perform in their own country. They have sprung from a race of people who, for fifty centuries, have subordinated matter to mind, who have succeeded in reducing their physical wants to a minimum, who are all brain (while

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we are all stomach), whose knowledge of the mysteries of the mind and life is far in advance of that in our possession, who have spent years in introspective brooding over this great world illusion, who have acquired a mastery of telepathy or mind reading such as we can neither understand nor appreciate, and whose knowledge of the possibilities of what we call hypnotism is far ahead of anything of which we can now even conceive.

These men, from time to time, will leave their hidden retreats in the jungle, or their mountain caverns, and suddenly appear in the cities, where at once they are surrounded by an interested crowd of spectators. A miracle of some kind is performed in broad daylight — is seen perhaps by five thousand people — then a sermon of a most impressive character is delivered. These master minds scornfully refuse money, or any sort of remuneration; their marvels have been the wonder of ages and cannot be explained unless by the theory advanced in my paper in the December ARENA. In the middle of a street they will stand in the open day, wave their hand, and in two minutes a huge tree will appear right before the eyes of all; or they will perform the most amazing feats of levitation, such as the famous rope trick; will rise perpendicularly to a height of several hundred feet and then deliberately walk through the air and disappear from sight.

By far the greatest number of India's recluses, however (not including the numerous sects of religious enthusiasts and Fakeers) are the adepts proper, namely, philosophers who have risen above all creeds, and who seldom, if ever, make use of the occult powers which they have acquired for the furtherance of any tangible object. These men are engaged in a process of reaching a higher level of mentality. They live in the strictest seclusion, and never go about performing feats of any sort. They have been pronounced selfish by shallow reasoners, who are apt to inquire why the adepts, instead of seeking refuge in solitude, do not go about enlightening the world and proclaiming their occult attainments from the house-tops. It may be urged in reply that this latter occupation does not form part of the adept's plan: in other words, he is not preparing to become a teacher of the people; if he were to do this he could not be what he is, nor reach the lofty heights to which he aspires. There are thousands of humbler intellects who are engaged in a process of teaching, and who have set themselves the task of warning and admonishing the masses, arousing them from their intellectual and moral torpor and bringing them to a higher level. The Yoghis and Rishis are among the foremost of these; and it cannot for a moment be asserted that there has existed at any time, or that there exists at the present moment, a lack of the teaching and prophetic element in India.

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The great principle which underlies the almost endless modification of Hindoo occultism may be embodied in the term "abstraction," namely, the attainment of as complete a state of introspective vision as possible, by the withdrawal of the senses of sight, hearing, touch, etc., from the external world. Perhaps it will be of advantage to the reader, if I here describe a little more fully what is meant by introspection. Suppose a mathematician, in order to master some intricate problem, were to seek refuge within the solitude of his four walls, and endeavor to concentrate his mind completely upon the task before him. Now, if his success depended on his power to reach complete abstraction, he would speedily discover that he was far from reaching the desired goal; although he might secure solitude, he would not be able to exclude sound, for various noises are bound to reach and attract part of his attention, in spite of the most rigid application of his will. He might seek the solitude of some forest, or retire within the most secluded cavern, yet not be able to get rid of the disturbing element of sound. Assuming, however, that all sound *were* excluded, there are impressions of sight, which are an equal, if not a greater, obstacle in the path of him who would seek to attain the introspective state. A single blade of grass, if it catches the eye, will start a train of thought which may embrace a thousand subjects; a caterpillar, a grain of sand, a rain-drop, will lead the mind into a labyrinth of reflections that are more or less involuntary.

He might resort to the simple method of shutting his eyes, hoping thereby to get rid of the external world and reach the introspective state; futile effort — there still would remain the consciousness of the fact that objects of various kinds were *surrounding* him, which is a disturbing influence. Now, granting that the perceptions of sound, sight and even touch, could, for a time at least, be completely extinguished, there still would remain the memory of this or that sorrow, of frustrated hopes, of business troubles, of all the petty vexations and annoyances of life. Unless these also be completely annihilated, there can be no such thing as abstraction in the sense of the esoteric philosophy of India.

The various methods followed by the student of occultism in the far East, from the Fakeer to the greatest adept, have only this one sole aim, namely, the attainment of a state of complete introspection. When that condition is reached, so the masters say, "The mind is a scroll upon which nature will write." In other words, the Gnostic in that state identifies himself with the Brahm or universal consciousness, and partakes, in a measure, of the divine attribute of omniscience as well as omnipotence. Among certain schools of Fakeers and low-grade initiates, the

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practice of crystal-gazing is largely followed as a means of enforcing the introspective condition. A piece of crystal, usually polished (Japanese balls of rock-crystal, about three inches in diameter, are in common use all over India) is placed before the observer, who will seek some solitary spot and steadily gaze on the shining surface.

The reader may imitate this practice and the result will be a surprise and a revelation to him. The eye should be placed on a level with the crystal and about ten inches away from the latter; a light must be adjusted sideways, so that its image is not in the line of vision, and a piece of black cloth should be suspended behind the crystal. Within less than two minutes the Fakeer has attained a degree of introspection, and will then behold in the mirrored surface whatever he wishes to ascertain, for instance what a certain person is doing at a certain moment — even the past and future will become, in a measure, revealed. A little practice, two or three times a day, will enable almost any one to reach this degree of occultism, and the clearness of the images thus obtained, coupled with the correctness of the information, will be an everlasting surprise to the neophyte.

Of course what he apparently sees in the crystal is in reality transpiring in his own mind; he has reached a degree of introspective vision, but is obliged to make use of some external tangible object, which, for the time being, becomes his medium. A plane or concave mirror, set in a wooden frame and floated upon water, will answer the same purpose, and many Fakeers enforce the abstract condition by merely gazing into the water which they have poured into a small earthen bowl. The breathing exercises resorted to by the so-called Hatha Yoga school of occultism have no other purpose than to identify the consciousness of the individual with that of the Brahm, and fifty pages might be filled with a description of the endless variety of methods which this school enjoins.

The true adept, however, who has attained to the highest pinnacles of esoteric wisdom, scorns to make use of these external and, to him childish, modes of introspection; he has come to recognize that the truth lies within the depth of his own consciousness, and he can place himself in the abstract state within a few seconds by mere will power; whereas the common Fakeer identifies the occult phenomenon with the crystal, the mirror or the magic cup, which he correspondingly reverences and regards with superstitious awe. Coomra Sami was one of those high-grade adepts who had come as near perfection in the line of occult wisdom as probably any Hindoo initiate from the time of the great Sakyamuni. His power of mind reading was perfectly marvellous; he could read my thoughts with as much ease as if

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he had a large-type manuscript before him, so that, after a little while, I found it perfectly unnecessary to utter a single word, as he would reply to my ideas with a readiness and precision which were a constant source of wonder to me.

During the first few weeks of my stay among the adepts of Serinagur I regarded these men as very unsociable, morose and even uncivil, because they seldom uttered a word or even exchanged a greeting; it was not long, however, before I realized that, while apparently mute, these men carried on an active conversation with one another — they had simply risen above the necessity for speech.

The development of telepathy or mind reading in India, as a national characteristic, is amazing; it manifests itself in the every-day life of her people and reaches its climax in the attainments of the masters of occult wisdom on the high plateau of Thibet. The wonderful manner in which intelligence is communicated, or rather the speed with which news of an important character travels in the East, is a case in point. During the late Afghan war it invariably happened that the news of any success or disaster to the British was known all over India long before the authorities at Calcutta were officially informed; thus, for instance, the details of the battle of Maiwand were discussed in the bazaars of Calcutta four days before the news was received at headquarters, to the utter amazement of the vice-royal government. This in spite of the fact that the British had the advantage of sending dispatches by couriers down the valley of the Kabul River and through the Khyber Pass to Peshawur, and telegraphing cipher messages from there to Calcutta.

It is absurd to try to account for this on the supposition that the news will travel from mouth to mouth, as it were, and from village to village; there are intervening mountain ranges and great deserts, villages and hamlets many miles apart, and extensive regions where scarcely any human habitation is to be met with. Besides, the Hindoos are not given much to travel, and there is little, if any, intercommunication by means of letters or messages of any sort. Why, the news of the great disaster which befell Napoleon's army at Moscow took over six weeks to reach Paris, and this at a time when postal communication was already well organized all over Europe; in India it would have been known all over the land in less than two hours, and not merely in the sense of a vague presentiment that something *had* happened, but in the shape of a distinct vision, which, although not seen by everybody, is beheld by tens of thousands who are not slow to communicate it to their fellow-men.

We have this capacity of mind reading developed, to some slight extent, even in our Western culture, and there is not,

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perhaps, an individual of mature years and experience who has not had evidence of it. It is, for instance, a common observation that the thought of a certain person will sometimes occur to one while engaged in reading or some other occupation, without any previous train of ideas having led thereto, and that within a minute or so afterwards (often, indeed, at the same time) the person in question walks in. There is an overwhelming amount of evidence on record to show that these phenomena cannot be traced to mere coincidence, and the term "cerebricity" has been aptly formulated for this class of manifestations. The most plausible explanation of this mysterious phenomenon is the following, which, so far as my experience goes, is practically a part of the esoteric knowledge of the great masters of India and Thibet.

Thought, after all, has its origin in a molecular motion which goes on in the gray matter which lines the innumerable convolutions of the cerebrum. Not that this gray matter *produces* thought, for the brain is merely the organ of the mind, in the same manner in which a musical instrument is the medium on which the composer expresses his feelings. Indeed, the brain may be likened to a piano, the keys of which are touched by an unseen performer, namely, the ego, which is a part of the universal consciousness, and in proportion to the perfection and harmonious symmetry of that instrument will be the products of that unseen hand. The brain of the new-born babe is so poor in gray matter and convolutions that the ego can manifest itself but very feebly; as that wonderful organ develops in complexity of structure, new possibilities are added to the psychic power behind.

A poor brain is like a poor piano in the hands of an otherwise skilled performer. What, for instance, could even a Beethoven accomplish on one of the old-fashioned spinets that were in use two hundred years ago, with their three octaves and poor mechanism? It would be folly to expect him to sway our feelings to any considerable extent on one of these. Give him, on the other hand, one of Steinway's best grand pianos, and see the melody, grandeur and harmony that will rise from the hands of such a master.

Now, if thought is a molecular motion (modern science, as we know, reduces *everything* in "nature" to motion) then each particular thought must start a wave motion, which is bound to radiate throughout space, and which, of course, must go through *all* brains. The reason why it affects only a *certain* brain, so as to produce consciousness, while leaving a thousand others indifferent, is very easily accounted for. Let the reader take a violin into a room where there is a piano and then with his bow

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strike a certain musical note, say G. Now if this is performed clearly and distinctly, he will be startled to observe that the same sound is given forth by the G-string of the piano. Why, of all the strings of that inverted harp, does only the G respond? Because its vibrations coincide or harmonize with those produced in the first instance. Similarly, among all the myriad brains of the human species, only the one whose structure or complexity is such that it is capable of receiving impressions, started as wave impulses by a certain other brain, will be able to respond and experience sensations of a certain character.

During the six months of my stay among the adepts of Serinagur I made a determined, if not to say a desperate effort to obtain a clew to some of their secrets. As I stated on a previous occasion, there is no such thing as a course of studies prescribed or laid down by the esoterics, which will enable the neophyte in the course of time to cast a glimpse behind the mysterious "curtain." No amount of hard work and perseverance, in the line of applied studies, would materially assist the searcher for truth; the long years of probation and the various modifications of self-denial which are usually imposed upon the neophyte by those who hold the key to some of nature's greatest marvels have no other purpose than to test the powers of endurance and the personal character of the *chela*.

Among an intensely philosophical race like the Hindoos, there are always tens of thousands, possessed of such an intense longing to raise the curtain which hides the mysteries of time and space that the great Gnostics, even in places difficult of access, such as the Thibetan plateau, are never in want of *chelas* or disciples. Now it may be taken for granted that fully nine tenths, if not more, of these are actuated by no other motive than that of mere curiosity on the one hand, and on the other, the desire for occult powers which will enable them more readily to attain the goal of their more or less sordid ambitions. In other words, they merely wish, for the furtherance of their own selfish schemes, to obtain control over occult forces — forces which in the hands of the unscrupulous would be a fatal power for evil. These spurious disciples are speedily recognized by the masters, who will impose upon them such hardships that the great majority give up the pursuit in less than three weeks, and but few will stay a year or longer. Among these, again, a very small minority ultimately reach the object of their desires and are gradually initiated into the various degrees of esoteric wisdom.

I have not the slightest doubt that if I had persisted in the course of austerities that were imposed upon me by the adept, Coomra Sami, during my stay in the Vale of Kashmir, a more or

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less complete initiation into the secrets of the mystic brotherhood would have been attained. I have grounds for believing that the great adept had contracted a sort of friendship for me, and that he would have liked to see me becomea follower of the "path," if not a member of the inner circle of the fraternity. Often he seemed to be on the point of communicating to me some important truth, which would be likely to startle me and open my eyes to a new and glorious revelation. But then again a species of doubt would arise in him as to the wisdom of such a course. I was young in years and as yet little tried in the vicissitudes of life, and although I am convinced that Coomra approved of my perseverance and, in his own mind, was satisfied that I was a seeker after truth for its own sake, yet I might not, after all, prove a worthy custodian of secrets which had been so jealously guarded for centuries. Indeed, I may say that nothing has more forcibly impressed me than the conscientiousness of these singular individuals with regard to the responsibility of their position as esoteric initiates, or adepts of a higher science, and their extreme hesitancy to admit outsiders, as expressed in the almost incredible precautions which they take in order to guard against a possible abuse of their precious trust.

After a residence of nearly six months at the hermitage I determined to quit; not because my desire to raise the "curtain" had become less intense (for I had, indeed, obtained a glimpse behind it), but because I hoped to arrrive at the desired goal by a sort of short cut — that is, I conceived the idea of going into Thibet and studying occultism at the very fountain head of esoteric lore. Although this desire had been ripening in me many weeks before my actual departure, I never uttered a word, or acted as if I thought of ever quitting the incomparable "valley of roses"; yet the subtle Coomra soon detected what was going on in my mind and one day took me to task about it.

He asked me to accompany him on a walk to the hills that extended in an unbroken and endless series of cypress-clad ridges, domes and snow-crowned peaks to the north of the valley. For two hours we walked side by side, without either of us uttering a syllable, although I knew and felt that the adept was constantly reading my thoughts. We toiled up a rugged mountain path strewn with enormous boulders, and were approaching an altitude of considerably over ten thousand feet. The region of the deodars was below us, and all vegetation had become stunted, when Coomra halted and pointed to the glorious landscape at our feet.

"You want to go into Thibet," he said, "because you are tired of our regime here; the idea is a laudable one, although I can tell you beforehand that you will not find there what you seek.

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The path lies everywhere and nowhere, and the eternal truth you must seek for within the depths of your own consciousness; there is no royal road to success, and you must climb the Himalayan heights with painful effort. *I* was once as you are now and I well remember the impatience and the madness of despair which more than once overwhelmed me, as I realized the stupendousness of the task before me; how my heart almost failed me, and how more than once I was on the point of giving up the battle. Wealth, ease, luxury and the thousand and one delusive pleasures which hold the *bhaila* [cattle] in bondage I had abandoned, and had almost completely subdued and mastered the evil propensities — the curse of a thousand ages of animality — with which our race is afflicted. Yet, such is the demon of perversity, all-powerful through the inherited blindness and viciousness of a benighted and besotted past, that it required all the fierce determination of which I was capable to persist in the upward path. 'Through night to light' — let this be your motto in the course of ascent. The greater the obstacles, the greater the triumph; and although seclusion is to be recommended under all circumstances, yet if you are of the right calibre, you will succeed wherever you are. Go to Thibet and see the brethren, and perhaps the time will come when we may welcome you once more in the Vale of Kashmir."

I was on the point of replying something when Coomra exclaimed: "What you have to get rid of, in the first instance, is this fundamental delusion of *matter*. There *is* no such thing as matter. What you call the external world is no more real than the shadow of yonder rock. The things which you seem to behold around you are simply the products of your own mind. This truth, of course, is apt to startle you, as it has startled all the learned incapables of Frankistan who have taken great pains to prove, in bulky volumes, that the external world is real, because they can *see* objects with what they call their own eyes, touch them with their own hands and perceive sound by means of their own long ears. They forget that it is not the eye that sees, the hand that touches and the ear that hears, but the mind — or let us say the brain, because you like this term better; like all Franks you are a great believer in words that convey no meaning. The fact that you can see, hear or feel an object, does not prove its existence, but simply proves that something is going on in your mind.

"If these things were real, then it would naturally follow that we must all see them in precisely the same light, and then difference of opinion on any subject would be absolutely impossible. Yet, where will you find two human beings who hold the same views even in regard to the most trivial of matters? *Your* world

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is not *my* world, and mine again differs from that of everybody else; why? No two *minds* are alike and therefore no two worlds. Your world of to-day, young friend, is not your world of yesterday, because even since yesterday you have had new experiences, and there have been corresponding changes, however slight, in your world. Five years ago your world differed materially from the world in which you *now* live, because your mind differed; so much so, that you wonder how you could ever have entertained views which now seem to you utterly absurd. And let us go back, in imagination, to the time when you were only five years old; what a small, curious world was it which you beheld *then!*

"That there is a great general resemblance between the various worlds in which we live, move and have our being — who would deny it? Do we not all belong to the same species? Are we not all closely related, brought forth under similar conditions and brought up under similar influences? Are we not all taught in early youth to call a stone a stone, a tree a tree, and a horse a horse? Now, observe, that when various individuals come to describe the same object, be it stone, horse or tree, you get as many *different* stones, horses and trees as there are individuals who imagine they behold them."

After a short pause, during which I gazed upon him as one in a dream, the adept continued: "What has brought us to these conclusions? We Hindoos are a race immeasurably older in mental culture than the one from which you have sprung; your so-called civilization is but of yesterday and you are merely engaged in an eternal process of multiplying your wants. You have abnormally developed and stimulated the accumulative instinct, so that you have actually come to look upon life as a mere opportunity of piling up rubbish, in the shape of so-called material possessions. What, otherwise, can be the meaning of your saying that 'Time is money,' which would be apt to amuse us if it were not for the saddening thought which underlies it. I say again that what you call your glorious civilization is, and has been, nothing but a process of multiplying your wants — what are necessaries now were luxuries fifty years ago — and the more the horizon of these wants extends, the more you will have to toil in order to gratify them; you will have to devote an ever-increasing part of your life to the procuring of the means wherewith to gratify artificial wants; you are, indeed, the slaves of your wants, for each new want implies a new sorrow, namely, the sorrow experienced in the deprivation of the means to gratify it. A thousand wants mean a thousand sorrows, a thousand disappointments, a thousand pains.

"Has the standard of happiness been raised even to the extent

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of one inch by your much vaunted civilization? I say no; on the contrary you suffer more than your forefathers did at any given period, because they lived in a simpler and more frugal manner, and their wants were fewer. They had more time to rest and think. The multiplicity of your wants has brought about a feverish activity, and in your so-called 'struggle for existence' you have actually come to look upon your fellow-man in the light of an enemy. You try to overcome him by stealth and by every modification of craft; you try to oust him from business and drive him to the wall. This is what you complacently call 'the survival of the fittest,' a kind of password which you have invented in order to appease your not over-delicate conscience.

"Eight hundred years ago there was club-law in Frankistan: your rival or competitor would simply dash your brains out and take possession of your property, and there was an end of you and your sorrows. You do not fight with clubs any longer, but you wage a more merciless warfare with your brains; to-day it is brain against brain that is pitted in relentless and implacable combat, and your suffering is more of a mental than a physical character. Physical suffering is limited in duration, but mental suffering is the worst kind of agony. You see the carnage around you, the furious struggle for possession at the expense of your fellow-man, and you actually seem to enjoy your miserable triumph; you chuckle at the thought of having overreached your fellow-man in cunning, of having ruined him in business, of having brought him to his knees. You little think of his grief and sorrow, and of the fate of those who are depending upon him, of the heartbreak involved in his agony of despair on realizing that another hope has been frustrated, another illusion dispelled, another dream of happiness shattered forever and another load added to this world's burden of sorrow. Survival of the fittest, forsooth! Who is it that survives in your precious struggle for existence? Is it the most humane, the most sensitive, the most generous, the most altruistic? No, it is the most merciless, the most selfish, the most unscrupulous — the very type whose extinction would be desirable in the interest of the race.

"We Hindoos, on the other hand, after having risen to a certain height of material culture, have paused and reflected, and have begun to reduce our wants to a minimum. We live on rice, and most of us are satisfied with one meal a day. A tea-cup full of boiled rice, with a little salt, is all that we need in the line of food; one piece of cloth, which will last us for years, is all the raiment we need, and as for shelter, why a few bamboo sticks thatched with palm-leaves will more than suffice. All our

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immediate wants, if translated into time, would mean less than twenty minutes' work per day; we can devote all the rest of our time to mental culture, to thinking, — not to book study but to the solution of the world mystery. And we *have* done a good deal of thinking, as you are prepared to admit; we have developed, during these last fifty centuries, mind faculties which are a source of constant surprise to you; in fact while you have been working for the stomach, we have been working for the brain. You Westerners, in fact, are all stomach and we are all brain."

Here Coomra Sami advanced a few paces, then suddenly turning around, and facing me, he continued: "Now one of the singular discoveries we have made during this long period of our mental activity is that no two persons see the world in precisely the same light. This discovery was made already by the Rishis at the time when the Upanishads were compiled, but the knowledge now may be said to be the common inheritance of our people. You see we are an older race; older in experience, older in memories, and you are enough of a naturalist, or rather evolutionist, to be aware of the fact that there is a memory of race, even in the lower animal world, which far surpasses in intensity that short memory which is acquired by the individual in his transitory existence in any given incarnation. You have given the name of 'instinct' to this inherited memory in the animal world; but we also are the heritors of the accumulated memory and experience of the countless generations who have preceded us, and we know that the so-called external world is not real.

"There have been enlightened minds, even in your Western culture, who have come to recognize what, to you, may seem a new truth, but which is as old as the eternal stars. Your greatest philosophers, from the time of Plato to that very Schopenhauer whom you quote so often, have come to the conclusion that mind, and not matter, is the one reality. What you call matter exists only in your mind, and it cannot be too often repeated that the fact of our being able to see or touch a thing does not prove its existence. In your dreams the world to you is as real as in the so-called waking condition; you can see, hear and feel things which are devoid of existence. There are as many worlds as there are minds, although the general resemblance is such that we may speak of a normal type; yet among so many millions of minds there must be at least a few who are so differently constituted that they may be said to live in quite another world. Those whom you call insane are simply cases which differ largely from the normal type; you put them into asylums because they happen to be in the minority, although *their* world is as real as *yours*. You may reply that their so-called insanity is due to some alteration, disease or peculiarity of the brain; this, how-

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ever, strengthens my position, because it clearly proves that what we call the world depends entirely upon the condition of the mind of the individual."

"But, *samadhi*," I replied, "this is indeed a revelation which staggers me; do you really mean to say that these eternal hills and the fertile plains beyond, have no existence, except in my own mind?"

"These eternal hills," replied the adept, as he gave me a singular look and waved his hand, "where are they now?" And as I turned my gaze from the adept's eyes in the direction of the snow-clad Himalayas I was amazed to find myself gazing upon vacancy; the eternal hills and the fertile plains had vanished into thin air, and nothing was before me but a vast expanse of space; even the solid rock beneath our feet seemed to have disappeared, although I felt as if treading some invisible ground. The sensation was weird in the extreme, and the illusion lasted fully eight or ten minutes, when suddenly the outlines of the hills came faintly to view again, and before many seconds the landscape had risen to its former reality.

"This is nothing but a wonderful case of hypnotic influence," I thought, when Coomra Sami exclaimed: "Hypnotic influence? Yes and No. The phenomena of what you call hypnotism have their explanation in the fact that if some one, with a knowledge of this occult power, can alter your mind in any given direction, the world, as a matter of course, will alter *with it;* and here we come back to the eternal truth, namely, that your so-called world after all is *maya* or illusion, which I hope you have grasped now and forever."

This was my last conversation with Coomra Sami, one of the greatest adepts of Northern India. Three months later I found myself on the frowning heights of Darjeeling, two hundred miles to the north of Calcutta, in front of Mounts Everest and Kitchinchanga, amidst the grandest Himalayan scenery, prepared for my journey into the land of the Lamas.

(*To be continued.*)

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INSURANCE AND THE NATION.

BY SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

It has ever been a pleasurable play of fancy to surmise what people of a past century would think or say or do, if they were brought to life again and confronted with the culture of to-day. The Seven Sleepers, Rip Van Winkle and Julian West are merely types of a class, variations of the selfsame theme. They were conceived by the authors who wrote these stories for the purpose of demonstrating how unfit the people of one age are to accommodate themselves at once to the acquisitions of a more advanced one, or even to understand them.

It is indeed an agreeable pastime to imagine how surprised our ancestors would be were they placed face to face with our modern inventions. How they would stare at our railroads! How our telegraphs and telephones and phonographs would astonish them! How wise we should appear in their eyes, when we explained to them that all these devices are not the work of the evil one, as they would perhaps presume, but that they are based upon natural forces and the laws by which these are regulated! How small a Socrates, a Cicero or an Archimedes would appear by the side of one of our schoolboys, who could give him points in geography and the natural sciences, and explain to him the construction and mechanism of our modern devices.

A question which naturally suggests itself when we allow our fancy that sort of play is: Which of our acquisitions would our ancestors, coming to life, admire most? A thousand people will give each a different answer to that query. Some would say that our railroad system must cause the greatest surprise to people who knew of no other means of locomotion than travel on foot or on horseback; others will claim that our palatial ocean steamers must strike them with supreme wonder; again, others might insist that telephones would most of all bewilder them; while again others will declare that our modern type-setting machines and

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printing presses would take away their breath. Of course it depends. Hannibal, if he should come to life, would perhaps admire most a Krupp gun; Columbus, one of our modern warships; Franklin, one of our steam printing presses; and Newton, our electrical machines.

Given, however, a man of broad general intellectuality, who was moved in his lifetime by the spirit of philanthropy, who had the welfare of a whole people at heart, a man who, in his time, stood at the head of a community either as king, lawgiver or priest — which of our social arrangements would surprise him most? To state the question with still greater clearness, let the reader imagine that Buddha and Plato should appear among us, to study our social conditions, which of our social institutions would elicit their greatest praise? I cannot help believing that their attention would be prominently drawn to our system of insurance.

A superficial observer might become fascinated by the mechanical devices of our age; but the more careful student of human progress will find in the development of the system of insurance an entirely novel feature in the evolution of society, one that had never been thought of by all the thousands of generations which preceded ours. Insurance is, in fact, the child of the present century. It was born out of a spirit of purest philanthropy and sprang from the idea that a load that will crush an individual can be carried with ease by the multitude.

Socialists, whenever they desire to demonstrate the feasibility of an order in which the government is the sole producer and distributer of the necessities of life, usually refer either to the army, which, under the direction of the government, protects the citizens against hostile attacks from without; to the mail service, which, under government control, makes possible the intercommunication of thought at a trifling expense; or to the school system, which, under state or city administration, successfully fights ignorance and brings education within the reach of the poorest of its members. But they rarely refer to the system of insurance, which, though not as yet managed by the government, is one of the most irrefutable proofs of the feasibility of a social order in which the burden is borne by all in common, and in which one works for all and all work for one.

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Reader, consider for a moment what an amount of worry, anxiety, suffering and distress have been obliterated since the idea of insurance was conceived and developed! Think what a calamity a conflagration was in former ages! When a village or a city was consumed by flames, the inhabitants became paupers, so to speak, in a night; unless voluntary charity threw them a crumb, they had to begin their whole life's work over again, or starve. The lands swarmed at that time with beggars, tramping from place to place in the vain search for a new home, appealing to the charitable for aid, telling the heartrending story of their misfortune.

Imagine the agonies which the father of a family suffered in the hour of death, knowing that when he closed his eyes for the last slumber, his wife and children would be penniless; that, without means of support, they would be thrown upon the mercies of a cold world, and would have to eat for years to come the humiliating bread of charity. Or put yourself in the place of the farmer, whose hopes of a plentiful harvest were destroyed within an hour by a hailstorm. Picture the despair of the poor widow whose sole support ceased with the loss of her cow, that succumbed to an infectious disease.

Worse than death, even, was protracted illness of the bread winner. The suffering caused by the disease was bearable in comparison with the agonies caused by the sight of the misery that surrounded the patient. Unable to work, in need of comforts, without means of support, the sick died by inches, when with proper care and with the mind relieved of anxiety, they might have recovered and resumed work.

What could all these sufferers do but lift up their eyes to heaven, asking for help from Him who, in their opinion, had struck them down? But the heavens remained pitilessly silent, and as an only and last consolation the creeds held out to them the hope that in another existence, after death, their suffering would be replaced by pleasures, and their mourning be changed into dancing.

Then came the thought of self help; the idea that by standing together, carrying the load unitedly, it might be possible to bear misfortune and at least to mitigate its horrors. The system of insurance was discovered and inaugurated.

What does it mean? It means that if an accident befalls

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one member of the community, ten thousand stand ready to join their forces to help him. If a fire destroys his house, the rest build it up for him; if a hailstorm ruins his crop, others help him out of his difficulties; if his cattle die, the company buy new stock for him; if he dies, the premium keeps his family from want; or if he falls sick, the society supports him during his illness. *If this is not socialism pure and simple, what is?*

Granted that philanthropy entered the system of insurance as a secondary consideration; granted that the scheme was originally a business enterprise; granted that the organizers of fire or life insurance draw large dividends from their investment; but whatever their profits may be, the profits which the policy holders draw from the institution are far greater. The good which has come to humanity by the development and ramification of the insurance business, cannot be computed in figures. Leaving out of the question the comfort it has brought to millions, it has taught mankind the grandest of all lessons, the lesson of the solidarity of the human race; it has shown what could be accomplished when all are made to help carry the burden that otherwise would fall upon the individual with crushing weight.

With the exception of a few ignorant and improvident persons, almost the whole civilized world is now gathered into one organization by insurance companies; even as individuals seek protection against misfortune by insuring in a company, so do the companies seek protection against too heavy losses by insuring amongst themselves.

The sums of money which annually flow into and out of the coffers of insurance companies, are incalculable, and although competition among them has reduced the premiums to very low figures, immense profits are still made by the investors, which profits, if returned to the people, would go far to cover all the expenses incurred in the support of the administration of a country.

If our present governments are fit to be burdened with any new functions, they could easily be organized to manage the insurance systems of the land. As they collect duties and revenues and expend them, so they could collect the contributions of the people for the relief of misery in its various forms and distribute them in the proper manner.

As in articles previously written for THE ARENA, I also

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give here merely secondary consideration to the money that might be saved by the nationalization of the insurance business. I do not begrudge the insurance companies the income which they derive from their enterprise; compared with the amount of good that is done by them, even the highest dividends which they receive from the investment, dwindle into nothing; but there are still higher considerations which prompt me to advocate the nationalization of insurance, of which I beg to submit a few to the notice of the readers of this magazine.

(1) If insurance were nationalized, all its various branches could be centralized in one focus. At present, a life insurance company does not meddle with fire insurance; a fire insurance company takes no risks against accidents, etc. If all these various branches were united, each would help carry the others. A year disastrous to companies that insure against railroad accidents, may be a prosperous one to those that insure against fire or marine disasters, and *vice versa*; thus, the loss in one department under such a proposed centralization would be balanced by the profits of the other, which would mean still lower premiums, so that even the humblest citizen could provide against misfortune by insuring life, limb and property.

(2) At the risk of giving individualists cause to cry out "paternalism," I do not hesitate to declare that, if the insurance business were nationalized, people who could not be induced by the low rates of premium to insure, should be compelled to do so. That kind of "paternalism," whenever practised, has always been a blessing. Mr. Krupp subtracts from the wages of every one of his laborers a percentage as an insurance against sickness, accident or death, and they fare well by it. Many excellent innovations have been forced upon the people by kings and lawgivers who were more provident and far-seeing than those over whom they ruled to their advantage; and do not the states practise "paternalism" at this very day by taxing the people for the support of their paupers and their criminal classes? I, for one, cannot see why it should be wrong to force a man by law to insure his life, when we force him to-day to pay taxes for the maintenance of state orphan asylums in which his children may possibly find a home. If there exists a difference between these two kinds of "paternalism," it is

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that the man who is forced to insure his life will die peacefully knowing that his children will have a certain income to live upon, while the other will depart with the oppressive thought that his children will be brought up as paupers, or will have to depend upon the charity of the state, although as a matter of fact, he has paid for the future support of his children (as has the other) either in direct or indirect taxes.

I would extend this "paternalism" to good effect also in the opposite direction. While, under compulsion, every citizen should insure against the various kinds of misfortune to a certain extent, there should also be a limit set, on the other hand, against extravagant insurance. The community, when coming to the aid of a sufferer, should make good an actual but not an imaginary loss.

(3) The nation, forming one large insurance company, would sooner find means to prevent disasters than can the companies of the present day. Legislation in regard to precautionary measures against fire or water would be prompt; trains would be run with greater safety; sanitary regulations would be enforced; in a word, the proverbial ounce of prevention would save the pound of cure.

(4) Those who believe in first steps, and eagerly inquire what should be first done in order to build up a new social system that would be better than the one under which we live at present, must become convinced that the nationalization of insurance is such a first step. True, in the developed future state of society, insurance will cease to be a necessity, because the nation will then, supposedly, take care of every citizen from the cradle to the bier; but would not the nationalization of insurance bring about a similar state of conditions at once, an order which would fit into the social institutions which exist to-day? For a fixed consideration on his part, every member of society would be cared for in case of death, sickness or accident, and would receive as his right what now he is compelled to ask as charity.

(5) While the nation could be better trusted for the fulfilment of promises made than any corporation; while greater reliance could be placed in the solvency of the nation than in that of any company, inasmuch as the whole is greater than any of its parts, the nationalization of insurance would also prevent a great waste of energy. Half the number of people now employed in successfully managing the en-

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tire insurance business would then be sufficient, under a proper system, to do the whole work. Apparently this would mean the discharge of a large force of people; but this is a mistaken view which we unfortunately hold in this and similar affairs. If the work, under a proper system, can be done by half the number of men, that should mean more leisure for all and not starvation. There is a vast difference between waste of money and waste of energy. A concern may save money by introducing a new machine which does the work of ten men under the supervision of one; but instead of saving money the machine should save energy, and reduce the time of labor instead of merely enriching its owner.

(6) Last, not least, the nationalization of insurance, which could be brought about as a first step without disturbing the present state of society to a great extent, would teach how the government could be trained to undertake, and carry through, successfully, similar work in other directions. The main hindrance to nationalism at present is that we are not trained to do work in common; but if we never try to accumulate experience by degrees, if we never undertake to train our governments in such branches as are easy to be mastered by them, we can never expect to establish a new and better order of things. Beginning with the nationalization of insurance, the management of the whole banking system of the land could next be entrusted to the government; or, beginning with the nationalization of railroads and electrical devices, the government would learn how to handle all other business enterprises to the advantage of the people.

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AERIAL NAVIGATION.

BY CLARA B. MOORE.

To religion the cause, to science the method; to religion the power, to science the path. — *B. P. Bowne.*

I believe that the dawn is fast approaching when all scepticism will be wiped from off the face of the earth, and true science will become the religion of the world. — *John Ernst Worrell Keely.*

"The fathers stone them and the children build them monuments." It is the history of all spiritual and scientific progress. — *Dr. J. M. Storrar.*

Creation wakes. The mystery of night
Is past. "Let there be light," comes with the same
Eternal force as when the earth was young
And day was yet unborn! — *H. M. Ratcliff.*

PRIESTLEY, who believed that all discoveries are made by chance, compares the student of nature to a hound wildly running after and here and there overtaking game; but "Providence sends chance, and genius moulds it to its own design." Edison well explained the difference between discovery and invention when he said that in discovery there must be an element of the accidental, and an important one, too; while invention is purely deductive. The story of the apple dropping from the tree and Newton starting with a species of Eureka he rejects absolutely. Maintaining that an abstract idea or a natural law may in one sense be invented, he gives it as his opinion that Newton did not discover the theory of gravitation but invented it; that he may have been at work on the problem for years, inventing theory after theory to which he found it impossible to shape his facts.

This is precisely what Keely has been doing in the construction of his system of sympathetic physics; so adverse is it in all its canons to those of mechanical physics. He has been unravelling the mysteries of sympathetic association, while searching to wrest from nature the secrets of planetary suspension, and what Norman Lockyer calls "the law of sympathetic vibration."

Edison does not call himself a discoverer. He says that most of his inventions have been the result of long and patient labor, of countless experiments all directed toward some well d fined object; and the same may be said of Keely in his inventions, for he is both a discoverer and an inventor. Experimenting in the field of vibration, but in quite another line than that of sympathetic vibration, he made his discovery of an unknown energy.

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Bell filed the telephone as an invention before he had discovered that articulate speech could be conveyed along a wire. Reaching out into unknown realms, on the line of invention, he laid hold of a discovery when speculating on the nature of sound. In the same manner Keely's speculations, in the field of acoustics, led him into that great unknown tract which lies beyond the horizon of ordinary matter. It was in subjecting water to the action of multiplied vibrations in a machine which he called a hydro-pneumatic-pulsating-vacuo engine that his lever suddenly registered a pressure of two thousand pounds.

It was six years later that experimental research, on the line of vibration, enabled Keely to produce this manipulation of energy at will; for he had no idea at what number of vibrations the water had been disintegrated. Commencing with one hundred per second he proceeded until his instrument registered forty-two thousand eight hundred, when the same pressure was again shown, and the problem was solved. It was about this time that some distinguished men of science, who were called in to account for the phenomenon, found it easier to denounce Keely as a charlatan than to explain the nature and source of the energy; one of these men has recently said that he thought a man who could produce a registered pressure of from two to twenty thousand pounds and profess to be ignorant of its source must be a fraud.

Deserted and stigmatized by physicists, Keely's only hope in the line of utilizing this unknown energy lay in those men who had in 1872 organized a Keely Motor Company * in order to furnish the "sinews of war" that would enable him to battle with and conquer the invisible genii he had imprisoned by seeming chance in his vacuo-engine, and which had already reduced his funds to "vacuo." That Keely would eventually gain the mastery of this vapor, no one had a shadow of doubt who knew the indomitable will, energy and persistency of purpose possessed by its discoverer, combined with his inventive genius, as made known in the novel construction of the engine which gave birth to the vapor that they then named Keil.

But when the men who assumed the direction of the affairs of the company found that the demon, thus evoked, could not be kept under lock and key, and that it had no intention of returning in any form the gold they had poured out like water, they soon evinced, by their course toward Mr. Keely, that they were unacquainted with the history of sientific discovery, and of the length of time that has always elapsed between the revelation to man of an unknown force of nature and its application to the

* Prof. George Frazer Fitzgerald, physicist at Trinity College, Dublin, has said since that Keely had nothing more to sell at this time than Sir Isaac Newton had when he discovered gravity.

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arts. Of this well-known fact the distinguished physicist, Professor Dewar of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, wrote in 1890: "If Mr. Keely succeeds in making his discovery practically useful, as it is said he is demonstrating his ability to do—if this information be true, it is strange to contrast the past history of science with the present. Fancy the discoverer of electricity having succeeded in inventing the modern dynamo machine! This would mean the concentration of hundreds of years of scientific discovery and invention into the single life of one man. Such a result would be simply marvellous."

Yet so sanguine were these men of immediate success that they made promises, based on the always sanguine hopes of an inventor, which Keely was unable to fulfil; with the consequence that the Keely Motor enterprise came to be regarded as a fraudulent undertaking, Keely himself as a swindler, and his adherents either disreputable gamblers in stock or the dupes of his wizard artifices.

At this juncture one of his *ci-devant* managers, John H. Lorimer, and one of his stockholders, Oliver M. Babcock, came forward with attempts to remove from Keely's shoulders the load of obloquy which, joined to the total cutting off of the funds needed to pursue his researches, had so depreciated his vitality as to lead him to contemplate suicide and to destroy devices for research which had been the labor of years. Together these two loyal, steadfast friends lifted the veil of mystery which had gathered around Keely's work, and one by a minority report and the other by a series of lectures made it perfectly clear and without a shadow of doubt that certain of the company's directors were responsible for the existing state of affairs.

About this time, a small pamphlet written by Mr. Babcock, "Fraud, Force, Facts," fell into the hands of H. O. Ward, who, convinced thereby of the integrity of Keely and of the unscrupulous greediness of some of the directors or "managers" of the company, came to the rescue with the required funds for the continuance of researches; and Keely, thus encouraged, pursued his work with renewed enthusiasm. Of that winter, 1881–82, he always speaks as the darkest period of his life. To this trinity of united effort in behalf of truth and justice, drawn together by an overruling Providence, the stockholders of the Keely Motor Company owe whatever commercial success the enterprise may bring to them in the future.

To the world at large it does not matter whether this century or the next sees the viewless pathways of the air opened to navigation, so long as it is authoritatively announced that the conjectures of the late Prof. Joseph Leidy and of Dr. James M. Willcox, made in 1889, that Keely was on the road to the solving of this

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problem, are now verified by his success as well-founded conjectures. This system is the only one by which aërial navigation can be rendered safe; for it is in copying nature's methods that the overcoming of gravity has been gained, and the operating principle is the same that guides and controls the heavenly bodies in their orbits and underlies planetary suspension. The system of this "Newton of the mind" demonstrates, on the material plane, the superiority of the spiritual or ethereal powers; and the unity of nature, of science and philosophy becomes evident. "Its broad and reaching philosophy," to quote the opinion of Professor Dewar, "has a physical genesis, and is the result of the patient and persistent researches of years." But we are not dealing now with the philosophy, rather with the events which gave birth to it; for up to this time Keely had devoted more thought to engines than to systems.

Mr. Babcock's lectures supply the material for the remaining pages of this paper.

It is not deemed expedient to wait until public demonstrations made by Mr. Keely have extorted recognition from scientists, for there would then be no need of any written defence, and it would also be difficult to command proper attention to the principal facts. It is not enough that the enthusiasm which would be aroused over the triumph of Mr. Keely would cause the charges made against his integrity to be disregarded. They must be rendered unworthy of credence by a thorough exposure of the facts, before opinions have settled into convictions and grown into prejudices, which are always difficult to overcome.

During more than five years of unprovoked abuse Mr. Keely has never prompted an action in his own defence, by publication or otherwise. With a patience which evidences the most exalted dignity, his course has been a crucial test of that immortal proverb enunciated by Washington, "To persevere in one's duty and be silent is the best answer to calumny." While no motive can be assigned for these public assaults, it is noticeable that they have chiefly sprung from sources professedly scientific and consequently have widely influenced public opinion.

The universal feeling that Mr. Keely has been an unnecessarily long time in bringing out his motor is in part due to the publicity given to his discovery, before he had even attempted to apply it to mechanics; and was the outcome of the speculative ambition of those who planned the organization, coupled with the mistakes natural to all enterprises under the control of inexperienced managers.

Seeking to raise the stock in public estimation, as was natural with their speculative hopes, they undertook, among other *maladroit* measures, to obtain the endorsement of professional experts, who took the opposite course from the one expected and, in a labored effort to lay bare what they called "humbug," exposed their own ignorance of the conditions necessary to compress air by attributing to such a source the wonderful manifestations of pressure they had witnessed. To have effected such results would have required more ingenuity than is possessed by man; for air has never been compressed to one half the extent that would be required to produce the effect witnessed. Their ignorance was still further manifested by a printed intimation that Mr. Keely's hydraulic screw-pump, used by him for testing the density of various metals, might be employed for working up a compression of air

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to 10,000 pounds — an idea that would appear absurd even to a novice in mechanics, to say nothing of professors in dynamical engineering.

After this experience, Mr. Keely very properly objected to investigations which impeded his progress, and requested that no more should be made until he had perfected his apparatus for liberating the energy. This course caused the public to credit the assertions of the scientists, and from that time the Keely motor was very generally regarded as a myth.

Mr. Keely's unwillingness to assert his rights, in his transactions with the company, and his refusal to maintain them by litigation at the cost of loss of time, so precious to him as he has always felt it to be, added to the necessity of harmony while engaged in his work, caused him repeatedly to be the victim of nefarious transactions. Claims made upon him, which would not have stood an hour in any court, were recognized and paid by him from a morbid sense of honor. Many times he has sacrificed large prospective interests, in order to obtain the money with which to continue his researches. By yielding to the schemes of others he has exposed himself to much unjust censure, besides suffering pecuniary losses. As a director nô excuses can be made for him; but as he is the chief loser he cannot be accused of complicity in the transactions of the board. His province is not finance, but invention, of which he has the whole burden to carry, and with which his mind is too much occupied to think of guarding against tricks and plots. Every swindling transaction which discourages and defrauds Keely or in any way delays and endangers his success, is a robbery of the rights of the stockholders; and it is doubly dishonorable when officers and directors take advantage of their positions, thus abusing the trust reposed in them as guardians of the inventor's rights and the company's interests.

Mr. Babcock asserts that Mr. Keely did not retain one-fiftieth of the amount of stock issued representing three of his projected inventions; that not less than half a dozen speculators, in the stock of the company, have each made an average of more than fifty thousand dollars from the enterprise; that high salaries and other profligate ways of distributing the money diverted it from its proper channel, depleted the treasury, detained the progress of the work and disappointed the stockholders.

From the time of the organization of the company, its active financiers have appeared to estimate the value of the motor by its availability as a means to personal ends; regardless of its ultimate success as a public benefit or as an achievement in the advance of true science. Their aims are so far below the aims of the discoverer and inventor that his efforts overshoot their actions; and before their motives and intentions are discovered by him he is undermined, so that only by enormous sacrifices is he able to recover himself.

When the company's interests are trifled with by its trustees, when its officers conduct its affairs as if its only worth is that of temporary speculation, how can it be expected that those who have no other criterion by which to judge will feel any confidence whatever in the enterprise? By Mr. Keely's own imprudence and the advantage taken of it by others, the costs, as well as the labor imposed upon Mr. Keely, have been enormously increased. Mr. Keely cares for nothing but success, regardless of pecuniary benefit to himself. He has often submitted to the most extortionate terms proposed to him when promised funds, that

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were overdue, were not forthcoming; for with him any sacrifice that he could make was preferable to loss of time. A man of great physical strength, a hard worker with hands and brain, he is still more remarkable for his energy and persistency of purpose. He is a close observer, a liberal thinker and a bold experimenter. He has suffered from several severe physical injuries and had many narrow escapes in his experimental researches; as bodily scars, mutilated walls and ceilings, with heaps of metal tubes burst asunder, can testify.

His mind at a tension under pressure of high resolves, hampered and hindered, and time thrown away in giving exhibitions, the wonder is that he has accomplished so much in so short a time, considering the prodigious amount of dead-work that had to be done before reaching the present stage of achievement. Morse was twelve years in attaining results which proved the success of his system of telegraphy, and he was only adapting a well-known agent to a new use. Keely discovers an unknown agent, and labors to invent means to apply it to many uses. Where others have used only pounds of metal in experimental research, he has used tons in his efforts to construct an engine, for the Keely Motor Company, before he knew the origin or the nature of the energy he was dealing with. He had to work with great caution while handling a power infinitely greater than that of gunpowder, and of unknown extent and character. His temporary safeguards and devices, for finding out the qualities of this force, are all of his own invention. Many cartloads of these have been sold from time to time as old iron, brass and copper. One apparatus thus disposed of weighed twenty-two tons. In this way, and by pawning his watch and other valuables, has he raised money when a little was absolutely necessary; and at one time he sold his costly scientific instruments, including a valuable microscope, with other effects, in order to pay mechanics and to buy material rather than allow the work to stop. He has toiled through periods of almost destitution, while the press, religious, secular and scientific, was representing that he was fraudulently amassing wealth.

Mr. Babcock's lectures were written and delivered more than ten years ago, which makes it the more remarkable that he should have made known a fact of which Keely himself was at that time ignorant; viz., that the vapor liberated in his generator by the disintegration of water, was the medium of the energy which it carries, not the energy itself.

Comparing it with steam it is as different in action as it is opposite in origin. Steam is derived from heat or combustion, and so may be said to have a chemical origin; the vapor is a production of mechanical action, a spontaneous energy. Vibration, whether considered as an energy or a motion, is an inherent property or concomitant of matter, and therefore spontaneous. Keely's inventions for producing this power are so entirely original, and so unlike any other devices that have been constructed, that there is nothing in the annals of research to afford a starting point for the understanding. The mechanical means by which this occult energy under consideration is educed and economized, are as unique as those which belong to electricity. Keely's instruments are no more like electrical apparatus than they are like the machinery used with steam, the product of the crude molecular dissociation of water by heat.

Neither heat nor electricity nor chemicals are employed. Air is water-locked in some part of the apparatus; disturbance of equilibrium is then effected by the movement of an outside lever operating a four-

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way valve within. The air under a tendency to descend, and from its high activity at light and opposing tensions, expels the water in minute globules through delicately adjusted but fixed and strong devices; which successively separate it into multiplied tenuities, until it reaches a form of greater rarity than can be produced by any practicable degree of heat. It is then dispersed into an adjacent chamber where conditions are suitably arranged for still higher rarefaction (by vibratory action) and consequent augmentation of energy, producing molecular separation, and yielding a vapor finer and lighter than hydrogen. This product has been held at a pressure of more than fifty thousand pounds per square inch. Pressure, however, is not its highest attribute. It is eminently the medium of vibratory energy, and as such only can be used as a motor. The expanding energies and activities of man in the evolution of the race are demanding larger fields of operation. For this development new systems are needed to supersede present systems. Coal is limited. Chemicals are costly. Power and speed have well-nigh reached their maximum under the agency of steam. The telephone is among the beginnings of vibro-dynamics. "Coming events cast their shadows before," and these are the shadows of events—heralding industrial, commercial and martial revolutions, which are approaching with startling rapidity and with vaster strides than in the century that is passing away. The pressure of traffic is blocking the arteries of our great cities more and more; and our master, necessity, is demanding the key which will open to traffic and to travel, the vast highways of the air. Plastic nature accommodates herself to the requirements of art when necessity demands and genius makes the proper appeal.

Mr. Babcock's *resumé* of "the situation," made in 1881, is no longer complete; such great and undreamed-of advances has Keely effected since that time in the unexplored territory that lay before him, wherein he had not then gained even so much as a foothold; for he was too near "the shadowy realm" in which those physicists are now groping who have passed from the investigation of ordinary, visible matter into that of the structure of the ether. Two years later, in 1884, Keely discovered that the occult vapor which he had imprisoned is the ether; and for four years he bent all his energies upon the construction of an engine that would hold it in rotation; for so only could it be "used and controlled, as we now use and control steam," to quote Professor Rucker's surmise, made in his paper read before the meeting of the British Association at Cardiff seven years later, in October, 1891.

In 1888, Keely made a verbal contract with H. O. Ward, to do no more work on an engine, for the Keely Motor Company, until he knew more of the properties of the ether, and in 1889 this contract was legally executed.

It was during this period that Keely discovered that the ether is not the energy itself, but the medium of one of the currents of a triune polar flow, of which he had now gained the control, for aërial navigation, hooking his machinery on to the machinery of nature, to quote Tesla's words. Ten years before, with his far-seeing mental vision, Mr. Babcock predicted this result; and

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if the control of the affairs of the Keely Motor Company had then been shaped by Mr. Lorimer and himself, years of delay might, under their united efforts, have effected results that now seem, to those who do not believe in an over-ruling Providence, to have been brought about by accident.

It was at this time, and in one of Mr. Babcock's papers, that he wrote of Keely's line of research as

> lying beyond the scintillating horizon of molecular physics; in the open field of elemental force, where gravity, cohesion, inertia and momentum are disturbed in their haunts and diverted to use; where, from unity of origin emanates infinite energy, in diversified forms; which, with manifold expression, is ever ready to respond to the invocations of genius. . . . The principle of this energy is vastly more comprehensive than any now in use; as limitless as that of the lever; as universal in application, reaching to so many results not yet attained, that forethought is inadequate to grasp its possibilities for power, prosperity, and for the maintenance of peace between nations.

It may be added to these powerfnl words that its possibilities are equally great for the solving of the problems of our age, as mighty as the one which lies at its heart, viz., how best to reconcile the seemingly conflicting interests of capital and labor. "All that relates mechanically to travel, transportation, manufacture, mining, engineering and warfare is included in this iconoclastic force," and with all these a sweeping and overturning change in the accepted canons of *pseudo* science. Only a little reflection is needed to see, in the signs of the times, a tendency to movements on a grander scale; such as are involved in the questions of the day discussed in the writings of men and women of culture. Physical investigation will be stimulated by the unfolding of Keely's system of philosophy, as well as by the demonstrations that he will be able to give, when his mechanical work is done, of the existence of "mind flow." Physicists will then no longer shrink from investigations on this line, in fear of the ridicule which orthodox science deals with no unsparing hand upon the vanguard that has approached the borderland of its mysteries.

As has already been shown, when Mr. Babcock delivered his lectures both Keely and himself believed it to be possible to use and control the vaporous product of the dissociation of the elements of water in his disintegrator, but Keely found it impossible to test its nature in any way. As long as it was kept in rotation energy was manifested. All his devices to hold it, in this rotating condition, failed to operate beyond a limited time; and to "stop the leak" was equally impossible. Nothing was left but atmospheric air, after its escape from the engine. There was also something so mysterious, so occult, in its operation as to lead Keely, in 1882, to try to construct an automatic device, by the use of which each man could effect its control, according to the degree of his energy of will.

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Two more years were thrown away on this line of research, when the suggestion was made to Keely that he must have dissociated hydrogen, classed as a simple by science. His answer was, "Perhaps I have; it may be possible." Thus his attention was turned to studying hydrogen, with some marvellous results in the line of astronomical researches. In 1884, the same suggestion was made to Lord Rayleigh, who replied by offering to stake ten thousand pounds that hydrogen is not a compound. But the seed did not fall on rocky ground in Keely's great mind; and when, followed by other suggestions, it germinated, Keely was not long in proving to his own satisfaction that by the dissociation of hydrogen he had imprisoned the ether. Four years later Professor Henri Hertz, of Bohn University, announced that the ether was held, bound as it were, in all electro-magnetic engines. Advanced physicists in Europe then began to ask, "If we have imprisoned the ether without knowing it, why may not Keely have done the same?"

Taking up a new standard of research, Keely pursued it by day and by night, often working eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, until the subtle etheric vapor, which had eluded his every effort to confine within walls of metal, and baffled his every attempt to control, was revealed to him as the medium of nature's most powerful agent, the triune polar flow, which he has now harnessed for navigating the air.

Sir John Herschel said; "There is a principle in music which has yet to be discovered." This is the principle which Keely has laid hold of and utilized, after more than twenty years of effort to wrest it from the great storehouse of nature's secrets—thus fulfilling Kepler's prophecy, that God would reveal to this age the mysteries attendant upon the operation of gravity; and proving that the Pythagoreon conception of music as the principle of the creaton's order, and the mainstay and supporter of the material world, is strictly in accordance with the marvellous truths revealed in Keely's system of sympathetic vibratory physics.

When Huntington wrote, "A mysterious force exists in the vibrations of the ether called sound, which science and invention have so far failed to utilize; but which no doubt in the near future will come under man's control for driving the wheels of industry," he was a true prophet; and the wonder is that, with so many intimations by others of its importance, so few have been interested in Keely's experiments in the realm of acoustics; and so many ready to jeer at "the zither and the horn, the fiddle and the bow," used in his researches. True, when the zither was held up as the source of the mysterious energy, and the horn as its reservoir, as they were of late, while perpetual motion was

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discoursed of as if it were a principle of nature that Keely was copying, one could not expect anything but the ridicule and criticism that followed in our daily journals, from Maine to California.

Every defender of the truth has occasion to remember Lavater's allegorical vignette; a hand holding a lighted torch is stung by a wasp, while gnats are consumed in its flame. Underneath are these lines: —

> And although it singes the wings of the gnats,
> Destroys their heads and their little brains,
> Light is still light;
> And although I am stung by the angriest wasp,
> I will not yield!

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TO WENDELL PHILLIPS.

BY WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG.

PRINCE of the House of Right! Fierce Soul of just desire!
Spirit of the high noon of stern and valiant days!
Proud Sidney's gracious mien, quick Cato's breast of fire,
Swift tongue to cleave the Wrong — a Soldan's scimeter —
High, stainless chief, best-loved, best-scorned in Right's keen war,
As day on day ascends, we see recede afar
Thy name but brightening to the splendor of a star.

Though Wrong still strives, and old Oppression's front is brave,
We may not call thee from the proud triumphant years;
Thy genius cast its seamless mantle o'er the slave
And called to Freedom's crown an age of servile tears;
Nay, though no other voice through tempests yet to be
Shall lift thy flawless note to wake the tyrant's fears;
Yet fain, O Phillips, would our paltering epoch see
For Right's high cause another prophet like to thee!

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A REMARKABLE PSYCHIC EXPERIENCE.

BY S. K. FOWLER.

I REGARD it as a striking evidence of progress, in this practical age, when a leading statesman of England can calmly ask his government to create a national commission to study and analyze the psychical phenomena of the day, as Mr. Balfour has done. All who are in touch with his spirit of research will await with interest the result of his suggestion. Your own publication, ever foremost in all that tends to elevate the standard of thought and action, has done more to awaken in the minds of thoughtful readers a desire for authentic evidence, than all others combined. In accord with the spirit of articles recently published, notably that from the pen of Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton, I am tempted to relate an incident in my own experience, while a resident of this state (Louisiana), that made an impression so deep that it can never be effaced from memory, and which, to-day, is as vivid as when from the unknown came the warning to prepare for the hour of danger.

In 1866 I left my plantation for Cincinnati to purchase supplies. Returning, I stopped at Louisville, and later took the steamer "Carter" for my destination near Vicksburg. While the boat was discharging cargo at Paducah, Ky., I was seated alone, upon the upper deck, watching the laborers on the landing, and as fully awake to all that was passing as I am at this moment, when from the invisible, came the warning of a disaster to the ship, ere the voyage should end; so palpable, so emphatic, was the summons that I left my seat at once, and seeking the captain, insisted upon an immediate exchange of stateroom, from the vicinity of the boilers back into the ladies' cabin. Urged by him to state if I had seen anything in the management of the boat to cause doubt of her safety, I simply replied that I had not, but knew that the boat was to be lost, and that many lives would be sacrificed.

Within the hour I was transferred to a room at the rear of the cabin. Seeking my friend, the late Senator Gibson of Louisiana, who was a passenger on board, with mules and supplies for his sugar estate, I begged him to exchange his room for one near mine, and thus avoid the greater danger. At both Cairo and Memphis I urged him to wire to the city for insurance upon his

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property, and save that material loss. So urgent was I in my plea that a doubt of my sanity, even, began to grow in his mind as well as in the minds of others, who in vain tried to induce me to visit the social hall of the boat where all gather to while away the hours of travel.

I had never had the slightest belief in spiritual manifestations, had avoided even the borderlands of that faith, and can in no wise account for the assurance that kept me firm to my convictions of guidance by unknown agencies, to certain *personal safety*, which I never for a moment doubted, but calmly waited the event.

The night after leaving Memphis, at about 2 P. M., I was aroused from sleep by a fearful explosion, and the falling of the upper berth upon mine, pinning me between the two, the top of the smoke stack having crushed the deck above me. With every plan for escape firmly settled in my mind for days previous, I released myself from the berth, crept through the cabin, which was filled with steam, upon hands and knees, to avoid inhalation, to the stern windows. Breaking one, I caught the davit of a suspended boat and slipped into it by the rope, just as nineteen negro deck hands sprang into it, and cutting the ropes, dropped us into the stream, among hundreds of struggling mules. Beating these from our path, we soon made the shore with our overladen boat. Selecting four of the best oarsmen, she returned to assist in rescuing others. By the light of the burning steamer, I could see the figure of Senator Gibson standing in a shattered small boat, trying to make the shore, but drifting with the current into an eddy with a caving bank. Knowing the danger of such a landing, I hastened down the shore to assist him; a swinging vine from a lofty tree gave me the means of doing so, and he was in safety.

An ascending steamer soon came in sight, and began to pick up the few survivors, and after taking us from the bank, returned to Vicksburg. At roll call, of the one hundred eighty comprised in the deck and passenger list, thirty only were left, one hundred fifty having perished by fire and flood. The captain was among the lost. During the evening he came to me, in my seclusion, and urged me to join them in the cabin, but I declined, assured in my own mind that I was following a guiding hand. I have never doubted the wisdom of my course, nor hoped to penetrate its mystery, but feel that under like circumstances I should follow a path so plainly marked.

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CURE FOR DIALECT ENGLISH IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BY ELIZA B. BURNZ.

THE *Review of Reviews* for December quotes from a writer in the Calcutta *Review*, in regard to the use of English by natives in the Indian Empire, as follows: —

> It stands as a gigantically ludicrous fact to-day that the supreme powers in the Indian Empire, having undertaken to introduce the science and literature of the West into India through the medium of the English language, have failed to evolve any considerable number of trained scholars who may be trusted to speak and write the English language with even tolerable correctness and intelligence. . . . The universities send out, yearly, hundreds of youths addicted to a very vile habit of writing and speaking English. . . . Not half the students in our college are really fitted by their knowledge of English properly to benefit by the books that are put into their hands to study, and the lectures they are invited to listen to.

But the source of the evil lies further back — in the schools preparing men for the universities. The Calcutta *Review* says: —

> The teachers of English in these schools are almost entirely native masters — an intelligent and deserving class, but nevertheless men with a very imperfect mastery of English idiom. . . . There is probably — I speak under correction, yet not altogether at random — not a single school in the whole of India where there is a reasonable chance that English will be correctly and idiomatically taught to the Indian schoolboy. A vicious habit of expression is acquired by our schools from the first.

Is it not pertinent to inquire whether a fundamental cause of inaccurate writing and speaking by Indian youths who have been trained in the English schools does not lie in the illogical and therefore difficult *spelling* of the English language? So far, there have been no elementary instruction books in the ordinary spelling, by studying which the pupil could be *sure of the pronunciation of the words he is taught.* His ear soon forgets the sound of the word as given by the teacher. But if the pupil has a print which conveys the same pronunciation to his eye as the teacher has given to his ear, his voice can repeat it as often as is necessary to fix that pronunciation on his tongue. Were the printed language made so plain to the eye that no hesitation would be experienced in rightly sounding a word, full time could

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be given to grammar and idiom. The confusion which arises in the mind of a foreign pupil studying English as to the sound of the letters in a given word—those letters having varying powers without definite rule—is inconceivable by the average English teacher. The latter has been spelling all his life, and become accustomed to regard every word as a whole. But spoken words are composed of sounds, while written words are made up of letters. Some letters are significant and some silent, but even the significant ones have in English no fixed sound.

The use of a Pronouncing Print in giving elementary instruction to foreigners would at once remove the difficulty. There are about forty elementary sounds in the English language. In the construction of Pronouncing Print an alphabet is arranged in which each sound is denoted by the letter or digraph which now *most frequently* represents it. In teaching with Pronouncing Print the *sounds* of the letters and not the usual names are taught to the beginner. As I said, the common spelling is not changed. To make the print phonetic, when silent letters occur they are denoted by very light type, easily distinguishable from the other. Where a letter suggests a wrong sound, a diacritical mark, as in Webster's dictionary, is used to make the distinction, or a small letter is printed underneath to give the true sound. By examining the following example the plan will be at once understood: —

Of do done was city busy
says eye one bird they age
eat high know use are talk

There is every reason to believe that if foreign youths can be trained in reading through several books in Pronouncing Print,* until the thousand or two most common English words are correctly sounded and become familiar to their tongues, the growth of the hybrid dialects of India, China and other nations would be checked and eventually destroyed.

* "The Step-by-Step Primer and Sermon on the Mount," in Burnz' Pronouncing Print. Burnz & Co., 24 Clinton Place, New York.

No copyright on Burnz' Pronouncing Print has been taken out by its inventor. The type is free for use by missionaries, or any educator who desires to have books made for the study of English pronunciation.

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AN EPISODE IN TURGÉNIEF'S LIFE.

BY NATHAN HASKELL DOLE.

TURGÉNIEF, says his friend the Vicomte de Vogüé, "was the personification of the chief characteristics of the genuine Russian people — naïve kindliness, simplicity, resignation. He was, to use the popular expression, a whole-souled man — *une âme du bon Dieu.* That mighty brain ruled a child's heart. I never came into his presence without getting a clearer idea of the splendid meaning of the Bible expression 'poor in spirit,' and of how this state of soul can be united to knowledge, to the exquisite gifts of the artist. Devotion, generosity of heart and hand, fraternity — all this was as natural to him as breathing. In our anxious and complicated society, where every one is armed to the teeth for the battle of life, he seemed like a visitor from far away, from some friendly and pastoral tribe of the Ural, a great-hearted child pursuing his dreams under the open sky, like a shepherd following his flocks in the steppe."

Nearly all accounts agree as to this gentle giant's generosity, simplicity, affability, and unselfishness. His purse was always at the disposition of any suffering stranger. He was easily imposed upon, but the discovery that his good nature had been abused did not cause him to shut his heart to the next appeal. In order to carry out his benevolent intentions toward sensitive natures, he used to invent innocent devices that he might deceive their pride.

He writes, for instance, to the editor of a Russian magazine begging him to assist in a pious little comedy: — a poor young Russian lad is dying in a Parisian hospital; he has not a kopek, and there is no hope of his living six weeks. He has made a translation of a German story. "Now," says Turgénief, "you need not print it unless you wish, but pray write me that you have read it and like it and will pay for it in advance. He is proud and will not accept charity. I will give him the money as though it were the price of his translation. Do not betray me, but be kind enough to play a part in my melancholy little comedy. Write me that you will give two hundred francs for it. Trusting entirely to your good heart, I have invented this means *in extremis.*"

Without family life of his own, an exile in a foreign land, forever haunted by homesickness for "holy Russia," solitary but great-hearted, Turgénief delighted in assisting the waifs that for-

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tune flung in his path: "I am an ancient crag," he said, "and the young gulls come and find shelter with me." No one needed an introduction: the common bond of brotherhood was sufficient.

His recently published correspondence, though disappointingly full of trivialities, shows him to be always thoughtful about his friends. He bids Annenkof send his pieces to him and he will do what he can with them. He writes Pisemsky again and again with regard to the phenomenal success of his great novel, "Thousand Souls," and tells how he had urged Julian Schmidt, "the Aristarchus of Germany," to give it "a good send-off."

While himself tormented with excruciating disease, he writes in 1870 to his friend: —

> I am sorry that you have been ill and are now depressed. What a sin it is for you to be depressed! A lovely wife, splendid children, health not ruined past repair, a competency as good as secured. It is well to be careful, but the idea of being depressed!

Again he writes: —

> It is pleasant for me to know that your physical health is good, but it is bad that you are given over to melancholy and hypochondria. From observations made during the past few years, I have become convinced that melancholy, or "the blues," is nothing else than the fear of death. It is comprehensible that with each new year this fear should increase. There is no radical help against this; but there are palliatives. If religious feelings begin to dominate you, as you intimate, then I congratulate you on this priceless possession. That means is sure, but it is not possible to all.

Turgénief has been called a pessimist, yet he was prone to see the good that is in all men. He was, indeed, so ready to see swans in every goose that his critical faculties were unsafe guides. Pavlovsky, whose picture of the novelist is not wholly favorable, relates that on one occasion Annenkof went to Turgénief's house, and found him sitting with a young naval officer and the critic Grigorief. Turgénief leaped up.

"Down on your knees," he cried, "down on your knees. You are in the presence of genius." The young man reddened, but Turgénief grew more and more enthusiastic. "Yes, my dear, here is a man who is destined to be a great writer." And Turgénief began to declaim the verses of the poetic marine, whose name was Slushevsky, then unknown, and to-day no better known. He even went so far as to have the poetaster's verses printed at his own expense.

We have remarked that nearly everything written concerning Turgénief, at least since his death, has been highly eulogistic. Owing to political differences, and to misunderstandings caused by some of his later novels, notably by "Fathers and Children," "Smoke," and "New Things," he had been vehemently assailed. He went back to Russia in 1879, as he humorously expressed it,

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to become reconciled with his public. It was the thirty-fifth "jubilee" of his literary activity. From that time forth he was the idol of Russia. Only a few discordant notes have interrupted the concert of praise. A Russian, whom Turgénief had befriended in Paris, published reminiscences of him with some unfavorable comments; and during the last year the magazine, *Russkaya Muisl* (Russian Thought) had a series of lively and entertaining "memoirs" by a certain Madame Golovatchóva. She was the daughter of an actor and actress connected with the Imperial Theatre of Petersburg, and claims a remarkably intimate acquaintance with the great writers of "the forties." It is generally considered by Russians that she has "besmirched everybody unmercifully." She has been convicted of having lied about Turgénief. As a Russian well says: —

> How could she do it otherwise than by lying when she reproduces whole complicated conversations, with the gestures and exclamations of the parties, and from memory alone, a quarter of a century after the conversations were said to have occurred? She has done great injustice to the memory of many who are here no more to defend themselves.

She gives a very disagreeable picture of Turgénief as a young man. She charges him with the great sin of looking down upon humbler mortals through a monocle and with "scornful grimaces," of being an incorrigible romancer in regard to his own virtues, of "suffering from a weakness for aristocratic society," of boasting of his conquests, and of giving insincere invitations. She loses no chance of turning him into ridicule.

One of her stories is to the effect that once when he was on board of the Stettin steamer and it took fire, a young man was punished by the captain for trying to force his way into the life-boat before the women and children, exclaiming as he did so, "*Mourir si jeune!*" (Must I die so young?) A passenger afterwards recognized Turgénief as the person, and told Madame Golovatchóva about it, alleging as a proof of it that he had a remarkably small voice for such a large man. Madame Golovatchóva firmly believed in his cowardice on this occasion, because (she says), one other time when reproached for having invented a "yarn" about his bravery in rescuing a lady from a runaway horse, he replied that he was "obliged to amuse the ladies in some way or other."

Twice during his life Turgénief had narrow escapes. When he was four years old, his parents took him to Switzerland, and at Berne the little toddler almost met the fate that befell the revilers of the bald-headed prophet. His father rescued him from the pit just as he was making an altogether too familiar acquaintance with the bears. Fourteen or fifteen years later, in May, 1838, the young man, wishing to get the benefit of a

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broader education, particularly in science and philosophy, than that furnished by the Russian universities, took ship for Germany, Off Travemunde the steamboat, the "Nicholas I." took fire and was totally consumed.

When Turgénief was nearing the end of his life, an old story concerning his behavior on this ship — that he had offered a sailor ten thousand rubles to save him, so that his mother might not be left childless — was revived by the Petersburg *Journal.* Turgénief was highly annoyed at the publication of this absurdity, the more perhaps because it had some foundation in fact, and in June, 1883, three months before his death, he dictated a vivid account of this fire at sea. It first appeared in French, but is to be found in Russian in the tenth volume of his collected writings. Some extracts from it may be of interest, and while his imagination most likely assisted his memory in some instances, there is no good reason to doubt the essential accuracy of it, in spite of Madame Golovatchóva and the Petersburg *Journal.*

"I was very young then," he says, "and as I did not suffer at all from sea sickness, I found great amusement in all new impressions. There were on board a number of ladies, remarkably beautiful or pretty. (The majority are dead, alas!)

"It was the first time that my mother had let me go away alone, and I was obliged to give her my solemn word to behave in a seemly manner, and above all not to touch cards . . . and this last promise was the very one that was first broken.

"One evening in particular there was a great gathering in the saloon; among others present were several gamblers well known in Petersburg. Each evening they played bank — a kind of lansquenet — and the gold pieces, which were then seen more commonly than now, made a deafening racket. One of these gentry, seeing that I held aloof, and not knowing why, suddenly asked me to take part in his hand. When, with the innocence of my eighteen years, I explained the reason of my abstention, he burst out into a laugh, and turning to his companions cried that he had found a treasure: a young man who had never touched a card, and for that very reason was fated to have an enormous, unheard-of success — the success of genuine innocence.

"I do not know how it all came about, but ten minutes later I was at the gambling table, with my hand full of cards, taking an assured part, and playing, playing like a mad man! It must be confessed that the old proverb did not prove false. Money came to me in perfect floods. Two heaps of coins were growing higher and higher on the table by the sides of my trembling and perspiring hands. The gambler who had dragged me into it ceased not to urge me, to excite me! In faith, I believed that my fortune was made.

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"Suddenly the saloon door was flung wide open, a lady came rushing in, and crying, 'The ship is on fire,' fell fainting on the sofa."

A sense of indescribable confusion ensued. Every one sprang up. Gold, silver, and bank notes were scattered unheeded. In a twinkling all the two hundred and eighty passengers were on deck, each one impelled by the instinct of self preservation. Turgénief confesses that he was one of the first, and he acknowledges that he seized a sailor by the arm and promised him ten thousand rubles in his mother's name if he would save him. He instantly saw the absurdity of such an offer, but there were others who acted with as little common sense.

"A rich proprietor, overwhelmed by terror, actually crawled along frantically kissing the deck; then when the water, thrown abundantly through the scuttles, quenched the flames for the time being, he rose to his full height, and cried in a voice of thunder: —

"'Men of little faith, could you believe that our God, the God of the Russians, would abandon us?'

"But at that very instant, the flames threw out a more vivid glare, and the poor man of much faith fell down on his face again and began to kiss the deck.

"A general, with a haggard face, ceased not to cry: —

"'We must send a courier to the emperor. We sent one to him at the time of the revolt in the military colonies where I was, personally, myself, and that saved some of us!'

"A gentleman with an umbrella in his hand, began suddenly to attack in a fury a wretched little portrait in oils fastened to its easel, which happened to be among the baggage. He punched with the point of the umbrella five holes in place of the eyes, the nose, the mouth, and the ears, accompanying this act of vandalism with the exclamation: 'What can this be good for now?' And this canvas did not belong to him either!

"A fat personage, all bathed in tears, and having the appearance of a German brewer, kept vociferating in a lugubrious voice, 'Capitaine! Capitaine!' And when the captain, in vexation, at last seized him by the collar and cried: 'Well, what of it? I am the captain. What do you wish?' the fat personage looked at him with a dull expression and began once more to groan, 'Capitaine! Capitaine!'"

The captain headed the ship directly for the nearest coast, and ordered the sailors to draw their cutlasses and make short work of any who should try to launch the two remaining boats, the others having been broached by panic-stricken and inexperienced passengers.

"The sailors," says Turgénief, "Danes for the most part, with

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their stern, energetic faces, and the almost sanguinary reflection of the flames on the blades of their weapons, inspired involuntary respect. Quite a squall was blowing, made still more violent by the fire roaring in a good third of the ship. I must confess, with due regard to my sex, that the women, in these circumstances, showed more courage than the most of the men. Pale as death, and with scarcely more than their bed clothes for covering, for the night had surprised them in their berths, they seemed to me, sceptical as I was at that time, like angels descended from heaven to put us to shame, and give us good heart."

Turgénief himself had taken refuge on the lowest step of one of the "external ladders," and had made up his mind that rather than be roasted to death in the flames, the roaring of which he distinctly heard, he would perish in the boiling waves that spat their ruddy foam into his face.

"Not far from me, on the same ladder," he says, "was sitting a little old woman, probably some cook belonging to one of the families on their way to Europe. Her head was buried in her hands and she seemed to be murmuring prayers. Suddenly she gave me a quick glance and, either because she thought she read in my face a deadly resolve, or for some other reason, she seized my arm, and in a tone almost of supplication she said firmly: —

"'No, master, no one has the right to make way with his own life, you no more than any one else. You must submit to the lot which Providence sends upon you; otherwise it would be suicide, and you would be punished in the other world.'

"I had no thought of committing suicide, but by a sort of bravado inexplicable in my position, I several times made believe carry out the intention with which she credited me, and each time the poor old soul flung herself upon me to prevent what was in her eyes a deadly sin. At last, penetrated by a sort of shame, I desisted. Indeed, why should I thus act this comedy in face of death, which at that moment I thought was really imminent and unavoidable?"

Under the guidance of a sailor in a blue shirt, Turgénief and the little old woman, finding their position especially perilous, made their way over the tops of some of the twenty-eight travelling carriages which were on board, and reached the bow of the steamboat, where most of the passengers were collected. The ship was aground, and the sailors had successfully launched the long boat, and under the captain's direction were busy disembarking the ladies and children. The steep cliffs of the Mecklenburg coast were visible, lighted by the ruddy reflection of the flames. Turgénief says that though he could not swim, and the waves ran high, the conviction instantly came over him that he should

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be saved, and, to the amazement of the people around him, he jumped up and down, shouting, "Hip, hip, hurrah!"

His attention was particularly struck by a tall general; all dripping with water, and with a bleeding scratch on his forehead, who was standing motionless and pale with a penitent and humble look. This man, in a moment of craven cowardice, had tried to get first into the life boat.

Bobbing about under the starboard bow was the small cutter with two sailors in it. Turgénief climbed down upon the anchor chain, and was just about to hazard the dangerous leap, when "a soft and heavy mass" fell upon him. It was a woman who threw her arms around his neck and hung with her whole weight.

"I confess," says he, "that my first impulse was to seize her arm violently and free myself from this incumbrance by slipping from under it, but very fortunately I did not give in to this first impulse. The shock almost dashed us both into the water, but by good luck there happened to be dangling before my eyes an end of rope fastened to something or other, and I grasped it fiercely with one hand, taking the skin off so that it bled. Then glancing down I saw that we were exactly above the cutter and thinking, 'Now for it,' I let myself drop. The boat creaked in all its joints. 'Hurrah!' cried the sailors. I laid my companion, who had fainted, down in the bottom of the boat, and then looked up at the vessel where I saw a number of heads, mostly of women, clinging anxiously to the side.

"'Jump!' I cried, stretching up my arms. At that instant the success of my boldness, and the certainty that I was safe from the flames gave me unspeakable strength and courage, and I caught the three women who alone made up their minds to jump into my cutter, with as much ease as one picks apples at the fall gathering. It was noticeable that each one of these women uttered a piercing shriek as she jumped from the deck and then fainted away the moment she was landed in the cutter. A gentleman, probably almost beside himself, nearly killed one of these unfortunate creatures by flinging down a heavy trunk, which broke as it struck our boat and exposed a pretty expensive wardrobe. Without a question as to whether I had the right to do so, I immediately presented this trunk to the two sailors, who with equal unscrupulousness accepted it."

The passengers were finally landed, in a drizzling rain, in the sticky mud of the shore. Only eight were lost, one of whom, in his anxiety to save his possessions, loaded himself down with money so that when he jumped into the sea he went to the bottom like a plummet.

Turgénief found on the beach the handsome and genial Madame T., surrounded by her four little daughters and their

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bonnes. She was barefooted and thinly clad. The gallant young man despoiled himself of his waistcoat, his cravat, and his shoes and gave them to her.

"Moreover," says he, "a peasant whom I had drummed up at some little distance from the shore, and had sent on ahead to meet the shipwrecked passengers with a cart drawn by two horses, did not see fit to wait for me and left for Lübeck with all my companions, so that I was left alone, half naked, wet to the skin, in sight of the sea where the last of our ship was slowly consuming. . . . It was now only a large bright spot resting motionless on the water, marked by the black outlines of the smoke stacks and masts and circled about by gulls in heavy and indifferent flight. Then it became a great fan of cinders, sown with little sparks scattering in mighty lines bending over the waves, which were growing calmer.

"'Is that all?" I asked myself, 'and is our life only a handful of cinders scattered to the winds?' Fortunately for the young philosopher, whose teeth were beginning to chatter, another carter came along and picked me up. The worthy man made me pay him two ducats, but in return he wrapped me up in his great-coat and sang for me two or three Mecklenburg songs which seemed to me pretty."

Turgénief ends his story with these words: "The sailor whom I had promised, in my mother's name, an exorbitant reward if he would save my life, came to demand the fulfilment of my promise. But as I was not certain of his identity, and as, moreover, he had done nothing in the world for me, I offered him a dollar, which he gratefully accepted.

"As for the poor old cook who had manifested so much interest in the safety of my soul, I never saw her again, but as far as she is concerned, whether she was roasted or drowned, I am very sure that she has her own place in paradise."

Turgénief's frankness in this narrative is convincing. He does not spare himself. He acknowledges that he broke his promise to his mother, that he was the first to seek the deck, that he offered the ten thousand rubles to the sailor (though he could manifestly have said nothing about his mother being left childless, for he had a brother), that he tormented the poor old cook in an unamiable way, and that he felt the impulse that would have made him, and did make the old general, force his way into the life boat. Indeed he came so near the danger line of panic that perhaps it was not strange his enemies should have seized upon this story, and, by warping it slightly, have made it so thoroughly to his discredit. It is certainly pleasant to believe that this episode in Turgénief's life was no worse than he himself pictured it.

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CRIMINALS AND PRISONS.

Data Compiled from Original Sources.

BY THOMAS E. WILL, A. M.

I. *The Criminal and Prison Problem: Questions to be considered.* — From contents of R. I. P. C.: "Prison systems, administration, discipline, Moral and religious agencies, Scholastic education, Labor, Sanitary condition; Officers, their qualifications and training; Sentences, Imprisonment for debt, Causes of crime, Liberated prisoners, Juvenile reformatories. Prisoner during his incarceration: (*a*) Proper maximum number of prisoners for single prison. (*b*) Whether whipping should be employed. (*c*) Kinds and limits of instruction. (*d*) Privation of liberty without obligation to work. (*e*) Life sentences. (*f*) Maximum of imprisonment. The prisoner after his liberation: (*a*) Best mode of aiding. (*b*) Best means of securing rehabilitation. (*c*) Best mode of giving remission of sentences and regulating conditional discharges. (*d*) Supervision of discharged convicts. Miscellaneous points: (*a*) Whether prison officers should have special training for their work. (*b*) Whether transportation is expedient in punishment of crime. (*c*) Whether short imprisonment and nonpayment of fines may be replaced by compulsory labor without privation of liberty. (*d*) Proper limits of power of boards of prison managers. (*e*) Whether government of prisons should be placed in hands of a supreme central authority. (*f*) International prison statistics. (*g*) Best means of repressing crime capitalists."

From the contents of P. R.: "(1) What ought to be the maximum number of prisoners or convicts detained in any prison? (2) Ought classification of prisoners according to character to be considered as the principal basis of any penitentiary system? (5) What should be the kind and limit of instruction for reformatory treatment applied to convicts? (6) Ought training schools for prison officers to be formed, and for what class of officers? (13) Is the supervision of discharged prisoners desirable? If so what are the most efficient means of accomplishing it? (14) Ought prisoners on reconviction to be subjected to more severe disciplinary treatment than on their first entrance? (15) Should prison labor be merely penal, or should it

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be industrial? (26) Is it in the interest of the prevention and repression of crime that treaties of extradition should be concluded between civilized nations?"

II. *Is Crime Increasing?*—Rev. Frederick Howard Wines, in A. P. T. C., furnishes an excellent compendium of statistics on the subject of crime and criminals. In P. P. P., p. 320, the Earl of Lichfield is quoted as stating in 1885: "Having carefully investigated the subject I am not prepared to accept the statements I see so frequently made, by persons in authority, as to the decrease of crime in the country generally. My own investigations . . . have led me to a very different conclusion . . . that instead of crime being on the decrease it is on the increase."

Quoting from reports of prison commissioners a statement showing remarkable diminution in daily average of prisoners in England and Wales, he admitted the truth of this but added: "Admitting as I do that the figures in the reports are correct, yet result shown is to be accounted for solely . . . by very short sentences now passed, and by additional fact that *about one-third of whole number convicted are not sent to prison at all.*"

On p. 322 Canon Gregory of London is quoted as having summarized his investigations by declaring that there had "been no decrease in number of crimes committed or of smaller offences during fourteen years preceding [1886]; yet a remarkable diminution in number of criminals captured by police, and possibly a greater addition to the stringency with which lesser offenders had been brought to justice." From P. P. C., p. 179: "It is to be observed that the increase of young offenders is attracting attention. Society is called upon seriously to consider this subject. Out of this class criminals are developed."

III. *Indictments against the Old Prison System.*—(1) It is based on wrong principles. From L. A., p. 11: "These three principles I think have underlain that method on which society has acted in dealing with the criminal classes: Vindictive justice—the idea; protection to society—the aim; and the deterrent power of fear—the method. Now that system cannot be reformed. It is wrong in every fibre. . . . The only thing that you can do is to cut it down, root it out, and burn it up (p. 16). . . . What is a modern state prison? A factory of compulsory labor, organized by the state for the purpose of making money, in which slaves are set to servile toil that they may earn a few dollars and pay them into the treasury of the state, under a contractor whose interest it is to multiply criminals because in multiplying criminals he multiplies his own laborers; under a warden who may do all that a single individual can, but who, do what he may, struggles against the aroused and criminal hate of those within, and the more criminal indifference of the com-

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munity without." From I. T. P. S., p. 4: "That the prevalent idea of imprisonment is *punishment*, not restraint for reformation, I need not try to prove; it is in the very nature and constitution of criminal law as now framed," etc.

(2) It is a school for criminals. L. A. on p. 15 quotes General Brinkerhoff as follows: "To establish a school of crime requires (1) teachers skilled in the theory and practice of crime; (2) pupils with inclination, opportunity and leisure to learn; (3) a place of meeting together. All these requirements are provided and paid for by the public in the erection, organization and equipment of county jails and city prisons." P. P. C., p. 170, quotes from the Report of Chaplain of Massachusetts Penitentiary: "To send men to prison is ordinarily to make criminals of those who come for the first time, and to confirm in crime those who return for a second term." P. P. P., p. 158, gives an instance of a young man of good family who, under excitement and provocation, had committed a murder for which he was sentenced to death. His father sought to procure a commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment; but after informing himself concerning the demoralizing character of prison life, he became gravely perplexed as to whether death might not be preferable to lifelong "association with the vilest and most atrocious criminals."

(3) Reference to P. P. P., p. 332, and P. P. C., p. 172, will show that the evils and the inefficiency of the present prison system are largely due to the intermixture of partisan politics with prison policy and administration.

(4) Prisoners are, in many instances, still hired out to private capitalists and corporations. Rev. F. H. Wines in C. P. shows, what he repeats in part on pp. 22 and 23 of A. P. T. C., viz., that the "leased prisoners are all in the Southern States: in Georgia, 1,504; in Texas, 991; in Alabama, 734; in North Carolina, 405; in Mississippi, 353; in Virginia, 338; in Florida, 183; in Tennessee, 154; in South Carolina, 145 and in Louisiana, 72. Some of them are leased by state authorities for graver crimes, and some by the counties for simple misdemeanors. Their condition is for the most part deplorable in the extreme, especially in the county chain gangs. Of this class of convicts nine tenths are negroes." "The leasing of prisoners to private persons for a pecuniary consideration is the greatest blot upon our American prison system." These prisoners are to be found in convict camps, coal mines and in other employments of private parties. P. P. P., p. 34, declares that "this system of leasing criminals to contractors and working them, either in outdoor gangs as at the South or in crowded workshops as at the North, tends to perpetuate vice, and to render the jails themselves the very nurseries

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of further crime." P. P. C., p. 171, also condemns the contract convict labor system.

IV. *Penalties Employed in Prisons.*—See pp. 164–66 of P. P. C. "Prisoners are punished by withholding the privilege of receiving visits from friends, in twenty-two state prisons out of thirty-eight reporting; by withholding the privilege of writing letters, in twenty-five out of thirty-eight prisons reporting; by loss of library privileges, in fourteen out of thirty-eight; by being kept from religious meetings, in four; by loss of cash earnings or allowances, in nine; by being kept from school or literary societies, in a few cases named; by losing privilege of liberty in the yard, in seventeen. Other privileges withdrawn as punishment are as follows: Tobacco in ten prisons, cell-lights in eight, social privileges in four. The loss of 'good time,' i. e., the failure to obtain a diminution of sentence for good conduct, is reported as a punishment from all of the thirty-eight prisons, except those of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and a few others." The subject of penalties is still further considered in S. P. C. S. I., pp. 55 and 62; in H. H., p. 14, note, p. 26, and in I. T. P. S.

V. *Life Imprisonment.*—From P. P. C., p. 178: "The number of life convicts is proportionally large [in Maine] and constantly increasing. The only object in life that these men have is in some way to secure their liberty. They are the very worst criminals we have and will hesitate at nothing that may give them their liberty, and in some cases simply to satisfy their revenge upon some officer for a fancied wrong. No one knows better than they that no further punishment can be inflicted upon them than is contained in their sentence. They are entirely above and beyond all law." P. P. P., Chap. IV., beginning on p. 151, shows that life detention as a punishment is a failure; that "Absolute life imprisonment is not so much a substitute for capital punishment as a slower and most disadvantageous method of inflicting it" (p. 153); that life prisoners, in despair, demand of their keepers why they have been spared from death only to be kept in association with the vilest criminals, to be buried alive, to drag out their lives without a ray of the hope of mercy (pp. 154–55).

The Directors of the State Prison of Wisconsin (p. 155), protest against what they term the indescribable horror and agony incident to imprisonment for life; and declare "that the terribleness of a life sentence must be seen to be appreciated." They judge by experience that "Most of the young men under such sentence will probably become insane in less than ten years; and *all* of them, who live, in less than twenty." Yet "Insanity brings them no surcease of sorrow; for, however wild their

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delusions may be on other subjects, they never fail to appreciate the fact that they are prisoners." In their annual report for 1886 the Directors of Convict Prisons for Great Britain stated that of the class of life-sentence convicts, "Nearly sixty-three per cent were confirmed invalids, many of them being paralyzed and bedridden."

VI. *Why we have Criminals.* From I. T. P. S., p. 2: "The current opinion as to crime . . . that all men are absolutely free to do or not to do; that they voluntarily elect and deliberately do wickedness with full knowledge of its nature and consequences, with full power to restrain themselves; and that it is a subterfuge and a lie, that passion, appetite or any other propensity ever enchains the will and enslaves them; or at least, that all men are *born* free, and if the chains of captivity now bind them it is by their own folly and free act; that they might have prevented it, and if suffering comes as a consequence, it is but just; or if crime is committed, then the public punishment should be such as to pay them fully in anguish and pain for their wickedness and to strike with terror those who know their fate."

S. P. C. S. I., p. 53, quoting from the "American Propositions" referred to the Prison Congress of London, strongly intimates that society itself is largely responsible for criminality, and asks, "Does society take all the steps which it easily might to change the circumstances in our social state that lead to crime; or, when crime has been committed, to cure the proclivity to it, generated by these circumstances?" Replying, the framers of the propositions declare: "It cannot be pretended. Let society, then, lay the case earnestly to its conscience, and strive to amend in both directions. Offences, we are told by a high authority, must come, but a special woe is denounced against those through whom they come. Let states and communities take heed that that woe fall not upon their own heads."

"Circumstances make guilt. Let us endeavor to correct the circumstances before we rail at the guilt." — Lord Lytton, quoted on title page of H. and H. See also J. B. B.

P. P. P., p. 164, shows that "murderers" even "as a class are not the most degraded or most hopeless of criminals. In many instances their one terrible crime has been an entirely exceptional manifestation of passion or rage called forth by some tremendous temptation." Page 265 declares that "A large proportion of criminals are more to be pitied than blamed when all their antecedents of hereditary frailty, parental neglect, ignorance, poverty and privation are fairly weighed and examined"; while on p. 266 the motto from a continental penologist is quoted with approval, "To know all, will lead to the pardon of all." Page 302 quotes from a state report, "Almost all juvenile offenders are to be found without homes, or healthful home influences."

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I. T. P. S. declares that "Causes of crime are primarily in the creature, secondarily in the circumstances that surround him." Much crime is due to poverty. Of 100,000 prisoners convicted of crime, the writer states that eighty-two per cent were laborers and servants, sixteen per cent only were artisans, less than two per cent were 'professional loafers,' and only 874 of the whole number were from the educated professions." It should not be forgotten, however, that while education may deter from crime it greatly aids in enabling its possessor to escape detection and arrest. H. H., pp. 13, 15, 18, 19 note, 20, 21, 22 and 23, also shows that the fault for the crime by no means lies always with the criminal.

VII. *Capital and Labor Associated in Crime.*—The study of penological literature shows clearly that crime, like honest industry, is carried on at the present time mainly by the association of capitalists and laborers; the capitalists furnishing the subsistence, shelter and means of secreting stolen goods, while the laborers, skilled or unskilled, do the work and take most of the risks. S. P. C. S. I., p. 52, emphasizes this point and declares: "It is worthy of inquiry whether society has not made a mistake in its warfare upon crime, and whether it would not be better and more effective to strike at the few capitalists as a class than at the many operative plunderers one by one. Let it direct its blows against the connection between criminal capital and criminal labor, nor forbear its assaults till it has wholly broken and dissolved that union. We may rest assured that when this baleful combination shall be pierced to its vital part it will perish." See also H. H., p. 24, note, and R. I. P. C., p. 285.

VIII. *Lack of Certainty of Punishment an Encouragement to Crime.*—P. P. P., p. 329, states that in 1886 there were reported (in the Judicial Statistics for England and Wales) 44,925 indictable offences, resulting in only 19,285 apprehensions and 10,686 convictions." P. P. C., p. 176, states that "Penologists agree that *certainty* rather than the severity of punishment deters those who are tempted to commit crime." See also I. T. P. S.

IX. *The Aim of Imprisonment.*—I. T. P. S., p. 3, shows that "Punishment should not be inflicted upon perpetrators of crimes that others may be deterred from a similar course, for this is unjust, jeopards reformation and breeds antagonism to the law and its executors. It may be affirmed also that in the history of jurisprudence it is found practically a failure for the purpose in view." The writer further declares that the object of punishment should be "the protection of society by the prevention of crime and the reformation of criminals." See also H. H., pp. 4, 5, and P. P., p. 1.

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P. P. C., p. 179, shows that there is danger at the same time of over-sympathy for criminals, leading to an increase in crime. This point is strongly emphasized in P. P. P., Chap. I.

X. *Labor in Prison.* — S. P. C. S. I., p. 55, declares that "Steady, active and useful labor is the basis of a sound discipline and at once the means and test of reformation." P. P. C., p. 169, states that "There is something peculiarly elevating about labor; it comes nearer being a panacea for crime than any other one thing." On p. 171 it continues, "It is impossible to keep prisoners in a healthy mental and physical condition without steady employment." P. 172, quoting from the Report of the Massachusetts Warden, shows that labor, to be beneficial to the prisoner, not to say to the state, must be productive: "In remonstrating one day with a prisoner for his lack of interest in his work he said, 'The people don't care; what they seem to want is that we shall work steadily all the time, but they don't want us to produce anything.'" I. T. P. S., p. 10, strongly emphasizes the necessity of labor on the part of convicts, and declares: "No interference of trades' unions can be listened to. . . . Let this senseless cry against convict labor cease. The world is wide — there is room for all. Let the welfare of the whole supersede the selfishness of the few."

XI. *Education.* — S. P. C. S. I., p. 55, emphasizes the importance of education as contributing notably to moral improvement and as an element that should constitute an integral part of any prison system. I. T. P. S., p. 11, says: "The effect of education is reformatory, for it tends to dissipate poverty by imparting intelligence sufficient to conduct ordinary affairs, and puts into the mind necessarily habits of punctuality, method and perseverance." In the same connection the author quotes a ringing testimony from a reformed man as to the moralizing and elevating influence of education in his own case.

XII. *Religion.* — Both the above writers, in speaking of the potency of education in the reformation of prisoners, speak in the same connection with even greater emphasis of the power of religion.

XIII. *Parole System.* — P. P. C., p. 180, states: "The parole is the keystone of the reformatory system, and I most earnestly recommend it both as a reformatory measure as well as subserving to the interest of good discipline. The prisoner feels that he has something to strive for, and deports himself accordingly." In the same work, pp. 167 and 174, strong testimony is given to the benefits to be derived from the practice of releasing prisoners, temporarily, on trial, that they may prove their manhood and the genuineness of their reformation.

XIV. *Released Prisoners.* — L. A., p. 16; S. P. C. S. I., pp.

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53, 55, and P. P. C., p. 175, show the necessity of making some provision for the prisoner at the expiration of his sentence, that he be not turned penniless upon the world to beg, starve or steal.

XV. *Indemnification for Unjust Imprisonment.* — S. P. C. S. I., p. 53, shows the evident injustice of arresting an innocent man and then, after perhaps detaining him long in prison, releasing him on failure to prove his guilt, but returning to him no recompense for the disgrace, the loss of time and the damage to his business that may have been incurred from such imprisonment. If direct damage to property merits compensation, why should not such damage to person as well as property much more merit a return?

XVI. *Interdependence of Parts of the Social Organism.* — Supt. Brockway in I. T. P. S., p. 1, emphasizes the fundamental principle of modern sociology — viz., that all parts of the social organism are intimately bound together, and that all must suffer with the suffering of each; and that, therefore, the question of saving the criminal should be of vital interest to all. See also H. H., p. 3, note, and the twelfth chapter of First Corinthians.

XVII. *What Prison Reform Stands for.* — L. A., pp. 12–14, and I. T. P. S., p. 12, point out magnificently the nobler conception that, when embodied in practice, will redeem our prisons from the brutalizing conditions in which they have so long existed, and will make them truly establishments for the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual regeneration of their inmates; while Dr. Wines, pp. 7, 8, of W. P. R., splendidly sums up in a few terse sentences the quintessence of modern prison reform — sentences which are well worthy of reproduction here in full, did our space permit.

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OUR PRESENT NEED.

BY FRANK E. TUCKER.

We learn from all great prophets,
  Who have fought and conquered sin,
That love to man is righteousness,
  Not selfishness within.
God is not angry with us,
  If from our lips, no praise
In trembling fear and meekness
  Of song or prayer we raise.
Humanity is broader
  Than any church or creed;
And the Christ-spirit teaches
  The ever present need
Of work and toil and labor,
  Of those who see the light,
In the blotting out of selfishness
  And striving for the right.
We need a broader charity,
  Not merely church and creed
That builds a stately edifice
  And scorns a brother's need.
We need a love that's larger,
  Devotion deeper grown;
A hand to help that's stronger,
  Than any we've yet known.
To-day we need not miracles
  To overcome the world,
But in the heart of every life,
  The flag of truth unfurled.
We do not need to seek for bliss
  In "mansions in the skies,"
For with God's spirit in our hearts
  We shall have paradise.
And we shall find that doing good
  To Christian, Jew or Turk,
Is, in His eyes, best sacrifice,
  And His best worship, *work*.

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FOSTERING THE SAVAGE IN THE YOUNG.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

SINCE the close of the Civil War the most advanced and humane minds of the world have looked to the United States to set an example of true civilization, by insisting on the settlement of all international disputes in which the republic was concerned by arbitration, thus emphasizing the supremacy of something higher than the reign of brute force, which disregards the sanctity of human life and fires the most savage instincts in man.

There were many reasons why it was fitting that the great Republic should enjoy the proud distinction of taking the initiative in the inauguration of an era of universal peace. We had nothing to fear from Europe, as the great powers are, tiger-like, watching one another. England knows full well that if she should declare war against America, she might expect Russia to execute her generation-long dream of Indian conquest. If Germany felt able to engage us, France would be quick to recover Alsace and Lorraine, and, indeed, no nation which could cope with us would be insane enough to think of engaging in a war with the far-away republic, unless our nation occupied such a manifestly unjust or indefensible attitude as to bar us from the moral support of civilization.

In such cases as the Alabama Claims and the Behring Sea question, our government showed the more excellent way, and demonstrated that war is not only unnecessary but that at this stage of civilization it is indefensible. And these great peace victories, which pointed to the realization of a new civilization, were in perfect alignment with the ideals held by the founders of our government.

After our late war, however, our country passed into a stage of existence as dazzling to the superficial observer as it was ominous to the serious mind — a period characterized by the carrying out of vast enterprises, in which, too frequently, the government furnished a large part of the wealth required, while she permitted monopolies to reap the benefits. An era of class legislation was succeeded by an era of speculation or gambling. Special privileges, class laws and speculation gave to a few cunning, and often totally unscrupulous, men millions of unearned wealth, and the government entered on a moral decline as humiliating to the

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patriot as it is melancholy to those who desire to see manhood dignified and emancipated and justice enthroned in the affections of the people.

The student of history will note with sadness that, as venality began to creep into the halls of state, and as seats which had been honored by uncorrupted patriotism and far-seeing statesmanship were purchased by gold or won by intriguing tricksters, and especially as Wall Street and the monopolistic power came to sway more and more influence in shaping legislation and dictating nominations, we began to imitate the despotisms of Europe, not only in building arsenals and armories but by assiduously fostering the war spirit in our young people.

This period has been marked also by a rapid decline in the sturdy, self-reliant national spirit which in former days made the republic the wonder and admiration of the world. The old cry, "Let us show the nations of the earth a more excellent way," has been exchanged for the pitiful whine of imbecility, and of late whenever a promising innovation has been proposed the cry has gone forth, "What other nation has tried such an experiment?" or "Has England, Austria, Germany or France made any similar trial?" From a republic proud of being a leader in the van of civilization, we have turned imitator. Our nation, by yielding to the corrupt influence of individual, class and corporate interests, has become emasculated, a condition which has grown more and more apparent with each succeeding year.

As the decline in the republic of Rome was marked by the rise of the military power, so there has developed a passion for reawakening the savage in man and child by fostering and inculcating the war spirit, as true democracy has more and more given place to plutocracy. That there is method in these things there can be little doubt, although it is probable that few people have stopped to consider the real significance of the rapid growth of armories in our midst. It is not my purpose, however, in this paper to deal with this phase of the question. I desire rather to utter a protest against the iniquitous military drill now being carried on in many of our churches and schools throughout the United States.

In order to impress this phase of the question on the minds of our readers, I shall notice one of many similar descriptions of military organizations, under the auspices of the church, which have recently been given in fulsome terms by leading daily papers. The one I am about to notice contains such headings as the following; "Properly Uniformed and Armed; Both Infantry and Artillery Manœuvres; Drills and Public Exhibitions Given." Then follows an article which bestows unstinted praise on a rich New York church for fostering the war spirit in the

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minds of a number of working boys and seeing that they were supplied with deadly muskets — muskets which had already been used for slaughtering human beings.

It is needless to point out that in this matter the millionaire churches exert an influence over the young very similar to that exercised by the barons over their retainers in the feudal ages. The article to which I refer* describes the formation of a corps of cadets among the working boys of the west side district of New York as a noble and philanthropic move. The cadets are under the protection and support of the Collegiate Reformed Church at Forty-eighth Street and Fifth Avenue, one of the wealthiest churches of New York City. This corps of cadets was started by a member of the Fifth Avenue Church of New York City, who was also a captain in one of the city regiments. The following extracts from the article in question illustrate most impressively how this iniquitous work awakens the war spirit and fosters the savage dream of slaughter in the minds of the young. The writer says: —

After looking about very thoroughly for proper arms for the corps, and listening to the boys' strong objections to "make believe" wooden guns, very suitable weapons were obtained. They are Burnside carbines bought from the United States Arsenal at Governor's Island, by special permission from the secretary of war. No small degree of charm for the boys is added by the fact that the very guns they handle were once used in real fighting. They weigh about six pounds and are, therefore, not too heavy for even the smallest soldiers — for the cadets range from 4 feet 2 inches in height to 5 feet 7 inches.

All of the other boys of the club not enrolled in the corps are drilled without uniforms, so that as soon as a vacancy occurs a well-trained boy can be put in it.

He continues thus: —

The company is put through all the military evolutions, in accordance with the regular army tactics; is taught to march and countermarch, to execute many different formations, and to do the whole manual of arms and the bayonet exercise. This last is a particularly pretty drill, not much in use now, but calculated to give the soldier a free use of his weapon and an easy, strong wrist. In a recent entertainment and exhibition given by the corps at the parent church on Fifth Avenue, this part of their work elicited a great deal of applause.

In addition to the infantry exercises an artillery drill has been established, and a "dummy" or wooden cannon having been built in exact reproduction of a genuine field piece, a squad of nine picked boys from the company have been taught to handle it. They go through the full drill, loading and firing, going into action in every direction, changing the wheels and dismounting the piece by taking the cannon from its carriage and the wheels from the axle, so that it is entirely dismembered, and setting it up again, all with precision, and each cannonier doing his part of the work exactly as regular soldiers are taught to do it. Ambulance and signal corps have also been organized, and during the mock action the former carries off the wounded while the latter signals for assistance.

* New York *Recorder*.

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Here is a further extract taken from the account of a drill given in the rich Fifth Avenue church to raise funds to improve the equipment of this corps of boys, whose minds are being turned by the church from the beauty and happiness of peace and civilization to the dream of human slaughter: —

One little boy, the smallest of the lot, and not over four feet two inches tall, went through all the elaborate movements of infantry drill, bayonet exercise and artillery drill without an error, and was the avowed favorite of the ladies. Round after round of applause was showered upon the corps on this occasion, and greatly appreciated by the little soldiers. At this drill, a sham battle was given, the artillery firing on an imaginary army until the enemy was supposed to bring up its cavalry to capture the gun. Then the artillerymen signalled to the infantry to come to their support. The cannoniers dismounted their piece, and all lay down until the supposed enemy was driven off by the infantry fire, then mounted their piece again to give them a few farewell shots. During this action the instructor called out the numbers of the boys at intervals, and as each was designated he fell over as though shot, and was carried off by the ambulance corps, while the remaining boys manned the cannon. This feature proved especially interesting to the spectators.

Many pages might be filled with accounts of similar work being carried on by the rich and fashionable churches of the Prince of Peace in the republic, but this illustration will suffice, as it is typical.

In a recent issue of the *Corner Stone*, edited by one of the most intelligent, patriotic and conscientious women of Michigan, I find the following: —

Detroit has twenty-seven church military organizations, containing 651 men and forty-three officers. The largest is the Baptist cadets, with sixty-six men and three officers. Then comes the Maybury cadets, an Episcopal organization, with sixty men, the First Congregational cadets with fifty-three, the first and last being armed with rifles. The Episcopalians have six companies, the Catholics eight, the Presbyterians seven, Baptists three, Congregationalists two and Lutherans one. Thirteen of the companies are armed with rifles and one with swords. These, it must be remembered, are all church military companies, and have no connection with the civil societies of the state militia.

II.

Probably nothing so well indicates the substitution of a hollow and, in the strictest sense of the word, a materialistic theology for a religion of life — a loving faith expressed in deeds — as the diligent and systematic fostering by church and state of the war spirit — which is the murder spirit — in the rising generation. The position of the church on this question is at once astounding and incomprehensible, if we admit that the spirit of her Founder still vivifies her being; for even the most superficial thinker knows that the drilling of youth in the manual of arms must necessarily fill the brain with ideals which are the exact anti-

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podes of the teaching of the Prince of Peace. The ultimate which a course of practice leads to, or the ideal which it inspires, gives color to the thought world of those who come under its influence, and this is especially true when the plastic brain of childhood is dominated by an alluring ideal.

Comparatively few people are aware of the military activity within the city churches of America to-day. It is true that the daily papers of our great cities have published of late so many elaborate and laudatory accounts of church-fostered military companies, that those who read more than the news items must be more or less familiar with what is going on in this direction; but the millions in the country and towns are ignorant of the magnitude of this movement, and the weary workers who, in the nature of the case, cannot take time to reason from cause to effect, are content to accept as gospel whatever the capitalistic and conventional press applauds, without appreciating the real significance of many ominous acts which are taking place to-day.

The religious leaders who introduced military instruction and drill in the churches and those who later favored it, whatever may have been their motives, committed an error so grave, that it even now threatens to turn civilization back toward savagery and destroy the opening blossom of universal peace through arbitration. I do not wish to impugn the motives of those who advocated the formation of military companies in the churches. I believe that for the most part they only sought a way of drawing the young into the church by means which would naturally be attractive. The error they committed lay *in departing from the fundamental teachings of their own accredited Leader, whom they believe to be a God, and who, in life, spirit and word, emphasized in the most solemn and impressive manner* the importance of driving from the brain every dream of war, every ideal that looked toward physical violence, every thought which comprehended the taking of human life. The profound insight of Jesus, which led Him to transfer the seat of actual criminality from the commission of the crime to the entertainment of the thought which fathered its execution, has been generally overlooked by modern theologians.

The question will naturally arise as to how it was possible that servants of the Prince of Peace could so far forget the life and teaching of their Leader as to foster or favor the formation of military organizations? I think the mistake was due mainly to (1) a shortsightedness which overlooked the influence of the ultimate ideal upon the plastic brain of childhood, and (2) to an unconscious yielding to the savage spirit of our gold-crazed age, which prevented their coming into rapport with the deepest and most philosophic truths uttered by the great Nazarene.

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One evil effect of this mistake was soon manifest. The old fires of religious hate, which have so darkly stained the history of Christianity, were at once awakened. There is nothing which should be more carefully guarded against than stimulating religious hatred. Theological fanaticism knows no reason. The finest sentiments of mercy, justice and gentleness are by it trampled under foot. There always has existed within the fellowship of the various Protestant churches, no less than within the communion of Rome, a more or less formidable minority whose views are so narrow that they cannot or will not admit the probability, even if they grant the possibility, of those who differ from them being right, and who in their hearts believe that all who do not see religious truth through their spectacles will necessarily be damned. They ignore the admonitions of Jesus, in which He observed that he who was not against Him was for Him, and leave out of consideration the fact that had they been born into Mohammedan lands they would have been in all probability as intolerant in their demand that all others should believe in the tenets of the Mohammedan religion as they are that all shall see as they now see. They furthermore forget, or are incapable of realizing, that hearts and brains are not all cast in the same mould, and though the fundamentals of love, justice, truth and right as they pertain to life are ever the same, belief in certain tenets is largely, if not almost entirely, a question of heredity and environment.

These narrow-minded persons are often conscientious and sincere, but they are also always possible persecutors, and their influence is necessarily unchristian, because it invariably stirs up hate and savagery in the hearts of others. The formation of military companies in churches at once afforded an excuse for these classes to come to the front and influence the minds of those more swayed by prejudice than by justice and right. Owing to the long and savage conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism it is no difficult task to alarm a goodly number of partizan religionists of the great opposing bodies, and a determined attempt is being fostered by the fanatics to arraign these two forces against each other. I have for months been saddened by seeing organs of hate seeking to arouse the fiercest passions in the minds of their readers, in the name of religion and presumably for the glory of the Prince of Peace.

I most profoundly believe that if Jesus came to the republic to-day His first command would be "Ground arms"; for the present arming and drilling of His pretended followers is a flagrant insult to His life and teachings. He was emphatically a Man of Peace and even opposed retaliation. Love was His talisman. He taught that hate and the murderous spirit of war were from the pit. They represented the savagery of the brute.

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His disciples must be children of peace if they would please the Infinite Father whose name was Love and who dwelt in Light. "Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God." The sign manual of Divine sonship was peace making, exactly as fostering the spirit of slaughter is the unmistakable sign of the atheism of greed, the materialism of animality. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies." "Put up thy sword; whoso taketh the sword shall perish by the sword."

The example of Jesus' life, no less than His solemn precepts, was an unfailing protest against war, hate, savagery and whatever could arouse or strengthen the animal side of man's nature. Instead of military drill, Jesus would burn into the souls of the youth this thought expressed by Isaiah, "*How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace.*" The highest ideal and dreams of prophet, sage and philosopher in all ages are summed up in the lofty words of the olden seer: "*Men shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.*"

III.

The work of fostering the savage spirit in the minds of the very young has not been confined to the church; indeed we might say that the church, instead of holding steadfastly to the high ideal of Jesus, allowed herself to hearken to the words of short-sighted thinkers and drift with the current of a settled policy, which has of late become more and more apparent with each successive administration. The introduction of military training into the common schools of America marked the triumph of the military spirit of despotic Europe over the long-cherished traditions of the republic. Not satisfied with teaching the manual of arms in colleges, which should be dedicated to peace and true civilization, the high schools have come under the curse of this blunting, soul-shrivelling influence of war, and so cunningly has this spirit of savagery been fostered that the lower schools are now threatened with its infection. We are told that the administration looks with favor on enlarging the scope of military instruction; and ex-President Harrison, not to be outdone, allows the admonitions of his acknowledged Lord and Master to be forgotten in his desire to win the favor of capitalism and the Grand Army, by exclaiming, "It is good for the boys, good for the schools and good for the country."

On the 18th of May there passed under my office windows a

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sight which saddened me for many days. It was the spectacle of more than twelve hundred lads, of from twelve to nineteen years of age, parading in full uniform, all bearing guns. They were headed by a band which discoursed popular military airs. The little street gamins looked enviously upon the boys clad in blue, with brass buttons, bearing standards and marching to military music. I do not see how any thoughtful person could have looked upon the spectacle without feeling that the hands on the dial of civilization were being put back. In describing the event the Boston *Daily Globe* said: —

The "Pride of Boston," its school regiment, composed of pupils of the high and Latin schools of the city, and numbering 1,330 lads ranging in age from thirteen to nineteen years, organized as thirty-two companies and forming four battalions, had its annual parade yesterday. For the past two weeks, or since the death of Brig.-Gen. Hobart Moore, under a new instructor the officers and men of the regiment have worked with an energy commendable in the highest degree.

In their neat blue uniforms, with bright eyes and smiling faces, the boys assembled at the school building, Montgomery Street and Warren Avenue, with soldierly promptness at 9 o'clock, ready for the duties of the day with the regiment. At 10.15 the column started upon its march to the common.

Great applause greeted the regiment as it turned into School Street and marched past city hall in column of platoons, giving a marching salute to Mayor Matthews, who stood at the gateway, attended by Private Secretary Nat Taylor, City Messenger Peters, several aldermen and heads of departments. A brief halt was made on Beacon Street before reaching the state house, which passing in column of companies, marching honors were given Governor Greenhalge, who, standing upon the steps of the capitol, received the compliment.

The commander-in-chief was attended by Adjt.-Gen. Dalton and Colonels Benton, Kenney, Billings, Moses, Hastings and Page of his military family.

To the lover of peace, to the truly civilized man and woman, to the high-minded patriot, such spectacles are saddening beyond expression. They reveal the fact that, after our country had reached the point where she had by arbitration shown the other great powers of the world a nobler way of settling disputes than by awakening the instincts of the savage in man, and just at the proud moment when it seemed that the flower of enduring peace was about to blossom upon the breast of the great republic, we find the cry going forth, to transform her from the world's harbinger of peace into a military camp; and that this may be effectively done, we find that our boys in the common schools are being trained in the savage art of war.

Every careful student of human life knows that the ideals and thoughts which fill the horizon of childhood color all after life. If during the formative period the ideals which fill the child's mind be essentially noble and humane, if he be taught that his

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mission is to help subdue the savage in man, to transform swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks, or in other words, to become a saviour of life and a dispenser of happiness instead of a slayer of his brother and an angel of darkness, he will grow to manhood brave but gentle, manly but loving. He will love justice more than gold; he will see that the man who develops the highest side of his life is the child of wisdom, and that wherever he may go the flowers of joy will spring up, blossom and fling abroad their exhilarating perfume.

On the other hand the child who is drilled in the manual of arms has constantly before him the hour when he may draw the trigger which means death to a fellow-man; he comes to love the sound of the drum beat, and learns to long for a chance to shoulder the murderous gun. He turns to the lives of Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon; dreams of fame through slaughter, of power through devastation and destruction, fill his mind, and by coming to believe it is legitimate to kill his fellow-men when ordered to by a superior officer, the highest and finest elements in his mind are benumbed. And I may say here, what I most profoundly believe, that there can never be an approach to civilization so long as the child mind receives military drill, for the associations, ideals and dreams which necessarily follow in the wake of warlike instruction are so at variance with the ideals which alone can redeem the world from hate, greed and injustice, that until children are taught to entertain a profound reverence for human life, human rights and for justice in its broadest sense, humanity will not know what true civilization is.

IV.

We are informed by the advocates of military drill that there is much to be said in its favor, aside from its possible benefit to the state in the event of war. *We are informed that it gives the boy much needed physical culture.* In reply I would say that, even if this claim were well founded, the possible benefit would be many times counterbalanced by the blunting of the moral sensibilities which attends training in the art of human slaughter, to say nothing of the evil effect in filling his mind with dreams of fame based on the exercise of the savage in his nature.

But let us further notice the claims put forth for military drill on the ground of its value in developing the physical body. On this point there is a diversity of opinions; indeed, it is doubtful, if the spirit of Cæsar were not so strong at the present time, whether thoughtful people would advance this as an argument, but let us notice its force. There is probably no man in the United States whose judgment in regard to physical culture will

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be universally accepted as more authoritative than that of Dr. D. A. Sargent of Harvard University, and on this point Dr. Sargent observes: —

After the most favorable view possible of military drill as a physical exercise, we are led to conclude that its constrained positions and closely localized movements do not afford the essential requisites for developing the muscles and improving the respiration and circulation, and thereby improving the general health and condition of the system. We must further conclude that in case of any malformation, local weakness or constitutional debility, the drill tends, by its strain upon the nerves and prolonged tension on the muscles, to increase the defects rather than to relieve them. Finally, if the ultimate object of the drill was to prepare young men for the *life and duties of a soldier*, we should be forced to conclude that the drill itself would still be defective as a means of developing the chief requisites for men in that profession.

It will be observed that this craze for military drill, which is one of the legitimate fruits of the war spirit which is being fostered and which finds expression in the rapid multiplication of armories in our great centres of population, does not, according to Dr. Sargent, accomplish the physical culture which wholesome gymnastic exercise gives. Moreover he urges that soldiers to be efficient should receive the gymnastic training as well, and the correctness of this observation is emphasized when it is remembered that the great military powers of Europe give the recruits several months' gymnastic training before they are expected to fill the requirements of soldiers.

Mr. Leverett W. Case, master of the Dudley School of Roxbury, Boston, when interviewed a few months ago in regard to the advisability of introducing the military drill into the grammar schools, made the following observation: —

It is a bad thing for the boys. These public street parades are especially evil things. I have known three or four boys to faint away from the fatigue and excitement on such occasions. Then again, it teaches the boys to look forward to war, and to cherish a desire for fighting which is not desirable. It seems to me that after twenty centuries of religious enlightenment we ought to be able to live without fighting, and the maintenance of standing armies. I believe in fostering a love of nature and peaceful intercourse between one another among school children. Boys should be taught what will be useful to them, but they should not be taught that which would engender a desire for warfare. The Ling system of gymnastics which we now have in the grammar schools answers every purpose. It gives the school plenty of wholesome exercise and that is all they need.*

We are told that military drills give grace and suppleness to the boys. In noticing this point Dr. Sargent observes: —

In reference to the gracefulness that is thought to characterize the movements of young cadets, I can only say it is not the outcome of drilling and marching. The soldier is trained to square corners, straight

* Interview published in Boston Daily *Journal*, Jan. 24, 1894.

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platoons, and angular movements. Curves and embellishments are not encouraged, in speech or in action. If you would account for the graceful pose of our National Cadets you must see them from one to two hours a day in charge of the dancing master.

It is further urged that if our boys are drilled in school they will be prepared for war. On this point, I desire to quote the words of Lieut. Col. Thomas F. Edmands of the Boston Cadets:—

"I only know that school drill injures the militia service; and I never saw a school successfully drilled—that is, where the play was worth the candle. It is impracticable to teach the boys anything more than the manual of arms. It is one of the clearest cases ever invented of a little knowledge being a dangerous thing. Boys like it because they are aping the men and wear flash clothes. When they get through school their heads are so swelled by it that they think they know it all, and are unwilling to receive any military instruction of real value to themselves or to the country."

"How about the physical benefits to be derived from the drill?"

"In Boston the effect of school drill has been to make boys round shouldered and narrow chested. I never saw a school company well set up in my life. Except a few of the larger ones the boys are overweighted by the musket they are obliged to carry."

"Then you do not believe the drill adds much to the value of the boy as a subsequent military man?"

"The modern drill regulations are by no means adapted for work in schools under any circumstances. They need a man's brains and muscles. Every time I tell the truth about the matter I generally raise a storm from persons illy informed upon the subject, and from the boys, whose self conceit, engendered by this drill, should be one of the greatest arguments against its further practice."

Even if Colonel Edmands were incorrect, the claim that our youth should be instructed in the tactics of war, in case there may be war, is so peurile and out of keeping with what ought to be the spirit of our century, that those who know so well what will result from filling the brain of the young with visions of military glory, should demand an immediate cessation of this ungodly and savage drill which belongs to the plane of the barbarian, and which is a crime against civilization, the republic and the young. The mothers, wives and sisters in this great republic, and all who love peace, justice and enlightenment, have a great responsibility resting upon them. If the savage is to be beaten back to his lair and the man again enthroned, there is not an hour to be lost.

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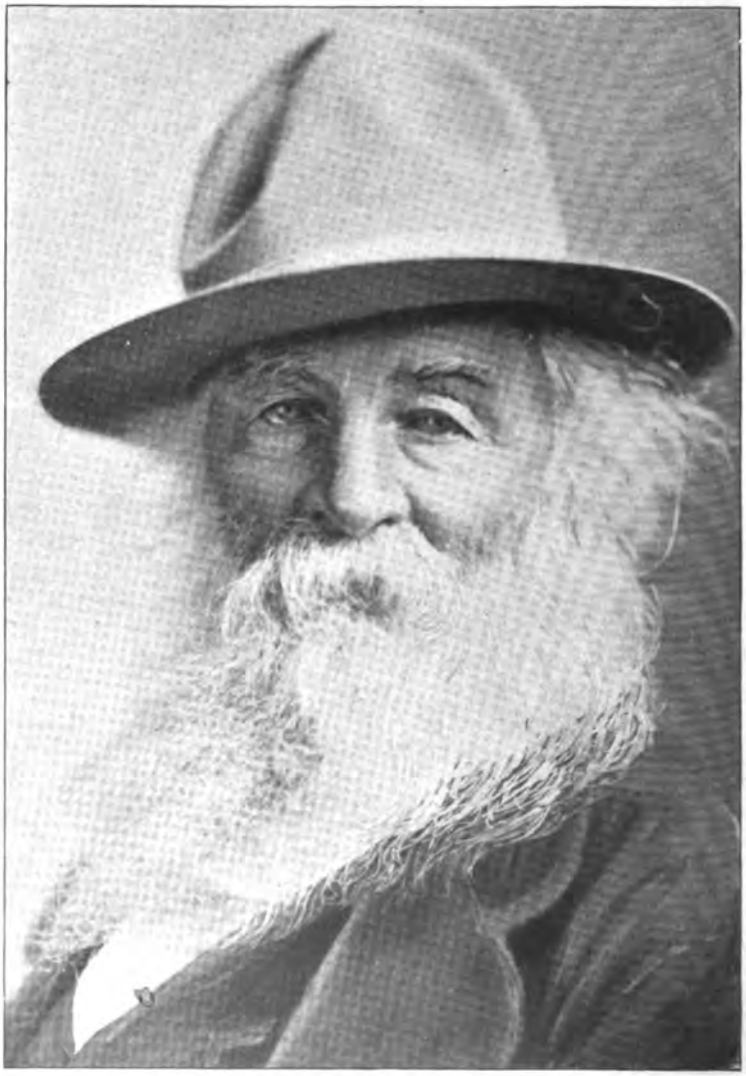

Walt. Whitman

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THE RELIGION OF WALT WHITMAN'S POEMS.

BY M. J. SAVAGE.

FORTUNATELY for me, I need not address myself to the task of trying to settle the much-vexed question as to Whitman's place among the poets. The most various and mutually exclusive opinions are held and confidently expressed concerning him. He is not a poet at all; he is among the very greatest. His books are suppressed as being immoral; he is the Christ of the nineteenth century. Such and so contradictory are the outcries. But, putting aside both the abuse and worship, let us essay the humbler *rôle* of listening and trying to interpret some of the things he has to say concerning the most important of human themes. To give us heart for the task and to make it seem worth while, we will stop to note what another has to say on the subject. These are the words in which the famous English scholar, Mr. John Addington Symonds, closes his book, "A Study of Walt Whitman":—

After all, the great thing is, if possible, to induce people to study Whitman for themselves. I am convinced that, especially for young men, his spirit, if intelligently understood and sympathized with, must be productive of incalculable good. This I venture to emphasize by relating what he did for me. I had received the ordinary English gentleman's education at Harrow and Oxford. Being physically below the average in health and strength, my development proceeded more upon the intellectual than the athletic side. In a word, I was decidedly academical, and in danger of becoming a prig. What was more, my constitution in the year 1865 seemed to have broken down, and no career in life lay open to me. In the autumn of that

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year, my friend Frederic Myers read me aloud a poem from "Leaves of Grass." We were together in his rooms at Trinity College, Cambridge, and I can well remember the effect of his sonorous voice rolling out sentence after sentence, sending electric thrills through the very marrow of my mind.* I immediately procured the Boston edition of 1860-61, and began to study it attentively.

It cannot be denied that much in Whitman puzzled and repelled me. But it was the æsthetic, not the moral, sensibility that suffered; for I felt at once that his method of treating sexual things (the common stumbling-block to beginners) was the right one, and wished that I had come across "Children of Adam" several years earlier. My academical prejudices, the literary instincts trained by two decades of Greek and Latin studies, the refinements of culture and the exclusiveness of aristocratic breeding, revolted against the uncouthness, roughness, irregularity, coarseness, of the poet and his style. But, in course of a short time, Whitman delivered my soul of these debilities. As I have elsewhere said in print, he taught me to comprehend the harmony between the democratic spirit, science and that larger religion to which the modern world is being led by the conception of human brotherhood, and by the spirituality inherent in any really scientific view of the universe. He gave body, concrete vitality, to the religious creed which I had already been forming for myself upon the study of Goethe, Greek and Roman Stoics, Giordano Bruno, and the founders of the evolutionary doctrine. He inspired me with faith, and made me feel that optimism was not unreasonable. This gave me great cheer in those evil years of enforced idleness and intellectual torpor which my health imposed upon me.

Moveover, he helped to free me from any conceits and pettinesses to which academical culture is liable. He opened my eyes to the beauty, goodness and greatness which may be found in all worthy human beings, the humblest and the highest. He made me respect personality more than attainments or position in the world. Through him, I stripped my soul of social prejudices. Through him I have been able to fraternize in comradeship with men of all classes and several races, irrespective of their caste, creed, occupation and special training. To him I owe some of the best friends I now can claim — sons of the soil, hard workers, "natural and nonchalant," "powerful uneducated persons."

Only those who have been condemned by imperfect health to take a back seat in life so far as physical enjoyments are concerned, and who have also chosen the career of literary study, can understand what is meant by the deliverance from foibles besetting invalids and pedants for which I have to thank Walt Whitman.

What he has done for me, I feel he will do for others — for each and all of those who take counsel with him, and seek from him a solution of difficulties differing in kind according to the temper of the individual — if only they approach him in the right spirit of confidence and openmindedness.

* It was a piece from "Calamus," beginning "Long I thought that that knowledge alone would suffice me." Curiously enough, this has been omitted from subsequent editions, for what reason I know not.

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I shall use the Author's (Centennial) Edition, published at Camden, N. J., in 1876. I propose to follow a method which at first may look like the abandonment of method. That is, I shall turn over the pages, following the order of the poems themselves, and shall select such passages as strike me. Then, when we have read them together, we will group the sayings under general heads and see what is the significance of the message the poet has for the world.

Whether or not it is what is popularly called religion, it is clear that he is in dead earnest about what seems religion to him: —

I too, following many, and follow'd by many, inaugurate a Religion
— I descend into the arena.
(It may be I am destin'd to utter the loudest cries there, the winner's
pealing shouts;
Who knows? they may rise from me yet, and soar above everything.)

Each is not for its own sake;
I say the whole earth, and all the stars in the sky, are for Religion's
sake.

I say no man has ever yet been half devout enough;
None has ever yet adored or worship'd half enough;
None has begun to think how divine he himself is, and how certain
the future is.

I say that the real and permanent grandeur of these States must be
their Religion;
Otherwise there is no real and permanent grandeur:
(Nor character, nor life worthy the name, without Religion;
Nor land, nor man nor woman, without Religion.)

What are you doing, young man?
Are you so earnest — so given up to literature, science, art, amours?
These ostensible realities, politics, points?
Your ambition or business, whatever it may be?

It is well, against such I say not a word — I am their poet also;
But behold! such swiftly subside — burnt up for Religion's sake;
For not all matter is fuel to heat, impalpable flame, the essential life
of the earth,
Any more than such are to Religion.

Know you! solely to drop in the earth the germs of a greater
Religion,
The following chants, each for its kind, I sing.

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My comrade!
For you to share with me two greatnesses — and a third one, rising inclusive and more resplendent,
The greatness of Love and Democracy — and the greatness of Religion.

Not he, with a daily kiss, onward from childhood kissing me,
Has winded and twisted around me that which holds me to him,
Any more than I am held to the heavens, to the spiritual world,
And to the identities of the Gods, my lovers, faithful and true,
After what they have done to me, suggesting themes.

I will not make poems with reference to parts;
But I will make leaves, poems, poemets, songs, says, thoughts, with reference to *ensemble :*
And I will not sing with reference to a day, but with reference to all days;
And I will not make a poem, nor the least part of a poem, but has reference to the Soul;
(Because, having look'd at the objects of the universe I find there is no one, nor any particle of one, but has reference to the Soul.)

Was somebody asking to see the Soul?
See! your own shape and countenance — persons, substances, beasts, the trees, the running rivers, the rocks and sands.

All hold spiritual joys, and afterwards loosen them:
How can the real body ever die, and be buried?

Of your real body, and any man's or woman's real body,
Item for item, it will elude the hands of the corpse-cleaners, and pass to fitting spheres,
Carrying what has accrued to it from the moment of birth to the moment of death.

Not the types set up by the printer return their impression, the meaning, the main concern,
Any more than a man's substance and life, or a woman's substance and life, return in the body and the Soul,
Indifferently before death and after death.

Behold! the body includes and is the meaning, the main concern — and includes and is the Soul;
Whoever you are! how superb and how divine is your body, or any part of it!

Then, in the poem entitled "Walt Whitman," what recognition is there of the immanent God, and of the life which laughs at death: —

A child said, "What is the grass?" fetching it to me with full hands;
How could I answer the child? I do not know what it is, any more than he.

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I guess it must be the flag of my disposition, out of hopeful green stuff woven.

Or I guess it is the handkerchief of the Lord,
A scented gift and remembrancer, designedly dropt,
Bearing the owner's name someway in the corners, that we may see and remark, and say, "Whose?"

What do you think has become of the young and old men?
And what do you think has become of the women and children?

They are alive and well somewhere;
The smallest sprout shows there is really no death;
And if ever there was, it led forward life and does not wait at the end to arrest it,
And ceased the moment life appear'd.

All goes onward and outward — nothing collapses;
And to die is different from what anyone supposed, and luckier.

Has anyone supposed it lucky to be born?
I hasten to inform him or her, it is just as lucky to die, and I know it.

I pass death with the dying, and birth with the new-wash'd babe, and am not contain'd between my hat and boots.

A little further on, what magnificent trust he shows as to his own place and importance in the eternal order: —

I do not trouble my spirit to vindicate itself or be understood;
I see that the elementary laws never apologize.
(I reckon I behave no prouder than the level I plant my house by, after all.)

I exist as I am — that is enough;
If no other in the world be aware, I sit content;
And if each and all be aware, I sit content.

One world is aware, and by far the largest to me, and that is myself;
And whether I come to my own to-day, or in ten thousand or ten million years,
I can cheerfully take it now, or with equal cheerfulness I can wait.

My foothold is tenon'd and mortis'd in granite;
I laugh at what you call dissolution;
And I know the amplitude of time.

Have you outstript the rest? Are you the President?
It is a trifle — they will more than arrive there, every one, and still pass on.

Note, too, the grand optimism in words like these,—

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What behaved well in the past, or behaves well to-day, is not such a wonder;
The wonder is, always and always, how there can be a mean man or an infidel.

Again, how he identifies the welfare or the degradation of any or all others with himself, —

Whoever degrades another degrades me;
And whatever is done or said returns at last to me.

With what boldness does he declare the essential purity and goodness of whatever God has made: —

Through me forbidden voices;
Voices of sexes and lusts — voices veil'd, and I remove the veil;
Voices indecent, by me clarified and transfigured.

Divine am I inside and out, and I make holy whatever I touch or am touch'd from;
The scent of these arm-pits, aroma finer than prayer;
This head more than churches, bibles and all the creeds.

In the same poem, observe how all stories of miracle grow small in the real presence of the wonder of common things: —

I believe a leaf of grass is no less than the journey-work of the stars,
And the pismire is equally perfect, and a grain of sand, and the egg of the wren,
And the tree-toad is a *chef-d'œuvre* for the highest,
And the running blackberry would adorn the parlors of heaven,
And the narrowest hinge in my hand puts to scorn all machinery,
And the cow crunching with depress'd head surpasses any statue,
And a mouse is miracle enough to stagger sextillions of infidels.

Then, whether or not one agrees with him, there is a most *naive* and refreshing frankness in his contemplation of the animal world: —

I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contain'd;
I stand and look at them long and long.

They do not sweat and whine about their condition;
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins;
They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God;
Not one is dissatisfied — not one is demented with the mania of owning things;
Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago;
Not one is respectable or industrious over the whole earth.

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Out of this he rises to a lofty pitch of sympathy with heroism and suffering: —

I understand the large hearts of heroes,
The courage of present times and all times;
How the skipper saw the crowded and rudderless wreck of the steamship, and Death chasing it up and down the storm;
How he knuckled tight, and gave not back one inch, and was faithful of days and faithful of nights,
And chalk'd in large letters, on a board, "*Be of good cheer, we will not desert you*";
How he followed with them, and tacked with them, and would not give it up;
How he saved the drifting company at last:
How the lank, loose-gowned women look'd when boated from the side of their prepared graves;
How the silent, old-faced infants, and the lifted sick, and the sharp-lipped, unshaved men:
All this I swallow — it tastes good — I like it well — it becomes mine;
I am the man — I suffered — I was there.

Agonies are one of my changes of garments;
I do not ask the wounded person how he feels — I myself become the wounded person;
My hurts turn livid upon me as I lean on a cane and observe.

Later on he treats the gods of the past, and notes how the god-idea grows towards the natural and the human: —

Magnifying and applying come I,
Outbidding at the start the old cautious hucksters,
Taking myself the exact dimensions of Jehovah,
Lithographing Kronos, Zeus his son, and Hercules his grandson;
Buying drafts of Osiris, Isis, Belus, Brahma, Buddha,
In my portfolio placing Manito loose, Allah on a leaf, the crucifix engraved,
With Odin and the hideous-faced Mexitli, and every idol and image;
Taking them all for what they are worth, and not a cent more;
Admitting they were alive and did the work of their days,
(They bore mites, as for unfledged birds, who have now to rise and fly and sing for themselves);
Accepting the rough, deific sketches to fill out better in myself — bestowing them freely on each man and woman I see;
Discovering as much, or more, in a framer framing a house,
Putting higher claims for him there with his rolled-up sleeves, driving the mallet and chisel;
Not objecting to special revelations — considering a curl of smoke, or a hair on the back of my hand, just as curious as any revelation:
Lads ahold of fire-engines and hook-and-ladder ropes no less to me than the Gods of the antique wars,

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Minding their voices peal through the crash of destruction,
Their brawny limbs passing safe over charr'd laths — their white foreheads whole and unhurt out of the flames;
By the mechanic's wife with her babe at her nipple interceding for every person born;
Three scythes at harvest whizzing in a row from three lusty angels with shirts bagg'd out at their waists;
The snag-toothed hostler with red hair redeeming sins past and to come,
Selling all he possesses, travelling on foot to fee lawyers for his brother, and sit by him while he is tried for forgery;
What was strewn in the amplest strewing the square rod about me, and not filling the square rod then;
The bull and the bug never worship'd half enough;
Dung and dirt more admirable than was dreamed;
The supernatural of no account — myself waiting my time to be one of the Supremes;
The day getting ready for me when I shall do as much good as the best, and be as prodigious.

Then he accepts all priests and worships : —

The sky up there — yet here, or next door, or across the way?
The saints and sages in history — but you yourself?
Sermons, creeds, theology — but the fathomless human brain,
And what is reason? and what is love? and what is life?

I do not despise you, priests;
My faith is the greatest of faiths and the least of faiths,
Enclosing worship ancient and modern, and all between ancient and modern,
Believing I shall come again upon the earth after five thousand years,
Waiting responses from oracles, honoring the Gods, saluting the sun,
Making a fetish of the first rock or stump, powwowing with sticks in the circle of obis,
Helping the lama or brahmin as he trims the lamps of the idols,
Dancing yet through the streets in a phallic procession, rapt and austere in the woods, a gymnosophist,
Drinking mead from the skull-cup — to Shastas and Vedas admirant — minding the Koran,
Walking the teokallis, spotted with gore from the stone and knife, beating the serpent-skin drum,
Accepting the Gospels — accepting Him that was crucified, knowing assuredly that He is divine,
To the mass kneeling, or the puritan's prayer rising, or sitting patiently in a pew,
Ranting and frothing in my insane crisis, or waiting deadlike till my spirit arouses me,
Looking forth on pavement and land, or outside of pavement and land,

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Belonging to the winders of the circuit of circuits.
We have thus far exhausted trillions of winters and summers;
There are trillions ahead, and trillions ahead of them.

I do not call one greater and one smaller;
That which fills its period and place is equal to any.
All has been gentle with me — I keep no account with lamentation.
(What have I to do with lamentation?)

Now comes his magnificent description of the evolution of a soul. The opening of Gensis itself is not finer than this: —

I am an acme of things accomplish'd, and I am an encloser of things to be.

My feet strike an apex of the apices of the stairs;
On every step bunches of ages, and larger bunches between the steps;
All below duly travelled, and still I mount and mount.

Rise after rise bow the phantoms behind me;
Afar down I see the huge first Nothing — I know I was even there:
I waited unseen and always, and slept through the lethargic mist.
And took my time, and took no hurt from the fetid carbon.

Long I was hugg'd close — long and long.

Immense have been the preparations for me,
Faithful and friendly the arms that have help'd me.

Cycles ferried my cradle, rowing and rowing like cheerful boatmen;
For room to me stars kept aside in their own rings;
They sent influences to look after what was to hold me.

Before I was born out of my mother, generations guided me;
My embryo has never been torpid — nothing could overlay it.

For it the nebula cohered to an orb,
The long slow strata piled to rest it on,
Vast vegetables gave it sustenance,
Monstrous sauroids transported it in their mouths, and deposited it with care.

All forces have been steadily employ'd to complete and delight me;
Now on this spot I stand with my robust Soul.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the poet is the godlike serenity with which he faces old age and the confidence with which he fronts the future, certain that the universe will not be complete without him.

Old age superbly rising! O welcome, ineffable grace of dying days!

I open my scuttle at night and see the far-sprinkled systems,
And all I see, multiplied as high as I can cipher, edge but the rim of the farther systems.

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Wider and wider they spread, expanding, always expanding
Outward and outward, and forever outward.

My sun has his sun, and round him obediently wheels;
He joins with his partners a group of superior circuit,
And greater sets follow, making specks of the greatest inside them.

There is no stoppage, and never can be stoppage;
If I, you and the worlds, and all beneath or upon their surfaces, were this moment reduced back to a pallid float, it would not avail in the long run;

We should surely bring up again where we now stand,
And as surely go as much farther — and then farther and farther.

A few quadrillions of eras, a few octillions of cubic leagues, do not hazard the span, or make it impatient;
They are but parts — anything is but a part.

See ever so far, there is limitless space outside of that;
Count ever so much, there is limitless time around that.

My rendezvous is appointed — it is certain;
The Lord will be there, and wait till I come, on perfect terms;
The great Camerado, the lover true for whom I pine, will be there.

Not I — not any one else, can travel that road for you;
You must travel it for yourself.

It is not far — it is within reach;
Perhaps you have been on it since you were born, and did not know;
Perhaps it is everywhere on water and on land.

This day before dawn I ascended a hill, and look'd at the crowded heaven,
And I said to my Spirit, "When we become the enfolders of those orbs, and the pleasure and knowledge of everything in them, shall we be filled and satisfied then?"

And my Spirit said, "No, we but level that lift, to pass and continue beyond."

Very noteworthy is his acceptance of the physical as being equally divine with the spirit. Very noteworthy is his confidence that we see God now and every day and everywhere.

I have said that the soul is not more than the body,
And I have said that the body is not more than the soul;
And nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's self is;
And whoever walks a furlong without sympathy, walks to his own funeral, drest in his shroud;
And I or you, pocketless of a dime, may purchase the pick of the earth;
And to glance with an eye, or show a bean in its pod, confounds the learning of all times;

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And there is no trade or employment but the young man following it may become a hero;
And there is no object so soft but it makes a hub for the wheel'd universe;
And I say to any man or woman, Let your soul stand cool and composed before a million universes.

And I say to mankind, Be not curious about God,
For I, who am curious about each, am not curious about God.
(No array of terms can say how much I am at peace about God, and about death.)
Why should I wish to see God better than this day?
I see something of God each hour of the twenty-four, and each moment then;
In the faces of men and women I see God, and in my own face in the glass;
I find letters from God dropt in the street, and every one is signed by God's name,
And I leave them where they are, for I know that wheresoever I go,
Others will punctually come forever and ever.

And as to you, Death, and you bitter hug of mortality, it is idle to try to alarm me.

Passing the "Children of Adam," which will be briefly discussed later, let us read "To Him That was Crucified": —

My spirit to yours, dear brother;
Do not mind because many, sounding your name, do not understand you;
I do not sound your name, but I understand you (there are others also);
I specify you with joy, O my comrade, to salute you, and to salute those who are with you, before and since, and those to come also;
That we all labor together, transmitting the same charge and succession;
We few, equals, indifferent of lands, indifferent of times;
We, enclosers of all continents, all castes — allowers of all theologies,
Compassionaters, perceivers, rapport of men,
We walk silent among disputes and assertions, but reject not the disputers, nor anything that is asserted;
We hear the bawling and din — we are reached at by divisions, jealousies, recriminations on every side,
They close peremptorily upon us, to surround us, my comrade,
Yet we walk unheld, free, the whole earth over, journeying up and down till we make our ineffaceable mark upon time and the diverse eras,
Till we saturate time and eras, that the men and women of races, ages to come, may prove brethren and lovers, as we are.

It is worth while to note his estimate of greatness: —

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The great city is that which has the greatest man or woman;
If it be a few ragged huts, it is still the greatest city in the whole world.

Where equanimity is illustrated in affairs;
Where speculations on the Soul are encouraged;
Where women walk in public processions in the streets, the same as the men,
Where they enter the public essembly and take places the same as the men;

Where the city of the faithfulest friends stands;
Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands;
Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands,
Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands,
There the great city stands.

How beggarly appear arguments before a defiant deed!
How the floridness of the materials of cities shrivels before a man or woman's look!

All waits or goes by default, till a strong being appears;
A strong being is the proof of the race, and of the ability of the universe;
When he or she appears, materials are overaw'd,
The dispute on the Soul stops,
The old customs and phrases are confront'd, turn'd back, or laid away.

What is your money-making now? what can it do now?
What is your respectability now?
What are your theology, tuition, society, traditions, statute-books, now?
Where are your cavils about the Soul now?

I would not have any one omit to read the "Story of the Open Row," though I cannot quote from it. How the common, dusty highway opens out and stretches on into the endless procession of the ages!

How the world becomes to us what we are, is put into two lines which we who complain should ponder: —

I swear the earth shall surely be complete to him or her who shall be complete:
I swear the earth remains jagged and broken only to him or her who remains jagged and broken!

I love, over and over again, to note his mastery over death: —

Great is Life, real and mystical, wherever and whoever;
Great is Death — sure as life holds all parts together,
Death holds all parts together.

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Has Life much purport? Ah, Death has the greatest purport.

It can only be his mother who is so finely and lovingly sketched in the following lines: —

Behold a woman!
She looks out from her Quaker cap — her face is clearer and more beautiful than the sky.
She sits in an arm-chair, under the shaded porch of the farm-house;
The suns just shines on her old white head.

Her ample gown is of cream-hued linen,
Her grandsons raised the flax, and her granddaughters spun it with the distaff and the wheel.

The melodious character of the earth,
The finish beyond which philosophy cannot go, and does not wish to go,
The justified mother of men.

A pathetic justification of himself and his work is here, and a willingness to wait for some to accept him: —

Give me the pay I have served for!
Give me to sing the song of the great Idea! take all the rest;
I have loved the earth, sun, animals; I have despised riches,
I have given alms to every one that ask'd, stood up for the stupid and crazy, devoted my income and labor to others,
I have hated tyrants, argued not concerning God, had patience and indulgence toward the people, taken off my hat to nothing known or unknown,
I have gone freely with powerful uneducated persons, and with the young, and with the mothers of families,
I have read these leaves to myself in the open air — I have tried them by trees, stars, rivers,
I have dismissed whatever insulted my own soul or defiled my body,
I have claimed nothing to myself which I have not carefully claimed for others on the same terms,
I have sped to the camps, and comrades found and accepted from every State.
(In war of you, as well as peace, my suit is good, America — sadly I boast;
Upon this breast has many a dying soldier leaned, to breathe his last;
This arm, this hand, this voice, have nourish'd, rais'd, restored,
To life recalling many a prostrate form.)
I am willing to wait to be understood by the growth of the taste of myself;
I reject none, I permit all.

A few readings now from his second volume. And, first, in this age of pessimistic wail, when so many introspective

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analyzers have discovered that the world doll and the human doll alike are stuffed with only sawdust, it is refreshing to hear his song of trust and triumph: —

O glad, exulting, culminating song!
A vigor more than earth's is in thy notes!
Marches of victory — man disenthralled — the conqueror at last!
Hymns to the universal God, from universal man — all joy!
A reborn race appears — a perfect world, all joy!
Women and men, in wisdom, innocence and health — all joy!
Riotous, laughing bacchanals, filled with joy!
War, sorrow, suffering gone — the rank earth purged — nothing but joy left!
The ocean filled with joy — the atmosphere all joy!
Joy! joy! in freedom, worship, love! Joy in the ecstasy of life!
Enough to merely be! Enough to breathe!
Joy! joy! all over joy!

A similar strain is this: —

Oh, we can wait no longer!
We too take ship, O soul!
Joyous, we too launch out on trackless seas!
Fearless, for unknown shores, on waves of ecstasy to sail,
Amid the wafting winds (thou pressing me to thee, I thee to me, O soul),
Carolling free — singing our song of God,
Chanting our chant of pleasant exploration.

Ah, more than any priest, O soul, we too believe in God;
But with the mystery of God we dare not dally.

Swiftly I shrivel at the thought of God,
At Nature and its wonders, Time and Space and Death,
But that I, turning, call to thee, O soul, thou actual Me,
And lo! thou gently masterest the orbs,
Thou matest Time, smilest content at Death,
And fillest, swellest full, the vastnesses of Space.

Greater than stars or suns,
Bounding, O soul, thou journeyest forth;
What love, than thine and ours could wider amplify?

What aspirations, wishes, outvie thine and ours, O soul?
What dreams of the ideal? what plans of purity, perfection, strength,

Passage — immediate passage! the blood burns in my veins!
Away, O soul! hoist instantly the anchor!
Cut the hawsers — haul out — shake out every sail!
Have we not stood here like trees in the ground long enough?
Have we not grovell'd here long enough, eating and drinking like mere brutes?
Have we not darken'd and dazed ourselves with books long enough?

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Sail forth! steer for the deep waters only!
Reckless, O soul, exploring, I with thee and thou with me;
For we are bound where mariner has not yet dared to go,
And we will risk the ship, ourselves and all.

O my brave soul!
O farther, farther sail!

O daring joy, but safe! Are they not all the seas of God?
O farther, farther, farther sail!

What deathless trust is in his "Death Carol": —

Come, lovely and soothing Death,
Undulate round the world, serenely arriving, arriving,
In the day, in the night, to all, to each,
Sooner or later, delicate Death.

Prais'd be the fathomless universe,
For life and joy, and for objects and knowledge curious;
And for love, sweet love. But praise! praise! praise!
For the sure-enwinding arms of cool-enfolding Death.

Dark Mother, always gliding near, with soft feet,
Have none chanted for thee a chant of fullest welcome?
Then I chant it for thee — I glorify thee above all,
I bring thee a song that when thou must indeed come, come unfalteringly.

Approach, strong Deliveress!
When it is so — when thou hast taken them, I joyously sing the dead,
Lost in the loving, floating ocean of thee,
Laved in the flood of thy bliss, O Death.

From me to thee glad serenades,
Dances for thee I propose, saluting thee — adornments and feastings for thee;
And the sights of the open landscape, and the high-spread sky, are fitting,
And life and the fields, and the huge and thoughtful night.

The night in silence, under many a star;
The ocean shore, and the husky whispering wave, whose voice I know;
And the Soul turning to thee, O vast and well-veil'd Death,
And the body gratefully nestling close to thee

Over the tree-tops I float thee a song!
Over the rising and sinking waves, over the myriad fields, and the prairies wide;
Over the dense-pack'd cities all, and the teeming wharves and ways,
I float this carol with joy, with joy to thee, O Death!

Who in the modern world has met sorrow with words like these? —

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O joy of suffering!
To struggle against great odds! to meet enemies undaunted!
To be entirely alone with them! to find how much one can stand!
To look strife, torture, prison, popular odium, death, face to face!
To mount the scaffold! to advance to the muzzle of guns with perfect nonchalance!
To be indeed a God!

Here again the triumph over death. And if, besides this, one hears no poetry in these lines, then surely the ear cannot be attuned to what is finest: —

Whispers of heavenly death, murmur'd I hear;
Labial gossip of night — sibilant chorals;
Footsteps gently ascending, mystical breezes wafted soft and low;
Ripples of unseen rivers — tides of a current, flowing, forever flowing.
(Or is it the plashing of tears? the measureless waters of human tears?)

I see, just see, skyward, great cloud masses;
Mournfully, slowly, they roll, silently swelling and mixing;
With, at times a half-dimm'd, sadden'd, far-off star,
Appearing and disappearing.

(Some parturition, rather — some solemn, immortal birth:
On the frontiers, to eyes impenetrable,
Some soul is passing over.)

Then, beyond death, how his soul leaps out and on: —

Darest thou now, O Soul,
Walk out with me toward the Unknown Region,
Where neither ground is for the feet, nor any path to follow?

No map, there, nor guide,
Nor voice sounding, nor touch of human hand,
Nor face with blooming flesh, nor lips, nor eyes, are in that land.

I know it not, O Soul;
Nor dost thou — all is a blank before us;
All waits, undream'd of, in that region, that inaccessible land.

Till, when the ties loosen,
All but the ties eternal, Time and Space,
Nor darkness, gravitation, sense, nor any bounds, bound us.

Then we burst forth — we float,
In Time and Space, O Soul — prepared for them;
Equal, equipt at last — (O joy! O fruit of all!) them to fulfil, O Soul.

For the last, read his death song: —

Joy! shipmate — joy!
(Pleas'd to my soul at death I cry;)

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Our life is closed — our life begins;
The long, long anchorage we leave,
The ship is clear at last — she leaps!
She swiftly courses from the shore;
Joy! shipmate — joy!

I know of no life in the modern world which has passed into the unseen with such words of exultation.

Trusting that the reader has gone over with some care the above extracts from Whitman, let us now consider his message for a little. Is the body and form which he has chosen to give his work to be called poetry? Everyone knows that rhyme is not essential to poetry; else would the greatest — Milton, Shakespeare, Homer, Job, Isaiah, the Psalms — be ruled out. Whitman has a rhythm which is all his own, as much as the waves and the surf-beat belong to the sea. Some of his work is exquisite in its word-music and grand as the roll of breakers. Some of his passages need not fear comparison with the finest in the Old Testament. Still I cannot think he will have many followers or imitators.

When we come to the substance of his message, it must be conceded that it is saturated with religion through and through, to a degree that is hardly true of any other modern writer. People may not like his kind of religion. They may even fear it or hate it. But if religion be a dealing with the deepest and most essential things in our relation to the Power manifested in the universe and in our relation to one another, then is he hardly anything but religious. His conception of the universe is that which modern science has revealed to us. He grasps this with wonderful power and accepts it with utter frankness. When we remember that all religions begin with a cosmology, and take their shape from it, we need not wonder that the Ptolemaic religions are not to be found in his Copernican setting. He is not, then, Christian, in the popular acceptation of any of the theologies that claim that title. Of Jesus he everywhere speaks with insight, with tenderness, with admiration; and the substance of his teaching is in wonderful accord with the chief doctrines of the Man of Nazareth. Indeed, he is more profoundly His disciple than are most of the churches who so strenuously insist on our saying, "Lord, Lord!"

Of the immanent God, the essential Spirit, the Eternal Life of all worlds, he is a profound and reverent worshipper.

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He is "not curious about God," does not argue about Him, but he feels everywhere in His presence, finds letters from Him in every street — which he does not need to pick up and put away to become a hardened and dried tradition, because he believes other letters, just as vital, will follow him everywhere and forever. So "God-intoxicated" is he, like Spinoza, that he sees almost nothing but God, and wonders any man can be "mean" or an "infidel."

His next great doctrine is the infinite worth of the human personality. Much of his writing sounds strangely egotistic, until one notices that the I means not Walt Whitman only, but any I, however outcast or poor. He feels that any personality is a majestic, a divine thing. Nothing in the universe is more wonderful, not even God, for it shares with God the mystery of the essential and the eternal life. Whatever its condition now, it has in it the possibility of all things, and somehow, somewhen, somewhere, shall attain. It is, then, a doctrine of infinite and eternal hope for any and for all.

It follows from this that his philosophy is intensely optimistic. Perhaps no modern writer is so frankly inclusive in his acceptance of all things. He blinks no passion, no degradation, no crime; he folds in his arms the drunkard, the debauchee, the imbecile, the insignificant, the insane. He hides himself from no pain, no evil, no catastrophe. Yet he resolutely and serenely holds that any man or woman whose feet are on the lowest round even of personal existence is climbing the stairway "which slopes," albeit "through darkness, up to God." And I submit that this is the only tenable or sane position. Either good, in spite of all apparent evil, or else a universe so chaotic and insane that the judgment which condemns it may, after all, be only a part of the insanity, and so utterly unreliable. The pessimist's doubts, carried to their logical conclusion, breed doubts of the pessimism itself; so the position is logically self-destructive.

It is a part of this optimism that he should treat so fearlessly the forbidden subject of "Children of Adam." Is it not a little strange that the very fountain of life itself should, in a God-made world, be so universally regarded as unclean? Were we decently taught and weeded of a little of our pruriency — which is at the antipodes of purity — we should find Walt Whitman as clean as is the Creator. No man has severer

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words for impurity. And yet — it would be a ghastly joke, were it not such a self-revelation! — a man as clean as the pine woods or the northwest winds is adjudged by our virtuous (?) Dogberrys to be "immoral." Whatever else he is, and whatever any one may think of his religion, he is a great, bracing moral force to any one who studies him with even common intelligence. To class him with the "French school" or even with many an English writer, like Byron, shows about as much discrimination as did the Pharisees when they accused Jesus of drunkenness or of having a devil.

The magnificent trustful optimism of the man comes out nowhere more clearly than in the face of death. The reader is asked to look again at the brave words of Browning on this subject; at Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar"; at what Lowell and Longfellow have to say; at the sweet trust of Whittier. Then, with these in mind, turn and read afresh "Death Carol," "Whispers of Heavenly Death," and "Joy, Shipmate, Joy!" There is here no resignation to the inevitable, but, rather, a glad welcome to what is believed to be a part of a lovingly-perfect divine order. Death is no token of divine anger, no incursion of evil into this otherwise fair world, no fruit of human sin — it is God's angel of the higher birth. Nor is this any sentimental acceptance of a traditional hope. In the face of disease, of victims of the battle rage, in the presence of the mangled bodies of those killed by accident, or the putrid fruits of plagues and infectious diseases, everywhere, hiding nothing of horror from his eyes, he still stands triumphantly, joyfully trusting that all souls are safe in the divine hands, and that, after no matter how many ages, or over what obstacles, still the soul will arrive at its wonderful goal. In all literature I know of nothing like Walt Whitman's sublime attitude in the presence of death.

As to the details of the immortal life, he does not speculate. The universe is infinite wonder here; and he has no fear as to its being adequate to all the possibilities of the soul's unfolding in the future.

This *resumé* is necessarily brief. My chief aim is to get a little of Whitman read and pondered on. My comment is only to direct attention to certain special points in his teaching.

One thing remains to be done. He preached a magnifi-

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cent gospel. How did he himself live as related to his message? I think it may truthfully be said that no historical character, of whom we have any adequate account, ever more completely *was* his message. He *lived* his democracy, his friendship, his philanthropy, his independence of money, his faith, his serenity, his calm, simple welcome of death. His unselfish work in the hospitals left him a lifelong invalid. He never tried to make money, and — what is rarer — he never whined because he did not have it. Having sung of conquest over disease and pain, he calmly conquered both. In poverty, in old age, in pain, he waited the coming of death with the serenity of a god. Never a whimper, never an outcry, never a complaint against fate. Neither by act, word, gesture or look did he ever go back on the sublime trust which he had sung. So, as we stand beside him at the last, we cannot think of death: —

> Some parturition, rather — some solemn, immortal birth;
> On the frontiers, to eyes impenetrable,
> Some soul is passing over.

Where is he now? Let us hear his own word as to finding him again: —

> Failing to fetch me at first, keep encouraged;
> Missing me one place, search another;
> I stop somewhere, waiting for you.

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THE ELECTION OF SENATORS AND THE PRESIDENT BY POPULAR VOTE, AND THE VETO POWER.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK.*

At the date of the formation of the federal constitution in 1787, the governor in all but one or two of the states was elected by the legislature. In determining, therefore, the manner of selecting the two senators who were to represent each of the several states in the federal senate, the utmost the popular element could obtain was their election by the legislatures of the several states. Some of the members of the convention, like Alexander Hamilton, insisted on their being chosen for life, others on their election by the lower house of Congress, and some on their appointment for each state by the governor thereof. George Mason of Virginia and Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania (afterwards on the United States Supreme Bench) alone advocated their election by the people. A measure so far in advance of the times received the vote of one state only — Pennsylvania. The election was, as a compromise, devolved on the state legislatures in analogy to the mode then in vogue of electing governors.

One by one the several state constitutions were amended to place the election of governors in the hands of the people. The very same reasons which caused this change should long since have made a similar change in the mode of electing senators. Doubtless the greater difficulty of amending the federal constitution, and the opposition of the Senate itself and of the strong element which finds its benefit in the present mode of election, have prevented an amendment which each state has shown to be desired and desirable by amending its own constitution as to the manner of electing its governor. The facility with which the present mode of election lends itself to the control of the choice of senators

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by the money power, the selection of a large proportion, probably a majority of the senators, at the dictation of the accumulated wealth of the country, and the consequent indifference with which the average senator is tempted to regard the people's interest, or the people's will, are reasons enough why the mode of election should be changed. These reasons are patent to all and require no argument.

But there are many other reasons which do not lie so apparent and on the very surface of things, but which nevertheless should be sufficient if fairly considered, to justify the change to an election by the people. Among them are these: —

The present mode of election virtually disfranchises all the counties in which the party, which is dominant in the legislature, does not control. Take a state in which either party has only a small majority in the legislature on joint ballot. In such state half the counties, containing possibly one half the voters of the dominant party, are completely disfranchised. Nay, more; as the choice is usually by caucus, one half of the dominant majority, coming from one fourth of the counties, select the senator. The parties being usually nearly equal at the polls, the members of the legislature who cast the votes of those counties may thus represent less than one eighth of the voters of the state. Such a system is not democratic. That it readily lends itself to manipulation and to the influence of corporate and plutocratic influences would be apparent, even if the world was not advertised of the fact by that unanswerable teacher — experience.

But it is argued that the legislature represents the state. But so do the governor and the judiciary, and even more fully, since they must be chosen by a majority of the voters of the whole state, while not unfrequently the majority of the legislature is chosen by a minority of the voters of the state. Yet who would be content to have the senators appointed by the governor or elected by the judges of the state? Why should they be chosen by the legislative department, when the people themselves are competent to express their own wishes at first hand, and not leave their choice to be determined, as often happens, by men who receive, as above stated, less than one eighth of the vote of the state? Each of those members of the caucus majority may have been the choice in the nominating convention of his party in his

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county of a small majority only, making it thus in fact possible and not very unusual for one sixteenth of the voters of the state to control the choice of the senator; and, by means familiar to all men, he may be selected, not even by the will of that one sixteenth, but by the infinitesimal fraction of the voters of the state who happen to fill one fourth of the seats in the legislature, and thus constitute a majority of the caucus of the party dominant in that body; such things have happened.

To be clear, take a state which casts 400,000 votes. A majority of the legislature is elected from counties having 200,000 voters, or often less when there is a gerrymander. A majority in the caucus may, therefore, have been elected from counties having 100,000 voters. But nearly half of these were of the opposite party, leaving the majority of the caucus elected by 50,000 voters. These members were nominated in their respective conventions usually by a majority only of their party in their respective counties, or say 25,000, which is one sixteenth of the 400,000 voters of the state; whereas if elected by popular vote of the whole state, as he should be, a senator must be the expressed choice at the ballot box of more voters than have cast their ballots for any other man, and his nomination must be made by the wish of at least one-fourth of the voters, subject to approval of a majority at the ballot box. Can there really be any difference of opinion as to which is the fairest and most American mode of selection, or as to which is least open to corruption, or is most likely to represent faithfully the wishes of the people? It is true states are not always so close; but many are, and any state may at any election become so. What particular sixteenth of the whole vote shall decide the result is rarely left to chance. Skilful manipulation and the adroit use of money for political machinery (not necessarily for bribery) decide the matter, and not the people's will. That is evil enough.

The change to election by the people would greatly lessen the chances for corruption. The members of the party convention of the state, brought together directly from the people and so soon dispersed again among them, are not so subject to the subtle arts of the lobbyist and professional wire-puller which are brought to bear on the member of the legislature as soon as his nomination is probable, and continued till after the election of senator is over, when, like a squeezed lemon, he

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can be thrown aside. Besides, the party convention acts with open doors, subject to public sentiment and conscious that its choice, if not wisely made, is liable to rejection at the polls. No such safeguards surround the deliberations of a caucus.

A senator who is tempted while in office to disregard the wishes and the interest of the people, is emboldened by the knowledge that if by certain influences he can control the sixteenth — more or less — who compose a majority in the nominating conventions of those counties which send a majority of the legislators of the dominant party, he is safe for a reëlection; and knows further that without being the choice of any perceptible element among the people it is sufficient if he can secure a majority of the caucus. But he will pause if he knows his renomination must command the approval of a majority of his party convention and an endorsement of a majority of the voters of the whole state at the ballot-box. Is there any reason why the people should not have this potent assurance of the fidelity of their servant in his office?

One of the disgraces of our institutions is what is known as gerrymandering. It is a disgrace because its purpose and object is to defeat the will of the majority, which is the corner-stone upon which a republican form of government is based. One of the commonest instances of gerrymandering is the apportionment of legislative districts, and sometimes even the creation of new counties, with a view to securing a majority of the legislature to the party which is in the minority in the state on a popular vote. The greatest inducing cause to commit this crime against popular sovereignty is the selection of United States senators. It is well to remove the inducement.

It is well, also, at this stage to call attention to the point that the constitutional amendment which shall place the election of senators with the people instead of with the legislature, should contain the provision that such election should be "from the state at large"; else there will be attempts at a modified gerrymander by dividing the state into two senatorial districts of unequal size or dividing it by lines drawn to give party advantage.

The bill to modernize the choice of senators by transferring it from the state legislatures to the people of each state

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has twice passed the lower house of Congress by the required two thirds vote and been sent up to the Senate. Thirteen states of the Union have declared for it: Oregon, California, Idaho, Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, New York, Louisiana, South Carolina, West Virginia and Illinois; and there may be others. In many of these the reform is already practically in force by the nominee for senator being named by the party convention. Each member of the legislature votes for his party's nominee for senator, upon the same principle that electors for president have always voted for the nominee of their party, although under no legal obligation to do so. To the credit of American manhood there has never in the history of the republic been an instance of a presidential elector evading this purely moral obligation resting upon him.

Another objection to the senate as now elected is that while one third of the body is renewed every two years, this affects only two thirds of the states. In each of the states there is always four years in which a change or an advance in public sentiment has no chance to make itself felt. This should be remedied by reducing the senatorial term to four years, so that one senator in each state shall be elected every two years. There can be no reason why a senator should be elected for six years and the president for four. The six years' term was an experiment. It has proven too long. It is too long to trust the average public man where temptation to err is so great. He thinks that in six years his offence will be forgotten. He knows many other events will happen in that time. He knows that his reëlection depends not upon the people but upon members of a legislature, and that the powerful interests in whose favor his sins were committed will aid him to manipulate and secure the election of a sufficient number of the body which is to sit in judgment upon his conduct by rejection or reëlection. There are states in which this cannot be done. But who will say that there are not states in which it is habitually done? In the United States Senate there are some of the wisest, best and purest men of the republic. But in it, too, are many to whom those epithets would appear singularly inapplicable. If a senator deserves public confidence, he can receive endorsement by reëlection at the end of four years. If he is untrue to his trust, four years is long enough to abide him.

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It is very certain that a senate elected by popular vote for terms of four years, and stripped of the illegal exercise of patronage which the Constitution never intended to confer upon it, would be a very different body from the one which is now as unsatisfactory to this nation as the House of Lords is to the people of Great Britain.

The bill for an amendment to the constitution providing for the election of senators by the people, having passed the lower house of the last Congress without a division, was allowed to sleep the sleep of death in the committee of the senate. A similar bill has passed the House of Representatives of the present Congress, but will doubtless suffer the same fate as the former bill when it reaches the Senate. The scandals attending the election of so many senators, and the habitual disregard of popular wishes and popular interests by the majority of the senators, even by those honestly elected, have been such that the choice of United States senators by the people is, no doubt, the wish of the majority of the people in each and every one of our forty-five states. But the passage of such bill by the senate will be impossible till each senator before his election is pledged to give the people this much needed reform. Any body that needs reforming is for that very reason opposed to the reform. Its consent, when necessary, can only be had by pressure from without.

Contested senatorial elections will be much less frequent on a popular vote than when the election is by the legislature. And when there is a contest the decision, in the first instance at least, will be by the state legislature as a canvassing board, upon whom local public sentiment as to the justice of the case will have some weight, and not by the senate, upon whom it has none.

Desirable as it is that senators shall be elected by the people, that matter has nothing in common with the cry sometimes raised for the election of president by "direct vote of the people." The president is, in fact, elected by the people. He would not be if the original design of electors who should select for themselves had been carried out. But in practice the electoral college is a mere plan for casting the popular vote of each state so that in addition to the *pro rata* its population would entitle it to, each state, irrespective of its size, has two votes added to represent its statehood. This

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is some protection to the smaller states against being entirely overwhelmed by the larger ones. This, too, is part of that plan for the partial equality at least of the smaller states with the greater, the acceptance of which alone renders the Union possible. It is good faith to retain it entire.

Besides there is this unanswerable reason against this proposed change. Now the effect of fraud or intimidation is limited to state lines. Such fraud or intimidation is most likely to occur in states which give a large majority for one party or the other. Take Pennsylvania with its 80,000 Republican majority. Should there be charges of fraud or intimidation affecting a few hundred or a few thousand votes, the rest of the Union will feel slight concern, for if the charge is true the electoral vote of Pennsylvania would still be given fairly for the Republican candidate. And in a similar way as to Georgia with her 50,000 Democratic majority. In the states where the vote is nearly balanced each party is usually able to secure a fair election; but let this be once changed so that the president shall be elected by a direct vote of the people, then the people of the whole Union become interested in every charge of fraud or unfairness at every ballot box in Pennsylvania or Georgia or elsewhere, throughout the whole country. A permanent force bill, with federal supervision at every poll, would be a necessity. Every presidential election would revive the scenes of 1876 in an aggravated form and civil war would become inevitable. The present system is consonant to our theory of state sovereignty, recognizing that states, as well as the people of the states, are factors in the choice of president. It is also the wisest plan which can be devised to minimize the chances of a contest and of a civil war over the result. In effect it has all the advantages of an election of president by the Senate and House in joint session without the intrigue and corruption which might become incident to that mode of election.

The fairest and most equitable plan would be, while retaining the electoral college, as now, to divide the electoral vote of each state in proportion to the popular vote for each candidate, dividing no one electoral vote, but so dividing that the largest fraction over shall receive the whole of that one vote. This is better than voting by districts, which would cause gerrymanders and far more just than giving, the whole electoral vote of a state to one party, suppressing entirely the

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minority. This would remove the just objection entertained against the present mode of election, without carrying us into the frightful evils of an election by the people of the whole Union, *per capita*, without regard to state lines — those buffers which alone render possible the continued existence of so large a population in one Union without the use of force.

The veto power of the president is an anomalous and dangerous survival from the traditions of the long past. The House represents the people, the Senate the states. The legislative, judicial and executive departments should be kept separate and distinct. It is dangerous in practice and indefensible on principle that the executive should be vested with legislative power sufficient to nullify the action of majorities in both the House and Senate. It cannot be contended that the wisdom of the president surpasses theirs, nor that he more truly represents the people than they do. In truth, the veto is a survival from monarchical times, when the representatives of the people could not legislate except by the consent of the monarch. This was recognized in England at the great Revolution of 1688. Hence, for two centuries, though the crown of Great Britain nominally possesses the veto, no monarch has dared to use it.

In truth, the weakness in our government is in the overwhelming weight of the executive and its constant tendency to grow. A popular, strong and ambitious man in the chair would practically exercise all the functions of the government. He can by the use of the enormous patronage vested in him compel legislation which he favors as fully as he can prevent legislative action by his veto. This has been sufficiently demonstrated in the passage of the act repealing the Sherman law. But recently we have seen the unprecedented spectacle of the president, whose duty it is merely to execute the laws, dropping all *quasi* concealment, publicly stating by a letter to a member of the legislative department, what legislation he desired. He appoints the judiciary. He can veto legislation. He can procure legislation by the use of patronage. Now, he goes further and simply tells Congress what he desires them to do. From this to the Roman Empire, in which, under the emblems and the insignia of a republic, the executive was in fact the whole government, united in one person, is but a step. The remedy is to reduce

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the overgrown power of the executive — which, by a fault inherent in the constitution at the beginning, has always been too great, and which has been enhanced out of all proportion with the progress of the years. At the same time the legislative department should be emancipated and rendered independent. This end can be attained: (1) By the elimination of the veto power. (2) By the election of senators by the people. (3) By the suppression of patronage. This last has grown so luxuriantly that radical measures are necessary. All postmasters should be elected by the people. The consular service should, as in other countries, be divorced from politics, and promotions should be as in the army and navy — made only for merit. As to clerks and all subordinates in the civil service, the civil service law should be strictly enforced. As to the judiciary, either the judges should be elected by popular vote, in appropriate districts and circuits, or, if the present mode is retained, the appointment should be for a term of years, so that some control over their conduct may be retained by their sovereign — the people. This would be done by their reappointment being subject to confirmation by a senate elected by the people. The now almost sovereign power of the executive should be thus reduced and the legislative and judiciary departments emancipated and their members made to understand their true positions as agents and servants of the sovereign people. We have drifted far, very far indeed, from that conception. It is time we returned to it.

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PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR THE PRIVILEGED FEW.

BY CHARLES S. SMART.*

GENERAL GARFIELD, a short time before he was elected president of the United States, attended a convention, which I had called to meet in Washington, D. C., and over which I had the honor to preside in virtue of my office as president of the Section of the National Association of College Presidents and State and City Superintendents of Public Schools. In the discussion of the question of the relation of the high school to the primary school and to the college, General Garfield, who was then a member ot the United States Senate, asserted that the public schools were "fast becoming a matter of bricks and mortar rather than of brains, and the high schools a brass-knob attachment to popular education," because of the subordination of the primary schools to the high school.

The criticism of public school management made by General Garfield was in my opinion fair and wise at that time, and the conditions causing the criticism have not changed materially since.

The fathers of our public school system seemed to think that all children should be, in one way or another, taught to read well; to spell correctly, at least such words in the English language as are of common or frequent use; to write legibly and in accordance with the practice of the best English writers and speakers; to compute numbers accurately and promptly; to know something of the earth, its shape, extent, products, soil, climate; its so-called natural and its political divisions, etc. So much, at least, of book knowledge appears to have been, in the opinion of the founders of our public school system, that which, with the moral and physical training given in imparting it, would be of most or at least sufficient worth to all the youth of the State, in their development and growth to manhood and womanhood, to guarantee safe citizenship.

* Ex-State Superintendent of Public Schools of Ohio.

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But many educators, believing a knowledge of these subjects not sufficient to insure good citizenship, or not sufficient as a basis of that knowledge which would predicate success to the possessor, who might choose any legitimate vocation, and that the average child needs further intellectual development and more formulated information than instruction in these subjects alone affords, have added many other studies to these simple rudiments, not only enlarging and extending primary instruction in all our public schools but adding thereto a long and somewhat complex course of secondary or high school instruction.

As to the wisdom of these additions there are various opinions. I will mention some of these briefly. I quote first an extract from a letter I find in the New York *World*, written by the distinguished educator, President Seth Low of Columbia College: —

Personally, I believe that the State is as much justified in maintaining a university as in maintaining a system of common schools, provided the political opinions of its citizens will sanction such a course. That was the opinion of Washington and Jefferson, and it is the consistent practice of almost all the Western States of the Union. It is a common saying that the state is justified in giving children instruction in the fundamentals, but it is not justified in maintaining higher education by taxation. That is a question upon which men naturally will differ. I think those who hold to this view are unaware of the importance to the lower education of its opening out into the higher. I am myself fully persuaded that a system of education which does not make it possible, either through private endowments or through state supply, for a child to begin at the beginning and come out at the top a finely educated man is seriously defective, and in no place is so open to criticism as in a democratic community.

For this reason I rejoice in the willingness of the city of New York to maintain its college. I look upon it as distinctly a help to Columbia, and not an injury. I do not think that the young men who attend it receive a liberal education in the same sense as those who go through Columbia or one of the other colleges of equal standing, but they do get a certain discipline training, which make them effective students, according to the testimony of all the university faculties under whom they have studied here.

It is possible I might agree with the sentiment here expressed were it true that the public schools and the money to maintain them were such as to warrant it. But so long as primary instruction is insufficient and the public school funds are not enough to supply even this inadequate in-

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struction to *all* the children of school age, I cannot but think that it is unwise in principle and disastrous in application to attempt to sustain, at public expense, what is known as the higher or secondary education. I desire to make no attack on secondary instruction or higher education at public expense, if it is organized and managed under reasonable and proper conditions, and provided it is paid for out of a surplus of the public school funds *after* the primary schools are perfected. But many of the objections to the high schools as they are organized and conducted are beyond question, and if the educators of the country array themselves in support of these schools without attempting to remedy their unreasonable and objectionable defects, the people may one day, sooner or later, fail to discriminate between the support of suitable and reasonable secondary instruction and the support of the generally superficial, extravagant attachments to the common schools called high schools, and will abolish all public instruction other than primary—if they stop there.

Just what should be taught in the public schools has not, I think, been satisfactorially determined, because, if for no other reason, the results of the public school education have not been satisfactory. That is, we have as yet failed to develop in the public schools the highest and best types of manhood and womanhood. This is equally true of private schools and, in my opinion, more true of parochial or church schools; because I do not believe the best citizens of our form of government nor the best men and women can be, or are likely to be, produced by church schools wherein the principles of dogmatic theology are made of primary importance. The best possible citizens and, I think, the best possible men and women can be developed in the *public* schools, when the work done in them is done as well as it can be.

All agree that the so-called "common English branches" should be taught, as forming the basis of that training that is requisite to the successful pursuit of any legitimate business. It is quite as well understood in this day that some industrial training should also be given to the youth of our country before they arrive at the age when they leave the schools and commence the practical work of life. Some industrial training seems necessary in the making of good and useful citizens. It is not necessary, however, to substitute industrial training for any of the subjects conceded to be of

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paramount value; but if such training were necessarily substituted for some other subjects now taught, its practical advantages to the large majority of the children who attend our public schools, would quite compensate for the loss of such mere book knowledge as may never practically benefit pupils whose whole future success may depend largely upon intelligent physical exertion.

The tendency of the age seems to be to overlook and disparage the dignity and worth of physical labor; and the influence of the schools, by trying to fit all capacities to the same inflexible course of study, inclines to increase this tendency. I regret to say, as I feel, that the term dignity as applied to manual labor is a misnomer. Our social conditions have so markedly changed during the last twenty-five years — the laborers or employed having become more and more dependents, made more and more to feel their dependency; less and less men and women — "for a' that," that the term "dignity" applied to the labor of many of them is absurd. And yet nothing should be more dignified, more honorable than skilled manual labor.

In a country like ours, needing for its best development, and the best development of its people, all kinds and degrees of educated labor, nothing should be more deplored than that our schools should educate the youth of the country beyond or aside from the inclination and ability to work with their hands, and should leave them waiting — mere book-taught drones — for something they think better than manual labor, to turn up. I think we owe it to the future of our country, to the future of our national, commercial and manufacturing importance among the other great nations of the earth, to train our children to be skilled in industrial art; and above all we owe this to the children themselves who, by this training, will be enabled the more certainly to compete with the skilled laborers of other countries. But we also owe it to them and to the stability of free government to make and keep skilled labor honorable. The age of apprenticeship is past; and the child naturally looks to the public schools to prepare him, to an extent, for his future business life, and we owe it to him to give him a practical education.

By an industrial art education we establish our national importance, increase the value of our exports, lessen the need of imports, raise the standard of refinement and culture of

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our working men and women, who form the mass of our people, and who should and can be, if they are not now, our best examples of solid worth, intelligence and virtue; preclude the necessity of going abroad for skilled laborers; give to those, thus educated, the means of lucrative employment, and make of practical utility much of school instruction that would not otherwise be utilized. The masses must needs take thought of what they shall eat and wherewithal they shall be clothed; and the education that fits them best for this is, from necessity, the best; at least until they are so developed, until all society is so developed and improved, that the people, the great longing, struggling, hungering, needing, hoping, despairing and yet unyielding people, shall not need to take thought only of what they shall eat and wear.

The education of most worth is not, however, all obtained from schools and colleges and universities, or from books. Many wise men and women are not great or even tolerable scholars. Many estimable citizens, worthy all commendation, have little or no school training or other education than what they have secured by open eyes and ears and observant minds. Children having good heredity and environment need less training. Evils from vicious environment can be overcome, and those springing from heredity can be modified — more or less corrected — by proper training.

Some difference of opinion, as I have said, exists as to the expediency, justice and wise economy of supporting the high school or secondary instruction at the public expense. The educators of the country are generally in the affirmative. In the negative are many thoughtful persons, close observers, equally intelligent with the educators of the country, and untrammelled by the natural inclination of teachers to increase the significance and importance of their work and profession.

The arguments in the affirmative are, in brief: Asserted advantages of the public high school over the private school of equal grade; the careful preparation in lower grades of the public schools for the high school; the greater rapidity with which the pupils are prepared in the lower grades of the public school for the high school, and the consequent juvenility of pupils who enter the high school compared with those who enter upon the same studies in academies; the influence

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of the high school upon pupils in lower grades and upon general school attendance; the superior advantages, to the masses, of the public high school; the necessity of further development of the intellectual powers that results from primary schools; the unreliableness of private schools; the importance of educating all classes in the same schools; the importance of concert of action in modes and matters of instruction afforded by the high schools; the opportunity given by the high schools for parental oversight; the offer of a liberal education to the poor as well as to the rich.

In addition to these reasons for the claims of the high school to public support, it is asserted that the people want these schools and therefore should have them; that secondary instruction, in comparison with primary, costs no more than it should, since the former requires instructors of a higher grade of culture than the latter; that it is not the child's but the state's interest that public education should subserve, and that the state can afford to support high schools, even to educate the very few; that each child has a right to school privileges until he is twenty-one years old, and schools must be established and maintained of such grade as will accommodate those who have completed lower grades and desire to attend school until they are twenty-one.

In answer to these claims, those who oppose secondary instruction at public expense assert that the high school has no advantage over the private school of equal grade; that the apparent advantages are only conditional, because the support of the high school at public expense has compelled all to abandon the private school but those who can and are willing to afford the expense of supporting two schools, the private schools thus, perforce, losing the support which would give them vigor and superiority. In further support of the claims of the private school or academy over the high school, it is asserted that the former, if its patronage be not barred out by public taxation to support a rival school, will succeed and continue, or fail and be abandoned, on its actual merit as a school; whereas, on the contrary, the public high school continues not necessarily on its merit but because it is a public school, and its managers and teachers, good bad or indifferent, are paid by the public and continued by a board of education who are at no direct personal expense and therefore not sufficiently interested in the matter.

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The careful preparation of pupils in the lower grades for the high school is denied, and it is claimed that the effort of teachers, many of whom are incompetent and incapable to prepare their pupils for creditable admission to the high school, making this preparation a primary or sole consideration in the education of the child and thus ignoring its individual tastes, requirements, condition, environment, heredity, etc., does not and naturally cannot result in the best and most careful preparation for the studies pursued in the high schools, and certainly not for the life struggle a large per cent of the children in the primary schools must be fitted or equipped to make.

It is further asserted, as against this claim of better preparation for high school studies in the lower grades of the public schools, that the graded schools, under the management of superintendents, are not, as they should be, in the relation of pupil to teacher — that is, neither the pupils nor teachers possess the requisite individuality for the best defor velopment of the pupil, but work blindly in a groove made them and to an end they know not, and so working it is impossible that the best work can be done by teacher or for pupil.

But if the claim of the friends of the public high school be admitted, I hold that the best preparation for the high school studies is not and should not be the object of primary instruction; because many of the teachers in the primary grades have not sufficient knowledge of the high school studies, and have not the general culture requisite for the preparation of children for these studies; and because ninety-seven per cent of the youth enrolled in the public schools never enter the high school, and therefore do not so much need preparation for its studies, as now organized, but do need a preparation for the work they must do and must commence before they could take time for any part of the high school instruction; because such a preparation is necessarily superficial and not a suitable education for ninety-seven per cent of the children who attend the public schools, and because a careful preparation in the primary schools would be a training in studies which, for the want of a sufficient number of competent teachers, are superficially taught, and most of which are included in the high school course as a preparation for some college, to which only about one in five hundred of those enrolled desire to go or can go.

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The juvenility of pupils who enter the high schools, compared with those who enter upon the same studies in academies, will scarcely be regarded by thoughtful persons either as favorable to the high school or a preparation for it. The admission of children into the high school at so early an age, as is frequent, is objectionable, since the studies of these schools are beyond the mental grasp of children so young and consequently so undeveloped.

The influence of the high school upon pupils in the lower grades and upon general school attendance, so far from being beneficial, is rather deleterious, since so very few pupils — about three per cent — ever enter the high school, and the great majority of the children, knowing that their time is so valuable and their labor so needed by their parents that they cannot attend the high school, and that those children whose labor is not so needed can attend, through the years of secondary instruction grow to look upon the high school as a privileged institution, provided for those whom they regard as rich. This feeling, if it is engendered, causes more harm to the state and society, than all the good which can accrue from secondary instruction. The high school cannot be an incentive for school attendance or for proficiency in the primary grades, to those children who know they cannot remain in school longer than six, seven or eight years and cannot therefore enter the high school. The superior advantages of the high schools to the masses is a myth, since ninety-seven per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools never enter the high schools and have no time for such attendance. Indeed, as most high schools, throughout our whole country, are organized and managed, to spend four years in them would be of questionable advantage to the young men and women who must earn their own living from the first, and who may not be designed by nature or habits or desire to succeed in professional life.

The advantage of further intellectual development than results from primary education as the public schools are now organized, is evident. But this primary education should be more practical, substantial and fitting than it has been and now is; looking more to the proper intellectual, physical and moral training and development of each individual pupil, and not merely to the levelling up and pressing down processes of speedy preparation of *classes* of mediocres for a

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school. A few subjects well taught will insure better intellectual development and more profitable education than will many subjects superficially and indifferently taught.

The offer of a liberal education to the poor, as well as to the rich, sounds well; but of what worth is a thing offered to those who cannot accept it, though they have to aid in paying for it? The average high school does not give a liberal education to the poor. To them, it is as the water of Tantalus, mocking their thirst. Indeed, as the high schools are organized and provided, they do not give a liberal education to any one. True, if the subjects included in most of the high school courses of study were properly taught, these schools would give a very liberal education, indeed.

A few years ago, I had occasion to obtain facts about high school courses of study. I took one of the leading states, whose public schools have always ranked, deservedly, I think, among the very best, and whose colleges, if not equal in quality to those of any other state, make up the deficiency in numbers. I secured the courses of study of fifteen or twenty of the high schools of the towns having populations of from 5,000 to 20,000 and whose schools averaged fairly, as to grade and excellence, with the schools of the state, and with — at least not inferior to — the high schools of any of the states. The courses of study of these schools included the following subjects: Higher Arithmetic, Algebra, English Analysis, Physiology, Geometry, Latin Grammer, Latin Reader, Natural History, Declamation and Composition, Bookkeeping, Virgil, Cæsar, Rhetoric, American Literature, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Trigonometry, Chemistry, Science of Government, Geology, Botany, Greek, Greek Testament, Surveying, German, Physical Geography, Grammar, United States History, General History, Mental Philosophy or Psychology, Analytical Geometry, Calculus, Cicero, Mechanics, Constitution of the United States, Political Economy, English Literature, French, Zoölogy, Drawing, Logic, Natural Science, History of Civilization, Anabasis, Latin Composition, Parliamentary Law, Music, which, with Reading and Spelling, counted forty subjects; and *such* subjects — surely enough to justify the claim of an *offer* of a liberal education!

One of these schools reported thirty-four subjects to be taught and three teachers employed to teach them, each

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having from eight to twelve classes, giving instruction in eight to twelve different subjects. Another reported one teacher, three-fourths of the superintendent's time also being devoted to the high school, and fourteen to twenty-two subjects of instruction; another twenty-two subjects and two teachers; another twenty-six subjects and one teacher aided by the superintendent, and so on. These are fair examples of the requirements and provision for instruction of most of our high schools. Comments are not necessary as to the results. A teacher who is required to give instruction in a half dozen distinct branches cannot accomplish much real worth in any one. Every teacher who is competent to teach at all must know that he is unable to cover so much ground, and should refuse to be a party to such fraudulent teaching. Fraudulent is not too strong a word to use in this connection.

The college professor must needs be "the most learned scholar in the world," to enable him to give instruction in three or four distinct subjects without fraud. The young lady or gentleman teacher in the average high school is required to attempt giving instruction in from six to twelve distinct subjects of the same character as these college studies, and the result is called a "liberal education." Is it not a little strange that what a learned professor in a college cannot attempt to do, without being charged with fraud, the public appears to expect young men and young women, trained and instructed probably in the same high school in which they have become teachers, to do with ease and dispatch?

The argument that the people want these schools and should therefore have them lacks confirmation.

If it is true that the public can afford to support schools of a grade higher than the primary grades, the question then is, Does it pay? Will it not pay the public better to devote the money now expended on high schools to the primary schools? There is need of making the training and instruction in them more practical and more individualized, employing many more teachers for these schools, so that intelligent effort can be given to each child; conforming to each child's needs, its heredity and environment, its home life, its family history, developing each child the most and best possible, and considering how long each child is likely to continue in school, so that instead of being prepared for some other

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grade or school the child may never enter, it is prepared, every hour, the best possible for life, good citizenship, good individuality.

At least it might be well to reverse the present order, and instead of expending ninety per cent of all public school funds, as is now done, on the high schools into which but about three per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools ever enter, and from which less than one per cent are graduated, let us expend the ninety per cent on the primary schools, and let us employ there the best and highest talent, culture, morality, refinement, skill and fitness, inborn and acquired, that money can secure, remembering that we are paying for something every way better and of more worth, to the state and to each individual of us all, than the leaders of the army or the law or medicine or the pulpit or even the press can give us. We are contributing to the doing away with the expense of providing and conducting poorhouses, asylums and reformatories, because with the proper training and education of each individual child in all the State we shall in time develop them into men and women having healthy bodies, healthy minds, healthy morals, based on reasonable standards, and these will think and be and do only in healthy ways.

No one will deny that, in general, men and women can do better whatever they undertake to do, if they have received much good instruction in the sciences, in languages, the arts, etc.; but all know that life is too short for any one who must needs earn, under present conditions, that which he is to eat and wear, to acquire all valuable or useful knowledge, or more than a modicum of what is useful, and withal make his daily living.

There must needs, then, be a limit to the school training of the youth — a limit to the subjects taught in the schools. This limit should vary according to the character and object of the school. The primary object of the public school is to make good, safe citizens, and the design of public education, so far as state support is concerned, is to go no farther with the instruction than will prepare the average youth for good, safe citizenship.

Fifty per cent of the youth enrolled in the public schools of the state do not attend school more than four years, and, under their existing circumstances, cannot attend more than

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five or six years; seventy-five per cent stop attending school before entering the eighth year or grade, and ninety-seven per cent do not attend beyond the eighth year; that is, they do not attend school or accept instruction beyond the primary grade.

Now since the great mass, of those who attend or should attend the public schools, are poor, and must take no time in preparing for the work they must do and the lives they must live, beyond that needed to make the speediest practical and suitable preparation; since a majority of the patrons of the public schools cannot do without the labor of their children, and therefore cannot give them time to attend school longer than five or six of the years devoted to primary instruction; and since a practical, substantial knowledge of the subjects now generally included in the primary course of instruction, with the best possible training accompanying this instruction, is of vastly greater practical benefit to each child and to the state than is the necessarily superficial education in these and the additional high school studies, — I believe that some decided reform in public school management and provision must come, and for the good of popular education this reform should come soon.

The welfare and prosperity of the people and of the state do not require, and will not be enhanced by, a more liberal education in the direction promised but not provided by the high school; so long, at least, as the primary schools are subordinated to and starved and beggared by a mere preparation for the high school. What the people need and what the state needs is more and better school rooms, more and better teachers in and for primary instruction. Let the state supplement primary instruction by providing for and maintaining industrial training — workshops for instruction in the mechanic arts — and thereby confer benefits upon the many who desire and need to become skilled in industrial pursuits. The state will thus insure its own prosperity by preparing for the prosperity of its future citizens.

After the state has made full provision for and seen to it that this primary school work is well done, then, but not until then, secondary education at public expense might be provided for. Then provision might properly be made by the state for the maintenance of a system of high schools, colleges and universities.

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AN ETHICAL BASIS FOR HUMANITY TO ANIMALS.*

BY ALBERT LEFFINGWELL, M. D.

NOT long ago, I found myself in London, standing with uncovered head before what seemed the figure of an old and venerable man, seated in an armchair and dressed in the quaint costume of sixty years ago. Without close inspection the visitor would not suspect that behind that face was a human skull, or that beneath those faded garments was an articulated skeleton. Nowhere on earth is there a more singular tomb than this of Jeremy Bentham — the English philosopher and philanthropist, to whom belongs the high honor of having advocated the rights of animals forty years before the first step to their legal protection was taken by any government in the whole world.

It is a strange yet instructive story. The old man's life had been wholly devoted to humane ends. Approaching death at the ripe age of eighty-four, he found popular prejudice roused to the highest pitch against the study of human anatomy by the dissection of the dead. Graves were found desecrated, murders had been committed, doctors were mobbed, riots were frequent. The situation was peculiar. Here was a study absolutely necessary as the foundation of medical science, yet one which is regarded with abhorrence by the vast majority of those who are to profit by its revelations. The great objection in the popular mind was the fact that the rich were exempt, the poor were the only victims.

"But what right," asked Bentham, "have you or I to insist that the bodies of the poorest outcasts shall be subjected to what we abhor? Upon what ethical basis shall I suggest the tacit demand that the pauper shall make a sacrifice to science which I decline to make myself?" And so the old philosopher determined to undergo, for the benefit of his fellow-men, a renunciation which has no counterpart in history. By written directions, the philanthropist bequeathed his dead body to the investigations of science, in whose temple — and not the grave — it rests to-day.

* The substance of this paper was read before The Humane Congress of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Oct. 12, 1893.

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It was in that presence, pondering on that strange abnegation, that unique sacrifice, that there came into my mind an answer to a problem which had long perplexed me. That perplexity I propose to state; and at the same time to define the doctrine under which, for myself, it wholly disappeared.

This is the problem: *To what ethical principle or rule of right and wrong may mankind, at all times, confidently appeal for the determination of the quality of conduct toward the lower animals?*

To make the question practical and definite, let me suppose myself a physiologist, an amateur investigator into certain curious problems of life and death, and that for a trifling sum I have become the possessor of a half-grown dog. Bone and sinew, brain and nerve, intelligence and sensibility — it belongs wholly to myself. Over it my power is nearly absolute; I may sell it, give it away, or kill it by ordinary methods whenever I please.

But suppose I wish to go farther. In my studies I have adopted a theory regarding the action of certain nerves, differing somewhat from that usually accepted; and I wish to demonstrate this hypothesis to a friend by means of an experiment upon my dog which will involve, necessarily, the infliction upon it of prolonged and excruciating pain. Perhaps it will be necessary to invoke human ingenuity in order to protract, as far as possible, its suffering and existence. It is a custom sometimes to prepare for a physiological demonstration several hours in advance. There is to be made an experiment on Monday morning, let us say; and so on Sunday afternoon, while all the Sunday schools of a vast city are teaching children their duties to God, the man of science has been known to stroll to his laboratory, to cut at leisure through the living tissues, to set in motion the machinery for maintaining artificial breathing, and then to leave the creature, as in a vice, to a long night of suffering and fear until "wanted" the following day. This procedure also, I propose to copy. Now, what shall constrain me? To what influence will you appeal that I restrain myself?

Do you tell me at once that this is a "vivisection" and therefore must be wrong? But suppose I refuse to admit your conclusion? "Is it, then, wrong," I ask, "for me to pull to pieces this flower which I have just plucked from the parent stem? Is it, then, a sin to cut a living tree? These also are 'vivisections' in one sense."

"Ah, but the animal feels pain."

Is that your only objection? Do *you*, then, never cause an animal to suffer pain for your convenience?

"But in killing a seal for its fur, or an ox for its flesh, the animal is subjected to no more pain than is necessary," you reply.

Very good; I also agree (and I smile to think how many feebly

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protesting and half-awakened consciences this very promise will put at once to sleep again), I promise also to inflict no "*unnecessary*" pain.

"But your experiment will be absolutely useless."

Yes, so far as the treatment or prevention of disease is concerned; but I do not admit that the satisfaction of my scientific curiosity on any point is absolutely "useless" to myself.

Now what will you do? Will you invoke the law? But so long as I keep within certain easy formalities there is nowhere in America the slightest restriction to physiological experiments, no matter what degree of pain or prolongation of suffering they may involve.

Will you appeal to religion? Why, there is not a creed in Christendom which clearly teaches as a dogma of religion, even that simple duty of kindness to animals! Where will you find it in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, or in the Westminster Confession of Faith? I once ventured to call the attention of Cardinal Manning to a statement of Philip Gilbert Hamerton, who had asserted that the Catholic church denied the existence of any duties to creatures beneath us, and the cardinal's reply was favorable only so far as this; that "The Catholic church has never made any authoritative declaration as to our obligations to the lower animals." I do not dispute certain inferences we may be entitled to draw from the precepts of all religions; but in respect to positive obligations the creeds are silent, one and all.

Would you invoke public sentiment? I think it will fail you. Only let me use the pacifying shibboleth of certain writers, and claim that all of my investigations are in the general line of researches made to "mitigate human suffering and prolong human life," and there is hardly any extremity of torture which the public opinion of to-day will not sanction and excuse.

Shall pity be expected to restrain me? But suppose I have lost the capacity for pity, when my ambition to discover something or other is once aroused? It has happened to others. Like Dr. Klein of London, I may have come to "have no regard at all" for the suffering of my victim; "no time for thinking what the animal will feel."* It is related by Dr. Latour of the great Magendie that at one of his public lectures a dog upon which he was making one of his most cruel experiments, twice escaped from under the implacable knife and threw its paws about Magendie's neck, pleading in the only language it knew for a little mercy; yet none the less was it sacrificed that the ambitious scientist might demonstrate for the hundredth time an abstract theory. Seneca tells us that when Parrhasius, the great-

* See Dr. Klein's answer before the Royal Commission (Query 3,539).

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est of Grecian artists, was painting his "Prometheus torn by a Vulture," he caused a captured prisoner of war to be tortured to death in his studio, that he might copy from nature the expression of agony; and musing above some mutilated victim whose sad eyes make mute appeal for pity, I can fancy some Mantegazza or Brown-Sequard to make reply: —

> "Pity thee? So I do;
> I pity the dumb victim at the altar,
> But doth the robed priest for his *pity* falter?
> I'd rack thee though I knew
> A thousand lives were perishing in thine;
> *What were ten thousand to a fame like mine?*"

Will science assist one? Not by any suggestion of ethical restraints, for she knows none. Her only function is to discover and to reveal the hidden facts of existence — to sift the knowable from the unknown. Yet within the lifetime of most of us, has not science invested this whole question with a new aspect? For eighteen centuries of Christian civilization the wisest and best of mankind looked at the under-world of animated nature as beings infinitely different from ourselves, and beneath us in origin and destiny. But modern science has promulgated a new doctrine. No theory is more firmly held by biologists to-day than that hypothesis of Darwin which derives from the same far-distant ancestry both animals and man. Only a few thousand years ago, and your ancestors and mine were the lowest type of savage barbarians, dwellers in caves, clothed in skins: almost indistinguishable — except by the guttural elements of vocalized speech — from the animals they hunted and upon which they fed.

"Carry your imagination still backward into the awful darkness of uncounted ages; and, some millions of years ago, even *your* ancestors, O professor of biology, and those of the whimpering dog beneath your knife, were of the same species of living creatures," speaks the science of to-day. "Out of the same black darkness, struggling for existence, you have emerged — in far different form, but yet closely related, not only by origin but in every function of organized existence! That quivering nerve acts precisely as your nerves would behave under like excitation, and it will feel the same anguish yours would feel. That brain you are about to penetrate, hides in some infinitely mysterious way the germs of mind; the elements, at least, of intelligence, obedience, reverence, contrition, faithfulness and unselfish affection. Ah, sir! your keenest knife cannot lay bare these mysteries, nor find the chambers of the soul where these lie hid; your most potent microscope will somehow fail to reveal the substance of that love, devotion and fidelity which sometimes seem almost to surpass our own."

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So much indeed, science will tell us. "These despised beings are your kindred," she asserts, but there she ceases to speak. Whether our conduct toward them is right or wrong is a question beyond her province to decide.

Yet if all these fail us, where shall we look? It seems to me that the decision of ethical questions like this can rest only upon some formula of absolute justice which mankind shall gradually accept as the philosophical expression of the highest excellence. For, in the end, we are governed by our ideals. What is duty? Simply the highest ideal of action. In every age, there have been conceptions of righteousness nobler and better than the average of human conduct. Toward these ideals, recognizing their justice, humanity gradually advances. The scoff of one period becomes the formulated law of another. No great reform has ever been carried through, which at the beginning was not greeted with derision and stigmatized as a glittering but impracticable dream.

Now I think it is a fact accepted by every school of philosophic thought that in the determination of the ethical righteousness of our relations to one another, no higher test has ever been proposed than that golden rule, first formulated five centuries before Christ, which defines as the ideal of conduct that we treat others as we would have others treat us. In Book XV. of the Analects of Confucius we read that one of his disciples asked him saying, "Master, is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The master answered: "Is not *reciprocity* such a word? That which you do not want done to yourself, *do not to others.*"

When, later, this precept was enunciated by the Founder of Christianity, who can begin to estimate its potency in the stimulation of that humane sentiment, that pity for suffering, which underlies our modern civilization? Imperial Rome was more magnificent than our grandest metropolis; but what an infinite chasm separates the Roman amphitheatre, where wornout slaves were thrown to wild beasts, from the hospitals and dispensaries of Chicago or New York! Under the Coliseum is one ideal; under the Maternity Hospital is another; the ideal makes the difference in the two forms of civilization. It is needless to say that our lives do not wholly conform to our ideals; but does that nullify them? Above the most selfish of our acts is ever the nobler possibility which we have missed, but toward which we strive, nevertheless.

I believe, therefore, that with the increasing development of moral sensibility the time is approaching when humanity, accepting what science reveals of our common relationship and origin, shall make the ideal basis of conduct to the entire animal crea-

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tion, some paraphrase of this same rule. Its expression as a formula will perhaps be something similar to this: —

"*Our moral duty to all living creatures, from the highest to the lowest form of life, is to treat them precisely as we ourselves should be willing to be treated for the same objects in view, were we instantly to exchange with them every limitation and circumstance of their condition and form.*"

Is this a practicable rule? How will it work in daily life? In the exercise of our supremacy over the animal world three phases of conduct are subject to question: their slaughter for our uses, as for food or fur; their torment or destruction solely for amusement and sport, and that experimentation upon them for scientific purposes, known as vivisection. How would each phase of conduct be affected were it governed by that formula of ethics I have ventured to suggest?

(1) In the first place, it will not mean the abrogation of the right of the higher intelligence guided by ethical ideals *to decide what is best.* We do not regard it as a contravention of the golden rule that truant schoolboys are severely punished, or that the jailer keeps well guarded his prison gates. Not what they might selfishly wish is the rule; but rather what, under clearer light, even the schoolboy or the criminal would acknowledge as justifiable and right. For this reason, I am inclined to think that man's right to terminate painlessly the existence of beings below him, for sufficient reason, will not need for the present to be abandoned. We think of death from the standpoint of personal deprivation; but to an animal it means cessation of no high purposes, no great hopes, and, generally speaking, of no strong attachments. It is merely a slight abbreviation of existence; a termination which *may* be made far more painless than the exit by disease. If need be, then, the ox may die for the man. Still I do not disguise from myself the hope that the time may come when the substitutes for flesh as food shall be so universally procurable, so cheap and abundant, that the human race will find a far higher ideal than is generally held to-day, and refuse to sacrifice any life for the gratification of appetite alone.

(2) While I can easily bring myself to the conception of a willingness to yield mere existence for the actual necessities of beings almost infinitely higher than myself, yet it becomes quite another matter when I try to imagine a consent to suffer — even in the lowest forms of life — *the least useless pain.* I cannot do it. Judged from this standard of ethics, all forms of so-called "sport" — all that destruction of life merely for savage amusement and delight in killing something — must be regarded as immoral; and, ceasing to gratify our depraved "pleasure," will in time disappear. That vast sacrifice of song birds to the

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evanescent fashion of feminine taste for adornment is not one that woman can justify to herself by this formula of right and wrong.

Much that to-day accompanies the killing of animals for food, will then be deemed unnecessary and morally wrong. If society decides that for man's benefit it must continue to take the life of animals, death will then be inflicted with the utmost precaution against the addition of one needless pang. Should it be impracticable to kill any creature except by the possible addition of extreme agony, we shall cease to use it as food. When we have learned to govern conduct by some higher ideal than now, we shall not fry living crabs, or roast live lobsters. You tell me, laughingly perhaps, that such creatures do not feel pain very acutely; *but how do you know?* In their place would you take the chance? Science cannot do more than give a guess. To the possibility of such pain as death by fire implies, I do not think I have the ethical right to subject any living creature; for they are chances for suffering that for no conceivable gratification to another would I take on myself. And with butchery in other ways, there is vast need of reform; not only as regards the needless suffering of animals on cars or cattleships, in transit from the pasture to the shambles, but also at the shambles themselves. It will all assuredly be remedied as the conscience of humanity awakens at last to a keener appreciation of the evils that exist.

We come finally to the question of scientific investigation. How will it be affected by appeal to any standard of conduct based upon the golden rule?

It will be seen at once that the problem we have vainly attempted to solve by appeal to religion, to law and to science, finds immediate solution if tried by the suggested test. Can we imagine that the physiologist ever lived, who, under the form of "our humble cousin the orang-outang" (to use Professor Huxley's significant designation), would be willing to suffer prolonged agony and death, merely to demonstrate to students or others, facts which are *beyond all question or doubt?*

Changed by some magic wand of Circe to the similitude of a dog or cat, would not the most ardent investigator protest vigorously, if he could speak, against the injustice of using *his* nervous system for the torturing experiments of Mantegazza or Cartex, when such investigations, however "original," have no conceivable connection with the alleviation of human ailments or the treatment of disease? When Chauveau "consecrated" to extremest torture more than eighty domestic animals, chiefly horses old and worn out in man's service — and all merely to gratify what may be called an impertinent curiosity, and confessedly

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without the slightest idea of any practical benefit — we cannot dream of *his* willingness to be sacrificed like his victims for a purpose so insignificant, for results so absolutely useless.

In the physiological laboratories of Europe and America, I doubt not that myriads of sentient creatures are made to taste all the physical bitterness of death that can be felt or conceived, in experiments that before some future tribunal of conscience will be universally judged as crimes against justice and mercy, for which there exists no palliating excuse.

Before this ideal of conduct, then, would *all* scientific inquiries involving the death of animals, be wholly and unequivocally condemned? Do cases ever arise where living creatures, such as a rat, a mouse, or a guinea-pig are subjected to experiments which the investigator could honestly be willing to endure for the same object, were his human shape and circumstance to dwindle to the limitations of the animal? The question is not an easy one; and I confess I do not see how it is to be quickly answered. While we arraign before every ethical ideal the cruel curiosity that forgets the pangs it inflicts, it is but justice to remember that all investigation is not synonymous with torture, nor even synonymous with death.

But how far are the leading physiologists of our time from even imagining the existence of limitations — and least of all, of any limitations founded upon a conception of the ethical rights of animals, or of altruistic ideals! In the presence of abuses which infiltrate the whole practice of scientific research; in a land which tacitly sanctions the yearly repetition of the worst atrocities of vivisection — without supervision, without record, without control — simply that the sight of torture may help stupidity to remember what science affirms, it seems to me useless to discuss, on this occasion, the permissible limitations of a practice that thus far refuses to consider or to submit to *the slightest legal oversight* in any American commonwealth. The great, practical need of the hour in regard to vivisection seems to me the creation of an intelligent public sentiment which shall at least recognize the existence of *abuse*, and upon that recognition build reform.

Can this ideal standard for the regulation of conduct toward the beings below us, be made practically applicable in our daily lives? May I suggest your personal experiment with it as far as you can go? Surely in the perplexities of decision between right and wrong, we shall not wander far astray if in our hearts we carry that sublimest prayer,

"Teach me to feel another's woe,
* * *
That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me."

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Eighty years ago, when Lord Erskine arose in the British Parliament to suggest and advocate a law protecting domestic animals from wanton cruelty, he was greeted with shouts of derision and contemptuous applause. In remembrance of that mockery, which now seems so strange to us, one may take refuge while suggesting that at some future day, man's highest ethical ideals may include within their scope the conduct of humanity toward the entire animated world.

NOTE. — At the annual meeting of the American Humane Association at Philadelphia, in October, 1892, resolutions concerning the practice of vivisection were offered by Dr. Leffingwell, seconded by Dr. Morris of Baltimore, and formally adopted by the association. As a summary of the arguments urged by the writer of the preceding article from his standpoint of restriction and supervision of animal experimentation, these resolutions are herewith presented: —

"*Whereas*, The evidence before this association seems clearly to prove that upon the continent of Europe atrociously severe and cruel experiments upon the lower animals are frequently performed; and

"*Whereas*, While such experiments are restricted in England, yet there exists in no one of our American states any legal restriction preventing the most painful experiments of continental physiologists from being repeatedly performed even for the demonstration of well-known facts: therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the American Humane Association, while not pronouncing itself at this time either for or against physiological research in general, does hereby declare that, in its judgment, the repetition of painful experiments before classes of medical students merely for the purpose of illustrating physiological truths is contrary to humanity and ought not to be continued. It agrees with the opinion of the president of the Royal College of Physicians, England, that no experiment should be repeated in medical schools 'to illustrate what is already established'; with the opinion of Professor Huxley, that 'experimentation without the use of anæsthetics is not a fitting exhibition for teaching purposes'; with Sir James Paget, surgeon to the queen, that experiments for the purpose of repeating anything already ascertained ought never to be shown to classes; with Dr. Rolleston, professor of physiology at the University of Oxford, that 'for class demonstrations limitations should undoubtedly be imposed, and these limitations should render illegal painful experiments before classes.'

"*Resolved*, That, acting upon such scientific opinion and acknowledging itself in accord therewith, the American Humane Association hereby respectfully urges upon the legislatures of every state in the Union the enactment of laws which shall prohibit, under severe penalty, the repetition of painful experiments upon animals for the purpose of teaching or demonstrating well-known and accepted facts."

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EARLY ENVIRONMENT IN HOME LIFE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

Children are more influenced than we imagine by the invisible effects of ideas.—*Balzac.*

Children have ears like the very spies of nature herself; eyes that penetrate all subterfuge and pretence. It is good to set before them the loftiest ideals that have lived in human reality; but the best ideal of all has to be portrayed by the parents in the realities of home life at home. The teaching that goes deepest will be indirect, and the truth will tell deepest on them when it is overheard. When you are not watching and the children *are*—that is when the lessons are learned for life.—*Gerald Massey.*

I.

To my mind it is perfectly clear that both heredity and prenatal conditions exert a positive influence on the child. Doubtless the reason why these influences have been questioned is due chiefly to the lack of that comprehensive investigation which broad-minded thinkers, with no special bias, are capable of giving a many-sided problem. The subject of life in its prenatal and its early post-natal states has been strangely neglected by our civilization, and those who have given serious attention to the problems have been, as a rule, so impressed with some special phase of the question as to attach undue importance to it while they have ignored or minified the influences of other important factors.

When we consider the subject broadly, I think that we shall find that heredity, prenatal conditions and early environment all exert a positive influence on life, and that prenatal culture can do much, despite the contention of some modern scientists, to overcome hereditary tendencies, while through proper environment for the child, from the cradle to adolescence, evil hereditary taints and unfortunate prenatal influences may be largely overcome. In the present paper I wish to notice the destiny-stamping power of early environment.

When the infant enters the garden of life it comes under the spell of influences which are frequently as subtle as they are enduring in effect and life-moulding in character; influences which cast the deciding weight in the balance of life, giving supremacy to the animal or spiritual dominion. It has been observed that animal organisms live by devouring others, and that spiritual organisms live by aiding others; and this broad generalization carries with it a truth of supreme importance to humanity, as it indicates the dividing line between true and false civilization. The civilization dominated by the *self idea* is

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builded on sand; it cannot escape destruction. The civilization which rests on the golden rule will endure the shock of ages and grow younger with each advancing step.

Once I dreamed that I was sailing in a tropical sea; the vessel approached an island; a scene of splendor met my view. A gorgeous palace, whose gilded turrets flashed in the glory of the rising sun, rose before me. On parts of the walls and projections workmen were raising beautiful carved statues or golden urns filled with rare trailing vines, while beyond them I noticed that the vast flat roof was a tropical garden; rare and luscious fruits hung on vigorous plants and vines; the most gorgeous flowers bloomed on every side, and amid the fruits and flowers I could see men, women and children dancing, singing and banqueting. Rich strains of music floated from the garden, and I thought this must be a vision of paradise, for all seemed so happy. I noticed, however, that the lower walls of the palace were hedged from view by closely planted rows of trees and shrubs. When I landed on the soft white sandy beach and approached the palace, an old man, with long, dishevelled locks, advanced from a clump of trees. In earnest tones he urged me "not to enter the palace of folly, as the hour of its fall was at hand."

"Is it, then, evil to be happy?" I said, without slackening my pace.

"No," replied the stranger, in tones so majestic that I involuntarily paused. "*Laughter* should be the child of heaven, and joy that springs from the soul is divine; but all true things have their counterfeits, and the purest gifts may become poisoned. You have noticed the clear water trickling from the snows near the summit of great mountain peaks; you have noticed water in foul and stagnant ponds. In each case it was water you saw, but one was pure and refreshing, the other noxious and loathsome. Now come with me."

Together we neared the palace, and pausing, he pointed out, as I gazed with eyes dilated with horror, that the lower walls of the palace were built of human bodies, each unfortunate victim being rolled into a coil and held in place by a more or less pliable band. Between these human coils was earth, which partially supported the massive framework above, and from the earth grew brambles. Each captive had one liberated hand in which he held a cup. At intervals the wines and refuse of the banquet hall were thrown over the parapet with the flourish of trumpets. At such moments the hollow-eyed living supports of the palace held out their cups in shrivelled hands and caught what they could of the wine and food which fell. Sometimes they set the cups in niches on the earth wall around them and gathered wild berries which grew on the bramble bushes. I observed that whenever a

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statue was placed in position on the parapet or a new vase secured upon the edge of the wall, a terrible tremor went down the broad expanse, and every living brick spoke in its individual contortions, even more pitifully, of new agony experienced by each, than the wild cry that went up from a million despairing throats.

Transfixed I gazed until the old man touched my arm, and said: "You see the palace so glorious at the summit is builded upon sand, and the living wall will soon move, not in the rhythmic vibration of a million regularly breathing bodies, but in its stead a convulsive tremor will be followed by an upheaval as tragic as the phenomenon of an earthquake, as irresistible as the fury of a tempest-lashed sea. Then will fall the temple of selfish greed. But there will some day arise a palace not builded of human bricks, nor yet reared by slaves; a palace in which each stone will be quarried by a hand made strong through freedom; a palace builded by workers made willing through the enjoyment of justice, whose minds are luminous with love, whose hearts are thrilled with hope, and whose voices are rendered musical by a great and abiding content. Then all the people will enjoy the pleasures, and life will wear the garb of morning. Then shall be reached higher and nobler achievements than are even dreamed of to-day. And this great gladness will come to humanity when man learns that supreme happiness falls to the individual only when he furthers that which makes for the happiness of all."

And this, it seems to me, is the lesson of lessons for parents and educators. The civilization which is to endure must rest on the spiritual instead of the animal ideal of life. Until this thought is burned into the conscience of humanity, the most we can hope for will be temporary rifts in a cloud-canopied life. Enduring civilization rests on the recognition of spiritual supremacy in the individual mind as the one and only key to pure happiness.

The chief aim of every parent and teacher should be to call into vigorous activity the spiritual or higher life of the child while it is very young; awaken the noblest and best ere sin, passion and animality harden, crust over and encase the throne room of the soul. An eminent French author has recently observed that "He alone is wholly saved whom heroism constantly inspires and in whom love never sleeps." Once bring a child into that great and divine freedom in which he feels a passion for justice, which causes him to fall in love with sacrifice, and you have placed his soul *en rapport* with the universe. No richer dower could be given him than this. Henceforth he will be one of the world's saviours, while to his soul will come a joy as indescribable as it is serene; a peace which passeth understanding which the world cannot take away.

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II.

(1) The ideals which fill the mental horizon of youth color life for all after years. They are the wellsprings which water the thought-garden of the soul. Somewhere I have read or heard a story which illustrates this thought so clearly that I will briefly relate it, as nearly as memory will permit: —

A beautiful girl had recently crossed the threshold of fashionable social life. She was in the midst of a merry round of frivolous entertainments and living entirely for self-enjoyment. One night at a magnificent reception she was introduced to a brilliant young man, whose pure child nature was aglow with that high ambition to do good and rise to eminence by honest and noble endeavor which is so often found in clean-souled youth. During the evening these two young people were much together. They seemed singularly congenial, and the young man confessed to the girl his secret aspirations.

"I shall rise some day," he said: "I am determined to reach the halls of state that I may battle for conditions which will make possible a nobler womanhood and a purer manhood. I shall always throw my influence on the side of justice, even though I stand alone. I long to enter the field against the selfishness and greed which are mercilessly crushing the poor and driving to the level of animals those who should be rising to the plane of the divine."

Thrilled by these words the soul of the beautiful girl awoke. She felt a new life and a higher hope enter her being. He had said, "When my education is finished I will find you, and perhaps you will help me map out my life work and aid me in realizing my ideals." This outgushing of confidence and implied love had come in one of those supreme moments when youth is still glorious in the simple sincerity of naturalness. It had been uttered in a recess in the conservatory, amid the fragrance of flowers and the gorgeous splendor of tropical vegetation. But ere the girl had more than stammered her own feebleness and misgivings, friends had appeared and the two were swept apart.

The next morning a despatch summoned the girl to her distant home, where a loved parent was ill. The youth entered college to finish his education. The girl did not see him again for years, but the powerful inspiration awakened by the lofty ideal which had been photographed upon her mind changed her whole life. In a way she lived apart. "I will rise to his level, I will be worthy of his royal nature," she said to herself now and again, as the moral enthusiasm of the young man and the vivid mental imagery called up by his burning words came into her mind.

Days, months and years passed, yet the high ideal remained.

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It became the most real thing in her life, an ever present incentive to high thinking and noble acting. Thus with each succeeding month she grew statelier and lovelier under the inspiration of the ideal of a clean, brave and manly nature battling against error, injustice and heartless greed. This idealization of a human being with soul ablaze with fire from truth's altar and glorified by love, quickened the sleeping god nature within her, and in time connected her soul with the divine life which calls the human spirit upward, as the sun calls forth the planted seed. The highest thoughts, the noblest aspirations, were the companions of her dreams. Broad and gentle sympathy and deeds of loving kindness characterized her life. Wherever she went she left a fragrance sweet as the breath of the mignonette, while in her search for knowledge she learned to think broadly and justly.

Thus passed four years. She refused many suitors — they fell so far below her ideal. "Some day he will come," she said, "my royal-souled lover, and I must be worthy of him."

One day, when visiting some friends in the city, she attended a reception. Among those she met was the young man who had been her inspiration — or perhaps I should say the wreck of the young man, for he had fallen so low she scarcely recognized the physical lineaments of his face.

"Have you forgotten your dream of a noble life — to champion the cause of humanity?" she asked with suppressed emotion.

"Oh," he replied with a slight shrug, "the sentimental dream of the boy has given way to practical acceptation of life as we find it. In Rome, you know," he smilingly continued, "I have learned that if a man is to have a good time in this life he must not be a prude, and he must make money."

Her great dark eyes, though moistened, seemed to grow more luminous as she said, "I want you to be perfectly frank, and tell me if you have been happier since seeking enjoyment after the manner of shallow, sensuous and selfish pleasure-seekers than you were the hour your soul shadowed forth the highest aspirations and most divine impulses of your nature, the evening when I met you?"

He paused a moment. An internal conflict was visibly going on, and then, as though yielding to the more royal soul, he slowly replied: "You seem to compel me to speak the truth, so I may say frankly, No, I have never known the rare, high pleasure I knew before I fell. I have burned up the best in my being, and am to-day a wreck. At college I came into the atmosphere of moral death. High impulses and lofty ideals were laughed at. Even the ethics taught in the recitation room were taught in a perfunctory way. I had plenty of money, and in time my sensi-

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bilities became blunted. I yielded to the lower voices in my nature, turned the key upon the heaven-lighted chamber of my heart and descended to the basement of my being. From thence my point of view changed. I desired to acquire money, and from college I went into speculation. I have made much and lived a clubmans' life. The world calls me a fine financier, my associates a good fellow; but since seeing you I feel how miserable a thing it is to be a fallen man. I would not dream of asking you to descend so low as to marry me, but I do ask for the inspiration of your moral support in an effort to redeem, as far as possible, my lost manhood."

This story illustrates two great truths which, sooner or later, every deep student of life comes to appreciate. It shows the power of the ideal and the influence of environment. When parents appreciate the soul-moulding power of the ideal they will fill the chambers of the child mind with pictures which will develop the divine so that the low, base and selfish impulses will shrivel in the presence of that which in essence is eternal, luminous and life-giving. Fill the child mind with high, pure ideals. One of the most efficacious ways of doing this is to tell him the stories of the noblest, finest and bravest lives which have blossomed along the pathway of time rather than those who have reddened earth with blood.

Tell the child those stories in the life of Jesus which illustrate the fine, sweet, human love and sympathy of the great Nazarene. Tell him the story of Epictetus, the little slave and cripple who was also one of the noblest Stoic philosophers; a man whose life will be an inspiration to any child. Go a step further, and develop his memory by giving him to commit some of the thought gems of each great thinker who has written words of moral inspiration. If teaching of Epictetus have him memorize some such golden thoughts as these: "Do what is right without regard to what people say or think." "Nothing is nobler than high-mindedness, gentleness and doing good." "What ought not to be done, do not even think." The child may not understand just what these words mean when he learns them, and it will be well to illustrate the meaning of nobleness, high-mindedness and gentleness by telling him stories exemplifying each. But whether this is done or not the words memorized will linger in the corridors of the soul to battle for virtue at a later day.

In like manner narrate the story of Socrates; how he died; why he was put to death, and what he taught. Tell him about Marcus Aurelius, who was born to the purple and who demonstrated that it was possible for a man to be high-minded and moral in the midst of a sea of vice and corruption. And so, passing down the current of time, take the lives of the moral and

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intellectual heroes as models, and dwell upon each in such a way as to make the child fall in love with virtue, justice and truth. Tell him the story of such lives as those of Howard, Florence Nightingale, Dorothea Dix, and then fan into flame an enthusiasm for sacrifice and a great love for the unfortunate. By narrating the thrilling story of Victor Hugo's life and work, awaken in him a passion for justice for all the people. Bring him into the atmosphere of Whittier, and encourage him in memorizing some of the thoughts of the pure-souled prophet poet. By filling the mind with high ideals and exalted sentiments the great lesson of unselfishness, which is the capital lesson of life, will be rendered easy, but at all times woo the love side of life into its fuller expressions. Let the child feel how much the human sympathy expressed by Jesus has meant to man.

(2) In like manner go through memorable passages in history. Tell him the story of the Gracchi, and the age-long dream of man for a democracy in which right should prevail, when freedom should be found and when justice should blossom. Show him how idleness always leads to sin, and sin to injury of others and the misery of self; that the idle wealthy soon grow vicious, and the idle poor in time become depraved. Show him how great is the sin of idleness in the rich, but that until justice can be inaugurated the poor may be forced into idleness. Tell him the story of old John Ball and his dream of freedom for the people, and show him how the tide of democracy in England rose in the forties, when the corn laws fell and Great Britian welcomed the trade of the world. Tell him of the War of the Revolution, and at all times show him the persistency of the democratic ideal, and how it broadens and deepens with every age. Show him that a great responsibility rests upon him; that he must some day help further the cause of the race, and in order to bless the world he must be manly, frank, earnest and clear-minded.

(3) It would be well to read aloud to your child, and let all members of the home circle manifest interest in the reading by talking about the subject in hand. The schooling which I most prize and that which I believe was by far the most powerful in framing my tastes, desires and aspirations, was received when I was very young, partly from my mother, who never tired of telling me stories of ethical bearing, partly from my father, who through the long winter evenings used to read to my brothers and sister and myself from various works, and as he read he illustrated all obscure passages and explained words which were beyond our comprehension. He had the rare faculty of making us feel that he was the most interested one of the group, and the pleasure he evinced when we could recount the story from sacred or profane history, or the narrative he had read on a previous

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occasion, sharpened our interest and strengthened our memory. I cite this to show how real and enduring are the lessons thus inculcated.

(4) Cultivate a love for the beauties of nature. Teach the child to draw deep draughts of delight from the flowers, bees and birds, the brooks and hills. It is wonderful to note how quickly the child mind responds when the beauty side of nature is called to his attention, and the pleasure thus stimulated grows with years. Its influence is pure and uplifting, and through it the mind soon becomes a treasury rich in valuable knowledge. Furthermore, you have taught the child the habit of observation, one of the most important lessons in a life.

(5) Another thought should be ever borne in mind. At this period the child forms habits which will cling to him through life, and therefore it is important that he be taught not only to think truly but to act as becomes a citizen of Heaven. The oft quoted proverb, "The chains of habit are too weak to be felt until they are too strong to be broken," is as true as it is trite; and because of its truth it should dwell in the memory of every one who has brought an immortal soul into the world. Tennyson utters a great truth when he says: —

> The sins that practice burns into the blood,
> And not the one dark hour which brings remorse,
> Will brand us, after, of whose fold we be.

Kindly, gently, but firmly, teach the little one to form good habits, as well as to harbor wholesome and inspiring ideals. Open all the soul's windows that look skyward.

(6) Explain to your child the mystery of his own being as soon as he can understand it. Be perfectly frank with him. Point out the danger of harboring an evil thought. Tell him of the leper of the East, and then show him that the perversion of his nature will cause moral leprosy, that the harboring of vile thought will unfit him for his part in the work for human redemption, and that as he would not think of gathering a handful of filth out of the gutter and carrying it wherever he went, so he should make it the rule of his life to banish from his mind any low story or vile thought which may be forced on his manhood.

Above all, be candid with your child. There is nothing to be feared from his knowing the truth about his being if it is told to him in the right way, at his parent's knee, and the whole subject explained with perfect freedom. On the other hand, if you neglect your duty, if you evade his questions, irreparable harm may ensue. For if his first knowledge of the most vital things comes from bad sources, if his imagination is excited by vague and mysterious hints accompanied by unhealthy suggestions, a wrong will be done to him which you can never right.

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The girl should be treated as the boy. The broadening horizon in woman's life is placing her on essentially the same plane as man, and she should come under the same careful and wholesome instruction as to the mystery of life and the true and normal functions of her body.

Keep pure the atmosphere in which the child dwells. I do not think any of us will fully appreciate the far-reaching significance of this observation until the new psychology which will result from the revelations of hypnotism and psychic science shall be written. Bernard Bosunquet, in a recent work, makes some admirable observations on the infection of moral ideas. He says: "Everything is contagious. We are all of us, always, communicating ideas, and more especially moral ideas." And in another place he thus gives expression to a great truth. "The transformation of an individual mind is a change in the atmosphere of all surrounding minds; and the change of mental atmosphere is the most significant of all changes."

Shakespeare's great phrase, "There is no darkness but ignorance," if taken in its broadest sense, is one of the most profoundly true utterances ever made. Certainly in the domain of morals, and especially in the province of knowledge which relates to the sexual organism, ignorance is the bulwark of vice. Nothing, in my judgment, has contributed so materially toward the present moral dyspepsia, which is one of the most ominous signs of our times, as the false theory of many sincere but short-sighted people, who for generations have pursued the fatal policy of hiding from their children the great and all-important truths which would have prevented the pollution of boyhood and the ruin of girlhood.

Mr. W. T. Stead, after his extensive personal investigation of the traffic in girls in the old world, declared that "The ignorance of children fills the brothels." The thoughtful author of "Traffic in Girls" observes:—

> Any one who has come in contact with erring girls and knows the causes of their downfalls, would be guilty of criminal negligence in writing on the subject, not to depict the awful evil of girlish ignorance of physiological laws, which renders maidenhood an easy prey to designing scoundrels.

Mothers and fathers will have much to answer for at the bar of God, because they allow a *pseudo* modesty to prevent them from explaining to their children the use and abuse of the sexual nature as they teach them the use and abuse of the stomach, or any other organ of the body. Why there should be such reserve in speaking of the reproductive organs, while all others are freely discussed, is a mystery, and can only be explained on the theory that the great majority of people are guilty of sexual excess, and do not like to discuss their own sins.

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Under the false and fatal theory that ignorance is better than knowledge, conventionalism has changed the centre of gravity in morality from virtue founded in knowledge to the innocence of ignorance, and has almost obliterated in the public mind the line of demarcation between true and *pseudo* morality. The deplorable results are seen on every side. Hypocrisy prays in public and pollutes weak and unsuspecting innocence in seclusion. A nation of moral dyspeptics, reared in ignorance of the fundamentals of morality, and having been taught that the human body — God's temple for the indwelling of the divine spirit — is itself vile, base and impure, something to be hid, have through this ignorance come to the point when the exquisite statuary and painting of earth's master geniuses give their moral nature a distinct shock. This moral dyspepsia has gone so far, if we are to believe many upholders of the policy of ignorance and concealment, that our rising generation cannot look upon an exquisite statue without having the mind filled with sensual and debasing ideas. If this be true, and the present policy of ignorance and concealment be carried on, no youth or maiden will be able to visit the great cathedrals, museums and public squares of Italy without being morally contaminated by viewing the noble products of sculpture and painting. I do not believe we have reached the low moral ebb that those persons would have us believe, who cry against statuary and painting which deal with the human form. But the influence of this policy of ignorance and concealment does unmistakably tend to bring about this immoral, weak enervation which is but one step from pollution.

The innocence of ignorance is as frail as the virtue of knowledge is impregnable. Hence, I would have children protected by knowledge imparted by parents in that candid, simple and sincere manner which is so impressive to the young mind, and so will become great and sacred truths. I would show the child that a great and awful trust has been given him, and while no part of the body is impure, vicious or base, in the perversion of his nature or the degrading and misuse of his functions come pollution, disease and that degradation which will poison the soul, as the garment dipped in the blood of Nessus poisoned Hercules, though it merely touched his skin. A child properly taught by the parents whom he loves and reveres will be clothed in an armor such as the policy of ignorance and concealment knows not of.

III.

Every child who comes into this world has a right to the environments best calculated to call out all that is most divine in his being. Through unjust conditions, through the selfishness of

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man and the low ideals which prevail in society, comparatively few of the little buds of life unfold in this congenial atmosphere; but there is a growing conviction in the minds of thoughtful people that children have sacred rights, which form a part of the broad vision of justice which is gilding the dawn of the new time; and to those who appreciate the solemn responsibilities resting upon their souls, I address the foregoing thoughts, which may be summarized in a few easily remembered lines: —

(1) Fill the childish mind with high, pure and attractive ideals.

(2) Familiarize him with the most luminous expressions of the divine which have blossomed along the pathway of time, and give him the essence of the highest thought which they who have scaled the Himalayas of spirituality have given to the world.

(3) Unfold to him the great pages of history which have shaped civilization, and which illustrate the presence and growth of the democratic ideal in the heart of man.

(4) Teach him to draw inspiration and pure pleasure from the beauty of flowers, fields and streams as did Burns, Wordsworth and Whittier, and awaken in him that deep, reverential love for nature and art which is essentially a religious passion, uplifting and onward impelling in its influence, and which at all times inspires moral rectitude; not in a tedious or didactic manner, but by illustrations, stories and by the example of a clean and holy life.

Develop the body, train the mind and give to the soul that fine, true culture which will enable it to guide and control every thought, and thus make life a noble epic at once human and divine.

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CHICAGO'S MESSAGE TO UNCLE SAM.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

TWICE, in rapid succession, Chicago has reached the very summit of importance. Last year the glory of the great Exposition focused the gaze of the world upon her; and this year again all eyes have been drawn toward her by the lurid glare of anarchistic insurrection. It would be difficult to imagine a mightier contrast than that between the Columbian Fair and the railroad strike, yet the fundamental teachings of the two events are one and the same. The Exposition proved the splendid effects of wide coöperation under a single skilful control; the strike demonstrates the growing evils of the fierce antagonisms inherent in competition. The first was a magnificent object lesson in the benefits of unity of interest and harmony of action; the second a colossal illustration of the disastrous results of opposing interests and inharmonious activities. One says, "Competition is bad"; the other says, "Coöperation is good." Both say, "Let competition give place to coöperation." The truths philosophy has taught in vain, will be heeded when built into visible beauty, proclaimed in the thunder of federal guns, and illumined by the red light of a thousand burning cars. Chicago's method of instruction is very costly — almost a million dollars a day — but if the lesson is thoroughly learned it is worth a thousand times the cost.

When Uncle Sam went to the Fair and dwelt in its wonderful beauty, he said to Chicago, "Well done! You deserve to be queen of the West." Then he added to himself: "By time, I must build such cities as this all over my farm. It jest ain't livin' at all to go back to them dingy streets in Boston, New York and Philadelfy. I'm agoin' to tell my boys and gals they must pull together and model them cities over again — widen the streets, and h'ist the buildin's apart, and clean out the slums an' let in the air an' the sun. When a feller's ben a livin' a month in heaven he don't want tew leave onlest he kin take it with 'im. What's the use of livin' at all ef ye don't live right — ef ye don't live the best ye know heow?"

When the strike blockaded the mails and stopped the wheels of traffic, Uncle Sam began to growl, "You, Chicago, let my letters alone, an' the ice an' beef an' the other truck my folks want, or I'll know the reason why."

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But as day after day went by, and the letters were still delayed, and the price of beef ran up the scale, and hundreds of cars were burned, and the troops had to fire on the mob, the old man grew thoughtful, and when he came out of his study he said: "By mighty, I've jest got tew take them ere railroads an' own 'em myself. I hain't goin' to fool along this way no more.

"An' yet, come to think on't, I spoze I'm not altogether lackin' o' blame myself fer this pesky muss. Ef I hadn't let Europe empty her sewers on to my farm, there wouldn't 'a' ben so much material fer mobs an' sich. An' ef I'd a-tuk the railroads an' telegraft into my own control I guess I wouldn't ben bothered with strikes. An' ef I'd 'a' giv sum attention tew fixin' up the relations of labor an' capital so's they wouldn't hev cause tew quarrel, I reckon thar wouldn't 'a' ben no temptation tew strike.

"Them flossifer fellers told me a good w'ile ago, w'at would happin ef I let all the riff-raff cum in, an' the quarrel of labor an' capital grow bigger each year; an' they told me I'd ort tew take holt of the railroads and telegraft tew, coz they air the narves an' arteries of my hull system; an' it *is* inconvenient fer a man not tew own an' control his own narves an' arteries, specially in case of a fight, fer the feller that doos control 'em might shut 'em off or disable 'em ef he felt friendly with the feller I was a-fightin', 'stid o' sendin' me plenty o' fodder an' forwardin' promptly my orders tew kick the said feller intew submission an' proper p'liteness.

"An' they said, the flossifers did, it would stop the unjust discrimination the railroads make atween classes, localities an' individooals, wich the interstate commerce law wuz intendid tew stop but hasn't. An' 'twould stop lots of inflewences corruptin' the legislaters, where the railroads 'lect their own henchmen an' buy up the others so's t' git jest the laws an' privileges they hanker tew hev. An' 'twould jest knock the bottom out frum under the Standard Oil Company and a lot of other consarns that is fleecin' my boys. An' 'twill be a good thing fer th' employees, tew, fer I allus treat mine better'n anybody else doos.

"An' w'at's more it will favor the public safety, fer I'll take out them ructious stoves an' git rid of grade crossin's, old couplin's, an' sich, coz safety is more tew me than a few cents' extry profit, w'ich ain't the way with the railroads neow. Then ag'in I kin save my peepul $400,000,000 a year by firin' 599 railroad presidents an' their staffs an' lawyers, competin' depots, and so forth, an' by savin's in passes, corruption expenses an' awl the economics of consolidation. An' the heft of stock gamblin' will hev tew stop fer the want of the stock.

"I vum, I b'lieve I'll jest do it right off. There's old Germany's gittin' along remarkable well with her public railroads,

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an' I reckon I ort tew be jest as smart as she is any good day in the week. I'll borrow the money at three per cent an' take the roads, givin' a mortgage fer part. Then I'll pay off the debt from the traffic profits, an' in twenty odd years I'll own the thing clear. I'll run it on civil service plans, in course. I hain't such a tarnal fool as to change hands on the railroads every few years — I've had enough of that sort of nonsense already. They'll be put on the classified list at wunst, with the right in every employee to sue and git damages ef he's dismissed without good, substantial cause.

"It'll help tew stop the growth of millionaires — a critter I don't, in gen'ral, admire — an' aid the diffusion of wealth. I dew wish tew hev all my boys an' gals well off, an' I 'spect I haven't done all I ort tew tew make 'em so; but I guess this'll help quite consid'ble. Ef you take an' make the folks that do the work, the owners of the machinery an' capital, you won't hev no fuss between laborer an' capitalist, fer they'll both be the same identical feller.

"There's another big reason convinces me more an' more that I ort tew take holt of the railroads, an' in fact every other gre't big monopoly. It's putty clear the legislatur hadn't no right ever to grant a franchise of any kind to a private pusson or company. A franchise involves the power of makin' the peepul pay more than the reas'n'ble value of w'at the franchiser gives 'em — that's w'y everybody is so dumbed anxious tew git a monopoly or sum sort of franchise; an' the excess the peepul pay is jest no more nor less than a tax put on 'em by the franchiser for his own private pupposes an' benefit.

"Well, neow, the legislatur hain't no right tew tax anybody fer *private* pupposes — that's settled; all the judges agree to that, even the s'preme court. Congriss can't do it, nor any state legislatur, because it's a violation of the inherent principles of free government, an' w'at the legislatur hain't no right tew do because it's onjust, it can't give nobody else a right tew do. It can't give a power or authority it hain't got itself, namely, power tew tax fer private pupposes; an' therefore it hain't got no right tew give anybody a franchise.

"The truth on it is that *a franchise or any monopoly in private hands involves taxation without representation.* The peepul that pay big prices fer coal hain't no representation in the coal combine that makes the big prices; but they've got tew hev coal and got tew pay the price, an' therefore it's a tax; an' it don't make no difference that the payment's compelled by necessity 'stid o' the sheriff. I stopped taxation 'thout representation in '76, an' I'm goin' tew stop it now; an' I'm goin' tew begin with the railroads an' telegraft an' express."

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A REVIEW OF THE CHICAGO STRIKE OF '94.

BY WALTER BLACKBURN HARTE.

I.

In the winter of 1773, in this country, there was an iniquitous conspiracy against the security and stability of commerce — a villainous and illegal boycott of some of England's most valuable mercantile and marine interests. A lot of hot-headed and irresponsible demagogues constituted themselves the leaders of the mob, and organized the lower classes of society into leagues and associations, "Sons of Liberty," and other ridiculous insurrectionary and threatening secret societies. The equable relations of society were paralyzed; commerce was heedlessly obstructed and imperilled; and these low-lived outlaws of society succeeded in plunging the whole country into a state of political agitation and social excitement.

And for what? For what cause was the sacred buying and selling community of interest which binds society together for the divine purposes of economy put into jeopardy, bringing discomfort and denial and anxiety into hundreds of thousands of homes? For a *principle*. A principle! What had these brazen-lunged scoundrels to do with a principle? Did they not know who owned them? Was not *the law* writ large and plain enough? Of course it was; and there was not a shadow of justificatoin for this villainous attempt to subvert the law of the realm. The common folk should work and work and starve, and trust the good God and leave principles alone. Principles are the amusements of their masters in their philosophic moods. Why, for a time legal business could not be tranquilly conducted, and the hardships borne by the unfortunate non-participants in this infamous and widespread boycott and disaffection can be imagined when it is stated that not even a marriage license could be legally issued! Even the multiplication of loyal citizens and industrial and military recruits was interfered with.

The governors had their hands more than full, and called upon the central government for moral support, which was furnished in the usual form — guns and bayonets. The traitors were then vigorously sought out by the militia and arrested when discovered, but, for the most part, they succeeded in evading the heavy hand of the outraged majesty of the law, and continued their vile machinations for the destruction of the equilibrium of society.

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This vile conspiracy thrived upon opposition, and finally culminated, as such lawless agitations frequently do, in a wanton trespass of a state injunction, backed up by the moral force of King George's redcoats. This culminating overt act was the reprehensible destruction of good legal British tea in Boston harbor. The consignees of the tea were obliged to suffer with the would-be married men and maidens at the hands of these incendiary ruffians. The law was treated with contempt, and from that moment the leaders of the mob forfeited any hesitating sympathy they might have had from wavering respectable people, coming under the influence of their enthusiasm and the fascination of the appeal to their honor and manhood, their sense of justice and self respect. When the sacred rights of property were invaded the "moral principles" of this horde of ruffians were unmasked.

I am horribly shocked to notice that to-day, that outrage upon property is not only condoned by men of all shades of opinion, by grave historians and sober authorities on law, but with a seeming depravity or obliquity of moral vision, which staggers the understanding of even the most cynical, it is gloried in. That grievous and wanton atrocity, in contravention of all our most sacred conceptions of the sanctity and immunity of property, committed in a moment of anarchical excitement and bravado, is nowadays, even after the passage of time has allowed for the restoration of cooler and better judgment, openly sustained and boasted of by the descendants of that lawless crew and their sympathizers — men whose social position and influence, cast for the stability of the established order of things, would seem to warrant our expecting a sort of vicarious repentance from them. But they boast of ancestors whose ignominy should lead them to bury their names deep down in oblivion beyond all possibility of haunting resurrection at the hands of spiteful genealogists.

Those infamous, anarchistic, frowsy rapscallions of 1773 and their disreputable self-elected leaders, mere wide demagogic mouths, full of cant and hypocrisy and iniquity, outraged decent popular sentiment in every conceivable manner — as you can see by turning to the files of the respectable newspapers of the time. But in spite of the outlawry in which their blustering excess of license of speech put them, they persisted in holding their vulgar secret meetings and public meetings, and in God's name profaned the sacred names of liberty and freedom, asserting the supremacy of moral rights over legal enactments — the holies of the respectable mind — until the limit of administrative patience was reached.

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The "best elements" in society in 1773–76 were naturally and reasonably indignant at such villainous profanation, at the desperate hardihood of intemperate language, demanding compromises and repeals of "infamous" legislation and judicial decrees, and they were not slow to invoke a power more potent than that of any other in the civilized world at that time — the power of the British arms.

But the rag-tag and bob-tail continued to croak their objectionable nonsense, and society continued to shudder to see such hideously vulgar handling of sacred themes and of questions relating to legislation and jurisprudence muddled up with "moral principles" by mere pot-house demagogues and low-born agitators, men worthy only of immediate hanging for disrespect for the awful majesty of mighty King George's *laws*. Moral principles and law belong to different categories. The Church is the domain of moral principles, and the poor should leave such things to their teachers for exposition on the Sabbath. The wild ravings and travesties of parliamentary procedure and wickedly subversive resolutions of that vile tatterdemalion mob of miserable empty-pockets, the lowest elements in society, were by no means allowed to pass without proper and fitting condemnation; the bankers and money lenders and the lawyers and merchants were loyal to the law; but there was apparently immoral force enough behind the scum to enable them to persist. The properly constituted authorities did not temporize or palter with such anarchistic elements, outside the pale of "respectable" society, lacking in respect for statutory enactments upon which the very stability of trade and transportation of commerce depended under the law, but military murders were resisted with violence, and — was God in His heaven? — sometimes successfully.

But could not the law have been repealed? Those rascals hinted at such infamy, and the law dealt with the vile traitors as they deserved. The law was duly enforced, and the blood of some of the ruffianly outlaws dyed the streets of Boston. The place where those anarchistic, irresponsible creatures fell in their tracks when the guardians of law and order vindicated the outraged dignity and authority of the state and of King George with ball and bayonet, is still pointed out in State Street, and a tablet has been put up near the spot by the Boston Historical Society in commemoration of this glorious vindication of the law. This event is called in our histories "the Boston Massacre," a designation which has doubtless arisen from the blithe love of our people for amiable irony and quips about even the sober matters of life and death, justice and eternal truth, which we can see evidenced in the genially ignorant clowning condescension of the editorial pages of our newspapers every morning. Even historical socie-

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ties in America cannot commemorate the holy vindication of the law without what would probably appear to some other more melancholy and bilious races, a superfluous and bitter jest at the expense of the poor, misguided wretches who expiated their crimes with their lives.

That boycott of 1773 ended in final victory for that fantastic horde of ragamuffins and lawless, misguided riff-raff, and the majesty and dignity of both parliamentary enactments and judicial decrees were set aside and spat upon. That is sometimes the awful ending of these stubborn agitations by dastardly mob rulers and miscreants who raise a tempest for such unreal abstractions as moral freedom of action and liberty of speech. Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine and the rest of the ungodly wretches who inflamed the popular mind, should have decorated lamp posts — had the dignity of the law not been unfortunately overwhelmed by anarchy.*

By the irony of fate, which as often prospers villany as virtue, these miserable traitors have actually imposed upon the weak sympathies of a godless posterity. But respectable, law-abiding people are revenged in the fame of at least one of these "autocrats of misrule" — Thomas Paine, who is almost universally despised by all God-fearing people for the heinous and unforgivable crime of a lifetime of unswerving intellectual and moral integrity. Let his fate, as he swings on the gibbet of popular odium, in the murky atmosphere of rumor, be a warning to unwise agitators, who, in a perversion of enthusiasm for the truth, stand ready to sacrifice their own happiness and comfort and prospects and serenity of life for the enlightenment and good of mankind. For every monument society erects to a triumphant warrior, it raises a hundred gibbets for moral heroes.

II.

In this year of our Lord, 1894, we have witnessed a moral boycott which was second in its proportions and in its signifi-

* When I wrote this paper and drew, as I believed, an instructive parallel between the days of 1776 and our own time, I had not read Walt Whitman's note on "The Tramp and Strike Questions" in the Collect of his complete works. As the article is going through the press I am informed by a friend at my elbow that Walt Whitman anticipated in some sort my view of the real undercurrent that precipitated the Revolution. Upon looking up the Prose Volume of the Complete Works (David McKay, Philadelphia, 1892) I find Whitman says:—

"The American Revolution of 1776 was simply a great strike, successful for its immediate object; but whether a real success, judged by the scale of the centuries, and the long-striking balance of Time, yet remains to be settled. The French Revolution was absolutely a strike, and a very terrible and relentless one, against ages of bad pay, unjust division of wealth products, and the hoggish monopoly of a few, rolling in superfluity, against the vast bulk of the work people, living in squalor. If the United States, like the countries of the Old World, are also to grow vast crops of poor, desperate, dissatisfied, nomadic, miserably-waged populations, such as we see looming upon us of late years — steadily, even if slowly, eating into them like a cancer of lungs or stomach — then our republican experiment, notwithstanding all its surface successes, is at heart an unhealthy failure."

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cance only to that illegal conspiracy of morality at which we have just glanced. It has ended, so far as its immediate object was concerned, in rout and defeat. But it has taught two valuable lessons which may one day be learned with befitting thoroughness by the vast mass of us—the laboring, debt-born, wage-mortgaged classes. One is that, though this world is distinctly a disagreeable place on account of the crowd, we need really not devour each other, if we will but consent to allow our minds to get out of our stomachs. There is still some force in a moral crusade in the world; and once labor will sink petty jealousies in solidarity, it has won the day. The very hint of such solidarity has made plutocracy arrogant with fear; and arrogance is the white feather of the bully and coward. Again we have seen this vile importation into the conflict by despicable, unrespectable people of the question of *moral right.* The law, thank God, was vindicated with bloodshed, and is now being further appeased with fantastic trials for treason and conspiracy; but it is nevertheless really hazardous at this stage of the game to say whether even this defeat may not be a wicked collusion of Providence against "respectable" virtue—a needed lesson in the methods to be used for some future great victory.

I intend to review the moral and legal aspects of this conflict; and the fact that the industrial army is at this moment routed, despondent, punished, defeated once again, does not make my consideration of the history of these few weeks at all belated, for this conflict was but a mere skirmish. The bayonets and repeating rifles, the "gatling gun" injunctions of plutocracy and the howling dervishes of the plutocratic press-gang have obtained *order;* but the moral questions of this conflict will arise again, and will never down until either they are settled or human reason flickers out into night.

The great conflict of our time is not yet at hand. We are not ripe for it. It takes long for the masses, in pawn to their stomachs and their passions, to learn that the same hunger which is their taskmaster can be the terror of their oppressors. But the gospel of hope is spreading. The flash that leaped for a moment out of the black memories, not merely of years, but of ages, in Chicago a few weeks ago, is but a spark off that great human wheel of force which keeps the social world revolving. It is already rumbling round again in its bitter darkness; but it may yet learn the reason why its ceaseless activity only grinds itself lower and lower in the mire of physical and moral misery, while others ride the wheel and see God's sun and laugh!

I have referred to the famous boycott and agitation of 1773–1776 because the parallel between these two agitations in their inception will be immediately remarked by the candid reader

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when I put before him the analogy of the most salient circumstances.

That iniquitous boycott and uprising of 1773 was a claim that the producers of wealth in this country should be permitted to enjoy the fruits of their labor without being compelled to deduct tithes from them to support a government and revenue in another country, and without any voice in the consideration of the fixing of these taxes. The government held that these people worked and got wealth from the soil and the forest to be despoiled. The damnable iniquity of the agitation against this legal view of their existence and energies is evident when it is announced that the law allowed these "irresponsible" and would-be dictators no right to protest. They were criminals when they claimed *moral rights*; and in this view all the solemnity of the apostolic succession of the Established Church concurred. The law defined their moral rights to the government, and that should have been sufficient. The Church in the name of its lowly Anarchist execrated and banned them.

The position of those riotous demagogues of 1773 was, in fact, reducible to an altogether preposterous *claim*—a mere untangible, untenable *claim;* they had nothing more than that to stand upon. This claim under the existing government was notoriously *unconstitutional*, for the principle of manhood suffrage was then an unheard-of thing in His Majesty's Parliament at Westminster. Great legislative geniuses then bought their seats in the House of Commons and secured such legislation as was good for the gentry. It was the bounden duty of all good loyal subjects to support the British government, and ask no questions. That was what God sent them into the world for. They were a divine dispensation to the lawyers and law makers and good livers. To admit low-born Colonial nondescripts as representatives to Parliament to arbitrate and define the duties of the people to the state and the duties of the state to the people, was obviously preposterous. George the Third got out an "omnibus injunction."

As to *claims*, the rabble had no claims! It was presumption for demagogues to talk of claims. They had no right whatever under the existing laws and statutory enactments of the government, under which they lived, to make any claim for representation in the government or to dare to cause commotion about morality; and the principle which is held *to-day* was held *then*, that the law was a divine, unimpugnable institution which must not be questioned, but merely implicitly obeyed, moral or immoral. Order at any cost; the law before all absurd claims of "reason."

In the strike of 1894, for the moral rights of labor, the men claim that in the consideration of the distribution of their joint

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product, they shall be consulted. This is what the strike really means in terms of economy. They claim this upon the obvious teaching of the moral law, deduced from the implacable law of Nature, that every man who would live must produce the means of life. They demand that as producers of wealth they shall possess some degree of rational control over the distribution of that wealth, or, under the existing social system, shall at least be recognized as rational factors to be considered in its proportionate distribution.

This is the iniquitous and preposterous claim of the laboring classes in this conflict between capital and labor. It impugns the divinity of those assumptions of orthodox political economy which have perverted the whole spirit of jurisprudence and legislation. It asks for the examination of these assumptions. It asks if these assumptions are based upon the unescapable laws of Nature, and if not, why not? It demands that the law of the land shall not be perverted from its intention of a truce between all possible conflicting individual rights into the championing of certain conspiracies of thieves and debauchers of the public weal. It asks now for the preservation under the law of individual rights, won and guaranteed to posterity by the agitations of the great political miscreants of our race. This may be the prelude to a demand for the sweeping of rogues out of high places and the reinstatement of the principles of democracy in the law. It asks for common sense and arbitration, if any interference by the state is proposed at all, as the recognition of its moral right to be met on terms of equality by *mere* capitalists; and it demands most emphatically that the state shall not join the capitalists in any denial of any right which may be conceded by the applicaton of moral force. Any such conjunction of the government and the capitalists is conspiracy against the common weal. If it ever gets wisdom, labor will be firmer in its demands and less apologetic. It will win the world for humanity before it allows *trade* to be considered. The social and political progress of the race is more than the sanctity of even stock exchange gambling.

There is this slight difference, too, between the position of these men and the position of the men of '73. Under this government, at the end of the nineteenth century, these men have a legal, statutory right under the constitution, as well as a moral right, to ask such "impertinent" questions. They are "free" men before the law, with equal rights — and equal rights to the protection of the law; and as corporations have acquired somehow an unquestioned power to act as though they owned a president and attorney general, a judiciary and a senate, the people have a legal right to call upon the government to at least *leave them alone* in a propaganda of quit work and starve. This right

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has been denied, however. It has been declared "treason" and "conspiracy" for labor leaders to ask labor unions to meet and vote whether they will quit work or not. I want to know under what statutory provision or judicial decision such attempts to influence men's minds can be found to be illegal.

The law, too, is asserted, by nearly all the greatest philosophic writers upon law, to be fundamentally based upon the instincts and intuitions of Nature's laws common to all men, and the common morality of individual rights which has been deduced therefrom.* Therefore these men have a moral right to question the *law itself*, when it is suspected or known that it has been diverted from its original purpose as the arbitrament of interests and rights, and become the engine of a clique of social brigands who have corrupted those administrators who are supposed to derive all their powers from the investiture of the rights of the whole people. This has indubitably been done by the corporations of this country. The money power is openly, audaciously and arrogantly *the government*. The players we see at Washington are its creatures.

The unconstitutionality of the officers of the government assuming extraneous authority outside of that vested in the government and limited by society, assuming extrinsic powers and invading states, is at once apparent, after this consideration of the claims of every individual member of society upon the government. President Cleveland, by forcing troops into states without any demand from and against the will of the governors of the states, violated the spirit if not the letter of the constitution. He out-Hamiltoned Hamilton. If this aggressive federal power had

* The law, as described by Lord Mansfield, is nothing else than reason modified by custom and authority. The Roman law was divided into the civil or peculiar state law and the common or natural law, *jus naturale*, the law which natural reason established among all men and which is observed by all peoples. Aristotle made the same distinction, basing the common law on the dictates of Nature. The distinction corresponds to the distinction made in modern American and English law between the principles and rules of law. In every system the natural law constitutes the principal part, although in recent years the tendency in America has been to limit and pinch the domain of rights under the common law by giving undue weight to the positive historical theories of law, which are inelastic and unscientific, stationary instead of progressive. Nature and logic are, however, the life of the law. The development of law, and therefore of political and social and moral progress, consists in the eradication from the law of its purely historical element and the substitution of rational principles; and to prevent our logic starting from false premises we must keep close to Nature. The right to protest in equity against galling and unjust laws is the fundamental right of free citizens, and the very source of free institutions. The more natural law is embodied in the Law the more scientific and equitable the latter must necessarily become. As a matter of fact, the conception of law practically dominant to-day, and obviously shaping social events in this republic, is derived from the positive and arbitrary definitions of Blackstone, Austin and others of the historical school, who omitted the predominating element of natural law and stated that the law is a mere expression of the will of the state, or consists altogether of laws or statutes. But this is contrary to common observation of the common and general consciousness of right and wrong. It is contrary to the conception of natural liberty, partially conceded by Blackstone, expanded by Hobbes and other writers, and scientifically declared and analyzed by Herbert Spencer. It is entirely unscientific, for it does not respond to the expanding needs of a civilized society. For a clear and popular exposition of the whole subject of natural rights and law, the reader should turn to George A. Smith's "The Law of Private Right," to which the present writer is cheerfully indebted.

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been inserted in the constitution and maintained, there would probably be no United States to-day but only a loose confederation. Home rule is the essential nature and principle of this union of states.

In 1773 the people were conceived to exist for the government. In 1894 the government is, I believe, generally conceived to exist for the people. This is, however, a demonstrable error, as far as practice goes. The old system deprived the masses of individual rights; although, as Hume points out, every government, autocratic, military, despotic or democratic, exists only upon *opinion*. Let opinion change, even if it be but a craven acquiescence, and the most brutal despotism is dissipated like a bad dream. The theory of the present system deprives the government, as much as it is humanly possible, of power to override the mass of *individual rights*. The practice, as we know, is different. It is natural there should be some measure of error and perversion in all attempts at self-government; but at present we are complacently witnessing the establishment of precedents that threaten to swamp the theory completely.

The law is supposed to be based upon these individual rights, limited in individual conduct only for the good of society as a whole, with a due admixture of scientific necessity, derived from philosophy and experience, and some historic custom. The conceptions of the historical and the philosophical jurists are more or less reconciled in the received body of law of a constitutionally governed society, but the historic and positive school has ousted the philosophic school in practice. But nevertheless the historical school has its limitations, especially in the domain of initiation, and the fact that President Cleveland and his henchmen dare to invade states with military powers and arrest men for *opinions*, as though the government in this country were an autocratic power invested by some other force than the aggregate of the people's rights and opinions, shows that the whole purpose of this democratic government has been wantonly perverted. He has outraged the conceptions of the State, both of the philosophical and historical jurists, for he has impugned the rights of states as well as individuals, and rushed blindly into an interpretation of the functions of his office without any precedent.

There is another point of resemblance between the position of the men of 1773 and those of 1894. Those detestable varlets of '73 conceived the moral rights of human beings to be superior to the holy fiats about British tea. And the men of 1894 conceive the moral right of every wealth producer in the community to be superior to that accumulated superfluity of wealth which they have produced, but which has enriched the few, who, as capitalists, have purchased legislation and the courts for the oppression of their creators.

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Economics should be the science of the distribution of wealth among the wealth producers. It has become the science of robbing the wealth producers of their wealth. A bastard "science" of economics has poisoned and perverted the conceptions of law, upon which the stability of a democratic form of government must depend; and there is to-day no question in the mind of any man who is awake but that in any conflict between corporate capital and labor, the millionaires who have paid political and judicial ambition liberally for services will be as faithfully served as during the month of June, 1894.

The government is always ready with omnibus injunctions and gatling guns to sweep away any ridiculous democratic and moral protests against the programme of corporate capital. Our President and Attorney General may be great judicial characters, and so may be the corporation attorneys and railroad lawyers who are constantly aspiring to the judiciary; but they are either irreclaimably venal or criminally vain and imbecilic, for this democracy has been allowed to pass into the hands of that conscienceless plutocratic power which will surely wreck it, as a similar power wrecked Rome, unless the moral forces of this country, if there are any left, awake and sweep such insensate conspiracies of greed into the limbo of oblivion.

To-day is merely the day of *precedents;* we have time to rouse ourselves and act, and if it is possible, as pray God it may be, to avert a settling of accounts in blood.

III.

I originally cast this review in the form of a letter to one of our great daily newspapers. But all the great dailies were so irrevocably committed to the cause of high moral thinking, that my little jests were severely disapproved of as too flippant for the occasion, and my paper was rejected. I have now expanded it into a review of the rights and principles involved in the strike, and the fantastic recognition which has been accorded them by the picturesque freebooters who have usurped the functions of the federal jurisdiction in this democracy. I hope the flippancy of my style will not debar the average reader from carefully weighing the grave considerations involved in this particular phase of a gigantic question — the social question — for Europe as well as America, of the twentieth century.

We are making history very fast in America to-day, and we have a President and an Attorney General who are most industriously establishing precedents, which will doubtless prove exceedingly valuable to the plutocratic inquisition which our miserable posterity will probably enjoy in the next century. But, of course, as good and loyal democrats, we owe nothing to posterity.

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One of the things which impressed me most as I followed the reports of the progress of the Chicago strike, from day to day, and talked about it in different circles, was the appalling lack of comprehension of the facts and the issues involved in the case, in the minds of all classes — I might say particularly among the so-called educated and professional classes. Of course this was in a measure due to the condescending propaganda of ignorance so industriously preached by the newspapers from day to day, and to the unscrupulous fashion in which they sought to array the laborers against their own class by the cheap cry of "patriotism" and the most fantastic lies and most currish and cowardly misrepresentation.

To make no vague statements, let me review in their order the main events of the strike, now a matter of history, since its inception in the town of Pullman to the arrest of the labor leaders on a charge of "conspiracy." In the course of our review we will notice certain of the most wanton and disgusting lying misrepresentations made by the capitalistic press of the country, and also try to separate from the piled up distracting mass of reports of infractions by violence and arson of certain permanent statutory provisions (state civil and criminal laws) the *real social principles* involved in this struggle between organized capital and organized labor. The newspapers have emphasized the destruction of property by idle and desperate men, many of them not labor union men or strikers at all, and slurred over the principles involved in this struggle. I shall reverse this programme. There is nothing at all gratuitous or superfluous in this proceeding. The newspaper reports and editorial comments (with one or two notable and honorable exceptions), the injunctions of the federal courts and the proclamations of President Cleveland, all show that those who understand the essential principles of a modern democratic government, which make well marked distinctions between the offices of the state and federal governments, and limit the powers of every executive to hedge about the liberties of the individual subject, are not so many as one might suppose from the continual patriotic screaming about the intoxicating benefits of democracy; which indeed seems to have led many to believe that there is absolutely no necessity for the operation of cosmic law and social evolution to continue in the United States.

Allow me to begin at the beginning. A certain individual, George M. Pullman, who is president of a great car manufacturing corporation at Pullman, in or near Chicago, cuts down the wages of his employees. The wages have been falling for some time, and this new cut is evidently felt by the men to be especially grievous. There are other aggravating circumstances in the case. The employer of the men is also their landlord and their creditor

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for gas, water, etc. — all the necessaries of life. The rents and gas and water rates are higher than those of the adjacent municipality of Chicago, and a declining scale of wages makes the premiums on gas, etc., burdensome. It is notable that this town of Pullman is a town of tenants and not freeholders.

A committee of the employees waited upon Pullman and asked that the reduction in wages be not carried into effect. The president of the company, in refusing to comply, said that the company could not pay more since it was not making a profit on the manufacture of its cars. So far, so good. I may have my doubts whether in that case the company could not have found it feasible to reduce its charges for rent, etc., in consonance with the general decline of incomes, but such questions do not enter into this consideration, and I have no comment to make upon the attitude of the Pullman company in this matter, since Pullman but takes advantage of the possibilities of usury in wage paying which is the glory of our existing system of industrial economics.

If we extended the compass of this review we might discuss the *absolute justice* or even the relative justice of that immense reserve fund and those large dividends just paid, created out of the labor of the *whole Pullman community* in previous years of undenied prosperity, remaining wholly in the hands of Pullman and his associates and directors; but there are many generations of misery between us and ethical economics, and so we will not leave the bare historical record.

The men who served on the committee representing their fellow employees were then individually dismissed from the service of the Pullman Company, an intimation that the employees were not to look for relief through organization, and that a natural desire on the part of the men to be recognized as factors in the prosperity, the fortunes and prospects of the community was deemed an unpardonable impertinence. This attitude, as a matter of fact, is in contradiction to the theories of the only economists of to-day who demand any sober consideration. They are not very ethical, but they are being cowed into a more scientific attitude. But we will pass on.

Then the whole body of employees struck. Up to this point we must be content with a bare historical skeleton. Pullman, under our competitive social system, had a right to offer his workmen any wages he chose. According to the theory of individual-social rights, deduced and intuitive among all peoples from the physical law of Nature, upon which, though beginning in a maze of assumptions, our system of economics pretends to maintain some balance between capital and labor, and upon which our system of government is supposedly based, or is claimed to be in some sort of human relation to, Pullman is in-

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vested with no such *right*; he is only invested with the artificial *power* created by an invasion of individual rights. The *right* of law is permanently more inherent in human society than *law*. However, we will keep to the reasoning strictly used in the practical working of our system. He could not buy men in an open slave market, but he could *own* them by controlling their wages, rent, prices, etc.; and yet even this view conflicts with the theories of the individualistic competitive economic writers. According to their theories of industrialism Pullman had no such absolute right, because it spoils the operation of their theory of the free flux of labor, and because our orthodox economists have been forced by the accumulation of scientific *data*, creating new ideas of moral obligations, confirming and based upon physical needs, to surrender some of their most fiendish doctrines and to hedge on utilitarian grounds, although they stubbornly refuse to recognize the moral element in all human relationships. They deny any relation to morality, and then appeal to men's honor to recognize debts and contracts — an amazingly paradoxical position.

However, as I have said, I wish to deal simply with the *practical* and legal side of this question. I would not incur even the danger of being charged with the "sentimentalism" that could be preferred against the individualist economic writers. Pullman could offer to pay his men one dollar a year, and charge interest on unpaid rent, food, water, etc., and be within his legal right. That is the scope of individual contract recognized by formal law. That is the competitive social system. It gives a man who has acquired enough *capital* the right to obtain a vested interest in men's labor and bodies. It is to be noted, too, that he could not gain this power in any state where of all rights *in rem* that of self-possession or ownership of property in self was not the most fundamental right of property. A man cannot *sell* himself, though many nowadays would be glad to do so, but he can *mortgage* himself and pay heavy interest for mere existence. Do not let us be so childish as to expect that men will not exercise the privilege of owning men without responsibility so long as they are protected by our sacred laws and by highly civilized social opinion.

If the majority of us find such laws are crushing us into a nightmare worse than serfdom and making life a curse and a burden, let us unite to sweep away the system by enacting new laws, if we can find men who will not sell us out to the money power before their legislative chairs are thoroughly warm. I doubt if that is possible. Let us also devise means to guard against the encroachments of a corrupt judiciary, more to be feared, because less fearful, than corrupt legislators. Laws are made by men for men, and not men for laws. Indeed, as we

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have seen, laws arise out of the moral conceptions common to all men. They are therefore a convenience, a compromise of reason, and in no sense supra-social or divine, as the average law-abiding American seems to think. If we are content with the pawn system of social and economic peace, let us not say one word against the men who avail themselves of its worse than cannibalistic privileges. If we are not content, let us attack only the system, using the baser sort of men and their methods merely as abstract illustrations. In a world of contemptible rascals it is surely invidious to single out any one particular man, who may be a knave unwittingly, for mere distraction.

Society grants such men as Pullman immense privileges. But there is one condition which President Cleveland and his crew have overlooked; that is, society at large can abrogate or limit these privileges when their use or abuse threatens the peace and comfort and security and stability of society. It is the duty of governments, as the expression of the aggregate will for the aggregate protection and peace and precaution of the people, to be ready to consider impartially any disturbance or individual sway of power that threatens the social equilibrium of the whole mass.

Up to this point, Pullman is quite justified, legally, in starving his employees, if he considered it to their moral benefit and the glory of God, because his position was upheld by social opinion as well as by the law. This law is, however, a perversion of the natural and moral law which should inhere in it. When, therefore, social opinion changes, as it may when Nature's laws pinch men's morals long enough, it is time for a reconsideration and examination of the law. The laws cannot be safely unmalleable formulas, extrinsic to the physical needs of society. That is, however, the historic and ruling idea. It is an idea which is scientifically untenable, although it is certainly widespread among the legal classes of this democracy.

The employees in striking, in accepting the risk of starvation and more poignant misery than they enjoyed under philanthropic guardianship, were also within their rights. They withdrew the only *capital* they possessed in the hope that their claims would in consequence be reconsidered. They were not so reconsidered. It was then a question whether the men could starve as long as Pullman could lose money. I do not know the pangs of declining interest, but I venture the opinion that they are outweighed by those of hunger. These workmen, however, have a vested interest through their work in the town of Pullman, an interest to be estimated by the duration of their term of service.

Moreover, Nature, after a certain siege of misery, has certain inalienable rights which she presses regardless of historic or

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merely logical social laws or society. These can only be assuaged by a square meal — or death. Nature's is the sterner logic, and hers are the prior claims. Every man, after Nature has taken the trouble to create him, has a right to life; and that right does not depend upon the will of any man, or society. Society can forfeit life, but it has never yet demonstrated its inalienable right to do so. A man derives his right to life prior to his entry into society — at the very moment of his conception. That right includes a right to the possession of his body, his mind and his faculties. It is here that society, which may suffer from this menace of Nature, must reassert its latent and dominant, its supreme claims, derived from the same Nature, the law of self preservation, over the acts of both corporations, like the Pullman Company, and their employees. This physical tyranny of Nature is the basis of all government; it cannot be disregarded by any government; it is the social attraction and the social equilibrium.

Thus we see that even when we leave ethics in the background — since they are poor draggle-tailed considerations which we are all either ashamed of or afraid of acknowledging for fear of incurring the contempt of the good practical opinion of our *Christian* society — we must recognize and consider the immutable and merciless physical laws, and these at once establish the superior and predominant claims of society upon the utilitarian and legal basis, that they are the practical equivalent of the individual surrender, for individual and mutual convenience, of certain individual rights of self-protection. No government is anything more than the explicit or implicit surrender of these individual rights of self-protection and preservation. They are only inherent in the State as an aggregate investment of all the individuals in a community, and not as a power unaccountable to the mass of individuals composing the governed.*

In other words, in surrendering certain of their rights to a social convention called the State, for mutual protection, men do not, or rather cannot, surrender their natural rights and necessities or abolish by statute the inexorable laws of Nature herself,

* In case this may be considered in this democracy of ideas a wicked and subversive original view, it having already been condemned by the prevailing views of the press throughout the progress of the Chicago strike, let me disavow any independent ratiocination in this particular. It is the wickedly subversive idea of many of the greatest legal authorities who never enjoyed the broadening benefits of this democracy and its journalistic and judicial wisdom.

"It is evident that men form a political society, and submit to laws solely for their own advantage and safety. The sovereign authority is then established only for the common good of all the citizens." — Vattel.

"Laws bind us for no other cause than they are received by the judgment of the people. Laws are abrogated not only by the vote of the legislature but also with the tacit consent of all by desuetude." — Blackstone.

"There is always a reason against every coercive law — a reason which, in default of any opposing reason, will always be sufficient in itself; and that reason is that such a law is an attack upon liberty." — Bentham.

"It is on opinion only that government is founded." — Hume.

Mr. Cleveland and his Attorney General believe, as Hobbes believed, that the function of government is to create "a mortal God on earth"; but this is opposed to the modern as well as the ancient conceptions of the legislative and judicial functions.

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upon which all laws not essentially fictitious and temporary must be based. As the greatest jurists admit, custom may become law, but no law can be established till it become custom. Contrary to the spirit of the judiciary in this day in this country, the law embodies a significance of rights; and, of course, in a democracy, of unalterably equal rights. When the judiciary proclaims an *ex parte* interpretation of legality instead of the common rights in any case, liberty is dead. The greatest philosophic writers on law concur in affirming the origin of the law in its widest sense to be custom and the instincts common to all men arising out of the inflexible laws of Nature, so that this is not only a perfectly legal convention, but is scientifically accurate also; and science and the law, since the latter cut adrift from Nature to build on Austin's logic, are conspicuously seldom in harmony nowadays—though their real relationship can never be permanently destroyed so long as law and Nature persist. And the latter shows no sign of being exorcised by law. Here is Coke saying: "The principles of natural right are perfect and immutable, but the condition of human law is ever changing, and there is nothing in it which can stand forever."

After centuries of servitude, the masses of laboring men have discovered that as nations and societies and corporations act as an individual to protect and further a vast multitude of individual interests, so they also must act corporately as an individual instead of as individuals if they wish to obtain any consideration at the hands of corporate capital, or of social or political bodies, under our present economic and political system. Labor did not originate this idea. It has been the practice of nations from the dawn of history; and the tie of empty bellies is obviously as potent as that created by a geographical expression. In commercial society it has simply adapted to its own needs the system of ancient guilds which existed in European countries for centuries and still exists in England. Some claim that these leagues for mutual protection originated in the building of Solomon's temple. This is the Freemason idea. As I am not a Freemason I do not wish to assert any definite point in antiquity. But these guilds doubtless were copied from the more remote tribal and military affiliations of defence, and so trades-unionism and labor organizations are as legitimate as any other social institution, and in one analogous form or another, as ancient as the earliest diversified forms of commercialized society.

Even if that did not dispose of certain outrageously impudent statements and other more discreet and malicious innuendoes made by the railroad magnates and the newspapers, and embodied in the injunctions of the federal courts under the instructions of the Attorney General and the President of the United States, to the

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effect that organizations of labor were conspiracies and *illegal*, we need not go behind the Declaration of Independence and the constitution of the United States. There is not a clause in any statute of this country which can even legally, much less morally, restrain laborers from combining to obtain by the exercise of persuasion or moral force the highest price possible for their labor, or to stop working in any and every employment whenever and wherever they choose, individually or by mutual agreement, or from persuading, by promises or arguments, others to quit any and every employment. There is nothing more to restrain them from combining for the social purposes of raising their wages, etc., than to restrain them from combining for political purposes, so long as they propose to use only constitutional means for carrying out their ideas. If there were any such constitutional provision, any organized opposition to government would be an illegal and treasonable conspiracy.

There are, of course, and must necessarily be, laws for the protection of society against violence and destruction of life or *things* by any person or persons. I make this distinction of life and things, instead of the usual distinction of life and property, because, although our marvellously wise Attorney General and judiciary do not realize the fact, and many millions share their ignorance, *life* is the most essential of all *property*. This is the fundamental principle of the philosophy of rights. It is grievously unknown in this democracy, and in the late disturbance in Chicago the government showed an utter disregard for that property which consisted of the lives of the citizens. Let the law take its course when violated by any person or persons, including the judiciary; but no presidential nor judicial nor journalistic sophistry can rehabilitate or make even *legal*, much less permanently possible and reconcilable with the law of rights, the old English feudal prohibition (finally and forever abrogated in 1824), which denied the right of workmen to combine for mutual protection and benefit—or, if my Tory and ecclesiastical friends prefer it, for mutual moral destruction, wanton social retrogression and eternal damnation. To strain legality to this point is to make the law an invasion of society—anarchy, and that must be crushed at all costs. It is the right of workmen to combine and persuade, and so long as they wreck their temporal and eternal hopes pacifically, we cannot interfere, whether it inconveniences us or not. Similar withdrawals of wheat or gold from the market for speculative purposes inconvenience society, but no man is legally bound to sell his wheat or loan his gold.

It is too late in the day, really, for newspapers to treat organized labor in the spirit of feudalism. Our newspapers howl enough about progress and *fin de siecle*-ism, and they are truly

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dirty and vulgar enough to support every claim to modernity but that of sharing in the advance of scientific, economic and political thinking which has taken place since the eighteenth century. In this particular they are sorely belated, and the most pernicious agencies of evil and ignorance.

As far as the strike in the town of Pullman was concerned, there was nothing of an extraordinary nature in its progress to make it of more than the ephemeral interest which attaches to such local and futile attempts of wage-earners to better their condition. And up to this point the press took very little notice of the strike, beyond deploring the fact that such a good man as Mr. Pullman should be inconvenienced by recalcitrant workmen.

When the strike assumed a more general character, certain facts about the social and domestic conditions existing in the town of Pullman caused some of the leading journals of the country to degenerate into cheap rhodomontade against Pullman as an employer. This, of course, was manifestly beside the question, for in this struggle between capital and labor no such merely factitious element as the goodness or badness of any particular employer should be allowed to enter. This petty treachery toward Mr. Pullman by the plutocratic press was a contemptible exhibition of that small Pecksniffian moral sentiment, which is continually used by the organs of plutocracy to divert their readers from the actual principles involved in any great question by the importation of personal reprobation. Indeed, the most remarkable feature of the whole controversy about this strike has been the disproportion between the examination into the matter of legal rights under the common law and the constitution, and the moral principles of right, the basis of all law, involved in the whole conflict, and the tissue of disgusting slander and scandal which has been unscrupulously disseminated about both Pullman and the labor leaders. The latter, especially, have been attacked as dictators and revolutionaries, while, as everybody at all conversant with the parliamentary procedure of all labor unions knows, they could not make a move unauthorized by their unions, and simply executed the will of the members of these organizations.

The strike assumed a new phase, and the comments in the press a new complexion, the moment it was reported that the American Railway Union and affiliated labor organizations, after trying for six weeks to arrange a compromise or arbitration between Mr. Pullman and his employees, had decided to strike to support their fellow laborers in their contest with the Pullman Company. Up to this point the legality of the strike was not questioned by any newspaper in the country. The wisdom of the strike was questioned, and must be questioned, by all impartial observers of

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our social phenomena. It was doomed, as every such isolated strike is doomed, to failure from the very beginning, because, under our competitive system, in which competition by combinations of capital is limited to workmen competing for work, in either good times or bad times the workmen can never get enough returns for their work to enable them to enjoy what our orthodox political economists call, with a sort of grim humor, "the reward of abstinence," and can never lay by sufficient in the savings banks to be many weeks away from the point of starvation if idle.

It is perfectly futile and absurd for any special body of workmen or any one labor union to strike against the terms offered in any special employment, for Nature betrays her poor pawns through their necessities into the hands of their oppressors. The capitalist class, as every intelligent labor leader must have learned by this time, is not at all disturbed by such isolated strikes; and as long as the labor unions confine their action to such isolated strikes we shall see little in the press about "conspiracy" or "treason." The legality of such strikes will not be questioned, because they are a foolish waste of strength of the laboring party and quite as ridiculous as a protest against the power of corporate capital and monopoly as would be the protest of an individual workman.

The conspiracy of the railroads in California should be a good object lesson to working men as to how certain common interests can be best served. But such combinations as the California railroad conspiracy are distinctly illegal under the interstate commerce laws as a positive restraint of trade, because they not only fix a schedule of prices of transportation, but also defeat competition by reprisals on any merchants or producers who dare to seek relief in using other carriers — steam or sail boats for instance. The coöperation of labor unions, on the contrary, is not and cannot be made illegal under any statute of the United States. It is not in any sense a restraint of trade; it is simply a moral union, to sustain wages, the minimum at which men will permit control of their labor and faculties. This does not limit or arbitrarily fix the price of any commodity, for labor is not a commodity, but a productive force — a natural force.

It is the right of every citizen of a free government to work or be idle as he chooses, and of course this implies the right to make or combine to make the terms and conditions upon which he will work. Workmen cannot under any circumstances force railroad or other companies to accept their services at the figure they fix, except through such a withdrawal of labor by moral suasion as will empty the labor market and make concessions from capital advisable for its own interests. This is a conflict of interests. The government has acted as though the railroads alone had rights.

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Workmen can certainly refuse as a body of men, to work, and may vote to quit work to sustain other workmen who desire not to work, on certain conditions, and this action can in no sense whatever be declared to be illegal, even if it interferes with the power of companies to fulfil contracts made with the government. If the railroads do not desire the services of these men upon their terms, they can refrain, of course, from employing them, and it then remains for them to consider their contracts and resources.

This course simply establishes the moral relation of the laboring classes to society as a whole. It is in no sense whatever a conspiracy against society or against individuals composing corporations of capital, for it must be conceded under the constitution of the United States and under the principles of the English common law, from which we have derived our free institutions, that every citizen in the community has the right of self ownership, and if he can employ himself to better advantage than he can derive from a contract with another man, he is under no compulsion to work for another or for the State itself; and the sequence of this right is the right to join any organization whose propaganda is to quit work, if he does not care to work upon the terms offered by men in the market, or for any or no cause which does not render him liable to a civil process for breach of a formal contract. Even then the only redress lies in a suit, as contract has its limitations, in which an award of damages may be a relief to the defendant. This is an important point upon which, absurdly enough, doubt has arisen. Neither the law nor society can enjoin a man from throwing up his employment, and persuading others to do likewise, whether such action inconveniences society or interferes with contracts between the government and certain railroad corporations or not.

In case the withdrawal of the men prevents the railroads from carrying the mails according to contract, then the government has a purely civil case for breach of contract against the railroads, and the latter must find new agencies for the fulfilment of their contracts with the government. There is no question of criminal process or conspiracy in this. If, however, any men or body of men harass the railroad companies by the destruction of their property and the invasion of their premises, then the railroad companies have the right to invoke the protection of the state to aid them in carrying out their obligations, and if this is not sufficient, the state can invoke the assistance of the federal government. If, too, the mail cars are immediately attacked, robbed or threatened with violence, the corporations, in the capacity of citizens invested with a national charge, can put the matter before the postal authorities. But this limits the fed-

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eral government's action to a proclamation that the mails must not be tampered with, and, if tampered with, to their protection. But the question of violence does not affect the principle of the *rights* of either of the parties in the conflict, and the federal judiciary cannot constitutionally or legally under any interpretation of law, magnify the rights of one side, and make the state the property of a corporation or combination of corporations, instead of an equitable definer and maintainer of the rights of both parties to the contest. The burning of cars in Chicago does not change the principles of a democratic government or suddenly invest it with functions which have never received the formal sanction of its citizens.

For the state to declare, as it did in the injunction issued in the United States Court in Chicago, under instructions received from Attorney General Olney, that it was conspiracy to induce men *by persuasion* to quit the employment of the railroad companies, was tantamount to a declaratien that labor unions are illegal, for their very existence and aims depend upon the right to exert influence by moral suasion. They can exist upon no other basis, and whether their critics think them detrimental or damnable matters not; their right to exist is as unimpugnable as the right of a limited joint stock company for the purposes of trade. Such an injunction as that impinges the fundamental right of *property in self*. And, logically enough, it also declares that any organization that may interfere with or inconvenience *corporations*, which from their nature can enjoy only the right of property *in rem*, and not of property in self, by imposing conditions or raising the price *per capita* for the voluntary services of laborers, by creating a social instead of an individual opinion, for individual and mutual advantage, are conspiracies.

This puts the law of the rights of contract upside down, for its essence is voluntariness on the basis of advantage to both parties concerned. No sane person has contested the right of capital to refuse to employ men at all, if the whole laboring class should refuse to accept their conditions. We never hear of the governmental power being invoked to compel corporations of any sort to continue production and distribution if they do not see any personal advantage in so doing, even though millions may perish of cold and hunger in consequence. The law cannot guarantee freedom of contract to capitalists and deny it to laborers, for before the law there are no class distinctions. This is the distinction this injunction *creates* as a principle of our law. Of course, in refuting the possibility of such an importation into the principles of law, I am writing philosophically; I am perfectly aware of what the practice is under the existing system of defeating popular government by corruption of the judiciary by the appointment of beneficiaries of corporate capital.

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This injunction, which was designated by one of the judges concerned, "a Gatling gun on paper," would have been more or less unobjectionable if the framers had been a little more canny in concealing the purposes of plutocracy, and with a more decent jesuitry confined its scope to the condemnation and prevention of violence and arson. Unfortunately it has invaded the fundamental principle of a free government, personal liberty or *self ownership*, with its implied and corollary rights, the basis of all political rights and the franchise itself, of coöperation by opinion and the securing of a social, coöperative opinion by moral suasion.

An extension of the office (not the principle — that could not be extended; it has touched despotism), of this same "Gatling gun injunction" would declare a Republican caucus in secret session assembled, a conspiracy against the established order of the Democracy, for the objects of such an association of men are so to use moral suasion as to induce a great body of men to act in concert for the attainment of certain social conditions, through certain specific modifications of existing law, which in its ramifications affects every portion of society, and for a time must certainly promote industrial and business uncertainty and disturbance. We all know what industrial disaster and desolation the mere threat of a Democratic administration in 1892 promoted, and yet only a few enthusiasts would advocate locking up the Democratic majority in jail for conspiracy. And this temperance, even though this one administration has certainly rivalled any of its predecessors in its genius for conspiracy — as witness the sugar-bought Senate, a tariff reform bill made in the interests of the trusts, and other picturesque revelations that will make our President, in his attempts to combine "practical politics" with the character of a great historic personage, a source of irreverent mirth to that posterity, whose judgment he would anticipate while jingling contemporary gold dollars in his pockets. If he does succeed in his historic ambition he will have better luck than most moral heroes in advance of partisan thought, for their heroism usually entirely blights their worldly fortunes.

The effect of this drag-net injunction is this, in a few plain words. In any dissension of opinion between capital and labor as to their respective rights, if the laborers decide to quit work and to use moral suasion to persuade others to quit to lend force to the presentation of their claim that they contribute something to production, the state stands behind corporate capital, which has no greater rights, though we must concede more power, to declare such a strike treason against the state. This brings up the question of what is the state, which I have already defined. Then if the government is legally justified in its action, the corporations

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are the state nowadays; that is the logical conclusion, for the people obviously cannot declare that men must work when they do not desire to do so.

The attempt to solve every social and political disability the masses have ever labored under has been "treason," but we thought we had heard the last of that imbecile fantasy of feudalism when it was formally acknowledged that the powers of government were derived from the governed. If to insist upon the individual right of the citizen to form social or political associations under a free government is conspiracy and treason, then we must say with Patrick Henry, "If this be treason, make the most of it." The constitution defines treason thus: "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

The effect of such an injunction might easily have been calculated by all men acquainted with the slow and painful development of our free institutions of government, and what they have cost our forefathers of the so-called "lower classes" to win for us. It was simply to confirm the cool and intelligent leaders of the labor unions, acting always under the advice of skilful and competent attorneys, to maintain their rights and liberties under the laws of a free government. It is not in human nature to abandon the grievously-won rights of centuries at a threat which may reasonably be questioned as exceeding the authority of the jurisdiction from which it emanated. And another effect which might easily have been foreseen by men of more dispassionate judgment than the Attorney General and President Cleveland, and which was in fact foreseen by every cool-headed, thinking man in the community not blinded by partisan hopes and interests, was the exasperation of those thousands of unfortunates who, after generations of serfdom and ignorance, only feel a burning sense of their wrongs and the terrible grip of the merciless wolf in their stomachs. These know scarcely anything of their established rights, but Nature gives them some conception of outrage.

The unthinking and ignorant, who from generations of tyranny both in the Old World and in this, have inherited a keen perception of their wrongs, but are almost despairing of obtaining even those natural rights already conceded under the existing law, hearing of this strangely potent instrument of paper, which would even put their tongues and minds in chains, felt, and felt rightly, that if the conservative and judicial minds which fortunately were guiding the movement of organized labor were so arrogantly menaced, the day was surely not far off when their rights even to possess their own bodies, or to exist at all, might

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be questioned by those moneyed men for whose sole benefit the state seemed to exist. This judicial muzzle was a menace; it was an audacious threat from the state; it was an invasion of every poor man's home in the United States, for it denied the laboring poor the right to use their own minds, and to meet and exchange ideas, to find and make a community of social opinion by the ordinary methods of discussion and persuasion; it denied the right of free thought and free speech. With a jump we got back to the old days of nonjuring, when a man had to whisper his opinions discreetly at his own fireside, and then take care they did not go up the chimney. It was the most dubious instrument which has ever received the seal of any government of English-speaking people since those picturesque documents which were framed by Strafford brought an unfortunate and vain tool, divine rights and all, to the block at Whitehall. A government which undertakes to muzzle men at this end of the nineteenth century is beginning to display such unmistakable signs of weakness and futility as should drive its admirers for very fear into some catholicity of opinion. They will, however, be much more likely to smother it with their propaganda of reaction and prohibition.

I declare right now that that injunction was an invasion of my personal rights, for I desire, as an individual, to go out and meet my fellow-laborers and confer upon our mutual interests, whether I and they shall work or not. Like the Pullman workers, as an individual, I cut no figure in any consideration of the price to be paid for my labor, or the conditions upon which I shall work; I therefore desire to join an Authors' Association, and I maintain my inalienable right in any difficulty I may have with any publishing corporation, paper manufacturing corporation, printing corporation, or a trust of all these combined, to invoke the power of the Association, to which I belong, to see that justice is done me, and that until justice is done me, or arbitration is agreed upon, all relations between the association and this corporation or corporations shall cease.

These manufacturing corporations have a contract wtih a corporation for the distribution of the products of the Authors' Association, and the distributing company has another contract to supply the government with our amusing works, for reasons best known to an appreciative government. But since the works of all the authors of the association are withdrawn, pending a settlement of the difficulties between the association and the manufacturing corporations, the agency of distribution is unable to continue its business, and enters suit against the manufacturing corporations for not supplying goods according to contract. The government also clamors for our amusing works, and threat-

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ens suit against the distributing company. Why, then I am guilty of treason! Are the officers of the Authors' Association guilty of conspiracy? The case is exactly analogous with that against the officers of the American Railroad Union; but I think that the Attorney General would hardly undertake this case. He and his kind do not love literature, even law books, enough to detect conspiracies where the "glory" is so incommensurate with the odium. But if, in such a case, I am not guilty of treason, he is guilty of criminal negligence, for surely the claims of one corporation are as good as those of another; if one company or combination of companies can invoke the power of the government, surely no invidious distinctions will be made.

It seems to be a well established principle of a free government that all vendors of commodities can, without any conspiracy against the government, fix the price of their commodities, either by coöperation or agreement, or individually, so long as there is no restraint upon others making other arrangements. The man with commodities to sell is obviously in a more advantageous position than the laborer who has only his work to sell, although both before the law are vendors, with the right to ask any price or conditions they desire. It has never yet been laid down as a rule or principle of law that any two or twenty men in business should not be allowed to coöperate to sell their commodities at a price which would insure them both the cost and a profit, and there has been no legal limit to profit, as long as no disabilities are imposed upon other producers and distributors. And since "labor" has now become, in the terms of economic theory, a "commodity" — though it can never morally sink to this as long as men retain any manhood — subject to the law of supply and demand, always falling in value at the nod of capital, and never sharing in the increased prices of products, except as consumers, surely to God, the laborer has a right to merely *assert* at what price and upon what conditions he will sell this "commodity"; and if he cannot get his price, surely he has a right to retire altogether from the market without being pursued with this ancient bugaboo of "conspiracy" and "treason."

If it can be legally proved that the author and his fellow wage workers have been guilty of "treason" and conspiracy by some new and sudden creation of "omnibus" court law, utterly alien and foreign to the rules and principles of the law of a free government, then it is certainly time for an agitation to sweep through this country which will make it in fact a democracy instead of a hypocritical despotism. If, however, this is the law, we have yet to proclaim our Declaration of Independence.

It has been pointed out over and over again by some of the most philosophic and greatest minds of Europe — and I suppose

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the "American idea" is not so vast up to date as to completely overshadow the wisdom of the greatest men of the Old World — that the chief danger of this country lies in the possible usurpation of power by the federal judiciary, which is by the method of its appointment beyond the power of popular resentment by the ballot. It has become sadly apparent that the judiciary of this democracy has developed fantastically arbitrary conceptions of its functions. It has become ludicrously manifest that corporations, rings and trusts leagued against the interests and prosperity of the people, can not only buy legislation in Congress and in the legislatures, which is within the power of the people to revoke and to resent by discharging and dismissing in disgrace the legislators who allowed themselves to be purchased, but it is showing a subtler and more insidious power. It is showing that it can successfully conspire to seduce the goddess of justice to open one eye — or at least give a squint at the scales.

It was said by one of the grand duchesses of Louis the Fourteenth's court when reproached by a pious abbé on her gambling propensities, and threatened with post-mortal pains and penalties, "Ah, but my dear abbé, the good God would surely think twice before damning a person of my 'quality.'" Plutocracy is beginning to claim the same aristocratic exemption and leniency from the courts high and low in this country. Their "quality" and not the common rights are to be considered.

Something of the old childish superstition of superiority and smug complacency is beginning to disappear, but how many Americans realize, when they lay the flattering unction to their souls that they make all the laws of this democracy, that the most dangerous and subversive laws are not to be looked for in the measures introduced in Congress and Senate in open debate or in the legislatures of the states, but are most to be feared from another quarter. It is possible to import them silently and insidiously into the decrees of the federal judiciary, where they will remain to block and defeat justice and liberty for many generations. The events of the past few weeks have shown, and to many the revelation must have come as a shock, what strange reactionary perversion of the principles of a democracy founded upon free speech and equal rights can be made by the interpolation of a few words into an ordinary judicial writ of restraint. A word or two here and there in judicial decrees and injunctions, and all of liberty is gone; and then to denounce the law, the sacred law of the land, is high treason, and muzzles and ribaldry are in order.

We are getting a foretaste of the realization of President Lincoln's fear. If there are men enough in the republic to speak as fearlessly as he did we may yet retrieve our grievous mistakes.

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If there are not, if none dare run the risk of being spattered with mud by the hirelings of the plutocratic press, if all are afraid of that damning and recklessly used term of contempt, "anarchist," we may expect to fatten only in servility — a godless, faithless, trustless horde of whipped time-servers, a race to be swallowed by Time and forgotten. In his message to the second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress, Abraham Lincoln said: —

> Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism. It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital somehow, by the use of it induces him to labor. . . . Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. . . . No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

It was not to be expected that men of any dignity or self respect, with any manly perception of the relations between the citizen and the state and the reciprocal relations of the state and the citizen under a free government, would tamely relinquish, under the threat of a federal injunction, whose constitutionality was disputed and maybe cannot be established by anything less radical than a new constitution, their rights as citizens to meet and confer with their fellow citizens upon any and every question affecting their mutual interests, legal, social or political. If we have lived to 1894 to see the establishment of czarism or a formally legal judicial police system to administer fiats instead of justice, in the United States, then it was surely a ridiculous waste of blood and treasure to overthrow the benign constabulary government of King George the Third by divine right. It was not for mere tea or mere taxes on tea or stamp duties that the fathers of the Revolution bore the brand of traitors and ran the risk of swinging on the gallows. It was because George III. tried to put their minds in chains! And Attorney General Olney, and the anticipatory "historic personage" at his elbow who concurs in his fantastic complacency in issuing this famous "Gatling gun injunction," declare the right of government to do no more and no less.

After the Norman conquest, all jurisdiction was vested in the

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King and his Chancellor, to whom jurisdiction was delegated for convenience. The Chancellor then became the chief adviser to the King in the exercise of his jurisdiction, and the curious custom arose in consequence of calling the Chancellor "the King's conscience." The difference between that time and ours, it must be noticed, is this, — then all jurisdiction was vested in the King and his Chancellor; now the President and his Chancellor are, in theory, but the interpreters of a jurisdiction that derives its potency from the will and consent of the people. But in both cases it is of great moment to the people that this "conscience," so close to the chief executive, should be uncorrupted and incorruptible. The motives of a president, no less than those of a king, may with some accuracy be gauged by the sort of "conscience" he selects for this intimate relation in these great responsibilities. All of Mr. Cleveland's appointments have puzzled honest men; and it is unnecessary to say anything more about the particular "conscience" at his so ingenuous ear than this — it is a *corporation counsel "conscience"*; and all through this conflict between capital and labor it has acted, as any man not so ingenuous as Mr. Cleveland would have anticipated, in the interests of those particular "consciences" with which it has the most realistic and most natural affinity. Consciences of a very similar stripe were to be bought in good King George the First's reign, during the Jacobite days, at half a crown a pair; but they come quite high nowadays. Mr. Cleveland and his "conscience" both have the same itch and cling close. We hope posterity may be kind enough to forget this immitigable "conscience," or we greatly fear the memory of the "historic personage" will stink in about two generations.

The jurisdiction of a government is the right or power vested in the government by the people of declaring the right to administer justice. This may be declared either from the established rules of law which are directly applicable to the case in question, or — and here we must be sure that our judges are not only lawyers, but understand thoroughly the philosophy of law, — reasoned from the principles of law; logical deduction from the fundamental principles of the law, as we have received it in its historical development from the race to which we belong. The function of the federal jurisdiction is most essentially that of a judge or umpire between all parties, and between parties and the state; and justice constitutes the only admissible rule of decision. From all other decisions we maintain the right of free men to dissent, and in dissenting by moral persuasion to agitate against. For, as many of the greatest philosopic writers on law have said in various ways, "No law can create for us a false duty or deprive us of a true natural law."*

* See Victor Cousin.

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In giving his order for this "Gatling gun injunction," we maintain that Attorney General Olney was certainly not acting under authority; for he can find no authority under the constitution of the United States, under any statute or under any judicial decree, for an injunction decreeing it contempt of court or conspiracy for any man *to persuade* others to unite in a moral protest, by ceasing to labor, against what they conceive to be the denial of their rights as citizens by other citizens. And if he conceives that he is reasoning from the principles of the law of this democracy, as we have received it from the makers of the liberties of our race, then we are in grievous danger from his evident mental incapacity to comprehend the principles of the law of a democracy, or of any constitutionally governed state. There is a desperate gap in his logic and reasoning, which, once formulated into a legal precedent, even if it only inheres in a judicial decree of restraint, as a mere quibble for every rascally corporation counsel, not so compelled to honesty as Mr. Olney, to lay hold of in future troubles to cheat the masses of their rights, is a precedent that must be most tyrannous to the poor and perhaps perilous to the safety of this form of government.

IV.

Events then crowded thick and fast. The importation of the federal government as a factor in a disagreement as to the terms and conditions of a commercial contract (for that is what a labor contract is, although so-called "men of business" seem to regard their pursuits as peculiar and superior, making them benefactors rather than mere contractors for equivalents) was something formidable. The leaders of the labor movement, though, placed under the peril of contempt of court, could not recede from a position which they had an unquestionable legal and constitutional right to assume. They could not as free men abrogate their right to confer and consult and persuade others to confer and consult respecting their mutual interests as workmen and citizens. But these threats provoked and exasperated the lawless and destitute and ignorant elements of society in Chicago to that blind resentment that defeats its own ends in the destruction of property. Such violence was an infraction of the municipal and state laws and regulations, and the railroad companies should have immediately notified the properly constituted municipal and state authorities and placed the protection of their property in their hands. By not doing so they seemed to indicate that they did not regard themselves as amenable to the state authorities.

This matter of the destruction of property had nothing at all to do with any consideration of the *principles* involved in the struggle between organized labor and corporate capital. And

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with the conflict of rights the federal government was not concerned. The destruction of property was entirely and exclusively a matter for the municipal and state authorities to deal with; the offenders against the municipal regulations and state laws should have been met with an adequate force of police and state militia and compelled to desist from their depredations after due warning to quit. All those found engaged in destroying property should have been promptly arrested and summarily dealt with under the laws of the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois.

Instead of appealing to the municipal authorities and the governor of the state for the protection of their property, the railroad companies through their attorneys, who were in constant consultation with the United States district attorney, made a requisition upon the federal government for United States regular troops. The President at once responded, thus recognizing the claims of the railroad companies as superior to the rights and dignity of the state of Illinois.

In his capacity of commander in chief of the army Mr. Cleveland showed that he could play as fantastic tricks before high Heaven as his "conscience." He marched his troops into Illinois and began military operations without consulting the governor of Illinois, and without even making the proclamation demanded by law. He had been in possession two days, although the presence of the federal troops was formally protested against by Governor Altgeld as unnecessary and unwarranted and against the spirit of a democratic government, before he was reminded by the governor of another state, Governor Pennoyer, that he was under the legal necessity of making a proclamation before moving troops into action. Mr. Cleveland's great legal mind had overlooked a constitutional requirement which is familiar to "Macaulay's schoolboy." Mr. Cleveland condescended to act upon the hint, and Chicago was virtually placed under martial law, in defiance of the expressed will of the governor of the state.

It will be remembered that during the administration of a certain conservative president, one George Washington, a disturbance, known as the Whiskey rebellion or Jacobin outbreak, arose in Pennsylvania. The country was somewhat necessarily agitated after a long and exhausting strife with another great nation, but President Washington was a cautious mind, and he did not allow any zeal for some mysterious social applause in the political background to influence his actions. He most conspicuously did not ignore the governor of the state. Two proclamations were issued, and then President Washington made a requisition upon the governor to call out the militia and restore order. A similar requisition was made upon Governor Lee of Virginia and upon the governors of Maryland and New Jersey, and Gen-

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eral Lee was made commander in chief. The troops employed were state troops. But it is to be presumed that a whiskey rebellion was to be treated with greater consideration, being a political rather than a social disturbance, than the protests of laboring men against the high and sublime conceptions of the functions of labor held by holy capital.

We have been assured by Attorney General Olney, according to a newspaper interview telegraphed from Washington all over the country, that: —

> The paramount duty of the president is to see that the laws of the United States are faithfully executed, and in the discharge of that duty he is not hampered or crippled by the necessity of consulting any chief of police, mayor or even governor. In the present instance nothing has been done and nothing ordered which the most captious critic can condemn as an invasion of state rights. The action of the national executive has been exclusively directed to the enforcement of the United States laws, the execution of the orders and processes of the United States courts, and the prevention of any obstruction of United States mails. The notion that the territory of any state is too sacred to permit the exercise thereon by the United States government of any of its legitimate functions never had any legal existence, and, as a rule of conduct, became practically extinct with the close of the civil war.

President Cleveland responded to Governor Altgeld's protest against his assumption of despotic military power in these words: —

> While I am persuaded that I have neither transcended my authority nor duty in the emergency that confronts us, it seems to me that in this hour of danger and public distress, discussion may well give way to active effort on the part of all in authority to restore obedience to law and to protect life and property.

This is perhaps the most absurd and unworthy utterance made during the whole conflict. If reason is to be put aside for the mere domination of brute force at a moment of grave public danger involving the legal rights of the millions, at a time when any injurious and reactionary measure may become a precedent and a serious factor in the obstruction of remedial measures to deal with the evil later, then we may well ask, What is President Cleveland's conception of his function as the chief magistrate of this democracy? If ever there was a time for serious conference and discussion before committing this country to some dangerous, untried policy of federalism and militarism, it was during the month of June, 1894. It is the part of law breakers to act sometimes in this hasty manner — action and violence first and reflection and the establishing of authority afterward; but if we cannot expect reason to obtain sway in the minds of the administrators of the law, we are in a bad way indeed.

I would respectfully remind Mr. Cleveland that the essence of the law is reason — he can turn up the authorities; they include

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Coke and Blackstone and all the heavy weights of law — and the jurisdiction of the federal courts is essentially that of courts in equity. As the highest representative of a popular government, Mr. Cleveland himself is not so much committed to constabulary functions as to the maintenance of equitable rights. He abdicates something more worthy than his authority when he puts his scorn upon temperate discussion and reason in order to carry out his will; he abdicates the esteem of all intelligent, reasonable men, who know that if the world is ever to progress socially and politically it can only do so through limiting the dominion of mere force and investing the law more and more with reason. Even the constabulary is supposed to be governed by reason. We thought our constitutional laws were imbued with something of this civilized character, but according to Mr. Olney we were grievously mistaken.

As a matter of fact Mr. Cleveland could not satisfy the objections of Governor Altgeld reasonably. He was evidently committed from the beginning to a programme which for its success depended upon the bold declaration and importation of new principles into the laws of this country. This could not be safely attempted by legislation; but it could be done by other means. It remains to be seen whether the American people will accept these new and strange principles as declared by Attorney General Olney and the machinery of the department of justice. Mr. Cleveland ignored the question at issue entirely, and most unwisely and arrogantly, for he tried to, as the newspapers put it, "snub" the governor of Illinois, which was certainly a great indiscretion in a public functionary, however high his office, called upon to consider a grave public question, not merely affecting official dignity but the lives, fortunes and rights of thousands of free citizens. In dealing with a tributary race with no political rights it may be safe and expedient for an officer of a distant central government to put aside the question of law and authority — although Pontius Pilate hesitantly considered it; but in dealing with the social troubles of a free people, self-governing citizens, it does not reveal either wisdom or honest intention to ignore the local authorities invested with the people's rights and liberties. The principle of local self government is just as fundamental in our institutions as that of federal supremacy. The latter is indeed historically derived from the former and has always been hedged about with safeguards to maintain inherent in this democracy the essential and fundamental principles of popular government. Governor Altgeld pointed out to President Cleveland that: —

In assuming the executive has the legal right to order federal troops into any community in the United States in the first instance whenever there is any disturbance, and that he can do this without any regard to

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the question as to whether that community is able to and ready to enforce the law itself; and inasmuch as the executive is the sole judge of the question as to whether any disturbance exists or not in any part of the country, this assumption means that the executive can send federal troops into any community in the United States at his pleasure and keep them there as long as he chooses. If this is the law, then the principle of local self-government either never did exist in this country, or else has been destroyed.

It is also a fundamental principle in our government that, except in times of war, the military shall be subordinate to the civil authorities. In harmony with this provision, the state troops, when ordered out, act under and with the civil authorities. The federal troops ordered to Chicago are not under the civil authorities, and are in no way responsible to them for their conduct. They are not even acting under the United States marshal, or under any federal officer of the state, but are acting directly under military orders issued from military headquarters at Washington, and, in so far as these troops act at all, it is military government.

The statute authorizing federal troops to be sent into states in certain cases contemplates that the state troops shall be taken first. This provision has been ignored, and it is assumed that the executive is not bound by it. Federal interference with industrial disturbances in the various states is certainly a new departure, and it opens up so large a field that it will require a very little stretch of authority to absorb to itself all the details of local goverment.

Troops were ordered into Illinois upon the demand of the post office department and upon representations of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the courts could not be served, and upon proof that conspiracies existed. All of these officers are appointed by the executive. Most of them can be removed by him at will. They are not only obliged to do his bidding, but they are in effect a part of the executive. If several of them can apply for troops, one alone can; so that under the law, as you assume it to be, an executive, through any one of his appointees, can apply to himself to have the military sent into any city or number of cities, and base his application on such representations or showings as he sees fit to make. The executive is the sole judge. Then the executive can pass on his own application—his will being the sole guide; he can hold the application to be sufficient and order troops to as many places as he wishes, and put them in command of any one he chooses, and have them act, not under the civil officers, either federal or state, but act directly under military orders from Washington, and there is not in the constitution or laws of the land, whether written or unwritten, any limitation or restraint upon his power. His judgment, that is, his will, is the sole guide, and it being purely a matter of discretion, his decision can never be examined or questioned. This assumption as to the power of the executive is certainly new, and I respectfully submit that it is not the law of the land. The jurists have told us that this is a government of law, and not a government by the caprice of individuals, and further, that instead of being autocratic, it is a government of limited power. Yet the autocrat of Russia could certainly not possess or claim to possess greater power than is possessed by the executive of the United States, if this assumption is correct.

The executive has the command, not only of the regular forces of the United States, but of the military forces of all the states, and can order them to any place he sees fit to, and it will be an easy matter under your construction of the law for an ambitious executive to order out the military forces of all of the states and establish at once a military government. The only chance of failure in such a movement could come from rebellion.

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All the Tory plutocratic newspapers have hailed with delight the importation into our government of the principles of the old Federal party. In the open fusion of the Democratic and Republican wings of the plutocratic party Mr. Cleveland is the great "historic" heretic, who is to pave the way for Cæsarism in the next century. It is a great project and a high ambition. The question is, Will the mass of free men in this republic allow the conspiracy to succeed? Are we ready for a Cæsar? Would not even an innocuous spendthrift "constitutional" monarchy of millinery, such as England puts up with because of its absolute nonentity in all political affairs, be preferable? Mr. Cleveland appears to be acting under a war measure of 1861, which was set aside by the law passed in 1877, after the big strikes in Pennsylvania. The measure of 1861 was framed expressly for meeting the exigencies of war time; but the law of 1877 had this rider attached: —

> It shall not be lawful to employ any part of the army of the United States as a *posse comitatus* or otherwise for the purpose of executing laws, except in such cases and under such circumstances as such employment of such force may be expressly authorized by the constitution or by act of Congress, and no money appropriated by this act shall be used to pay any of the expenses incurred.

Mr. Cleveland, in his letter to Governor Altgeld, says in substance that the troops were ordered out as a *posse comitatus*, which is a violation of the law.

Under this interpretation of the law there can be no doubt that Section 4, Article 4 of the constitution still remains in force: "The United States shall guarantee to every state in the union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

It will thus be seen that Mr. Olney's and Mr. Cleveland's whimsical ideas of their functions and authority are at variance with the constitution of the United States. Governor Altgeld points out if Mr. Cleveland is supported by the law and public opinion, then the will of the executive is the only law in this country, and home rule and self government are forever abrogated, unless the people upset their governors, and hence destroy the law. But that would be revolution.

This is certainly a strange political doctrine under any form of popular government, in a limited constitutional monarchy, for instance, but it is indeed an extraordinary assumption to come from one of the chief officers of a Democratic administration of this republic. In the early political discords of this republic the Federalists advocated this doctrine of the centralization of all power in the federal authority, and it was not until the Jeffer-

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sonian opposition ideas prevailed that this union of states was firmly and harmoniously established. The doctrines of Alexander Hamilton, great man as he was, were opposed to the needs of governmental elasticity essential to the peace and development of a modern self-governing people, and to revive them at the end of this century is to revive the conceptions of the central authority and its functions which were as much held by George the Third himself as by Alexander Hamilton. George the Third desired to interfere with the liberties, not of foreign states, but merely distant provinces, and he held the central government was imbued with the necessary legislative and judicial authority. It most certainly was at the time, but his authority was, nevertheless, regarded as too whimsical for toleration by a large-minded, independent, intelligent people desirous of governing themselves. It was not taxes on tea, but the determination to obtain Home Rule, that brought about the Revolution, but for which little incident Mr. Olney's views might be quite tenable, if he were Attorney General to a British kingdom that had not changed its political institutions since 1776. Unfortunately for Mr. Olney's judicial wisdom the political institutions of Great Britain *have* changed, and his doctrine would be as fantastic and impossible within the Empire as it is here. For instance, his conception of the jurisdiction and functions of the central government would not be tenable in Queen Victoria's Canadian or Australian provinces, or even between the Dominion and the provincial governments.

The Civil War was not fought over the question of local government. Neither Buchanan's nor Lincoln's administration questioned the right of the slaveholding states to govern themselves in all domestic and internal affairs, and the right of the slaveholding states to administer laws not applicable in other states was not opposed. The Civil War arose not over a question of the domestic rights of government insured by the constitution to the slave states, but over the constitutionality of extending those privileges to newly created states on their borders. This was held rightly to be a matter for the federal jurisdiction. Let us in quoting events of history for justification of present conditions be absolutely honest, Mr. Attorney General. If it had not been for "bleeding Kansas" and the opportunity afforded Abraham Lincoln by the cessation of reciprocal obligations, caused by the rebellion, of declaring slavery throughout the Union forever abolished, we might possibly see human chattels in Virginia, Louisiana and the Carolinas to-day.

If the doctrine of state rights is so obsolete, it is rather strange no less than five state governors concurred in condemning President Cleveland's declaration of the supremacy of the military authority over the civil government and in declaring that it was

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without precedent and dangerous. The fact is, of course, that the doctrine of state rights cannot be obsolete until popular government itself is obsolete. It is the fundamental principle of a democracy of states.

Under this reactionary federal interpretion of the law we have already witnessed many strange things. The last scene is the arrest of certain leaders of the labor movement on charges of "conspiracy," which are assuredly untenable under the definition of conspiracy given in the constitution. An attempt is being made to try these men on criminal indictments in federal courts without a jury for no outrage of the law, for no destruction of life or property, but for being officers of labor organizations formed for the purpose of opposing capitalistic aggressions by the passive resistance of quitting their work. Are these things really happening in the United States, in the year 1894, — is this really the democracy which crushed the power of King George the Third for certain invasions of the liberty of the subject no greater in degree, and no more peremptory and absolute in character?

If the masses of American voters are ready for and reconciled to Cæsarism they will continue to return indefinitely either the Democrats or the Republicans, one or the other wing of the plutocratic conspiracy, to power. If they have any fantastic scruples of conscience and manhood, any love of liberty of speech and freedom of action, they will sweep the Democratic and Republican gang of tricksters and boughten rascals into the same limbo that echoes with the divine right of kings and the political philosophy of the old American Federal party.

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MESSAGE OF MOUNT LOWE.*

BY JAMES G. CLARK.

WE were born of the earthquake, the mist and the fire,
  And rocked and baptized in the foam of the brine;
The Earth is our Mother, the Sun is our Sire,
  And the planets at night on our bosoms recline;
The Earth is our Mother — we lean on her breast
  When the full moon awakes on her outermost rim,
And the shield of our father lies low in the West,
  And his eyelids have closed and his glory waxed dim.

When the world was unsullied by hatred and strife,
  Ere the plunder and slaughter of war had begun —
Ere Man had come forth from the Fountains of Life —
  We were turning our gaze to the stars and the sun, —
And as Teachers and Toilers and Builders with God,
  We were weaving the warp and the web of the lands,
And the valleys and plains that the races have trod,
  In their ebb and their flow, are the work of our hands.

The cycles crept on, with their seasons and days —
  Those shuttles that play in the infinite loom —
And our Mother rejoiced at her lover's fond gaze,
  And her being responded in gladness and bloom, —
Till the hungry invaders and pillagers came
  With instincts of heaven and passions of hell,
And our bare hands were lifted in protest and shame
  While millions in conflict and agony fell.

We were tired of the clashing of sabre and spear,
  So we opened our lips to the Powers above,
And prayed for some Hero of Truth to appear
  And plant on our summits the emblems of Love.
He came not with cannon and red battle flags,
  In the vauntings of might and the spirit of war,
Yet the lightnings and torrents leaped down from our crags
  To be harnessed as helpers and steeds to his car.

* The Sierra Madre Mountains are a noble range in Southern California, near Los Angeles and Pasadena. They rise from San Gabriel Valley to an altitude of 6,000 feet. The genius, or "Hero of Truth," referred to is Prof. T. S. C. Lowe, who projected and built the remarkable mountain railway which penetrates the deep canyons and surmounts the granite cliffs of the range that culminates in Mount Lowe.

Dr. Lewis Swift, the eminent astronomer, formerly of Warner Observatory, Rochester, N. Y., is the "Seer" of the poem, who now presides over the Lowe Observatory located on a spur called Echo Mountain.

This poem was recited by the author at a reception which Professor Lowe and the council and people of Pasadena extended to Professor Swift and wife, June 8, 1894.

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The steeds had been tamed by the touch of his hand,
  And well knew the lesson the Master had taught,
And bent to their task at the word of command
  To capture a realm with the chariots of Thought;
And we, who the thunders of Time have defied
  Since our rule o'er the lowlands and waters began —
And we, who to commerce our gates have denied,
  Surrender at last to the genius of man.

Still with feet to the desert and ocean we rise;
  And with faces upturned to the stillness profound,
And worlds looking down with their wonderful eyes,
  And clouds like white garments encircling us round,
We question the dawn, as we silently kneel,
  And lo! by the light of the Orient's face,
A Prophet approaches whose wand shall unseal
  The secrets that sleep in the bosom of space.

His soul has communed with the souls of the Seers
  Whose dreams with the thoughts of the Infinite blend;
His life is in tune with the harp of the spheres,
  And he talks with the planets as friend talks with friend:
And from treasures and tributes of forest and mine,
  And stones that are quarried from canyon and glen,
Arises a temple — an altar divine,
  Where the stars shall come down and hold council with men.

The ages shall roll, with their decades and years —
  Those pages and leaves in the volume of Time,
Whose records are written in smiles or in tears,
  Or painted in shadows, or symbols sublime —
And the children of men shall the story recount
  Of the victory won o'er the gods of the heights,
While pilgrims ascend to our shrine on the mount
  To be led by the stars to the "Father of Lights."

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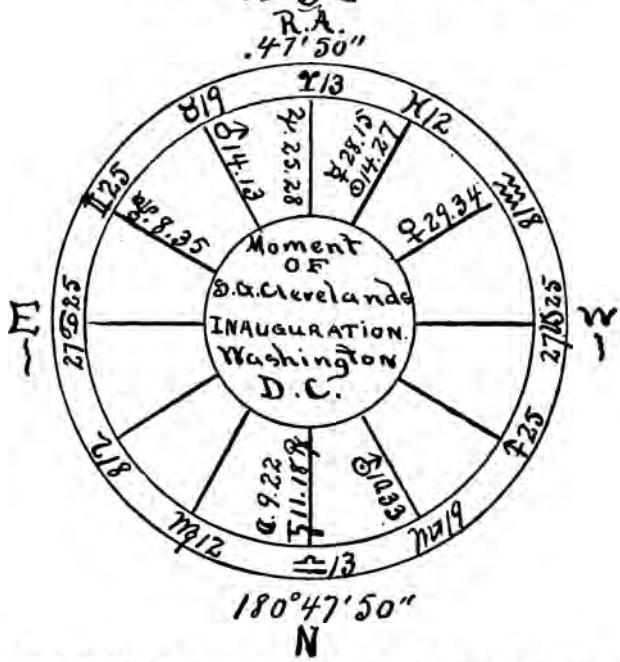

MAP OF THE HEAVEN AT TIME MR. CLEVELAND TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE.

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AN ASTROLOGICAL FORECAST OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.*

BY JULIUS ERICKSON.

At the moment when Grover Cleveland took the oath of office, the celestial solstitial sign "Cancer," which the Moon rules, was rising on the eastern horizon; hence the Moon, which denotes the public and in this case the Democratic party also (because Cleveland represents that party), is his ruling planet, or, in astrological nomenclature, "significator." Ordinarily, a person denoted by the moon in a nativity is not, "astrologically speaking," gifted with very great tenacity of purpose, but in horary or state astrology the conditions are varied somewhat.

The first thing observable in the accompanying horoscope is that the four cardinal points, viz., east, south, west and north, marked in the figure, are occupied by what are termed "movable" signs. These are so termed for the reason that when the Sun in his daily course through the zodiac reaches the first point of either of these signs, viz., spring, summer, autumn or winter, the seasons are "movable or varied," that is, liable to be a trifle early or a trifle late, according to atmospherical and local conditions. As a contradistinction to these are the fixed signs, the first named being "Aries," "Cancer," "Libra" and "Capricornus," which correspond to the beginning of the four seasons; the latter four being "Taurus," "Leo," "Scorpio" and "Aquarius," which signify that when the sun enters the first point of either of these, the season is fixed, or is in the heart of spring, summer, autumn or winter, meaning May, August, October and February.

As before observed, the movable signs hold the four cardinal points. This is an evil testimony for the stability and endurance of the Democratic party, and is an equally bad testimony for the policy of the administration. Hence the course of events will be singularly marked with serious and conflicting elements of uncertainty with regard to the methods which will be observed in a great many instances, sometimes arriving at conclusions or decisions with remarkable exhibitions of speed, and at others

* This paper was submitted exactly as here published the third week in March, 1893, a duplicate copy being filed with the librarian at Washington at the same time. See note by editor at close of article.

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with an equally exasperating degree of slowness. *The president's judgment in many cases will be decidedly at variance with the policy which the public will expect to emanate from the head of the Democratic party*, which will be the cause of producing some extremely unpleasant conditions, and sharp criticisms not entirely calculated to multiply his earthly pleasures; and *he will have a far more troublesome, annoying, disappointing and anxiously vexatious time of it than any president has had since Lincoln.* This is owing to the Moon, his ruling planet, being in close conjunction with the malignant Saturn in the lower quadrant of the horoscope.

However, Jupiter, lord of all the planets and the deification of all earthly good and honors, and who is as powerful for good as Saturn is for evil, is fortunately placed in the tenth house, the house of honor, and elevated above all the others; hence his indications are exceptionally powerful, and this is the one most favorable testimony. This signifies that personally, the president will in a measure be comparatively successful in his general management of public affairs.

The rising sign denotes the public, and its being in conjunction with Saturn is an extremely evil indication for the welfare, health and general condition of the people during his term; hence I judge severe trouble, great trials, sickness and in various other ways more trouble in general than for many years past, will inevitably ensue. The sign Leo, which the Sun rules, denotes the wealth of the nation. What are the prospects? Not favorable, for the Sun is cadent, out of all dignities, and in no aspect with either Jupiter or Venus to promise wealth. The Moon must also be considered, and the Moon is in evil aspect with Saturn. However, I judge there will be a slight, only a slight, increase in the wealth of the nation, on account of Jupiter and the Sun being elevated and in mutual reception by house and exaltation; hence an increase is indicated, but not so much as it should be.

During Cleveland's incumbency there will be discovered some startling mischief, or some fearful calamity, something entirely out of the general run of affairs in connection with some of our public buildings, in which the general government is interested; but if it is of a criminal nature, "Lord help the criminals." This strange prediction is based on the position of Uranus in the fourth mansion, and Uranus has ever been held to signify odd and entirely unexpected calamities, such as come in strange and singular ways; the precise nature cannot be foretold, but the probabilities are clearly indicated. Observe it well.

The navy will be increased by decided measures, and the end will justify the means (we want a good navy). Jupiter, ruler of

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the sixth house, placed so powerfully in Aries the house of Mars, and Jupiter ruler of the fiery triplicity being ruled in turn by Mars, who is deified as the god of war, promise the best and most powerful navy afloat, and furthermore denote the glorious success of the men-of-war if ever called upon to exhibit deeds of valor.

As for Cleveland personally, his administration will be marked by his success in his endeavors to carry out against heavy odds whatever he undertakes to do, *but the public will dissent in various ways.* The house of Congress will not be very kindly disposed towards him on account of the position of Mars on the cusp of the eleventh house, and just when he thinks he can fully rely on his friends therein for support there is an extreme liability of their utterly failing him, and so creating unlooked-for disaster to the administration. They may at first appear to be hand in glove with him, but it is only transitory, for those who have sworn or professed friendship for him will be very liable to turn traitor to him. However, in spite of all these evil indications, he will somehow carry an element of success with him and this will pull him through until near the close.

But in 1895 the clouds begin to lower. This will be an extremely disastrous period; affairs go wrong, personal friends prove false, treachery and disappointment show their gaunt and haggard features in every corner, and trouble boils the kettle. Then the cloud is lifted for a short time during the middle of the year; vain hope, the end is unfavorable. His administration begins to lack that forcefulness the people expect. Though occasionally brilliant *coup d'etats* will serve to lighten the gloom, nevertheless the fulness of success is lacking and the lines of time draw close towards the end. *But the most disastrous time of the whole will eventuate in 1896, and the close of his term will witness the most startling changes in the political history of the United States.*

The indications point to an entirely new party, the formations of new principles, new men and new ideas, which will lead to the relegation of the Democratic party to the black forest of oblivion. The Cleveland administration enters with the blare of trumpets and a blaze of glory, but will depart under a cloud of sinister conditions, and at that eventful time the following prediction will be verified, — "The Democratic party will fail to elect its candidate in 1896 if it places one in the field."

A few words by way of explanation may be of interest. Outside of my astrological judgment, there is a time to every purpose under the heavens. Nature never works blindly, but with a certain and sure end in view. Observe the different strata of earth formation, telling of an adaptation of nature to the needs of prehistoric man. Gaze into the waters of the seas, and note

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the different varieties of piscatorial life. Study the strange conditions of the denizens of subterranean lakes, where the eternal light of day never enters; these wonderful fish have not even the semblance of rudimentary eyes! Why? Because eyes are made to see with, and having no light to use, eyesight would be superfluous. Thus we see that nature never wastes, and in all these wonders its hand is clearly shown. Furthermore, no such thing as chance or accident can or ever did exist. Rev. A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster Abbey (1864–76), uttered during a celebrated sermon: "The nineteenth century may close in darkness, but the twentieth will dawn in light. The prophets whom we stone our sons will honor, and the calamities of this world, so it would appear seem, not by accident, but by fixed laws and a combination of causes, which, on looking back, seems irresistible."

The enemies of astrology would do well to ponder and examine proofs before condemning something they do not understand. So in nature we observe everything adapted to our wants, and a wise provision for every act. I will illustrate. When Cleveland was nominated in June, the celestial intelligences pointed to his election. The predictions made then have been fulfilled, completing that act of the play, but now another act is to be consummated. This — Cleveland could have taken the oath of office at high noon. The inclemency of the weather would have been a good excuse for doing so; but no, his spiritual forces, unknown to him, prompted him to take the oath of office when the indications for certain conditions and effects to follow were complete. Hence while we may be practically free to do as we elect, yet there is an overpowering intelligence to point the way and shape our ends. In the language of Pope,

> "The universal cause
> Acts to one end, but acts by various laws."

In conclusion I will say that I am entirely uninfluenced by personal feelings, but offer my predictions based on the rules of the science of astrology alone. I am open to conviction of the falsity of the art, but my critics must furnish absolute proofs, based on demonstrable elements of fact, instead of parroting the words of some would-be authority which is no authority at all. And I offer this article in advance of any ever published in America, so that the public who are interested can watch the events accordingly; in the hope that they will

> "Nothing extenuate,
> Or aught set down in malice."

NOTES ON THE ABOVE BY THE EDITOR.

Three weeks after the inauguration of President Cleveland I received the foregoing paper, with the accompanying map of the heavens at the time the president took the oath of office. In submitting this paper,

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Mr. Erickson stated that he had already sent copies to Washington, where they had been copyrighted. This he did in order to have a historical record of the prediction made at the opening of an administration which came in with the blare of trumpets, and with all branches of the government in the control of the party of Grover Cleveland.

I submitted the paper to some friends, most of whom regarded the predictions as wild and visionary. They pointed to the fact that the democracy was now in power in all branches of government, that the claim was being made that for the next quarter of a century the party would be dominant, and that it would be absurd to suppose that President Cleveland, with the experience of four years behind him, would antagonize his party in the way indicated.

Personally, I believed the predictions would be substantially verified, although I arrived at my conclusions from entirely different premises to those upon which Mr. Erickson based his opinions. I had noticed the statement, first published by the *Wall Street News* of March 2, 1893, that the president had, during the preceding four years, made an enormous sum of money in Wall Street speculations. A few particularly odious stocks were mentioned as those upon which he had realized most money in that Monte Carlo of America, that paradise of gamblers and acquirers of wealth. I felt that if the published statements were true, Mr. Cleveland had come so completely under the Wall Street and monopolistic influence that he would attempt to carry out the financial policy of his Republican predecessor, and in other ways prove as subservient to corporate interests as had the party of the opposition.

The cabinet selections confirmed this impression; for it was an ominous fact that most of the advisers chosen by the president were, at the time of their appointment, directors in railroads, banks or other great organizations representing corporate power and greed; and, most portentous of all, it was seen that the president had selected to fill the office of attorney general a railroad attorney, who, as counsel for the whiskey trust, had filed nine demurrers in Boston, some months before his selection, in which he declared the anti-trust law, which the Democratic party and its president were pledged to enforce, was unconstitutional and void. When it was seen that a railroad director and an attorney for railroads and counsel for the whiskey trust had been elected to see to the enforcement of the interstate commerce law and to redeem one of the important planks of the platform Mr. Cleveland had pledged himself to carry out, by the vigorous prosecution of illegal trusts, I feared that the course of the administration would be more in accordance with the demands of the trusts, the railroads, the money lenders and the gamblers of Wall Street than in line with a policy which would curb the dangerous usurpations of arrogant plutocracy and further the prosperity of the industrial millions.

One of my friends urged me not to publish the paper until a year or a year and a half later, so that at least enough might have taken place to cause the prediction to receive serious attention. "For," he added, "I believe by that time we will be in the midst of prosperity, that the Democratic party will be so strongly entrenched and Cleveland will be so popular with the rank and file of his party that you would not think of publishing it." A copy of the paper was made by a friend, and later a government officer in Washington desired a copy, to hold for verification. This paper is printed *verbatim* as it was received in March, 1893, and the author assured me when it was submitted, a year and a half ago, that it was a *verbatim* copy of the paper on file in Washington.

It is interesting to note the fact that our author gives his predictions entirely according to the influence which astrology ascribes to the

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planets and signs. And it is important to remember that had the sign Cancer been rising at the moment the president was born he would have been an entirely different man from what he is, as Cancer is, in astrology, the most unstable and unsettled of the signs, being presided over by the "inconstant moon which monthly changes in its circled orb." As this sign was rising at the moment this administration came into power, it signified that the government which it represented and the party which at this time came into power would be characterized by uncertainty, by delay and exasperating frictions, with disappointing and probably fatal results for the party and the glory of the administration.

It is interesting to note the prediction in regard to Congress. The party of the president in the lower house was overwhelmingly in favor of an expansion of currency, and it was only on the solemn pledge that they would vote and work for free silver that a number of congressmen gained election. But it was the determination of Wall Street that the policy of demonetization inaugurated by the Republicans should be pushed to completion under the administration of President Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland expressed the wish of the money acquirers, and the parrots of plutocracy echoed it. But it was necessary to work long and arduously to influence enough congressmen to betray their constituency and stultify themselves to secure the enactment of the programme of the gold power.

Congressman Sibley charged in Congress that he had been given to understand that he need not expect appointments for friends if he did not act as the administration dictated, rather than be faithful to the pledges made to his constituency. Mr. Clifton Breckinbridge was pledged to free silver; he voted with Wall Street, lost his renomination, but was promptly given a fat position by the administration. These are two of many instances which have, at least, a bad appearance. Now, while it is probably true that the lower house of Congress has been the most servile body which has assembled since the war, the upper house has been a constant thorn in the president's side; and more than one senator, even on his side of the house, has very savagely resented what has been regarded as his unprecedented interference with the coördinate departments of government. Moreover, it is certain that the incoming lower house will be very much more difficult to manage than the outgoing house.

The predictions are interesting in having been made at a time when three fourths of our people would have claimed that their fulfilment would be impossible. Astrology in olden times was the most esteemed of the sciences. Kepler was a profound believer in it, but during the Middle Ages it became encased in superstition, and was ultimately abandoned to credulity until recent years. Now, however, numbers of earnest and scholarly men are giving it their profound attention. They claim that there is much gold amid the accretion of superstition which gathered around it in ages of credulity and ignorance; that underneath all the absurdities lie great laws which are susceptible of demonstration, and that the stars do exert influences as potent as subtle on human life, until the spiritual nature is so awakened that man rises above the animal dominion and becomes master of himself, and superior to the forces which operate on the plane of animal supremacy.

I am not prepared to say how much truth there is in the claims made, but I am acquainted with profound thinkers and deeply thoughtful people who have made this science the subject of years of study, with the result that they are so firmly grounded that they cannot be shaken in their convictions. I further know that the most subtle influences are the most potent, and I believe it the duty of thinking people to investigate this as well as other subjects until they can put prejudice aside and intelligently decide, apart from any preconceived opinions, whether or not it contains sufficient truth to warrant exhaustive investigation.

B. O. FLOWER.

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THE TRUE BASIS OF MONEY.

BY G. L. MCKEAN.

THERE are immutable laws of nature which, though they be ignored by ignorant or dishonest legislators, nevertheless constantly exert their influence on man and will ultimately completely triumph. All the evils from which humanity suffers grow out of the fact that man is constantly in conflict with these fundamental and unchangeable laws. Chief among these disregarded laws is that of ownership.

The ownership of the land and of the water is solely and for all time vested in the whole people. The only wealth that an individual can hold and control as his own is the product of his individual toil. The ownership of the land and water being vested in the whole people, the exclusive control of any portion thereof cannot, from the very nature of the ownership, be a matter of transfer between individuals. It is therefore not a basis of value for money, which is representative of transferable value.

In order that one person may devote all his hours of healthful labor, whether it be energy of brain or muscle or a combination of both, to the production of one kind or class of wealth, thus developing his ability to improve the quality of his product, it is requisite for his individual necessities that he produce more than he needs for his own consumption, and that he exchange his over-product for the various kinds of over-product of others that he may require for his comfort and enjoyment.

For convenience and to facilitate this exchange, the thing called money is created. This money should be of a material that has little or no intrinsic value, as otherwise it is given a fictitious value through the manipulations of non-producing speculators, and its represesentative character is lost sight of, to the great disadvantage of the producers of real wealth.

The volume of money should by the scheme of its production adjust itself to the requirements of exchange only, increasing or decreasing in exact ratio therewith. This would do away with the incentive of money hoarding, and make impossible a money aristocracy of non-producers, a class that now rules the world and retards civilization.

If these immutable laws were clearly recognized and obeyed, there would be no millionaires, and the drones would die of starvation or be hung for crime. The world would cease to produce Rothschilds and John Shermans, and the men who should attempt to defy these natural laws of ownership would be stigmatized as the real anarchists.

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WHY DO NOT THE AMERICANS SPEAK THE FRENCH LANGUAGE?

BY MADAME JOSEPHINE STERLING.

THEY appear to study much, yet they speak very little. It is thought by the French people generally, that Americans have no great talent for languages. I think, on the contrary, that there is great talent among the Americans. To be sure, the incentive to the acquirement of a foreign language is not by any means as powerful in America, as, for instance, in the small country of Holland, where one to whom the language of that country is native, must pass his life altogether, or be quite cut off from intercourse with other nations — few persons being led to the acquirement of the Dutch language. The Hollander has, then, the strongest of reasons for gaining another language than his own — one more at the least. The incentive is certainly not as great with an English-speaking people like the Americans, still there is incentive.

There is everywhere a great admiration for the French language, and the wish to acquire facility in speaking French is also very great. The opportunities in America, owing to distances, may not be quite equal to those of England, but where the will is, there are always the means. "Professors," so-called, abound in America. 'Tis astonishing how many there are! There are lessons, and lessons, still how little speaking as yet of the French language! Why is this?

It is my personal thought, and very long have I held the opinion, that the mistake is in the *means of communication* of the foreign language to the student. The inundation of the student's ear and brain with foreign words and phrases by his French professor cannot, as I am forced to think, be the proper means. The very best means can, as it seems to me, be suggested only by the teacher who, like the student now seeking, has already sought and found.

The *desideratum* of the present time, then, lies in the employment of teachers of the pupil's own nationality. The Germans know well this truth, and practise it. They are certainly linguists. Here is their great secret. *Success will come in no other way.* How truly absurd that the English-speaking indi-

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vidual can be taught to teach every science and every art, and yet be utterly ignored when the question arises of a language, except it be a dead, and not a living and spoken, language.

It seems so very simple and weak on the part of the Americans to accept an illiterate "bonne" or self-styled "professor," who has but his own language as an expedient or makeshift for his livelihood, while wandering away from his native land, where it is quite likely he was able to pass for nothing whatsoever. Benevolence, it is true, might here be in point, but benevolence now apart. The phraseology of the French "bonne" or of many a "French professor" is often, very often, that of the streets, to use a current phrase. Here in America the ignorant "bonne," and often the self-styled "French professor" actually receive homage, and their "systems" also, which they urge, "ignoring" both the English language and all grammar — a positive necessity, for a time at least (for themselves). And the many pupils who go to France, chiefly to Paris, stand aghast and forlorn at finding themselves unable to understand the language of the people, or to express themselves, save in a few detached words or limited phrases, rarely understood by the French.

The prejudices of Americans should have solid foundations. To be sure, Americans have not as yet carried very far the matter of conversing in any but the English language; but let a demand once be created, by another and more just judgment in the matter, and American professors will multiply, better equipped to impart the French, or any other foreign language, than any foreigner. And the teaching will be far more legitimate, because there will ever be a charm — there will even be enthusiasm, there will be positive happiness, in the impartation to one's own kith and kin of that which one has acquired.

I have lived many years in Paris, and *do* know that the French taught in this country may benefit the teachers, but as to the pupils, it leaves so much to be desired, so much — oh, so very much!

The German teaches English to the German children. He knows well their troubles in learning a foreign language, having experienced them all himself. Now, as the German teaches the foreign language to the German, let us hope that ere long the American will teach the foreign language to the American.

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PRENATAL INFLUENCE.

BY M. LOUISE MASON.

I AM the happy mother of one child, a daughter, born of love not lust, who is now twenty-five years old.

I believe in reincarnation. I make this statement that I may be understood in declaring that the ego about to take upon itself the human form, does unmistakably affect the mother in very many instances; sometimes during the entire period of nine months, again only for a few days, weeks or months, according to the mother's physical strength, mutual peace and, above all, her material circumstances. If she is free from care and anxiety, surrounded with all that may tend to help the love nature, she will overcome unpleasant traits of the soul that has been attracted to herself.

In my own case, I was for the first six weeks overcome by an inexpressible loneliness, feeling sad and full of grief; after that period my surroundings were more to my liking, and I very soon became joyous, hopeful and ambitious. I had a desire to become a great musician; I was filled with regret that I had not a musical education.

At that time I had never known of prenatal influence or reincarnation; only had been warned by an elder sister (my mother dying when I was very young) that I must be very careful not to "mark" the unborn child by "any unpleasant sight — that I must always think of my condition and never put my hands to my face in fright or grief." This was to me a revelation, and I thought, if a child could be "marked" for evil, why not for good?

I would often sit alone in my room, overlooking scenes that were pleasant, and, in a peaceful attitude of mind, perfectly passive, desire that my child should be a girl; that she should have a slight figure, chestnut hair and beautiful eyes; that she should be a musician, a singer, and that she should be proficient in everything she undertook; that she should be superior to all those I had ever known. Here is the result: a beautiful woman in mind and body, with chestnut hair, slight physique and a phenomenal voice — contralto; she is a philosopher, a student in Delsarte, astronomy, astrology, and masters every study; is eloquent, and has one of the most amiable dispositions.

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Her father desired a boy, and my sympathizing with him for a short time in this wish, about the fifth month, has given her the desire for outdoor sports. She skates, rides, rows, shoots, and has many of those little gallantries which we see often in the refined man. She has strong inclinations to teach men mannerisms in her Delsarte work; and I believe these qualities come from the influence of her father, who would not content himself with the thought of the child being other than a boy.

My six weeks' period of depression and grief was lived out by the child in the first six years of her life, when tears and unhappiness seemed to be the greater portion of her existence. After that came a joyous and ambitious life, every day happier than the preceding one.

My love for the unborn was so intense that it has created invisible lines which have grown with the years, and we have communicated our thought by telepathy, three hundred miles separating us. She has returned that love a thousand fold. She is all I desired and more; and I am confident that with mothers educated in the law of prenatal influence, and properly surrounded, we could have gods upon the earth in the forms of men, created by the highest and purest thought. It should not be an intense longing on the part of the mother, but a quiet, passive thought given, that her child should become whatever her heart yearns for; then she should rest in the belief until the thought is forced upon her again. Be as much in the open air as possible. Do not eat meat; live upon fruit and grain.

Good
[illegible] Pete

OLE LOGAN'S COURTSHIP.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

OLE Loge he's been a-courtin'.

Naw!

Is, now. He tol' big Si, his uncle, an' big Si he tol' little John, his nevvy, an' little John he tol' me. Little John wuz comin' down the road f'm his place, j'inin' mine on yon side, an' I met him — jest like I met you bit ago, comin' up f'm *your*, j'inin' mine on *t' other* side — an' him an' me we sot ourse'ves on the rail fence here jest like me an' you're doin' of now; an' little John he wuz pow'ful tickled about somethin'. I didn't know at first that that loose-j'inted, hide-bound, bean-pole figger of Loge Beaseley wuz passin' down t' the crossroads yander. Little John he begin to whittle a cedar splinter, like I'm a-doin', an' whilst he wuz whittlin' uv the cedar he tol' me about ole Loge's goin' a-courtin'.

An' little John he said the firs' thing Loge had to git his own consent to wuz the makin' of his mind up. When that wuz done the worst wuz over — so Logan allowed. But shucks! it wuz no more en half, if Logan hadn' been sech a blamed fool not to know it. But you see, bein' ez it had took Loge nigh about forty year to make up his mind to go court'n' it seemed sort o' big when he got it made up, naturly.

An' his ma, ez thinks to this good minute Loge 's wearin' knee pants an' caliker jackets — when he tol' his ma 'bout his aimin' to git married, the ole lady jest bust out a-cryin' and said she wuz afeard he wuz too young to know how to choose, an' hadn't he better put it off a spell till she could look about fur him?

But Loge allowed he had about made up his mind it wuz to be one o' the Sid Fletcher gals, though he aint no ways made up his mind as to which un. Then little John said as how his ma took on mightily, and said the Sid Fletcher gals would do no ways *in* the worl' 'count o' their pa bein' a unbeliever. She wuz afeard it might be in the blood.

But Loge he helt out fur the Sid Fletcher gals, so little John say, and went up stairs to black his boots. They wuz his Sunday boots, an' they aint been wore much since ole Miss Hooper died, in the Cripple Creek neighborhood. An' his ma, sett'n' down stairs an' hearin' the blackin' box whackin' back into its place on

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the floor ever' time Loge took the bresh out'n it, she smiled like an' begin to wonder ef 't be Miss Mary, though she 'lowed it *might* be Mandy; it couldn't in reason be that thar frisky little Jinnie.

Then she hoped to goodness Loge's wife ud be a knitter. Loge ud need some un to knit his socks when *she* wuz gone; an' some un to darn 'em, too, for she say there wa'n't another man in middle Tennessee as hard on his socks, so little John said Loge's ma said, as Loge Beaseley. An' as fur clean socks, Mis' Beaseley allowed there hadn't been a Sunday mornin' since Loge took to sleepin' upstairs, stid o' in the trundle bed in her room, that she ain't been obleeged to fetch his socks up to his door and wait there to git his s'iled ones; Loge bein' that furgitful he ud put on one clean un an' one s'iled un, one white an' one red, maybe, or else jest put on both the same ole s'iled uns ag'in an' sen' the clean uns back to the wash tub.

Loge's bashful, you know, mighty skeery o' women. Ain't never looked at a gal on Cripple Creek, barrin' the Sid Fletcher gals. He had opened uv the big gate wunst fur Mandy when she rid a buckin' horse to meet'n', an' the blamed critter jest wouldn't side up to the gate so's she c'u'd reach the latch.

An' wunst when there wuz a campmeet'n' over in the Fox Camp neighborhood, what they useter have ever' wunst a year, Loge he wuz there. An' he passed a hymn book to that pretty little Jinnie o' the Sid Fletcher gang. The pars'n he axed Loge to pass the books roun', and Loge done it. Little John say he handed in an' about *sevin* books, bein' that flustrated he didn't know there's anybody else at the meet'n', after Jinnie smiled, an' kep' a "Thank you, sir, I've got a book," ever' time Loge offered her another.

All the folks wuz smilin' too, but he didn't know it; he didn't know he had set his big foot down on Jinnie's new cloth gaiter, or that he had clear furgot to turn back the hem o' his pantaloons that he had turned up in crossin' the creek on the rocks, havin' walked over to camp 'count o' his ma havin' rid the sorrel mare over on Sadday, her havin' to fetch a lot o' victuals an' sech fur Sunday. An' he didn't know ez he'd wore one red sock an' one white un; his ma not bein' there to see ez he got fellows. An' little John say there wuz the fool a-poppin' up an' a-dodgin' up an' down the meet'n' house with three inches o' red a-shinin' up on un leg, betwixt shoe an' pantaloons, an' three inches o' white on t'other — just like a jockey at a race track or a fool clown in a circus fur all the worl'.

An' little John say to cap it all, an' clap the climax, there wuz a long white string a-dodgin' Loge's lef' heel all roun' the meet'n' house, makin' ole Loge look like one o' these here wooden limber

jack fellers that run up a stick an' double theirse'ves inter a knob ef you pull a string. That's what little John say. An' everybody wuz a-laffin', an' Jinnie she wuz snickerin' behin' her hymn book, fur ever' time she smiled Loge he'd come a-jouncin' back to poke another book at her.

But lor, ole Loge allowed all them smiles wuz jest 'count o' him; an' little John say that's how come he first got that fool notion about goin' a-courtin'. Little John say ole bach'lors are sech blamed fools, an' so stuck on theirse'ves, they thinks if a woman looks at 'em they're breakin' their necks to marry of 'em.

So ole Loge he got it into *his* head to git married. Though he wa'n't settled in his min' as to which o' the gals he'd take. He wuz kind o' stuck on the whole gang, little John say. An' Loge say he owed it ter all o' 'em to marry 'em, he wuz 'feard. Now, there wuz Miss Mary, the ol'est one; little John say Loge foun' a guinea nes' wunst in the corner o' the fur eend fence what divides their two plantations. 'Twuz some time in May; there wuz twenty odd eggs in the nes' when Loge found it. Little John say Loge knowed it wuz a guinea nes' 'count o' the old guinea hen bein' a-sett'n' on it whenst he foun' it. An' the fool skeered her off; she didn't want to git off much, but Loge made her. He punched her with a fence rail till he broke three eggs; but he got her druv off at last.

An' then he picked up the eggs in his hat an' fetched 'em up to the house, allowin' they must be Miss Mary's, bein' as they wuz on her side the fence; and bein', too, as Miss Mary wuz the housekeeper an' 'tended to the chickens an' things, her ma bein' knocked up with rheumatism fur the last endurin' five years. So Loge he fetched the eggs up in his hat, mighty keerful not to break a single one. He tromped across the clover bottom, two corn fiel's, a cotton-patch, an' a strip o' woods lot, bareheaded, in the blazin' sun; little John say his bald head look like a b'iled beet with the skin took off when he got to the kitchen door an' give the eggs to ole Aunt Cindy, the cook, askin' her to give 'em to Miss Mary fur him.

Ole Aunt Cindy she looked sorter skeered like, a minute, an' then she gin a grunt, but she aint sayin' nothin' till Logan's gone home. Then she walked out the back door an' flung them guinea eggs over in the hog lot. Then she went in the house an' tol' Miss Mary ole Logan Beaseley done broke up the guinea nest they wuz lookin' fur to hatch out nex' day. She say there wuz twenty-one little dead guineas layin' over in the hog lot, all just ready to hop out o' their shells.

Miss Mary didn't say much — she's allus mighty quiet an' sober an' dignified; but Mandy, the second gal, she flared up an' allowed a fool-killer would be a mighty welcome vis'tor to *that*

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neighborhood, *that* he would. An' Jinnie, the young, pretty one, she jest laffed out, fit to kill, an' asked Aunt Cindy if she couldn't have scrambled guineas fur breakfast.

Ole Logan wuz bewitched, I reckin. Little John say he wuz camgined. He didn't know which o' the gals he ud take, but he tol' his ma he felt obligated to marry one o' the Sid's, 'count o' havin' paid 'em consider'ble notice — meanin' the big gate, the hymn book, *an'* the guinea eggs — an' folks ud be ap' to talk if he didn't. Besides, the gals would expect it, an' feel sorter slighted if he didn't marry into the fam'ly.

Him an' Sid wuz good frien's. He had borrowed Sid's chilled plow wunst when his own wuz at the blacksmith's an' the river riz so's he couldn't go fur it. An' Sid had borrowed Loge's steelyards wunst to weigh some cotton, before sendin' of it off to the gin. He didn't visit anywheres else much, outside o' funer'ls an' meet'n's at the church.

So he set off on the sorrel; that little runt of a mare with the sway back, an' a tail that the calf chawed off one night when Loge put the calf up in the stable along o' the mare, so's to keep it from chawin' up the saddle blanket hangin' in the back po'ch. Little John say his uncle met Loge comin' up the lane on the sorrel. He say he knows ole Noah took that little swayback in the ark with him, 'count o' it bein' little like, an' its back makin' a good seat fur his grandchillen to ride on.

An' he say that Cripple Creek wuz right smart up, an' ole Loge had to hol' up his long legs to keep 'em out the water, 'count o' havin' on his best Sunday pantaloons; spankin' new ones to go courtin' in. So Loge he hitched his feet up behin' him, 'g'inst the swayback's flanks, an' plumb furgot to take 'em down any more, but rid right up to the gate with his legs hunked behin' him, like a grasshopper ready fur to jump.

He seen the gals at the winder, all smilin' a welcome, as Loge thought, an' again he begin to wonder *which* one he *orter* take. He tied the sorrel to a hick'ry limb an' went on up todes the house.

The house has got a new wing made o' log; it aint quite finished yit, an' there's two front doors. Loge couldn't fur the life uv him tell which door he orter take, an' he begin to git orful skeered that minute. He went on, though, bekase he see he couldn't make it back to the sorrel without passin' the winder again; an' he allowed to his uncle, big Si, as how he'd a ruther died as to a-parsed that there winder again. So he plunged right on, inter the wrong door, an' run into the gals' room where Miss Mary wuz sort'n' out clean clothes, 'count o' it bein' Sadday evenin'.

When she looked up from the pile o' petticoats she wuz

count'n' an' see that figger o' Loge's in the door, she jest riz right up, an' says she, kind o' fierce like, "Father's down in the cornfiel'; you can go down there, or I'll ring the bell fur him."

Loge he begin to twist his coat tails; they wuz already half way up to his armpits, so little John say; an' little John say he reckin he clear furgot about havin' come a-court'n', fur says he, "No'm; no, Miss Mary, you needn't ring the ole man up — I jest called by over here to — to — er" — he saw a cedar pail on the shelf in the open passage way betwixt the back end part o' the house, the dinin' room an' kitchen, an' the front part where the fam'ly lives, an' that cedar pail wuz the savin' uv him — "I jest come over here," says he, "to git a goad o' water."

An' Miss Mary she stepped to the passage with him, an' p'inted first to the pail on the shelf an' then to the wellsweep down in the yard, an' says she, "There's the pail; it's full an' fresh, but if it ain't enough to satisfy your thirst yonder's the well."

Loge allowed to his uncle as he decided right there he wouldn't choose Miss Mary; he begin to see she didn't suit him. He say he wuz afeard she couldn't *darn socks*.

It was jest when Loge lifted the goad to his mouth that Jinnie she called out to Miss Mary from her ma's room, an' say she: —

"Sister Mary, ma says you're to fetch Mr. Beasley right in here to the fire" — the ole 'oman keeps a fire goin' winter an' summer, 'count o' the rheumatiz — "she says she knows he's tired after his thirsty ride."

Rid four miles fur a goad o' water; cross Cripple Creek three times, an' Pant'er twicet, to say nothin' o' Forkid Branch that winds in an' out an' up an' across them two plantations like a moonstruck chicken snake tryin' to foller out the corporation line o' them Tennessee towns what hev been down with the boom fever, an' aint made out to set itse'f straight yit! That sharp little Jinnie seen through that excuse in half a minute, an' that's why she called out to Loge to come in.

But little John say the fool ain't no more'n heard her voice than the goad went *whack* to the floor like a sky rocket on the home run.

"You're to come right in, Mr. Beasley," says Jinnie, "an' you're to put your horse in the barn first, if you please, because pa's got a new heifer cow that's had to be turned in the yard to keep her out o' the cornfiel'. An' she's that give to chewin' things Aunt Cindy has to dry the clean clothes in the kitchen to keep her from eat'n' us all clean out of a change. She's e't up two tablecloths an' a sheet, three petticoats an' a brand new pair o' my sister Mary's stockin's. She'll eat your saddle flaps teetotally off if you leave your mare out there."

Ole Loge he looked foolish; the yearlin' at home had gnawed

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them saddle skirts into sassage meat long ago. He put his horse up, though, in the barn—the *big* barn what opens on to the lane. An' little John say the blamed fool furgot ter shut the barn door, an' the mare walked out same time Loge did, an' walked right on back home.

Well, little John say it begin to rain todes dark, an' the ole man he tol' Loge he mus' stay all night; an' Loge he done it. You see, they built up a right peart fire, 'count o' rheumatiz an' rain, an' they give Loge a seat in the cornder. An' when black-eyed Mandy axed him if he didn't think a sprinklin' now'n then wuz healthy, he bein' Methodist, ole Loge got that skeered he made a lunge at the big iron shovil an' begin to twist it roun' an' roun', an' to say he didn't know but what t'was! Then he begin to jab his fingers through the iron ring at the end o' the shovil handle; an' he kep' that up till he got to his thumb; an' hit went through all right, but it stuck. Loge he got plumb skeered then; twis' an' screw *as* he would the darn thing wouldn't budge. So when ole man Sid axed him to stay all night he said he would, bekase you see he couldn't go home nohow if he'd a mind to 'less he carried the shovil, too.

An' then the supper bell rung, an' the ole man' bid 'em all out to supper; but Loge he said he wouldn't choose any—he wuzn't a mighty hearty feeder at night, count o' dreams. An' little John say the folks went out an' left him, an' bein' left to hisse'f he set about gittin' loose. He tried *an'* he tried; an' at last he made up his min' to sneak out the front door and cut out fur home, shovil an' all. Then he remembered he'd orter licked his thumb, an' he tried that, but it wouldn't go. Just as he got up to tiptoe out, the shovil hangin' on like a partner at a picnic, an' 'bout the time he'd walked half across the room, the blamed thing slipped off'n that licked thumb o' Loge's, an' struck the hard floor like a clap o' young thunder.

Loge he jumped like a trounced frog, an' give one skeered little beller, like a Durham bull with the *hiccups*.

Before the family went in to supper Loge he'd made up his mind, in an' about, as it mus' be Mandy. It appeared 's if that ud be more gratifyin' to his ma, as Mandy seemed turned religious, talkin' o' Methodists an' sech. But when that shovil drapped an' Loge bellered out like he done, an' he heard Miss Mandy come out into the passage an' call out to Jube, the hired man, that big Buck, ole Sid's yaller steer, wuz in her ma's room breakin' up things, Loge say he set it right down to hisse'f as *she* wouldn't do fur a farmer's wife—not knowin', like she done, that steers wouldn't come up into a house an' *de*sturb things, not fur nothin.' He say farmer's wives mus' learn better'n that.

So little John say that Loge made choice o' Jinnie. An'

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Jinnie she seemed mighty willin', bein' young an' gaily. An' she set her cheer up close to Loge's an' talked mighty polite to him after supper. She tol' him he ought to git married, an' have a wife to look after his socks an' things. An' she axed mighty kind about his ma, an' got it all out o' Loge 'bout his ma want'n' him to wait till he wuz older, an' all that.

An' them two talked on till Miss Mary got up an' went off to bed; an' Mandy went out in the kitchen an' set with ole Aunt Cindy; an' ole Sid an' his wife went sound asleep in the chimbly cornders, an' didn't wake up till the clock wuz strikin' twelve. Then the ole man lit a light an' showed Loge off into the new room, hit being the only spare room in the house, an' hit not finished. As I wuz sayin' the daubing wuzn't all in, nor all the chinkin'; but bein May, an' Loge healthy, the ole man ruminated as that didn't matter much.

But he tol' Loge as he'd better blow out his candle before he undressed if he wuz afeard o' bein' seen through the cracks. An' Loge done it, an' *when* he had done it he couldn't find a cheer to hang his Sunday pantaloons on. He felt all over the room, mighty keerful, but he couldn't find no cheer. He wa'n't goin' to hang them new breeches on the bare floor, that was *mighty* certain. An' he wuz afeard to hang 'em on the foot o the bed, count o' it bein' low, an' they wuz likely to be rumpled, too, Loge bein' consider'ble of a kicker. So he jest smoothed the pantaloons out keerful an' laid 'em, longways, between two o' the logs o' the house, where the chinkin' ort to a-been. Little John say Loge tol' big Si he felt like it wuz a young baby he wuz layin' by to sleep, he wuz that partic'lar not to wrinkle up his breeches. An' ten minutes after he put 'em there he wuz sound asleep betwixt two o' Miss Mary's best sheets.

It wuz sun up when ole Loge woke up, an' the ole man war callin' him to breakfast. Loge called back he'd be there in a minute, an' he begin to hustle about to dress hisse'f. He reached fur his pantaloons — then he stopped still, like the blame blockhead that he is. They wuz gone! clean gone! He searched on the floor, an' he flung off the bed clothes to look there; he got down on his hands an' knees to look *under* the bed. He even tore open Miss Mary's bureau drawer to see if he didn't git up in his sleep an' cram 'em in there. Then he felt down his long legs to see if he mightn't forgot an' kep' 'em on. Naw, sir; nothin there but skin an' bone — bare carcass. He scratched his head an' tried to think; they wuz sho'ly round somewheres; he had jist furgot, in one o' his absent-minded fits, an' laid 'em somewheres. He looked behin' the door, an' on top the wardrobe, an' under the bed again; he pulled all the gals' things out o' the bureau drawers an' shook 'em up piece by piece; he looked in

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the slop bucket, an' behin' the washstan'; he raked out the cedar bresh the gals had decorated the fireplace with an' looked there; he stuck his head up the chimbly an' looked there; then he tuk it out again, kivered with soot an' ashes, an' went back to bed, an' give out that he wuz mighty sick, an' would some un please go fur his ma.

An' little John say his ma come over terrectly, but she went home again in a minute; jouncin' up an' down on the swayback sorrel like a house afire. An' little while later she rid over agin with a bundle tied to the side saddle; an' after while ole Loge he watched fur a chance when there wa'n't nobody lookin' to sneak off through the woods an' go home.

He'd made up his mind not to marry *yit;* Jinnie she wuz young, an' could wait a bit.

An' little John say, that later in the day Jinnie she was nosin' about in the yard to see if her rose bushes wuz putt'n' out proper, an' she see the new heifer cow a munchin' mighty contented like, on a little pile o' truck that looked like carpet rags. An' she got a fishin' pole an' fished it up, an' looked at it, laffin' fit to kill, all the time. Then she called to the gals to come there quick; an' when they come says she,—

"Here's what ailed him — here's why he didn't want no breakfast, an' here's why his ma made them *two* trips this mornin'."

Then Miss Mandy she say she'd like to know what that roll o' strings got to do with the clothes bein' all flung out o' the drawer. An' little Jinnie say she reckin ole Loge wuz lookin' to see if he could find anything 'mongst Miss Mary's clothes as would fit him, so's he could come to breakfast.

"Bekase," says she, "these are bound to be his breeches. I know it's breeches, by the buckles; the cow ain't chawed *them* past identifyin'."

Then little Jinnie she laffed mightily, an' tol' the others she a good min' to send the things home with her compliments.

An' the next week I got a bid to the weddin' of Jinnie an' little John.

Yes, sir, ole Loge he went a-courtin'; he tol' big Si, his uncle, an' big Si he tol' little John, his nevvy, an' little John he tol' me.

And the man on the rail fence chuckled, and went on carefully whittling the last of his cedar splinter.

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MUNICIPAL REFORM.

Abstracts from Authorities and Writers on the Subject, Compiled by Thomas E. Will, A. M.

I have always thought that more true force of persuasion might be obtained by rightly choosing and arranging what others have said, than by painfully saying it again in one's own way.—*John Ruskin.* "Fors Clavigera," Vol. I., p. 281.

I. THE SITUATION.

(1) *Characterization.*—Mr. James Bryce speaks of municipal government as "the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Ex-President White asserts that "the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient and the most corrupt" (C. C. C., p. 42). Jefferson regarded our great cities as the "ulcers of the body politic" (N. C., p. 7). John Fiske says of the cities, "We hear them called 'foul sinks of corruption' and 'plague-spots on our body politic.'" Nevertheless, Mr. Fiske thinks this is putting it rather strong.

(2) *The Growth of the City.*—Mr. Fiske, pp. 119, 120, points out the extraordinary growth of the American city within the present century. He says: "At the time of Washington's inauguration to the presidency there were no large cities in the United States. Philadelphia had a population of 42,000, New York had 33,000; Boston, which came next with 18,000, was not yet a city. Then came Baltimore with 13,000, while Brooklyn was a village of 1,600 souls. Now, these five cities have a population of more than 4,000,000, or more than that of the United States in 1789. And consider how rapidly new cities have been added to the list. . . . Chicago, with 4,000 inhabitants in 1840 and at least a million in 1890; or Denver, with its miles of handsome streets and shops, and not one native inhabitant who has reached his thirtieth birthday. Such facts are summed up in the general statement that whereas, in 1790, the population of the United States was scarcely four million, and out of each one hundred inhabitants only three dwelt in cities and the other ninety-seven in rural places; on the other hand, in 1880, when the population was more than fifty millions, out of each one hundred inhabitants twenty-three dwelt in cities and seventy-seven in rural places. Most of this growth has been subsequent to 1840. In 1790 there were 6 towns in the United States that

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might be ranked as cities. . . . In 1800 the number was the same. By 1810 the number had risen from 6 to 11; by 1820 it had reached 13; by 1830 this 13 had doubled and become 26; and in 1840 there were 44 cities altogether. The urban population increased from 210,873 in 1800, to 1,453,994 in 1840. But between 1840 and 1880, the number of new cities which came into existence was 242, and the urban population increased to 11,318,547. Nothing like this was ever known before in any part of the world." (See also Ev. S., pp. 159, 162.)

(3) *Complexity in City Government.*—Fiske (pp. 122–23), enumerating the executive department and officers of the city of Boston at the present time, shows the government of the city to be most bewilderingly complex. The people elect three street commissioners, while the mayor, with the concurrence of the aldermen, appoints a superintendent of streets, inspector of buildings, three commissioners each for the fire and health department, four overseers of the poor, a board of nine directors for the management of alms houses, houses of correction, lunatic hospital, etc., a city hospital board of five members, five trustees of the public library, three commissioners each of parks and water works, etc. The mere enumeration of these names fills nearly one and one-half pages.

(4) *The Lack of Responsibility in City Government.*—On pp. 125, 126, Mr. Fiske shows that the ordinary municipal system, "in depriving the mayor of power, deprived him of responsibility and left the responsibility nowhere in particular. In making appointments, the mayor and council would come to some sort of compromise with each other and exchange favors." The author continues, pointing out how this trading and log-rolling enters into the work of the municipal body, vitiating all its results, and this largely for the reason that "There was no responsible head who could be quickly and sharply called to account." (See also M. G. B., p. 2, and M. G. L., pp. 3, 4.)

(5) *Administration by Committees.*—"The custom of administering the city duties through standing committees is one which deserves especial condemnation as the source of maladministration and defective government. These committees comprise all of the members of the city councils, and each committee claims and obtains the general supervision of its own department and is jealous of any limitation or restraint upon its power of its patronage" (M. G. M., p. 17). Fiske (p. 126), referring to the fact that "Committees are inefficient for executive purposes," says, "By the time you have got a group of committees independent of one another and working at cross purposes, you have got Dickens' famous Circumlocution Office, where the great object in life was 'how not to do it.'"

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(6) *Municipal Debts.* — Fiske, pp. 120, 121, 127, shows how the rapid growth of the city has resulted in anticipating the wealth of the future by contracting heavy municipal debts. He quotes from Mr. Seth Low that "Very few of our American cities have yet paid in full the cost of their original water works." Members of the city council are afraid to undertake vigorous measures for paying off the city debt lest, by increasing the tax rate, they decrease their own prospects for reëlection. Hence the burden is passed on, to settle ultimately on the shoulders of posterity.

(7) *Municipal Dishonesty.* — On p. 129 Fiske refers to the wholesale plunder indulged in by the Tweed ring in New York City. As is well known, the Lexow investigating committee is now bringing to light similar revelations regarding the Croker administration. Mr. William T. Stead, in his chapter 1, part III., of I. C. C. C., entitled "The Boodlers and the Boodled," shows how Chicago has been systematically robbed for years by its city council. He says, "It would have been cheaper for the city of Chicago to have paid every one of her aldermen $10,000 every year, if by such payment the city could have secured honest service, than to have turned a pack of hungry aldermen loose on the city estate, with a miserable allowance of $156 a year, but with practically unrestricted liberty to fill their pockets by bartering away the property of the city." Quoting from the Chicago *Record* he shows how aldermanic votes have been regularly sold to the corporations desiring franchises. "Four members of the council receive $25,000 each; the others receive $8,000. The official instrumental in securing passage of the measure received $100,000 in cash and two pieces of property, which he afterward sold for $111,000. . . . The $5,000 vote is the high-water mark in the council for the last four years. . . . When it becomes necessary to pass an ordinance over the mayor's veto, the cost is 25 per cent more than usual." On p. 182 Mr. Stead says, "The fact that money does pass is not disputed even by the aldermen themselves." "In a fruitful year," says the *Record*, "the average crooked alderman has made $15,000 to $20,000." A lawyer of a railway corporation said, "There are 68 aldermen in the City Council, and 66 of them can be bought. This I know because I have bought them myself" (p. 182). Mr. Stead thinks the percentage of venal aldermen in Chicago is somewhat smaller than this.

The plundering of a city is not all done by the aldermen. Mr. Fiske (p. 134) shows how land speculators have made combinations and besieged city councils until they have driven them into making appropriations to open and improve streets and avenues, involving the city in debt, to the end that these highly respect-

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able gentlemen may thrive on the unearned increment in land values. C. G. B., p. 52, says: "The greater schemes of municipal extravagance have ever been pressed most strongly by the holders of larger estates. Municipal corruption, indeed, begins and ends in the improper use of money by those who have it, to bribe those who have it not."

(8) *Whiskey in Politics.*—In N. C., p. 41, Mr. J. H. Rhoades, of New York, says, "One of the great difficulties we all have to contend with in our efforts to bring about reform, is the influence of saloons upon the politics of both, and in fact of all parties." The speaker then goes on to show how drinking habits among the poor are fostered by bad surroundings, unsanitary conditions and lack of society, save at the saloon. On pp. 57, 58 of I. C. C. C., Mr. Stead shows graphically how votes in Chicago were bought with liquor. In New York the saloons, it seems, constitute the local Tammany headquarters.

(9) *The Tyranny of Corporations.*—In N. C., p. 120, Mr. L. S. Rowe, showing how free the city of Berlin is from the dictation of corporations, declares: "Our large cities have become so accustomed to being dominated to a greater or less degree by railway companies, that to find an exception is so strange a sensation as almost to border on the uncanny. . . . It was not necessary to prove to the inhabitants [of Berlin], as if it were a difficult and abstruse problem, that in granting franchises to public transportation companies, valuable rights were being alienated. The German magazines and newspapers did not offer the spectacle of an endless number of articles imploring citizens to take an active interest in their own affairs. This necessity carries with it the most bitter criticism our institutions have had to bear" (p. 121). On p. 189 of I. C. C. C. Mr. Stead says, "I have studied autocracy in Russia and theocracy in Rome, and I must say that nowhere, not even in Russia in the first years of the reaction occasioned by the murder of the late czar, have I struck more abject submission to a more soulless despotism, than that which prevails among the masses of the so-called free American citizens, when they are face to face with the omnipotent power of corporations." "Wealth," he quotes, "has subjugated everything. It has gagged the press, it has bought up the legislature, it has corrupted the judges. Even on the universities it is laying its golden finger. The churches are in its grasp. Go where you will, up and down this country, you will find our citizens paralyzed by a sense of their own impotence. They know the injustice . . . they mutter curses, but they are too cowed to do anything. They have tried so often and been beaten so badly, they have not the heart to try again" (p. 189). Mr. Stead's entire chapter on "The Tyranny of the Assyrian" is a terrible

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indictment of the corporations and a sad commentary on the decayed virtue of the descendants of those who once grappled with the mightiest nation on earth, because of its imposition upon them of a paltry tax on tea.

(10) *Taxation in Cities.*—This entire subject has been treated in Professor Ely's work on "Taxation in American Cities." Mr. Rowe, on pp. 118, 119 of N. C., shows how the city of Berlin obtains a large income from its public works and franchises, from a highly developed income tax, from a house and rent tax, and from other sources which American cities have as yet hardly tapped. S. M. G., pp. 11, 12, also gives an account of Berlin's system of taxation. The American system of taxation, on the other hand, seems especially designed to benefit the rich and to oppress the poor. Fisk (pp. 27, 28), shows how the tax on personal property is constantly evaded, and how the rich, to escape their share of taxation, emigrate from Boston before the first of May—assessment day—to the country or to the seaside. Stead, in his chapter entitled "Dives the Tax-Dodger," shows some startling facts taken directly from official sources in Chicago. From his book (p. 211) we copy the following table:—

	Average Assessed Value. Square Mile. (Million Dollars.)	Per Head. (Dollars)
1867	8.1	774
1873	8.5	850
1883	3.6	211
1893	1.3	170

In the light of this table Mr. Stead declares, "At this rate, in another twenty years Chicago would be stone broke and couldn't be sold for a red cent. Yet these figures are all official," and sworn to by the assessors.

Chicago millionaires own horses worth only $20, and carriages worth $30, while their daughters play on pianos worth $150 (p. 213). "While the value of the property in Chicago, if it were correctly assessed, is nearly two thousand millions, the officially assessed value of the whole state of Illinois, including Chicago, is only seven hundred millions" (p. 214). The Chicago *Times* (p. 227) is quoted as stating that "The Chicago system of taxation is a systematized crime against the poor; that for twenty years the burden of taxation has rested upon the poor, and that it is the history of tax-dodging, discrimination, bribing and perjury, written upon every page of the tax books of Cook County," etc. This entire chapter should be a revelation to those who are not familiar with the methods whereby the rich rob the poor.

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(11) *The Separation of Municipal and National Politics.*— The *consensus* of opinion among writers on municipal reform is unanimously to the effect that the confusion of municipal politics with national politics is one prime source of our municipal evils.

(12) *State Interference with Municipal Administration.*— Fiske, pp. 127, 128, shows that because of the tangle into which municipal affairs have fallen, the attempt has beem made to fly for refuge to the state legislature; but that by thus sacrificing a measure of home rule the city loses far more than it gains. "A man fresh from his farm on the edge of the Adirondacks, knows nothing about the problems pertaining to electric wires in Broadway or to rapid transit between Harlem and the Battery." Log-rolling naturally follows. The evils of state interference with city affairs are further considered in M. G. B., p. 2; M. G. L., p. 7; C. C. C., p. 43, and N. C., pp. 120, 121. Mr. L. S. Rowe (N. C., p. 121) says, "The doctrine that a municipal corporation is but a subordinate branch of the general governmental power of the state, a doctrine which has been confirmed from the United States Supreme Court downwards, is as false in principle as it is detrimental to progress in its operation." He believes that one reason for the wonderful municipal success attained by Berlin, is that that city has felt that it must work out its own salvation, instead of leaning on some higher legislative authority.

(13) *Restricting the Suffrage to the "Better Classes."*— It is held in certain circles that one chief cause of disorders in the city is to be found in the influx of poor and ignorant. The best writers do not seem to share this view, but hold that the poor and ignorant are far less dangerous than is sometimes believed, while the "better classes" are often more worthy the epithet of "dangerous." (See Fiske, pp. 133–35 and Ev. S., p. 173.) N. C., pp. 40, 41, states, "The most universal testimony of those who work among the poor is to the effect that as a class they are honest, kind, generous and considerate toward each other." M. G. B., pp. 3, 4, quotes Mr. H. C. Lea as follows, "The most dangerous enemies of reform are not the poor men nor the ignorant men, but the men of wealth and position." This because they neglect their political duties, and vote as partisans, if at all. C. C. C., p. 46, quotes: "The great mass of so-called best citizens have no sympathy with local affairs. They want no office . . . they wash their hands of responsibilities." Quoting Mr. Bryce, it adds, "In America, as everywhere else in the world, the commonwealth suffers more from apathy and short-sightedness in the upper classes, who ought to lead, than from ignorance or recklessness in the humbler classes, who are generally ready to follow when they are wisely and patriotically led." (See also pp. 47, 48, and C. G. B., pp. 51, 52). These writers show clearly that

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the wealthy and well-to-do cannot escape their responsibility for the condition of municipal affairs by attempting to shoulder the blame upon their less favored fellow-citizens.

For a quite recent statement from a conservative source as to the relatively unimportant part enacted in our modern poverty drama by the "ignorant foreigner," see an article in the June (1894) *Forum* by Mr. E. R. L. Gould.

II. WHAT SHALL WE DO?

(1) M. G. M., pp. 19–21, shows that we must restore the ancient simplicity of our institutions and reëstablish popular control. M. G. B., pp. 1, 2, insists that our trouble is due not to the failure of democracy, but to the lack of it; and insists that instead of fearing the people and seeking to fence off the government from them we must trust the people and give them the opportunity to manage their own affairs.

(2) *Not Governmental Forms, but Public Spirit.* — Mr. Fiske, p. 118, and N. C., pp. 112, 113, 114, 116 shows that mere forms of government, mechanically administered, must mean little; but that, as the steam drives the engine, so a righteous public spirit must push forward our municipal work.

(3) *Openness vs. Secrecy, in Legislation.* — M. G. M., p. 17, emphasizes the fact that the success of the New England town meeting was largely due to the free discussion which therein prevailed, and emphasizes the need of this same free and open discussion in our present city legislation.

(4) *Separation of Legislative and Executive Functions.* — The same writer declares (p. 24), "No reform of municipal government in this commonwealth can be satisfactory except one based upon the separation of executive and legislative functions."

(5) *Civil Service Reform in the City.* Mr. Carl Schurz, in a powerful paper in N. C., pp. 123–133, emphasizes the necessity of placing the civil service in the city upon a strictly business basis and holding it there, despite the clamors and machinations of politicians. (See also Edmund Kelly, pp. 104, 108 in N. C.; L. S. Rowe, N. C., p. 116; M. G. M., p. 23; and M. G. B., pp. 4, 5.)

(11) *Concentration of Power in the Hands of the Mayor.* — The city of Brooklyn some years ago made a new departure in city government, by concentrating power and the accompanying responsibility in the mayor, and holding him rigidly to the work of conducting properly all of the affairs of the city, from top to bottom, during his entire administration. For an account of this system, which it seems has worked admirably when the right mayor was secured, see chapter 52 in Bryce's "American Commonwealth," by the Hon. Seth Low, formerly mayor of Brooklyn; also M. G. L., entire; C. C. C., pp. 119–21; M. G. B.,

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pp. 6, 7; Fiske, pp. 124, 125, 130, 131, and Ev. S., p. 169. All of these favor, some emphatically, the system that some who are less acquainted with it designate as "the one-man-power." Obviously since the people simply intrust power for a limited period to the mayor as they do to the president of the United States, or, through him, to the head of a department, there seems little ground for asserting that such a system means a return to autocracy. The power, if abused, can be resumed by the people at the end of the official's term of service.

(12) *The Bicameral System.* — Dr. Janes, pp. 166–69 of Ev. S., as against Messrs. Bryce and Fiske (p. 165), holds that the system of legislation by two chambers, in the city, constitutes "the exception rather than the rule"; that it seems a "superfluous absurdity," and that we may expect it to disappear, to the great advantage of municipal government.

(13) *Enlarging Municipal Functions.* — M. G. B., pp. 8–10, insists that instead of waiting until municipal politics are purified before seeking to extend municipal functions, we should rather seek to purify politics by such an extension of functions. It is stagnant water that becomes foul, while running water purifies itself. Similarly, those governments that have most to do — for example, Birmingham, Glasgow and Berlin — are those that are cleanest and most effective.

(14) *Divorcing Local from National Politics.* — Fiske (p. 135); Ev. S., p. 171; M. G. B., p. 4; C. C. C., pp. 129, 130, and N. C., pp. 105, 107, 114, strongly emphasize the imperative necessity of separating local politics from national politics, once for all. N. C., pp. 145–48, shows that the issues between city and nation are at present widely different; and, pp. 145–50–51, holds that in order to effect such a separation thetim es of voting should be separated by at least one year.

(15) *Looking after City Officials when once They have been Elected.* — Washington Gladden, pp. 152–56 of N. C., argues well that it is one supreme folly of our present policy to elect officials and then utterly ignore them and their work until the next election day. Such neglect discourages the virtuous official, who is systematically cultivated by the worst elements in society, while it leaves local administration largely in the hands of self-seekers.

(16) *The Relation of the Church to Municipal Reform.* — In N. C., p. 175, Mr. Edwin D. Mead declares: "Almost the whole of Jewish prophecy is politics. . . . I wish that we were not such antiquarians and foreigners in our religion, but could honestly and naturally realize and take to heart that God is the God of America, as well as the God of Israel"; while Rev. James H. Eccb, pp. 177–85 of N. C., makes a splendid plea, that should be

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distributed in tract form in every church in Christendom, for the application of religious principles to the affairs of this world.

(17) *Summary of Remedies for Municipal Misgovernment.*—M. G. E., p. 8. First, simplify your administration; secondly, trust the people; thirdly, give the municipality plenty to do, so as to bring the best men to the work; fourthly, keep all the monopolies of service in the hands of the municipality; regard the supply of gas and water and the letting of the use of the streets to tramway companies as very promising sources of revenue; and lastly, use the authority and the influence of the municipality in order to secure advantages in the way of cheap trams, healthy and clean lodgings, baths, wash houses, hospitals, reading rooms, etc., to such an extent at least as, in a given case, private enterprise shows itself inadequate to do what the welfare of the community requires should be done. M. G. B., p. 11, closes an admirable summary of the things to be done with this appeal: "But before all, after all, under all, trust the people. Trust them with an undismayed, invincible trust. Make the people trustworthy by putting more trust in them."

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S. M. G., is a standard work on what is probably the best governed city in the world.

Prof. F. H. Hodder's "References on Municipal Government in the United States" will be found of special value to students, since it combines with an extended enumeration of works a brief description of their character.

C. C. C., by Washington Gladden, is a realistic and racy little volume consisting of papers first appearing in the *Century* maga-

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zine. It describes the attempt of certain citizens of Cosmopolies to reform their city government; and in so doing it points out the conspicuous evils found in the modern city, and emphasizes the principles in accordance with which the best thought and experience teach that municipal reform may be attained. For general uses this book is probably the best extant. (The Century Company, New York.)

N. C. In January (25 and 26), 1894, the National Conference for Good City Government was held at Philadelphia. The proceedings of this meeting have been published in full by the Philadelphia Municipal League, together with a "Bibliography of Municipal Government and Reform" covering thirty-nine pages.

I. C. C. C. graphically displays, from intimate knowledge of the facts, some of the most glaring evils of the typical great American city, indicating, at the same time, the path toward the nobler civic ideal. (Laird & Lee, Chicago.)

Fiske's little volume is probably the best textbook on Civil Government in the United States that has yet appeared. Like all of Dr. Fiske's works it displays minute knowledge of facts, together with great philosophic insight and breadth of view.

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How to Effect Municipal Reform, by Lucius F. C. Garvin.

In representative governments the executive and the judiciary are but the instruments for carrying out the commands of the legislative department. In the municipality, as in the state and nation, the executive and the judiciary, as a rule, perform their duties fairly well. When a mayor signally fails in the administration of the affairs of a city, the occasion of his failure may usually be traced to defective legislation. Indeed, the most common cause of such bad administration may be found in the attempted exercise of executive powers by the city council.

But the board of aldermen (as, for convenience, we shall hereafter denominate municipal legislatures of every kind, whether composed of one or two branches), even when strictly limited to legislative functions, must from its very nature control and dominate all else. Its power to levy taxes and to make appropriations, taken together, constitutes it the supreme authority. When to these tremendous functions is added the power by ordinance to define the duties of subordinate city officials, to restrain the liberties of private citizens, and to enter into agreements with *quasi* public corporations, the absolute necessity for a superior class of legislators becomes manifest.

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Municipal government is admittedly the *bête noir* of republican institutions. Our unqualified failure in this respect is directly traceable to the composition of the board of aldermen. Its deficiencies are notorious; to enumerate a few of them, without entering into details, will suffice. The tearing up of the streets for sewers, water pipes, gas pipes, paving, street railways and underground wires, is managed with so little of system as to increase the attendant expense and inconvenience enormously. Injustice of taxation; inefficiency in the conduct of the police, sanitary, street cleaning and other departments of city administration find their source or encouragement in the board of aldermen. In dealing with the powerful corporations which make use of the streets for supplying citizens with water, light, transportation, telegraph and telephone service, the city fathers are either outwitted or fall before temptation in the form of direct or indirect bribes. In these various ways a large proportion — approximating in amount to one half — of the revenue wrung from the hard earnings of the people, is wasted by a careless or purposely misdirected expenditure.

Large towns and cities are corporations created to deal with interests which in themselves are of prime importance, and which bear directly and closely upon the welfare of the people. The aldermen constitute a board of directors to conduct the affairs of this municipal corporation of which the people are the stockholders. With few exceptions the several members of this all-important board are selected by a "ring," which may be the city or ward committee of the dominant party, but which oftentimes is less numerous and less representative than that body. When elected, although the members of the board nominally are placed in power by a majority of the stockholders, yet in reality, as they know and feel, their tenure of office depends upon the pleasure of a very few. Of these few, therefore, they become the most humble and obedient servants. Any alderman who so far forgets the conditions of his tacit bargain with his masters as to really try to serve the interests of all the people, will be reminded of his madness when dropped from the ticket at the next election. It is the trimmer, the wise politician but unfaithful director, who makes his future calling and election sure. In this way not only are inferior men chosen by our present system, but they are practically put under bonds not to render the public service of which they are capable. No business corporation could survive, or for a moment acquire public confidence, if directed as are our municipal corporations.

Incompetent and corrupt municipal government is not desired by the people, nor is it due to an incapacity on their part to distinguish between the selfish demagogue and the patriotic states-

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man. What but the popular voice has selected from the throng and finally established the reputation of the few great novelists, historians, poets and orators? That the masses have not in like manner chosen the greatest statesmen to fill the highest offices within their gift is due wholly to our clumsy machinery of elections — machinery already antiquated when this nation was founded, and but slightly modified during the century since elapsed.

The means by which it is proposed to remedy the known and admitted evils of municipal government lies in the adoption of some form of proportional representation in the election of boards of aldermen. In the city of Boston, Mass., the board of aldermen is elected upon a general ticket, but no elector is permitted to vote for more than seven of the total number (twelve) comprising the board. In order to change this system into proportional representation, it would only be necessary to strike out of the law the word "seven" and in lieu thereof insert the word "one." With this simple amendment made, it becomes evident that, instead of a plurality of the total number of votes cast being necessary to elect, any one-twelfth of such total, if given to a candidate, would be absolutely sure to secure his election.

To illustrate: —

BALLOT		RESULT	
Candidates	*Vote for One*	*Total Vote*	
A		A	5,000
B		B	1,000
C	X	C	7,000
D		D	2,000
E		E	6,000
F		F	4,500
G		G	1,100
H		H	6,100
I		I	11,000
J		J	200
K		K	4,500
L		L	5,100
M		M	7,500
N		N	4,800
O		O	100
P		P	4,100
Q		Q	300
R		R	700

If the above system were in vogue in the city of Boston, of the eighteen candidates named upon the ballot the twelve receiving a larger number of votes than any other candidate would constitute the board of aldermen.

This, the simplest form of proportional representation, is called the "Single Vote," and in many of the states is the only form which can be adopted without first amending the state constitution.

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Theoretically, votes not required to elect should be transferred in the final count to other candidates. But, practically, it will be found that such transfer makes much less difference in the result than would be anticipated, and that, when the voters have become accustomed to the new system, no candidate will receive a large surplus. It may safely be assumed, that at the very first trial of the single vote, fewer votes will be wasted than under any existing method.*

Below are given the essential sections of a bill which passed the Rhode Island House of Representatives at its last January session, but was defeated in the Senate: —

It is enacted by the General Assembly as follows:

SECTION 1. The members of the board of aldermen of any city, or of the town council of any town, if elected by ballot, shall be elected upon a general ticket for the entire city or town, and the names shall not be numbered upon the ballots, and one person only shall be voted for by any one elector.

SEC. 2. In counting said ballots the several candidates, to the number authorized by law to be elected, receiving a larger number of votes than any other candidate named on said ballots shall be declared elected.

A consideration of the consequences which must ensue upon the adoption of proportional representation in the election of a board of aldermen leads to the following unavoidable conclusions: —

(1) *The office will seek the man.* With the knowledge that — in the city of Boston, for instance — any one twelfth of the voters can elect an alderman, will arise an effective demand for the nomination as candidates for that board of some of the leading business men and of some of the ablest political economists to be found among her citizens. It will be an easy matter, a labor of love, to secure a sufficient number of signatures of voters to nomination papers to have the names of such men placed upon the official ballot.

(2) *A large vote will be polled voluntarily.* With the conviction that his vote will count, and count for the man of his choice, nearly every elector will be ready to make a sacrifice in order to attend the polls. Enthusiasm, either for some candidate or for the issue which he represents, will make it difficult to keep voters at home; and all talk about compelling the exercise of the franchise will cease.

(3) *Election expenses will be reduced to a minimum.* It is not uncommon for a candidate for alderman to contribute his salary, and often a much larger sum, to the "legitimate" expenses of the

* In counting 3,824 votes cast at her meetings in Australia for twelve prominent citizens, Miss Spence found that no candidate received a large surplus, and that a transfer of votes made no difference whatsoever in the result — the same six candidates being elected in either case.

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election. But under the proposed system a popular candidate will find no necessity of paying for workers at the polls, for the conveyance of indifferent voters, or wages for their loss of time. Without the expenditure of a single penny his election will be assured.

(4) *Bribery will be at a discount.* Bribery now exists because a vote is worth more to the candidate than to its possessor. The former frequently values it at five dollars, the latter at a mere trifle. The true remedy for corruption is to reverse this state of affairs. In olden time an individual, when carrying great wealth about his person, had it in the form of gold or precious stones. The necessary result was a frequent loss of both estate and life. But under modern conditions there may be carried in one's pocket a check, which to the owner is of enormous value, but to all others worthless. Just so proportional representation will render the ballot precious to him who casts it, but of no money value to a candidate. True, some corruptionist may at first try to purchase enough votes to secure his election. But, if successful, the cause of his success will become known to the public, and at future elections honest voters will desert him to such an extent that, in order to win, he will be forced to buy his entire quota. This course he will find exceedingly expensive and entirely profitless, since, as a known corruptionist, his influence upon the board will be *nil.*

(5) *The most competent citizens will consent to serve.* Under existing circumstances, to receive a nomination, coming as it does by grace of "the machine," is humiliating in the extreme. Acceptance of the honor (?) is accompanied by conditions which hamper and degrade. All this will become a thing of the past. A candidate will be wholly untrammelled, and, if well qualified, will be reëlected so long as he consents to serve. If in his independence he offends a portion of those voters who originally elected him, he will at the same time win the approval and support of enough others to make good the defection. In fine, under the new conditions, each member of the board will be enabled to do his duty without fear or favor; will even dare change his views in response to convincing argument. He may distinguish himself as aggressively honest, may expose jobs and guard the city treasury, aad thereby insure, instead of blast, his future career.

(6) *The board of aldermen will be non-partisan.* When in any city a small fraction of the total number of voters — as we have shown, one twelfth only in Boston — can nominate and elect an alderman, it will become impossible to secure a partisan majority upon the board. In fact, it is probable that, after a few years' trial of the new system, not one Republican or Democrat,

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as such, can be chosen. Taxation, economy of expenditure, distribution of appropriations, control of franchises and other local issues will become the determining factors in the selection of aldermen.

(7) *No corrupt element will be able to control the board.* Under present methods the floating vote, which too often is a selfish and corrupt vote, can, on the day of election, turn the scales to either side. Having the power to determine the success or failure of every member of the board, the candidates to whom it gives the victory must obey its behests. Under proportional representation, the most that this self-seeking element can accomplish will be to elect one alderman, who, as the chosen representative of the corrupt, will be shunned and tabooed by his fellow-members.

(8) *Minorities will be given due influence.* In the choice of a mayor or other executive officer the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes necessarily wins; and minorities, whether large or small, must lose. But in the election of a board composed of a number of equal members, every minority sufficiently numerous may and should be represented in its make-up. In the city of Boston — to continue this convenient illustration — every body of voters amounting in number to one twelfth of the total electorate, ought to be given the power to elect one alderman. It is not only equitable, but highly expedient, that so considerable a proportion of the whole, being desirous of working together for a special object in city affairs, should be given a voice and a vote in the local legislature. Improvements take their rise among the few, and under present conditions are excluded far too long from making their due impress upon, or even getting a fair hearing from, the body which in theory represents all the people.

(9) *The people will have full confidence in the board.* Since the board will reflect as many different sets of opinions as it contains members, instead of two (Republican and Democratic) as now, its action will represent very perfectly the enlightened views of all the citizens. In its votes the people will speak — and not a majority of a majority, which oftentimes is but a minority of the whole. The increasingly important duties which devolve upon the municipal legislature will be so well performed as to command the admiration rather than the contempt of the constituency. The apprehension now expressed when the board of aldermen is in session will be succeeded by a sense of satisfaction and security similar to that felt by the stockholders in a well-managed corporation when its directors confer.

Guizot has well said: "The sole object of the representative system is to discover and concentrate the natural and real supe-

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riorities of the country in order to apply them to its government." Present methods of electing municipal councils have failed signally in finding and retaining the best qualified citizens. The system of proportional representation will secure the realization of Guizot's ideal.

The Union for Practical Progress has selected as two of its topics for consideration during the present year, "Municipal Reform" and "Political Corruption." In view of the revelations made by the Lexow Committee in New York City, is it possible for a local union to do any work upon the subjects named so effective as to reform its city legislature? Some members of the Union may at first thought deem proportional representation too political — directed too much to the intellect, appealing too little to the heart. They would prefer, perhaps, to give their energies at once to the abolition of the saloon or the brothel or the slums. But it must not be forgotten that these evils can be reached only through the city government; that they have attained their present portentous magnitude because of the failure of city officials to do their duty; and that their permanent removal is impossible, save through the permanent uplifting of the city authorities.

Municipal reform, like the other subjects recommended by the National Executive Committee of the Union for presentation in the various cities of the country, is admitted by all good citizens urgently to demand both attention and action. But whilst such practical unanimity exists as to the end sought, concerning the means of attaining that end there is much diversity of opinion. Therefore, before a Union enlists its forces in any great local reform, it must examine, discuss and unite upon the best method of procedure.

Experience shows that proportional representation, when understood, receives the unqualified approval of nineteen out of every twenty persons, unbiased by selfish motives, to whom its workings are explained. That noble Australian woman, Miss Catherine Spence, is wholly right in taking as her life work the exposition of effective voting as the one known agency for improving the quality of legislative bodies. This in reality is the great philanthropy, because, when accomplished, the longest possible step will have been taken towards uprooting of the social evils which threaten our modern civilization.

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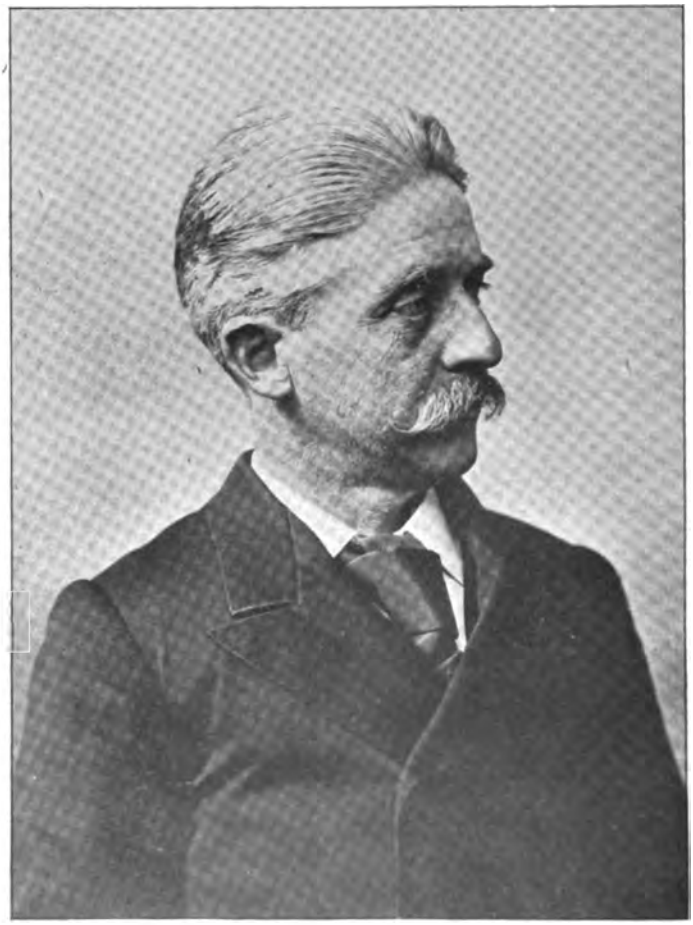

Very truly yours,

H. D. Lloyd

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A SOCIAL REFORMER.

BY HENRY LATCHFORD.

THE difference between Christ and many of the other Christians is that the founder of one of the great religions of the world believed what He said, while only too many of His followers are of opinion that "Words are the counters of wise men, and the money of fools." The German people —so rich in scholars, students, theologians, philosophers and critics — have many worldly-wise maxims, after the manner of old Richard, and one of these proverbs is held in high esteem, to the effect that "Children and fools always speak the truth." Between what we all profess and what we practise, between what we do and what we know we ought to do, there is a disparity so great that it often seems as if nature and art had conspired to proclaim an eternal divorce of precept from practice. If fine words were ever intended to be carried out in conduct, one might fairly be led to believe that twenty centuries of most excellent preaching ought to have resulted in something better than the haggling of the market, a subsidized spiritual hypocrisy, and a code of practical morals strictly limited by the criminal law.

There are intelligent people who, in view of the commercial and industrial troubles associated with the present stage of evolution, think that the civilized world should make up its mind to one of two things — either that the Christian religion is true and practicable, and therefore to be fully accepted, or that it is the delusion of a fanatic, never intended for people of this world, and therefore to be promptly

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repudiated. How much this would tend to the simplification of all social complexities! Either the principle of competition and the cosmic laws would be modified by strenuous and persistent efforts of the ethical man, or else *laissez-faire* and plague-take-the-hindmost should have the fullest swing, and to the most complete satisfaction of Mr. Herbert Spencer. This would soon make a clean sweep of those who are not fittest to survive, and after about three generations the population of Europe and the United States would be composed largely of beautiful giants, cunning as Mephistopheles, modest as satyrs, exquisite as the great Lorenzo, sympathetic and unselfish as Rebecca Sharpe.

Fortunately, however, or unfortunately, for the human race, there always have been found at critical periods men who preached high doctrine and practised it, or who did noble and difficult things without any unnecessary talk about the doing. When the crown of imperial Germany was placed upon the head of the venerable king of Prussia in the palace of Versailles the world said, "Behold what Bismarck has accomplished through his policy of blood and iron." But the world forgot that the sentiment and ideas behind the iron were the growth of centuries, and that they had been largely stimulated by men who were neither soldiers nor statesmen. While Frederick the Great was dallying with French poetry, a dramatic critic named Lessing was proving that before Germany could be great in any true sense it must not only have a drama and literature of its own, not borrowed from Voltaire, but that it must have thoroughly established the principles of civil and religious liberty. In "Nathan the Wise" Lessing raised his great voice in behalf of human brotherhood, as in all his other manifold intellectual activities he wrought for justice and truth, and, above all, for reason guided and controlled by moral principle and humanity. No man in Europe was more keenly alive than Lessing to the best thought of his time, but he felt — and carried his highest convictions into practice — that human life is not based upon or much directed by fine theories, good words or Aristotelian logic. Goethe, when writing to Frau Von Stein about Lessing's death, said, "We cannot now realize how much we all owe to Lessing." And, indeed, Germany will not know the full significance of the life of this great teacher until the armed camp shall have

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been transformed into a happy and prosperous industrial nation.

Lessing was one of the first among the great literary men of Germany to understand the solidarity of the human race, and to see that the process of a real civilization depends upon universal acceptance of the brotherhood of all men, and the interdependence of all human interests. He said clearly that the moral idea must be paramount in human affairs if men are ever to move upwards, working out the beast. He saw and proclaimed the truth that "Before earth reaches its earthly best a god must mingle with the game." And his strenuous life was devoted to propagating a religion of individual and national conduct as distinct from the old religion of words and theological formulas.

Mazzini roused the slumbering conscience and patriotism of Italy by proclaiming that the life of a nation depends more upon the moral enthusiasm for the rights of all men than upon armies or statecraft. The Irish question has been raised to the dignity of a problem which includes land, labor and the aspirations of the world by the advent of a man who is more of a moral reformer than even a social agitator. Mr. Michael Davitt has made the Irish question the universal question by securing an *entente cordiale* between the working classes of Ireland, Great Britain, Europe and the United States. It is a fundamental principle of the Knights of Labor that an injury to one workman is an injury to all. And perhaps it may be accounted among the extraordinary and hopeful signs of our time that New Zealand is to-day the most socialistic of all communities and among the most prosperous in the world. The condition in New Zealand is largely due to the initiative of one man, who is now almost ninety years of age. When Sir George Gray was a young man, just appointed to the Royal Engineer Corps after a brilliant career at Woolwich, he was taken one day by a friend through some of the poorest districts of the East End of London. "Can it be possible," said the young officer, "that a country so rich and powerful as England must continue to have such awful poverty in its midst?" This thought remained with him and is the secret of his legislation in Australia, Cape Colony and New Zealand. He is a profoundly religious man, who believes that national morality depends largely upon a just distribution of the good things

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of life, and that a true economic science must be vitalized by the Golden Rule. He reduced his beliefs to practice with such effect in New Zealand, that, according to the latest United States consular reports from that country, all classes of the people are satisfied—including the labor party.

Germany, Italy, Ireland and New Zealand have had their different problems and have been fortunate in different degrees in the men who have displayed exceptional capacity for dealing with them. The United States is now in the throes of a struggle which bids fair to be more disastrous than any that has ever taken place in the old world. With congested wealth and poverty in the Eastern States, with mortgaged lands and all-pervading industrial distress North, South and West, and with labor everywhere dissatisfied, it is only too clear that the successful reformers of the new era must be possessed of some of the highest and rarest qualities.

It seems not altogether improbable that Chicago is about to suggest some of the remedies for the social disease which in that city has manifested numerous and aggravated symptoms. Among the men in Chicago who bring great qualities to the work of reform is Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, who for twenty years has been known as a trained journalist and influential writer, a solid thinker, a keen and daring controversialist, and in public and private life a man of the very highest character. Mr. Lloyd is financially independent, so that he has no selfish interest in the movements with which he has been so prominently connected. He is a descendant of Goffe, the regicide, and the son of a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. A graduate of Columbia College, he was brought up on Boston beans and Wendell Phillips, and his manner of life is almost as austere as that of the poet Wordsworth, who was described by one of the Cumberland peasants as differing from Hartley Coleridge in that the former poet "had no habits." He has as many good stories, however, as Senator Palmer, of Illinois, and he likes the society of newspaper men because he thinks them the best of story tellers! It may be said without fear of successful contradiction that there is not an editor, reporter, printer or publisher, in Chicago or elsewhere, who is acquainted with him, who has not implicit confidence both in his ability and in his sincerity.

Mr. Lloyd differs from many reformers in that he has no

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cut-and-dried system for the salvation of society. After a long and intimate friendship I am inclined to think that no man of my acquaintance is more of a thorough-going believer in American ideas and the United States constitution. He scoffs at the notion of all the world in arms being a match for the volunteer army and navy of his country, if the occasion should arise for a call upon their services. I have often heard him say that if the well-known principles of Washington and Jefferson were applied with strict justice as exigencies arise there would be no social question in the United States. The country has brought all trouble upon itself exactly in proportion as it has departed from the wisdom and justice of the founders of the republic. It is not Washington's republic in which a few thousand families own the greater part of the wealth while sixty-five and some odd millions enjoy a monopoly of the labor and suffering. But Mr. Lloyd is not a spread-eagle patriot, or much given to political partisanship.

> "No bigot he, he cannot think
> Truth narrowed to a party creed,
> But holds the world in which men live
> Is wide as that above man's head."

Though brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Puritans he occasionally voted the Democratic ticket, even in a municipal election. "The Democrats, as rulers of a city, are not angels," he said, "but they are ever so much better than the other fellows. The Republicans are as slick and smooth and clean and well-shaved as Hermann, the magician. They have had such a long lease of power that they can give the devil points in the political game and beat him every time. They are pillars of stolid, external respectability, and it would be like flat blasphemy to impute even political wickedness to them. But you know that a man may be a church pillar and be a rascal, just as another man may smile and smile and be a villain. Yes, I much prefer the unblushing, ostentatious wickedness of the Democrats. You can watch them, and sometimes detect them. At all events you are never afraid of being overwhelmed by an avalanche of righteousness from their hands; and when by accident they do the right thing — well, they are honest enough to laugh, apologize and say they didn't intend it. They never boast about their well-doing. In fact all the bragging many of

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them do is concerned with their rascality, so you know where to have them."

Shortly after leaving college Mr. Lloyd went to Chicago and joined the staff of the Chicago *Tribune*, a paper on which he worked in every capacity, from general reporter to writer on financial and political subjects. He is familiar with all the details of a great newspaper, and is probably one of the most capable journalists in the United States to-day. Some ten years ago he retired from newspaper work in order to devote himself to the labor problem, and from that time has been in direct communication with the labor leaders in Great Britain and Europe. He has accumulated an enormous mass of facts, figures and comparative statistics which his newspaper experience enables him to handle with quite remarkable clearness and precision. I have heard him described as the historian of the labor movement, but I am inclined to think that he is of greater importance as the conscience and moral dynamo of the social movement in the United States to-day. The spur of reform is in his blood, but his blood is that of the Huguenot, the Quaker and the Puritan combined. Charles Kingsley says somewhere that the Welsh defended their marshes and mountains with greater obstinacy and courage than were displayed by native races in any other portion of the British Islands. Mr. Lloyd is of Welsh origin, and is particularly proud of it, though the fact that one of his ancestors was an Italian may explain his strong sympathy with the character and career of Mazzini. "Liberty, fraternity and humanity" is one of the mottoes of young Italy which he has adopted, and which he develops in most of his public addresses. Mazzini had little confidence in any social or political movement which was not guided by love of God and respect for the moral sentiments of mankind. There is a well-authenticated story of the great Italian reformer that when a child of ten years he was taken out to walk by his nurse. He saw a beggar woman crying on the roadside while trying to feed her children with berries. The boy rushed over to the poor woman, gave her all the money he possessed, and, with tears in his eyes, said to the servant as they passed on: "I love all the poor people in the world. They are all God's own children." It may truthfully be said that this modest, gentle and highly gifted Chicago journalist resembles Mazzini in the fact that he, too, has a passion

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for humanity. Such men understand the labor question and the hopes of the race because they have heard the long throbbings of the ages, and because they know and love the poor.

A few weeks ago I met in Boston a young Irish-American lady, Miss Mary Kenney, who for many years had worked in a factory, and who, on account of her knowledge of the conditions, was appointed one of the factory inspectors of Chicago. We spoke of the sweating system as practised in Illinois, and of the recent factory legislation in that state. Miss Kenney has been largely instrumental in compelling legislation by force of public opinion. She is a gifted public speaker, an enthusiastic Catholic, and a born organizer. I asked her how she managed to "run" the legislature of Illinois. Miss Kenney replied: "I sometimes go and stay for a few days with Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd when I am tired out and must have rest. Mrs. Lloyd nurses me as if I were her child or her sister. We talked frequently about the sweating business, and Mr. Lloyd advised me to call a public meeting and hire the Central Music Hall. We then sat down and made the draft of an invitation to be sent to all the clergymen and influential men and women of Chicago. We had about three thousand people at the meeting, including some of the best speakers in Illinois. There was tremendous enthusiasm, the papers all supported us, and the legislature had to go along with us. Mr. Lloyd paid all the bills, which amounted to something like five hundred dollars. If there were one man like Henry Lloyd in every city of fifty thousand people in this country, we could soon get a view of the kingdom of heaven on earth."

The home of the Lloyd family to which Miss Kenney referred is at Winnetka, about twenty miles north of Chicago. One always meets at that home, and gathered around a table which accommodates from twenty to thirty people, rich and poor, white and black, gentle and simple, college president and seamstress, artist and mechanic, divine and layman — all on a basis of liberty, fraternity and humanity. Mr. Lloyd does more than vote for a Democrat occasionally. To his finger tips he is a true democrat, which is only another way of saying that he is a true gentleman.

Professor Ingram says, in the last chapter of his "History of Political Economy" — enlarged and revised from the article in the Encyclopædia Britannica: —

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It is indeed certain that industrial society will not permanently remain without a systematic organization. The mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labor. Freedom is for society, as for the individual, the necessary condition precedent of the solution of practical problems, both as allowing natural forces to develop themselves, and as exhibiting their spontaneous tendencies; but it is not in itself the solution. . . . We are now in a period of transition. Our ruling powers have still an equivocal character; they are not in real harmony with industrial life, and are in all respects imperfectly imbued with the modern spirit. Besides, the conditions of the new order are not yet sufficiently understood. The institutions of the future must be founded on sentiments and habits, and these must be the slow growth of thought and experience. The solution, indeed, must be at all times largely a moral one; it is the spiritual rather than the temporal power that is the natural agency for redressing or mitigating most of the evils associated with industrial life.

This passage from one of the standard British authors expresses approximately the true attitude of Mr. Lloyd towards the new social movement. In all his writings and addresses he appeals to the conscience and the moral nature, to the sense of justice and brotherhood and humanity. He can be severe and sarcastic enough when dealing with such people as the millionaires who organized the strike against the deluded and defrauded miners of Spring Valley, but his denunciations of the oppressor are merged in an appeal to what remains in that oppressor of simple manhood and native justice. Mr. Lloyd's invariable object is to arouse the soul, heart and conscience of both employer and employed. He has no scheme of state socialism like that of Lassalle, or of internationalism like that of Karl Marx. I don't think he sees very much in individualism — even the most scientific — and I know that while he admires and respects Mr. Henry George, he does not believe that the nationalization of land values will bring a new heaven and a new earth. He is a thorough eclectic in his views of social reform, and his tendency is towards government control — national, state or municipal — of those monopolies which can be clearly proved to be capable of better management by the government than by private ownership. But one of his main contentions is that if the conscience of the rich man could be fully aroused to the love of justice and righteousness, the evils of the present system would soon disappear. Critics say that Mr. Lloyd, like Plato, thinks highly of the soul, too highly of the millionaire's soul, and that he invests

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capitalists with human qualities they rarely possess. Yet Lessing helped to unite Germany, Mazzini to unite Italy, and Davitt to unite Ireland, by appealing to the best that exists somewhere in every man. Mr. Lloyd aims at uniting the toilers of the world by the same means.

Perhaps the fairest estimate of his position may be formed from his speeches. On the occasion of a mass meeting in the Chicago Armory, to protest against a raid made by the police on some workmen peacefully assembled in Greif's Hall, Mr. Lloyd presided, and said at the close of his address: —

Everybody is predicting revolution. Shall it be a French revolution, which God in His infinite mercy forbid, or shall it be an Anglo-Saxon revolution of peace, compromise and progress? That will be a question of temper. Every noble voice that speaks to us across the civil flames and social wreckage of the past warns us not to repeat the fatal blunder of the bad temper with which faulty humanity has debated all its past differences.

Once upon a time there was a union of working-men, artificers in precious metals, who with toil and sacrifice found out how to make for themselves magic rings. These rings — more beautiful than any kingly crown and stronger than the will of a tyrant — they had but to turn on their fingers, and a mighty spirit appeared, who would execute for them any command that was honest, kind and pure. The very gods looked down with admiration upon these rings, and rewarded the makers by decreeing that their descendants should be born with the rings already upon their fingers. Upon the gifts of their ancestors and the gods only one condition was imposed. They must use the rings. If left disused their power would grow less until it disappeared. That union was the union of these United States, and its walking delegate was George Washington.

The ring of citizenship is upon the finger of every American. With this ring you can break the rings of boodlers, rings of politicians, rings of money power, street car rings, gas rings, railroad rings, rings of monopoly. You must use it or lose it. If with this magic ring on your hand you drift into disaster, it must be that you prefer it. When the people of the world come to Chicago to see the World's Fair let us show them as our supreme treasure, outshining the magnificence of palaces, a citizenship with which we vindicate our rights like freemen.

Here, surely, is the note of practical wisdom, indicating no menace of violence or physical force, no revolutionary measures, but just relying upon the means directly at hand, and upon the safeguards which are the heritage of American citizens.

In the course of a remarkable address upon "The Money Power," delivered in a Unitarian church, Mr. Lloyd said: —

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Those clergymen, professors and editors who pride themselves upon maintaining "a judicial attitude," almost invariably show that they have come to believe that a judge is one who never renders a decision against the upper dog. Ruskin complained of the ministers who dined with the rich and preached to the poor. Our popular parsons do better. They preach for the rich and of the poor. We hear much from such of the turbulence of the working-men.

"I would kill any sheep that bit me," said the sheep stealer to the judge.

"The lion is a very wicked animal who defends himself when he is attacked," wrote an African traveller.

The methods of the working-men, with all their lapses, are holiness itself by the side of the Pinkertons, Camp Sheridans, and the Gatling guns which Christian chaplains bless as instruments for the conversion of heathen and strikers. Every gun in the new armory on Michigan Avenue tears open afresh the wounds in the body of the Christ, who said, "Love one another," and whom the working-men in London and New York cheer at their meetings. Upon its portals should be inscribed for the daily consideration of the millionaires who built it, "You can do everything with a bayonet except sit on it."

"Why do you not take the other end of your pitchfork?" said the angry owner of a bull dog to a laborer who had saved his legs by running the animal through.

"So I would," was the reply, "if he had come at me with his other end."

The working-men have made many mistakes, *but the greatest is that they have never asked for enough.* They have never demanded *the cost of production*, and to that they are entitled in full by every law of love and the markets. Even the political economists admit that. Read Ricardo and John Stuart Mill and all their disciples, and you will find that the wages of working-men, like all other prices, are to be determined by the cost of production; and this *cost of subsistence* rises or falls according to the standard of life the working-men demand.

What does it cost to produce an American, a man fit to be your fellow-citizen and mine, our brother and our partner? One who can help us administer the state of liberty left by the fathers? A childhood free from factory life? A motherhood that needs to do no work but that of home? A fatherhood that has time to take its children on its knee? A manhood that can make its own bargain, choose its own associates, vote its own ticket, shave its own beard if it likes, and have as good a chance of old age as any other man? What such subsistence costs is the cost of the production of the American working-man that Washington fought for and John Brown died for, that the working-men are entitled to, but that they have never demanded. "Labor is its own bond slave," says Wordsworth.

The only cure for the strikes and lockouts which are making two hostile armies of the working hosts and business men, is the same that made peace between the English and Americans in 1783—a recognition of independence. The dockers of London and Australia who propose to handle the commerce of London and Melbourne by

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coöperating to make contracts directly with the vessel owners, the coöperative stores of England, Belgium and France, the coöperative workshops being started in England, the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain which demands the nationalization of the land, the Knights of Labor who call for the resumption by the government of the powers over public highways and private property improperly given to railroads and telegraph companies and banks, the Federation of Labor which advocates the international organization of all working-men, the proposal of the Miners' International Congress that there shall be a general strike of all the miners of the world for human work and human pay — are all parts of a great declaration of independence, which is now being written in black, and sometimes in red, upon the pages of history before our eyes.

What we call the labor movement is but the appearance in a wide field of the expanding manhood of the world. No paternalism can solve any social problem. The Good King, the Chivalrous Baron, the Christian Slaveholder, the Merciful Master, the Philanthropic Monopolist — the few we have had — have been charming, but they cost too much.

Here is struck the moral note which is never long absent from any speech, book, pamphlet or magazine article of Mr. Lloyd. Passages from addresses on other but cognate subjects might be quoted indefinitely, though, perhaps, they have been reproduced sufficiently to show the large, humane and practical though idealistic way of thinking which characterizes a man who believes that in the long run justice and humanity are the only profitable things.

My last quotation is taken from the address delivered before the American Federation of Labor in Chicago, December, 1893. This speech sounded in the ears of those who heard it like a declaration of deliverance from bondage, and was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Mr. Lloyd said in conclusion: —

The progressive genius of democracy is at one with its progressive necessities. "A house divided against itself cannot stand," said Lincoln. "This Union cannot permanently endure as half slave and half free." It is equally true that all cannot remain politically free if all are not economically free. Political freedom is but the first instalment of economic freedom. The trade union, even the federation, is but the initial step in the organization of labor. Shall we go on?

In seven years — Jan. 1, 1901 — the twentieth century will open. The eighteenth century put an end, by the American and French revolutions, to the ancient *regime* of political and social tyranny. The nineteenth century has seen the last chains of chattel slavery broken. In seven years the century will open which, before its close, will see the social crime of enforced poverty, and the dependence of any

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human being upon another, for the necessaries of life or the means of industry, forever abolished throughout Christendom. Let us begin to make ready now for that next emancipation — that new liberty — that enlarged democracy. Let America, the leader of the liberties of mankind, make the first move, and let the federation of the trade unions of its working people lead America. I venture, though not worthy the honor of sitting as a member of an association of working-men, to suggest that the American Federation of Labor could do the cause of civilization no greater service. Let it initiate here and now a plan for a series of national and international conferences or congresses of labor. Let these culminate on the first May day of the new century with an international demonstration of the labor organizations of all countries.

Let this be a grand international constitutional convention, in which a new *magna charta*, a new declaration of independence, a new bill of rights, shall be proclaimed to guide and inspire those who wish to live the life of the commonwealth. The labor organizations are waiting for some such definite work and plan. This is true not only of those of this country but of Europe. There are hundreds of other organizations, not of labor, which, if you choose to invite them, would fall into line at once. The proposal is practical enough to command the support of those who want to do something now. It is so broad and far-reaching as to kindle even dull imaginations. At the first note of your call new hope and strength will swell the veins of all the nations. The thinkers and philosophers will help you with the best harvestings of history and wisdom; the poets will sing for you; the musicians will find an international air; the weary and heavy laden will come to you. The liberty of the world waits for your leadership.

At the beginning of this paper I noted the disparity between the usual precepts and practice of those who profess the Christian religion. The incongruity may be accounted for by the fact that men give themselves up to passive impressions, which, if not realized in conduct and action, become as the crackling of thorns under a pot. Applied and not verbal religion is what the world needs to-day. I have tried to produce some of the illustrious examples of the new spirit in modern European history, and I have dwelt at some length upon the work performed by an American who has a great career before him as well as behind him. Henry D. Lloyd has done more than deliver excellent addresses. For twenty years he has kept himself at the beck and call of the oppressed. In the spirit of comradeship he introduced the late Charles Bradlaugh to great audiences in the West. He wrought valiantly and pleaded earnestly in behalf of a fair trial for the anarchists, when legality and the sense of justice seemed to be swamped in a universal panic. It need

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scarcely be said that he has no sympathy with assassination societies, yet on the morning after the wholesale slaughter of the members of the Mafia in New Orleans, he poured forth the vials of his wrath upon those citizens, who, with all the machinery of the law behind them, killed justice and national honor when they riddled with bullets the wretches crouching behind prison bars. He took the initiative in calling a mass meeting and in formulating the protest against the extradition treaty with Russia. He was instrumental in procuring factory legislation for Illinois. In a book of marvellous insight and vigor, matchless in its simple pathos and eloquence, he told to the world the terrible story of the miners of Spring Valley. His noble personality, his elevated character, his pen and voice and purse are now, as they have ever been, on the side of those in all countries and of every creed who suffer from what he believes to be injustice. His new book, "Wealth against Commonwealth," which is now in the hands of the publisher, is the result of years of special study, and is a sincere attempt to solve the most difficult problems of labor.

This Christian gentleman is admired by people of intellect, he is respected by rich men, and he is loved by the poor of Chicago. There are many reasons for the high esteem bestowed upon this gallant outpost of the industrial army. To my mind his special merit is clear. His distinct claim upon his time and country is based upon the fact that, in an age of cynics, satirists and economists, he trusts unfalteringly the still, small voice, and realizes clearly that before any great social reform shall have been consummated, "a god must mingle with the game."

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THE NEW EDUCATION.

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH RODES BUCHANAN, M. D.

UNDER the twenty-minute rule which governs the tribune where hundreds are clamoring to be heard, permit me to say of education just those things which are most urgently necessary to be understood and realized — for the want of which the human world has been floating down the numberless centuries loaded to the verge of sinking with poverty, pestilence, crime, insanity, suicide, obstructive ignorance, delusions and the infernalism of war. True education is competent to end all this, for true education is omnipotent over human destiny; but the old education, under which these evils have become more formidable and more chronic, seems to be itself an identified part of our social purgatory, in which the highest attained civilization yields no more — and often less — aggregate happiness and virtue than was enjoyed anciently by barbarian hunters and shepherds.

I do not speak at random, and only lack of space prevents my fortifying every sweeping assertion with unquestionable statistics, as I have done in "The New Education," now out of print, by accident, after four editions were sold.

The new education proposes and proves it practicable to terminate crime and pauperism by methods which have been tested and which cannot fail; but the generations morally and intellectually debased by the old false systems will require a century to rouse them to a full realization of their educational duty. True education is the perfecting of manhood and womanhood, fitting all to walk as the apostles walked, lifting up themselves and lifting up the world around them. For whatever is possible to a few is a latent possibility of the whole human race.

True education is no complex or visionary scheme, but is simple and self-evident; it is demonstrable and has been demonstrated. It is simply the development, by exercise rightly conducted, of every faculty of man. It is well known that the muscles and the chest may be greatly de-

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veloped in a few months, and it is equally certain that every portion of the brain and every faculty of the soul can be developed by the same law of action, until the man becomes fully normal and fit for every duty in life — the result of which would be the end of all the evils that afflict mankind.

True education keeps every faculty and every organ in simultaneous active growth, with increasing vigor and increasing enjoyment, for the perfectly developed man is the heavenly man, the man whose enjoyment of life and its duties is supreme, whose health, joy and virtue are contagious to all around him. It does not fasten youth upon a bench by stern constraint, arresting the physical and moral activity under the mistaken supposition that cramming the helpless and dissatisfied prisoner educates his intellect, while the action of the whole brain is restrained and consequently the energy of the intellectual faculties greatly diminished.

There cannot be too much brain culture, for the brain is not (as the ignoramus on this subject supposes) the mere organ of the intellect, but is the organ of all that constitutes man — of observation, memory, understanding, invention, imagination, intuition, social sentiments, love, hope, reverence, serenity, justice, sublimity, enthusiasm, energy, heroism, courage, will, ambition, love of power, force, passion, fascination, physical pleasure, appetite, temper and restless energy, etc., in the exercise of which faculties the body is necessarily brought into coöperation and sustains by increased arterial circulation the dominant brain power, which in its ultimate analysis is soul power. Nothing was put there in vain or unwisely. Everything is essential, and in the normal brain everything is active, and by its activity sustains other activities and rouses the heart to greater power, compelling an enormous circulation of red blood, highly vitalized, *the amount of which is the measure of the man.* Every drop taken from that circulation by diminished or arrested action of any portion of the brain is so much lost from the completeness, power and perfection of the man, whereby he falls to that extent below his proper destiny.

Hence there is no true education which is not the complete and unanimous activity of every element of the soul (and brain) growing in power as all things grow in action, and approximating the limits of possibility, so that the man who has lived thus ends his career after a century in the full

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glow of all that his inheritance or destiny permitted. I speak not simply from knowledge of education through many years, but from a half century knowledge of every convolution of the brain and every power of the soul therewith associated and their laws of operation (as is known to those who have followed my writings through this period).

But such an education is never dreamed of. The old ideal was cram—forever cram. The present slightly improved idea, as expressed by the president of Harvard University, is that the highest educational institution is a place where something (or much) may be learned of anything desired.

The contracted conception of education and contracted methods of intellectual culture give little or no originality, no power of discarding prejudice or rising above the old collegiate level, mainly inherited from the past. Intellect is put to soak in the library or under its collegiate spout, and, coming out saturated, is inclined to think it has nearly attained omniscience, and that not much more is coming from the infinite realm of divine wisdom, nor are its explorers entitled to much attention. Thus instead of making grand men we are making conceited scholars, who carry on into the next generation mixed with their knowledge a huge bulk of dogmas, crudities and baseless opinions or speculations from the past, not suspecting that the further back the origin of any doctrine the greater the probability that it is saturated with ignorance or delusion.

No such factitious training will help the world to a higher civilization. To develop men worthy to be regarded as made in the divine image, the youth should begin by *being and doing* every day, as far as possible, what he should be and do in the full maturity of his powers, for every faculty of soul and body requires the active growth of the whole twenty-one years of minority uninterrupted.

His destiny at full maturity is emphatically to be a *producer;* for if not he must be a sponge, a vampire or a robber. Yet the old style education led him to dislike or to scorn his only honorable destiny and in fact was the predisposing cause of immeasurable profligacy. He must assume this duty at once, and, making himself as useful as possible, grow up in the cheerful performance of the *essential duty*, the basis of all virtue. Blessed is the farmer's boy who learns from infancy to help in every possible way his mother, sisters,

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brothers and father and find pleasure in the service. This is the *essential* moral education, by the practice of the most substantial of all virtues, consisting of energy, industry and manly firmness controlled and guided by love. The omission of this has been the fatal, demoralizing failure of all education heretofore.

The industrial feature, not limited to handicraft, but embracing all forms of useful exertion, is the essential basis of a true education, as it insures, if rightly conducted, a worthy character, a healthy constitution, a solid intellect and a capacity for practical success; for it gives vigor to the entire brain (which might easily be shown) and a far better invigorating mental discipline than can ever be obtained from textbooks. The boy who has constructed a wagon or a bureau, or raised a small crop as instructed, has more independence of mind and originality than the one who has only studied a textbook. The boys at Lancaster, O., who gave half their time to useful industry, made better progress in school studies than the common-school pupils who had their whole time for study, and at the same time presented a model of conduct in all respects unequalled in any non-working school in this country.

Moreover it is a grand and hopeful philanthropic fact, which our educational systems have apathetically ignored, that in the industrial system the youth are able, without intellectual hindrance, to meet a large portion if not the whole of their expenses during education. Such a possibility seems to foretell the emancipation of the race by bringing education within the reach of all, when a leader comes who can compel the world's attention to this glorious possibility which it has so shamefully neglected.

Rev. Ezekiel Rich of New Hampshire has the immortal honor of demonstrating, sixty years ago, that under his management youth between five and sixteen years of age could and did by their own labor *pay all the expenses of their support and education* while acquiring a very superior moral and intellectual education. He gave the history of this grand achievement in 1838 to the American Institute of Instruction and there it fell stillborn — a philanthropy prematurely born, like a violet in December. Shall the world ever be blessed with another Rich?

Industry and idleness are as far apart as virtue and vice.

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"The idle man is the devil's workshop." The idle boy is his best opportunity. The idle system of education has shown its disastrous effects throughout all time, and our nation may soon be harvesting the crop it has thus prepared.

My first presentation of industrial education was neglected by universal apathy and scepticism, but in the last twenty years sixty-five or seventy of our towns and cities have made manual training a part of their public educational systems, and many special schools * for this purpose have been established.

The industrial is the preëminent central power of education to-day, as it contains in itself the moral, intellectual and physiological elements which are the three essential factors of human life; and though it does not perfect them, it develops a respectable, worthy and successful life on the earthly plane, combining the elements of a stable nationality.

But man *belongs* to a higher world, and is destined by evolution to realize that higher life on earth, however remote it may seem at present. He must seek his heaven here as well as in the limitless future, for if he does not approach it here, it will still be in the dim distance beyond the veil. The heavenly education is far above the industrial; but they cannot be separated, any more than the superstructure of a temple can be separated from its lower walls. The heavenly education rises above all other possible systems as the real religion of Jesus Christ rises above Confucianism and Buddhism.

I do not call this a moral or a religious education, because the words moral and religious have become so contracted and debased in popular use by the universal degenerative influence of society upon language as to make them quite unfit for the expression of my meaning. The heavenly element is love. Divine love is the life of the universe, and especially of man, giving him that fullness of life which perpetually overflows as a blessing and a healing power to all around him.

An intense love makes all things bright and all tasks easy. It is the never failing fountain of all that is good. It exists in harmony with heaven, and heaven flows into it with in-

* Among the most important of these are the industrial schools for negroes in the South, which are superseding or refuting the dictum of "Uncle Remus," that "When you give a negro a spelling book you spoil a good plough hand," which had much truth under the old system.

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spiration either for action or for wisdom. A dozen great souls with a full measure of this inspiration might change the world's atmosphere and bring a rainbow of peace above the clouds of coming war; but such souls are reserved for the remote future.

Love is the fulfilling of all law and the germinating nest of wisdom. It is the philosopher's stone to all earthly life, and the distinguishing element of heaven from earth. This is the element that Jesus Christ brought to earth and took away in His ascension, leaving a phosphorescent glow for half a century, which in the next century was lost. Of this I have much more to say than it is possible to introduce in this brief sketch.

Of this element, in which is the potentiality of Heaven, man is the permanent repository, as the cold soil is the repository of seeds and roots that, barely peeping at the surface, prove that they are not dead; for when this element dies man is extinct, and the paralysis of that superior portion of the brain which has no apparent physiological function, but is the seat of love, is the paralysis that ends in death. Just in proportion as we cultivate this celestial element do we lift man from the lowest to the highest condition, from fierce, warring barbarism and poverty to celestial peace and luxuriant prosperity — the world a garden, and the voices of discord and despair unknown.

Is it possible to establish this education? — which I may now call religious, as the reader understands my meaning. *It surely is.* There are millions of that temperament which permits us to change the action of the brain and concentrate it in the region of the higher sentiments (as easily as in the passions) — to mould the character as we wish, and maintain it in that condition until it becomes a second nature, a condition for life.

Yes, there are probably fifteen millions in the United States, as I would say from my own observations (and there are some who from personal impressions would double this number), in whom this radical and permanent change could be established firmly in the first one, two or three years of treatment, so as to fix the destiny for life; while in tropical climates the entire population might be moulded to whatever we wish. But of course in the first stages the pupil must be protected from the belittling and debasing influences of

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his home. The vast possibilities of the population of tropical climates, now known only through psychic marvels, may be realized when the new education reaches them.

So far from exalted and disinterested love being impossible of attainment to man (it is not difficult to woman), we may even carry our transformation of character so far and make the higher sentiments so predominant that in many cases the fault would be the lack of the selfish elements and passions instead of their predominance.

All this is as certain and practicable as the trimming of a young tree into any desirable form by the gardener, and not by the methods of hypnotism, which I have always avoided, though that method might be used for the same purpose. The human hand controls the impressible brain and concentrates its action. Since my public demonstrations in the West and South, and in Boston and New York, from 1841 to 1845, I have been quietly repeating these demonstrations in medical colleges and in private lectures with unanimous acceptance.

But why (some optimist may say) have you not roused the world to these possibilities of moral evolution and revolution? Simply because the world is not willing to be roused. Why preach to the whale when the whale neither hears nor understands? It may be my fault that I cannot rouse him with lightning and thunder, but truth can wait. Such truths as these, once fairly presented, demonstrated and recorded, cannot die. I do not urge a truth upon those whose desire is to shun it, but am ever ready for the sincere.

Passing from this magnetic manipulation of the brain by the hand, which, rightly managed, is competent to save the world and worth vastly more than all educational agencies heretofore current, let us consider two other essential agencies for the perfecting of the religious nature: —

1. The dominant power of the teacher makes it necessary that he should embody in himself all that we wish embodied in his pupils — love, duty, stability, heroism, health, happiness and sympathy. And as the love nature is stronger in women than in men, the major portion of the education should be conducted by them.

2. I had the honor of discovering and presenting the supremely important proposition that as the eye is the channel for intellectual impressions, the ear is the channel for

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the emotional — that is, for all the elements of character. Consequently the voices of the pupil and teacher are the agencies to cultivate and develop character.

As every musical sound or vocal tone rouses a corresponding feeling, it follows that every element of character may thus be cultivated and excited, as they are by the roaring of the lion or the cooing of the dove.

But in using the voice we have more than the effects of tones coming from exterior sources. The larynx, near the origin of the brain at the medulla oblongata, is one of the centres of decisive energy, and in its vibrations the whole brain is roused with more power than by any other agency. To realize this compare the effect of listening to a note of another's voice and giving it forth from your own, or of hearing a piece declaimed and declaiming it yourself. Hence in reading, in declamation and in song we cultivate the sentiments and passions more powerfully than by any other agency; preëminently in song, which (if not mechanical) is almost entirely emotional — the consonants representing the intellect as the vowels embody feeling.

Song is the most powerful means of rousing every feeling in the singer, if it be genuine, natural song and not the purely mechanical exertion which is the tendency of fashionable and heartless music. Song has been the chief power for the propagation of Christianity, and can evoke either tears or maddening enthusiasm. By its frequent or hourly use a school group can be kept in a mood which will establish harmony and fine sentiment, repressing all animalism and disorder. There should be enough of this to establish refined sentiment with enthusiasm and joy, and this exalted mental condition should be maintained until it becomes habitual.

This will be powerfully reinforced by declamation, in which principle and sentiment are combined with emotion. It was by such means as these — industry, love and song — that at the Rauhen Haus, near Hamburg, the most utterly degraded children of that city, of whose degradation we have no analogue in America, were, according to Rev. Calvin E. Stowe, converted into "characters that endeared themselves to all within the sphere of their acquaintance." The exercises in song were sometimes so overwhelming to their feelings as to make a suspension necessary.

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Such training is almost omnipotent; and in warm climates, where the nervous system is more dominant, the measures I have described are practically omnipotent. At Lancaster, O., the education, essentially industrial, was competent in three years or less to transform ninety-five per cent of the young convicts from police courts and jails into worthy citizens. Applied to untainted youth it would elevate them far above their miseducated ancestry. Whenever the new education is understood and adopted, the progress and beneficent transformation of mankind will be far greater in fifty years than in all the centuries known to history, which have perpetuated the mental stolidity that resists all improvement.

Vainly have the wisest endeavored to mend the deformities that have been consummated. Vainly would the gardener seek to change the matured forest which at its beginning he could readily have dwarfed. Vainly have philosophers, authors, patriot statesmen and martyred saints sought to reform the deformed humanity ruined by the twenty-one years of indolence, animalism and distortion that have fixed the destiny for evil. Centuries of calamitous and bloody defeat have been the history of those who bravely sought to conquer the strong fortifications of evil that are built in twenty-one years. As well might we hope to make vases of artistic beauty by attacking the clay that has already been baked into solid and hideous forms by savage ignorance. No, we must seize the clay before the barbarians have moulded and baked it. It may be very poor clay but it has unlimited potentialities of form, and when we begin with infancy we can surely mould forms of beauty.

We *should* begin before infancy and before birth; but prenatal culture (very little understood) is too large a subject to be introduced here, and the world has little conception of its power because the world knows not the constitution of man — the science of anthropology, the outlines of which I have traced and shall trace again.

When by industry, by vital control and power of voice the strong, faithful and happy nature is developed, do we need anything more? Nothing but what a wise and loving teacher will spontaneously do, while this great work advances. He will be continually giving forth from his abundance of knowledge to delighted hearers to whom all is new, as an oral teacher. He will bring before his pupils everything

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that can be brought to show them the realities of all forms of knowledge of this great globe and its history, and of all that appears upon it — the history of man and the arts that man has created, giving a bird's-eye view of all, and special knowledge of of what is nearest and most useful.

But he will not permit passive listening. He will require incessant observation and reporting, and will present innumerable problems for solution, in dealing with which they will acquire perfect understanding and knowledge, and a power and passion to go on ever solving the unsolved problems which hereditary ignorance and dullness have left in our pathway.

Thus will science grow and uprising philosophy embrace heaven and earth. How much of this *can* be done — how much of dormant, unsuspected power unknown to colleges lies in the human soul, waiting the Promethean touch of the true education (which I have not here attempted to illustrate), and how much *has been done*, I hope to show hereafter, and thus encourage the fainthearted, whom the world's past calamities and future obscurities have brought to the verge of despair or have left in bewildering doubt. I shall show that we need no longer fear or doubt, for in the future there is sunshine before us.

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YOSEMITE.

BY ANNIE ELIZABETH CHENEY.

If thou in dreams hast stood upon some lofty crag,
Whose ragged peaks have torn to shreds the drifting clouds,
And down in wavy depths of amethystine blue
Beheld, like gossamer, a dim enchanted vale,
Where ghostly trees were lost in silver shrouding mist,
With river like a thread of coiling light and fire,
And beauty that was strange and weird as moonlight shade,
Then thou in fantasy hast seen the magic land.
If thou in dreams hast strayed, 'twixt giant walls of rock,
Domed with an arc of sky, and sad and shudd'ring felt
That space was lost, as high above thy bended head
The pendent stars were hung, for thee to count them all;
Then hast thou in thy dreams beheld Yosemite!
Its monumental pines swing their long arms and sing
In low and solemn tones their melody of praise;
The roving river steals among the shrubs of green,
To rest and brood upon the bosom of a lake,
Where trees and clouds and cliffs are kissed by rising suns.
Here midst this shady calm the lofty giants loom
Like carven gods of old, defying still the sharp
Attack of waters mad, which down their rugged sides
In daring anger leap.
Thou lonely mountain vale!
Mysteriously hid in fastnesses of deep
Ravines, and towering trees, and melancholy hills,
Through ages thou hast been a hermitage of gods.
Thy rocks reëchoing the eagle's piercing scream,
Thy butments sounding back the thunder of the winds,
Thy pinnacles unmoved amid the shifting clouds,
Thy spires and minarets daring the lightning flash,
Thine awful, ponderous dome veiled in translucent mist,
Speak thy divinity. Thou matchless minster grand!
On ambient air, through thy strained light, the soul doth mount
Those heights celestial where thy gray and fading aisles,
Thine onyx-tinted walls, thy mighty parapets,
And thy stupendous nave, fade like a blissful dream,
And God Himself, thine Architect, stands forth revealed.

So standest thou, alone, unmoved, eternal Truth!
Revealed, unveiled to him who scales the heights of mind —
Feeling the fiercest onslaught of our narrow creeds
As but the touch of vultures' wings upon thy crags.

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PLUTOCRACY'S BASTILES: OR WHY THE REPUBLIC IS BECOMING AN ARMED CAMP.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

Justice can have no binding force on a ruler or rulers who keep men deluded and drilled in readiness for acts of violence—soldiers, and by means of them control others. And so governments can never be brought to consent to diminish the number of these drilled slaves, who constitute their whole power and importance. — *Tolstoi.*

I.

A TRAVELLER from India, viewing a great armory which he, in company with an Occidental friend, was passing, said, with something like a malicious twinkle in his eye: "The religion of your Prince of Peace seems to bear strange fruit; for, as I have gone through your large cities, in close proximity to your great temples I have frequently noticed enormous armories, either in course of erection or which seem to have been recently constructed; and I have often wondered if your people appreciated the irony of the situation when, from contemplation of their bastiles of death, they have paused in front of some of their splendid temples long enough to read the engraved heart cry of the enlightened — 'Peace on earth, good will to men.'

"Indeed," he continued, "to a stranger visiting your country it would appear that your government was rapidly preparing for one of those terrible struggles in which thousands if not millions of lives are sacrificed in the most savage and brutal manner. With Europe the case is somewhat different; there, nations are hedged in by nations, each in a crouching attitude, some avaricious, some envious and jealous, and others trembling with fear. But here you have no such excuses, and I have asked myself what could be the meaning of your armories fitted with engines of destruction — unless you were preparing for a wholesale family massacre. You are striving to place God in your constitution, and are very fond of saying 'In His Name'; and I have sometimes wondered how many of your leading churchmen, who have liberally contributed to the construction of these bastiles of death, have asked themselves whether they were doing so 'In His Name.'"

These simple and very natural observations of a stranger bring clearly before us one phase of a question which deserves the

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serious consideration of all peace-loving American citizens. If the religion which was a holy passion with the primitive church, and which led its devotees to face the most horrible forms of death without resistance, still made luminous the brains of those who call themselves Christian, these great storehouses of death, these rendezvouses of probable man-slayers, would not be possible in the republic. Their presence is one of the many melancholy indications of the supremacy of formalism, lip service and creedal or dogmatic theology over the *religion of life*, which the Apostle James epitomizes as *visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction and keeping pure and unspotted from the world.* This aspect of the question should appeal with irresistible force to all who claim to be Christians; though, as a matter of fact, it is doubtful whether it will influence the minds of the people of this age as much as a phase of the problem which we shall now notice, and which relates to cause and effect.

II.

In examining any important social phenomenon, it is essential that we carefully consider the chief factors which have produced it, and the results which it is fair to predict will follow as its legitimate fruits. The study of tendencies is all-important, as, frequently, things which on the surface appear to favor justice are lawless in essence and will prove anarchical in their active operations. Moreover, if we keep in view the two great forces in evolutionary progress, upon the arms of which life has risen through successive stages, and which on the plane of civilized life are the forces of light and darkness, it will not be difficult for the conscientious man or woman to decide whether a new social condition merits support or calls for opposition. So important is this thought, and so seldom in this savage, struggling age do men and women pause to look beneath the surface, that, on the threshold of this discussion, I desire to call attention to some great basic facts in the law of life which will help us better to understand the problem I wish to emphasize.

In the warfare of uncounted ages which has marked the rise of life, the struggle for existence has played a cardinal *rôle.* In the earlier stages of the ascent this savage law has predominated, and perhaps it is not singular that Charles Darwin and other great working naturalists, whose attention was so very largely centred upon these lower forms of life, should have come to the conclusion that the key to the solution of the stupendous problem popularly known as "the descent of man," lay in the survival of the fittest in the remorseless struggle for existence; nor is it surprising that many philosophers who read in embryology, in geology, in natural history, and indeed on almost every page of

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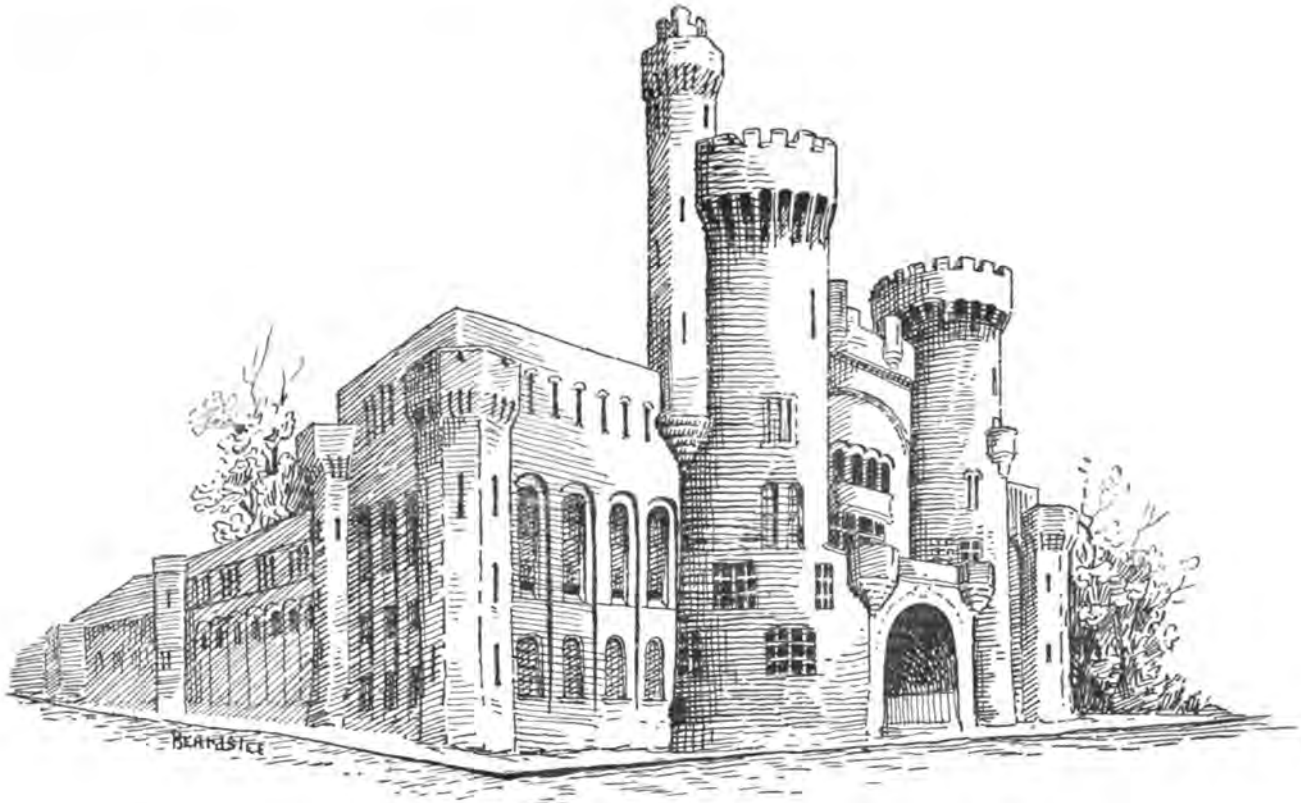

NEW ARMORY OF THE 13TH REGIMENT, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

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nature's marvellous messages to man, the wonderful story of the ascent of life, should have followed the lead of the great apostles of evolution in their conclusions.

Professor Drummond, however, points out another factor which hitherto has been barely more than hinted at by those competent scholars who have unhesitatingly accepted the evolutionary hypothesis —and that is, *the struggle for life of others.* He shows us that if the struggle for life in its earlier and more narrow sense be termed *nutrition*, this other great factor may, under the same limited construction, be termed *reproduction.* In a broader significance, and especially applicable when we reach a plane where the two impelling forces are more evenly matched, they may be termed egoism and altruism.

In the lower forms of existence the struggle for life is almost the only law discernible in operation; the other influence may be likened to a silken thread, almost imperceptible. At a later stage it becomes quite apparent in love and care for the young, and as we follow the line of ascent we see animals protecting their young and defending those of their number who are assailed by outside enemies.

When the plane of man is reached those influences are more evenly matched; the struggle for others has taken mighty strides onward, and in the civilization of our time we find egoism and altruism facing each other like two giant forces—the former the powerful victor for uncounted ages in the slow ascent of life, its mouth dripping with blood, with a spirit which, while yielding to the form of savagery which the conventionality of the age permits, is, always, dominated by self-love. It is remorseless, and though its hands may be gloved the claws are always present. Though no iron chains may be visible as its victims wait upon it, the slavery is none the less real. Though the superficial observer may not see the transfusion of blood which is daily taking place, he can see how the master fleshens and the victim pales with each succeeding year. Though its voice may be soft and its story fair, if there is a demand for justice and if an appeal to an impartial tribunal is made, it will cry, "There is nothing to arbitrate," even though such declaration cost the government several million dollars and many human lives.

On the other hand, the spirit of altruism marks the progress of enduring civilization. Its presence carries gladness and hope and makes life worth living. Its ideal is supremely noble. It raises its servants to heights of felicity unknown to natures blinded by egoism. It points as unswervingly to the zenith of civilization, where peace, happiness and wisdom abide, as does the index finger of egoism point to the savage past.

In social life to-day, throughout Christendom, these opposing

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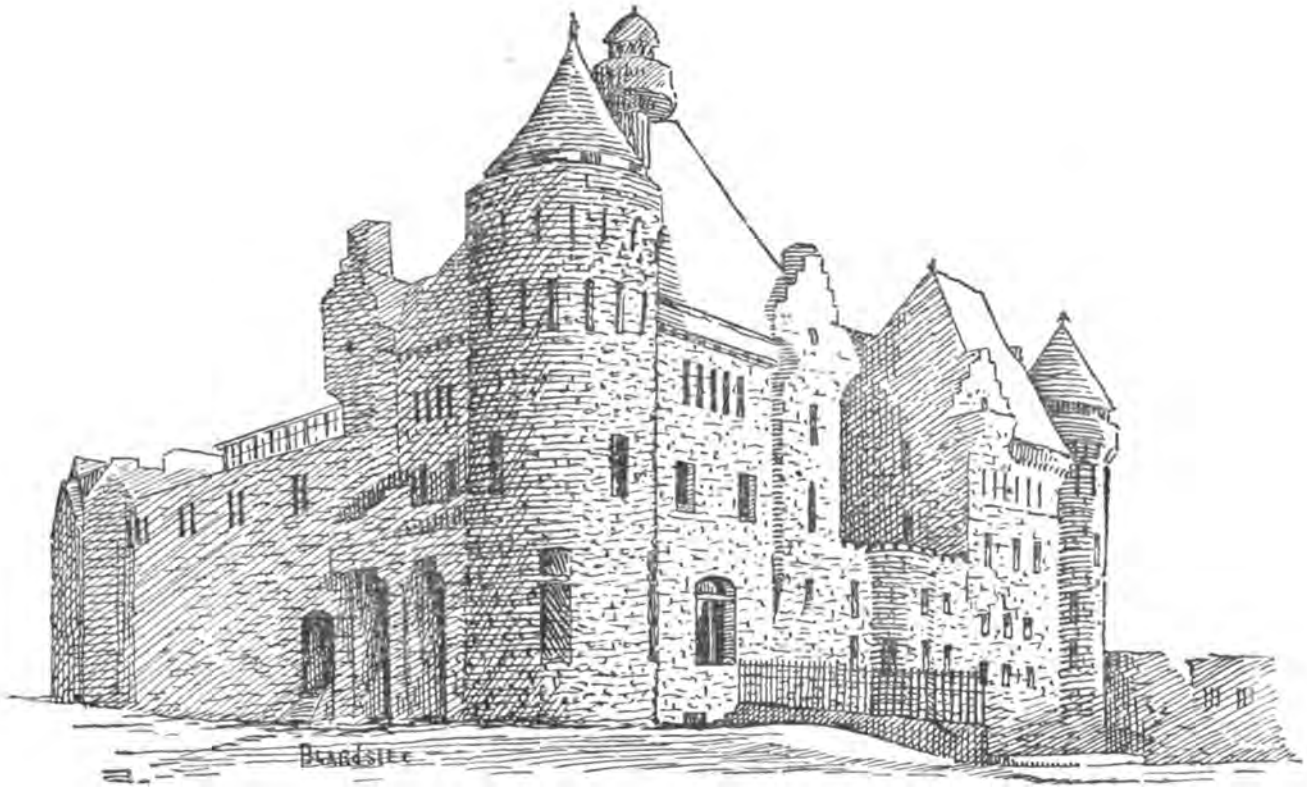

NEW ARMORY OF THE 71ST REGIMENT, PARK AVENUE AND 34TH STREET, NEW YORK.

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forces are waging a life and death struggle. The problem of national life, and indeed that of enduring civilization, as well as the happiness and welfare of the individual, depend upon the issue. And this being the case, we see how essential it is that all new social phenomena be critically examined in relation to the causes which have produced them and the effects which will follow as their legitimate fruit. If altruistic in spirit, they make for enduring civilization; if born of the instincts of egoism, it is all-important that those who see the possibility of a happy humanity through justice, in which mutualism shall be the law of life, lose no time in giving the danger signal, and in striving to save our nation from the fate of all civilizations which have surrendered human rights to capitalism, or permitted egoism to exile altruism.

With this thought in view, I wish to call the attention of the reader to the rapid multiplication of armories in our great centres of civilization during the past generation, as well as to the immediate causes which have rendered possible these frowning bastiles of death. Keeping this object in view, let us briefly survey the social conditions which have prevailed during the past thirty years, as herein we will find the answer to the question, why America, from being the proud herald of universal peace, the champion of the great altruistic idea of arbitration for the settlement of disputes, whether foreign or domestic, is becoming a mighty armed camp, with enormous armories, not infrequently erected and furnished by individuals, for companies and regiments of troops who can be relied upon as being absolutely loyal to capital in any struggle between plutocracy or corporate greed and slaving industry.

III.

Comparatively few people appreciate the magnitude of the preparations for slaughter which have been steadily pushed since the era of class legislation and special privileges which followed the Civil War, and through which human cormorants have acquired billions of dollars earned by others, and have been enabled to initiate on a gigantic scale the practices which wrought the destruction of ancient Rome. From time to time, since the supremacy of plutocracy in legislation, the corruption of the government has come momentarily to the surface. We caught a glimpse of it in the Credit Mobilier scandal, and in the famous Whiskey Ring exposures. We have lately been reminded of the real condition of our national political life by the armor plate and sugar scandals.

In city government, Mr. Stead, in his "If Christ Came to Chicago," has revealed the absolute prostitution of public moral-

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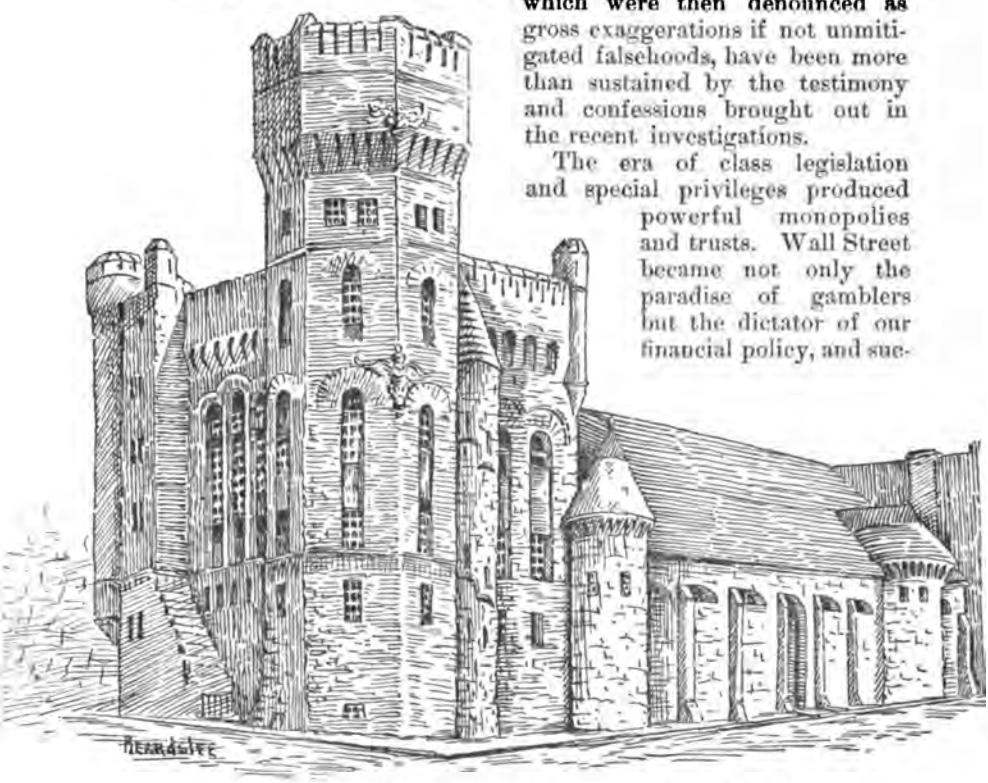
ity and decency. But the London editor's revelations pale into insignificance in the face of the almost inconceivable political corruption unearthed by the Lexow Commission as honeycombing municipal government, from the lowest to the most important position, in the Empire City. The terrible charges of political corruption and immorality made by Dr. Parkhurst two years ago, which were then denounced as gross exaggerations if not unmitigated falsehoods, have been more than sustained by the testimony and confessions brought out in the recent investigations.

The era of class legislation and special privileges produced powerful monopolies and trusts. Wall Street became not only the paradise of gamblers but the dictator of our financial policy, and suc-



NEW ARMORY OF THE BOSTON CADETS ON COLUMBUS AVENUE
(as it will be when finished).

cessive administrations have gone to those who acquired wealth by changing money for instructions as to our financial policy. Thus the money changers have dictated the fiscal policy of this country since 1869. At that time Senator Sherman, who, during the last two decades, has been the high priest of the usurer class, in a speech in the Senate, referring to the results which would follow the contraction of our currency, said: —

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The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing operation than senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that process before. It is not possible to take *that* voyage without the sorest distress. To every person, except a capitalist out of debt, or a salaried officer, or annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy and disaster. It means the *ruin* of all dealers whose debts are twice their business capital, though one third less than their actual property. It means the fall of all agricultural productions without any great reduction of taxes. What prudent man would dare to build a house, a railroad, a factory or a barn, with the *certain* fact before him that the greenback that he puts into his improvements will, in a few years, be worth thirty-five per cent more than his improvements are then worth? When the day comes, every man, as the sailor says, will be close-reefed; all enterprise will be suspended; every bank will have contracted its currency to the lowest limit, and the debtor compelled to meet in coin a debt contracted in currency, will find the coin hoarded in the treasury and no representative of coin in circulation; his property shrunk, not only to the extent of the contraction of the currency, but still more by the *artificial* scarcity made by the holders of gold. *To attempt this is to impose upon our people* by arresting them in the midst of their lawful business, and applying a new standard of value to their property without any deduction of their debts, or giving them any opportunity to compound with their creditors or to distribute their losses; and would be an act of folly without example in evil in modern times.

The national bank octopus has, through special privileges, grown to be a most formidable menace to free government. If any one questions this, let him study the congressional records and the histories of recent administrations, and he will see that since 1873, when silver was demonetized, the government has become more and more the suppliant tool of the gamblers of Wall Street and the usurer class, and that while this class has prospered, the condition of the industrial millions, or the wealth producers of the nation, has steadily grown more deplorable. The policy of Wall Street has been as religiously carried out by President Cleveland as by his predecessors, and the predictions made by Senator Sherman in 1869 and by John A. Logan, Senators Morton and Allen, have been literally fulfilled. General Logan said: —

I, for one, can see benefit only to the money holder and those who receive interest and have fixed incomes. I can see, as a result of this legislation, our business operations crippled and wages for labor reduced to a mere pittance. I can see the beautiful prairies of my own state and of the great West, which are blooming as gardens, with cheerful homes rising like white towers along the pathway of improvement, again sinking back to idleness. I can see mortgage fiends at their hellish work. I can see the hopes of the industrious farmers blasted as they *burn corn for fuel*, because its price will not pay the cost of transportation and dividends on millions of dollars of fictitious railway stocks and bonds. I can see our people of the West groaning and burdened under taxation to pay debts of states, counties and cities, incurred when money was more abundant, and bright hopes of the future were held out to lead them on. I can see the people of our Western States, who are pro-

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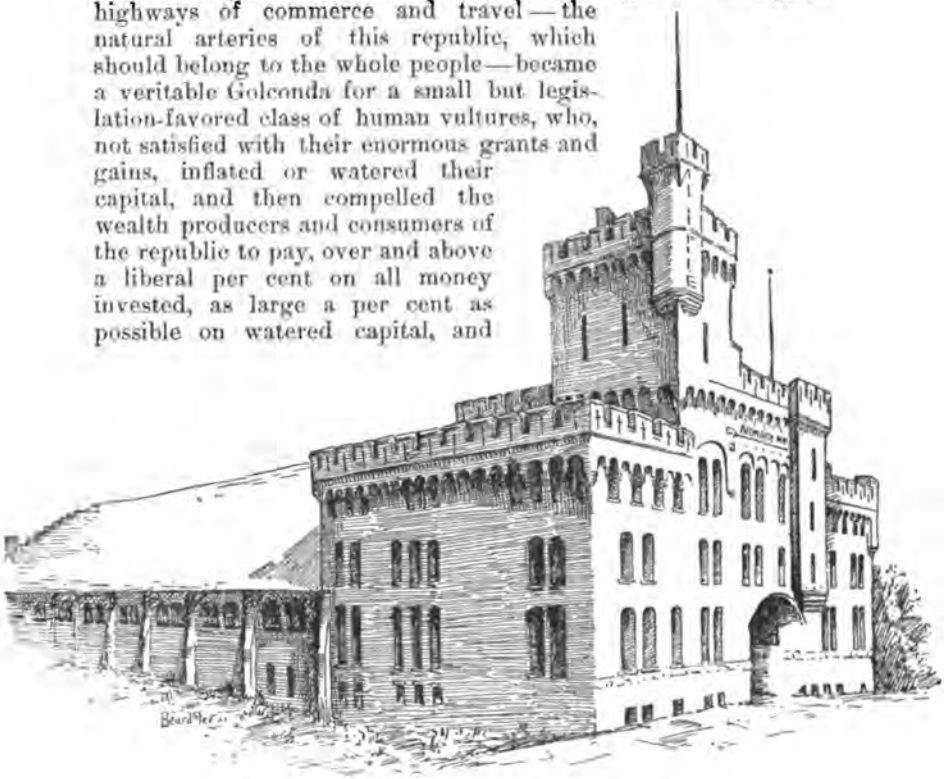
ducers, reduced to the condition of serfs to pay interest on public and private debts to the money sharks of Wall Street, New York, and of Threadneedle Street, London.

The money lenders were, however, only one of many favored classes who have fed off the earnings of industry. The railroad magnates secured their special privileges, and the great highways of commerce and travel — the natural arteries of this republic, which should belong to the whole people — became a veritable Golconda for a small but legislation-favored class of human vultures, who, not satisfied with their enormous grants and gains, inflated or watered their capital, and then compelled the wealth producers and consumers of the republic to pay, over and above a liberal per cent on all money invested, as large a per cent as possible on watered capital, and



STATE ARMORY, IRVINGTON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

also princely salaries to railroad managers and armies of favored officials.

Perhaps one of the most striking illustrations of how a few men have, along this line, acquired wealth enough to become almost all-powerful, is afforded by the facts connected with the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, a concise statement or summary of which Judge S. S. King gives in the following lines taken from his "Bondholders and Bread Winners" * : —

* "Bondholders and Bread Winners," by S. S. King.

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During the war (the beginning of the era of corruption) the Union Pacific Railway was conceived. The national legislature had chartered the company and given it twenty million acres of land. But the subsidy was not enough to satisfy the Eastern capitalists. Then Congress offered to loan the company for each mile of road built, $16,000 a mile over the prairie country, $32,000 a mile over the mountain slopes, and $48,000 over the mountains. Here was land worth fifty million dollars, estimating it at $2.50 per acre, or worth one hundred millions, estimating it at its selling price of $5.00 per acre. The loan offered was more than sixty million dollars. Did the Eastern millionaires accept the offer? No. Why? Because they knew they owned Congress and could get a better deal; and they did get a better one. Congress then offered to give them all this land, and loan them all this money, and in addition thereto allow the company to issue first mortgage bonds and sell to other Eastern capitalists to the same amount per mile as the government loan — $16,000, $32,000 and $48,000 — the Eastern capitalists to have the first lien, and the government the second lien. This offer was accepted and work began. Eastern capitalists, headed by Oakes Ames of Massachusetts, now took hold of the vast enterprise, putting less than a quarter of a million of their own capital into it. Estimates showed that the building of the road would cost less than the money loaned by government, saying nothing of the value of the lands. It was built, and the patriots who built it divided among themselves as profits during the building more than one hundred million dollars, with all their land left! To-day the Union Pacific Railroad owes the national government in principal and interest more than one hundred thirty million dollars! Ahead of the government lien is a mortgage to the Eastern capitalists for more than the road is worth.

Henry George, America's most profound political economist, and one of the truest exponents of the Democracy of Jefferson and the Republicanism of Lincoln to be found among our leading thinkers, recently referred to the methods by which some of the railroad magnates acquired their unearned millions in these striking words*: —

It has been the railroad power that has demoralized California and debauched its public service. It is the railroad power which has given the control of that state into the hands of a few railroad magnates, and such a control as a prince never exercised over his principality. I well remember when the first spade of earth was turned for the railroads in Sacramento. The men who were then back of those great enterprises were moderately wealthy men, worth perhaps $100,000. To-day those men, or those who have succeeded them, are multi-millionaires. They have not got their great fortunes, as C. P. Huntington says in a newspaper paragraph this morning, by the fruits of industry and frugality. They have got those fortunes by robbery — by robbery which is worse than highway robbery, because it has been coupled with the bribery of those whom the people elected to serve them in high offices and on the benches of their courts.

The railroad power has already become a veritable devil fish; its tendrils are found in Congress and in the Senate, in the courts and in the administrative department of government. If any one

* Report of Mr. George's address, delivered in Cooper Union, New York, on the night of July 12, 1894. See New York *World*, July 13, 1894.

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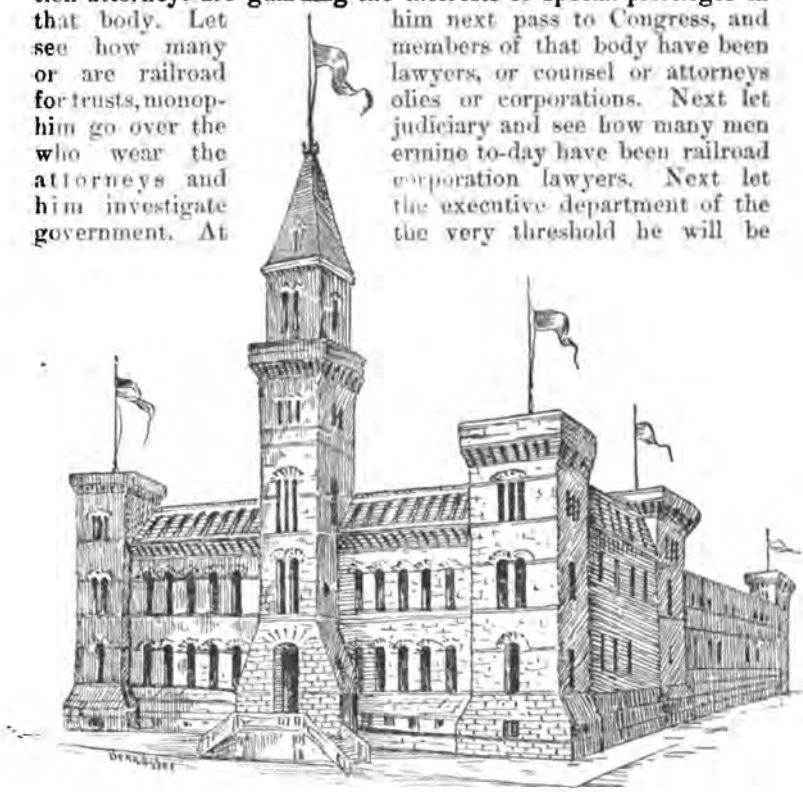
doubts how completely the railroads own the government at the present time, let him go over the makeup of the United States Senate, and find out how many railroad magnates and corporation attorneys are guarding the interests of special privileges in that body. Let him next pass to Congress, and see how many members of that body have been or are railroad lawyers, or counsel or attorneys for trusts, monopolies or corporations. Next let him go over the judiciary and see how many men who wear the ermine to-day have been railroad attorneys and corporation lawyers. Next let him investigate the executive department of the government. At the very threshold he will be



ARMORY OF THE 7TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK.

confronted with the Attorney General, who for years has been a railroad attorney and director in railroads; a gentleman who, as attorney for the Whiskey Trust, filed nine demurrers in Boston, declaring the anti-trust law unconstitutional and void. This is the man selected by the gentleman who solemnly pledged his honor to carry out the platform of the Democratic party, one of whose leading planks demanded the vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust law. This was the gentleman selected by the president of the United States to prosecute railroads which might violate the interstate commerce law.

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In speaking of the corporation influence upon the present administration, Mr. George, who cordially supported Mr. Cleveland when he ran for president, made this very pertinent reminder in the noble protest to which I have already referred: —

Not only has he left undone that which he had the warrant and command of the people to do, but from the very first, I am sorry to say, he seems to have taken the side, wantonly taken the side, of those very monstrous monopolies which have oppressed the people and which they believed he would break down. It is at least the fact that his federal appointments have been such as the monopolists themselves would have dictated had they been allowed to dictate, and I am not so sure that they were not. To the most important federal office in California Mr. Cleveland appointed a man who was denounced at a Democratic state convention as a traitor to his party because he had sold out to the railroad companies. Mr. Cleveland did this in spite of the fact that these things were formally presented to him by representative men of California.

Almost Mr. Cleveland's first step was to take as his Attorney General a corporation attorney, a man of whom I, and I guess most of you, had never heard. I refer to Mr. Olney. It is from Cleveland that we get this omnibus injunction which would look to the punishing of a man for not going to work when he did not choose to go to work. It is from him that we get the order that the standing army shall be set to uphold and serve corporate interests.

You have heard of the Senate sugar investigation, an investigation designed to do anything but find out facts. I was told in Washington by a man who knew, that nothing would come of that investigation; that the Sugar Trust, like the Whiskey Trust, could demand recognition of the government because of services rendered to ambitious and selfish politicians. I was told that the Whiskey Trust contributed $200,000 to Mr. Cleveland's election. I wonder if the railroads which the government is now standing up for so staunchly made any contributions.

The banking and railroad classes, from the position of suppliants for special privileges, have grown so powerful through those privileges that they are to-day in control of the two old parties. But they are by no means the only classes which through governmental concessions (the most vicious form of governmental paternalism ever indulged in) have grown so great that they influence legislation by placing corrupt tools in power, or by means of lobbies, interviews and tips secure their ends when their unjust privileges are threatened. Mr. Jay Gould, some few years before his death, stated with perilous candor the settled policy of our modern plutocrats, when he said, "When I am in a Democratic district I am a Democrat, when I am in a Republican district I am a Republican, in a doubtful district I am doubtful; but I am always an Erie man." And only a few months ago Mr. Havemeyer confessed to the contribution of sums for the campaign committees of both Republican and Democratic parties, explaining that *in Democratic states they gave to Democrats, and in Republican districts they gave to Republicans.*

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And what was the purpose of these contributions? No man who knows anything about the great moneyed monopolies of this country imagines for a moment that they place their moneys on uncertainties. Mr. Havemeyer observed that they did not contribute to the weaker party in any district. It was not political preference or laudable patriotic impulses which actuated those human cormorants to give liberally to two corrupt political parties, but their contributions were made solely with a

NEW ARMORY OF FIRST CORPS CADETS, COLUMBUS AVENUE, BOSTON, MASS., as it appeared in April.

view to securing political favors which would further enable them to fatten off honest industry.

Another important factor in the triumphant march of plutocracy toward establishing an absolute oligarchy of wealth on the ashes of the republic is the stream of unearned wealth which pours into the hands of landlordism. It is difficult to conceive of anything more essentially unjust than our present system of taxation, which fines industry and discourages home making; which has made it possible for men to invest a certain sum in property in a city and not only draw a princely revenue from

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the property, but in a few years to be worth twice as much, without a particle of labor or the contribution of a dollar to society's wealth, through the increase of values created solely by society.

Let me illustrate. We will take the case of Mr. William Waldorf Astor, who has deserted the land which gave him birth and the city which is creating and augmenting his fortune, and has purchased a daily paper in London for the purpose of combatting modern altruistic thought. This gentleman receives in the way of unearned wealth a princely revenue, a large proportion of which would revert to New York and the United States if we had a just system of taxation. The city of New York is creating the wealth for this worshipper of British Toryism to lavish in entertaining English aristocracy on the one hand and to combat republican sentiment on the other. Mr. Arthur Brisbane says, in the New York *World* of July 8: —

> Who is the American least excusable for setting an example of absentee landlordism? William Waldorf Astor. Every baby born in New York, every house built, every dollar spent for public improvements, every step forward of any kind, makes William Waldorf Astor a richer man. His houses become more valuable, his rent rolls grow as his fellow-citizens build up a greater and a greater New York about his possessions.

Monopoly in land, class legislation, special privileges and gambling have enabled a handful of men to acquire wealth earned by millions, and with that wealth to corrupt government and crush industry into practical serfdom.

Our unjust system of taxation is enabling landlords to keep millions of acres of land out of cultivation, upon which they pay only a nominal tax, but which society is yearly making exceedingly valuable. Some day they will rent a portion to poor men, who will pay them a princely revenue above the taxes, and who will also enhance the value of the land by improvement.

Again, through the operation of this essentially unjust system of taxation, syndicates of capitalists have been able to hold out of use vast tracts of land around our great cities, having them taxed at a nominal figure, while society doubles, trebles and quadruples their value. And in consequence of this social crime hundreds and thousands of industrious men have been deprived of the possibility of securing homes, and are to-day huddled in overcrowded tenement houses. According to the last census, out of 8,190,152 families in the United States who live in habitations other than farm houses, we find that 5,159,796 own no homes. This is as startling as it is significant. The slums of our cities are largely due to our failure to recognize the great fundamental economic fact that the land belongs to the people and that taxa-

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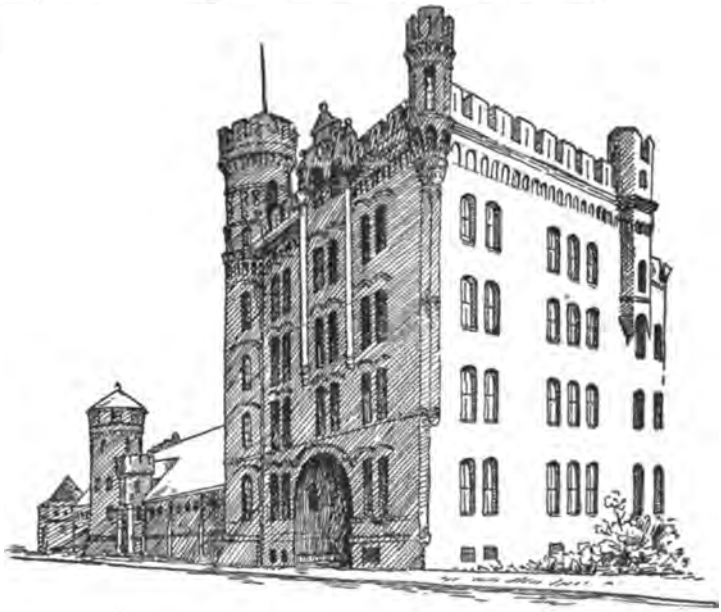
tion should be so levied that it would be *unprofitable* if not *impossible* for a man to play the dog in the manger where God's great gift to man — the land — is involved.

These are a few of the causes which have created discontent and apprehension in the mind of the masses. For years conditions were such that the people did not appreciate the danger which threatened them, through the rapid rise of a plutocracy based on special privileges. But at last there came a day when they could no longer be blinded by Fourth of July orations or



STATE ARMORY, EAST NEWTON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

appeals to partisan prejudice. They found their houses being mortgaged and sold for debts they contracted in order to clothe and educate their children properly. Their employers and landlords were living in comparative luxury, while the great gamblers of Wall Street and the manipulators of trusts and monopolies were becoming multi-millionnaires. This made them think for themselves. A thinking man makes a poor slave, and general dissatisfaction ensued, while increasing hard times in a nation marvellously rich in money's worth increased the social discontent. The fact that those who belong to the millionnaire class were augmenting their wealth while at the same time the wealth producers were

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being pushed daily toward the precipice of beggary, further emphasized this point. They knew that the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Havemeyers, the Astors and other beneficiaries of class laws, special privileges and usury were losing no money during a period of the most trying misery among the industrial millions. And what was more, they saw that the acquirers of wealth, the blood-suckers of industry, were, through special legislation and corrupt practices, taking from them all hope of a free and prosperous future. With the dawning of this ominous fact on their brains came a general movement against injustice.

This alarmed plutocracy. It felt that the time had come for action, and it has acted and is acting. In a republic corruption may flourish for a time, but unless there exists a powerful military organization, ready to obey the tools of corruption and enforce laws enacted for the benefit of a special class, a reaction will sooner or later take place and the corruptionists will be swept from power by the people. This was understood by the ancient Romans, and, indeed, has been appreciated by the ruling spirits in all oligarchies and despotisms of the past. Hence it is always to the military arm that an oppressive government, of whatever character, looks for a continuance of power. And for this reason every true patriot and lover of the republic should discourage the war spirit and seek to check the speed of the military tendency which plutocracy is so energetically fostering at the present time. Mr. George, in referring to our army and the spirit now regnant, said, in his recent Cooper Union address*:—

> We have a standing army of twenty-five thousand men, and they are demanding that it shall be increased to fifty thousand men. In the days when our government was weaker, yet stronger, when we had a hostile people on our frontier lines, and had real fighting to do, we had an army of only ten thousand men.
>
> What is the reason that we are building ships of war and increasing the size of our army? It is because the millionnaire monopolists are becoming afraid of the armies of poverty-stricken people which their oppressive trusts and machinations are creating.

IV.

That the people may gain some idea of the military activity at the present period, I have had drawn some pictures of armories in Massachusetts and New York. They, of course, do not represent nearly all of the bastiles of death, which speak in such an unmistakable manner of the real materialism of the age and the absence of soul kinship with the Prince of Peace. But they will, in a way, convey to the mind of the reader the activity of capitalism at the present time. In order further to impress the warning which these illustrations alone should convey to the wealth pro-

* New York *World*, July 13, 1894.

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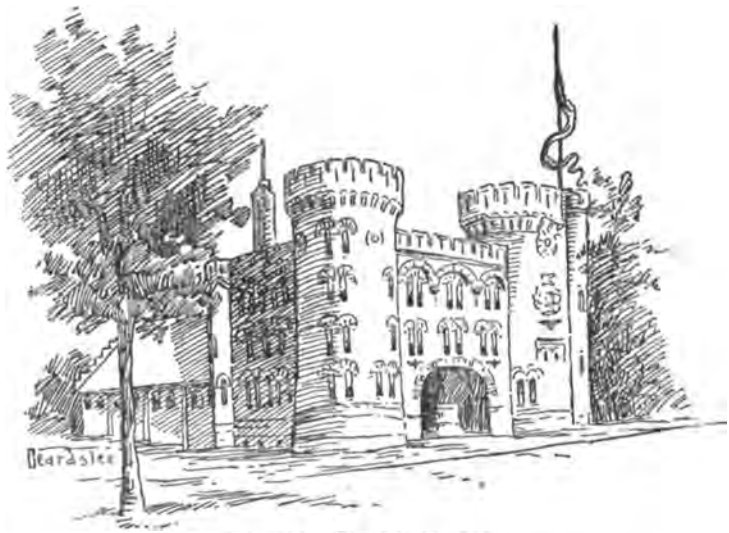
ducers of America, I secured from a friend who is conversant with this matter the following interesting and suggestive *data* relative to the Massachusetts armories: —

Militia: Maximum force allowed by law — officers, 448; men, 6,007. Force, Dec. 31, 1892 — officers, 412; men, 5,487; total, 5,899. Infantry — companies regular, 72; Cadets, 8; Naval Battalion, 7; Corps Signal, 2; ambulance, 2; total, 91.

Cavalry: Companies, 3.

Artillery: Batteries, 3; guns, 12; Gatlings, 6 (18).

Militia, armament (besides rifles, swords, etc.): Hand militia — cannon, 15; Gatling guns, 6; siege mortars, 4. Naval militia — cannon, 3. Above are property of the state.



STATE ARMORY AT LYNN, MASS.

Armories: The state owns none. Buildings and land: Acts of Legislature of 1888, Chapter 384 provides for purchase of suitable land and erection of two armories in Boston, and one in every city in the state in which two or more companies are located.

Title to land and buildings, "to be vested absolutely in the city forever."

Rent. State to pay no rent to cities after debt contracted in buying land and erecting buildings is all paid.

Running Expenses. State pays janitor, lighting, heating, repairs and incidentals — *all.*

Armories. Boston, 3 (including the Cadets' new armory); Worcester, 1; Lowell, 1; Fitchburg, 1; Lawrence (in process of erection), 1; Lynn (in process of erection), 1. Total, 8. Springfield also is preparing to erect an armory which will cost nearly $100,000 and will make in all 9 armories. The Boston Cadets have a large granite armory in process of construc-

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tion, but it is their private property. Estimated cost, between $300,000 and $400,000.

Headquarters or Armories: — Beside the armories there are 66 "Headquarters" for which the state pays rent to the cities and towns in which they are located.

Drill Ship. Naval Battalion is furnished the ironclad "Passaic" by the United States government.

DR.

Expenses. Armories: Expense of those provided for by the Act of 1888, Chapter 384, $13,001.98; rent to cities and towns, $34,758.24. Militia: Pay, transportation, supplies and expenses of militia, $163,372.85; expended on state camp ground, $1,798.50; equipment of naval militia, $3,690.07. Total, $216,621.64.

CR.

United States: Appropriation, militia, $27,555.50; naval militia, $3,690.07; sale of condemned military property, $870.11. Total, $32,115.68.

Expense to state for 1892, $184,505.96.

Beside this is an expense for keeping records, etc., of militia and naval militia of $7,532.25, making in all $192,038.21.

The enormous amount of taxes annually wasted, and worse than wasted, on superfluous military organizations, is being increased instead of diminished, while every additional company formed fosters anew the savage in many minds and brutalizes human souls. But this is not all. I have indicated how easily the rights of the millions may be trampled upon and free government destroyed when the various branches of the government come under the baleful influence of moneyed interests. Then innocence and industry in rags have no guarantee of protection, but illegal trusts and millionnaire lobbyists have nothing to fear.*

But while a rapidly growing state or national militia is a menace to republican institutions, where wealth is rapidly gaining ascendency in government and securing seats of power, there is another phase of this question which is still more startling and suggestive. Special attention is invited to the Seventh Regiment Armory of New York and the Boston Cadets' new private armory in course of erection. One picture of the latter building is drawn from a photograph taken for us in April; another shows it as it will shortly appear when completed. The Seventh Regiment of New York, not inappropriately termed the "rich men's

* This was strikingly illustrated (1) when forty honest and industrious American working-men were arrested, thrown in jail and kept there for two days for no crime whatever, their only offence being that they were out of work and desired to obtain employment in order to make an honest living; (2) when a commonwealer was arrested on the streets of Washington for begging; (3) when Mr. Coxey and his comrades were arrested and imprisoned for stepping on the grass. And it is well to remember that during these same months Havemeyer the sugar king was closeted with United States senators; that he afterwards found it expedient to slip away to Europe; that Carnegie, after the armor fraud was discovered, also fled to Europe, probably to write another treatise on "Triumphant Democracy."

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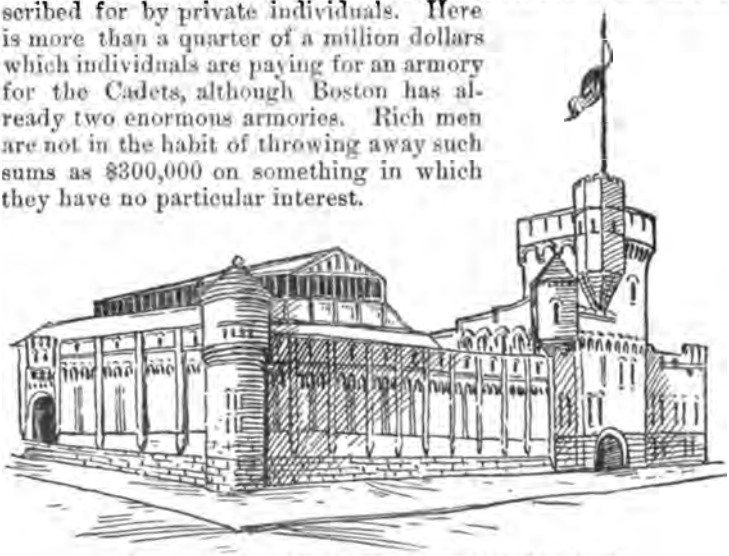
regiment," is free from debt, and, says the New York *Advertiser*, "Nearly $1,000,000 have been spent on the building and its furnishings. *The state and the county were not asked for a cent." All this money came direct from the pockets of individuals. Who paid this million dollar bill?*

The Boston Cadets is a similar organization, and is composed largely of rich men's sons and friends of rich men. The magnificent armory now approaching completion will, it is estimated, cost between $300,000 and $400,000, every cent of which is subscribed for by private individuals. Here is more than a quarter of a million dollars which individuals are paying for an armory for the Cadets, although Boston has already two enormous armories. Rich men are not in the habit of throwing away such sums as $300,000 on something in which they have no particular interest.



13TH REGIMENT ARMORY, WEST 61ST STREET, NEW YORK.

And this reminds me of a conversation which a one-time member of the Seventh Regiment had with a friend of mine a little more than a year ago. The young gentleman, knowing my friend to be a popular literary man, imagined he would be in full sympathy with plutocracy, and he expressed himself quite freely. During the conversation, he said: "When you go to New York I want you to see the way the Seventh Regiment headquarters are furnished. You see, this regiment is made up of rich men's sons and men in sympathy with wealthy people. The Seventh Regiment can ask anything it wishes of the rich men of New York and it will get it, for they know they can depend upon that regiment in times of trouble." Then he added significantly, "The militia of New York is being largely officered from the Seventh Regiment." I do not personally know how truthful the

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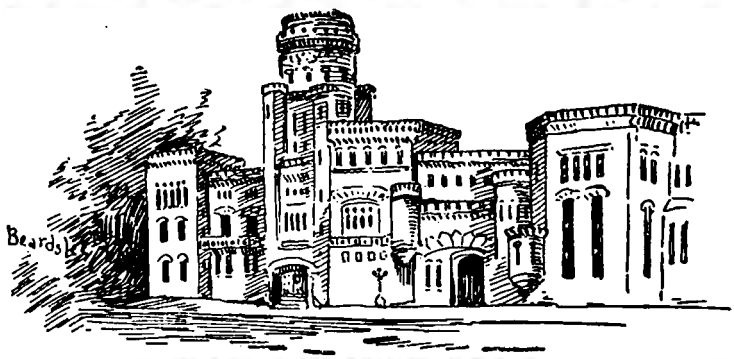
gentleman was who made these statements to my friend; but it certainly would be well for all laboring men and wealth producers who belong to the Empire State militia to find out if their superior officers come from the Seventh Regiment, and in such case they will consult the part of wisdom by leaving the regiment, if they do not desire to run the risk of being called upon to shoot down father or brother, or of being themselves shot for disobedience to superiors.

The multiplication of armories is perilous for a republic, and doubly so where organized wealth has gained the power it sways in America. But it is indeed difficult to consider anything more contrary to the spirit of republican institutions than permitting the rich men of great centres of wealth to lavish their money upon armories. Who is so blind that he cannot see that the men



NEW 9TH REGIMENT ARMORY, NEW YORK.

who furnished the million dollars for the Seventh Regiment, and those who are paying for the three or four hundred thousand dollar Boston armory, would expect the regiments thus beholden to them to see as they saw, in case starving industry should be pitted against idle wealth, or in case the industrial millions overthrow the money changers in the temples of legislation with their ballots and plutocracy beholds the intelligence of a great republic prepared to assert the cause of justice for all the people?

If any one doubts the real purpose of the multiplication of armories, let him read this editorial note from the *Army Magazine* of Chicago for April: —

The general feeling of unrest in the labor and socialistic circles throughout the entire country this spring is only another reason why the National Guard should be given stronger support by both the national and state governments.

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It is well to remember, also, that whenever a minion of plutocracy refers to any movement looking toward securing justice for the wealth producer, he begins by crying "socialistic." Every movement which is altruistic in contradistinction to egoistic; every movement which looks toward brightening the hearts and homes of our millions; every movement which aims at a true freedom and a wider meed of justice, excites the cry "socialistic" from a chorus of parrots who take their cue from their masters. It is time for this pitiful business to be stopped. It is time for the golden calf to be overthrown. Altruism must supplant egoism. The cause of the people must be made the cause of the individual. Lawless capitalism, with mouth dripping with blood, with feet ruthlessly crushing the helpless, must be forced backward, while the higher education and true religion which justice and coöperation beget will take its place. The new education, which touches alike hand, heart and brain, and true religion, which is mockery if not applied fraternity and unsullied love, must dominate the spirit of the republic.

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THE LAND QUESTION: A WOMAN'S SYMPOSIUM.

BY ESTELLA BACHMAN BROKAW, ALTONA A. CHAPMAN, SARAH MIFFLIN GAY, JULIA A. KELLOGG, FRANCES M. MILNE, LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, FRANCES E. RUSSELL, CATHERINE H. SPENCE, CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON, ELIZA STOWE TWITCHELL AND MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL REFORM.

As all human beings must live on and from the land, using that term in its economic sense, it clearly follows that the land question must be the fundamental question. There is much in a house besides the foundation; but without a firm and secure foundation the house is liable to fall at any time, and destroy those in or near it. So with nations: we see in them many wrongs which should be righted, many abuses to be corrected; yet in spite of the greatest efforts in numerous lines of reform work, our own people to-day practically form but two classes, the oppressor and the oppressed, as truly as did the people in old Egyptian days. We have abject poverty in the midst of abounding wealth. There are great armies of the unemployed; strikes and riots have become an almost daily occurrence. We boast of our wealth and learning, our culture and refinement, yet our nation is in many ways more uncivilized than the most barbarous of ancient peoples.

In a true state of society, poverty — the lack of actual necessaries of life — will be unknown; multi-millionaires and tramps will be equally rare. Each citizen of the ideal republic will work for his living and have secure possession of all he earns. When all work and no man has the power to make others support him, a few hours' work each day will be more than sufficient to supply all bodily wants, and there will be leisure for due recreation and for cultivation of those physical, mental and spiritual gifts which in time will produce a race of perfectly developed men and women.

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As no man can live without land, it follows that the man who owns the land owns the lives of his fellow-men. The most simple, practical and easily applied method that has yet been devised for freeing land and giving to all human beings equal rights and opportunities, is the plan known as the single tax. This is a tax on land values irrespective of improvements. This has so recently been fully explained in THE ARENA that I need not enter into details. To me it seems absolutely essential to true civilization and the welfare of our republic that the land question should be settled, and settled rightly, before we can hope to derive any permanent benefit from other reforms. The exclusive possession of a certain location is necessary in order that each may receive the full product of his labor; as nature gives no one the right to exclude another from any given location, the single tax, by requiring each one to pay to all the full annual value of the *privilege* of exclusive possession, secures equal freedom in the use of the earth — equality of access to land. When each pays to all the full value of the location he excludes them from (value of the privilege of excluding them), each gets from all the same in public service, and *retains* his full personal earnings. Under this plan there would be no profit in land *holding*, only in using it, so that there would be every incentive to *use*. When labor and land are free, with our ever growing knowledge of the forces of nature, wealth production would be so great that the getting of wealth would be easy for all, and so not wealth, but merit alone, could command esteem.

From this it follows that: —

(1) Restoring the land to the people through the application of the single tax will not instantly make men perfect, but it *will* give to each the opportunity to develop that which is highest and best in his nature. The tendency will be toward that which is good, and not evil, for when no superiority is recognized save the superiority of merit, each will strive so to live and work as to win the esteem of his fellows.

(2) The solution of the land question through the single tax will not make all other reforms unnecessary, but it *will* make it comparatively easy to introduce them; and it will enable us to distinguish readily between essential reforms and reforms that have seemed necessary only because of the unnatural conditions that grew out of the private appropriation of land values.

(3) The solution of the land question through the single tax will not at once make every man wealthy, but it *will* give to each the opportunity to earn all that he will. With each man free to work for himself and secure in the possession of his whole earnings, no one would work for another for less than he could make working for himself; hence employers would offer the

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fairest possible wages in order to secure workmen. This would gradually lead to higher wages and shorter hours of work, and the great labor problem would be permanently solved.

Thus it will be seen that, though the land question is not the only question needing solution, though the single tax is by no means the only reform needed, yet it is the most important one, in that it is the *foundation* on which we must depend for the security and permanency of all other reforms.

St. Louis, Mo. ESTELLA BACHMAN BROKAW.

II. SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM HARMONIZED.

In Bellamy's "Looking Backward," which was the first reform book to fall into my hands, after my eyes were fairly opened to our real economic conditions, which offered any way out of the cruel dilemma, and which I welcomed with delight and still read with pleasure, he lays down the true and heavenly principle upon which society should undoubtedly be constructed, and which if carried out in the spirit as well as the letter would give us a veritable heaven upon earth; but if earth be not ready to receive it and will have none of it, what then? We must find some powerful lever to lift earth up within reach of these heavenly influences, so that it may lay hold of them and abide by them. What is most needed, it seems to me, is not additional imperfect human legislation — we have too much of that already — but rather some essential principle of equal justice which, like all the laws of nature, may be safely trusted to execute itself, *if given free play*, regardless of the ignorance or indifference of careless, blundering humanity.

Now the single tax is such a principle and such a law, which constitutes at once its practicability and its unfailing charm. Being at the same time both individualistic and socialistic, it ignores the claims of neither, but does equal, impartial justice both to the individual and to society. Those who approach it from the individualistic side are more apt to dwell upon that feature of it; those who, like myself, have approached it through socialism, find in its socialistic quality its greatest attraction. Being thus many-sided, it is adapted to all classes of minds. As an ethical principle it appeals with irresistible force to the moral nature, while the coldest and most shrewdly calculating can appreciate its financial soundness and expediency as a business measure. This explains its rapid growth and shows how many more chances it has for general acceptance and speedy realization than any other method of relief.

That Nationalists and other socialists doubt the efficacy of the single tax to provide work for *all* men arises from the fact that

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they do not clearly grasp all that is implied in the economic term "land," and fail to realize the far-reaching effect of a tax on land *value*. Nature has already provided work for all men, by implanting in each certain imperative wants that can only be satisfied by labor of some sort, and the degree to which these may be met will depend upon man's freedom of access not only to land, but to *valuable* land; and land becomes valuable just in proportion as it carries with it the power of free and effective *coöperation* of man with his fellow-man. Not only "In union there is strength," but in union of productive forces there is *value* — land value — which has no existence without it. So here we get a glimpse of the socialism of the single tax.

Competition is, in truth, a selfish principle; but given free play, it forms the most effective check to that other selfish principle, *monopoly*. The trouble is, we are not living under free competition to-day, but under a fettered, forced and wholly *unnatural* competition.

It is equally idle to inveigh against coöperation, as if it did not already exist, or were dependent upon legislation for its continuance, since it is inseparable from even the lowest form of civilization. Only the hermit or the most primitive savage is or can be an absolute individualist, economically speaking. For the first step from savagery to civilization is by coöperation, and the measure of man's civilization is the measure of his coöperation, and *vice versa;* so that in the highest forms of civilization we find the most complete interdependence of man and man. But as the most highly organized society is made up, after all, of individual members, so, on the other hand, a full-orbed human life, with the fullest satisfaction of its varied wants (as well as the accomplishment of any public reform), is possible only by incorporation and coöperation with society as a whole.

The single tax philosophy is based upon the principle that as society is but the greater man, its rights, privileges and duties are derived only from those of the individual unit, upon which they are based and of which they are the extension; wherefore a wrong done to one of the least of these is done at the peril of the whole social body, justice to the community being incompatible with injustice to the individual.

When it is claimed for the single tax that it would enable the laborer to get on the land and work for himself, nine people out of ten think only of *farm land* and of the conditions under which small farming is carried on to-day, and straightway imagine the poor laborer leading a comparatively isolated life of coarse drudgery, cut off from many of the benefits and refinements of civilization, and more or less limited to his individual resources for the supply of his wants, thereby getting but a scanty return

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for much hard toil. But such people forget that *valuable land* being the costliest to hold out of use under the single tax, would be the first to be freed from the grasp of mere speculative ownership — that the opportunities offered by the high-priced city lot or the valuable copper and coal mines and timber forests would be available to all who desired to utilize them, even earlier than would the broad farming lands that lie more remote from the centres of effective coöperation.

In hundreds of manufacturing towns to-day the crying need is for neat, commodious, low-priced houses for the working classes. The land is there in abundance and convenient of access, builders are there who have both the skill and the will to erect such houses; but the landlord is there, too, and without his consent nothing can be done, and in the majority of cases nothing is done. So mill operatives continue to live in crowded, unwholesome tenements, while carpenters and masons remain idle, and dealers in building materials complain of dull times.

Coal barons could no longer fix the price of coal to suit themselves, when heavy taxes would make it ruinous to hold coal fields idle; they must either increase their output, thereby employing more labor, or yield up their unused or half-used opportunities to eager rivals whose brisk competition would speedily bring prices down to the normal level. Hundreds of copper miners are idle because the heavy royalties which must be paid to the *owners* for permission to work the mines, make it impossible to produce at a living profit.

All this and much more the single tax would permanently cure. Hundreds of instances in all departments of human effort could be adduced to show how the single tax would liberate enterprise and set all the wheels of industry in motion. For it must be remembered that it is *opportunity to satisfy wants* which the single tax furnishes for all by giving to all *equal access to the natural source of supply* — not *work*, merely, which none of us particularly desire and which we are all seeking to avoid through labor-saving devices.

It is an error to suppose that society is an artificial product, to be governed by artificial or man-made laws. The social organism is as much the creation of God as is the individual human body, to which it so closely and beautifully corresponds; the laws of its well-being are incorporated into its very structure and can be as safely trusted to execute themselves as the laws of gravitation or chemical attraction. What we need to do, it seems to me, is *not* to attempt to legislate ourselves into the kingdom of heaven by our own devices, but rather, diligently to seek after those eternal laws of justice and equity that God has already enacted, and take heed that no statute of ours shall hamper their free and ef-

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fective operation. The single tax, being in the nature of such an effort, seems to me the shortest and by far the surest way out of our social and economic difficulties.

Baltimore, Md. ALTONA A. CHAPMAN.

III. THE SOLUTION OF THE LABOR QUESTION.

In determining our duty as members of society it is not necessary to speculate on the destiny of man either here or hereafter. Where and how individual and social perfection may be attained are questions, however important and absorbing, which may be set aside in trying to solve the pressing problems of the hour. Those remain unchanged from age to age. These change with every generation, and demand immediate answers.

What is the great question of our generation? With one voice the civilized nations cry, "The labor question." Our Sphinx asks us how to secure the economic freedom of mankind. Not to answer is to be destroyed.

The land question and the labor question are the same. On the union of land and labor the life of man depends. Divorce them and man perishes. Labor wastes away without material on which to work; land lies useless till labor scratches its surface, burrows in its depths and dips in its waters. Every restriction upon this union is disastrous in proportion to its degree. Is it perfect now? Let the striking miners, mortgaged farmers, bankrupts, unemployed artisans and laborers, the clerks out of a place and professional men waiting for clients, bear witness that it is not.

But how, it will be asked, will the untrammelled union of land and labor solve the "labor problem"? Before trying to show this let us present two definitions: —

1. Land, in political economy, means all natural resources.
2. Labor means all human effort.

It has been said that man comes into the world with a mouth and a pair of hands to fill it. He goes to nature's storehouse, the land, and helps himself. The same may be said of all other animals. But there is a difference; man is the only unsatisfied animal. When he has food enough, he wants shelter, then clothes. He is not long satisfied with raw meat, a cave and a skin round his loins. In time he wears silk, lives in a palace and eats peacocks' tongues. And where does he go to get these things? To the same old storehouse, ever overflowing, inexhaustible. Men no longer go directly to the storehouse each for himself; the raw material of one set of men is the finished product of those one degree nearer the primal industries; all bear the same relation to the earth; all depend upon it for life; all have equal rights to it.

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We see, then, that as man's desires increase, his hands and brain are still able to gratify them. Nor does nature refuse the material on which to work. How comes it, then, that with increase of productive power, with transportation so perfected that famine from scarcity is unknown, the mass of civilized men live as the savage lives, from hand to mouth always, and die, often, as the savage never dies, from starvation, with plenty round the corner?

It is because man himself has made laws which prevent labor, which creates all wealth, from reaching land, the material from which all wealth is created. Not that all men would, under conditions which ensure perfect union of land and labor, become farmers or miners, fishers or lumbermen; but enough would do so to give employment to those who prefer to work in what we may call the secondary industries. For society is a seamless network of demand and supply. Every man in working to satisfy his own desires, sets others to work, and the prosperity of each ensures the well-being of all.

In political economy wealth means the whole product of labor; that is, everything we use after labor has removed it from its natural state, from a pail of water to a book. What is poverty? The absence of wealth. And since all wealth is created by the application of labor to land, it follows that all adults who are not sick or idiotic may get it if they have access to land.

In primitive communities access to land is easy. The land is free to all in nomadic tribes. When men begin to cultivate the soil there is enough for all; each may have a piece without infringing upon the right of his neighbor. The Jews tried to establish an equitable land tenure by the institution of the jubilee. The Teutonic *mark*, Swiss *allmend*, Servian and Russian village communities, the commons of England and the doctrine of eminent domain embodied in our law, all are imperfect recognitions of the principle that the earth belongs to the race. But in a civilization where the pressure of population and the increased power of production are as great, and exchange as easy as in ours, a more perfect recognition is necessary if we would advance, nay, if we would not retrograde — a recognition in law of the right of all to the earth, which shall also secure to each the permanent possession which the stability of our improvements makes necessary.

Nature herself has provided the means by which we can establish this principle, namely, economic rent. Economic rent is the value which attaches to land by reason of the pressure of population, and exactly measures the demand for land of varying quality and situation, being great in cities and small in rural communities. It is, in fact, a site value, and if it were treated in

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law as a common fund, which in fact it is, and were made to bear the common expenses of the people, not only would the right of all to the earth be secured, but all unused land would be opened to settlement, the owners of occupied land would be forced to put it to its best use, and taxation could be abolished. This would enormously increase wealth and would justly distribute it, since he who made it would keep it. And this change could be brought about with very little friction, by simply abolishing all other taxes gradually and increasing that on land values till the whole of the annual rental value was taken.

This is what is known as the single tax, and it is the practical solution of the land question. Therefore the land question means to me the single tax, and the single tax is, in my opinion, the longest step we can take toward social and individual perfection here and now. SARAH MIFFLIN GAY.

West New Brighton, N. Y.

IV. POLITICAL ECONOMY BASED UPON JUSTICE.

The land question is to me the question which if answered aright will give us a political economy based upon justice.

Generosity without justice ever misses its mark. It is the devil appearing as an angel of light. Chase it to its last hidings, and we shall see that that which is given returns in kind to the giver, while the receiver obtains a word of promise to the ear which is broken to the heart. In the application of Tolstoi's epigram, now famous, "We are willing to do everything for the poor except get off their backs," *justice* is the getting off their backs, *generosity* is the everything else. Of course the better we keep up their strength the more able are they to hold us.

Yet the true single taxer scorns the idea that the single tax is for the poor as poor. No! it is for man as man, bestowing upon every one the highest gift — opportunity to live honest, cleanly, self-dependent lives, neither entangled on the one side in a mesh of oppression which the heart abhors, nor on the other crowded by necessity to do what the mind disallows.

The earth belonging equally to all, and being the sole source of human subsistence, if we allow certain men to hold it as their own regardless of the rights and needs of the rest of humanity, is not this a stupendous injustice? And can an injustice of such proportions go on without producing at some epoch results commensurate with its greatness?

> "The mills of the gods grind slowly,
> But they grind exceeding small."

And is it not to-day that the grist is in condition to be delivered? Are we not living at the very period which is the culmination of

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this wrong? The inequality of material possessions is now surely being recognized as having arrived at a point where something must be done about it. The rich and benevolent say, "Give," the poor and reckless say, "Take," and other classes propose other remedies.

In the progress of human development many things evil in themselves play a good part. But when the abuse in these becomes greater than the use, their existence is drawing to a close. Such is the case with poverty. In the past it has had a noble *rôle*. It has built up strong, faithful, self-denying, sturdy characters. But now we see a change. Men and women as conscientious, God-fearing and intelligent as the ancestors from whom we are proud to have descended, are embittered and resentful over their desperate struggle for existence; and multitudes of weaker mould, to whose ill-regulated passions the limitations of poverty have been heretofore a healthful restraint, no longer submit patiently to this check. All these are feeling that they are somehow wronged. The reason they feel so is because it *is* so. The conditions *are* unjust. It is the *truth* which is lighting up their minds. The light may uncover many things undesirable there, but it is the light nevertheless, and it is not going to be extinguished.

We hear great talk nowadays about protecting the rights of property, and about creating a demand for labor. In the former the single tax is in its stronghold. This is its very device. The community must be protected in its right to hold the communal property, which is the rental value of land that has a rental value. The individual who desires a field of labor must be protected in his right to use any land that no one else wants to use, and that is not paying a rent into the public treasury; and all men who lay up wealth for themselves, having first paid the community its share of the "natural opportunity" they are using, must have their wealth protected to its last farthing by the strong arm of the law.

As to creating a demand for labor, we say that a terrific demand already exists. Men want the common necessaries of life. They are demanding in stentorian tones that there shall be labor to produce them, and are begging in piteous accents that they themselves may be allowed to do this labor. The artisans want food; the farmers want clothes; all want shelter and fuel. In a simple state of society each set of persons would work for the others, and neither gold nor silver would be necessary as a medium of exchange. Some hieroglyphics scrawled on a bit of birch bark would answer the purpose. But now that we have built up a complex and intricate civilization by means of which we promise to supply all men's higher wants, and in which every

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man is so locked that he cannot act alone, we have somehow gotten off our base. We are, as it were, "hoist with our own petard." We starve, we freeze, we commit suicide, we kill our little children, we become insane, we drown our senses in liquor; and, worse than all, in our frenzied fear of not getting our share of the work and pay available, we turn against our hungry brothers and force them to idleness, though idleness mean starvation.

Yet the whole, round earth is still at our disposal, an exhaustless reservoir of opportunity for labor and supply of products; the sun shines upon it as fervently as at the beginning; the laws of nature are in all their pristine freshness, and our knowledge of them is such that the output of products of all kinds must be limited by business calculations or it would outrun our needs. We are in the condition of a family that has packed an immense van with great care for convenience on a long journey: tents on top, then food, and so on in the order of their necessities. By some mishap the van has capsized; the top things are at the bottom, the bottom things on top. Everything is there, but nothing wanted can be gotten at. The situation would be endlessly comic were it not overwhelmingly tragic. The squatters up town in New York, with their cabbages and goats, who cling to their rocks year after year till the blasters are fairly upon them, could teach us better. Supposing we should put up a notice on all vacant land, "Squatting allowed here," how long would poverty last, think you?

A true political economy will confer security of subsistence at the bottom of society and an outlet for all human energies at the top. The nearest we have had to this, when poverty was at its minimum and labor at its maximum, was during a few years just before and after our Civil War. Are we to say, then, that the condition most favorable to the abolition of poverty is the combination of a civil war, an immense national debt, gold at a high premium and a large number of unusual taxes? No! there is a better way.

The prophet of old found not the presence of the Lord in the wind, the earthquake or the fire, but in the still, small voice. So we shall not find our deliverance in tempestuous conditions nor in the measures announced to us with great flourish of trumpet in our present political campaigns. But when all else has been tried and has failed, then, in the subsequent hush of disappointment and despair, we shall be able to hear the still, small voice of the Master saying, "Consider the lilies of the field." And if we heed the admonition and consider with faith, with insight and with courage, the lilies will lead us out of the darkness into a bright and shining light. And political economy will no longer

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be the "dismal science," but she shall be called the joyous science, and all men will resort to her temple to do her honor.

JULIA A. KELLOGG.

East Orange, N. J.

V. INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING.

If I were asked to epitomize what the single tax means to me, I should say, "Individual freedom and social well-being." The *laissez-faire* of to-day has secured neither. The dream of nationalism promises the last, but even its most strenuous advocates will not claim that it does not hedge in the first with very serious limitations. Artificial limitations create artificial wrongs; and I think any one who closely scrutinizes Mr. Bellamy's proposed Utopia will discover many such.

The imperative need of existence to material and spiritual beings as we are, is to possess untrammelled our natural right of access to the gifts of the Creator common to all, and to stand in just relations to our fellows. These are conditions which can be fulfilled as completely in the most simple and primitive mode of life, as in the most highly developed. It is not great invention, not even high literary culture, which makes a people free; but the spirit which recognizes, as a practical truth, the *equality* of man. "For man is man, and who is more?"

Does it not weary you, sometimes, this "wondrous, wondrous age" — where there is so much progress and so little liberty? All these achievements in which we triumph so vainly, have they not exalted us to heaven like the ancient city, only that we might be cast down to hell? Have they added one iota, so far, to the real sum of human happiness? Have they not, on the contrary, added most grievously to the sum of human misery? It does not seem to me that the world at present is morally ready for these things. That they have a present existence among us does not prove it; they may have been necessary as a tremendous physical and intellectual force to drive us on to a realization and acceptance of ultimate truth; and one beneficent result of our acceptance of the great truth of the equal right of all men to the use of the earth — in other words, the adoption of the single tax, "unlimited" — might be, and I think would be, to call us back for a time to simpler modes of life that should draw us closer to one another in kindly human fellowship and service. It might purify our souls by a newly awakened sense of the grandeur of this physical universe, so that it should be possible for us to contemplate the marvel of a Niagara without computing the water power it could furnish to manufacturing enterprise; and so that we could feel our spirits thrilled by the

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memories of Gethsemane, without planning to run an electric railroad to the Mount of Olives!

The steam plough, for instance, will no longer be such a *desideratum*, when fields of a thousand acres — in whose cultivation now the tiller merely bears the part of an adjunct to machinery — are transformed into ten or twenty smiling farmsteads, abodes of self-respecting industry and domestic peace. The multiform and complex so-called modern improvements of the monstrous sixteen and twenty story buildings of our modern Chicago, will be simplified to the rational requirements of health and comfort, when the blight of our modern city itself has been swept away. We shall not be so anxious to "put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes," when we have awakened from the nightmare activity of nineteenth century civilization, and realize that the morning and the evening make the day. The insanity of greed, the terror of want, which have fevered heart and brain, and made us doubt anything outside of material circumstance, will be healed when we have placed ourselves in true relationship to nature s laws. Life will not be merely what we get out of it in sordid gain or restless excitement: it will be the supreme gift of the Creator, to be used worthily to noble ends. Man will call a halt in his present mad rush after material achievement, and pause to understand himself, and renovate his being by contact and communion with that nature whose forces he now regards merely as a mechanism to do his will. The sense of reverence, purified from superstition, will reawaken, and the controlling spirit of brotherhood glorify human intercourse. The beauty and the value of existence will dawn upon the human mind with a sense of awe and joy we know not now.

In that coming era, the immense aggregations of capital in a few hands, which we see to-day, will not only be impossible, but will no longer be desired by any man breathing the atmosphere of a world fulfilling normal conditions. And, released from its long bondage, individual aspiration and industry will at last have its true scope; while "association in equality" will secure to each community all the blessings of human progress. Then, and then only, will man's inventive genius fulfil the beneficent purpose it was intended to serve, instead of being the weapon of the powerful against the weak — as we see it to-day; for we shall then be capable of using all material advancement as a means and not an end, and shall regard with horror any gain which involves a brother's loss.

It is such a future that the single tax, in its fulness, prophesies to me: a country in which neither millionaire nor pauper shall be found from sea to sea; a race of men and women whose lives of grand simplicity shall shame the dwarfed humanity of to-day

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which shows belittled beside its own inventions. "It is a cause worth living for, and worth dying for," says a letter which came to me not long ago from one who is battling in the vanguard of the fight in far-off Australia. Aye! is it not?

FRANCES M. MILNE.

San Luis Obispo, Cal.

VI. THE CENTRIFUGAL REFORM.

The discovery that water will rise as high as its source, made useless the cumbersome Roman aqueducts; likewise the values invisible flowing to land, are on the way to their source, the public, and when no longer sluiced off by landlordism will fill public treasuries without the need of painfully drawing on the direct products of labor; then much of our creaking and groaning governmental machinery will drop away. This putting land out of the reach of speculators by taking their profits for public expenses, and throwing it into use by untaxing all products of toil, goes to the root of all present maladies and restores the true relation of man to the earth. It "sets the poor on work," as the English say, not for masters but for themselves. And to draw our unemployed off into fields and mines, would remove unnatural pressure from all other vocations. This vent, this safety valve of individual freedom of opportunity, is not only essential now, but it will be far more imperative to coöperative industry in the future.

Matter, both animate and inanimate, civilization, both religious and political, are ever governed by two opposing forces — the centripetal, the organizing and centralizing; the centrifugal or disintegrating, dissenting. To conceive man as under the permanent control of but one of these forces is absurd. A bird could as well fly with one wing. Even the two old parties originally stood, after a fashion, for these two methods. The trouble with Plato's "Republic," with Mr. Bellamy's "Looking Backward," lies in the fact that they take no account of the centrifugal force, the dissenting party. There is no earthly place for it to go to. Monarchy always tried to suppress it — and failed; and socialism, born of the same centralizing power, will likewise fail if it attempt control of all industries, both indoors and out.

Since man's right to land is prior to that of the state, absolute monopoly of all lands by the state is as illogical as any other monopoly. Hence there is not only a distinction, but a wide difference, between state ownership and control of land, and state appropriation of such land values as arise from the presence of people and must be used for public improvements. Only free individual access to land will keep coöperation pure and uncorrupted; therefore socialists must leave room in their schemes for

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the widest individualism, or fermentation and explosion will result.

Both of our old parties, as now corrupted, stand together for federal rights, military power and paternalism. It is the centripetal force applied to the centralization of wealth. A new party which embodies the same principle cannot gain permanence, even though it aim at equitable distribution. That is the trouble with the People's Party. It must come to stand for the centrifugal or opposite force, the undoing of too much organization, for equal individual rights, for freedom, or make way for another. The coming party will stand for these things; they are embodied in the land question. And should the correlative party represent order, federation and nationalized industry pure and simple and not compromise to catch votes, the two would so balance as ultimately to permit as much coöperation as is compatible with freedom and as much freedom as could exist with order. Hence these two mutually repellent laws, shown in socialism and individualism, in coöperation and freedom to live without coöperating, are but two extremes of the same thing — progress.

But when justice shall take on finer distinctions, extension of our logic will bring us to see that man owes to man not only the material advantages of nature (above the poorest in use) which he appropriates, but the immaterial and far greater advantages of nature which may be stored in his own brain; and that the exceptional endowments of his mind are not more for his sole profit than the rich bed of coal on his farm.

The land question means restoration of political balance by the return of that force now most in demand, the breaking of that "invisible and horrid enchantment" that withholds man from the soil. It means the stopping of the leak in the ship instead of pumping the water out of one compartment into another. It means life with all the joys of which socialists dream, unmenaced by the dangers they seem not to suspect.

Moreover, the justice which the single tax would usher in is of that obvious and individual kind that it appeals to all honest people who understand it. Even selfishness (that wants not to get something for nothing) is attracted and ready to help; and a flame that brightens by burning its own smoke is better than one whose smoke smothers it out. A reform which need not wait for the church to regenerate mankind is periously near success; make way for it. A reform which will complete the circuit between labor and wealth, not by an added tangle of wires but by simple natural law without wires at all, is the one now upon us.

LONA INGHAM ROBINSON.

Des Moines, Iowa.

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VII. A BROAD BASIS FOR PRACTICAL BROTHERHOOD.

"Man was meant for the brotherhood of his race, which alone is wide enough to allow of his unlimited individual expansion." So said the elder Henry James in 1867. The boundless ideal suggested in this statement has been my study, more or less, during the succeeding years.

In harmony with this ideal — indeed an absolutely necessary part of it — is the principle of justice involved in the land question — that all mankind have equal rights to the use of the earth. A simple, practicable method for gradually establishing our equal rights to land under existing civilization, has been presented and now goes by the name of the "single tax." The associated use of economic rent by taking it for a nation's revenue is really the *nationalization of ground rent.* It is the logical beginning of all true nationalism — a nationalism which need compel no one into its ranks, since it would leave open a way of escape (to such land as would be free from economic rent) for those who could not endure even the "socialization" of rent, or the single tax.

The land question is to the whole social problem what the question of physical health is to the ideal of complete manhood.

I like John Stuart Mill's last statement of the "social problem of the future": "How to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership of the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor."

The land, the source of all material things, does not include the whole of our Creator's bounty. There is also the human mind with its wonderful possibilities. Among these is its practically unlimited power of increasing production by assisting labor in its application to land — variously manifested, now as invention or discovery of law, now as organization or specialization of industry.

Mr. Louis F. Post has just said, speaking of the wealth accumulation of the race, "It is not wealth but the knowledge how to produce wealth that we have been accumulating all these centuries." Here is an "increment" which is certainly "unearned" by any individual. Since it implies organization and use of mechanical powers and inventions, and superintendence by comparatively few at the same time, it is evident that there can never be an equal opportunity for all to acquire wealth, even with equal access to land, until we also — "we, the people" — unitedly engage in production, or coöperate as a nation so as to distribute impartially among all, the aid of this unearned increment of "knowledge how to produce wealth," this store of race experience; or until we secure, as Mill says, "an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor."

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In a primitive state of society, or where each keeps the entire result of his toil or exchanges it for the products of his neighbors, each may receive the "full earnings of his labor"; but under conditions of organized industry, using the latest inventions and discoveries, the exact product of each can no more be determined than the exact amount of economic rent due to the character and genius of each citizen. I am not satisfied with the measure of wages for "the least of these my brethren" offered by the political economy of either Mr. George or Mr. Mallock.* Political economy has not said its best word so long as it offers no proposition for the impartial distribution of the "benefits of combined labor," or the "rent of ability."

The benefits of combined labor are found not only in greater quantity and better quality of material things, but in great saving of time, in opportunity for culture and enjoyment of individual taste, in freedom for the higher nature from the constant pressure of the struggle for existence. How may this great increase of leisure, culture, freedom, be made equally accessible to all?

In the application of labor to land for the production of things we need, the full benefits of steam, electricity, irrigation and the scientific disposition of sewage, cannot be realized by individuals working alone; nor can the great undeserved losses from drought, storm, fire, flood, frost and pestilence be avoided or equalized.

The belief grows that the best safeguard against extensive strikes and against robbery of the people by corporations, is to nationalize the railroads and the mines. Whatever industries can become monopolies, or unite in pools and trusts for the taxation of the whole people to create a few millionaires, could as easily be managed by the general administration (under strict civil service regulations) for the benefit of the whole people. As Henry George has said in speaking of national ownership and control of "natural monopolies," "Government could thus gradually pass into an administrative agency of the great coöperative association — society."

The "single tax" — or the restoration of economic rent to its creator, the public — is not a panacea. To work for it as such, and to disregard the "money question" of to-day, is to leave a possibility that a public revenue derived wholly from land values may

* Political economy, as reported by Mr. George, teaches that "The return which labor can secure from such natural opportunities as are *free* to it must fix the wages which labor everywhere gets." It does not seem to me that the pay of wage-workers is likely to be much or permanently increased by the operation of this law under the single tax. Improved machinery constantly tends to "eliminate the man" both on the farm and in the shop. There is already under cultivation more than enough land to supply all the food needed, if properly cultivated. With increasing competition in our own and foreign countries, the man who would go alone "back to the land" for relief, could make only a bare living by hard work, and would have no money to pay for Mr. Garland's books or Mr. Herne's art.

Mr. Mallock insists that under "combined labor," with modern power and machinery, each workman is justly entitled to only as much of the total product as he would earn if working alone at the same business.

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leak out of the public treasury in extensive streams of interest on bonds, into the pockets of bond holders; or that by neglect of national industrial organization for the benefit of all, that revenue may be used largely as salaries for an increasing horde of public officials necessary to "keep the peace" between capital and labor.

Prof. Alfred Russel Wallace has lately suggested a danger which had occurred to lesser minds—that extensive land holding might, even under the "single tax," be profitable to the extent of greater land monopoly than we have ever known, if there is no limit to the amount of land one man or syndicate may control by paying the tax for the sake of controlling the industries upon it and the people engaged in them. This danger is not lessened by the fact that immense aggregations of wealth are already buying up our waterfalls to furnish the cheapest possible electric power. Is it, then, within the range of *possibility* that a single great combination, or oligarchy of wealth, might gain possession of most of the land (so much depends upon assessors!) and of the best machinery and cheapest power for wealth production, and then of the means of transportation—is such a fatal combination *possible*, even under the "single tax," *if advance be sought on that line alone?*

The land question means to me, a broad basis for practical brotherhood. Equality in our relation to the earth is the necessary foundation for all equality of human rights. Till this is established all other rights are insecure. Let us aim at the fullest equality of human opportunity; but we must guard every point and neglect no duties, while we work and grow toward our best ideal of freedom and fellowship. FRANCES E. RUSSELL.

St. Paul, Minn.

VIII. RELATION OF EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION TO THE LAND QUESTION.

In my ten months' travelling and lecturing through the United States I have noted the one-sidedness of parties with sorrow and alarm. The duel in the uninominal district or ward, supported by the machine with wealth at the back of it, prevents America from obtaining the services of her wisest and her best. But not only is this narrowness of view seen in the alternately dominant parties—the Republican and the Democratic;—the various outside parties, the reform elements which ought to be the saving salt of the republic, are so engrossed with one object that they rarely take any wide, deep view of human society. In the words of Scripture, they would heal the wounds of the daughter of our people slightly, and expect health from a single nostrum.

Although the land question is really the largest of all, its solution, whether on the line of the single tax, as advocated by

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Henry George, or on that of land nationalization, would not and could not remedy all the evils under which we groan, or give that equality of opportunity to all which its advocates promise. The more rapid, too, the advance of the land movement, the more dangers are ahead. Under present methods of election and under the spoils system, the United States, federal, state and municipal, has a system theoretically and practically the worst in the civilized world for wise and pure administration of public funds.

Ardent single taxers think if the land monopoly were killed, and the whole public revenue were derived from land values created by the public, all wrongs would right themselves automatically. If in a mild way single taxers advocate proportional representation, it is rather as a means of obtaining their main object sooner than for its intrinsic value. Their ablest champions would enter Congress and state legislatures in greater numbers, and would be bolder in speech, if they had not to clothe themselves in the hide of the Democrat and pronounce his shibboleth. Some of them have wondered at my devotion to such an insignificant reform, when I might have turned my energies into the land question instead.

But I may have some doubts as to the desirability of drawing all revenue from land values, while I have no doubts whatever as to the justice and the wisdom of making representative bodies the true mirrors of the people represented. When the people equitably represented demand single tax, they ought to have it, and if they continue to be equitably represented, they will retain it if it is good, and modify it if it is faulty. Equitable representation is the key not to one reform only, but to all reform. Where party is pitted against party, a victory won is never safe from reversal or corruption, the latter the more dangerous of the two.

The socialists and nationalists (and here we may include the great majority of the People's party) think land reform is not enough, but would also nationalize capital and means of production. During their campaign how many spies will enter their camp, the strongest in profession, the bitterest in accusation of monopoly, crafty enough to deceive the very elect, and, taking the lead, to sell them to the enemy. Even if victory crowned the nationalists, up to the present stage of social development, the righteous themselves might find it hard to withstand the temptations of power and place, and experience has shown to all reformers in America that traitors have betrayed them when they are weak, and traitors may exploit them when they are strong. The only safe-guard lies in equitable methods of election, honest, capable and experienced men have a reasonable chance of being placed in power, and kept in power.

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Another large body of outsiders, the Prohibitionists, have taken no hold of the land question at all. They are so blind as not to see that under present economic conditions, universal temperance would lower wages, and raise rent both for land and houses, and would add to the hoards of parasitic money misnamed capital. They are contented to increase their numbers, and throw away their votes in the hope that one or other of the contending parties will bid for their solid vote as a means of obtaining or retaining ascendency, and will concede all or part of the Prohibition demands. Prohibitionists look askance at single tax because it would allow free trade in liquor, and distrust socialism because it is pressed so much by people without religion. Some few of the more enlightened see the justice of what I call effective voting, but the main body think the crumbs thrown from either of the two parties will do more for their cause than what they can independently attain through the ballot.

The woman suffragists in America are singularly non-political. The vast majority demand the suffrage in order to promote temperance and social purity, and all of them think that the addition of women's votes would bring in men of better character than now. Only a few have grasped the land question, and those who do, seem to me to have grasped also the question of effective voting with a clearness and an enthusiasm beyond those of men. They see that without a provision for the representation of intelligent minorities of women as well as of men, the giving of the vote to women would be an illusory benefit.

No one would think from reading the ordinary daily newspaper that America is honey-combed with land reform. But if we entered the newspaper offices, we would find that three fourths of the writers, reporters, printers and employees are on that side. The proprietors dictate the policy, and *the public are not enlightened as they should be.** The enfranchisement of genuine public opinion by means of effective voting would astonish the world, and it would also educate the world, which is of more importance.

C. H. SPENCE.

Adelaide, South Australia.

IX. LAND MUST BE FREE THAT WE MAY LIVE.

A change of vast importance is taking place in the human world to-day. This change marks a stage in the development of our race from its past condition of individual consciousness to its future condition of social consciousness. The race — as a race — is just being born. This great change is marked in centuries past by the exhibition of race consciousness in individ-

* Italicized by an American.

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ual men who were ahead of their times and suffered accordingly; and marked in the century present by the kindling sense of common interest — race consciousness, which draws all hearts together in unity; not only on lines of class feeling, national feeling, professional feeling, but in great swelling waves of interclass, interprofessional, international, *human* feeling, as wide as the world.

One of the symptoms marking this change is the special enthusiasm on what is called the land question. Among the many distressing conditions of a transition stage such as mankind is now passing through, and with the necessarily localized range of interests in most minds, it is natural that the evils most immediately pressing should arouse most attention, and that their cure should seem to cure all things. Thus many thousands of reformers — and reformers are those more advanced cells in the body politic most keenly alive to the inadequacy of present conditions, and most painfully eager for new and better ones — many thousands of these are convinced that the liquor question is the crucial one, and that could we eliminate alcohol from our problem all would be easy. In the land question the physical basic necessity of land seems to give it a metaphysical basic necessity as well, and the ground is taken that if the monopoly of land could be forever prevented the rest of our desired economic changes would surely follow.

In my study of this question it does not seem to me that the advocates of the single tax theory prove either that our distresses are all due to land monopoly, or that a tax on land values only would finally prevent such monopoly. That it would for the time being cheapen land, relieve the congested districts, and bring about a temporary amelioration of our troubles I believe, but not to ultimate safety.

The single taxer holds fast to two great principles, — one the permanence and value of private property; the other that every man should be free to become richer than his neighbors if he has the ability. Yet these principles — and they are closely allied — lie at the root of our social disorders, and while they are accepted the evil we have now will remain with us. Monopoly in land is bad enough in itself; but to prevent it would not prevent other monopolies producing the same ill results. We must remember that relative freedom of land, as now found, does not show a proportionate improvement in all economic conditions.

That the land is common to us all and should be so maintained seems to the advanced thinker a self-evident proposition; but there follows this: Land should be free to all because from it come the necessities of life — it must be free that we may live. The necessaries of life are, however, only obtainable to us to-day by

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means of organized labor, machinery and capital; therefore these things should be held in common and free to all, precisely as the land. Of what avail is free land with monopoly in capital, machinery and labor?

> Free land is not enough. In earliest days
> When man, the babe, from out the earth's bare breast
> Drew for himself his simple sustenance,
> Then freedom and his effort were enough.
> The world to which a man is born to-day
> Is a constructed, human, man-built world.
> As the first savage needed the free wood,
> We need the road, the ship, the bridge, the house,
> The government, society and church —
> These are the basis of our life to-day —
> As much necessities to modern man
> As was the forest to his ancestor.
> To say to the newborn, "Take here your land;
> In primal freedom settle where ye will,
> And work your own salvation in the world,"
> Is but to put the last come upon earth
> Back with the dim forerunners of his race,
> To climb the race's stairway in one life!
> Allied society owes to the young —
> The new men come to carry on the world —
> Account for all the past, the deeds, the keys,
> Full access to the riches of the earth.
> Why? That these new ones may not be compelled
> Each for himself to do our work again;
> But reach their manhood even with to-day,
> And gain to-morrow sooner. To g · · —
> To start from where we are and go ahead —
> That is true progress, true humanity.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.

Oakland, Cal.

X. RESPECT FOR GOD'S LAWS AND FOR ALL HIS CHILDREN.

Standing upon Eagle Rock, on Orange Mountain, New Jersey, the beholder sees spread out before him a vast plain so thickly dotted with cities as to seem one great metropolis. At his feet lie Orange and Newark; beyond, and on either side, Elizabeth and Paterson; while away in the distance gleam Hoboken, Jersey City, New York and Brooklyn. Once realize that this picture is teeming, throbbing, with varied, complex, individual life, and there lies within compass of human vision, mingled with the scene, the cause and the solution of the mightiest problem that confronts civilization to-day — the sphinx of the nineteenth century.

The keenest instinct of mankind is the preservation of life; and so the first exclamation of the beholder is apt to be, "How do all these people manage to live upon this small area of land?"

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The superficial answer is: "Most of them are supported by capital. Great is capital! Let us control her!" Because the land is covered with buildings, the part it plays in manufacture and commerce seems unimportant. But look again: Winding amid the whole, run roads of iron rails; rivers are made highways; and, on the distant ocean, heavily laden ships pass and repass. Steam has so closely united these people with every land and clime, that, while living upon this centre of exchange, they are, nevertheless, able to subsist from Mother Earth, drawing from distant lands such materials as best suit their varied needs. Some are engaged in supplying the raw materials from earth's storehouse; some turn these products into finished wealth, which others carry to distant lands.

It is the multitudinous and ever increasing *wants* of these people, and of those with whom they are exchanging the results of their labor, that *furnishes employment* for all. Were it not for the use of steam and electricity, these millions could not live upon this narrow tract of land; for such complex subdivisions of labor would be impossible, and land could not be put to this its highest use. Here, land has become, as it were, a fulcrum, upon which long levers rest, sweeping the earth with their exchanges; its value being proportionate to the extent of its commerce. To live upon this land and yet own no share in it, is, for both labor and capital, to be compelled to lift great weights without a fulcrum; and to own, neither capital nor land is for labor to become a slave, a mere pin or cog in a wheel of capital, dependent upon it; forced to use or employ it upon its own terms; compelled to give it more labor value than is returned in wages; in short, to yield to its behests, however arbitrary. Labor is an Archimedes, and with somewhere to place its lever, it can move the world; without a fulcrum, it is defenceless — a javelin or scimiter compels its surrender.

Upon what, then, do the life, liberty and happiness of these people depend? Upon capital? Yes, in a subordinate degree; but, primarily, upon land — *this* land, spread out here before us, and the demands of the market; for a thousand feet of this land, at this centre of power, may aid labor more than a thousand acres, at the end of one of the levers. Or, to state it more broadly, the life, liberty and happiness of all men depend upon land, and the universal wants of mankind; for while many are employed, by capital, in supplying, from land, the wants of others, they are — by selling their labor — supplying their own.

Land is, therefore, the prime necessity of every human being; yet, of those living here, over ninety per cent own none. Look again, more closely: Beneath nearly every factory, home, store or office, there runs, as it were, a network of grooves, much like

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the automatic cash distributers in the great retail stores. Into these are placed from at least one fifth to one fourth the earnings of labor and capital, and instantly the balls carrying this sum start on their journey to deposit ground rent safely in the pockets of the few who own the land, and who, by virtue of the possession of this fulcrum — by owning this labor-saving power — are, themselves, rendered exempt from labor. Nearly the whole civilized world is now covered with this network of grooves. From vast western prairies — from land so lately free — roll the results of hard toil into capacious pockets, in the East, in London, Berlin and Paris, to pay for the use of American soil. This sum is often called interest on mortgages, but it pays for the annual use of land. Where land possesses such labor-saving power, the competition for its use is so fierce that rents are pressed up, and wages and profits are forced down to their lowest margin, till the lowest wage-earner, even in good times, can make but a bare living. Large capitalists undersell the small ones; competition becomes so keen that rings and combinations are formed to keep up prices; trades unions are organized, and strikes are ordered, to keep up wages. The people, meanwhile, seeing these two forces arrayed against each other, denounce competition as the cause of all the trouble, failing to see that it is but an effect; the real cause being that which *produces* low profits and wages, viz., high rents.

In a struggle between capital and labor, labor is usually beaten; for capital can wait, does not eat; besides, capital is generally combined with either some land power, franchise or patent monopoly, sufficient to render it imperious. Labor can never become its own master, until it ceases to demand higher wages, and begins to demand its rights — its right to the use of the earth. Think of it! Ninety per cent of the people of our land own no share in it!

Concentrated within the radius of this small circle is a vivid illustration of what the land question means to me, for here is realized the sum of all paradoxes: too much wealth, and too much poverty; too many people, and, within touch of all, too much land, but held out of use by the high price demanded. Here genius, art, science and invention find birth, religion and philanthropy their best fruitage; but here, also, is portrayed a Dantean Inferno, with living human beings for pictures of crime, despair, hate, hunger and want, so sickening that even pale death seems friendly and agreeable; in the park rides fashion — a flower of this complex stalk — full of beauty, fragrance and art, yet with a worm gnawing at its heart. Is there not a gigantic falsehood somewhere? Woe unto them who call evil, good, and wrong, right; who mistake custom and human law for eternal

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principles of equity! The right of the veriest girl baby, born in a fifth-story tenement, to her share of God's earth, upon which He has placed her — the right to her share of the annual value which her presence in society creates, is a right as sacred as her life itself; but because this right is not respected, it has come to pass that her life is looked upon as a mere breath of idle wind, and her presence in society as an intrusion.

The land question? Does it not mean a respect for God's laws, and for all His children — a vision of clear seeing and right doing? When the land question is rightly understood, capital and labor will see that their interests are one, and will no longer hate and fight each other, while both are being robbed by a common enemy.

The land question? Is it not the labor question? And does that mean more to woman than to man? Yes, if possible; since every burden, disaster or wrong, rests with more crushing weight upon the weakest; since woman's heart was made for sympathy, its depths must be stirred beyond that of man's, at wrong and injustice, everywhere; and her clear vision must see in this question a moral one — a question of human rights; one in which the slavery and wrongs of her sex are so bound up with her brother's, that his wrongs are her wrongs, and his rights her rights. Such questions as women competing with men for employment, shorter hours of labor, equal pay for equal work, are but phases of the great land question; when analyzed, they mean that laborers are competing with each other for a right to the use of the earth, or earth's products — for food, clothing and shelter — in short, for land, or what land produces. Settle this question, and labor, everywhere, will receive its full reward.

Wollaston Heights, Mass. ELIZA STOWE TWITCHELL.

XI. A FABIAN ON THE LAND QUESTION.

I confess that I am unable to understand why women should be supposed to hold any different views on the land question from those of men. But as I have been asked to state my opinions, as a member of the Fabian Society,* I hasten to do so.

The Fabians, both men and women, have always shown the greatest sympathy with, and given the most cordial assistance to, every phase of land reform, which makes for an extension of the collective control over the prime necessity for human existence.

The fundamental basis of our association, adopted in its present form in 1886, declares its aim to be "the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual

* See "Fabian Essays in Socialism," price one shilling. Fabian Society, 276 Strand, London, England.

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and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit." And the basis, moreover, goes on specifically to declare that "The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land, and the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites."

Fabians, therefore, are staunch land reformers. But not every panacea that comes forward under the name of land reform has their support. They are persistent opponents of all attempts to increase the number of individual owners of land, whether great or small, or in any way to strengthen the position of those who already exist. They therefore resist all schemes of peasant proprietorship, leasehold enfranchisement, or the ownership by the artisan of his own cottage. On the other hand, they are found actively promoting every kind of movement for increasing ownership by public authorities, such as the acquisition of land by parish councils to be let on hire as allotments, or the building of cottages, artisans' dwellings and common lodging houses by the municipality or parish itself.

But the land question necessarily takes a different form in each country. In England, with its dwindling agricultural interest, its great mineral wealth, and its ever-growing cities, the land question is fundamentally a rent question. Our annual tribute to the landlords amounts to at least two hundred millions of pounds sterling, or ten times the charge of the national debt. From London alone, the landlords draw an annual tribute of forty millions sterling, and receive, besides, a yearly New Year's gift, in the shape of "unearned increment" of capital value, amounting on an average to over four millions sterling. These facts explain why Mr. Henry George's campaign roused such enthusiastic support in England and Scotland, and started, as I have described in "The History of Trade Unionism," * a fundamental revolution in English political thought, which is rapidly changing the face, both of Liberalism and Conservatism. Sir William Harcourt's budget, with its drastic increase of land taxation, is only one sign among many, of the hold which the idea of the nationalization of rent has taken.

But though we are all friends of Mr. Henry George, we are not single taxers. First, because there are more ways than one of getting at the landlords. Income tax, local rates, death duties, stamps on transfers, compulsory purchase for public uses, betterment, confiscation of future unearned increment, taxation of mining royalties — we intend to advance along all these lines,

* Longmans, Green & Company, London and New York.

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according as opportunity offers.* Secondly, Mr. George's able application of Ricardo's "law of rent" applies, as all economists would admit, to many other things besides land.† We want to absorb, either by taxation or by collective administration, all forms of monopoly tribute upon industry. Railways, telegraphs, tramways, docks, water works, gas works, and many other essentially public services are to-day made the means of extracting from the actual workers by hand or by brain, a tribute not inferior to that taken by the lords of the soil itself. To-day, in hundreds of city and country councils, the English worker is progressing towards the collective ownership of these means of civilized existence. Unfortunately, many followers of Mr. Henry George stand aloof, and refuse to lend a hand in this municipal socialism which has already carried the fame of the London County Council into all lands.‡

To sum up, the land question means to me the diversion of several hundred millions of pounds sterling every year in my country alone, from individual to collective ownership and control. This would imply, instead of individual private luxury, an enormous extension of the public provision of improved dwellings, sanitation, means of healthful recreation, education from the *crêche* to the university, and everything that goes to make up efficient citizenship, for the first time secured to all alike, whether men or women, rich or poor. And this, great as it is, forms but a part of a wider ideal. By appropriate social arrangements, I believe, to use the words of John Bright, which are no less applicable to the United States than to England, —

> that ignorance and suffering might be lessened to an incalculable extent, and that many an Eden, beauteous in flowers and rich in fruits, might be raised up in the waste wilderness which spreads before us. But no class can do that. The class which has hitherto ruled in this country has failed miserably. It revels in power and wealth, while at its feet, a terrible peril for its future, lies the multitude which it has neglected. If a class has failed, let us try the nation. That is our faith, that is our purpose, that is our cry — let us try the nation. This it is which has called together these countless numbers of the people to demand a change; and as I think of it, and of these gatherings, sublime in their vastness and in their resolution, I think I see, as it were, above the hilltops of time, the glimmerings of the dawn of a better and nobler day for the country and the people that I love so well.

BEATRICE WEBB.

* See Fabian Tract No. 39, "A Democratic Budget."

† This is fully explained in Fabian Tract No. 7, "Capital and Land," price one penny. The Fabian Society, 276 Strand, London.

‡ See the "Fabian Municipal Programme," and its Tract No. 12, "Practicable Land Nationalization."

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OCCULT SCIENCE IN THIBET.

BY HEINRICH HENSOLDT, PH. D.

PART III.

Never the spirit was born; the spirit shall cease to be never;
Never was time it was not; end and beginning are dreams;
Birthless and deathless and changeless remaineth the spirit forever:
Death has not touched it at all, dead though the house of it seems.
— *The Song Celestial (Bhagavad Gita).*

THE city of Lhasa is situated along the east shore of the Masabee River, one of the northern tributaries of the Tsang-Po or Bramaputra. For a long time the sources of the latter were unknown to European geographers; the great river had been followed to where it loses its way in a labyrinth of cañons among the wildest mountain scenery of the Himalayas, in a region which no explorer has hitherto dared to penetrate, and as the topography of southern Thibet was practically unknown, the source of the Bramaputra remained a mystery until within recent years. From the general course of the river, however, it was erroneously surmised that it had its origin somewhere in central Thibet, like the Indus, Irawaddy, Hoang-Ho and Yangtse Kiang; yet it was known that a great river, the Tsang-Po, flowed through southern Thibet in a direction from west to east, which for a long time was suspected to be the Bramaputra, and has recently been identified with the latter to the satisfaction of Western geographers.

Although the distance from the Indian frontier to the mysterious Lhasa is barely two hundred miles, yet this mode of ingress into Thibet, viz., from the south, is the most difficult of all, as the mountain passes of Darjeeling are very intricate, and accessible only during about two months of the year. There are but few guides available, natives of Bhotan and Sikkim, a race of hardy mountaineers of strong Mongolian characteristics, but who invariably refuse to conduct *faringhis*, or white men, into Thibet, and if bribed to attempt the task, have an ugly habit of deserting their charge in the midst of the great mountain labyrinth.

The world of Thibet differs so completely from everything south of the Himalayas — and for the matter of that, from every other region on the face of the globe — that we seem as if transferred to another planet the moment the wilderness of glaciers is

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left behind us. The country for many miles is undulating, and, where not entirely barren, is covered during the summer months with a peculiar vegetation which reminds one of that of our western prairies, the grass sometimes growing to a height of three feet or more; but in winter time nothing more desolate could be imagined than the great slope from the Monyan snow range to the Tsang-Po, except, perhaps, the dreary wastes of northern Siberia and Greenland.

The cities are few and far between, and, though of a type peculiar to themselves, are of a distinct Chinese pattern. Indeed, the influence of China upon Thibetan culture, such as it is, is noted at every turn. There are two distinct populations in Thibet, that of the cities and that of the *tundras*, and there is a world of difference between them. The *tundra* nomads live in tents of very inferior manufacture, and may be said to be utterly unacquainted with the comforts of even semi-barbarous existence; their food is of the poorest description, and their life so full of hardship that it would be deemed intolerable even by those inured to the vicissitudes of the most forbidding regions of Europe or America. Yet these people are generous and hospitable, and willing to share the last morsel with any stranger who may seek their company. In the cities, however, which have clustered around the chief trading points in southern Thibet, Chinese influence is very conspicuous, and an amount of wealth is displayed which is apt to startle the visitor.

The city of Lhasa covers an area of at least twelve square miles, and has a population of about 23,000. This, however, does not include the Lamas, who number at least 15,000, and who dwell in five great monastic establishments, the most important of which is the one connected with the great Golden Temple to the north of the city. The Lamas of Thibet, unlike our own clergy, are not a set of parasitic idlers who flourish at the expense of a benighted and degraded multitude. They have been represented as such by more than one Thibetan explorer who has not dwelt in the country long enough to obtain a closer insight into the real condition of affairs. Those who look upon the Lamas as a class of idlers who foster and take advantage of the superstition of an unsophisticated people, are mistaken; the Lamas are entirely self-supporting, and may be seen at work in all seasons, plowing, sowing, reaping, sheep-shearing, blanket-weaving, etc. There is no such thing as indolence in the lives of these men, who will not tolerate drones in their community, and who are subject to a most rigorous discipline which few, if any, of our sleek sky pilots would be likely to appreciate.

The early history of Lamaism is lost in the obscurity of fanciful tradition. Chinese records, no doubt, could throw some light

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on this subject, as they could on many another problem which is likely to engage the attention of western inquirers at no distant date. Thibet has been carefully explored by the Chinese, even centuries ago, and a number of important works on the topography of the great plateau are known to exist in the imperial library at Pekin, but they have been carefully withheld from the inspection of western sinologists.

The first establishment of the Dalai Lama and his recognition as supreme authority in spiritual matters, is shrouded in mystery. The city of Lhasa, it may be reasonably surmised, had always been an important trading point, having existed even long before the fabled foundation of Rome; for although the Chinese annexed Thibet only about the year 1720, yet they always manifested considerable interest in the country, which was traversed by their caravans from remote antiquity.

In the first part of my paper I stated that the precepts of Buddhism had been spread in Thibet by missionaries as early as the fourth century, and it would seem more than probable that before the close of the sixth century of our era, the entire population of the plateau had been converted to the new faith, with the exception, perhaps, of the Golocks and other predatory tribes along the eastern frontier.

The institution of the Dalai Lama certainly was already in existence in the eighth century, or more than one hundred years previous to the rule of Charlemagne in Europe. The Dalai Lama occupies a unique position in the hierarchy of Buddhism, and one that is by no means easily understood or described in few words. It must be borne in mind that Buddhism is not a creed in the sense of Christianity, or indeed of any other existing religion, but a philosophy. It appeals, not to faith, but to reason. It has nothing to worship, for it does not recognize the existence of a personal God; it is essentially pantheistic, and holds that each individual soul or mind is part of the universal consciousness, from which it originally emanated, and into which it is destined to become reabsorbed. It teaches that this consciousness progresses through an almost infinite number of stages, rising from the most imperfect to the most exalted, and the great idea of reincarnation is accepted not as a doctrine, but as a fact which no one would stop to question.

Reincarnation does not mean transmigration of the soul, in the sense of the mythology of ancient Egypt, and nothing would be more absurd than to imagine that the sacredness of animal life in the Buddhist world was due to the belief that the soul of man could be incarnated in the form of an animal. There is no such thing as retrogression in the Buddhistic philosophy of reincarnation; that is to say, consciousness, after once having reached the

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human stage, cannot go back to any inferior type. We have left the animal world behind us and are rising to a higher level. The Buddhist's reverence for all animal life is partly due to that characteristic tolerance and kindness which carries the principle of altruism even down to the most insignificant insect, and to the fact that he looks upon the animal in the light of a cousin, or rather fellow-sufferer, never losing sight of the idea that he was once in the same position and had to travel the same uphill path. It may be noted here how completely Buddhism harmonizes with and confirms the doctrine of evolution as elaborated by Darwin and the followers of modern science.

Now we must remember that Buddha was merely a reformer who tried to bring Brahminism back to its original purity, and that he never pretended to any greater divinity than the rest of mankind, except such as is conferred by an exalted righteousness and abstemious living. Tradition, of course, has it that he was born of a virgin and that, like Christ, he had twelve followers or disciples. As his great forerunner, Krishna, however (one of the incarnations of Vishnu), was likewise born of a virgin, had twelve disciples, and was even crucified, it is easy to recognize the old solar myth or astronomical allegory.

The twelve disciples of Krishna, Buddha and Christ are the twelve constellations or signs of the zodiac, which were known in remote antiquity. Thus Christ, for instance, represents the sun, which rises in the sign of Virgo (born of a virgin), and during the summer solstice passes every day higher until it crosses the highest meridian (whence the origin of the cross and crucifixion), then, gradually sinking, brings summer to another hemisphere (descent into hades), till, ultimately rising in renewed splendor (the resurrection from the dead), it rejuvenates the world once more. These astronomical facts have been interpreted again and again by philosophers to the benighted multitude, who have again and again resorted to the allegorical conception of a divine being with twelve followers, which is, as we know, of very ancient date. Why, even long after Krishna, Buddha and Christ, we have the story of the mythical King Arthur and his twelve Knights of the Round Table, and of Charlemagne with his twelve paladins. Of course I am fully aware of the fact that Charlemagne was an historical character, but who would be prepared to deny the historical existence of the other four? It is merely the fact that they all had twelve followers, which is very significant and points to the same eastern source.

Buddhism, then, is a philosophy and not a religion. Philosophy, indeed, is impossible within the baneful limits of any existing creed; wherever dogma begins and blind faith is appealed to,

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reason takes flight, and whoever professes religious belief of any sort draws a circle around himself, beyond which he dare not step without bidding good-bye to superstition and abandoning his precious "faith."

For more than a thousand years Lhasa has been the headquarters of northern Buddhism and the residence of the chief of the Buddhist hierarchy, viz., the Dalai Lama. The latter, of course, is not presumed to be an ordinary mortal, but the incarnation of the great Sakhya-Muni himself. A long series of these incarnations has been traced by Pali scholars from the eighth century before our era down to the present, but this esoteric feature is rendered more complicated by the strange fact that Buddha may become incarnated in *several* human bodies at the *same time.* There are at this moment in Thibet no less than five of these incarnations, of which the Dalai is, by general consent, proclaimed the greatest; next to him ranks the Panchén Rempóchee of Trachilunpo, to be followed again by Tsong-Kapa of the famous Lamasery of Koonboon in eastern Thibet, and by two minor incarnations in lamaseries situated to the north and northwest of the holy city.

The strangest feature about the Lhasa incarnation is that the Dalai is always a child or youth of very tender age, seldom over twelve years, when death apparently terminates his career and a new Dalai is sought and found within a few days, either in the city of Lhasa itself or at some place within easy reach. I have been assured, when in Lhasa, that the Dalai would indicate the precise moment of his death ten months or a year before his demise, and would also leave instructions as to where and under what conditions he would be incarnated again. The new Dalai, usually a child of five or six years of age, is then solemnly installed and proclaimed the most holy incarnation of Buddha, and from that moment seems to partake of the knowledge and power of the great teacher of transcendental wisdom.

The Dalai resides in the famous Bhota-La, or Golden Temple, which is situated on a hill to the north of the city overlooking the river. This temple is built in the shape of a pyramid and would be deemed one of the marvels of the world if it were better known to our western civilization. The pyramid is composed of a series of terraces, like the Mexican *teocallis*, and, from whatever standpoint considered, is an imposing structure. Each of the four sides of the lower wall has a length of at least one eighth of a mile and a height of about forty feet. The wall is composed of solid blocks of hard sandstone, closely and carefully joined, and covered on the smooth exterior with endless repetitions, in Thibetan characters, of the famous prayer, "Om Mani Padme Om," which is also to be found on every door post, tile and stone

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of the city of Lhasa. Within this gigantic enclosure, and about fifty feet distant from the outer wall, there rises a smaller structure, which is again succeeded by terrace after terrace until, at a height of nearly four huudred feet, a golden cupola crowns the stately edifice. The Bhota-La is composed of nine separate stories, which are ascended by stairs which wind around the exterior in curious fashion. The uppermost part of the temple has for many centuries served as an astronomical observatory, and some twenty astrologers are here constantly at work casting horoscopes and watching the constellations, which in the pure atmosphere of that elevated region, shine with an almost supermundane refulgence.

In the fifth and sixth stories is located the great library, which is said to contain over a million manuscripts in Sanscrit, Pali, Hindustanee, Thibetan, Persian, Chinese, etc. The lower stories contain a labyrinth of rooms, halls and passages assigned to various uses, such as schools, dormitories and offices for the numerous clerical staff which is constantly employed at this head centre of the greatest of all existing spiritual dominions. The Dalai is located in the second story, but access to his quarters is extremely difficult, as it is part of the policy of the Bhota-La* to shield the spiritual ruler of greater Asia, not merely from the gaze of the curious, but also from closer contact with those who acknowledge his supremacy. The statement, however, that the Dalai Lama is never to be seen except by high dignitaries of the temple, is erroneous; there are at least two occasions each year when this mysterious personage can be gazed at even by the humblest, in the great audience hall at the base of the temple. He then sits in state on a curious throne, formed of cushions, and the faithful may file past and prostrate themselves before the divine boy, but not a word in the line of questioning or verbal supplication is permitted.

I do not know whether the honor of a special audience with the Dalai Lama has ever been granted to an ordinary pilgrim; but during the nine weeks of my stay at Lhasa I was accorded the rare privilege of admission into the presence of the Dalai on two occasions, and not merely this, but to hold conversation with the "incarnate Buddha." A detailed account of this interview is reserved for a later occasion, but I may here state that I found the Dalai Lama a totally different being from what I had imagined him to be. When in northern India I had been repeatedly assured by English missionaries and men of culture, who claimed to possess an intimate knowledge of Lamaism, that the Dalai was a mere figure head and a feeble puppet in the hands of a crafty

* In Lhasa the Bhota-La is spoken of in a collective sense as the embodiment of Lamaism in the same way as "the Vatican" at Rome, "the Porte" at Constantinople, "the Castle" at Dublin, etc.

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clique. Even at Darjeeling a learned English scholar, who had visited portions of southern Thibet and had made a special study of the Thibetan language, told me, with all the assurance of assertive dogmatism, that the child selected for the position of Dalai Lama was invariably one of feeble intellect, a poor, half-witted specimen of humanity, whose short life was rendered well-nigh intolerable by the dreary monotony of meaningless ceremonial. Thus when I was led into the presence of the Grand Lama I expected to behold an imbecile youth with whom it would be impossible to conduct an intelligent conversation.

A youth indeed I found him — a boy perhaps eight years of age, certainly not over nine — but instead of a face of idiotic meaninglessness and indifference, I encountered a look which at once filled me with astonishment and awe. It was a face of great symmetry and beauty, a face never to be forgotten on account of its singular melancholy expression, which contrasted strangely with the childlike features; but what startled me most were the eyes. Could such eyes indeed be those of an eight-year-old child? It would seem impossible; verily the Dalai Lama was no ordinary mortal. These were the characteristic eyes of the higher initiate into esoteric lore, that singular far-away look of the adept, never to be misunderstood, which if once seen is not easily forgotten. Those eyes denoted more than mortal wisdom, and conveyed the impression of considerable age to the uninitiated. If the face is indeed the expression of the mind, the eyes may be regarded as its very focus, and transcendental knowledge or great mental experience must here be most easily detected. The idea of age is here a very natural illusion, because we almost invariably associate age with wisdom, experience having taught us that great knowledge can only be acquired by a long and painful process of assimilation; thus we associate it with bodily maturity and do not look for it in the young.

The Dalai Lama's gaze was that of the adept of the highest order, and as I encountered those wonderful eyes, I knew and felt that I was in the presence of one who could read my innermost thoughts. He addressed me in my native German, and moreover in a dialect which I had not heard for many years and which he could not have acquired by any process known to ordinary mortals. This is all the more remarkable when it is considered that I had taken special precautions to conceal my nationality. Before leaving Darjeeling I went through an elaborate process of staining the greater part of my body, and, dressing in the customary garb of the hill population of northern India, I travelled as a Hindoo of rank, in the society of one Tsong Shéra, an esoteric initiate who ostensibly accompanied me as a servant, but who, in reality, conducted me to the Lamasery of Bran-

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chu, where I left him. My knowledge of Hindustanee enabled me to pass the scrutiny of the Chinese officials and traders, and although the color of my eyes on more than one occasion was noted with surprise, and aroused a certain amount of suspicion, yet I had reached Lhasa in safety, and my nationality, I felt sure, was undetected.

The reader may well imagine that the Dalai's addressing me in provincial German filled me with amazement; for even if I had been suspected to be a white man, how could my closer nationality have been discovered, and how could the mysterious youth have acquired a knowledge of the German language, which was absolutely free from foreign accent, and moreover of a dialect which is limited to a small district of the fatherland?

Among the higher adepts of India and Thibet the acquisition of any given language by intuitive processes unknown to western philosophy is an undoubted fact. In Europe the mysterious brotherhood of the Rosicrucians is said to have possessed this power, but the secret became lost or disappeared with the last member of this strange organization. It may be that we are here dealing with a modification of hypnotism, and that the apparent marvel resolves itself into a species of telepathy or mind reading. I have pondered a great deal over this problem, and although I have not arrived at any satisfactory solution, I am inclined to believe that adepts who possess the wonderful power to speak any existing language are really mind readers of an advanced type, and that they can direct their will power so that the message, received by the other brain, appears to be conveyed in the manner of ordinary speech, and that the language is entirely left to the imagination of the subject. Indeed, the highest-grade adepts not only possess the power to read the thoughts of any given person, but are able to communicate intelligence by mere mental effort, without the utterance of a syllable, although the lips may seem to move and the language to be well characterized These mysterious phenomena doubtless belong to the same category of cerebricity which enables certain clairvoyants to discourse in languages of which they are utterly ignorant in their normal condition.

To all intents and purposes the Dalai Lama could read my thoughts and reply to them in any possible language, but this was not the only thing which astonished me in this mysterious individual. He displayed an amount of wisdom which I have never since seen equalled in the most famous Oriental or Western thinkers. He had a profound knowledge of Western science and was so thoroughly at home in every department of research that he astonished me beyond expression by his detailed knowledge of mineralogy, botany, microscopy, etc. Indeed he was intimately

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acquainted with every subject that came within the scope of our discussion, and we travelled over a considerable amount of philosophical territory. Every sentence he uttered was full of thought, and his logic was at once convincing and overwhelming in the force of its application. He spoke with the authority of one who has raised the veil of Isis and to whom nothing in the past, present or future is hidden.

I well remember how he dispelled the "illusion of time" to which I had still been clinging, and how he showed in the most conclusive fashion that even the most stable of our sciences, mathematics, is based on the "airy fabric of a vision."

"There is no such thing as time," he said, "it is an illusion, like the conception of space. You say that time is a succession of events. How, if it can be shown that there *are no events* and that everything is *Maya?* What is a century, what is a year, what is a day? You say that a day is the time this planet requires for rotating once around its axis. Take the equator of this earth, divide it into twenty-four equal parts, build a house at each of these points; what would be the result? Why, according to your logic you would have an hour's difference in time in each of these twenty-four houses. Now imagine these houses ten degrees further north; you would then have them much closer together, yet there still would be an hour's difference in each; and finally imagine these houses so close around the north pole that they form a complete circle and are in actual contact—still there would be an hour's difference of time in each. If it is twelve o'clock in one house it is one o'clock in the house to the right and eleven o'clock in that to the left. If the houses were all connected by doors, you could run in five minutes through a hundred years of time; in fact you could recall the past and step into the vanished centuries by merely running in the opposite direction. On the other hand you could banish time completely and enforce an everlasting present by stepping into the next house the moment the hour was on the point of expiring; thus you could always have it twelve o'clock. Indeed, by stepping to the pole itself, even this small exertion becomes superfluous, because there is absolutely no time there."

I was compelled to admit the force of this logic, and was on the point of asking the Dalai Lama in what way it could be shown that the science of mathematics was an illusion, when the youthful sage, with the unerring precision of telepathic clairvoyance, spoke as follows:—

"What you call mathematics, or the science of number and quantity, is just as much an illusion as the idea of time. What is mathematics based upon? On a hypothetical assumption, viz., the number one, which has no existence. This may seem a new

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truth to you, but it is as old as the eternal stars. What is your number one? It must relate to some existing object, for all abstract conceptions are ideal and therefore unreal. What, then, is 'one'? Is it a stone, a tree, an animal? That stone, tree or animal will not be the same to any two persons on this planet, because no two minds are alike; besides, the stone which you see to-day is not the stone which you beheld yesterday, for even since yesterday, your mind has undergone changes, however slight, and your world is no longer the same. Mathematics, then, is based on something which has no tangible or even definable existence; and when you come to consider it a little more closely you will find it full of contradictions, incongruities and absurdities.

"For instance, can you imagine the possibility of approaching an object for ever and ever without the remotest chance of reaching it? Yet this is what your infallible science of mathematics teaches you. Let us suppose that you owe a certain sum of money, or even a single rupee, and that you arrange to discharge this debt in the following fashion, viz., one half of the rupee to-morrow, one fourth the day after, one eighth the next day, etc., always paying one half of what you disbursed on the day previous; how long do you think you will have to continue these payments, or when will the debt be completely discharged? Why, you might go on paying day after day for millions of years, and you would never pay off that rupee. Of course this is a truth which some of your mathematical prodigies will pronounce self-evident, yet it involves a profound mystery and illustrates the fallacy of your science of number. Here you are everlastingly adding fraction to fraction, and piling up particles of silver to all eternity without the remotest possibility of its ever reaching the amount of one rupee. Imagine it if you can. Each payment brings you a little nearer the goal, but yet you never reach it. Does not this prove the rottenness of the entire fabric, and that your wonderfully 'exact science' is *Maya* or illusion?"

The Dalai Lama paused for a moment, and as I raised my eyes I encountered his searching glance, which seemed to read my innermost thoughts. The melancholy expression in the child-adept's face seemed to have deepened, and the sadness it denoted was so pronounced and real that I was greatly impressed and, in a measure, touched with compassion for this juvenile sufferer.

"Let not my sadness disturb your peace of mind," said the Dalai Lama, "how can I be joyful when all the world is suffering? What is this existence that you cling to — is it a state of happiness or one of sorrow? Do you remember a single moment

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in your life when you were thoroughly satisfied and free from the wish or longing for amelioration? Are you satisfied now? You have travelled much and have come in contact with many of your species: have you ever met any one, high or low, rich or poor, young or old, who was satisfied with his lot in life and not filled with the hope for something better? No one ever was and no one ever will be happy, or even satisfied, because all existence on this terrestial or physical plane involves sorrow. Existence itself signifies pain, because you are burdened with a physical body with a multiplicity of wants, which you can never fully gratify. Life, then, instead of being an advantage, is a state of suffering, even under the most favorable conditions, and what you call happiness is only a temporary absence of pain. This entire universe is full of anguish. I can feel the chords of agony that arise from myriads of despairing hearts, and how could I smile in contentment in the midst of all this suffering?"

During the latter part of this delivery, to which I had been listening with an intense interest, which was enhanced a hundred fold by the enigmatical personality of my youthful preceptor and the strangeness of the surroundings, my thoughts involuntarily reverted to the subject of reincarnation, that cardinal feature of Oriental mysticism, to which I had been recently devoting a good deal of speculation, but the vast significance of which I had hitherto failed to grasp.

"You are inclined to doubt the eternal truth of reincarnation," said the Dalai Lama, "yet what can be more self-evident? You think that the fact of your not being able to remember your previous states of existence is a proof of their impossibility. Can you remember the first two years of your present life? Yet you existed even before this in the embryonic condition. There is an intuitive knowledge or consciousness within you of the fact that you have always existed, and you cannot imagine a moment when you did not exist, or a moment when you will cease to be. What you call death is only a transition into another state of being, and nothing survives but the mere consciousness of existence. There are those whom such a thought chills or depresses, because they fondly cherish the illusion of meeting those who were dear to them here in some happy hereafter.

"But let us stop and think a moment; would the memory of the past really prove a blessing? Imagine yourself waking to another state of existence, burdened with all the memories of the past. We want to *get rid* of these very memories. They haunt us like so many demons of the under world. We want to get rid of the memory of our illusions, of our false hopes, of our follies, of our crimes; oblivion is the greatest boon we could

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desire. The greatest solace of the ancient Greeks was the Lethean stream in which the soul would be steeped, and which would obliterate all the memories of the past. Each stage of existence involves its own burden of sorrows; there will be enough troubles and disappointments in store for us in each new incarnation, so as not to make us look with longing eyes upon the sufferings of the past."

The Grand Lama closed his eyes and remained silent for several minutes, during which his beautiful features seemed as if transfigured with a celestial radiance. I deemed the audience concluded, and was on the point of rising from the low, cushioned seat, when the wondrous eyes were once more riveting my gaze, and the Dalai resumed, slowly, and with a weird emphasis:—

"The past is a dream; the present alone is real, and the future in great measure is an illusion. We are always dissatisfied with our present condition, and are constantly cherishing the hope of bliss or happiness in some imaginary future. It is always to-morrow, or a week or a year from now, that we are to be happy; but that morning never dawns—the object of our desires flits away from us, like the fabled bird of paradise, luring us from tree to tree, and thus through life to the very grave; and when the old man looks back upon that past which is as a dream, the truth begins to dawn upon him that he has been living in a fool's paradise, and he would not wish to live his life over again if he must undergo the same experiences. There is no immortality in the sense of your orthodox religions; we shall not wake to find ourselves in some celestial garden or concert room, or in some regal palace where a venerable old gentleman, surrounded by an army of abject worshippers, holds an eternal levee; but our world, or hereafter, will be as we ourselves make it, and wherever we are, there is our heaven or our hell. Reincarnation or constant existence is not a mere fanciful theory, as it might seem to shallow reasoners, but a stern reality. We are not here for the first time; if it were so, death would extinguish us forever. That which begins in time must end in time, and you cannot start life or existence at a given period and go on forever afterwards. If a certain event were destined to happen only once in time and space, all possible things would have happened long ago, because an eternity lies behind us."

"Our philosophers," I ventured to reply—and this was about the only thought to which I gave verbal utterance during this memorable interview—"have arrived at similar conclusions, but through mere processes of reasoning, unsupported by tangible facts or by authority which would carry conviction, or even induce general acceptance."

"We do not 'reason out' things, but *see* them," rejoined the

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child adept, "and there is no such thing as doubt or uncertainty in the 'world behind the curtain.' Your Western learning has been entirely on the material plane, and you do not realize the marvels by which you are surrounded. Your so-called men of science sneer at those who have developed mental faculties which enable them to see that which is hidden to the multitude, because they have no organs of vision.

"There is an animal, living in the ocean, called the sea anemone. It is a mere fleshy stem with tentacles, which spread out like the petals of a flower, always on the alert for food. It has no eyes and lives entirely in a world of darkness; all its sensations are limited to mere touch. Yet, a little higher in the animal scale, you find that similar creatures have developed eyes. Now imagine that among a thousand sea anemones, growing together within some narrow region, say on a certain coral reef, one individual, with a more refined susceptibility than the rest, for the first time developed organs of vision. There must always have been, among an animal species which has risen above the blind stage, a favored *one*, or a limited *few*, in which the eyes began their function before the remainder could see. Now imagine this one sea anemone for the first time beholding strange objects, or realizing and awaking to the existence of an entirely undreamed-of world, a world of forms and colors; and imagine this creature endeavoring to tell the other sea anemones about these marvels. Would it be understood or believed? No, it would be laughed to scorn by the blind multitude, because they are yet devoid of the organs of perception."

Thus ended my first audience with the Grand Lama, and here also I have reached the limit of this paper. I have devoted more space to the consideration of Thibetan and Indian gnosticism than to matters ethnological, anthropological and geographical, but it was never my intention, in these papers, to relate mere incidents of travel. The subject of "Occult Science in Thibet" is so vast, and my notes and observations during eighteen months of travel in Bodland are so copious, that I might continue these articles indefinitely and not exhaust the material before the close of the century. But the line must be drawn somewhere, and this paper, which originally was designed to cover about ten pages of one number of THE ARENA, has already lengthened out into three separate parts.

The interest in the far East is rising like a tidal wave, and we are only just on the point of realizing what we have yet to learn from that gorgeous land of the lotos, which, even in this nineteenth century of our merciless western culture, is more of a fairy land than Arabia ever was at the time of Haroun al Raschid. We are now realizing that we are dealing with a

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subtle and superior race, with fifty centuries of experience behind them, and of the treasures of Oriental thought we have so far obtained only the faintest glimpse. It was only about twenty-five years ago that Max Müller arose and threw the electric beam of his genius into the ancient manuscripts of the Brahmins, the Rig-Veda and Ramayana. There is a world of fascination and splendor yet in store for us in that ancient land of wisdom. The Wise Men came from the East.

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THE MEN IN THE STORM.

BY STEPHEN CRANE.

At about three o'clock of the February afternoon, the blizzard began to swirl great clouds of snow along the streets, sweeping it down from the roofs and up from the pavements until the faces of pedestrians tingled and burned as from a thousand needle-prickings. Those on the walks huddled their necks closely in the collars of their coats and went along stooping like a race of aged people. The drivers of vehicles hurried their horses furiously on their way. They were made more cruel by the exposure of their positions, aloft on high seats. The street cars, bound up-town, went slowly, the horses slipping and straining in the spongy brown mass that lay between the rails. The drivers, muffled to the eyes, stood erect and facing the wind, models of grim philosophy. Overhead the trains rumbled and roared, and the dark structure of the elevated railroad, stretching over the avenue, dripped little streams and drops of water upon the mud and snow beneath it.

All the clatter of the street was softened by the masses that lay upon the cobbles until, even to one who looked from a window, it became important music, a melody of life made necessary to the ear by the dreariness of the pitiless beat and sweep of the storm. Occasionally one could see black figures of men busily shovelling the white drifts from the walks. The sounds from their labor created new recollections of rural experiences which every man manages to have in a measure. Later, the immense windows of the shops became aglow with light, throwing great beams of orange and yellow upon the pavement. They were infinitely cheerful, yet in a way they accented the force and discomfort of the storm, and gave a meaning to the pace of the people and the vehicles, scores of pedestrians and drivers, wretched with cold faces, necks and feet, speeding for scores of unknown doors and entrances, scattering to an infinite variety of shelters, to places which the imagination made warm with the familiar colors of home.

There was an absolute expression of hot dinners in the pace of the people. If one dared to speculate upon the destination of those who came trooping, he lost himself in a maze of social calculations; he might fling a handful of sand and attempt to follow

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the flight of each particular grain. But as to the suggestion of hot dinners, he was in firm lines of thought, for it was upon every hurrying face. It is a matter of tradition; it is from the tales of childhood. It comes forth with every storm.

However, in a certain part of a dark West-side street, there was a collection of men to whom these things were as if they were not. In this street was located a charitable house where for five cents the homeless of the city could get a bed at night and, in the morning, coffee and bread.

During the afternoon of the storm, the whirling snows acted as drivers, as men with whips, and at half-past three, the walk before the closed doors of the house was covered with wanderers of the street, waiting. For some distance on either side of the place they could be seen lurking in doorways and behind projecting parts of buildings, gathering in close bunches in an effort to get warm. A covered wagon drawn up near the curb sheltered a dozen of them. Under the stairs that led to the elevated railway station, there were six or eight, their hands stuffed deep in their pockets, their shoulders stooped, jiggling their feet. Others always could be seen coming, a strange procession, some slouching along with the characteristic hopeless gait of professional strays, some coming with hesitating steps wearing the air of men to whom this sort of thing was new.

It was an afternoon of incredible length. The snow, blowing in twisting clouds, sought out the men in their meagre hiding-places and skilfully beat in among them, drenching their persons with showers of fine, stinging flakes. They crowded together, muttering, and fumbling in their pockets to get their red, inflamed wrists covered by the cloth.

Newcomers usually halted at one of the groups and addressed a question, perhaps much as a matter of form, "Is it open yet?"

Those who had been waiting inclined to take the questioner seriously and become contemptuous. "No; do yeh think we'd be standin' here?"

The gathering swelled in numbers steadily and persistently. One could always see them coming, trudging slowly through the storm.

Finally, the little snow plains in the street began to assume a leaden hue from the shadows of evening. The buildings upreared gloomily save where various windows became brilliant figures of light that made shimmers and splashes of yellow on the snow. A street lamp on the curb struggled to illuminate, but it was reduced to impotent blindness by the swift gusts of sleet crusting its panes.

In this half-darkness, the men began to come from their shelter places and mass in front of the doors of charity. They were of

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all types, but the nationalities were mostly American, German and Irish. Many were strong, healthy, clear-skinned fellows with that stamp of countenance which is not frequently seen upon seekers after charity. There were men of undoubted patience, industry and temperance, who in time of ill-fortune, do not habitually turn to rail at the state of society, snarling at the arrogance of the rich and bemoaning the cowardice of the poor, but who at these times are apt to wear a sudden and singular meekness, as if they saw the world's progress marching from them and were trying to perceive where they had failed, what they had lacked, to be thus vanquished in the race. Then there were others of the shifting, Bowery lodging-house element who were used to paying ten cents for a place to sleep, but who now came here because it was cheaper.

But they were all mixed in one mass so thoroughly that one could not have discerned the different elements but for the fact that the laboring men, for the most part, remained silent and impassive in the blizzard, their eyes fixed on the windows of the house, statues of patience.

The sidewalk soon became completely blocked by the bodies of the men. They pressed close to one another like sheep in a winter's gale, keeping one another warm by the heat of their bodies. The snow came down upon this compressed group of men until, directly from above, it might have appeared like a heap of snow-covered merchandise, if it were not for the fact that the crowd swayed gently with a unanimous, rhythmical motion. It was wonderful to see how the snow lay upon the heads and shoulders of these men, in little ridges an inch thick perhaps in places, the flakes steadily adding drop and drop, precisely as they fall upon the unresisting grass of the fields. The feet of the men were all wet and cold and the wish to warm them accounted for the slow, gentle, rhythmical motion. Occasionally some man whose ears or nose tingled acutely from the cold winds would wriggle down until his head was protected by the shoulders of his companions.

There was a continuous murmuring discussion as to the probability of the doors being speedily opened. They persistently lifted their eyes toward the windows. One could hear little combats of opinion.

"There's a light in th' winder!"

"Naw; it's a reflection f'm across th' way."

"Well, didn't I see 'em lite it?"

"You did?"

"I did!"

"Well, then, that settles it!"

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As the time approached when they expected to be allowed to enter, the men crowded to the doors in an unspeakable crush, jamming and wedging in a way that it seemed would crack bones. They surged heavily against the building in a powerful wave of pushing shoulders. Once a rumor flitted among all the tossing heads.

"They can't open th' doors! Th' fellers er smack up ag'in 'em."

Then a dull roar of rage came from the men on the outskirts; but all the time they strained and pushed until it appeared to be impossible for those that they cried out against to do anything but be crushed to pulp.

"Ah, git away f'm th' door!"

"Git outa that!"

"Throw 'em out!"

"Kill 'em!"

"Say, fellers, now, what th' 'ell? Give 'em a chanct t' open th' door!"

"Yeh damned pigs, give 'em a chanct t' open th' door!"

Men in the outskirts of the crowd occasionally yelled when a boot-heel of one of frantic trampling feet crushed on their freezing extremities.

"Git off me feet, yeh clumsy tarrier!"

"Say, don't stand on me feet! Walk on th' ground!"

A man near the doors suddenly shouted: "O-o-oh! Le' me out — le' me out!" And another, a man of infinite valor, once twisted his head so as to half face those who were pushing behind him. "Quit yer shovin', yeh"—and he delivered a volley of the most powerful and singular invective straight into the faces of the men behind him. It was as if he was hammering the noses of them with curses of triple brass. His face, red with rage, could be seen; upon it, an expression of sublime disregard of consequences. But nobody cared to reply to his imprecations; it was too cold. Many of them snickered and all continued to push.

In occasional pauses of the crowd's movement the men had opportunity to make jokes; usually grim things, and no doubt very uncouth. Nevertheless, they are notable — one does not expect to find the quality of humor in a heap of old clothes under a snowdrift.

The winds seemed to grow fiercer as time wore on. Some of the gusts of snow that came down on the close collection of heads cut like knives and needles, and the men huddled, and swore, not like dark assassins, but in a sort of an American fashion, grimly and desperately, it is true, but yet with a wondrous under-effect, indefinable and mystic, as if there was some kind of humor in this catastrophe, in this situation in a night of snow-laden winds.

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Once, the window of the huge dry-goods shop across the street furnished material for a few moments of forgetfulness. In the brilliantly-lighted space appeared the figure of a man. He was rather stout and very well clothed. His whiskers were fashioned charmingly after those of the Prince of Wales. He stood in an attitude of magnificent reflection. He slowly stroked his moustache with a certain grandeur of manner, and looked down at the snow-encrusted mob. From below, there was denoted a supreme complacence in him. It seemed that the sight operated inversely, and enabled him to more clearly regard his own environment, delightful relatively.

One of the mob chanced to turn his head and perceive the figure in the window. "Hello, lookit 'is whiskers," he said genially.

Many of the men turned then, and a shout went up. They called to him in all strange keys. They addressed him in every manner, from familiar and cordial greetings to carefully-worded advice concerning changes in his personal appearance. The man presently fled, and the mob chuckled ferociously like ogres who had just devoured something.

They turned then to serious business. Often they addressed the stolid front of the house.

"Oh, let us in fer Gawd's sake!"

"Let us in or we'll all drop dead!"

"Say, what's th' use o' keepin' all us poor Indians out in th' cold?"

And always some one was saying, "Keep off me feet."

The crushing of the crowd grew terrific toward the last. The men, in keen pain from the blasts, began almost to fight. With the pitiless whirl of snow upon them, the battle for shelter was going to the strong. It became known that the basement door at the foot of a little steep flight of stairs was the one to be opened, and they jostled and heaved in this direction like laboring fiends. One could hear them panting and groaning in their fierce exertion.

Usually some one in the front ranks was protesting to those in the rear: "O—o—ow! Oh, say, now, fellers, let up, will yeh? Do yeh wanta kill somebody?"

A policeman arrived and went into the midst of them, scolding and berating, occasionally threatening, but using no force but that of his hands and shoulders against these men who were only struggling to get in out of the storm. His decisive tones rang out sharply: "Stop that pushin' back there! Come, boys, don't push! Stop that! Here, you, quit yer shovin'! Cheese that!"

When the door below was opened, a thick stream of men forced a way down the stairs, which were of an extraordinary

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narrowness and seemed only wide enough for one at a time. Yet they somehow went down almost three abreast. It was a difficult and painful operation. The crowd was like a turbulent water forcing itself through one tiny outlet. The men in the rear, excited by the success of the others, made frantic exertions, for it seemed that this large band would more than fill the quarters and that many would be left upon the pavements. It would be disastrous to be of the last, and accordingly men with the snow biting their faces, writhed and twisted with their might. One expected that from the tremendous pressure, the narrow passage to the basement door would be so choked and clogged with human limbs and bodies that movement would be impossible. Once indeed the crowd was forced to stop, and a cry went along that a man had been injured at the foot of the stairs. But presently the slow movement began again, and the policeman fought at the top of the flight to ease the pressure on those who were going down.

A reddish light from a window fell upon the faces of the men when they, in turn, arrived at the last three steps and were about to enter. One could then note a change of expression that had come over their features. As they thus stood upon the threshold of their hopes, they looked suddenly content and complacent. The fire had passed from their eyes and the snarl had vanished from their lips. The very force of the crowd in the rear, which had previously vexed them, was regarded from another point of view, for it now made it inevitable that they should go through the little doors into the place that was cheery and warm with light.

The tossing crowd on the sidewalk grew smaller and smaller. The snow beat with merciless persistence upon the bowed heads of those who waited. The wind drove it up from the pavements in frantic forms of winding white, and it seethed in circles about the huddled forms, passing in, one by one, three by three, out of the storm.

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PRENATAL INFLUENCE.

BY SYDNEY BARRINGTON ELLIOT, M. D.

"It is the right of every child to be well born."

It is the right of every child to be well born, born sound in physique, able in intellect, free from contamination of disease and vice, and able to live a strong, honorable life. All sensible parents must wish to have such children. In the previous articles we have demonstrated beyond all doubt the possibility of having such children to be within the reach of all sound, well-meaning and well-mated parents. While some of the previous illustrations have demonstrated the practical application of prenatal influence, it is necessary to give more in detail the requisites for a well-born child.

It is necessary that parents, expecting a sound child, should be sound themselves; for how can sound organs be produced from those that are diseased? This applies only to parents actually suffering from some progressive disease of one or more organs, and not to those who have mere functional trouble. Few there are, indeed, who must forego the great satisfaction and happiness of parentage, the prime end of man's existence. It is necessary that expectant parents should be well-meaning, that their intentions should be good, otherwise the most sacred, most important function of man would be an infliction and not a life-long happiness, a curse to themselves and their offspring. They should have overcome or modified their evil tendencies, else these will be transmitted to the offspring; and they should truly want to have a child, for unwelcome ones are often of a warped and disappointing nature; and those who have not been desirous of having children are apt not to be desirable parents. If children are not desired, from whatever reason, then those responsible for them should see to it that their *conception* is *prevented*, since there are harmless, effectual and entirely satisfactory means to this end. It is essential that expectant parents should be well mated, for otherwise they cannot produce the best results. They must be so mated that the weak

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and unbalanced points in body and brain of the one will be counter-balanced in the other. Not only must the following requisites be observed, but the parents must not allow of chance, haphazard conception. The accomplishment of man's greatest aim and requirement must not grow out of the chaos of circumstances. For the best results, his child must be conceived when mind and body are in their best condition; when the begetting of another being, in flesh and blood like its generators, has been given due contemplation and definitely settled upon; and when the parents' circumstances, like all other circumstances, are most favorable to its perfect development.

Under such conditions, allowing that conception has taken place, now commences the most important, most wonderful and critical period, in the expectant mother's life. She can now make or mar her child's future. While the parents should have overcome evil and harmful tendencies in themselves some time prior to conception, much can yet be done to counteract the transmission of undesirable qualities to the offspring. The new life is most susceptible to impression, as the illustrations have shown, not only at one time, but during the whole term of pregnancy. Characteristics that are now forming will govern its future life. Great men are born, not made, and so the qualities necessary to make a man great in any sphere must be born in him, otherwise they can never be taught. The developing embryo can be moulded into any state of mind and body, but of first importance is the physique. Mental attributes would be of little avail without a strong vitality and a good constitution — good physique.

The child must be *strong* and *active;* it must have *good breathing* or *lung power*, *strong blood circulation* and *good digestive* and *assimilative power*. To impart these, the mother must daily direct her attention to her muscular system. She must make use of light gymnastics, exercising the arms, back and legs — not to excess, else the child would probably lack vigor, but to an extent that can be comfortably borne. The practice, however little, must be a daily one. She must take a careful course of breathing exercises. Deep breathing should be practised at least three times daily, gradually increasing from two to six breaths at a time. It consists in taking as deep a breath as possible and, after

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retaining it a few moments, expel slowly. This must be done in the erect position, with chest thrown forward and with energy. The air, of course, should be pure, outdoor air. If the gymnastics and breathing exercises are persistently carried out, the heart will gain in power, and a *strong blood circulation* will be developed in mother and child.

The mother must care for her digestive organs in order to transmit healthy ones to her child. Certain food is injurious at any time, more especially at this time, and the mother herself must be the judge of what is best. She will discard what she knows to be injurious to her, for what may agree with some will be injurious to others. She will, however, be safe in avoiding stimulants of all kinds, and highly seasoned, rich or greasy food. Her selection of food should be simple and nutritous. Breakfast should be the principal meal; the evening meal should be light, and the utmost regularity should be regarded as to the meal hour. Eating between meals should be strictly avoided. The bowels should be kept regular, for their inactivity is related to many disorders. If these instructions are followed out, the last, but most important, of these physical essentials, *good digestive and assimilative power*, will be imparted.

The mother who transmits each of these essentials, imparts to her offspring a *strong constitution*. She may impart genius to the child, but without the physical force to develop and sustain this latent ability, the former is of little value. Therefore, by all means, every mother should impart to the child she brings forth — the child whose existence is from no doing of its own and whose right it is to be well born — a *good physique*, strong to resist disease, and quick to recover, that makes living a pleasure and life a success.

In the *mental* and *moral development* of the child, the *social faculties* are of prime importance to its happiness. "*Friendship* is a sheltering tree." It smooths the rough places in life and makes the smooth ones more enjoyable. Every child should be capable of attracting and holding friends. This quality the mother can impart, by cultivating it in herself. She should not shut herself away from her friends, but freely enjoy their society and friendship. Closely allied to this is fondness for home and parents. By the mother interesting herself in her home surroundings — the furniture, household pets, etc. — by cherishing kindly thoughts

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to those near and dear to her, by picturing to herself her child's life and growth among these, her possessions, she will implant in it the impulses she desires. Her child should be welcome to the home she is providing for it. It should be impressed with those pleasant feelings with which we regard what is agreeable. Children who have been regarded as necessary evils are often of a perverted and undesirable disposition. The mother should welcome her child, then; it should be filled with instincts of affection and confidence. In its future life she will have little control over its love or its wilfulness; therefore we say, love your unborn child now, for now you can fix upon it the *love* which, in the days when your love exists no longer, will hold that child true to you for life.

One of the evils of the day, and one attracting much attention at the present time, is the so-called social one. From time immemorial vain endeavor has been made to stamp out this vice. The endeavor has been made at the wrong end. Man must be dealt with as he is and not as he should be. To overcome this evil the root must be reached; man must be born free from abnormal sexual instincts. Then only will we see this great stain permanently wiped out. The mother must avoid transmitting to her child abnormal *sexual instinct*. This she can do by keeping her thoughts pure and her imaginings controlled. The sexual propensity should not be indulged during pregnancy, or if at all, as little as possible.

The *practical faculties* are important. They are those mental powers which give man his energy and his determination in taking care of his material welfare. In the mother's breathing and gymnastic exercises she will develop qualities of *strength* and *endurance*. If she carries out these simple hygienic practices conscientiously, she will impart to her child *perseverance*, that quality which most often achieves success. The child should be of an *economical mould*, in order that he may not be a reckless spendthrift. The mother should cultivate this quality by force of will, curbing extravagant tastes, cultivating it in her household and personal duties. Combined with this quality should be that of *generosity*, in order that the child may not become covetous or miserly. Both qualities should be possessed in an equal degree. Man was not meant to be a careless giver, but to

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have due regard for his own needs and the needs of those dependent upon him.

The *destructive power*, to some degree, is important to possess, as it gives man the power of doing things *thoroughly* and *quickly*. Whatever the mother undertakes, she should do with all her might, not lagging or postponing in her self-imposed tasks.

Should the mother try to destroy her child before birth, this attempt is liable, if unsuccessful, to result in producing *murderous tendencies*. This or similar results, may follow from even harboring murderous thoughts, whether toward her child or not. The mother must fight against *anger*, *fits* of *passion* and *discontentment*. She would make a strong effort to do this, could she but realize the direful result when her too irascible spirit is uncurbed, could she but foresee her tempestuous feelings reproduced in her child in after life.

The mother must not allow her child to suffer from too keen *sensitiveness*, *bashfulness* or *self consciousness*. These qualities can readily be transmitted through prenatal influence, and she must guard against them. Many expectant mothers, owing to their condition, are morbidly sensitive and self conscious. These tendencies must be overcome, for she must not allow her extreme sensitiveness to the opinion of others, to result in transmitting to her child such undesirable qualities. *Pride* and *conceit* may readily be transmitted to the offspring. These, if present to an abnormal degree in either parent, should have been overcome prior to conception, and not only must the mother strive to overcome them in her nature, before she allows the begetting of another being from her, but she must guard against them during pregnancy. Let her turn pride of birth or beauty into pride of motherhood.

The expectant father must protect his wife from *fright*, *anxiety* and *care*, and all that might be detrimental to his child, for such influences must not be allowed to mould the growing mind. The mother must be cheerful and have cheery surroundings. It is just as easy to have a *cheerful*, *sunny-natured child* that will prove a source of sunshine and gladness to all around it, as to have one of a peevish, unhappy disposition. She must not worry over the petty trials of the day. She must have pleasant anticipations of the future and

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confidently expect their realization, for this is hope, and she must endow her child with this most essential of all qualities. *Hope* brightens and smooths the rough places of life. It bridges over many a trial and spurs one on to new endeavor. With this should be cultivated *charity* and *faith;* charity for all men, faith in the goodness of God's purposes, and hope for the future — confer such attributes upon your child, and you give him a religion and a philosophy which will serve him all through life. Nor will avoidance of religious duties fail to have its baneful effect upon the child; mothers have only to give way to a dislike for *religion*, at this time, to have children to whom religion will be distasteful, even repellent. Therefore she should have the utmost regard for things sacred. By so doing, and conscientiously carrying out the duties incumbent upon her during pregnancy, she will impart to her child *conscientiousness.*

The *intellectual faculties* must receive careful attention. A child in order to *acquire knowledge* must not only have the latent desire for it, but the capacity for obtaining it. If the mother wishes her child to have this desire and *capacity for knowledge*, she must exercise her own powers in this direction. She must apply herself to learning, and in the direction in which the greatest effort is made, so will be the greatest development in the child. There are certain general qualities which should be possessed by every child, irrespective of talent in special directions, and these the mother must cultivate in herself. She must cultivate her own *memory*, that she may impart a good memory to her child. She should read history, memorize dates and noted events, recall to her mind the happenings of yesterday, of last week, memorize poetry or speeches, try to recall faces and numbers from her past experiences. Every child should be possessed of *sound reasoning power.* It is the ability to discriminate between that which is logically right and that which is logically wrong. The study of, or a strong effort to study, higher mathematics, algebra and geometry, will accomplish this in the child. Many women are averse to such study; these should read speeches, sermons and articles on special subjects, determine if they are true and why, and if the point has been proved. The mother can put her reasoning power into force in everyday life, by asking herself if this and that she is about to undertake is wisest and why, and if she is going

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about it in the right way. Nor should acquirement of knowledge be confined solely to books. The mother should train the eye to *judge distances*, *heights* and *weights*, and the mind to *calculate figures*. She must apply herself diligently to her studies and duties, giving her whole attention to whatever she has in hand. Without the *power of application* the intellectual faculties would be of little benefit. It is the child who cannot apply himself to his studies, to whom the acquirement of knowledge is difficult. The mother must be precise in whatever she undertakes, for she must transmit to her child a *precision* which does not allow of careless or slovenly study, but insists that a fact be remembered correctly, and that an incident be reported strictly according to the facts.

Habits of *system*, *order* and *method* are essential to the success and happiness of every individual. Order is heaven's first law. Every talent and good quality man can possess will not make up for a lack of system and order, and without these the former would be greatly lessened in value. Men who have attained renown in political, commercial and professional life, have not only had the latent talent for their calling, but have been systematic in applying it; they had a time for everything and everything in its place. Therefore in all the parents do they should cultivate system, method and punctuality; especially should they do this if either is lacking in these qualities. The mother must cultivate order of thought, of person, of surroundings and of action. She should arrange her work, her rest hour, her meals, at definite hours and keep them precisely. In this way she will impart to her child the tendency to characteristics so greatly to be desired.

If the foregoing suggestions are followed out, a well-born child will be produced. But every child should be possessed of some *special talent*, which if developed will enable it to follow some definite calling; and what this talent shall be it is in the parents' power to determine, for whatever special ability may be desired, it can be imparted to their child if they concentrate their minds sufficiently upon it. They should determine prior to conception what they wish their child to be, and for at least four weeks before this time they should concentrate their minds upon it, and during pregnancy the mother must continue this concentration. If the parents

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have chosen for their child a pursuit upon which they can enter, such as music, literature, painting, modelling, they should engage in it and throw their whole minds into it. Whatever the calling that may be chosen, they should study it, read about it, talk about it, think about it, and concentrate their minds upon it as much as possible. In this way they can impart, at will, to their child a talent for *law*, *art*, *medicine*, *theology*, *mechanics*, *business*, *oratory*, *engineering*, *architecture*, etc.

To impart these attributes it must be clearly understood that it is not necessary that the parents should learn the desired trade or profession, but it is necessary that they try to learn it. They must try hard, try persistently, try constantly, during the period of prenatal influence, and the results will more than meet their highest expectations.

It is not to be expected that a simple reading of the foregoing will be sufficient to enable the mother to acquire all that is required of her. She should constantly refer to it, and follow up the suggestions herein contained by reading the most advanced literature on the subject. Many of the desired qualities she may already have; these she need not seek to develop. But qualities that are too prominent should be restrained. The mother should study her own nature, make good in her child what is deficient in herself and her husband, and restrain those qualities that are too strong. We do not expect her to become the perfection of virtue and intellect. We simply ask her to make an honest, earnest effort, such as every mother is capable of, an effort to fit her child for a strong, honorable career.

The mother must remember that her child is susceptible to this influence at any time during pregnancy. But she must not worry over the result, she must not distrust her own effort, for this anxiety will be transmitted to her child. She must cultivate a bright, cheerful disposition, and remember that hers is the most sacred and honorable state. The true mother will be ever mindful of her most sacred trust, and will surround herself with circumstances that will conduce to the most perfect development of her child in body and mind.

While the mother's responsibility never ceases during pregnancy, the duties and responsibilities of the father are by no means ended with conception. He has yet a duty to

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perform, which is second to none other. He should be in perfect accord with the mother in her purposes and aspirations. He must remember that it is his child she is forming. He must see that her surroundings are the most favorable; that she is happy and contented, guarded from care and free from excessive duties; that she has recourse to refining influences, and has every intellectual opportunity. He will bear with her in all trying circumstances. He will avoid arousing her passion and will curb his own, that he may not impart sensuality to his child. These things and whatever is conducive to her comfort and welfare, he will do, and all else that circumstances may demand. He who is deserving of the name of true husband and true father will carry this out to the utmost extent of his ability.

If these instructions, the result of scientific investigation, were intelligently followed out, great good would result. Do not parents owe it to their offspring, to society and to future generations religiously to regard these teachings? Is the generation of to-morrow, in view of the present enlightenment, to result, largely, from the exercise of man's lower instincts, and grow out of the chaos of chance circumstances? Surely the time has come when enlightened man, if he recognizes any responsibility, will, at least, give as much attention to the begetting of his own offspring as he does to the breeding of his stock. A small percentage, only, of the human race lives to battle successfully with life. Is it not wrong to have weak, imperfect children — wrong to them, wrong to their progeny and wrong to the world they live in? We build all manner of institutions, and go to no end of trouble and expense after man is born, to better his condition; but the harm is then done, and so we still have a frail, diseased race. If greater endeavor were made to have well-born children, the future need of the above would be greatly lessened.

Every one has certain responsibilities, every intelligent person will recognize these responsibilities, and so it is incumbent upon such to do all in their power to have well-born children. Some may be unable to become parents themselves, but they will enlighten others, and all will use their influence to better future generations. Then only will we have a race perfect in physique and perfect in mind, with whom life will reach the highest ideal.

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COLLEGE DEBATING.

BY CARL VROOMAN.*

In answer to a call sent out by a member of the "Harvard Union," a convention of delegates from Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania was held at Columbia College, New York City, April 4 and 5 of this year. This convention completed the formation of the "Intercollegiate Debating Union," and issued a circular inviting to membership all the college debating societies in America. The aim of the new union is to bring out the latent possibilities of debating. The two most important features of its work are: First, to provide a schedule of questions, one of which shall be discussed simultaneously each month by all the college debating societies throughout the country; second, to encourage more frequent and more systematically arranged intercollegiate debates.

By the simultaneous discussion of a monthly topic the new union means to crystallize and give expression each month to the thought of college men on some one great living issue. This is a new feature in college debating and promises to be of great value. For while the aspirations, the new views of life, of individual young men may not be worth the attention of any but intimate friends, the opinions and ideals of college men as a class are of real importance; for the students of the present are the rulers of the future, and the tendency of their present thought promises fundamental changes in the very structure of civilization. The debating societies, by all discussing the same question the same month, hope to create such a demand for information on the subject that the press and monthly magazines will give it special prominence.

The executive committee is now perfecting arrangements whereby the Debating Union may coöperate with the Union for Practical Progress, and thus largely increase interest by

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selecting the same monthly topics for both unions. The Union for Practical Progress aims to unite the press, the pulpit and all humanitarian organizations to act and speak concertedly upon important problems. By this method the public conscience is aroused each month in regard to some one vital reform question. These subjects are chosen by an advisory board consisting of a number of the most prominent sociologists, clergymen and journalists of the country. The papers and magazines which are coöperating with the Union for Practical Progress give exhaustive articles, symposiums and bibliographies each month on the chosen topic, thus furnishing a wealth of material to be used by those discussing the problem. The hundreds of ministers throughout the country who have joined the Union also preach or lecture upon the subject. By coöperating with the Union for Practical Progress the college men will be enabled to gain the information they desire from the pulpit as well as from printed discussions.

College debating societies have uniformly failed in the past to assemble large audiences. This they will be able to do in the future by discussing the topic in which the public has become interested through this larger union. The plan is, that different colleges or different societies of the same college shall oppose each other in these "monthly topic" discussions, to which the public shall be invited through the college and city papers. In each case the audience shall act as judge. The idea is to have these debates develop talent for the intercollegiate debates, and to give practice in public speaking to many who can never reach the intercollegiate debates. People interested in the Union for Practical Progress will naturally be interested in attending these debates, and if the standard of talent be kept high, the crowds and enthusiasm must necessarily add largely to the college interest in debating. Thus college men become not only students of current events, but have a part in the formation of public opinion.

One weakness of college debating is that men often talk against their real opinions, and more often talk upon subjects concerning which they have no opinions. They come to feel that they are merely playing at discussion, that it is all a sham, a mere make-believe. When discussion has thus degenerated into mental gymnastics the resulting apathy is not

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surprising. Manufacturing arguments without really attempting to prove, professing opinions which are neither believed nor disbelieved, "depending on one's imagination for facts and on one's memory for jests," simulating zeal, feigning enthusiasm and giving vent to unfelt passion — these are the puerilities that have crippled debate in the past. They result from the discussion of subjects in which no one is particularly interested, upon which few are posted, and to the remarks upon which no one listens save the man who has decided to speak next.

The new plan is to keep and, at regular intervals, to publish the vote of every society on the merits of each question. This will cause men of definite opinions to do their best to get their society on record in favor of those opinions — adding a zest to the discussion which could never come were self-culture the sole incentive. These votes when tabulated will make very interesting statistics, showing the attitude of college men upon the questions of the day.

The new Union also hopes to arrange more frequent intercollegiate debates. That these stimulate interest in public speaking is abundantly proved by their success in our Western States, in England, and, during the last three years, at Harvard and Yale. Many little Western colleges with from one hundred and fifty to two hundred students have two active debating societies each. At their yearly "oratorical contests," where each college is represented by its best speaker, the students turn out in greater numbers and manifest greater enthusiasm than at any foot-ball game or other event of the year. A good many fellows carry papers to help pay expenses, sleep, study and do their own cooking all in one room, yet always have money to attend these contests.

In England, where debates between Oxford and Cambridge have long been carried on, debating has become a most important feature of university life. Oxford and Cambridge each have from twenty to twenty-five debating societies — a "Union Society" with a hundred-thousand-dollar club house and a membership of over a third of the students in the university, several political societies named after famous statesmen, and a separate society for each of the numerous "colleges," which serves as a sort of focus for the "college" life. In contrast with this, Harvard and Yale, with about

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the same number of students as the English universities, have but two debating societies each.

In our Eastern States there were no intercollegiate debates until the college year '91–'92, when two were held between Harvard and Yale, one in the fall at Cambridge, the other in the spring at New Haven. These and the subsequent debates between Harvard and Yale, and between other colleges, which have followed their example, have produced most encouraging results.

In an ordinary debate a man does as well as he can without special exertion, but when he feels that the honors of victory are to be won for himself and for his college, he spares neither time nor labor in preparation. He gives the best there is in him, and the resulting benefits are much superior to those of an ordinary debate. A contest of this sort develops self-control and the power of instant decision amid the greatest excitement. At Harvard, these contests with Yale caused last year the reorganization of the "Harvard Union" and the formation of a new society—the "Wendell Phillips Club"—and this year, the formation of the "Radcliffe Union" at the "Harvard Annex." It is safe to say also that the college papers now give double the space, and the University at large now pays twice the attention to public speaking, that was done before the first Yale-Harvard debate.

The reaction in favor of physical culture, which has followed that complete devotion once rendered to pale and sickly mentality, though of inestimable value to rational education, is not the highest ideal. We are now ready for another step forward. The time has come when in college life, as mirrored in the daily and weekly press and monthly magazine, the cerebrum should figure as prominently as the biceps; when the victors in contests of the intellect should receive honors no less desirable than those awarded to a triumphant football team. Before the ambitious youth of our high schools and academies, honors should be held up, the attainment of which does not demand that a man become either an athlete or a grind. For neither of these, and not even a judicious blending of the two, is the ideal student. Strong physique, ability to use books—these are needed; but more than these, the power to think for one's self, and to express what one hopes and believes and knows.

Of late, athletics have been fostered and boomed and en-

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dowed in almost every college in our land, while, with the exception of the splendidly endowed system of debating which, for over a century, has prevailed at Princeton, and a few little encouragements, such as a half course at Harvard, restricted to a few members of the Senior class, and two prizes of one hundred dollars and fifty dollars respectively, open to the upper classmen at Yale, debating has been left to fight its own battles in all American colleges. For every step in its progress it has had but itself to thank, and hence, like self-made men, is only half made. But with one half the encouragement given to athletics, debating, too, would become a leading feature of college life.

Every now and then there wells up throughout the country a groan from those who deprecate the monopoly which athletics exercise over the time, money and enthusiasm of college students. It is declared that the chief concern of our universities at present is to turn out, not trained intellects, but strong animals. These sufferers, however, should remember that the present wave of enthusiasm for physical culture is largely the result of endowments. A few individuals have believed in physical culture, believed in it radically, believed in it financially. One of them dedicated to the physical culture of Harvard students Hemenway Gymnasium; another, Cary Athletic Building; another, Soldiers' Field, and still another, Weld Boat House. They were not satisfied with growling at the lamentable condition of affairs, but gave their very necessary aid in bettering that condition.

Now the debating societies own their building at no American college except Princeton. At few colleges do they even have rooms which they can furnish and devote to their own exclusive use. This condition of affairs is a wet blanket on the fluctuating interest in debating, and will continue to be so until, in each college, a house entirely devoted to debating shall give it that permanence and standing which only vested interests have. If those who criticise athletics believe in mental culture as strongly as others have believed in physical culture — in other words, if they are willing to support their talk with something more potent than breath — here is their chance.

That the Intercollegiate Union has been started at an opportune time is shown by the tremendous activity which is, at present, manifesting itself among the college debating

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societies in all parts of the United States. During the last year a score of colleges have each challenged some rival college to a debate similar to those held between Yale and Harvard for the last three years.

As illustrating the transformation in public opinion, the change of attitude by President Walker, of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is important. In his Phi Beta Kappa address on college athletics in Saunders' Theatre, Cambridge, June 20, 1893, he said: —

> Among the many things good or bad, as people may esteem them, resulting from the change in feelings, views and ideals which have been indicated, are two which especially concern colleges and college men. The first is the general disappearance — most fortunate, as I esteem it — of the literary societies, formerly so flourishing, and the decay of oratory, declamation and debate, which to many once made up the main interest of college life; the second is the rapid growth of athletics, in which immense honor is given to young men because they are strong, swift, enduring and brave.

At the Yale-Harvard debate, Jan. 19, 1894, President Walker was one of the judges, and at the banquet after the debate recanted his heresy, and said, "Mr. President, I promise not to do it any more."

Of late the art of English composition has been receiving greater and greater attention in all our institutions of learning, but the art of oral expression is still largely neglected. Charles Francis Adams, a Harvard graduate of the class of '25, some twenty years ago made the following remarkable statement: —

> No man who ever had the misfortune to graduate from Harvard College will fail to remember that when he found himself among men in the world, there was no apprentice at a blacksmith's forge who had not more power than he did, in addressing an assembly of his neighbors, — and no American citizen can attend to the first duties of an American citizen, unless, in a public assembly, he can speak to them with ease.

The trouble is that students have been taught to study rather than to think. And as a man can express with more force his own conclusions, which to his mind have the importance always attaching to one's own creations, than he can the conclusions of others, it was not surprising that the village blacksmith spoken of by Mr. Adams, who undoubtedly was more interested in current, local affairs, and hence had given them more thought, should express his own opin-

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ions more effectively than could the college graduate the opinions which he had borrowed, not created. These evils of education, which certainly are not as bad at present as described above, nevertheless are still lamentably prevalent.

The control of one's physical and mental mechanism of speech, which is essential to effective speaking, is largely a result of practice, which is obtained nowhere so well as in debate. Debating also teaches men to think and to think on the problems "of the time that is." Nothing is so provocative of thought as is the contact of mind with mind. Nothing so impresses a man with the magnitude and complexity of a subject as an effort to define his position upon it. Nothing so reveals to a man the flimsy foundations of his opinions as an attempt to support these opinions in the face of unsparing criticism. In debate, to a greater extent than in any other way, one sees his opinions as others see them. A man rises, and with great satisfaction proceeds to enlighten his hearers. He airs those second-hand views which he has always considered axiomatic. But when he sees the bottom being knocked out of his arguments, one by one, and his conclusions falling flat before the assaults of ridicule, in the rankle of defeat he is disgusted with the author of his views, and begins to think for himself.

Now, while the history of other times and nations, and many other branches of study, must be taken on authority, must largely be learned rather than thought out, by all except specialists prepared to devote their lives to minute and exhaustive research, the discussion of present-day topics in our debating societies opens up a field of subjects upon which authorities so differ that no opinion is orthodox, and concerning which the formation of an intelligent opinion requires original thought upon materials gathered by personal observation, and from newspapers and periodicals. Thus debate stimulates in college men original thought on those great problems of the outside world toward whose solution they, as public leaders and speakers, must soon contribute.

The most promising feature of the present enthusiasm for debating which is manifesting itself in nearly all our colleges is that it has not been worked up laboriously by the professors, but has sprung spontaneously from the students themselves. With proper encouragement it cannot fail to be lasting, and to increase.

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IN THE PSYCHIC REALM.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I. Introductory Paper: Importance of Psychic Research and Some Reasons why Progress is Slow.

What we know is as nothing to that which remains to be known. This is sometimes said as a truism; sometimes it is half doubted. To me it seems the most literal truth, and that if we narrow our view to already half-conquered territory only, we shall be false to the men who won our freedom, and treasonable to the highest claims of science. I care not what the end may be. I do care that the inquiry shall be conducted by us, and that we shall be free from the disgrace of jogging along accustomed roads, leaving to outsiders the work, the ridicule, and the gratification of unfolding a new religion to unwilling eyes. — *Professor Oliver J. Lodge.*

To replace inquiry by mockery is convenient, but not very scientific. For our part, we think that the strict duty of science is to test all phenomena. Science is ignorant, and has no right t laugh; a *savant* who laughs at the possible is very near being an idiot. The unexpected ought always to be expected by science. Her duty is to stop in its course and search it, rejecting the chimerical, establishing the real. Science should verify and distinguish. The circumstance that the false is mingled with the true furnishes no excuse for rejecting the whole mass. When was the tare an excuse for refusin„ the corn? The mission of science is to study and sound everything. All of us, according to our degree, are creditors of investigation; we are its debtors also. It is due t us, and we owe it to others. To evade a phenomenon, to refuse to pay it that attention to which it has a right, to bow it out, to show it the door, to turn our back on it laughing, is to make truth a bankrupt, and to leave the signature of science to be protested. — *Victor Hugo.*

Only yesterday, I met three sane and healthy English people who had simultaneously seen a ghost, in broad daylight, *sans le savoir!* They had each remarked on the presence of " young and pretty girl in a room where (as was incontestably demonstrated) there was only an old and plain woman, whom, of course, they also beheld. It was not till next da that they woke and found themselves famous, for what they had seen, though they knew it not, was the right thing to see — the traditional "ghost" of the place. But about this legend they were absolutely ignorant. A distinguished statesman from whom I have the story, once tested a so-called *clairvoyante* in the house of a celebrated physician. He did not ask her to describe his own house, which was well known to many but he bent his thoughts on a very curiously decorated room in the house of a friend at a great distance. The *clairvoyante*, an uneducated woman, gave a correct description of arrangements so peculiar that I have never, myself, seen anything of the kind. — *Andrew Lang, in the Contemporary Review, December, 1893.*

I.

To ascertain the truth has ever been the most alluring pursuits of earth's noblest minds; to demonstrate that truth to a world happy in her blissful ignorance has been one of the most thankless yet important tasks entrusted to the pioneer souls of the ages; and so potent is the sway of truth over high-born minds that in her behalf, without hope of reward, her apostles have, like Bruno, calmly and serenely faced death in its most horrible forms. This thirst for knowledge, loyalty to truth, and unquenchable desire to give

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to humanity the new-found pearl of priceless worth is peculiar to the human race, and is one of the index fingers which point above and indicate a chasm broader and deeper than many scientists seem to imagine between man and his more humble relations. Slowly is the stupendous fact dawning upon a timid world that nothing is so divine as truth, and that he who patiently and lovingly follows her pathway, moved by no baser motive than a passion for knowledge, is one of humanity's noblemen — a member of the one aristocracy of the universe. A great and solemn duty devolves upon every awakened soul to strive ceaselessly to add to the world's store of truth. So great is my faith in the possibilities of the race that I believe there are no riddles given to man which may not some day be solved, if the sons and daughters of science of each generation contribute their mite of facts, *data*, and observation to the treasure house of knowledge.

The contributions which have been made to physical science during the past century are beyond parallel in the history of civilization. Moreover the new critical method of investigation, employed at the present time, leaves less to speculation and enables us to move forward with firm tread and at a more rapid pace than ever before; while this progress has prepared the way for the scientific investigation of the psychic realm, and has given us methods which, when properly employed, will yield results of lasting benefit to mankind.

Few, if any of us, as yet appreciate the potential value to civilization of assured results in the field of psychical science. Indeed, so strong has been the influence of superstition on the one hand, and the arrogant assumption of materialistic ignorance on the other, that only within recent years has it been possible for persons who could not afford social ostracism to investigate thoughtfully and scientifically the phenomena which have been present in all ages, and which, owing to their being out of the ordinary, were dismissed as fraud, or ascribed to God or to the devil, according to the mental attitude of the individual to whom the problem or phenomenon was presented.

Happily we are coming to understand that there is nothing supernatural, in the sense of being above or outside of law. Our mental limitation and the assumption of that ignorance

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which is born of little learning, together with scholastic reverence for ancient thought, have led us for centuries to relegate psychic phenomena to the domain of supernaturalism, or to dismiss it contemptuously as unadulterated fraud. The Academy of Paris and the conventional world supposed that the death sentence had been passed on mesmerism when the Bailey Commission denounced it as fraud, declaring that it was "*one fact more in the history of human error.*" But truth possesses great vitality, and she ultimately puts to shame the blind slave of prejudice, and the rash dogmatist who imagines he is a scientist. Mesmerism to-day is not only an assured fact, but a potent medical agency, and it has also thrown a flood of light on facts in history, as well as hitherto unexplained psychological problems. All truth is divine, and it is our duty to investigate every phenomenon, maintaining the attitude embraced in the striking imagery of Jesus, "Be wise as serpents and harmless as doves." That is, be alert, keen, and observant, but also maintain the frank, friendly attitude to a possible truth born of wisdom untinged by prejudice, and fidelity to truth uninfluenced by desire.

II.

To me the systematic investigation of psychical phenomena, in a scientific and yet a sympathetic spirit, is a sacred duty devolving upon truth seekers of the present hour. For the psychic realm holds out the promise of giving earth's millions a positive answer to questions which have weighed heavily upon the human heart throughout all ages. It is not what I desire, or what you imagine, nor yet what some one thousands of years ago thought, or what modern philosophers may formulate as an ultimate, but what is proved by clearly demonstrated facts which will satisfy the craving of our time. We have passed the age of blind credulity; we are coming out of the night of unlimited scepticism. The future will demand that all things be proved. And my investigations during the past thirteen years in psychic realms lead me to believe that we are approaching a new world of truth, the verity of which will some day be as firmly established—and that through scientific methods—as the truth of the once scouted Copernican theory has been demonstrated by science.

I am led to this conclusion in spite of the immense amount

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of fraud which probably all investigators of psychic phenomena have encountered, and appreciating the fact that perhaps in no field of research are there so many problems of the most perplexing character constantly confronting the conscientious student. For after all allowances have been made, there remains a residue of facts which cannot be explained on any hypothesis suggested by physical scientists, and which indicate that we are only in the ante-room of the realm of mind. A new continent lies before us, which must be explored before we can claim to *know*.

As a student of psychical problems I have necessarily familiarized myself with various popular theories which have been advanced to explain these manifestations, but which as explanations can have little or no value for scientific minds, because they rest on unproved assumptions. Some works have been written recently which, were it not for the date of publication, one would suppose had been penned in the Middle Ages, in which the devil and his untiring servants are accredited with producing these manifestations for the purpose of leading the elect from a God who, apparently, is powerless to save His own children. That such a theory should be advanced at this late date is rather surprising, but that it will influence many persons of wide reading is scarcely possible. It is the repetition of the old, old story which has confronted humanity whenever science has given the world a new truth.

When the Copernican theory was put forth it was denounced as a falsehood born of the devil and contrary to the teaching of the Bible, by the same class who to-day ascribe to the same source phenomena which transcend the ordinary. At that time wise doctors of divinity argued that Jesus was God, that He knew more than Copernicus or Galileo, and that He spoke most distinctly of the sun rising and setting; that the Bible clearly set forth the fact that God did not make the sun until after He had created the earth, the celestial luminaries being made to serve as lanterns for the earth; and this was supposed to settle the whole. But it did not settle anything, any more than does the *assumption* that a theoretical devil produces psychical phenomena, in an age of growing materialism, merely for the purpose of demonstrating that death is not the end of man, but that souls exist after death, to reap what they sow in this life. This

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past assumption, of course, can have no weight with scientists or with thoughtful students of life, not only because of its manifest absurdity, but also because it rests on no ascertained fact.

Another theory has been advanced during recent years which has found much favor among progressive minds, because it appeals more effectively to the sense of justice resident in the soul of man, and is withal much more plausible. I refer to the theory of the Theosophists. But while granting the right of this broader and more natural scheme to hold its place as a theory, it seems evident that it can be valuable only as a possible explanation — a hypothesis, to be weighed as any other, by assured facts, as fast as they are accumulated, sifted, and verified. For though the minds of the East Indians may be far more subtle and penetrating than those of Occidental thinkers, though they may have acquired a greater mastery over psychic laws, nevertheless, a theory born in a childhood age and treasured as divine truth — as the unquestioning Mussulman treasured the words of Mohammed — is not necessarily more true than the old conception of a flat world is true. It therefore can only rightfully be considered as a hypothetical theory, to be tested by facts exactly as we test other theories advanced as possible explanations of psychical phenomena. Moreover, we should regard with suspicion any explanation advanced which does not court full, free, and intelligent investigation of psychical phenomena; for truth is always candid. Our ignorance may bar our pathway and cause us to stumble very often, but when once we have discovered the underlying laws governing or controlling any phenomenon, we find that it has been our own want of knowledge and not nature's mystery or the caprice or jealousy of a God which barred out the light of knowledge.

III.

Perhaps in no realm of research have so many students become discouraged and turned back after placing their hands to the plough, as in the psychic domain; and this very fact deters many from entering upon these investigations, even where conditions are favorable. Hence it is well to note some reasons for the slow progress made.

(1) Psychics and students of psychic phenomena have en-

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countered the savage hostility of conventionalism, of creedal theology, and of physical scientists. So unreasoning has been this hostility that sensitives have often been socially ostracized, and when the phenomena have appeared in families, where the subject might have been studied carefully and scientifically, the manifestations have frequently been discouraged and the facts carefully guarded from the public. I have been surprised many times during recent years, when discussing these things with friends, to hear them tell me confidentially of wonderful phenomena which occurred in their homes, or which were witnessed in the homes of near relatives, but which for fear of conventionalism had been discouraged and all facts kept as secrets, as though the possession of a psychic in the home was as disreputable as the harboring of a criminal. Thus the strange phenomena have been exiled from the homes, where their study might have been pursued under the most favorable conditions; and through a frightened theology, an arrogant materialism, an unreasoning popular prejudice, and the fatal influence of conventionalism, which instinctively opposes all advanced thought, the new truth has been too often banished from homes which should have welcomed it as a child of God.

(2) The psychic realm is comparatively new, or rather it has been only during recent years that attempts have been made to investigate psychic phenomena in a serious, sympathetic, and yet critical manner. The very fact that it is an unknown realm renders it necessary to proceed slowly; and owing to our ignorance of the governing laws in this field of research, satisfactory investigation is exceedingly difficult.

Until a certain volume of *data* is obtained our work must, to a degree at least, be in the dark. At the present time it is as idle to hold strictly to the same methods here as are employed in exploring the domain of physical science, as it would be foolish to insist that wheels which carry the rail cars over the continent would be equally useful in bearing a ship across the ocean. The two realms are entirely unlike, and of the subtle and elusive laws which govern the psychic world we know almost nothing; hence the duty of the conscientious scientist is to proceed with caution and patiently employ experimental methods. It is true that we must be critical in our mode of investigation, but where work is necessarily largely experimental, and where we are, scien-

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tifically speaking, feeling our way, we cannot afford to be dogmatic.

Moreover, how little any of us appreciate the power of thought, or the influence of mental attitudes in affecting mental phenomena. This is a point which, for the most part, has been ignored by investigators, because we are only beginning to recognize the positive power of thought. The man who refused to employ the evolutionary theory as a working hypothesis because there are many missing links; the man who refused to give credence to a telegraphic despatch because he could not see the message meandering over the wire; the man who insisted that the telegraph was a fraud because the inventor refused to employ rope instead of wire; the man who sowed his potatoes on the hard surface of the ground instead of planting them in the dark earth, because he saw no good reason why they should be hidden from view, and the student of psychology who demands the ultimate at once, insisting dogmatically upon imposing his own conditions in a realm about which he has but infantile knowledge and of whose laws he is ignorant, are one and all wanting in the true scientific spirit; and while their shallow incredulity may win the applause of gaping ignorance and blind prejudice, their attitude is on a par with that of the narrow dogmatist who seeks to check the onward march of science.

To make careful observations, setting down conditions under which alleged psychic phenomena appear; to accumulate assured facts; to move from the probable to the absolute; and then, when we have sufficient *data* of a decisive character, to classify the same, make reasonable deductions, and attempt from the evidence to arrive at the governing laws of psychical phenomena — this, it seems to me, is the duty next before us.

After the splendid preparatory training which the past century's work in physical science has given us, we should be ready to take a step into the higher domain of mind — from the gross to the subtle, from the body to the brain. And I believe that when thoughtful people, everywhere, appreciate the value of this research and the duty devolving on them, rapid and positive progress will be made. At present, all hints, all facts, all *data*, from trustworthy sources, should be carefully gathered and husbanded. The coming ages will

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marvel at our blindness and indifference to the truth of those potent and subtle influences and powers resident in the human mind, as much as we marvel that the civilization of Greece and Rome should rise, blossom, and die without becoming cognizant of the hidden forces in material nature, the discovery and utilization of which have transformed the earth, practically annihilating distance and uniting the world into one great human family.

Hence for the love of truth for her own sake, for the dispelling of the superstition which resides where the darkness of ignorance abides, for the better understanding of human nature, and for the light which may come to us affecting the destiny of the human soul, we are bound by our loyalty to truth and the sacred obligation of duty, to investigate, persistently, patiently, sympathetically, and yet critically, this new continent of knowledge which opens before the human brain.

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THE IRON SHROUD.*

BY ALLISON GARDNER DEERING.

LONG, long ago, in history's Dark Ages,
When brother brother slew,
When deeds of horror filled the bloodiest pages
Man's record ever knew,

There was a dungeon built by cunning workers,
Well versed in torture's art —
A dungeon, lighted well by many windows,
And walls stretched wide apart.

So cunningly was this great dungeon builded,
That slowly, day by day,
The windows disappeared, the walls moved inward,
And the light slipped away.

And when the desperate victim saw in anguish
The last gleam disappear,
His iron pallet, by the walls' close pressure,
Was changed into a bier.

Stretched low on this, the wretched prisoner panted,
And gasped for every breath,
Until, his moving prison crushing round him,
He found relief in death.

And, when 'twas all completed, lest some being
Its secret might recall,
Then he himself was thrown into the dungeon,
Who planned and wrought it all.

* * * * *

All this was long ago, you say; we answer —
We toiling masses here —
That every day our breathing-place grows smaller,
Our bed more like a bier;

That every day some ray of hope is missing,
That lit our prison's gloom,
As with strained eyes we watch the walls draw nearer,
That soon shall form our tomb.

* Suggested by reading "Civilization's Inferno," by B. O. Flower.

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And when at last the prison is completed,
And none may hope again,
Beware! for they who helped to rear and plan it,
Must feel the pressure then.

O ye who love in smiling ease and leisure
To spend what others earn,
Not we, but God's eternal law of justice,
Shall crush you in your turn.

And though, like Christ, we prayed, "Father, forgive them,
They know not what they do,"
Not all our prayers could save you from the dungeon
Yourselves have built for you.

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THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC REFORMS.

BY REV. C. H. ZIMMERMAN.

"WHAT can we expect the Christian churches to do for this movement?" was asked in a recent public discussion of nationalism, in which the obligation of all good men to support it was powerfully shown by the Honorable C. S. Darrow of Chicago. The answer was, "Nothing." Why? Because the prevailing view of churchmen is that "The church is a body spiritual, having nothing to do with temporalities." This dogma was announced by an early council of Protestants in answer to papal pretensions to temporal power, and is only a little less absurd than the latter. In harmony with it is the following declaration of an organ of a leading Protestant denomination: "We can only avoid being placed in a false position by boldly holding that the church has nothing to do with political questions, and that any attempt to extort an opinion from it about other things than salvation by Christ fails."

The prevalence of this view has narrowed the sphere of the church's influence and greatly crippled its power for good. It has restrained the pulpit from applying the principles of the gospel to the solution of social problems, with which the moral and spiritual welfare of the people is vitally connected. It excludes from the pulpit a multitude of moral questions in which the people are intensely interested, and leads it to discuss abstract themes and combat imaginary enemies for the edification of phantom audiences in default of real ones. Archdeacon Farrar says: —

> The church is doomed to work in regions of unreality, if she reduces herself to impotence and silence as regards matters which most keenly interest the great masses of the nation.

The theory that excludes the consideration of the larger part of human affairs from the pulpit is in direct conflict with the genius of the gospel and the example of Christ. He recognized the fact that the temporal affairs of men are closely connected with their spiritual well-being. He taught thrifty publicans, Pharisees, lawyers, scribes, that their extor-

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tions and hypocrisies were incompatible with right relations to Him and to His kingdom. He sympathized profoundly with the poor in their hard lot, relieved their wants, became their associate, friend, champion. There is certainly a wide disparity between Christ's attitude toward the poor and the rich, and that of the modern church toward the same classes; between His open espousal of the cause of the weak against their oppressors, and the general apathy and silence of the pulpit concerning the issues between labor and capital. The idea that the ministry should have nothing to say on these subjects in the pulpit is based upon an utterly false conception of the nature of the work committed to them. Their business, as defined in the terms of their divine commission, is to "preach the gospel," and the gospel is as broad as human life.

Questions of theology and of ecclesiastical propagandism, church observances, attendance on public worship, taking the sacraments, and the like, which now preoccupy the attention of the ministry, play but a small part in the life of men. The masses are occupied with absorbing activities entirely removed from ecclesiastical affairs. Politics and business; banks, railroads, crops; labor and wages; the prices of commodities; how to make expenses square with incomes; and, alas! with the multitude, how to get sufficient work and pay for their work to provide for themselves and children the barest necessaries of life — these are the questions that engage nine tenths of the time and thoughts of the people. The gospel has a direct bearing upon conduct and duty in all these relations, and a pulpit that does not apply it accordingly, that does not seek to help men in the struggles, temptations, and perplexities of everyday life, is a superannuated institution that has quite forgotten the example of Christ and misunderstood the message committed to it. The notion that it should ignore material affairs is a relic of the age of monasticism, when the church shut up its ministers in monasteries and its women in nunneries, and invested with superior sanctity those who took vows of celibacy and seclusion from the world.

The fruit of the absurd and mischievous theory that the church has nothing to do with temporalities is seen in the corruption of our politics, in the dishonesty that pervades all departments of business, in the heartless greed that controls

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our entire industrial system, and in the growing alienation of the masses from the church. There is a feeling of bitterness toward the clergy and church people generally among wage workmen. They do not go to church, and cannot be induced to do so. It is said that only two per cent of wage-workers in London attend church. In a recently published statement, an intelligent working man declares that "not one in fifty of his associates in New York goes to church." The same is approximately true of all the larger cities in the union.

Wage-workers bring a tremendous indictment against the church as a reason for neglecting its ministrations. They allege that it manifests but little sympathy for them in their struggles with poverty, and none at all with their efforts to obtain a fair share of the wealth they produce; that in the difficulties between capital and labor the church takes the side of the former. They allege that it assumes the *role* of protecting property and privilege, and that its ministers are a sort of spiritual police paid to preach contentment to empty stomachs, and to administer spiritual narcotics to men made restless by injustice and want, instead of denouncing the injustice and striving to prevent the want. They say that as the church is largely supported by men who have grown wealthy by grinding the face of labor, it cringes to them, and is controlled by them; that ministers are often dependent upon this ill-gotten wealth for their living, and that the bread-and-butter argument is too potent for them to resist; that the hope of a college endowment impels church leaders to court the favor and whitewash the characters of rich men who, by means of monopolies, pools, and stock gambling, have robbed the laborer and his family of the necessaries of life, and that many of these men are not merely patrons of the church, but members of it, and yet are wholly exempt from rebuke by the pulpit for their business extortions.

Such is the indictment presented by wage-workers against the church. They regard it as *particeps criminis* in the wrongs they suffer, and feel that it befriends and shelters their oppressors for the sake of their wealth. For these reasons they absent themselves from its services, and regard it as having no claim upon them, and no power to do them good. There is sufficient truth in this indictment to demand the serious attention of all churchmen.

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The ecclesiastical attitude toward economic reforms for the protection of labor against the encroachments of monopoly is not calculated to disarm the prejudice or win the affections of the laboring classes. The church assumes that the whole service it is able to render toward the solution of the labor problem is contained in the course of its ordinary ministrations, in diffusing the spirit of love and justice and fairness among the various classes of society, in maintaining charities for the poor, in dispensing spiritual consolation to the distressed, and in offering the hope of a future life. To this working men reply that monopolists and stock gamblers are not hopeful subjects for spiritual influences, and that so long as they can be unchallenged members of the church, they are not likely to grow in "love and justice and fairness" under ministrations that never call in question business methods from which these graces are conspicuously absent. As for the charities of the church, working men deny that it can discharge its obligations to them, or condone its silence concerning their wrongs, with alms and soup houses. They have no gratitude for the charity — though they may be forced by want to accept it — that the church is able to offer them only because it obtains the means from men who pauperize them by robbing them of their just share of the products of their labor. The feeling of working men toward the church's "offer of the hope of a future life" is expressed by one of their number in George Eliot's story, "Felix Holt": —

> They'll give us plenty of heaven. We may have land *there*. That's the sort of religion they like — a religion that gives us working men heaven and nothing else. But we'll offer to change with 'em. We'll give them some of their heaven, and take it out in something for us and our children in this world.

The truth is that the church has paid scarcely any attention to the economic wrongs which agitate the country and threaten to overthrow our political and religious institutions. In the utterances of its councils, it has, with but one or two exceptions, preserved a dead silence on these questions. A majority of the ministry pay no attention to them, seeming to eschew them as "temporalities" with which they have nothing to do. Their sermons deal largely in abstractions about doctrinal controversies, about ethical, metaphysical, philosophical, and scientific subjects which

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have no bearing upon the real wants and anxieties of laboring men, and have little to say concerning their rights and wrongs, their hardships growing out of insufficient wages, or how their condition may be improved. Occasionally, under pressure of popular interest caused by a labor strike or riot of more than usual proportions, hastily prepared and usually crude sermons are preached, which, as a rule, censure the strikers severely, and have only goodish advice for the monopolists whose exactions have provoked the outbreak. The church of the present day is not popular in its sympathies, tendencies, and methods. It gravitates away from the masses toward wealth, culture, and clothes. In worship it seeks artistic effects by a dilettanteism that has no attractions or value for men engaged in a losing struggle for bread. Its splendid edifices for the rich to worship in, and mission chapels for the poor, are so many "architectural confessions that Mammon has more to do than the Son of God in classifying and grouping the worshippers." Professor Ely says: —

> Protestant ecclesiasticism seems to me aristocratic rather than popular. . . . The Protestant clergy are, as a body, so far away from the masses, and understand so little of their manner of thought and expression and their aspirations, that they repel them when they wish to draw them, and do them cruel injustice when they strive to be fair. Thus it has come to pass that not one religious weekly of prominence understands these questions of labor well enough to talk to laborers satisfactorily about them.

The charge of working men that the silence of the pulpit concerning their grievances is due to its domination by men of wealth is not without foundation. A tremendous social and financial pressure is brought to bear upon the clergy by rich men, in the church and out of it, whose personal interests require silence, and who know that the pulpit, if it speak as the gospel dictates, must condemn their conduct. Monopolists who have the wealth the church needs, or feels that it needs, wield with full force their financial power to keep the pulpit silent concerning their business methods. How gingerly does the pulpit touch, when it touches at all, the great issues before the American people to-day! How much time is spent by ministers in casuistical hair-splitting about what they should and should not say concerning political abuses and economic wrongs, equally rooted in the devilish greed of men, which defraud millions of laborers of the greater part of their earnings, and keep them either in

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actual want or on the verge of it, while enormous fortunes are made out of their toil!

Attempts to handicap the pulpit, though often successful for long intervals, fail in times of profound agitation of the public mind. It was so during our civil war. Pulpits that had been cowed to sycophancy by the slave power became suddenly unmuzzled by the terrible conflict which forced a guilty nation to expiate in tears and blood its complicity with the crime of slavery. The church then seemed to forget that it was "a body spiritual, having nothing to do with temporalities." It was forced by public sentiment into the thick of the fight for human rights and the preservation of the life of the nation, and became a veritable church militant. The signs of the times point to a social upheaval that will produce a similar providential opening of the eyes of ecclesiastics, and compel them to abandon the policy of neutrality and silence and speak out fearlessly against the oppression of the laboring poor, that "smells as rank to heaven" as did the crime of slavery. The cries of the laborer's wife and children, suffering from the greed of the rich, are heard by the Lord of sabaoth, and will surely be answered by Him in vengeance and blood, if we do not "prevent the day of His wrath" by removing the wrongs that provoke it.

If there is any duty of the pulpit more sacred than another, any work under the sun to which the whole church is most solemnly pledged by its mission and by the precepts and example of its Founder, it is the work of caring for the temporal welfare of the poor, of denouncing their oppressors, of manifesting a profound and active sympathy for wage-workers in their efforts to secure a fair share of the products of their labor. And if there is anything that more than another cripples and hinders the church in its spiritual work, it is its indifference, or ignorance, and silence, concerning the grievances of the laboring classes. Yet we are told that the church has nothing to do with these questions! What, then, in the name of common sense, to invoke nothing more sacred, is the church for? What conceivable mission has it in the world, if it should not advocate the suppression of national crimes and industrial wrongs which stand directly athwart its path to success in the work of evangelization?

The time has come when the church can no longer safely

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ignore the social problems of the day. If it would maintain its existence, it must reach and hold the masses. In order to do that it must have Christ's spirit of tender sympathy for them, and adopt His method of making their cause His own. It fights as one beating the air whenever it offers religious consolation to a wage-worker whose children are suffering for want of food and clothing because employers, many of whom are members of the church, refuse to pay him just wages, and by combinations keep the cost of the necessaries of life so high that he cannot obtain an adequate supply. The church may offer him alms, but he will resent the offering so long as it refuses to do anything to remove the cause of his poverty. What he wants and has a right to demand is that the church shall prove its right to offer him spiritual help, by purging itself of all complicity with the crimes which pauperize him, by openly espousing his cause against his oppressors. If the church of the nineteenth century dares not speak out by its pulpit, its press, and its general councils on all nineteenth-century problems, it has outlived its usefulness.

The views of this paper as to the duty of the church toward economic reforms may be summarized as follows: —

1. The ministry should make themselves masters of political and social science, so as to be qualified to preach intelligently and exert a leading influence on questions of social amelioration.

2. In pulpit and press they should seek continually to apply the ethical and social principles of Christianity to the solution of economic problems and the promotion of social reforms.

3. They should do all in their power to displace the anti-social and inhuman law of the survival of the strongest, which governs our present industrial system, by the Christian law of the succor of the weakest.

4. The ministry can and should make membership in the church uncomfortable, if not impossible, to monopolists and stock gamblers.

5. They should assert their independence of all ill-gotten wealth by denouncing the methods by which it is gained.

6. They can and should free the church from its present bondage to wealth by setting the example of a cheerful choice and endurance of poverty and social ostracism, rather than be recreant to the claims of justice on behalf of the poor.

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THE UNEMPLOYED: A SYMPOSIUM.

I. Data, Theory and Bibliography, by Thomas E. Will, A. M.

DATA.

I. *Number in 1877–78.**

1. The Situation in Massachusetts. — "The commonwealth was thoroughly canvassed during June and July, 1878, to ascertain the number of people unemployed. This canvass closed in August, and the results indicated a condition of things so essentially different from the generally received statements, that it was considered expedient to make known the facts" [immediately].

The facts were given by the proprietors, but inquiries among employees verified the statements made by employers.

"The investigation of 1877 demonstrated the fact that the number of hands employed in that year had actually increased, in all the leading branches, to a considerable extent over the number employed in 1875 . . . while the average increase for all had been 2½ per cent."

"These facts," declared Chief Carroll D. Wright at the time, "indicate a positive strength in the condition of our industrial interests which cannot be gainsaid. . . . The fact that [Massachusetts] has actually increased her products, not only in value but in quantity, must be taken as a guarantee against any disaster resulting from the loss in any one industry, and as a complete answer to any argument that her industries, or those of New England, are on the decline, or can decline" (pp. 3, 4).

Statistics on p. 6 show "25,508 as the aggregate number of skilled and unskilled laborers, male and female, seeking, and in want of work, out of employment in Massachusetts, June 1, 1878.

"The public can place the utmost confidence in this statement" (p. 7).

2. The Number of Unemployed in the United States. — "This is a national question; and from the statement of unemployed in Massachusetts, we are able to make a most careful estimate for the whole country. . . . On the basis given, the

* From the Tenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

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unemployed in the whole United States reaches 570,000 — a number too vast altogether, but small compared with 3,000,000" [as popularly estimated] (p. 9).

"The figures given are greater, rather than less, than the real number out of work" (p. 8).

3. THE OUTLOOK. — "When through business failures, which force readjustments of values, the individuals of our nation, to a large extent, have extricated themselves from business chaos, then will come general prosperity. This state of affairs is coming. . . . No region but from it come reports of business revival, slow but sure recuperation. . . . The state cannot enforce prosperity" (p. 9).

II. *The Unemployed in 1885.*

1. THE SITUATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.*

(a) *Meaning of the term "Unemployed."* — "This investigation was carried on as a part of the work of the census enumerators who gathered the facts relating to population, and comprehends all persons engaged in remunerative labor of whatever kind" (p. 261). "It should be understood that by unemployed persons is meant persons who were unemployed at their principal occupation during some part of the time covered by this investigation, that is, the twelve months preceding the census [of 1885]. . . . It must not be assumed that all these persons were actually unemployed during the entire twelve months, or that this number of persons was unemployed at any one time during the period named" (pp. 262, 263).

(b) *Number of Unemployed.* — As shown by this investigation the whole number of persons, of both sexes, who were unemployed at their principal occupation during some part of the year represented by the twelve months which preceded the census enumeration of population, May 1, 1885, was 241,589. Of this number, 178,628 were males and 62,961 were females.

Comparing the total number of unemployed persons with the population of the state in 1885, we find that for every 8.04 persons there was one person unemployed for some part of the year at his principal occupation; and as regards sex that there was for every 5.22 males one male unemployed, and for every 16.03 females one female unemployed, at principal occupation during some part of the time covered by the investigation. (Pp. 261, 262.)

* From the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor (1887). "About the only satisfactory statistical study regarding the unemployed of the United States was that conducted by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1885, an account of which is found in their annual report for 1887." Amos G. Warner, pp. 50, 51, of Handbook of Sociological References for New York, by Messrs. William Howe Tolman and William I. Hull.

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Unemployed for	Number.	Per Cent.
One month . . .	19,578	8.10
Two months . . .	47,775	19.78
Three months . .	41,877	17.33
Four months . . .	47,424	19.63
Five months . . .	16,247	6.73
Six months . . .	42,813	17.72
More than six months .	25,875	10.71

(c) *Distribution of Unemployed by Age Periods.*—"More than fifty per cent of the unemployed were from 20 to 39 years of age; that is to say, out of 241,589 unemployed persons, 78,584, or 32.53 per cent, were from 20 to 29 years of age, and 45,678 persons, or 18.91 per cent, were from 30 to 39 years of age, making a total for the two age periods combined of 124,262 persons, or 51.44 per cent of the total number. The unemployed persons from 10 to 13 years of age were 560 in number, or $\frac{23}{100}$ of one per cent only, while those from 14 to 19 years of age were 44,905 in number, or 18.59 per cent of the whole number of unemployed persons. The unemployed persons 40 to 49 years of age represent 13.96 per cent, those 50 to 59 years of age 9.15 per cent, and those 60 to 79 years of age 6.46 per cent, of the whole number" (p. 265).

(d) *Number of Unemployed, together with Term of Idleness.*—"A little less than one third of the persons returned as being engaged in remunerative labor were unemployed for about one third of their working time; while, on the other hand, the working population of the state, considered in their entirety, were employed at their principal occupation for a trifle less than eleven months during the census year.

"The results just shown for 241,589 persons unemployed, on an average 4.11 months during the year, may be considered as being equivalent to 82,744 persons unemployed for an entire year" [or to the loss by the state of 82,744 years' work] (p. 266).

(e) *Net Average Unemployed, by Sex* (p. 289).

The State, and Sex.	Average Months Unemployed at Principal Occupation.				Average Mos. Employed at "Other Occupation."		Net Average Months Unemployed.	
	All Persons.		Unemployed Persons.					
	Number.	Average Months.	Number.	Average Months.	No. of Persons.	Average Months.	All Persons.	Unemployed Persons.
The State	816,470	1.22	241,589	4.11	10,758	4.62	1.16	3.91
Males	603,847	1.24	178,628	4.18	9,917	4.61	1.16	3.93
Females	212,623	1.16	62,961	3.91	841	4.75	1.14	3.85

(f) *Nativity of Unemployed.*—"Considering the unemployed persons as regards place of birth . . . we find that 144,553, or

[illegible] per cent of the total unemployed persons, were native born, and [illegible], or 40.17 per cent, were foreign born. Of the native born [illegible], or 45.[illegible]1 per cent of the total unemployed persons, were born in Massachusetts; 25,191, or 10.43 per cent, in the other New England states; and [illegible], or 3.59 per cent, in other parts of the United States" (p. 29[illegible]).

These facts would seem to dispose of the statement sometimes heard that our unemployed population is made up chiefly of ignorant and inefficient foreigners.

2. THE UNEMPLOYED IN THE UNITED STATES. — "The Federal Department of Labor estimated that about one million of men were out of work in the United States during the industrial depression of 18[illegible]." — Amos G. Warner, pp. 50, 51, "Handbook of Sociological References for New York."

III. *The Unemployed in the United States in 1893–94.*

Mr. Carlos C. Closson, in two carefully prepared papers in the *Harvard Quarterly Journal of Economics* for January and July, 1894, presents the results of his investigations into the problem of non-employment consequent on the recent panic. These papers indicate, as nearly as the writer could ascertain, the situation in each state and territory, the number of unemployed, and the measures of relief adopted. The grand total of unemployed he gives as follows: "Taking the 38 cities for which estimates are given by both *Bradstreet's* and the writer, the total number out of employment is, according to *Bradstreet's* estimates, 581,950; according to the writer's estimates, 491,000." — *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, January, 1894, p. 260. (Both these estimates, it should be remembered, are very conservative.)

"The various methods and agencies for the relief or treatment of the unemployed that have been developed in American cities during the winter of 1893–94" the author classifies, provisionally, as follows: —

A. Enlarged efforts and sometimes novel methods of permanent charitable organizations in providing, —

(1) Assistance in the form of supplies, usually given after investigation, and sometimes after a work test;

(2) Loans at a fair rate of interest;

(3) Assistance in obtaining employment;

(4) Employment usually paid in the form of supplies or orders.

B. Enlarged efforts or novel methods of the established municipal or county agencies of relief in providing, —

(1) Supplies or orders given after investigation, and sometimes after a work test according to usual methods;

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(2) Special emergency employment.

C. Relief measures undertaken by citizens' committees or other agencies, in most cases called into existence to meet the special exigency in furnishing, —

(1) Funds — the committee disbursing subscriptions it receives among other charitable agencies;

(2) Supplies disbursed, (*a*) free; (*b*) at less than market rates; (*c*) upon loan in return for promise to work or pay; (*d*) after careful investigation;

(3) Employment, (*a*) secured by committee; (*b*) provided by the committee; (*c*) paid for by the committee, but utilized upon public work; (*d*) paid for jointly by the committee and the municipality.

D. Relief measures by the municipal governments, by the undertaking of new public works or the acceleration of those already begun, in order to provide employment.— *Q. J. Econ.*, July, 1894, pp. 453, 454.

THEORY.

I. *Why Have We an Unemployed Army?*

The "classic" economists, holding the view that capital employed labor; and assuming that idle capital and idle yet willing labor could not exist side by side, since capital could and would absorb labor as a blotting pad takes up ink, held that non-employment must be due either to a surplus of workers or to a shortage of capital. That the non-employment in 1877 could not have been due to over-population is clearly shown by the following passage from Chief Wright in his Report for 1879. It is but fair to say that, in using this language, he is not considering the cause of non-employment: —

1. Non-employment in 1877 not Due to Over-population. — We referred to the population of Massachusetts as not having increased materially during the last three years. . . . The natural increase for the three years [1875, 1876 and 1877] is seen [by a table] to be 28,489. At the annual rate of increase from all sources for the decade closing with 1875, the increase should have been about 150,505." From "the small natural increase shown by the diminution of births and deaths, a sure indication of a decreasing population . . . the fact that immigration has not taken place, while emigration has, to a considerable extent, we conclude that our population to-day (August, 1878) is but very little larger than it was in the summer of 1875, the date of the last census" (p. 10).

2. The Over-production of Well-to-do Idlers Assumed to be a Cause of Non-employment. — Though the population of Massachusetts increased but slightly during the period in ques-

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tion, the "classic" economist would nevertheless find comfort in another passage from the same report in which the eminent statistician shows that the number of candidates for places as workers did considerably increase: "The army of unemployed — always too large — has of late been largely augmented from a class not furnishing competitors four years ago. By the census of 1875, Massachusetts had 13,961 sons and 42,156 daughters over fifteen years of age, doing nothing whatever, living at home, not attending school even, simply dependents — the sons and daughters of well-to-do parents. From this class — numbering in all 56,117 — there have been large numbers of recruits to the ranks of labor, thus giving to laborers in all branches fresh competitors from ranks which had before furnished labor [to employees?]. Broken fortunes, collapsed stocks, bursted bubbles, in fact, the crash of inflated personal credits, have driven from the army of dependents, thousands, who, with influence and friends, have crowded upon the toilers of other days. These recruits seek the better places, so-called — the clerkships, etc.; and every time one succeeds it is at the expense of another, who very often steps down on the ladder, glad of any employment" (pp. 10, 11).

From the above those who apprehend the calamity of a superabundance of wealth producers might desire us to infer that the general welfare, and especially the welfare of the working classes, would be promoted by maintaining in idleness and at the expense of the workers these consumers of rent and interest whom Cairnes ("Leading Principles," p. 35) characterizes as "drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing."

3. Non-employment not due to Lack of Capital. — That the scarcity of employment during the past year cannot have been due to the lack of capital should be evident to any intelligent observer of the industrial situation. Statistics need not be marshalled to show that the discharge of workers has been accompanied by the shutting down of mills, the blowing out of furnaces, the closing of mines and the widespread abandonment of industry in general. So invincible an optimist as Mr. Chauncey M. Depew recently declared (see quotation in Chicago *Journal* for July 14, 1894, from London *Times*) that the *majority* of mills and furnaces in the United States were closed, and adds: "This has made the number of unemployed greater than we have ever known. The abrupt and permanent curtailment of production and consumption has been felt in every department of American activity. From the farm to the factory every business has proportionately suffered, and the distress among working-men has been correspondingly severe." Obviously, for some reason, the capital fails to absorb the labor.

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4. Influence of Land Monopoly. — Wealth production can be carried on only by direct or indirect application of *labor to land.* One has, however, but to ride across our imperial domain and glance occasionally out of the car window to perceive that our country is as yet undeveloped. Millions of acres, apparently, between Boston and Chicago, are an untilled wilderness. Yet he who would apply his labor to this land for the purpose of satisfying his material wants would soon discover that the wilderness is in the grip of the private proprietor, backed up by all the power of the state, judicial and military. Were Tiberius Gracchus to ride over any one of our great railway lines to-day, how vividly would he be reminded of his journey from Spain to Rome! Here, as there, the fields lie untilled, while ragged proletaires swarm the city streets.

Land monopoly, however, is not confined to cheap country areas. In Boston, founded in 1630, where land is so valuable that many acres have been and are now being "made" at a vast expense, the statistics of the assessors show that, after allowing for streets, alleys, gardens, parks, squares, yards, the Common, and all lands that can be said to be applied to any real use, *two thirds of the land of the city is still held out of use.* Why wonder at the presence of the unemployed?

5. Unequal Wealth Distribution. — Many are now awakening to the fact that the millionaire is abroad in the land; but few probably recognize, as yet, any connection between a Gould with his $72,000,000, a Rockefeller with his $120,000,000 or $140,000,000, and an unemployed army; yet the connection exists and is vital.

If laborers are to find a place in our present industrial organization, their employment must be preceded by an effective demand for their products. Production is carried on not for those simply who want but for those who can buy. Obviously the income of a single Gould or Rockefeller must equal the combined incomes of an army of ordinary citizens. $120,000,000 at five per cent would yield an annual return equal to the joint earnings of 12,000 men working at the rate of $500 each per year. Estimating a family at five persons it then appears that the income of a single millionaire family such as that of Rockefeller must equal that of a city of 60,000 inhabitants, each head of a family earning $500 per annum. If, then, production is to be carried on to its full capacity, the one favored family must possess a consumptive power equal to that of the city of 60,000! Though the power of the rich to consume and waste may be great, before such a task they may well turn pale. When, then, the rich have bought all they desire and the poor have bought all their meager incomes will command, production must stop and the workers must be turned upon the street.

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6. COMPETITION. — The tendency of competition as we now know it is to increase the unemployed army. The competition among seekers for work crowds down wages; the competition among business men for trade reduces the profits of, or forces into the ranks of wage earners, the many who, like naked gladiators, contend in the industrial arena with Neros clad *cap-a-pie* in the armor of monopoly. The tendency, in a word, of competition against monopolists is to reduce still further the incomes of the multitude of employees and small employers and to increase the incomes of the mail-clad Neros. Hence the tendency of the times must be to reduce still further the demand as contrasted with the desire and need for goods, and to render workers more and more superfluous.

7. A DEFECTIVE EXCHANGE MEDIUM. — Social evolution, like evolution of every type, is accompanied by differentiation and specialization. The primitive man provides for his own few, crude wants and leaves others to do the same. He is the prince of individualists. Later, men learn something of the tremendous advantages attending coöperation and division of labor; and the communities availing themselves of these advantages survive in the life struggle. Highly civilized man now supplies directly but an infinitesimal fraction of his wants; the remainder are supplied with products furnished by the labor of others. To obtain these products he must exchange the one thing or fraction of a thing that he produces. Hence his existence as a civilized man depends upon his ability to exchange his product for the products of others. Interrupt exchange, and he is thrown back upon the barbarous method of supplying all his own wants directly by his own labor; but for this his training has unfitted him. To supply wants as simple as those of the savage would tax his utmost strength, while to satisfy a fraction of the wants which civilization has developed in him would be utterly impossible. Break down the system of exchange alone, and the citizen of London, Boston or Chicago would be compelled to compete, on losing terms, with the savage.

Exchanges in primitive communities are effected by means of barter; under civilization an exchange medium becomes indispensable. As social differentiation increases exchanges tend to increase, thus necessitating a progressive increase in the volume and perfection of the exchange medium. Our exchange medium now consists largely of credit which can dissolve like the mist before the sun. Exactly this phenomenon does take place at the first premonition of a panic. Credit evaporates; cash disappears. *Exchanges cannot be made* even between those possessing goods; while the poor, of course, are left out of the consideration. Want clamors, but *effective* demand shrinks to the minimum.

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The market is gone. Why should men produce? Employers struggle on for a time and then discharge their help.

8. MACHINERY UNDER MONOPOLY. — That the wide introduction of labor-saving machinery, with the attendant possibilities of leisure for the multitude, should be a blessing to society all must admit; but that, as steam and electricity are steadily supplanting the horse, so, from the days of Ludd to the present moment, the machine is supplanting the laborer, none can deny. Manifestly, if the machine performs the work the man will not be called upon to labor except, in relatively a few cases, as a machine tender. The English economists, in their endeavor to show that whatever was was right, or soon would be, and to stop the breaking of the looms, argued that the machine, while displacing laborers at one point, made places for them elsewhere. The new places have, however, as yet failed to appear in sufficient numbers to relieve, appreciably, the evil of non-employment.

A slight effort of the imagination should make clear to the thinking mind the inevitable result of the development of machine production under our present industrial *regime*. The machines, together with the land and the various instruments of production, transportation and exchange, must be the property of the small and shrinking proprietary class. The products, likewise, and the absolute dominion over the industrial system must fall to the hands of this class. (Note the declaration of Vice President Wickes of the Pullman Company when asked to arbitrate the question whether or not there was anything to arbitrate. The company, he declared, stood for a principle; the principle, viz., of managing its own business exactly as it saw fit, regardless of any or all governments.— Chicago *Times*, July 10, 1894.) This class, then, may be expected to produce what it can itself consume, together with such supplies as it may think fit to furnish the "hands" who tend its machines and minister to its various personal, intellectual, æsthetic and spiritual wants. The remainder of the population will be not only cut off from all opportunity to produce its own subsistence, but will be clearly superfluous, and may be expected either to live, like the surplus population of Rome, on public charity, or to disappear like superseded machinery, or street-car horses in a city that has adopted electric or cable cars.

II. *The Tramp.*

By the terms "tramp" and "dead-beat" we understand commonly the individual who is out of work and who desires above all things to keep out of it, and at the same time to maintain himself outside the walls of jails and poorhouses. The

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tramp is universally regarded as a fit subject for ridicule and abuse because, though poor, he will not work. Is it not worth while, however, since the tramp is with us and likely to remain for some time, that we should understand his philosophy and look at the situation from his standpoint?

He recognizes, in the first place, that flunkey society pays its highest honors to those who, like himself, disdain to labor; who regard all labor and laborers, physical and intellectual, as degrading, and subsist in leisure upon the labor of others. Since he possesses the skill to do the same, why should not he, too, live in leisure, a pensioner on society?

In the second place the tramp recognizes, more clearly than most, the existence of the Unemployed Problem. He sees that, under our present industrial organization, there are not jobs enough to go around. He is aware, furthermore, that most poor men must live either by working or by receiving charity. Most of the unemployed want work and shun charity as the pestilence. Our tramp, however, has emancipated himself both from the love of work and the fear of charity; he enjoys living by his wits. Why, then, should he be so devoid of public spirit and altruistic feeling as to take the work from the wretches who seek it sorrowing or fight for it as did the English dockers; when his privileged position makes him as independent of it as the English nobleman or the son of the American millionaire?

Instead, then, of regarding the tramp with odium and contempt, may we not see in him the embodiment of the modern civic virtues—enterprise, philanthropy and the capacity to look out for number one; and accord him a place in our "leisured class," whose boast it is that they are above all degrading toil, whether of heart, hand or brain?

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THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE WAR IN THE EAST.

BY KUMA OISHI, A. M., PH. D.

ALTHOUGH the great interest manifested by the West in the war now going on in the East has called forth the numerous comments of the press on all topics connected with the subject, anything like a historical treatment of the causes leading to this important war has not yet to my knowledge, been attempted. Such, therefore, will be the scope of the present article. No inference will be made, no conclusion drawn, that is not based on historical facts. If, however, on account of my nationality, the credit of being an impartial historian, instead of a biased partisan, be denied to me, that of attempting to represent the public opinion in Japan in regard to this question at least will not, I hope, be withheld. As the present Eastern war is the direct outcome of the Corean *imbroglio*, it is necessary first to give a short account of the recent insurrection in Corea, which led to the landing of the Japanese and Chinese troops there.

Against every attempt at social or political innovation, there is always a combined opposition more or less violent. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Corea, in the present period of her transition from semi-barbarism to the higher civilization, has been tormented with the frequent uprisings of the secret and *quasi* religious faction called the Tong Hak, or Eastern Doctrine sect, whose main object is the expulsion of the foreigners from Corea. Regarding civilization as injurious, these fanatics have watched with

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II. Lessons of Last Winter, by Prof. Frank Parsons.

Amongst the many valuable results that have come from organized efforts to care for the unemployed during the past year, it seems to me that some should receive an emphasis that will impress them forever upon the minds of the people.

One of these is the object lesson given by the Commercial Club of Indianapolis. Early in the fall the Workingmen's Union appealed to the club for aid in getting employment. A committee of three was appointed by the club to consult with the workmen. It was found that the better classes of the unemployed were intensely averse to receiving help from the associated charities or from any organization with the flavor of charity in its name; they would not consent to be classed, expressly or by implication, with paupers. It was accordingly decided, in the first place, that relief should proceed from a non-charitable body —a business committee of the Commercial Club.

The plans made and executed by this club committee are probably the best yet invented. Their principles were these: (1) The need for help must be demonstrated in every case. (2) The effort should be to give employment, not alms. (3) The public should be advised against giving anything except through the committee or at its request. (4) The resources of the regular charitable institutions should be drawn upon to the utmost before seeking other aid. (5) Nothing should be done until the labor organizations, the charities and the city agreed to coöperate with the committee and abide by its judgment. This condition was accepted.

The first step was registration of the needy, which showed at once that the need had been greatly exaggerated. Only one fourth of the number said to be in want filed an application for work.

The second step was investigation and enrolment. Citizenship in the city and actual want were the conditions of enrolment on the lists of relief. These conditions were sufficient to keep out the tramp element, and through the perfected system of telegraphy possessed by that famous and interesting body of abused humanity it soon became known that Indianapolis was not a good place for tramps, as no alms or relief was given except by order of the committee, and they failed to see any need of food or drink in the case of a tramp.

The third step was the opening of a food store, where any one on the committee's lists — i. e., any one possessing citizenship and necessity — could get food on credit. The food was sold at prime cost — without either retail or wholesale profit — and it could be paid for by labor, at the rate of one dollar per day of eight hours. Experience proved that it was best to require work

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The dissatisfaction of the people being widespread and deep-rooted, this uprising was a signal to rise in arms, not only to the Tong Hak sect, but also to the neighboring villagers, and the numerous malcontents, who flocked there from all parts of the kingdom. Thus the insurgents began to rise steadily in number and strength. Had the government possessed anything like a well organized army, there would have been no difficulty in suppressing this insurrection. As it was, the government was not only unsuccessful in its effort to restore the public peace and order, but was actually overcome by terror. It was then that the so-called skill of the Chinese diplomacy attained its consummation.

The absolute monarchy of Corea for several years past, has been controlled not by the king, who though liberally inclined, is of an extremely meek nature, but by the Min family which had the honor of furnishing the present royal consort. For some time past, intimacy had existed between the Mins and Yuan Tsze Kwan, Chinese civil officer in Corea,* because the former saw, in the effort to strengthen Chinese influence in their own country, the means of securing, through the coöperation of the latter, their already acquired political preëminence, and because the latter saw, in the political preëminence of the former, the means of establishing Chinese supremacy in that country.

It was with no great difficulty, therefore, that at the time of this popular commotion, Yuan succeeded in persuading the Mins to make a formal request to the government of China, to assist that of Corea in putting an end to the cause of the national alarm and distress. The Chinese government at once granted this request, and dispatched about two thousand troops to Corea, notifying the Japanese government of the movement only after this detachment had started for its destination, and thus openly violating the

* This cunning diplomat is generally regarded as the Chinese minister to Corea. Hon. Mr. Heard, the late United States minister to Corea, in his article, "China and Japan in Corea," in the September number of the *North American Review*, also speaks of Yuan as such. But in one of the meetings, before the war, of the representatives of the treaty powers to Corea, with the view of an amicable settlement of the trouble, Mr. Otori, Japanese minister, held that the official title of Yuan, meaning "the Supervisor of Commerce," was entirely distinct from embassy; that, therefore, he was not the Chinese ambassador; that it was on this account that, although Yuan ought to have occupied the first seat among the representatives to Corea, according to the rule of seniority of appointment, customarily observed among diplomats, he was always assigned the last seat; and finally that since he was not the Chinese minister, he was not entitled to a seat in those meetings. All the ambassadors present concurred in this view, Yuan being absent at the time. He was thenceforth excluded from the meetings. That the Chinese representative to Corea, was styled the "Supervisor of Commerce," and not the ambassador, is a significant fact; it throws light upon the attitude which China has assumed toward Corea.

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you turn them out, you will likely get some one else who will not pay any better, and you'll have all the wear and tear and trouble and expense of eviction for nothing. Let the people alone and you'll get your money more surely than in any other way." Only one case of eviction came to the notice of the committee.

By this admirable plan 5,000 people were cared for during nearly five months at a total expense of $23,000, for most of which labor was performed. Toward the close of the winter the patrons of the store voluntarily began asking to have their accounts closed, and now but few remain. The system had no tendency to perpetuate itself. It required labor for the low sum of $1 a day. It paid no money. It gave no luxuries.*

Indianapolis has given the world a splendid lesson in organized charity. Will not some great city give the world an equally scientific example of organized justice, so that one who is willing to work may be able to obtain not merely a day's work in each week and the bare necessities of existence, while he runs in debt for his rent, doctor's bills, etc., but a full week's work every week at fair pay. Let society recognize the right of every adult to employment, the right of every child to manual training and industrial education, and the folly of indiscriminate and unscientific almsgiving; and desperate poverty will soon disappear. Pauperism cannot exist where all are *fitted* for self support and *trained* to labor in youth, where full *opportunity* to labor is given, where labor receives its *just reward*, and where nothing can be obtained except by labor.

In the treatment of any disorder of the body politic, as in the treatment of an individual, it is needful not only to apply the best means of relief for the suffering caused by the disease, but also to provide constitutional remedies that shall remove the causes of the trouble. So while thinking how to alleviate the miseries of the unemployed, let us not forget to inquire how the *occasion* for relief may be avoided in future.

A part cause of poverty is the saloon. Let us, then, abolish the saloon. Prohibition will do it. The Gothenburg system or state control will go a long way towards that result.

Another part cause of poverty and panics is a contracting currency. Let us, then, establish a stable currency. We can do it by means of a national system of finance, adjusting the volume of money to the needs of the country through postal banks and government loans at moderate interest.

* Except coffee, which was not put in the ration at first, on the ground that it was a stimulant, in the same class as tobacco so far as the necessaries of life are concerned; but the people were so discontented without it that it was added to the ration, which was then entirely satisfactory. Nothing could be had without work by one able to work. The patron had every reason to seek steady employment at good wages, and no reason to remain idle.

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Another part cause of pauperism is lack of industrial education. Let us, then, establish industrial schools in every city and town, and provide every child with a thorough manual training. Saxony is away ahead of us in this. We believe in public education, but it is time we discovered that geography, arithmetic and parsing do not constitute a complete education.

Another part cause of poverty is competition — the warfare of industry in which some are victors and others are victims. Let us, then, establish coöperation is place of competition.

Still other part causes of poverty are shiftlessness and inertia. They are not to any large extent *primary* causes of poverty, but are results of poverty and its causes, which cause the continuance of poverty — the medium through which poverty propagates itself. They are consequences, directly or indirectly, of the evil conditions named above, and when they are removed the results will gradually disappear.

III. How the City of Toledo Provided for her Unemployed, by James M. Brown.

The fall of 1893, as in most of the large towns of the country, found many unemployed in the city of Toledo. As the autumn advanced, industrial institutions continued to reduce their forces. The number of unemployed increased, and their stores were fast being depleted. The necessity for measures for the relief of these, and others who should be compelled to join their number before the winter was over, was apparent to at least two gentlemen, residents of the city. They held frequent consultations, and methods best adapted to meet these then prospective but soon to be present and imperative demands, were fully considered. The aim was to meet the problem in such a way as to prevent suffering, preserve manhood, and avoid the appearance and demoralizing effects of gratuitous relief.

As it was apparent that thousands would be compelled to ask assistance, it was also manifest that nothing short of well considered plans, including within their compass the united efforts of all the more favored of the city and a thorough awakening along all charitable lines, would meet the demand. If the effort should fail, there would follow great hardship and suffering, with possible riot and bloodshed. After full consideration, our two friends were of opinion that the plan of associating charities, as adopted in Boston, Baltimore, Buffalo, Indianapolis and other cities, supplemented by a bureau of extraordinary relief, empowered to purchase and distribute food and clothing, presented the best methods of meeting the expected emergency.

An attempt to bring into harmonious action more than two

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hundred different charitable societies, composed of various sects and creeds, each organized to do its own work, in its own field, in its own way, and each jealous lest the other should know what it was doing, was a herculean task, full of discouragements, promising little else than failure. The simple suggestion of such a scheme was likely to create suspicion and arouse jealousy, and defeat the desired ends.

There was a charitable society already in the field, with a record of ten years of creditable work, known as the "Toledo Humane Society." It was organized under the laws of the state, and had for its purpose the "prevention of cruelty to children and animals." Its organization was non-sectarian and it had become self-supporting. It was thought by our two friends that this society, by enlarging its charter and adding to its two departments a third, to be known as the "Department of Associated Charities," might, without arousing jealousy, form a nucleus around which all the charities of the city would unite in harmonious action. The suggestion was made to the Humane Society, and the necessity for immediate action was urged. This resulted in the necessary steps being promptly taken by that society to create the new department, and the same in due time was accomplished.

But new and enlarged work demanded increased facilities, additional outlay and new workers. Our two friends, not wavering, went forward, and by their own efforts raised a subscription of fourteen hundred dollars to equip and put in running order the new bureau. Furniture, stationery, blanks, books, etc., were provided. When all was in working order, arrangements were made for enrolling all the unemployed heads of families, residents of the city, who believed they could not get through the winter without assistance. A central place was fixed for such enrolment, and public notice of the intention to make the same was published in all the city papers. Two commercial travellers, enjoying their vacation, volunteered to spend that vacation in making the enrolment, and at the end of the first week thereof, over twelve hundred heads of families, representing a population of more than five thousand people, had already declared themselves to be in distress. The enrolment continued until over eighteen hundred heads of families, with residences, numbers and ages of children, etc., were duly recorded, showing a population of over seven thousand people already on the verge of starvation.

The Department of Associated Charities having been organized, the enrolment having in great part been made, the next step taken by our two friends was to call a meeting of a number of public-spirited and philanthropic men and women to consider the

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situation. Five hundred invitations were sent out, to which about one hundred persons responded. At the meeting, our two friends presented the results of the enrolment, the necessity for immediate action, together with estimates of the amount of money that would be required, and plans for raising the money. It was suggested that a finance committee and a relief committee be created, the former to raise the necessary means, and the latter to buy and distribute provisions and fuel to those in need. A finance committee, originally of twenty members, but afterwards increased to over one hundred, was appointed. Its members were worthy representatives of every branch of business, every trade and profession in the city. The amount to be raised was carefully apportioned to all of these branches of business, and the committees were at once set to work. The city press sounded the alarm, and within twenty-four hours after the meeting mentioned, the whole city was in a ferment. Members of the finance committee were found everywhere; lodges, churches, societies, schools and labor organizations became interested, and money began freely to flow into the treasury. A relief committee, composed of some of our best business men, was also appointed, which at once opened a storehouse and coal-yard, and filled the same with provisions and fuel.

The newly created Department of Charities at once put to work a large force of investigators, instructed to inquire into the circumstances and character of every person whose name was on the enrolment of unemployed, and their reports, when returned, were carefully scrutinized and filed in alphabetical order. Only such orders as were issued by the Department of Associated Charities, upon the relief committee, were honored. Pending investigation into the character of the enrolled, orders for temporary relief were granted to all upon the enrolment who applied. As fast as the true character of the enrolled could be determined by investigation, they were either given a permanent place upon the roll, or stricken therefrom, as circumstances indicated.

The Department of Public Parks was the only branch of the city government provided with the necessary legislation to do any public work at that time. This department was appealed to by the Department of Associated Charities to give work to the unemployed. The park commissioners had no money with which to pay for labor, but had improvement bonds, which, on account of the low rate of interest they bore, and the stagnation of the money market, they were unable to sell. The Department of Associated Charities proposed, if the men were put to work, to pay them for their services in provisions, at the rate of one dollar per day, and take park bonds in payment therefor.

The offer was accepted by the park commissioners. The unemployed were offered opportunity to work, not to exceed three days in ten, it being estimated that three dollars' worth of provisions, at actual cost, as issued by the relief committee, would provide for an ordinary family ten days. Under this arrangement the Department of Associated Charities gave orders to the unemployed, in relays, upon the park commissioners, for three days of work, which orders when returned, properly endorsed by the park commissioners, were taken up by the Department of Associated Charities, and orders upon the relief committee given for three dollars' worth of such provisions as were kept in store, at the actual cost thereof. A strict account was kept with every person performing labor, or receiving supplies from the relief committee, so that the amount and date could be determined at a glance, thus protecting the Department of Charities from imposition, and assuring the managers that every family entitled thereto was being properly supplied with food. The work done upon the parks was such as could be performed in winter, viz., excavation for lakes, building approaches, roads, embankments, etc. The men worked most cheerfully, and rendered the most satisfactory service, and the quota never failed for number, until the opening of spring, when better prices than were offered by the Board of Associated Charities could be had.

As the work proceeded, all the churches, orders and societies in the city were invited to enter the association of charities, and assist in the work. Nearly every one of the churches, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant alike, and most of the orders and societies, promptly joined the association. So harmoniously did the work proceed that no dissatisfaction or jealousy arose. One Catholic priest, having been tendered a large donation of provisions for the benefit of his own people, was so well pleased with the manner in which the Department of Associated Charities was conducted, that he ordered the whole donation turned over to its relief committee. For the first time in the history of the city, the spirit of universal brotherhood seemed to manifest itself and prevail. In the rooms of the Department of Associated Charities, any day, there could be seen, not only representatives of almost every nationality, but also the ministers and priests of almost every sect and creed; and the work went forward with the greatest satisfaction to those who contributed to its success, as well as to those who received and enjoyed its benefits.

Not a single complaint of moment was heard of the insufficiency of the relief granted. When this statement is made in connection with the average cost to each family, as given below, the result is simply marvellous. The allowances per week were designated as "half," "full" and "full and half" relief, and were

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as follows, viz.: Families of four and less, "half relief," consisting of 1½ lbs. beans, 10 lbs. corn meal, 12¼ lbs. flour, ¼ bu. potatoes, 3 lbs. pork, 2 lbs. sugar, ⅛ lb. tea, 2 loaves of bread, 6¼ bu. coal; families of from four to six, "full relief" — 3 lbs. beans, 15 lbs. corn meal, 12¼ lbs. flour, ½ bu. potatoes, 6 lbs. pork, 3 lbs. sugar, ¼ lb. tea, 2 loaves bread, 6¼ bu. coal; families of nine and more, amounts equal to both full relief and half relief as above stated. The relief committee opened its storehouse Dec. 9, 1893, and on that day supplied 128 families with fuel and food. The number from that time gradually increased, until on February 1 the maximum was reached, and 180 families were supplied.

On the 14th of December, 1893, fifty-four men were furnished employment on the parks, and the number gradually increased until February 1, when it reached 399. By working the men in relays, and directing that six days should intervene between opportunities for work, more than half the unemployed had work about one third of the time. The plan worked with the greatest satisfaction to all concerned, and the winter passed without suffering or even discontent. The very fact that the society was able to offer employment of the character described was one of the greatest aids in determining the worthiness of applicants. If they were worthy, they did not hesitate a moment to accept the employment. If they were not able, on account of disability, to perform the service, their cases received the highest consideration of the society. If they declined the service, being able to perform the labor, they were at once cut off from supplies as unworthy. Thus the unworthy were eliminated, and the worthy distinguished and fully helped.

A strict account was kept with every applicant for relief, every item he obtained was properly charged, and whatever of labor he performed, duly credited, so that at the end of the season every one could know, to a farthing, how his account stood, and what, if anything, was due from him to the society.

The amount collected by the finance committee up to April 1, in money, provisions, fuel, clothing and other supplies, was $17,640.86. Up to that date 1,977 families had, as necessity demanded, received aid, at an aggregate cost to the Department of Associated Charities of $15,526, or an aggregate average cost, to each family, of $7.85. The labor performed on parks at $1 per day, aggregated $8,706.56, leaving the net cost of the relief granted to the 1,977 families, $6,819.44; a net average to each family of $3.45, or a little over three cents per day.

On April 1, after this movement had been in progress for one hundred thirteen days, the account of its transactions stood as follows: —

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Donations in money, etc., received	$17,640 86
Expended in relief and expenses	15,526 00
Balance cash and stores on hand	$ 2,114 86
Due Society from Park Commissioners on account labor	8,706 56
On hand, for future calls upon the Society	$10,821 42

This movement demonstrates: First, what great good may result from small and well directed beginnings; second, that the time has come when the spirit of a better and broader brotherhood is possessing the race.

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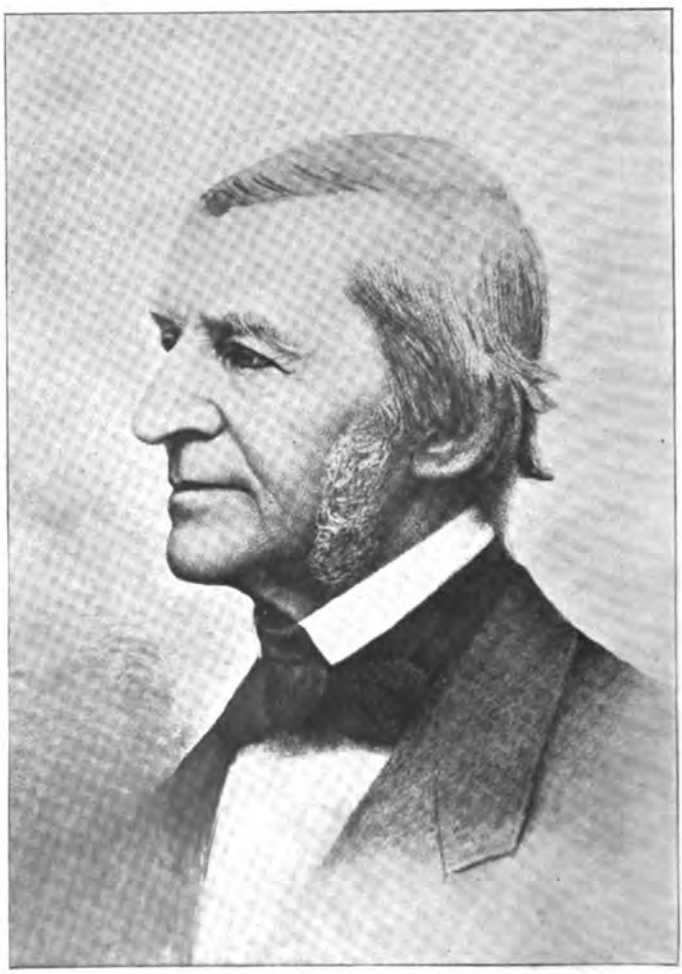

R. Waldo Emerson

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THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE WAR IN THE EAST.

BY KUMA OISHI, A. M., PH. D.

ALTHOUGH the great interest manifested by the West in the war now going on in the East has called forth the numerous comments of the press on all topics connected with the subject, anything like a historical treatment of the causes leading to this important war has not yet to my knowledge, been attempted. Such, therefore, will be the scope of the present article. No inference will be made, no conclusion drawn, that is not based on historical facts. If, however, on account of my nationality, the credit of being an impartial historian, instead of a biased partisan, be denied to me, that of attempting to represent the public opinion in Japan in regard to this question at least will not, I hope, be withheld. As the present Eastern war is the direct outcome of the Corean *imbroglio*, it is necessary first to give a short account of the recent insurrection in Corea, which led to the landing of the Japanese and Chinese troops there.

Against every attempt at social or political innovation, there is always a combined opposition more or less violent. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Corea, in the present period of her transition from semi-barbarism to the higher civilization, has been tormented with the frequent uprisings of the secret and *quasi* religious faction called the Tong Hak, or Eastern Doctrine sect, whose main object is the expulsion of the foreigners from Corea. Regarding civilization as injurious, these fanatics have watched with

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suspicion the influence of the Western civilization, which has been slowly finding its way to their country. Possessed with the blind obstinacy to put their erroneous doctrine of the old "Hermit Nation" into practice, and dissatisfied even with the ultra-conservative policy of the Corean government, they rose in arms in 1893. Though they were soon dispersed, the feeble government of Corea, which has never been alert and zealous in the strenuous effort to establish law and order throughout the kingdom, has in this instance adopted no stringent measure to prevent their future uprising.

A cloud in the far distant horizon means much to an experienced sailor. Any attentive observer might have noticed in the existence of the Tong Hak sect a danger of no small magnitude to the welfare of Corea. It assimilates into itself law-breakers and discontented persons, who if their attempt to upset the existing order of things once proves futile, soon prepare themselves for another. So unfortunate a condition of affairs was made still more deplorable, by the sudden outbreak of an agrarian insurrection.

With all their rich mineral resources and fertile land, the Corean people are suffering from extreme poverty and destitution. This is doubtless partly due to the undeveloped state of manufacture and industry, but, for the most part, to the corrupt and oppressive administration of government. Bribes are accepted as a matter of course by the judicial and administrative officials in the discharge of their respective public functions. Official positions, local or central, are sold to the highest bidders, and those who procure them through such infamous dealing are not likely to be reluctant in exacting whatever they can from their subordinates, as well as from the unhappy people. Should any one refuse to submit to the tyrannical mandates of these public functionaries he is immediately imprisoned or otherwise persecuted. The right of property, the strongest incentive to labor and to the accumulation of capital, is thus almost ignored, and because the people cannot enjoy the fruits of their labors, they are indifferent to the possession of anything beyond the necessaries of life. At last they could no longer endure the tyranny and maladministration, and in May, 1894, a small number of the farmers in Zeurado, "the granary of the kingdom," rose in insurrection.

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The dissatisfaction of the people being widespread and deep-rooted, this uprising was a signal to rise in arms, not only to the Tong Hak sect, but also to the neighboring villagers, and the numerous malcontents, who flocked there from all parts of the kingdom. Thus the insurgents began to rise steadily in number and strength. Had the government possessed anything like a well organized army, there would have been no difficulty in suppressing this insurrection. As it was, the government was not only unsuccessful in its effort to restore the public peace and order, but was actually overcome by terror. It was then that the so-called skill of the Chinese diplomacy attained its consummation.

The absolute monarchy of Corea for several years past, has been controlled not by the king, who though liberally inclined, is of an extremely meek nature, but by the Min family which had the honor of furnishing the present royal consort. For some time past, intimacy had existed between the Mins and Yuan Tsze Kwan, Chinese civil officer in Corea,* because the former saw, in the effort to strengthen Chinese influence in their own country, the means of securing, through the coöperation of the latter, their already acquired political preëminence, and because the latter saw, in the political preeminence of the former, the means of establishing Chinese supremacy in that country.

It was with no great difficulty, therefore, that at the time of this popular commotion, Yuan succeeded in persuading the Mins to make a formal request to the government of China, to assist that of Corea in putting an end to the cause of the national alarm and distress. The Chinese government at once granted this request, and dispatched about two thousand troops to Corea, notifying the Japanese government of the movement only after this detachment had started for its destination, and thus openly violating the

*This cunning diplomat is generally regarded as the Chinese minister to Corea. Hon. Mr. Heard, the late United States minister to Corea, in his article, "China and Japan in Corea," in the September number of the *North American Review*, also speaks of Yuan as such. But in one of the meetings, before the war, of the representatives of the treaty powers to Corea, with the view of an amicable settlement of the trouble, Mr. Otori, Japanese minister, held that the official title of Yuan, meaning "the Supervisor of Commerce," was entirely distinct from embassy; that, therefore, he was not the Chinese ambassador; that it was on this account that, although Yuan ought to have occupied the first seat among the representatives to Corea, according to the rule of seniority of appointment, customarily observed among diplomats, he was always assigned the last seat; and finally that since he was not the Chinese minister, he was not entitled to a seat in those meetings. All the ambassadors present concurred in this view, Yuan being absent at the time. He was thenceforth excluded from the meetings. That the Chinese representative to Corea, was styled the "Supervisor of Commerce," and not the ambassador, is a significant fact; it throws light upon the attitude which China has assumed toward Corea.

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terms of the Tien Tsin treaty.* Japan had for some time been watching the progress of the insurrection with much anxiety, and when the government became acquainted with the course which China had taken, a detachment of soldiers was sent to Corea, with the objects, primarily, to protect the Japanese residents and their interest in Corea, and secondarily, to oppose any undue and illegitimate exercise of power by China — a precaution necessary and justifiable on the part of Japan, as will be seen later.†

If the presence of the Chinese army had the effect of terrorizing the insurgents, who now began to disband, and seek shelter in remote and unfrequented retreats, the unexpected arrival of the Japanese army, moving with great rapidity, proved a source of extreme mortification to China and the Mins. The negotiations and proposals of the Ariumvirs followed without success, and war against China was finally declared by the Japanese Emperor, Aug. 2, 1894. The internal commotion of Corea was thus the occasion of the war between Japan and China. It is hardly necessary to state, that this occasion must not be confounded with the causes of the war, which are, by far, of deeper and greater significance; and having thus prepared ourselves to understand them more readily, we shall now proceed to their investigation.

It is not necessary for our purpose to discuss in detail the old claims of Japan to the sovereignty of Corea. Suffice it to say; that Japan in olden times twice invaded that kingdom, and compelled her to pay annual tributes, though Corea did so only reluctantly and irregularly. Situated between the two powerful nations, Japan and China, like a maiden courted by two admirers, for neither of whom she cared much, Corea had no alternative other than to smile, sometimes on one, sometimes on the other, sometimes on both, as the case required. It was Japan that finally rescued her from this awkward position by recognizing her independence in 1876.

After the Restoration of the Mikado in 1868 to the *de facto* sovereignty, Corea found in the change of the reigning power a pretext for desisting from the fulfilment of her tributary obligations to Japan. When therefore the internal difficulties had been overcome to a large extent, and peace

* See p. 20. † See p. 26.

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and order had once more been restored in Japan, this ignoring of the Japanese sovereignty by Corea began to demand the serious consideration of the government. Before long, however, an event occurred which compelled Japan to take a decisive step in regard to this question. In September, 1875, the crew of a Japanese gunboat, while landing for water on Kang-wa Island, was fired upon by the neighboring Corean garrison, being mistaken for Europeans. When the news of this affair reached Japan, national indignation rose high. The government at once sent A. Mori to Pekin, and K. Kuroda to Sevol, to ascertain the exact relation between China and Corea, and, if possible, to conclude treaties with the latter state. About the same time the warships of the United States, and of France, were also attacked by the Coreans. The Chinese government absolutely disclaimed its responsibility for all these damages committed by Corea. As the result, the treaty of peace and friendship was concluded between Japan and Corea in February, 1876. The United States ratified a similar treaty with her in 1883, and this example was followed by the European powers.

Thus it will be seen that Japan introduced Corea to the Western world as an independent nation. The first article of the treaty of peace and friendship between the two nations declares: —

> Choseu [the Japanese name for Corea], being an independent state, enjoys the same sovereign rights, as does Japan.
>
> In order to prove the sincerity of the friendship existing between the nations, their intercourse shall henceforward be carried on in terms of equality and courtesy, each avoiding the giving of offence by arrogance or manifestations of suspicion.
>
> In the first instance, all rules and precedents that are apt to obstruct friendly intercourse shall be totally abrogated, and, in their stead, rules liberal, and in general usage fit to secure a firm and perpetual peace, shall be established.

Nor did this recognition of Corean independence prove to be a profitable policy to Japan. It resulted in the retirement from the government of the several leading advocates of war and in a series of three rebellions instigated by them; the Satsuma Rebellion especially, having been protracted and costly. "To recognize Choseu," Griffis* tells us, "as a sovereign independent state, and not as a tributary vassal, cost Japan in the Satsuma Rebellion, seven months of civil war,

* "Corea," by W. E. Griffis.

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seventy thousand lives, and fifty millions of dollars," to say nothing of the two other minor rebellions, which arose from the same cause.

We are justified, therefore, in asserting that Japan since the Restoration has been steadily pursuing a determined and upright policy toward Corea, namely, to recognize her independence and to secure her autonomy, regardless of the sacrifice involved in the pursuance of this policy—a policy which is the combined result of the noble aspiration of Japan to assist the weak, and of her keen realization of the dangers which may threaten the safety of Eastern nations, in the event of loss of independence of Corea, for the balance of power in the East will, in that case, be seriously disturbed.

Let us now consider the policy of China toward Corea. As stated before, when China saw that there were several claimants of indemnities on account of the damages inflicted by Corea, China peremptorily disclaimed her responsibility for Corea. She moreover suffered Corea to negotiate treaties with the other nations as an independent state, and even went so far as to encourage her to pursue this course. Has she herself, then, ever recognized the independence of the peninsular kingdom? On the contrary, Corea has been compelled during all these years to pay annual tributes, to adopt the Chinese year-periods,* and has been designated, again and again, as "the Eastern Territory," or "the Tributary Vassal."

Even Hon. Mr. Heard, who is inclined to suspect the motives of the Japanese in the present war, admits that "she [China] had no intention of giving up her sovereignty, and she has been trying ever since to get it back," and that, "favored by the supineness or indifference of the treaty powers, little by little, she has made considerable progress in this direction, and her influence in Corea is now more actively powerful than ever before." That the unhappy kingdom of Corea, a helpless victim to the ambition and treachery of the Mins, should acquiesce in the arrogance of China is not

* Among the Oriental nations there is a peculiar chronological method. At the discretion of a sovereign the new name of a year-period is inaugurated, the name always indicating an auspicious omen, such as "Enlightened Peace," "Great Virtue," etc. These periods by no means correspond to the reigns of sovereigns, a new name being chosen "whenever it was deemed necessary to commemorate an auspicious, or ward off a malign event," as Dr. Murray says. An independent nation has its own year-periods, while a dependent state must adopt those of that country to which it owes allegiance. In Japan this method of reckoning years was somewhat modified by a decree of 1872, which was to the effect that hereafter the year-periods should be changed only once during the reign of an emperor. For further particulars of this topic see Dr. Murray's "Japan."

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strange; but it is not to the credit of the treaty powers that they have tolerated this duplicity of China. In whatever light the other powers may be disposed to regard this matter, Japan can never make mute concession to China's claim over Corea.

To abandon the exhausted kingdom to the mercy of the gigantic, but retrogressive, empire, is to give up all hopes of Corea's ever becoming civilized. It is the stagnant blood of China which, filling the veins of Corea, enfeebled and corrupted her. So long as Corea is subjected to the caprice and rapacity of China, she can never uplift herself above her present destitute and defenceless condition, as I heard Kim Ok Kiun, the leader of the Corean liberal party, often lament; and so long as Corea remains in her present destitute and defenceless condition she will continue to be a source of constant apprehension to Japan. Nor must it be forgotten that the record of the past dealings of China with her dependent states clearly shows her inability to govern them wisely, and to protect them from internal and external dangers. Siam, Annam and Tonquin stand before her very eyes as everlasting monuments of her ignominy, and give a timely warning to Corea. It is well that she should heed it.

Here, then, we have one cause of the war between Japan and China. So long as the former regarded Corea as an independent state, while the latter audaciously claimed her as her dependency; so long as Japan was determined to assist Corea in the maintenance of her autonomy, at whatever cost to Japan, while China did not scruple to endeavor to establish her sovereignty over Corea by intrigues and machinations; so long as these antagonistic principles were adhered to by the two nations with equal zeal, it was almost a certainty that a struggle would be inevitable between them sooner or later.

But there is another and even more momentous cause of this war. Ever since Japan became acquainted with the condition of affairs in the West she has keenly realized the necessity of the concerted efforts of the Asiatic nations, especially of Japan and China, to resist the gradual encroachment and increasing supremacy in Asia of the European powers. Two conditions are necessary for the attainment of this object. One is, that warm friendship and sincere good wishes should exist between the two empires. The

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other, that, duly recognizing the law of the survival of the fittest, they should coöperate each to attain the highest possible degree of civilization in the shortest possible length of time, using the word civilization here in its widest sense, so as to include the development of material resources, of military strength, of intellectual and moral qualities of the people. In regard to the latter condition, who of us will not admit the stupid and haughty indifference of China? But the most pitiable spectacle of all is that not only has she been blind to the advantages, nay, the imperative necessity, of availing herself of every reform in her social, economical and political institutions which the modern civilization prescribes for its followers, but she does not hesitate to show her groundless disgust at the recent wonderful progress of Japan. With such prejudice and illiberality on the part of China, it has been impossible for Japan to accomplish the former of the two conditions above mentioned. The liberal and conciliatory spirit of Japan on one hand, and the illiberal and offensive tendencies of China on the other, are most apparent in the dealings of these nations with Corea, after her independence was recognized. I shall, therefore, give a brief account of them chronologically.

After Japan had readily waived all her former claims of suzerainty over Corea, and while China was resorting to all ignoble means to strengthen her grasp upon the peninsula, a small disturbance occurred there. In 1882, incited by Tai Wen Kun, the father of the present Corean king, who, unlike his son, with strength of character, with commanding air, and with versatility, is considered to be the greatest statesman in Corea, a mob attacked the Japanese legation and the Japanese residents at Seoul. On this occasion the Chinese troops played an important part in the unjustifiable undertaking, driving the Japanese minister out of Corea. Nor was this all. On his return to Corea at the head of a Japanese regiment to demand indemnity for this national insult, the famous Chinese viceroy, Li Hung Chang, caused the Chinese army to kidnap the originator of this commotion and carried him away to China, on board a man-of-war, apparently to prevent the conclusion of a satisfactory negotiation.

Then came "the Corean *coup d'état*" of 1884. When the liberal party of Corea, headed by Kim Ok Kiun, formed

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a conspiracy, and, as was reported at the time, with the secret approval of the king, attempted to massacre the leaders of the pro-Chinese party, in the hope of freeing Corea from the sinister influence of China; when at the urgent appeal of the king a small body of the Japanese troops was guarding the royal palace, the Chinese army again made an unjustifiable attack upon them. A war between Japan and China then seemed imminent, but was averted by the payment of a nominal amount of indemnity by Corea, and the conclusion of the Tien-Tsin treaty * between Japan and China. If any more evidence of a similar nature be needed we have it in the case of the murder of Kim Ok Kiun, which took place only a few months ago.

The *coup d'état* having proved a failure, Kim Ok Kiun and some of his followers escaped to Japan. Twice his extradition was demanded, but the Japanese government refused to give up this patriotic, though adventurous, political refugee. Then the cowardly Mins sent would-be assassins one after another to Japan, to terminate by foul means the existence of the object of their dread, but under the watchful eye of the public authorities they for many years failed to execute their infamous design. Finally, in the spring of the present year, several of the minions of the Mins, who succeeded in winning the confidence of Kim by long acquaintance, by cunning cajolery and by pretended devotion to him and to his cause, prevailed on him to go to China, accompanied by a Corean named Hong Tjyong Ou, of whose treachery Kim had not the least suspicion. Kim, it is said, wished to have a personal interview with Li Hung Chang. As soon as the party arrived at Shanghai, the unhappy patriot met his doom. Then a Chinese man-of-war conveyed his body to Corea, there to be dismembered, distributed to the different provinces of the country, and exposed to the sickening gaze of the horror-stricken people, notwithstanding the protest and advices of the representa-

* This treaty, concluded by the present Japanese premier, Count Ito, and Li Hung Chang, stipulates (1) that both nations should withdraw their troops from Corea within four months from the time of the ratification of this treaty; (2) that they should advise the king of Corea to have his army trained, so that he could provide for the safety of his own kingdom, and to avail himself of the services of one or more foreign military officers for training it, it being agreed that neither Japan nor China should undertake to offer the services of their officers for this purpose; (3) that if, on account of an emergency, or events of great importance, one or the both of the two nations should see the necessity of dispatching its, or their, armies to Corea, each should notify the other before taking such a course, and the armies should again be withdrawn from Corea immediately after the necessity of their presence ceases.

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tives of the treaty powers against this demoniac frenzy. The brutal assassin was awarded with a prominent position in the Corean government for the accomplishment of his bloody deed!

In the light of such overwhelming evidences of Chinese jealousy, intrigues and barbarism, it is but just to affirm that the "Flowery Kingdom," vain with the delusive memory of past glory, too prejudiced to appreciate the value of the modern civilization and the need of the hour, has adopted an excessively offensive and illiberal policy toward Japan, and that her fondest dream has been to foil, on every possible occasion, the liberal and conciliatory measures of Japan.

It is clear, therefore, that the two great principles of the foreign policy of the Japanese empire, the maintenance of the independence of Corea, and the promotion of the welfare of the Orient, have been set at defiance by China. Much as Japan wishes for peace, the limit of endurance has been reached, and she has entered upon this war for the accomplishment of her two great and noble objects, so that out of the fierce struggle there may result the permanent peace and prosperity of the East.

Since the outbreak of the war, several grave charges have been preferred against Japan by the sympathizers of China. It is somewhat surprising that there should be any controversy on this question, the past history of which, if carefully examined, furnishes no ground for diversity of opinion. Generally speaking, these sympathizers have invariably shown their weakness in the mode of their arguments. In the first place, in order to defend China they have made fierce attacks upon Japan, but, as far as I am aware, there is not a single instance, in which they have undertaken to justify the policy of China toward Japan or Corea, perhaps for the simple reason that it cannot be justified. In the second place, strong and sweeping as the charges are, those who have advanced them have not attempted to verify them, by even so much as the shadow of evidence, perhaps for the simple reason that the desired evidence is not to be found.

Of the grave charges preferred against Japan, three are noteworthy, not because they are well founded, but because they are of the most serious character. The first is that Japan is the aggressor; the second that she aims at terri-

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torial aggrandizement; the third that Japan entered upon this war to avert a revolution at home. I am convinced that the historical facts mentioned in the foregoing pages will go far toward proving the injustice of these charges, therefore I shall be satisfied with refuting them as briefly as possible.

I. As to the first charge, that Japan is the aggressor, we must remember, that the events of 1882 and 1884 show that China in both cases was the offender, Japan the defender. They also show that whenever there was an agitation in Corea, the Chinese army stationed there made it an opportunity to attack the Japanese army and people. One object of the Japanese government in concluding the Tien-Tsin treaty was to avoid mishaps of this kind in the future, by withdrawing both armies from Corea. When, therefore, the Japanese government was informed that the Chinese army was dispatched to Corea, it was necessary and justifiable for Japan to send her army thither also, for the protection of the Japanese interest and the frustration of the possible machinations of China. The government and its ever faithful Corean servants, the Mins, demanded at once that since the internal turmoil was subsiding, Japan should withdraw its army immediately. To this the reply of the Japanese government was that, if the insurgents were on the verge of surrender, the Chinese army, which was sent for the sole purpose of subduing them, should first be withdrawn; that in the light of past experiences, while the Chinese troops remained, the Japanese army could not be recalled, without much apprehension for the safety of the Japanese residents in Corea. Then Japan proposed to China, that with the consent of the Corean government, both should coöperate to introduce reforms in the administration of Corea, in her educational system, in her finance, in her army, etc. — reforms which are sadly needed, not only for the happiness of her people and the security of her government, but also for the promotion of the interest of the treaty powers.

To this reasonable proposal China flatly refused to listen. While these negotiations were going on, the Chinese government was continually increasing its army at the fortress of Gasan, and was busy with other warlike preparations. Accordingly, Japan also increased her force, and distinctly warned the Chinese government that any further augmenta-

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tion of Chinese troops in Corea would be interpreted as the act of declaring war against Japan on the part of China. This was previous to the sinking of the Chinese transport, Kow Shing, by the Japanese men-of-war. If the Chinese government insisted that Corea is her dependency, regardless of Japan and the other powers which concluded the treaties with Corea as an independent nation; if the Chinese government which first dispatched its troops to Corea wanted to be the last to withdraw them; if it rejected the peaceful and reasonable proposal of the Japanese government to share the labor and the honor of participating in the reforms in Corea; if it continued to make warlike preparations in spite of the warning given by the Japanese government, surely there is no great difficulty in deciding which of the two belligerent parties must be regarded as the aggressor. Such an eminent authority as Dr. Griffis is of the opinion, "that Japan enters upon this war—*forced* upon her as it is . . ."*

II. I have repeatedly stated and conclusively shown, I hope, that it is China which is trying to aggrandize her territory by the absorption of Corea, and it is Japan which is determined to maintain the independence of that kingdom. Suppose a man, inspired by noble impulse at the sight of a helpless victim, at a considerable risk to himself, prevents murder from being committed; suppose that some one, from ignorance of the circumstances, charges this benefactor with attempt at murder. Shall we not laugh at the accuser's folly? Yet some are not ashamed to declare that Japan is attempting to murder Corea. Nothing is further from being true. In all her dealings with Corea, Japan has always shown a great indulgence toward her, knowing that whatever offences Corea has committed, she has not been the originator, but a mere instrument in the hand of China. To know the state of public opinion in Japan in regard to this matter, it is worth while to note a resolution, adopted in the first part of July, when the war seemed imminent, at the mass meeting of the "Pro-Corean Association," in which those who were present were mostly members of the Diet and other men of large political influence.

The preamble of this resolution states that since Japan first recognized the independence of Corea formally, the act of any nation which proves a menace to that independence

* "The Modern Japanese Army," by W. E. Griffis, *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 1, 1894.

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should be regarded as an insult, not only to Corea, but also to Japan, and should not be tolerated by the empire. After this preamble the resolution urges the members and others who hold the same view to unite their efforts: (1) to put an end to the interference of China in the internal affairs of Corea, and to assist in the maintenance of her autonomy; (2) to improve and reform the foreign relations and the internal administration of Corea; (3) to encourage the development of the production and industry of that country. Again, in the Declaration of War,* the Mikado denounces China for claiming the suzerainty of Corea while the rest of the world recognizes her independence, and for disturbing the peace of the East, while Japan is striving to promote it.

If there is still left any doubt regarding the motives of Japan, what Corea has accomplished in the last few months, under the advice of Japan, may serve to dispel it. The Corean government, under the premiership of Tai Wen Kun, declared all the former treaties with China null and void; exiled the former premier, though much against the wish of Tai Wen Kun, who wanted to behead him; pardoned and recalled into the public service all the leading members of the liberal party, who since 1884 had been wandering in Japan, in the United States, or in Europe as political refugees. The Corean king hereafter is to be styled the emperor. The reforms of the administration have already begun. There is every prospect of progress and prosperity in Corea under the new stimulus imparted by "the Yankees of the East." From the slumber of a thousand years Corea has awakened at last; weak and exhausted from former maltreatment, yet conscious that she is now free from bondage, she stands in triumph, supported by the friendly arm of Japan, gazing into the glorious dawn of civilization.

III. Any one who is well acquainted with the unparalleled loyalty and reverence which the Japanese people feel toward their emperor will find no plausibility in the charge that Japan is engaging in foreign war to avoid a revolution

* The full translation of this important document is here omitted, with much regret, on account of the lack of space. It can be found in the September number of the *Review of Reviews*. For the same reason the Declaration of War by the Chinese Emperor, which can be found in New York *Daily Tribune*, September 6, is also omitted. It is interesting to compare these two declarations. The declaration of the Mikado insists on the points mentioned above, and wishes "that by the loyalty and valor of our faithful subjects, peace may soon be restored." That of the Chinese Emperor with audacity asserts the Chinese suzerainty over Corea, accuses Japan of violating the international law, and exhorts "our generals to refrain from the least laxity in obeying our commands, in order to avoid severe punishment at our hands."

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at home. True, within the last three years the strength of the opposition party has steadily increased. Including in its political programme the establishment of a responsible cabinet, the question of treaty revision of the treaty,* economy in the public expenditure, decrease of the land tax, it deserves the popular sympathy it has won. But bitter and determined as the attacks of this party have recently been, they have been directed solely against the ministry, and not against the throne.

Let it be distinctly understood, then, that the Japanese empire has accepted the challenge of China, not from selfish greed of territory, not from fear of an internal revolution, but because China has been encroaching with impunity upon the feeble and defenceless kingdom of Corea, whose safety Japan has the moral obligation to insure, on account of the affinity of language and blood, and whose independence Japan regards as of vital importance to her own welfare. Respect for her national honor, which has repeatedly been insulted by the arrogance and folly of China; the consideration of her noble mission in convincing China, by a practical test, of the superiority of modern civilization, and the worthlessness of her own; of the absurdity of revelling in the recollection of the by-gone greatness, forgetting the dangers and the possibilities of the future; the grand aspiration of the island empire to rouse China from the lethargy of centuries, to rescue the four hundred millions of her people from misery, ignorance and depravity, so that the dark continent of Asia may be illuminated by the light of civilization and an unbroken era of tranquillity and prosperity may follow in the East — all these induced Japan to unsheathe her sword. She is sacrificing millions of her wealth and the blood of her best and bravest children in the cause of liberty, of civilization and of humanity. In nobleness of purpose, and in the grandeur of its significance, modern history furnishes y one parallel with this war — the war for the emancipation of slavery.

If this struggle of progress against stagnation, of the right against the wrong, during its course, proves, to some extent, detrimental to the commercial interest of the West; if it justly recalls to the minds of the lovers of peace, the vivid pictures of all the horrors and evils attendant upon fire and

* See "Justice for Japan," by B. O. Flower, THE ARENA, July, 1894.

carnage, the enormous advantages which will probably be derived after the close of the war must not be forgotten. It is a significant fact, that with her population ten times as large as that of Japan, China's annual imports and exports have never exceeded four times those of Japan. The imports and exports of China in 1891, for example, were 134,003,863 *taels* and 100,947,849 *taels* respectively, while those of Japan in the same year were 62,880,670 *yens* and 78,738,054 *yens*.* This economic phenomenon can only be accounted for by the seclusive and anti-foreign policy of China. The present war will teach her the folly of such a policy if anything ever will. No doubt she already realizes the need of a more extended system of railroad.

If Japan wins her final victory, in accordance with the earnest prayers offered by all admirers of modern civilization, of all lovers of justice and freedom; if Japan after the accomplishment of her direct objects, sees, as the indirect results of her costly and magnanimous labor, enormous quantities of gold overflowing from the hitherto untouched mines of Corea, which, in their richness, are said to be second only to those of California; if she sees China giving the merchants of the West free access to her immense resources, and the servants of the gospel free access to the millions of her unconverted souls; then Japan will replace her drawn sword in the scabbard, satisfied to have repaid her indebtedness to the West, which has ravishly bestowed upon her whatever she has chosen to obtain for the animation of her national vigor and life.

* The Statesman's Year-Book, 1893.

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THE RELIGION OF EMERSON.

BY W. H. SAVAGE.

"When half-gods go the gods arrive."

VERY few of those who will see these pages can go back in memory to the time of Emerson's appearance as a leader of the new age that began with the famous "Transcendental movement." For a picture of that time we must turn to the pages of some one who was caught in the whirl of thought and feeling that then swept over New England. The elements of storm had been slowly gathering themselves and only waited some signal to burst forth. Scotch Presbyterianism was dead; New England Puritanism was dead also, but their effigies still filled the seats of power. The spiritual life, grown cowardly through long subjection, paid tithes of mint and cummin in the temple of sham. There was abundant solemnity but a dearth of sincerity. The priest was everywhere, but the line of prophets seemed extinct.

Then came Carlyle's "Signs of the Times," and presently a Boston edition of his "Sartor Resartus." This, says Lowell in his essay on Thoreau, was "the signal for a sudden mental and moral mutiny." The acceptable time had come at last, and it was hailed by a wild chorus of voices of every conceivable pitch.

The nameless eagle of the tree Ygdrasil was about to sit at last, and wild-eyed enthusiasts rushed from all sides, each eager to thrust under the mystic bird that chalk egg from which the new and fairer creation was to be hatched in due time. Every possible form of intellectual and physical dyspepsia brought forth its gospel. Bran had its prophets, and plainness of speech was carried to a pitch that would have taken away the breath of George Fox. Even swearing had its evangelists, who answered an inquiry after their health with an elaborate ingenuity of imprecation that might have been honorably mentioned by Marlborough in general orders. Everybody had a mission (with a capital M) to attend to everybody else's business. . . . Not a few impecunious zealots abjured the use of money (unless earned by other people) professing to live on the internal revenues of the spirit. Some had an assurance of instant millennium as soon as hooks and eyes should be substituted for buttons. Communities were

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established where everything was to be common but common sense. Conventions were held for every hitherto inconceivable purpose. The belated gift of tongues spread like a contagion. It was the pentecost of Shinar. . . . Many foreign revolutionists out of work added to the general misunderstanding their contribution of broken English in every most ingenious form of fracture. All stood ready at a moment's notice to reform everything but themselves. The general motto was, —

> "And we'll *talk* with them, too,
> And take upon's the mystery of things
> As if we were God's spies."

This was the comic side of the affair, the humorous lining of the cloud out of which the storm came. Many saw only the comedy and the cloud, and knew not the deadly explosiveness of the stuff that composed it. The central fact in it all was the soul's struggle for fresh air and a glimpse of God's real world, that spread its fields outside the great temple of sham. If windows could not be opened there was likelihood of their being broken, though painted with images of saints and martyrs. Light, colored by such sacred effigies, was picturesque, but it did not render the bad air wholesome. A prison that shuts the soul from God is not holy because its architecture is Gothic. There is only one thing better than tradition, and that is the original and eternal life out of which all tradition takes its rise. It was this life which the reformers demanded, with more or less clearness of consciousness and expression — life in politics, life in literature, life in religion. Of what use to import a gospel from Judea, if we leave behind the soul that made it possible, the God who keeps it forever real and present?

The sanity and divinity of this movement found their highest and final expression in Ralph Waldo Emerson — a man to whom what is highest in the mental and moral culture of America owes more than to any other, if not more than to all others combined. Says Mr. Lowell: —

No man young enough to have felt it can forget, or cease to be grateful for the mental and moral *nudge* which he received from the writings of his high-minded and brave-spirited countryman. That we agree with him, or that he always agrees with himself, is aside from the question; but that he arouses in us something that we are the better for having awakened . . . that he speaks always to what is highest and least selfish in us, few Americans of the generation younger than his own would be disposed to deny. His oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge . . . was an event without

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any former parallel in our literary annals, a scene always to be treasured in the memory for its picturesqueness and its inspiration. What crowded and breathless aisles, what windows clustering with eager heads, what enthusiasm of approval, what grim silence of foregone dissent! It was our Yankee version of a lecture by Abelard, our Harvard parallel to the last public appearance of Schelling.

Now let us see what it was that Emerson gave to his audience — his version of "the everlasting gospel" of religion and life. He taught, in the first place, that this universe is a spiritual universe, a manifestation of God.

> Ever fresh, the broad creation,
> A divine improvisation,
> From the heart of God proceeds.

There is, he said to his fellows, no such thing as "dead matter," no such thing as a world outside of God, made by Him as a carpenter builds a house, and then cursed by Him for a bad job when it was finished. In his first published work, his famous essay on "Nature," he said: —

> It always speaks of Spirit. It suggests the absolute. It is a perpetual effect. It is a great shadow pointing always to the sun behind us. The aspect of nature is devout. It is like the figure of Jesus, standing with bended head, and hands folded upon the breast. The happiest man is he who learns from Nature the lesson of worship. . . . When a man has worshipped Him intellectually, the noblest ministry of nature is to stand as the apparition of God. It is the organ through which the universal Spirit speaks to the individual, and strives to lead back the individual to itself. . . .

> The spiritual stars rise nightly, shedding down
> A private beam into each several heart.
> Daily the bending skies solicit man,
> The seasons chariot him from his exile,
> The rainbow hours bedeck his glowing chair,
> The storm-winds urge the heavy weeks along;
> Suns haste to set, that so remoter lights
> Beckon the wanderer to his vaster home.

Behind nature, throughout nature, spirit is present.

This is

> What sea and land discoursing say
> In the sidereal years.

All things, from atoms to sidereal systems, from the springing grass to the soul of man, are

> By one music enchanted,
> One deity stirred.

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And this one deity is the Eternal Goodness.

> Love works at the centre,
> Heart-heaving alway;
> Forth speed the strong pulses
> To the borders of day.

Think of Ralph Waldo Emerson standing, sweet-faced as a seraph and as calmly audacious, in the valley of dry bones and proclaiming such a message as that! The dry bones declared, with an infinite amount of clatter and dust raising, that it was rank paganism. But he said it, and the gentle nature that he invoked made answer in rain and dew, and now the clover blooms and children play where ghosts sat in council and dreamed that God was dead.

A second point in the new doctrine was this: The soul of man lives and moves and has its being in and from this Soul of the Universe. This, to be sure, is good Bible doctrine, having Paul to stand its sponsor. The trouble was that Emerson believed it and the churches did not. To him it was a fact; to them it was a phrase.

> As a plant upon the earth, so a man rests upon the bosom of God; he is nourished by unfailing fountains, and draws at need inexhaustible power. . . . Once inhale the upper air, being admitted to behold the absolute nature of justice and truth, and we learn that man has access to the entire mind of the Creator, is himself the creator in the finite.

Out from this all-embracing ocean of deity, the fountain and original of all souls, came all the great impulses and inspirations and heroisms of history. This, says Emerson, is the secret of all the nobilities of action: —

> So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When Duty whispers low, *Thou must*,
> The [Soul] replies, *I can*.

The steps already taken conduct, logically, to a third, and Emerson took this third step unhesitatingly. The position he assumed was to him the simply natural one, and yet his taking it was a declaration of war on all the recognized creeds of Christendom. A Boston minister said, the Sunday after his death, "Mr. Emerson was a Christian theist." That was not exactly what they said on the 15th of July, 1838, when he had concluded his famous address before the

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Divinity School in Cambridge. On that occasion he published what we may call the soul's declaration of independence. Before that day it had been the fashion in the religious circles of New England to quote Scripture texts to prove one's right to hold the opinion of some man long ago dead and buried. Emerson boldly declared that the soul itself is the source and seat of authority, the creator of texts and their rightful lord. "Jesus," he says, "was better than others, because he refused to listen to others, and listened at home." If a man is to hear God speak he *must* listen at home. The best he can hear elsewhere will be only an echo. This should be plain enough.

> Yet see what strong intellects dare not yet hear God himself, unless He speak the phraseology of I know not what David, or Jeremiah, or Paul. . . . They say with those foolish Israelites, "Let not *God* speak to us lest we die. Speak thou, speak any *man* with us and we will obey." Everywhere I am hindered of meeting God in my brother because he has shut his own temple doors, and recites fables merely of his brother's, or his brother's brother's God.
>
> Ever the words of the gods resound;
> But the porches of man's ear
> Seldom in this low life's round
> Are unsealed, that he may hear.

Men are "like children who repeat by rote the sentences of grandams and tutors." "Their creeds are a disease of the intellect." But "if we *live* truly, we shall *see* truly." "When a man lives with God his voice shall be as sweet as the murmur of the brook or the rustle of the corn."

If one say to-day "Mr. Emerson was a Christian theist," there will be, if anything, only the faintest murmur of dissent, even on the part of orthodox critics. But *then* he was a "pantheist" and a "pagan." In 1848, in his "Fable for Critics," Mr. Lowell termed him a "primitive pagan," and within the remembrance of men still young the *North American Review* termed his doctrine and his spirit "refreshingly pagan." There certainly could have been no more open and emphatic denial of all the then common theories of human nature than the philosophy advanced by the man who found Boston Unitarianism too narrow to hold him. We may thank God and take courage. The paganism of the year 1848 is the Christian theism of to-day. Emerson retracted no word that he ever uttered. He never left the lofty ground

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he took in 1838. It has been found that the paganism was not so much in him as in those who denied to him the Christian name. We may see how the change has come about, if we observe his definition of religion and then look about us and see to what an extent this definition has been accepted by the most religious people in all the churches. "Religion or worship," he says, "is the attitude of those who see that the nature of things works for truth and right forever." "Scepticism is unbelief in cause and effect." It is the attitude of a man who does not see that as he deals, so he is, and so he appears. It is the behavior of the man who does not see that relation and connection are not somewhere and sometimes, but everywhere and always — that what comes out of life is what was put into it. The Andover Board of Visitors might possibly still say that such a statement puts the truth "poetically and sentimentally," and that it is therefore dangerous and misleading; but for all that the best evangelical pulpits of the land now use the Concord dialect, and the best people say to each other as they go out from church, "Our minister is getting down to solid grounds of principle."

And all this is most hopeful. This faith in the spiritual order, that it is essentially and eternally right and good, is the ground of all noble living. Emerson says: —

> All great ages have been ages of belief. I mean, when there was any extraordinary power of performance, when great national movements began, when arts appeared, when heroes existed, when poems were made, the human soul was in earnest, and had fixed its thoughts on the spiritual verities with as strict a grasp as that of the hands on the sword or the pencil or the trowel. . . .
>
> If your eye is on the eternal, your intellect will grow, and your opinions and actions will have a beauty which no learning or combined advantages of other men can rival.

The burden of Mr. Emerson's charge against the organized forms of religion was that they represented *routine* and not *belief*. He said: —

> We live in a transition period, when the old faiths which comforted nations, and not only so, but made nations, seem to have spent their force. I do not find the religions of men at this moment very creditable to them, but either childish and insignificant, or unmanly and effeminating. . . . The mass of the community indolently follow the old forms with childish scrupulosity, and we have punctuality for faith, and good taste for character.

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The grand need of religion and of the soul is the touch of *reality*.

The true meaning of the spiritual is the *real*. . . .

God will not manifest Himself to cowards. . . .

Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind. . . . I remember an answer which when quite young I was prompted to make to a valued adviser who was won't to importune me with the dear old doctrines of the church. On my saying, "What have I to do with the sacredness of traditions, if I live wholly from within?" my friend suggested, —

"But these impulses may be from below, not from above."

I replied, "They do not seem to me to be such; but if I am the devil's child, I will live then from the devil. No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature."

In one of his poems entitled "Blight," he laments the shallow cowardice of the age that contents itself with mere hearsay, and so misses the divine vision and the divine life.

We thieves
And pirates of the universe, shut out
Daily to a more thin and outward rind,
Turn pale and starve.

He cries, —

Give me truths,
For I am weary of the surfaces,
And die of inanition.

In one of his last published essays, he writes: —

The man of this age must be matriculated in the university of sciences and tendencies flowing from all past periods. He must not be one who can be surprised and shipwrecked by every bold or subtle word which malignant and acute men may utter in his hearing, but should be taught all scepticisms and unbeliefs, and made the destroyer of all card houses and paper walls, and the sifter of all opinions, by being put face to face from his infancy with *reality*.

This is safe, for "We are born believing." It is the only safety, for

The fiend that man harries
Is love of the best.

Nothing shall ever warp me from the belief that every man is a lover of truth. The entertainment of the proposition of depravity is the last profligacy and profanation. There is no scepticism, no atheism, but that. Could it be received into common belief, suicide would unpeople the planet.

The grand need is that men should recognize the essential religiousness of the natural order and of their own souls and devote themselves to the true religious conduct of life.

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Belief and love — a believing love — will relieve us of a vast load of care. O my brothers, God exists. There is a soul at the centre of nature, and over the will of every man, so that none of us can wrong the universe. It has so infused its strong enchantment into nature that we prosper when we accept its advice. . . . The whole course of things goes to teach us faith. We need only obey. There is guidance for each of us, and by lowly listening we shall hear the right word. . . .

Nature will not have us fret and fume. When we come out of the caucus, or the bank, or the abolition convention, or the temperance meeting, or the Transcendental Club, into the fields and woods, she says to us, "So hot? my little sir."

We are escorted on every hand through life by spiritual agents, and a beneficent purpose lies in wait for us.

> Deep love lieth under
> These pictures of time;
> They fade in the light of
> Their meaning sublime.

God, a living, present, never-failing revelation of God, a divine and beneficent Providence, so near, so unescapable that we may almost call it a divine fate, and man, ensphered in the heart and glory of this mystery of God that we call nature — this is the world and life as we find them in the wonderful word pictures of Emerson. And these words are so wonderful, because they are windows, wherethrough we peer into the beauty and glory of Emerson's own soul, and see in its clear deeps the mirrored deeps of heaven.

Does any one ask, What did such a man think of the soul's destiny? As I have done elsewhere, so here, I summon him to speak for himself. This is his opinion: —

Everything is prospective, and man is to live hereafter. That the world is for his education is the only sane solution of the enigma. . . .

I am a better believer, and all serious souls are better believers, in immortality than we can give grounds for. The real evidence is too subtle, or is higher than we can write down in propositions. We cannot prove our faith by syllogisms.

We must find its evidence in the hints that nature gives us, in

> The grand recoil
> Of life resurgent from the soil
> Wherein was dropped the mortal spoil.

We must see how the Good Power reveals His meaning in the education of the race, and

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Step by step, lifts bad to good,
Without halting, without rest,
Lifting better up to best;
Planting seeds of knowledge pure,
Through earth to ripen, through heaven endure.

We must open our hearts

To know
What rainbows teach, and sunsets show —
Verdict which accumulates
From lengthening scroll of human fates,
Voice of earth, to earth returned,
Prayers of saints that inly burned, —
Saying, What is excellent,
As God lives, is permanent;
Hearts are dust, hearts' loves remain;
Heart's love will meet thee again.

And we must, let me add, give heed to the revelation of God in such a soul as that of our poet philosopher. In the whole range of literature I know of no deeper and nobler argument for immortality than is furnished to him who will read and consider in the life and writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Who, save himself, can fitly describe him?

The sun set; but set not his hope:
Stars rose; his faith was earlier up:
Fixed on the enormous galaxy,
Deeper and older seemed his eye:
And matched his sufferance sublime
The taciturnity of time.
He spoke, and words more soft than rain
Brought the age of gold again;
His action won such reverence sweet,
As hid all measure of the feat.

It is impossible to think of him as "dead." And when we wander, lost in the awful and sweet immensity of his thought, we somehow cannot doubt our own immortality. We have the feeling of which he himself speaks, that the soul antedates the shining accidents that spangle the sky of night, and is coeval with the Infinite Life that builds and unbuilds the worlds.

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THE NEW SLAVERY.

BY JOHN DAVIS, M. C.

I HAVE been asked to answer the question, "*Have we abolished slavery?*" To answer that question intelligently we should first form a correct idea of the nature of slavery. *Slavery is a means by which the master enjoys the earnings of the man.* This single sentence covers the case entirely. If, by whips, bloodhounds and shotguns, supported by a code of laws, a man or a class of men enjoy the earnings of the men who labor, such a system is slavery. If, however, the same results are reached in any other way in spite of the victims, is not that system slavery also? yes.

To illustrate the common narrow view as to the nature and processes of slavery, even among the more intelligent circles of society, and the journals and magazines which profess to be leaders and moulders of public sentiment, I quote from an old magazine the following statement: —

> The close of this century ought to witness the end of slavery on this planet. For fifty years there have been no slaves permitted under the flag of England. The late Czar Alexander set free the serfs in his dominion, while the war of the rebellion liberated 4,000,000 black slaves in the United States. The empire of Brazil decreed in 1871 that every child born thereafter should be free. Cuba is getting rid of slavery very rapidly, and the interest taken by the commercial nations in the Congo Valley, Africa, will soon bring about a stoppage to the practice of man-hunting, and thus slavery will die for want of new slaves. — *Demorest's Monthly*, June, 1884.

The American people inherited the discussion of the subject of slavery from their fathers in Europe; and for several generations it periodically crowded itself to the front as the leading subject in politics. Yet it is safe to say that we know little of its nature and processes except the single variety known as chattel slavery, and that only in connection with the colored race. To aid, therefore, in a more intelligent appreciation of the subject, I propose to discuss some of the leading varieties of human slavery.

Chattel slavery is a system in which the master owns the slave, possessing the power to buy and sell him at will; to work him hard and feed him little; to punish and outrage his person; even to kill him, if so disposed, being restrained only by the money invested in such human property. This is chattel slavery as it formerly existed in the British Empire and in America. It had

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its origin in physical force — in war and piracy. Its foreign supply was maintained by the same means. Ships were fitted out by traders who visited weak, unoffending and uncivilized peoples for the purchase or capture of men, women and children to be sold in the markets of slave countries. Children were bought from parents and subjects from chiefs, for a mere trinket or trifle, and then, when cupidity dictated, both chiefs and parents were captured to complete the cargo.

The slave trade had its risks and dangers, and not unfrequently battles were fought to subdue such as could not be cajoled and swindled. When on shipboard the captives were manacled and confined lest they might mutiny and overpower the crew, or lest individuals in their anguish might leap into the sea. The slaves had to be attended and fed, lest death and damage might prove a moneyed loss to the owners before the market was reached and the cargo disposed of. When sold, the owner put the slaves to work on plantations of cotton, rice and tobacco; and then it was that the master began to "enjoy the earnings of the man." This was chattel slavery and the slave trade. They were inhuman and savage in the extreme. The slave trade, ultimately, was branded by civilized nations as piracy, and punished as an outrage upon humanity. The whole system was full of risks — financial and personal — to the masters; while for the slaves there were none but the lowest forms of physical mercy.

I now invite attention to another form of slavery — far safer, far better and more comprehensive for the masters, but less merciful to the slaves. It is *bond slavery*, or "bondage," and may be illustrated by actual facts now transpiring in many parts of the world. It is a refined system — popular with civilized nations; as much superior to chattel slavery in its financial results as the railroad is to the wheelbarrow in matters of transportation. It annually yields millions and billions to the masters, with the minimum of financial or personal risk, while it enslaves whole nations, reaping the profits of states and empires as fast as the crops can grow, or the profits of labor can be moulded into valuable form.

Bond slavery has its origin and power for evil in financial injustice and usury. Let me illustrate: Instead of using a private ship, supplied with the implements of war and manacles for human limbs, fitted up in secret, and escaping by stealth from secluded harbors, we usually find a British steamer, proudly moored in the docks of Liverpool. Bearing the agents of English and French capitalists, it steams out into the ocean gaily in broad daylight, bound for a pleasure and business trip, let us say, to the land of the Pharaohs. These agents are gentlemen of leisure and respectability. They will have welcome access into the

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highest court circles of Alexandria and Cairo. They are on a mission of civilization and business from a Christian and enlightened people, who have spent millions of money and thousands of lives in abolishing the African slave trade and branding it as piracy. They are from a Christian island, whose soil "cannot be pressed by the foot of a slave!" and whose very air "melts the shackles from the limbs of slavery!"

Those high-born, Christian men are on a pleasant visit to half-barbarous Egypt. They study the thoughts and aspirations of its poor, weak but ambitious prince. He aspires to shine as the owner of an imperial palace; he would muster a splendid army, with gay equipments and trappings. The inmates of his harem and the chargers in his stables are dust and ashes compared with what this weak, proud man would possess if he could. He dreams of canals for irrigation and commerce; of railroads and bridges like those of Europe; light-houses in his harbors; and a more honorable title to be bought of the Sultan of Turkey; of a thousand things, useful and ornamental, none of which can be procured without millions of money. His weak points are studied and his ambitions stimulated by the wily agents of the European capitalists. Without money, however, his dreams and aspirations must end in mortification and misery.

Here, now, is the harvest of the financiers. The proposition is made to furnish the viceroy *all the money he wants in exchange for the bonds of Egypt!* A strong box is unlocked containing blank bonds — printed in London in three languages — English, French and Egyptian. "Fill out, legally execute, sign and deliver these papers," say the agents, "and we will pay you in hard coin, or its equivalent in exchange on London and Paris, fifty cents on the dollar of the face value of the bonds to the amount of hundreds of millions." It is a Golconda! It is an Eldorado! It is a greater "find" to the poor half barbarian than were the mines of South America and Mexico to the kings of Europe. He snaps the bait, and in the end $400,000,000 of bonds are resting on the labor of Egypt. The interest and expenses of collection amount to about $40,000,000 per annum.

In this financial transaction, the farmers and tax payers of the land of the Pharoahs have all been captured and manacled in a day, as it were, and reduced to an abject bondage worse than chattel slavery, embracing no single element of mercy. Every man, woman and child of the present and future generations; every acre of soil, and every hoofed animal and domestic fowl have been involved in the capture, and are to be sacrificed to the greed of unmerciful masters. From day to day, from month to month, and from year to year, beneath the burning tropical sun, under the spur and the lash of the tax gatherers, the fellah and

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his wife and little ones toil from daylight to dark; they live in mud huts, dress in the merest rags, and subsist on refuse unfit for chattel slaves. The earnings of the slaves and the products of the land go beyond the sea to the coffers of the masters, who, living in London and Paris, are making new investments among the thoughtless nations of the earth; not in flesh and blood — that would be piracy and slavery — but in undying productive bonds, wherever princes, monarchs, congresses or legislatures can be cajoled, bulldozed or tampered with.

Egypt is reduced to bondage. No single master owns any single slave. There is no investment direct in flesh and blood. No master will suffer loss by the death of a slave. The investment is in bonds drawing interest by day, by night and on Sundays; bonds which do not die. The labor and lands of Egypt are pawned for the bonds, while its pauperized inhabitants toil and sweat, suffer and die. Soon the tax gatherers fail to raise the $40,000,000 per annum. There is an annual deficit in the payment of interest. This is rank repudiation! Shylock must have his pound of flesh! British tax collectors take the place of the natives. Whips and bastinadoes are used to urge the payment of taxes. We are told: —

> The fellaheen were bastinadoed as they never had been before, and the taxes were collected in advance. Mr. Romaine proposed to reduce the land tax so that the people might live; Major Baring on behalf of the bond holders refused to allow it. — *Appleton's Annual*, 1882, p. 235.

Finally poor, untaught, starving and bleeding humanity can bear no more. The foreign tax gatherers are attacked by their victims, and some of them are killed. Great Britain can brook no such insult. Thundering ironclads and British soldiers are sent to avenge the insolence, and to "enforce the claims of British subjects." Alexandria is bombarded. Its streets are drenched with innocent blood. Human life is destroyed as no dynamiter, communist or nihilist would have the heart to do. Historic buildings, valuable libraries and the homes of the people melt in the flames, while hecatombs of human lives are sacrificed to this new slavery, containing among its ingredients not a single element of mercy. *This is a picture of bond slavery in Egypt!*

The Egyptians have long ago paid the full face of the bonds in interest. They have paid in the form of interest more than twice the amount of the money borowed, but the bonds still live without diminution; they still cry, "Give! give!" And men are blown to atoms with gunpowder and shot down like dogs to enforce the continually increasing demands of the bond holders. No education, no rest, no comfort, no certainty of life, for the Egyptian tax payers, with the sharp teeth of British usury perpetually gnawing at their vitals. A similar slavery has been

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instituted and is now enforced by British arms and diplomacy with severest rigor among the millions of India. Yet we are told by a leading magazine, already quoted, that for "fifty years there have been no slaves permitted under the flag of England!"

There are many forms, modifications and processes of bond slavery. I am now considering that variety which comes through a great national debt which may be fraudulently created and increased from time to time. During the late war the bonds of the United States were sold for half price currency. In 1869 these cheap currency bonds were made payable in coin, thus vastly adding to their value and to the burdens of the tax payers. In 1873 silver was dropped from the coinage, making all coin bonds and all coin debts of all sorts payable in gold coin only; thus practically making them much more burdensome by cutting off half the means of payment.

In 1863 there was established in this country a national banking system, based on United States bonds, under which $350,000,000, in the form of bank notes, was handed out of the treasury to a preferred class of capitalists, *without value received.* They were authorized to loan these notes to the people at high rates of interest. By these fraudulent and usurious methods billions of dollars have been drawn from the people in the form of interest alone. Billions of dollars have been, also, paid on the principal; yet now the remaining principal, through currency contraction and falling prices, is of greater purchasing value than was the currency originally borrowed.

The burdens borne by the American people would have destroyed half a dozen Egypts. It has not quite ruined us, on account of the extent and exuberance of our soil and the wonderful industry, intelligence and energy of our people. It has, however, on the one hand, reduced many thousands of honest laborers to pauperism; and, on the other hand, it has created a large and increasing class of dangerous millionaires whose intrigues are a daily menace to our free institutions. Many thousands of our people have fallen into rags and hunger until they can no longer enter the free schools, but exist and suffer as chronic enemies of society, ready to break out into open violence for bread whenever our millionaires choose to inaugurate a general panic, forcing industrial lockouts and famine.

The great fund-holding millionaires have their hands on the throats of the people through various forms of national, state, municipal, telegraph and railroad debts, many millions of which are water, costing the holders only the printing and signing of the papers. The interest and dividends on these bonds and stocks are met by high national and municipal taxation, and by high telegraph and transportation rates, forming a constantly

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flowing river of hard-earned cash from the fingers of labor and business into the coffers of the millionaires, who are thus our new slave masters. They are the masters of the tax payers, masters of Congress, masters of the legislatures, masters of the courts, masters of finance, masters of transportation and masters of the public means of communication and intelligence. In the pride of their power they snap their fingers in the faces of the people and say, "The public be damned!" and "What are you going to do about it?"

The chattel system has been abolished in the United States; but "Have we abolished slavery?" Ask the factory girls, the sewing women, the coal miners, the iron workers, the farmers and all the men and women of toil who form the great public which the Vanderbilts would damn to perpetual servitude! The old slavery rested on three millions of blacks, whom it pauperized, but fed and clothed. The masters never became millionaires. They were brutal and overbearing, but they had not the means to purchase great lines of railroads and telegraphs, and through them to levy tribute on whole states. The new slavery rests on sixty millions of people. It makes paupers which society must feed; and it has created thousands of millionaire slave masters, with regular incomes of millions per annum, from the labor of the people.

Slavery is always the result where the master classes have monopolized the necessities of society and the means of life, so that the laboring or slave classes can have access to them only on the master's terms. In every system of slavery the slaves must labor to the utmost limit of human endurance for the merest pittance of food, clothing and shelter that will sustain life. The masters are the honored class, with power and disposition to inflict indignity, outrage and wrong upon the persons of the slaves, restrained only by their own ideas of mercy and moneyed interests. In chattel slavery the master owns his slaves as he does his horses, and is interested in their health and comfort. Such property must not suffer material detriment. The master will see to its physical preservation and animal prosperity, precisely as he will take care of his animals of value. The slaves are his property!

Chattel slavery, cruel and wicked as it necessarily must be, still possesses, as we see, elements of mercy. There are other forms of slavery that are merciless! Yet men have analyzed the subject so little, that some of the most wicked and oppressive systems are utterly ignored. Even the enlightened British people, while actually moving the heavens and the earth, so to speak, in order to abolish chattel slavery and the African slave trade, have actually nurtured and still nurture in their own

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islands the joint systems of wage and tenant slavery, which have paved the bed of the Atlantic Ocean from Cork, Liverpool and Belfast to New York with the skeletons of human slaves escaping from their chains. And America — our boasted free and liberty-loving America — whose people have poured out blood and treasure like water for the abolition of chattel slavery, is, as fast as time can move, suffering and aiding monopolies to grasp the means of life, through which to establish and compel the merciless slave systems of the old world.

During the late war, two gentlemen were discussing the great question of the day. It was before President Lincoln's proclamation of freedom had been issued. The progress of the war and the relative strength of the North and the South were the subjects of conversation.

Said one: "The black man holds the balance in his hands. His sympathies and friendships will turn the scale."

"Well," said the other, "his sympathies and friendships are on the side of the North, are they not? Surely the slaves cannot join their tyrants against their friends!"

"But," said the former, "suppose the Southerners should turn abolitionists?"

"They cannot do that," said the latter, "as that would be yielding the entire question at issue!"

"Apparently it would," said number one; "in reality it would not. Let me outline a plan that an enlightened Southern policy may adopt. Suppose the Confederate government should say to the slave holders: 'Sell us your slaves! Set your prices high, but sell us your slaves! We have no money, but we will pay you in bonds — perpetual bonds — with liberal interest payable semi-annually *forever!*' Seeing that slavery may be destroyed by the war, the enlightened slave holders should accept the offer. Then, when the slaves become the property of the Southern government, the proclamation should go forth to the slaves, 'Fight and you are free!' This course would change the sympathies of the slaves from the North to the South. The Southerners, noble fellows, would then have the credit of freeing their slaves, and the war would henceforth be a joint struggle of whites and blacks for national existence; while the North, shorn of her prestige and reputation on the slavery question, would have the bad reputation of fighting for empire. There would then be no moral or other reasons why England and France should remain neutral. The American blockade would be destroyed and the North would be beaten."

"But," asked number two, "what will become of slavery?"

"Oh," responded his companion, "slavery will be all right. It will be changed, of course, but it will be on a broader and

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better basis than before. Nominally the slaves will be free; practically they will not. Formerly the masters owned the slaves and the lands. Latterly they will hold the bonds and the lands. The ex-slaves and poor whites will have access to the lands only on the master's terms. The *interest* on the bonds (paid by labor) will hire the labor of the new order of slaves *forever!* The former system compelled the master to care for the life and health of the slaves. The latter system compels the slave to work on the master's terms and care for himself. His death is no loss to the master. The master class is the ruling class — the law-making class. The new plan will be a much safer and better system, by which the master can enjoy the earnings of the man, than the former one. It is merely a change from the chattel system to the merciless European plan."

But the South did not adopt the plan outlined above. The rebels were beaten because the negroes joined the North. And the bonds that were lavishly issued at the instigation of the Wall Street and European money loaners, fell upon the laboring people of both the North and the South. Instead of Southern slave holders remaining the masters, our masters live in New York and London.

A much-quoted and much-denied but truly prophetic circular once predicted the conspiracy of the British slave holders as follows: —

> Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power, and chattel slavery is to be destroyed. This, I and my European friends are in favor of, for slavery is but the owning of labor, and carries with it the responsibility to care for the laborer; while the European plan, led in by England, is: *Capital control of labor, by controlling wages!* This can be done by controlling the money.
>
> The great debt, that capitalists will see to it is made out of this war, must be used as the means to control the volume of money. To accomplish this the bonds must be used as the banking basis. We are now waiting to get the secretary of the treasury to make this recommendation to Congress. It will not do to let the greenback, as it is called, circulate as money any length of time, for we cannot control them. But we *can control the bonds*, and through them the bank issue. — Hazard Circular, 1862.

About the same time an eminent English writer is said to have stated the impending conspiracy in the form of an opinion as follows: —

> There is likely to be an effort made by the capital class to fasten upon the world a rule through their wealth, and by means of reduced wages, place the masses upon a footing more degrading and dependent than has ever been known in history. The spirit of money worshippers seems to be rapidly developing in that direction. — Lubbock.

The New York *World*, an advocate of the new system of merciless slavery, is said to have delivered itself some years later as follows: —

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The American laborer must make up his mind henceforth not to be so much better off than the European laborer. Men must be content to work for less wages. In this way the working man will be nearer that station in life to which it has pleased God to call him.

The old chattel system was described by a proslavery journal in the halcyon days of chattel slavery as follows, —

The slave is fed and cared for by the master, and the products of his labor belong to the owner, and this was the place they were designed to fill.

How much alike slavery is in all its forms! — always casting its eyes toward heaven for the sanctity of its processes, and always breathing the same sentiment, "Cursed be Canaan," toward the men whom it dooms to toil, poverty and degradation.

In order to complete the circuit and to do justice all around, I will give one more example of bond slavery, showing that the laboring people of England are also the slaves of the great English fund holders. Senator John P. Jones, a native of England, in his late speech in the United States Senate, described the means and processes of establishing the English slave system as follows: —

At the demand of the creditor classes the gold standard was adopted in England after the Napoleonic wars, in order that the war debt, a large portion of which was in paper, might be paid in gold. In his "Financial History of England," Mr. Doubleday states his belief that for a portion of the war period the pound note with which the public securities of Great Britain were bought was not worth in specie over seven or eight shillings in the pound — about thirty-three to thirty-eight per cent.

The debt being afterward by law made payable, pound for pound, in gold, it is obvious that the bond holders of Great Britain then mulcted the people of that country, as, at a later period, the public creditors of the United States mulcted the people of this country. The English people supposed that they had long since paid the expenses of the struggle with Napoleon, but by the annual increase in the value of the pound sterling, that struggle is costing them more as the years go by. Although the war is over so far as concerns the destruction of men in uniform and on the battle field, yet their destruction continues *without* uniform, and *without* the formalities of battle lines. Although three fourths of a century have elapsed since that war terminated, the conflict still rages.

The bonds that were issued to pay the expenses of those wars are increasing in value at the same rate at which gold increases, which, for the past twenty years, is at the rate of two and a half per cent per annum. Napoleon has been dead for two generations. In his will, by formal words and solemn injunction, he bequeathed to France the duty of avenging upon England the untimely death to which it had consigned him. He might have saved himself the trouble. He has found avengers whom he little suspected, among the Englishmen themselves.

The public creditors, by the increasing exactions which, from year to year, they are making through the operation of the gold standard in the payments of interest on the war debt, have already by means of idleness and starvation brought to ruin, desolation and death, millions of such

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brave men as defeated Napoleon. The masses of the people of Great Britain, though able to cope with an open foe on a field in which they recognized the enemy, have not been on their guard against the insidious attacks of the crafty adversary who presented himself in the guise of a compatriot, who, under the authority of law, by a subtle manipulation of money, has continued the slaughter.

What American can have patience with the laudations he hears of the riches of Great Britain, when he knows that parents are compelled to force their children of tender years to hard and dreary labor in order that the family taken all together may eke out a bare existence? Great numbers of little boys and girls, the future men and women of Great Britain, are wearing out their young lives in order that the nation may be called rich, and may be held up to the admiring gaze of the people of the United States.

Referring to the conditions of child labor in England, Senator Jones quotes Francis A. Walker as follows: —

We know that mill owners are harassed with applications from their hands to take children into employment on almost any terms, and that the consciences of the employers have required to be enforced by the sternest prohibitions and penalties of the law to save children ten, seven, or four years old from the horrors of "sweating dens" and crowded factories, since the more miserable the parents' condition, the greater becomes the pressure upon them to crowd their children somehow, somewhere, into service; the scantier the remuneration of their present employment, the less becomes their ability to obtain favor from outside for the better disposition of their offspring. Once in the mill, we know how little chance there is of the children afterwards taking up for themselves another way of life.

We know, too, that in the agricultural districts of England, gangs of children of all ages from sixteen down to ten, or even five years, have been formed and driven from farm to farm, and from parish to parish, to work all day under strange overseers, and to sleep in barns at night all huddled together without distinction of sex. — "The Wages Question," p. 201.

So late as 1870, children were employed in the brick yards of England, under strange task masters, at three and one-half years of age. Account is given us, sickening in its details, of a boy weighing fifty-two pounds carrying on his head a load of clay weighing forty-three pounds, seven miles a day, and walking another seven to the place where his burden was to be assumed. — *Ibid.*, p. 202.

"John Ruskin," says Senator Jones, "well understood the condition of his countrymen with regard to the distribution of wealth, when he said, —

Though England is deafened with spinning-wheels, her people have not clothes; though she is black from the digging of coal, they die of cold; and though she has sold her soul for gain, they die of hunger.

Senator Jones continues: —

And the great heart of Mrs. Browning, moved by the sight of hundreds of thousands of little hands prematurely set to labor to aid in piling up the riches which enable the American admirers of the gold standard to point to Great Britain as a rich nation — what does it say? Hear the pathetic appeal of a woman to the stony hearts of the classes for whose benefit those riches are accumulated: —

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"Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And *that* cannot stop their tears.
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows;
The young birds are chirping in the nest;
The young fawns are playing with the shadows;
The young flowers are blowing towards the West, —
But the young, young children, O my brothers,
They are weeping bitterly;
They are weeping in the play time of the others,
In the country that is free."

Without noticing other forms of this hydra-headed monster, which has been justly called "the sum of all villanies," I now close as I began, by asking as I was asked, "Have we abolished slavery?"

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THE BROTHERHOOD OF INDIA.

BY A STUDENT OF OCCULTISM.

It is not an unjust nor unreasonable demand upon one who appears in the *rôle* of critic that he should present his credentials before asking for the confidence of his readers.

For the purposes of this letter, however, it may be deemed sufficient to state that the writer has devoted more than twenty years to the careful study of occult philosophy and psychic phenomena under conditions most favorable to the acquisition of exact and definite knowledge along those lines, and for nearly half that time has been a regularly admitted member of that mystic order which alone could invest him with authority to speak upon the subject under consideration.

At a future time and in a different manner exact and complete information will be cheerfully furnished to those who may be chosen for that purpose from among the scientific investigators now actively identified with the development of psychic thought and culture in America. Until then, however, let the foregoing serve as a sufficient introduction.

In the current (August) number of The Arena, running from page 366 to 378, both inclusive, appears Part II. of a paper by Heinrich Hensoldt, Ph. D., under the caption, "Occult Science in Thibet." It is this article in general, and certain specific declarations of principle therein contained, in particular, that I desire briefly to discuss in the hope that I may, perhaps, add to their general value in the world of scientific thought and exact knowledge.

Mr. Hensoldt has recently clearly, ably and entertainingly written upon the same general theme a number of articles which have been read with critical interest by progressive thinkers throughout the civilized world. In all of these articles the crystal-clear integrity and good conscience of the author are strongly attested, and let it be distinctly understood at the outset that this letter does not contain one word which is intended to impeach, in the smallest degree, his good faith and honesty of purpose.

Mr. Hensoldt does not pretend, however, to have passed behind the mystic veil of the initiate, nor claim to speak with authority beyond that acquired by personal observation from a strictly

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external point of vision. He is, therefore, in position to understand and appreciate the fact that some of his impressions and interpretations may not be strictly accurate, or that his use of language may have added here and there a shade of meaning not contemplated by the Hindoo whose thoughts he has endeavored to reflect, although he stands fully acquitted of any intent to misrepresent.

If, therefore, in his last article he has drawn some conclusions and presented some interpretations which unintentionally do injustice to the mystic Brotherhood as well as to their philosophy, he will esteem it a favor rather than an offense to have his attention called to the fact in a spirit of fraternal kindness. With that thought in mind I shall endeavor to free myself from the embarrassment of seeming to invite antagonism or controversy. I seek only to establish truth.

At page 374 of THE ARENA Mr. Hensoldt quotes from Coomra Sami, among other things, the following words: —

> What you have to get rid of, in the first instance, is this fundamental delusion of *matter*. There *is* no such thing as matter. What you call the external world is no more real than the shadow of yonder rock. The things which you seem to behold around you are simply the products of your own mind.

Again at page 377: —

> We [Hindoos] know that the so-called external world is not real. . . . What you call matter exists only in your mind, and it can not be too often repeated that the fact of our being able to see or touch a thing does not prove its existence.

And again at page 378: —

> And here we come back to the eternal truth, namely, that your so-called world after all is *maya* or illusion, etc.

I call attention to these extracts as an expression of the central thought about which the Hindoo is reported to have woven much more by way of explanation, illustration and elucidation. The central thought, however, is the specific subject matter to which I desire to address myself; and in this connection I trust that Mr. Hensoldt will not hold me in contempt for the violation of common courtesies, nor adjudge me guilty of incivility when I say that *such is not the philosophy of the Mystic Brotherhood.* They have never taught, nor have they intended to teach that "*There is no such thing as matter*," nor that "*matter is only a delusion.*"

How this radical misinterpretation of so fundamental a principle in the philosophy may have occurred, I do not pretend to know; but I do know that it is a mistake which does the gravest injustice to the Brotherhood as well as to their philosophy and teaching. Other misinterpretations of their philosophy have

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gone before the world, but none more radically at variance with the facts than this. The very fact that there are to-day but thirty-three active living masters of the Inner Temple of the Mystic Brotherhood, that their lives are from necessity very exclusive, that there are so few who could be entrusted with the knowledge they possess, makes access to them most difficult. This in turn has led to a wide range of vague, indefinite and exaggerated rumors concerning their lives, their habits, customs, knowledge and philosophy which have been published to the world as *facts*, but many of which are fiction pure and simple.

As to this particular article under consideration I could not and do not expect the readers of this paper to accept my uncorroborated statement in preference to that of Mr. Hensoldt, and had I relied upon such evidence alone I should never have opened the door of controversy. There are, however, certain remarkable inconsistencies in the body of the article itself which the careful, thoughtful student can not fail to recognize, but which might readily pass unchallenged by the casual reader. To one or two of these only, let me direct attention: —

1. At page 376 of THE ARENA the following quotation, *ipsissimis verbis*, from Coomra Sami appears without qualifications, viz.: —

> We [Hindoos] live on rice, and most of us are satisfied with one meal a day. A teacup full of boiled rice, with a little salt is all that we need in the line of food. One piece of cloth, which will last us for years, is all the raiment we need, and as for shelter, why a few bamboo sticks thatched with palm-leaves will more than suffice.

It is but courtesy as well as justice to Mr. Hensoldt to assume that these are, in truth, the exact words of the Hindoo. But now let us apply to them the simple test of the philosophy that "matter is a delusion." In that event, to be entirely consistent with his philosophy, the Hindoo should have said something like this: —

> We imaginary beings (Hindoos) think we live on a cereal fantasy (rice), and most of us imagine ourselves satisfied with one such delusion (meal) a day. An illusion (teacup) full of boiled cereal fantasy (rice), with a little epiphany (salt) as an imaginary condiment with which to fool our supposed sense of taste, is all we need in the line of gustatory deception (food). One piece of misconception (cloth) which will last us for a number of delusions of time (years), is all the nothing (raiment) we need. And as for the phantom (shelter) why, a few bamboo imaginations (sticks) thatched with palm-nonentities (leaves), will more than suffice.

Again at page 377 the Hindoo is quoted as follows: "While you have been working for the stomach, we have been working for the brain." But had he been entirely consistent with his delusional philosophy, he should have said something like this:

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"While you have been working for that imaginary pocket in the middle of your hallucinatory anatomy, called a stomach, we have been working for the more exalted delusion in the mistaken apex of our imaginary craniums, called a brain."

While there is necessarily an element of absurdity in the foregoing amended rendition of the Hindoo's language, my purpose is not to ridicule the author, but only to illustrate more vividly the fact that the very words employed by the Hindoo to express his thought, are in themselves a palpable contradiction of the philosophy which Mr. Hensoldt's article would teach. The same contradiction may be observed in almost every sentence uttered by the Hindoo.

For illustration: he speaks of the *city of Thibet*, of the *Himalayan heights*, of his *heart*, of *wealth*, *luxury*, *cattle*, *animality*, his *race*, the *Vale of Kashmir;* of the *hand*, *eye*, *ear* and *brain;* of *horses*, *stones*, *trees*, *rubbish*, *material possessions*, *property* and the *eternal stars;* of *physical suffering* and *physical character* as distinguished from mental suffering and spiritual character; of *material culture* as distinguished from spiritual culture, and of many other purely physical things, in such terms as tacitly to acknowledge their existence in a world not of the spirit. And yet, with all these accumulated evidences of his unqualified recognition of physical nature, he is made to say, "What you call matter exists only in your own mind." "There *is* no such thing as matter." To the mind of the thoughtful reader the inconsistency must be apparent, and to the careful, analytical scientist it is, of itself, a sufficient condemnation of the fallacy.

2. If one were left to draw his conclusion from the words of the Hindoo alone, as they appear in the article under consideration, it would seem that the one central and supreme object to be attained by a student in this school of magic, is the mystic art of dispelling "the delusion of matter."

Coomra Sami tells us that this fundamental delusion is the chief obstacle in the pathway of the initiate, and goes so far as to draw comparisons between the wisdom of the Western world and that of the Orient, much to the advantage of the East. From his exposition of the philosophy, if one would attain the exalted position of an *adept*, he must first divest himself of this "fundamental delusion of matter." He must rise to a point of spiritual perception where "There *is* no such thing as matter." Upon this point one's scepticism is, in a manner, disarmed by the author's statement that "Coomra Sami was one of those *high grade adepts* who had come as near perfection in the line of occult wisdom as probably any Hindoo initiate from the time of the great Sakyamuni." If this be true, it follows "as the night the day" that in so far as *he* is concerned "There *is* no such thing as matter." In

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so many words he tells us so; but how shall we reconcile this with the fact that, even he, after having *reduced his wants to a minimum*, still *eats rice*, *wears clothes*, and lives beneath the shelter of *bamboo sticks* thatched with *palm leaves?* All these things the Hindoo tells us are necessaries even in his own life. But what are *rice*, *clothes*, *bamboo sticks* and *palm leaves?* They are either *matter* or *delusions*. If *matter*, they completely disprove the "delusion" theory; but if, on the other hand, they are only *delusions*, then, by his own mouth, Coomra Sami stands convicted of *eating* delusions, *wearing* delusions, and living under the protecting *shelter* of a delusion, all of which, to a man of his profound wisdom and great power, must be a most humiliating confession of his own insufficiency, or a like confession of the error of his philosophy. Whichever position we take there is an irreconcilable inconsistency which condemns the philosophy.

3. As additional or cumulative evidence that matter has no existence in fact, Mr. Hensoldt at page 378 of his article asks the Hindoo this question: "Do you really mean to say that these eternal hills and the fertile plains beyond, have no existence, except in my own mind?" To this, after giving Mr. Hensoldt a *singular look and waving his hand*, Coomra Sami replies: "These eternal hills, where are they now?" Mr. Hensoldt then says: "And as I turned my gaze from the adept's eyes in the direction of the snow-clad Himalayas I was amazed to find myself gazing upon vacancy; the eternal hills and the fertile plains had vanished into thin air, and nothing was before me but a vast expanse of space; even the solid rock beneath our feet seemed to have disappeared, although I felt as if treading some invisible ground. *The sensation was weird in the extreme, and the illusion lasted fully eight or ten minutes, when suddenly the outlines of the hills came faintly to view again, and before many seconds the landscape had risen to its former reality.*"

It will be observed from the foregoing, that Mr. Hensoldt says: "The *illusion* lasted fully eight or ten minutes," etc., from which it would appear that notwithstanding the words of the adept, he, at least, recognizes the fact that the *disappearance* of the eternal hills constitutes the *illusion* in this case, and that their *reappearance* is, in fact, the *reality*. Such, at least, is the truth. This kind of sensory illusion is most common, and one need not go beyond the limits of your beautiful city of Boston to witness it in many forms quite as interesting; but it is wholly incompetent as evidence to support the allegation that "There *is* no such thing as matter." It constitutes much better evidence of the truth of hypnotism.

I have said that notwithstanding many misinterpretations of the philosophy and teachings of the Mystic Brotherhood, and

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many fallacies concerning their life and work have been published to the world during the past few years; yet nothing has ever appeared in print more radically unjust to them and their philosophy than the allegation of Coomra Sami that they deny the existence of matter.

So widely is this at variance from the very basic and elementary principle of their philosophy, that I am impelled to give a brief statement of their true position upon the question under consideration.

Instead of believing or teaching that "There *is* no such thing as matter," or that "what we call matter exists only in the mind" — the very foundation rock upon which the superstructure of their entire philosophy rests, is the great, universal truth that *matter exists everywhere.*

Not only is the physical universe a universe of *matter*, but the same is equally true of the world of spirit. Both are *material* in the most exact and literal meaning of that word. The spirit of an individual is as truly a *material* organism as is the physical body which envelops it. Both are *matter*, the one *physical* and the other *spiritual.* "Physical material" and "spiritual material" are, in truth, the identical terms employed by the masters to distinguish between the two worlds of matter.

But if it be true that both are, in fact, material worlds, the question may properly be asked, Wherein exists the difference, and what is the necessity for any such distinction? The one belongs to the world of purely physical things, and is therefore designated by the very appropriate term, "physical matter." The other belongs to the world of purely spiritual things, and is therefore designated by the equally fitting term, "spiritual matter." For a similar reason we designate that which belongs to the mineral kingdom as "mineral," and that which belongs to the vegetable kingdom as "vegetable," but the one is as truly material as the other.

In this case, however, both belong to the world of physical material, and are but subdivisions of it. But what are the real differences between a vegetable and a mineral by means of which the physical scientist may distinguish the one from the other? These are too well known to require analysis or definition in this letter, and I therefore take for granted that they are familiar to the reader. It is equally true, however, that there are certain distinguishable differences existing in physical and spiritual organisms which enable the spiritual scientist — or the master — to determine with equal accuracy to which world of matter any given organism or body belongs. What are some of these distinguishable differences?

1. One which may be mentioned is, *the degree of fineness — or*

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the relative size of the individual particles of which a body is composed.

Let me see if I can make this clear. Suppose, for illustration, you take an ordinary gallon measure and fill it to the brim with marbles of the ordinary size used by children at play. Now it is not difficult for you to understand that, although it will hold no more marbles, the measure is not, in fact, *full.* There are many vacant spaces between these marbles, which may be filled in without running the measure over, provided we select a substance, the particles of which are fine enough to sift into these vacant spaces. Now suppose you try number six shot. You will find that you can put into the measure several handfuls of shot without running it over. Why is this? Because the shot are smaller than the vacant spaces between the marbles. You have now poured in all the shot the measure will hold, but you can readily understand that the measure is not yet full. There yet remain smaller spaces between the shot which are still vacant. Now put in ordinary white, dry sand, and you will find that the measure, though full as it will hold of marbles and shot, will still receive several handfuls of the sand. Why? Because the vacant spaces between the shot are larger than the grains of sand. But you have now put in all the sand the measure will hold. Is it full? No. You may now pour in over a pint of water. Why? Because the particles of which water is composed are much finer than the vacant spaces between the particles of sand, and the water has only run into these vacant spaces.

It now begins to look as if the measure were, in reality, full; but not so. Now take a very high grade of finely distilled alcohol and you will be able to drop slowly in three or four spoonfuls of the alcohol without overrunning the measure. Why is this? Because there are still vacant spaces, even between the particles of water, large enough to receive the finer particles of which alcohol is composed. But how now? Have we reached the limit? No. There is yet another fluid compound known to chemists whose particles are so much finer than those of alcohol that a teaspoonful or two of this may be added without seeming to increase the aggregate contents of the measure, thus proving that even between the particles of alcohol there are spaces unfilled. But what shall we say now? Is the measure full? No; not yet. We will now turn into the vessel a current of electricity, and we find that we still have room for an amount sufficient to charge the entire contents of the measure. But what is electricity? The finest and most subtle fluid known to the physical universe. We are now just upon the borderland of the spiritual universe. We have approached it along the line of "the degree of fineness, or the relative size of the individual

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particles of which a body is composed." The next step takes us across the border line of purely physical material into the land of spiritual matter.

2. Another distinguishable difference between physical material and spiritual material is found in *the rate of vibratory motion of the atom in the compound.*

Let me see if I can make myself understood on this point. Take a piece of granite, set it before you, look at it carefully and see if you can discover any vibratory movement among the individual crystals of which it is composed. No; you are ready to declare that so far as you can discover they are absolutely at rest: but not so. Science has discovered that the individual particles of which a stone is composed are in a constant state of vibratory motion one upon the other. But this vibratory motion of the atom in the compound is, in the case of stone, at such a low rate that it is not perceptible to the physical sense of sight, and as a result the piece of granite appears to be a solid, immovable, impenetrable mass of dead matter.

Now take a piece of growing wood. Examine it as carefully as possible with the naked eye. You are still unable to observe any movement among the particles of which it is composed; but if you place it under a powerful magnifying glass you will be able to distinguish a very slight vibratory movement among the individual cells of which it is composed. But notwithstanding that the rate of this vibratory motion is much greater than that in the case of stone, it is still not great enough to disturb the physical sense of vision. The result is that wood, like stone, appears to the naked eye, a solid, dead substance.

To save both time and space, we will now pass over several intermediate substances such as animal flesh, gelatine, etc., and examine a drop of water. Here we find that the vibratory motion of the atom in the compound is at a rate many times greater than that in either stone or wood. The particles of which water is composed move with such facility and rapidity, one upon another that, to a certain extent, they elude the physical sense of sight, and the result is that water is transparent to the naked eye.

Let us take another step forward and we come to the gases. Here we find that the vibratory motion of the atom in the compound is at a rate so much higher than in water that the physical sense of vision is entirely eluded. In other words, a gas is invisible only because the atoms of which it is composed vibrate so rapidly that the physical sense of sight is unable to follow them. To make this fact so clear that none may misunderstand it nor fail to grasp it as a fundamental principle in science, why is it that when a gun is discharged we are unable to see the

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bullet speeding on its way? It is only because its rate of movement is so rapid that the physical sense of sight cannot follow it. It has simply eluded the eye. Again: Look at an ordinary carriage wheel when it is at rest and you can see every spoke with perfect distinctness; but place it on a spindle and set it revolving at a high rate, and the higher the rate the less distinctly you will be able to see the spokes until they finally disappear.

We now come to the last and highest grade of physical matter, viz., electricity. The vibratory motion of the atoms in this compound is at a rate higher than that in any other physical substance.

And here we stand again at the border line which bounds the physical universe of matter and separates it from the world of things spiritual. The only difference is that in this case we have approached from an entirely different direction, viz., along the line of vibratory motion. The next step takes us beyond the physical into the world of spiritual matter. There are other distinguishable characteristics of physical material and spiritual material which enable the advanced scientist immediately to classify and locate in its proper world, any given material organism, with as much certainty and precision as the physical scientist or *physicist* of the great colleges of the world is enabled to classify and locate the purely physical substances with which his science has to do; but it is unnecessary to multiply these illustrations. What I desire to make clear is the fact that the physical scientist, or physicist, using only physical means, is limited in his scientific investigation and demonstration to the world of *physical* matter. He stops at the border line between the two worlds of matter and is forced to say: "I can go no further; the instruments at my command are not fine enough, nor sufficiently subtle, to test the properties and qualities of that which lies out beyond. It eludes the methods of physical science and all the means at my command."

At this point, however, the spiritual scientist — the Master — takes up the thread of science and carries it forward past the border line of *physics* into the land of *psychics*. In his ability thus to view the subject from *both* worlds, his great advantage is inconceivable to one whose sense of vision is limited to the world of purely physical things. At this line, running between the two worlds of matter, he sees every law of physical matter joined to its correlative law of spiritual matter. The chain of law is thus unbroken. It runs from one universe of matter directly across into the other without interruption: and in this splendid continuity he recognizes the majesty, the power and the glory in this, *the universality of law.*

The foregoing is but a brief statement — too brief, perhaps —

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of the position of the Mystic Brotherhood of India upon this elementary subject of matter. Brief as it is, however, if I have but made it clear, it cannot fail to correct many misinterpretations of their philosophy, and may, perhaps, lead to further scientific inquiry along correct lines. Let it be fully understood that their philosophy is based upon the most exact science. They accept the great universe of existing things as they find it, viz., as a most vivid and tangible *reality*. They apply to the spring of its hidden laws the key of *exact science*, and to whatever extent they have thus far been able to unlock its seeming mysteries they have done so with a full and unqualified recognition of the fundamental fact that *matter does exist;* that it is not only a *reality* but *the very basic* reality upon which the entire superstructure of their philosophy rests.

I have thus far covered but one essential point in Mr. Hensoldt's article; but although the point thus covered is fundamental and of most vital importance in the philosophy, his article presents a number of others growing out of, and so intimately associated with and dependent upon it, that complete justice to every interest involved would require a much fuller discussion of the questions presented. For illustration: his theories concerning *insanity*, *telepathy* and *introspection*, as well as the methods employed in *spiritual development*, are all, to a certain degree, tinctured with the same primary fallacy, and without explanation may result in leading his readers into confusion. These, however, I must pass over untouched.

In conclusion, let me emphasize the purpose of this paper and make clear the one and only motive back of it. It is written, not in the spirit of criticism, but rather as a kindly meant correction of misapprehensions whose results must otherwise be fraught with harm. Neither is it intended as a challenge to the authors of recent occult literature. A due appreciation, however, of the possible, nay, even probable consequences of such misapprehensions, would seem at this time to justify, as well as demand, this explanation of the real position of the Brotherhood upon the question under consideration. For it is a fact that the great mass of occult literature of the hour, and more especially that which relates directly to the Mystic Brotherhood of India, shows an increasing rather than a diminishing tendency toward misapprehension and consequent confusion.

It is confidently believed, however, that the time is near at hand when that which to-day is known to the world as occult science shall not be looked upon as a mystery defying the honest investigation of intelligent minds. The Brotherhood of India is a *bona fide* and definite organization. It has back of it a long history of concerted effort in behalf of humanity, fraught with

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both failure and success. It has a most active and intense present existence whose potent influence in behalf of the universal progress of mankind is felt in every quarter of the civilized world. And it has also a definite and orderly plan and purpose for the future, toward the accomplishment of which it is moving with absolute faith, increasing hope and undaunted courage.

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EFFECTIVE VOTING THE ONLY EFFECTIVE MORALIZER OF POLITICS.

BY CATHERINE H. SPENCE.

AMONG the many congresses which were held in the Memorial Art Palace in Chicago during the great gathering for the World's Fair, there was one which led to definite practical action, and which focussed into one point the discontents of the many and the aspirations of the few. Proportional representation — what I call effective voting — has abandoned its academic and exclusive heights to accept active propagandism. A league was formed then and there, and members enlisted from nearly all the states of the union and from Canada, to work by pen and by voice, by reason and by experience, towards a radical reform of electoral methods.

Things as they are at present are too intolerable to be endured any longer, and the earnest band of reformers could no longer be satisfied with addressing sympathizers — they sought to make every sympathizer an apostle of the truth. These apostles, by showing the glaring defects and the mischievous operation of the present clumsy methods of ascertaining public opinion, and indicating an easy and a safe way to rid ourselves of them, should arouse the collective conscience of America to action. This collective conscience won the Australian ballot in most of the states of the Union with a rapidity which astonished the reformers themselves, and the same means need to be applied to the greater reform.

The main objection made to any change in electoral methods springs from the great conservatism of the American people, which Professor Bryce gives as the reason why they submit to the tyranny of the party machine. It is of little use saying to them that other peoples find they cannot stand still — that decay and death come when progress is arrested. Your American patriot says this may be the case with the rotten old nations of Europe, or with the (supposed) still enslaved colonies of England, but they did not spring into being from the glorious Declaration of Independence; they were not built on the foundations of reason and justice as the United States were built. No such perfect balance of federated sovereign states, no such wise differ-

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entiation of the legislative, the judicial and the executive functions of the state, no such absolute political and social equality was ever given as a basis for settled government to any people.

Yet if the fathers of the republic could now see the land they loved so well while they lived, they would be the first to declare that "New occasions teach new duties," and they would with insight, energy and patience seek out and apply some radical remedy. Those who boast of being their descendants dread changes made necessary by the greater number of the people, the greater extent of territory, the greater accumulation of wealth, the greater disparity of conditions and the enormous influx of foreigners into what was once a homogeneous people. In this complex society, wealth and astuteness combined can make the electoral system more and more *mis*represent the people.

In detail, every one acknowledges that what is called "politics" enters into every department of life mischievously, but it is accepted as a part of the price we must pay for freedom — a necessary drawback to representative institutions everywhere and always. The average citizen "guesses" things must continue to go on as they have been doing. Each party has a chance to take its turn of power, of office, and of spoils, and that, to a partisan of either of the two dominant factions, seems fair enough.

The Proportional Representation League must, therefore, address the great and increasing army of the discontented — those who are unrepresented and misrepresented whichever faction is uppermost. But even here each band of reformers is too apt to think that its own particular panacea will moralize politics, and presses it so as to induce one or other of the contendants to take it up, by offering a solid vote for victory of the one and defeat of the other.

The silver men fancy that by taking away the extra power which the gold basis gives to the moneyed classes and the strong corporations, they will straighten out politics much; — though experience might show that out of all the slow changes that are won in America the forewarned rich man generally gets the best of it.

The Prohibitionists imagine that universal temperance will put an end to poverty, whereas it is a question whether the money power will not be greater when the workman wastes less, and can live on less. The margin of subsistence in India and China is low, and the wages correspond. Unless universal abstinence from alcoholic liquors were accompanied by changes in taxation and better economic conditions, the probability is that wages would go down, and the certainty is that rents would go up.

The woman suffragists believe that if women had equal voting power with men, they would moralize politics in city, in state

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and in Congress all through. They might at first do something, but as soon as it was seen that the earnest, conscientious women had votes and used them, the party politicians would stir up the women who were not earnest, the ignorant, the indifferent and the venal, as well as the same class of men, to have their names put on the roll and to exercise the suffrage. Then the reforms advocated by the earnest women would be opposed, not only by the men whose interests they threatened or whose tastes they interfered with, but by all the women whom these men or their agents could command, cajole or corrupt. Woman suffrage and effective voting should go hand in hand.

We hear that it is the abstention of so many good men from politics altogether that throws all power into the hands of the corrupt machine, and eloquent appeals are made to patriotic citizens to attend the primaries, to watch the platform and the candidate, and to vote at the polls, so as to make the representation worthy of this great nation. But there are good men of both parties, and if such appeals induced a thousand more good Republicans to take their citizens' part and a thousand more estimable Democrats to do the same, the turning point would be in the hands of the wavering and the purchasable as before. The good men who belong to outside parties either cast ineffective votes or vote for men who *mis*represent them.

The single taxers, the populists and the socialists have grasped the idea that the first thing to be sought for is equitable representation, and the great body of working-men, including the Knights of Labor, ought to support a pivotal reform that would secure for labor independent representation in every field. There is, however, little coördination even among the last four bodies. If they allied themselves together, and were joined heartily thus far by the three reform movements first specified, that sevenfold cord would be too strong to be resisted. So long as the outside parties stand outside, thankful for any crumbs that may be thrown to them by one or other of the dominant parties, the machine politicians and those who are at their back smile. But united in one common demand for justice, the machine politicians would smile no longer. By fighting this battle to secure just representation for all, each third party could do as much for its own platform as by direct effort, and it could cut off at the root the evil growths of bribery, corruption and the spoils system.

It is on the dual contest that the machine rests. It is militant; it is what Albert Stickney calls "war by election," seeking victory for one side, and discouragement, defeat and discomfiture for the other. It is autocratic, for behind the machine there is the "boss." When an able man who has filled many offices confesses that he never filled any office except by consent of the

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boss, and when he rebelled against him he was always defeated, he shows what is the real power behind your so-called rule of the majority. It is at present all but useless to vote or even to attend the primaries. The boss dictates the slate, and picks out the candidates whom the citizens are to be mocked with the farce of choosing.

The first step in reform must be taken at the primaries. Citizens must attend in number and *demand* that the nominating convention should be chosen by proportional representation — that, for instance, a fourth of those present should nominate one delegate. This would make the convention better, and it would teach the great principle that representation should represent, and it would work like leaven till it led to the removal of the district lines which prevent earnest minorities from combining together, and thus change plurality for quota representation.

The principle of quota representation is this — that whatever may be the number of votes polled in the larger electorate, that number shall be divided by the number of representatives to be elected. For California, for instance, where the congressmen are seven, all the votes taken all over the state would be divided by seven. For Massachusetts, where the congressmen are thirteen, all the votes polled would be divided by thirteen. If in California 140,000 votes were taken, 20,000 should elect one congressman, and an earnest minority, numbering one seventh, could not be misrepresented. Each elector would thus have an effective vote for one man of whom he approves without extinguishing the vote of any one who differs from him or wasting the superfluous votes of those who agree with him. Thus the militant spirit would be exchanged for the coöperative. It would be just to the many and just to the few.

Local representation is an inheritance from our English forefathers, and it did good service in its day. The exclusively local representation of England was a counterpoise to the centralizing power of king and court; the plain men of English shires and boroughs opposed in Parliament and in the field the aggressions of Charles I. and left an abiding mark on the history of the world, while the power of Louis XIV. had no such check, and repression and oppression bore bitter fruits a century later.

But the exclusively local representation of the American republic — the sharp distinction of two parties, and only two, which results from division into uninominal districts, is strengthening the centralized power of King Capital, and weakening the forces which fight against monopoly and injustice. It is owing to the political machine, which uses ignorant and venal votes on both sides, that America is at the present time less democratic than the British colonies, and indeed, in many ways, less so than

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Great Britain itself. Social freedom Americans have, and the whole atmosphere is sweet with it; but that seems to blind them to the slavery to which, in political and economic directions, they submit from the party machine.

There are many things which are blocked by the politicians in America which have been successfully carried out in Australia. Our civil service is permanent and efficient; no one is displaced owing to a change of ministry. We have taken the dependent children out of institutions and placed them in foster homes carefully selected and guarded. We merely elect our members of Parliament and our municipal bodies, and do not elect functionaries on party lines. We do not raise election funds for the campaign or reward active partisans with the spoils of office. We have no ward politicians, no machine and no boss.

There will always be two natural parties — the party of order and the party of progress, each having its legitimate function. The Conservative and the Radical in England, the capitalistic and the labor parties in Australia, roughly fill these places. But as far as can be seen by a thoughtful observer, both the Republican and the Democratic party profess to be the party of progress when they are out of office, and each becomes the party of standing still, or even of reaction, when they gain the ascendency.

In Australia the railroads, telegraphs and waterworks are constructed and controlled by government, while in America the ownership and control are in the hands of private corporations which are a standing menace to liberty. To quote the vigorous lines of Alfred Denton Cridge, of California, where railroad and telegraph monopoly is almost omnipotent: —

They tell us we're the people,
  And they pat us on the back,
But once they get in office,
  Then the whip begins to crack.
They tell us we're the sovereigns,
  But we have to gulp our bile
If they call out the militia
  When the corporations smile.

They tell us that we chose them,
  And bank on that, you bet —
Though more than half the voters
  Wanted quite a different set.
In districts corked and herded,
  Gerrymandered, too, in style,
No chance for able, honest men,
  If the corporations smile.

Of course in school they tell you
  How justice is on tap

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To rich and poor and high and low,
  If on the door they rap.
But judges ain't all archangels —
  Some put on lots of style,
And the poor man is forgotten
  If the corporations smile.

They tax on every stroke of toil,
  On every plank and bed;
Their taxes light on everything,
  The living and the dead.
Their trusts, combines and syndicates,
  Run twenty to the mile;
And so long as they can fool us,
  Don't the corporations smile!

In the second stanza we hear that more than half the voters wanted different men. How can this be true under plurality representation? Of the twelve millions who voted at the last congressional election there were five and a half millions who were absolutely *un*represented. Of the six and a half millions supposed to be successful, how many were *mis*represented because they had to vote for the candidate brought forward by the party machine, whom they would not have chosen if the choice had been wider.

The Republicans and the Democrats have each a grand old record, and some honorable traditions, but in this breathing, suffering world we cannot live upon a record or grow by mere tradition. Sir John Lubbock, a warm supporter of proportional representation, says the present duel is hard upon good Conservatives and good Liberals, but it is hardest on the Liberals, for there are several ways of advancing, and only one way of standing still. Reform takes such various directions that the separated districts in which political contests are carried on, exclude the most original and the most valuable of the minorities, and inadequately represent the most honest and conscientious of the majorities themselves.

Unless the old American parties justify their preponderance by some honest attempt to cope with the great problems of the day, the new thought of the republic will advance in its strength, and work for humanity, for peace, and, above all, for justice. And the first step towards this — the key to the whole situation — is some method of election which will really give a *re*presentment of the people, of the whole people, as in a mirror. It is said that the legislation and the administration of this great people is what the people desire it to be, that free citizens casting a free ballot have determined what the government is to be. Citizens are not free — the ballot is not free. The legislation and the administration are what the machinery make them. Change the machin-

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ery — enfranchise the people from the machine and the boss, and then the will of the people will be expressed.

Next to the primaries, proportional representation will move on to municipal elections. Probably some Western cities not too large, and not yet corrupt, will lead the way, though the magnitude of the evils in large Eastern cities ought to compel reform in them here and now. It is not a sufficient explanation of the waste and misappropriation of public funds to lay the blame on the ignorant aliens who throng these cities. Who uses the foreign element? Who finds the money for the corruption of these foreigners? Who profit by the investment? American political party leaders. That a catch or a snatch plurality in New York should practically give to the United States its president and determine the course of legislation for four years, is unjust and demoralizing to New York and to the community, and nothing but a radical change in electoral methods can remedy this. If the electors for president were chosen at large in the states by the preferential method, the single transferable vote of Hare, the citizens of New York would have the weight belonging to their numbers — no more and no less. The bare plurality of them could not dictate the policy of the nation.

It is a lesson which ought to be taught to every child at school that it is disgraceful to be bribed and criminal to bribe; but so long as you divide your cities and your states into wards and districts, which are like slave pens for free citizens, you make it so advantageous for party purposes to secure venal votes, that neither law nor gospel is strong enough to prevent it. By effective voting, you will not be able to extinguish a single vote, and when every individual vote must be bought, the thing will be too costly to be practised. You will thus introduce into every municipality the saving salt of character and ability, of courage and veracity. By persistently keeping out this saving salt, the citizens are taxed heavily for work badly done or not done at all, and political services are paid for out of the people's taxes. What is done here is done all along the line. Even your school directors are chosen on the party ticket, and party staffs your public institutions from the poundkeeper in the village to the president of the republic.

Party, which has been a useful servant in the past, is now a tyrant dominating the whole situation, and through the newspaper press it tinges and modifies, if it does not actually falsify, the daily intelligence of current events supplied to the people. Reform movements are scarcely heard of except in little sheets circulated only among the convinced. No one would suppose, from reading the ordinary newspaper, that all America is honeycombed by land reform of one kind or another. The telegraph

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monopoly can boycott or crush any daily paper that opposes its interests, which are the interests of centralized wealth everywhere — and without the newest of news, the daily paper cannot exist. Nor can it live without advertisements, which are supplied by the rich and well-to-do, so that the daily reading of the poor man is supplied by the rich man, and is bound up in the interests of capital and monopoly.

Although proportional representation is really fair play all round, and the logical outcome of democracy, treading on no one's corns and injuring nobody's honest interests, the reform has to encounter the solid opposition of those vested interests which find the present duel system so advantageous. It has to encounter also the solid opposition of the professional politicians who run the machine, who earn their living and run their offices and their perquisites by making all votes polled against their party candidate *in*effective. It has to overcome the objections of those who look upon all change as unconstitutional and dangerous, especially any change which demands intelligence from the voter. It has to face the criticism and the ridicule of the newspaper press ranged on the old party lines.

But all these things are as nothing compared to the apathy and indifference of the average citizen. Opposition and ridicule can be met and faced — a sturdy reform thrives upon them — but indifference and inattention are more deadly foes. These must be attacked from all sides. The average citizen must be aroused to the gravity of the situation, the need of reform, and the practical, common-sense nature of the reform presented.

Although the committee entrusted to draw up the platform of the Proportional Representation League had one object in view, several methods presented themselves to the individual members; but all were agreed on the adoption of the proportional rather than the cumulative method, which is the poorest and most make-shift of attempts towards effective representation.

1. One section recommended the *free list* or ticket system in use in four cantons of Switzerland — Ticino, Neufchatel, Geneoa and Zug — and in the new Kingdom of Servia. This allows each party to draw out separate lists, and the votes to be interchangeable within the limits of that list. The referendum has shown these Swiss cantons that majority representation does not really represent, when three fourths of the measures passed by both houses were reversed by the popular vote. Formerly there was a duel between Catholics and Liberals, and by gerrymandering the Catholics obtained far too great representation. Now not only these, but the Social Democrats, the National Democrats and the Labor party make out their lists, and secure representation in proportion to their numbers in the canton.

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This reform is being agitated in Valais, Soleure and Lucerne, and the Socialists are determined on a policy of obstruction till they secure their equitable share of representation.

2. The Hare single transferable vote is an open ticket, so that the elector may himself mark his individual preferences. This, as being the most educative for the voter, and as giving the least opportunity for party manipulation, is to my mind the best. The election for seven trustees for the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco was carried out on this plan, and I have used it for a hundred test elections in Australia, Canada and the United States. After convincing my audience that the reform was equitable, I made them prove for themselves that it was practicable.

A list of twelve candidates was submitted, of various parties, out of which six were to be chosen. The number of votes cast was divided by six, and the answer was the quota required for the election of one. One hundred twenty votes divided by six gave a quota of twenty. Popular candidates might have more than twenty. Were all who voted after that quota was made up to lose their votes? By no means. The voter marked on his ballot paper names of men he approved of in the order of his preference as far as six, and all surplus votes were allotted to the next choice. Six candidates, necessarily, were not elected. Did those who voted for them lose all their right in the representation? By no means. Their second or succeeding choice was taken. The first man on each voter's list who needed the vote and could use it, had it allotted to him as an integral part of his quota. The candidates having fewest votes were eliminated one by one, and their votes distributed in accordance with the wish of the voter as shown by his numbers, until only six were left, who were declared elected.

This may sound complicated, but it is quite simple and very interesting. Out of 3,824 votes, collected by me at a great many meetings in South Australia, there was only one elector who had not a representative he had voted for, and that was a man who had picked out the six unsuccessful candidates. This is what I call *effective voting*.

3. The Gove system. Mr. W. M. Gove and Mr. John M. Berry of Massachusetts, while allowing that the Hare system is the best, assert that with the great mass of votes to be dealt with, the necessity of transmitting these from the various precincts where they are taken to a central office for counting and allotment would give rise to suspicions that they might be tampered with *in transitu*. Mr. Gove's system gives the power of transfer to the candidate, and not to the voter. It would be obligatory on each candidate to declare to what men and in

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what order he would like his votes to be transferred in case he had more than the quota, or had no hope of reaching it. This would allow the tally to be sent from the precincts and would not risk the transmission of the ballot papers themselves.

Mr. Daniel S. Remsen of Wall Street, New York, believes that a second choice could be registered and put on a tally, though nothing further, and he asserts that a second choice from the voter is better than three choices from a candidate. I think so, too, and for Canada and Australia, where no suspicions of dishonesty will arise, the original Hare choice, carried as far as six numbers, is the most perfect instrument for effective voting. But as Moses, on account of the hardness of the hearts of the Israelites, allowed them to divorce their wives, so on account of the evil traditions of the American political machine, it might be a wise compromise to limit the voter to two choices, or to adopt the Gove system or the Swiss free list. Any of these would be preferable to the cumulative vote, the clumsiest and most wasteful of all the methods proposed for minority representation; but even the cumulative vote would be an improvement on the present system, for it imperatively demands a larger electorate.

Proportional representation will further all things that are good, and will subject things that are bad to intelligent criticism and exposure. It will call out better men in better ways for better work. It is founded on justice, common sense and arithmetic, and therefore it recommends itself to the collective conscience of the great American people.

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FREELAND UNIVERSITY: A PRACTICAL EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE NEW EDUCATION.

BY W. L. GARVER.

THINKING men, realizing the insufficiency of the old methods of education, are advocating and working for a new system more in accordance with the needs of man, and better suited for the full unfoldment of all his faculties. THE ARENA and its readers being ever active in this field will, no doubt, find a practical exemplification of the new system of interest.

The following is an outline description of Freeland University, which is conducted in accordance with the new system. Our people discarded the old system some time since, but they still remember the time when they were crowded together in dimly lighted and poorly ventilated rooms, and with vital energies depressed and at lowest ebb, given what was called knowledge by a process of memory cramming; we still remember the time when we looked upon the school as a prison, and had to be forced to attend by a threatening whip. Shut up from morning to evening in close rooms, continually under restraint and watched, no wonder those who had a free and independent disposition "played hooky"; no wonder the brightest and most useful men almost invariably came from those boys who gathered their knowledge in the world at large. With all originality and freedom crushed out, and knowledge limited to a rehash of the opinions of others, no wonder genius seldom developed in the schoolroom. But, waiving the many criticisms that can be brought against the old, let us consider a brief outline of the new.

Freeland is an ideal city where justice, truth and morality reign supreme; where the people are never idle and all are equal. These great results were brought about by our system of education more than by anything else; for education, in the true sense of the word, lies at the bottom of all real progress. True education is not a process of storing, but unfolding, *e*—from—*ducere*—to draw or lead, that is, to draw forth that which is within, but latent. This process of interior development is the keynote of the new education. Its methods all tend to cultivate

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the faculties of observation, stimulate thought, lead to synthetic analysis and develop the power of concentration. At the same time the greatest freedom is aimed at both in thought and action, and original work is encouraged. Compulsory education is a perversion, and under the new system is not required. The human mind seeks knowledge, but every one has his own method; provide the opportunities and the child will do the rest. It is useless to try to teach each child in the same manner — each has his own nature and method of unfoldment; provide the means by which the child can teach himself. We have been cramped too much by laws, we need more liberty. Freeland, recognizing this principle, simply provides the conditions by means of which the student's mind is drawn out; her teachers instruct more by suggestion and criticism than by dogmatizing. Now, begging your indulgence for much minute detail, a description of Freeland will be given.

Situated upon a large square on the high ground some distance from the centre of the city stands our university. A stone building, Moorish-Romanesque in design, and rather severe in treatment, but every form and ornament is suggestive of a thought; the character of the building bespeaks its purpose; no frivolous features or useless and ill-disposed ornamentations make a burlesque of knowledge sublime and grand. Proportion prevails throughout, not only as to size, but form, color and general relation and arrangement of parts.

The general floor plan shows the form of the building to be a Greek cross; a lofty dome rises over the central rotunda which unites the different arms. In the four angles of the cross are circular buildings, each connected to the arms of the main cross by well-lighted corridors, and the open spaces between the circular buildings and the cross are covered with glass roofs at the level of first floor, making these spaces high rooms in the basement, used as hereafter described, and thus utilizing the entire ground space while, at the same time, all the upper rooms are open to the air and light. Peristyles extend across the four fronts of the building and connect the different circular buildings with the ends of the main cross.

The architect evidently grasped the secret of the ancient masters and realized that architecture has a function other than utility. The walls are richly decorated and hung with the highest works of art; allegorical friezes in bass-relief surround all rooms and halls, and everything is filled with an air of refinement which has a corresponding influence upon the students. The great central dome is open to the top, with five surrounding galleries, connecting the four arms at the different floor levels, and the curved dome is decorated with painted allegorical figures

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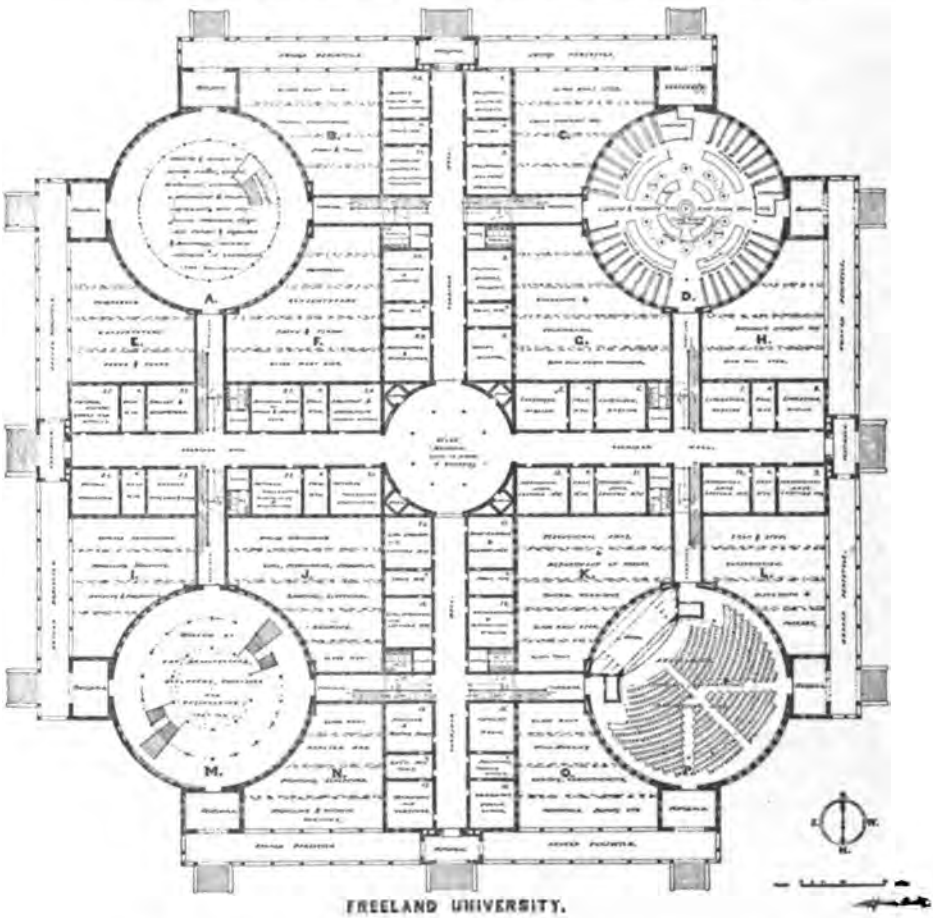
in bass-relief. Two elevators, on opposite sides of the central rotunda, lead to the upper gallery and communicate with the different floors. In addition to the heating system is a vacuum system of ventilation; two pipe circuits lead to all rooms and connect with vacuum pumps in the basement; regularly through-



FREELAND UNIVERSITY.

out the day impure air is pumped out and pure ozone at the same time forced in on the other circuit.

With this brief general description particulars will be outlined, as in this manner the workings of the institution can best be understood.

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Circular building A is a museum of natural history, geology, mineralology, archæology, palæontology and ethnology. It has two galleries and the centre is open to the dome above, and, windows being on all sides, every part is well lighted. The interior arrangement of the exhibits is a work of art. In the open centre is an artificial mountain made from geological and mineral specimens from all parts of the world; an apparently natural stairway carved from the rocks gives free access to all specimens; springs of mineral water, characteristic of the different rocks and minerals, gush forth from ingeniously devised openings; ferns, plants and flowers add to the beauty of the scene and unite all in a harmonious whole. The stairways leading to the galleries are constructed in like manner, and the entire interior is finished true to nature. Models representing every industry in connection with these departments are here on exhibition. In the archæological section are finely executed models of the ancient ruins of Egypt, Babylon and Greece; here also are the caves of Ellora and the ruins of Anuradhapura, Pompeii, Herculaneum and Copan. Geographical models are also here; the globe as a whole and each continent separate, models of the different great cities of the world and the principal countries in relief; here also are forestry exhibits, and reproductions of the habitations of all civilizations; grouped collections explanatory of their customs, and all pertaining to these departments in general.

The three glass-covered basements around this museum are conservatories, semi-tropical and temperate; here are gathered together in regular order specimens of all the fauna and flora of these climates. Among the flowers, plants and trees are life-like specimens of the animals of the different zones, with nests and dens illustrative of their modes of life. In the basement of this museum, adjacent to the respective conservatories, are large glass aquaria filled with the aqueous fauna and flora of these zones. Everything is executed in a life-like manner; the aquaria have coral reefs, sub-marine mountains; and here and there a shipwreck upon the sand and shell-covered bottoms adds interest to the scene.

No force is necessary to compel the children to attend this school; the doors would have to be bolted to keep them out. Professors are constantly in charge to answer questions, give lectures and take the children on an excursion, as it were, around the world, and through all its different countries and cities. Paintings, photographs and stereopticon views supply what is elsewhere wanting, and these tours are made still more real by scenic productions upon the stage of the auditorium. In this manner knowledge and ideas are impressed enduringly upon the minds

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of the children, while study becomes a pleasure and school a holiday; thus this building serves as a kindergarten for the young and is at the same time a museum for the more advanced.

Circular building D is the library and reading-room, with a capacity of over 200,000 volumes; the interior arrangement is similar to the building just described, having two galleries and an open centre to the dome; isolation, facility of access, and plenty of light and air, the paramount requirements of a good library, are its chief features. Six corridors, two on each floor, lead almost directly to the different departments and halls in the main cross; and the different special libraries are most conveniently located with respect to their departments.

The three glass-covered basements around the library are used as follows: — C, ladies' assembly room; G, gymnasium and calisthenic hall; H, gentlemen's assembly room. Adjacent to these departments, in the basement under the library, is a natatorium with large swimming baths, hot and cold showers and private bath rooms; around the natatorium is a foot-race track and in the assembly rooms adjacent are isolated dressing rooms with clothes lockers. At least two baths a week are the rules of the school, and gymnastic exercise is required, a sound body being recognized as necessary for the fullest expression of mind, and physical activity as one of the best means of resting after mental labor. It may be interesting to note that physical exercise is not the only function of this department; around the foot course in the natatorium, and in the gymnasium, have been accomplished some feats that should forever silence those who claim that animal food is necessary to physical strength. As in the ancient Olympian games, the vegetarians and gruel diet contestants generally come out ahead.

The circular building marked M is the museum of art, architecture and engineering. Here are finely executed models of all the masterpieces of architecture and the wonderful works of the masters in painting and sculpture. Everything is arranged in the most artistic and thorough manner and here are gathered together the works of the school. These works show the methods of teaching in these departments, for they speak for themselves. Idealism, that idealism which is the most intense realism, evidently prevails. Here the good and noble is idealized until it expresses all that is godlike and pure, and speaks directly to the divine in man; here evil and wickedness are idealized in their deepest degradation and misery. These works are masterfully rendered; those which represent the good seem to elevate and uplift all who look upon them, while those of evil repel and leave a lasting effect for good. Architecture, like its kindred arts, painting and sculpture, expresses thought in form and color.

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The galleries, similar to the other circular buildings, contain exhibits in engineering construction; models of bridges, viaducts, waterworks, drainage systems, building construction, machinery and inventions, are here for the students' study and inspection. This museum, like that of natural history, has instructors constantly in charge to answer all questions and give explanations and lectures to all.

The three glass-covered basements around the art museum are devoted to the practical application of art, architecture and engineering. The museum basement is filled with genuine machinery and all devices for construction pertaining to these departments, all to be fully analyzed and studied by the student. All are taken apart, each piece examined and its functions explained; wherever it is possible, improvements are suggested and flaws pointed out. The student's examination grade is determined by his skill in reconstruction, and his originality, evinced by suggesting improvements. In the room in connection with the engineering court, where practical electricity is taught, are telephone and telegraph instruments, switch-boards, lamps, dynamos, etc.; telegraphy is taught, all instruments are reconstructed from pieces, parts explained, needed improvements suggested, circuits run, wires spliced, and purposely established defects found and repaired; to obtain a full grade electrical engineer's certificate it is even necessary to be a skilful pole climber and wire stringer. In the same thorough manner all the other departments are conducted, and no pains are spared to make everything complete. In the rooms adjacent to the architectural court, where are carried on all kinds of designing, perspective drawing and modelling work, materials are tested and analyzed.

In the engineering court all that pertains to practical engineering is a subject of consideration; mechanical and topographical drawing, hydraulic, pneumatic and railroad construction, surveying and use of instruments, strength testing, etc. In the art court is carried on the mixing of clays and paints, the preparation of canvasses and frames, stone and mineral carving, interior and exterior decoration and art-glass work.

Circular building P is the auditorium, musical conservatory and school of dramatical and oratorical art. Here skill in every musical instrument is taught, the voice is cultivated to song and oratory, and the soul urged to give full and free expression to itself in song and music; here earnestness and depth of feeling are shown to be the basis of oratorical, dramatical and tragical art; here the stage is represented in its true light as a mighty factor in the uplifting of man; here evil is depicted in its most hideous reality, its final and inevitable end enacted, and all its concomitant miseries uncovered; here truth and goodness find

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their fullest expression, and the soul and mind become ennobled by a language more potent than words. From time to time the great leaders and stars in dramatical and tragical art appear upon the stage and assist in the work of edification.

The glass-covered basement courts around the auditorium are used in connection with the department of trades and mechanical arts. Court marked K is the general workshop for all students in mechanical engineering, heating and ventilation, sanitation and plumbing, engraving and type foundry, lithographing, etc. In the basement rooms adjoining is a press for the university magazine and a type room and bookbindery. Court marked L is the general workshop for iron and steel construction; boilers, tanks and architectural iron work, a blacksmith and foundry are in connection, and pottery work, brickmaking and smelting industries have rooms adjoining. Court marked O is the general workshop for wood-working department, including carpentry, joinery, cabinet making, upholstery, wood carving and finishing in paints and oils. As in the rooms in connection with the engineering department, the basement under the auditorium is stored with machinery, instruments, tools, and all kinds of models for the full elucidation of all the department studies. All are analyzed and explained in connection with the different trades; everything is practically considered, and every detail is fully entered into. The remainder of the basement is used as follows: Adjacent to the conservatories are the following laboratories: taxidermy and skeleton construction; microscopic study of insect life; mineralogical analysis, assaying and crystallization; geological analysis of stones and formations; diseases of fruits and trees, and preservation of fruits; scientific farming; diseases of plants and cereals; microscopic study of plants and vegetable life. Adjacent to physical training departments are the rooms devoted to the department on military tactics, arms rooms and military supplies.

All these buildings, excepting the laboratories and class rooms, are open until late at night, and the people of the city are cordially invited to attend the lectures given every evening. Parents come with their children, and become students with them; a pleasant resort is open to all who have spare time; the people, in this manner, are drawn closer together by a more intimate acquaintance and sympathy of feeling; the evil resorts of the town, which existed before the university was opened at night, have gone or have but few customers, as it has been demonstrated without the use of force that good is more attractive than evil if it is only given a chance so to attract. In times gone by this claim was denied, but then the evil had full sweep, and the good was only theoretical.

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So far the four circular buildings have been outlined, also the basement, which is devoted almost exclusively to the practical application of knowledge on the material plane. But it must not be supposed from the great amount of practical work thus outlined, that the theory has been discarded, and the so-called higher education dispensed with; far from it. True education unites practice with theory, and the higher studies of a speculative and abstract nature are indispensable to soul growth and a full realization of life and its purpose. It used to be argued that this higher knowledge was antagonistic to business success; and this was, no doubt, true to a certain extent; for that knowledge which shows man the real cannot but detract from the unreal and temporary. Again, business in those days was nothing but a refined system of selfishness, and with soul growth self sinks to the minimum and altruism becomes its watchword. Is it to be wondered at, that in a system where to get without giving was the very basis of success, men of large soul seldom succeeded? For they could not sacrifice their principles. So with soul unfoldment man's chances for business success diminished and our poets and geniuses who had little desire for the selfish accumulation of wealth, were generally poor unless born with an inheritance. For in a world of selfish competition he who has conscientious scruples about taking something for nothing must inevitably yield to his less conscientious neighbor. But since the establishment of rational education, which develops both soul and mind, a different economic system has come into being, and here value for value, service for service, is the very basis of our economic system. As a consequence there is no antagonism between the fruits of higher knowledge and the business relations. Of course there was some conflict during the transition period, when our school was first established, but that was suffered only by us and not by our children who now enjoy the outcome of those trials. Now our institution comprehends every known department of knowledge and in the portion of the building not yet described are departments ranging all the way from the most ordinary and practical things of life, to the deepest and most transcendental metaphysics and philosophy.

Space forbids a complete treatment of these departments here, so they can be merely outlined by giving the uses of the different rooms by name. The first floor consists of class and lecture rooms arranged in suites with a professor's room between every two rooms. All are located most conveniently to their respective museums and are occupied by the following departments: In the south arm: botany; agrarian industries, economically considered; agriculture; horticulture and vinti-culture; political history, ancient, mediæval and modern; social science and

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economics. In the west arm: English language; English literature; mechanical arts; journalism and editorial rooms. In the north arm: administration offices; waiting parlor; civil engineering; bookkeeping and elementary examination room. In the east arm: natural philosophy; physics; natural history; biology and evolutionary science.

On the second floor, arranged similarly to the first, are the following departments: — In the south arm: philosophy with history and biography; philosophical systems and metaphysics in general; Oriental philosophy; Greek and Roman philosophy and mythology; modern philosophy; comparative religions; psychology; pedagogics. In the west arm: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Sanscrit and Oriental languages. In the north arm: German and French languages; art and painting lecture rooms; civil and hydraulic engineering. In the east arm: archæology, architecture; geology and mineralogy; mines and metallurgy.

On the third floor, similar to the two lower, are the following departments: In the south arm, isolated from the other department, occupying as it does the entire arm, here and above, is the medical department, including physiology and hygiene; history and systems, with biography; anatomy and dissecting; bacteriology; materia medica, pharmacopœia and drugs; theoretical and speculative medicine, surgery and practice. In the west arm, isolated like the medical department, is the law department, as follows: elementary law; property; torts; crimes; jurisprudence; practice and junior law court. In the east arm, also isolated, is the chemical department, as follows: elementary chemistry; advanced chemistry; young chemists' laboratory; qualitative laboratory; supply and apparatus, dark, foul gas and distillery rooms. Occupying the north arm are three suites for mathematics and one for archæology.

In the south arm of fourth floor, over and in direct connection with the medical department below, are the special medical branches, viz.: contagious diseases; fevers; nervous diseases, optics and dentistry. On the fourth floor of the west arm, immediately over the law department, is the senior law court and a suite of special rooms. The east arm of the fourth floor is occupied by a continuation of the chemical department, and contains a quantitative laboratory, organic chemistry laboratory — animal and vegetable — and a store and supply room of herbs and drugs. The north arm of the fourth floor has four special suites.

The fifth floor contains eight large halls, one, over the medical department, being used as a model hospital, with all hospital supplies and medical instruments; here, also, a complete course in nursing and taking care of the sick is given, but of course the city hospitals coöperate with the university in these departments.

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This, briefly, sums up the different departments, and indicates the ground covered; lack of space prevents a fuller treatment, but a few additional words in general will not be out of place.

In connection with each department is a lecture room in which all the industries and professions connected therewith are considered in their economical aspect—the labor required, the returns it brings, its functions and relations in and with the social economy as a whole, and the general duties and requirements that surround it. Each student upon entry is required to attend the lectures here given, and is then given free access to all the departments. It has been found that in this manner it is not very difficult to determine the bent of the student's mind, as, in a short time, some particular department becomes his favorite, and he is then encouraged to enter therein. Upon entry each student is also required to attend a course of plain and clear medical lectures upon the essentials of health, mental and bodily strength; advice is given to each as to his diet and habits in general. It is the duty of each professor to try to the best of his ability to gain the confidence and respect of his students, and no professor whose character is questionable is allowed in the institution.

It used to be said that students were too rough to make it worth while to put anything nice in a school building, but this was a mistake and holds good for the coarse and ordinary only. None but the most degraded will deface or destroy fine art or work of real value; it has a power or influence within itself which is its own protector; therefore, in contradistinction to the uneven floors and bare, blank walls of the old school building, the halls are of mosaic tile, and some rooms are neatly carpeted; the walls are frescoed and the ceiling and angles are richly moulded, or have allegorical friezes in bass-relief. Each department is hung with pictures of interest in connection with its particular study; here are fine engravings of all who have been leaders in that particular field, and on shelves along the wall are the busts of its most eminent followers.

Each department is intended to bring the student as much as possible *en rapport* with the subject under consideration; and it is the duty of the professor to give a biographical outline of all the great men who have labored in that department of science. In this manner each department is made to correspond, as much as possible, to the subject taught; foreign topics in special departments are discouraged; when a student enters any room he is supposed, for the time being at least, to leave all other subjects behind and concentrate his mind upon the thing at hand. There are general lecture rooms where all topics are brought up for discussion and criticism, and divers studies per-

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mitted, but it is here believed that true knowledge is acquired more easily by concentrating the mind and attention upon one thing at a time. Even the professor must study in his private room adjoining, and only subjects closely related are allowed in the same room. In this manner the very room becomes, as it were, impregnated with thoughts on this subject. This method seems to have a psychological effect and our advanced students have so far developed this faculty of concentration, that they can at will withdraw their minds from any subject and centre all their mental activities upon any other they may choose.

In every department originality of thought is encouraged, no dogmatizing, religious or scientific, being allowed. All sects and systems are considered, but none, as such, are taught. The many gaps in knowledge and the insufficiencies of hypotheses are pointed out and the student is encouraged and urged to fill up the blanks. It is aimed to keep the mind as free as possible from bias and in every department extremes meet. The East and West go side by side in philosophy and religion and the past is given equal consideration with the present; in economics all systems are considered, from the absolutely despotic, through all the intermediate systems, to theoretical anarchy. Carved over one of the doorways is the motto: "Hear all sides, weigh the evidence, then judge." For lack of space I must now bring this description to a close; many things have been left unsaid and many departments have been merely touched upon, but, perhaps, what has here been said may stimulate those who read to a personal investigation; in the meantime all who believe in progress and the good of the race will, realizing the self-evident benefits of the new education, do all within their power to bring it into operation throughout the world.

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THE RELATION OF IMBECILITY TO PAUPERISM AND CRIME.

BY MARTHA LOUISE CLARK.

As we advance in the arts and sciences, in civilization and all which pertains thereto, we are almost wilfully shutting our eyes to another phase of advancement which tends in a different direction, and which, if something is not done to check it, threatens to be of infinite detriment to our national life.

Side by side with colleges and universities stand insane asylums and schools for the feeble minded. Each year brings the request for added accommodations for the waifs of humanity, the little ones born to the street and the gutter whose only birthright is misery, whose only heritage is shame. And keeping pace with and even outstripping the charitable come the penal institutions — the jails and reform farms.

That we give so liberally to our homes for defectives, that we strive so philanthropically to educate and reform our lowest classes, is forever to our credit, and one of the noblest results of the Christian civilization of the nineteenth century. That we are obliged, however, to give each year more and more, until the amount has come to be out of proportion to the increase in the population, is not so indicative of national progress.

The question what to do to decrease the defective and criminal classes is coming to be a serious one, which we shall be obliged to face at no very distant period. Restriction of immigration will not solve it, while we have already amongst us such an enormous population of criminals and paupers, imbeciles and insane. We may shut our gates to every European immigrant who wishes to slip in, and still the undesirable element in our midst will grow, demanding our money for support and menacing our society.

I wonder how many of us ever stop to think of the ninety thousand insane in the United States, of the seventy-five thousand imbeciles, of the countless army of tramps and beggars, and the vast body of convicts? Or if we do stop to think of them, do we ever associate the different classes with one another or seriously ask the question why are they here? Does it ever occur to us that their increase might to a certain extent be averted; that

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crime, imbecility and insanity are hereditary, diseases of the mind, and that so long as we allow them to go on breeding their kind, we can expect nothing but constant additions to the burden which we must bear as a nation?

That we can entirely eliminate bad blood from the race is, of course, not at all probable; but that we can greatly lessen the sum total of viciousness and brutality is both possible and probable, and the importance of so doing is something which those of us who work with humanity's castaways feel more earnestly every year of our lives.

Of all the streams of evil which flow into the national blood no one is more productive of mischief than that of imbecility. The meaning of the word is rarely understood, even by intelligent people. To the general public it is synonymous with idiocy. A school for feeble-minded children is simply an idiot asylum, and a not infrequent question asked of us by outsiders is, "What do you do with those idiots?" In reality the genuinely idiotic child is the exception and not the rule. The large majority of those whom we train are simply what the name implies — feeble minded; children who can learn but are slow, who are blunted morally and intellectually but who show no specific defect.

Such children are found in every town and city in the United States. Totally unfitted to battle with the world, the legitimate offspring, in numerous instances, of the jail, the infirmary and the insane asylum, they grow up following in the parental footsteps, and leaving to their own progeny the same inheritance of vice, disease and laziness, always either actively evil agencies or passive burdens. And all this happens because there are not adequate accommodations provided in any state for caring for them; even those states which do support a few of them in childhood turn them out when they reach adult age, to rely for existence upon their own utter incapacity and the mercy of a world which has no place for the sufferers from hereditary evil.

The perfectly healthy character in the midst of pernicious environments has often a fight for its life, and must depend upon its ability to judge rightly and execute well for its survival. The tendency, too, of the healthy character is toward good. It has had morally healthy ancestry; at least the balance has been on the side of morals. The imbecile is the result of corrupt living, frequently of guilt, sometimes of a line of ancestry unbrightened for generations by a single responsible moral individual. In every case where a child has not been made imbecile through some prenatal shock, accident or sickness, somewhere in the family annals there has been opium eating, immoral living, drunkenness, insanity, imbecility or actual crime — perhaps all of these.

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The large majority of feeble-minded children come from the lowest class. They are the result of gradual race degeneration, brought about by the causes mentioned. The sins of the fathers have been visited upon the children until the result has come in a wornout vitality, an enfeebled will and a low intellectual and moral status. There is no material left out of which responsible human beings can be evolved. The soul, conscience and mind are alike diseased. There is no capacity for correct judgment. There may be ability to learn, slowly; there often *is* acute cunning; but the human being has become to a certain extent a brute. He may know what things, in his limited sphere in life, he ought and ought not to do; but if he can do wrong without being discovered his conscience does not trouble him. Kept where opportunity and incentive to wrong-doing are lacking, he becomes fairly peaceable and docile; thrown out upon society with neither the desire nor the capacity to earn a living honestly, he becomes either a human parasite or a beast of prey.

Since my experience as a teacher of imbeciles began, perhaps twenty of my boys have gone out to work for themselves. Fitted by their education to do some work well, under patient direction, they are still, so far as I can learn, for the greater part of the time inmates of the infirmaries, working for awhile, and then, as one of them told me, "resting." Of course an occasional child makes a moderate success of life, but only an occasional one. The great majority are certain sooner or later to become public burdens, usually after they have married an equal or inferior in intellect and brought into the world children who are a shade less desirable members of the community than the parents.

It is not at all uncommon for entire families of children to be brought, one after another, to state schools for imbeciles. Two out of a family are an every-day occurrence. One family of seven went to the Pennsylvania Institution, all born in an infirmary, of an imbecile mother. In one instance we have had five brothers, also from an infirmary, and the mother still brings children into the world, unhindered by our wise and efficacious laws. There is no hope of any one of the five becoming a reliable citizen, and three of them will inevitably marry. The state of New York paid out one million dollars in caring for eleven hundred imbeciles, criminals and paupers, the result, so far as it could be traced, of one such marriage.

Even though the feeble-minded child has been rendered so through other than vicious causes, he is excellent material out of which to make the criminal. He has no resisting force, and temptation subdues any weak disposition to do right which he may possess. If with no innate perverse tendencies, he is still more than liable to fall. How much harder must it be for him,

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born with vicious inclinations, to overcome them. One poor little fellow whose soul was a constant battle ground struck the keynote all unwittingly once when he said to me: "It's easy for you to be good; your father was. But mine was bad, and drank and swore and gambled, and sometimes I feel as if I *must* do just as he did."

Another child, who will steal under my very eyes, and conceal it so deftly that it is almost impossible to prove it, is the son and grandson of men who have been county burdens all their lives, either in the jail or infirmary. Yet in time the child will go out to the same career, landing ultimately in the penitentiary. Two more of my boys are embryo murderers, utterly vicious, almost entirely destitute of any good trait; one has a certain pride in keeping pace with others, but once outside, where it will be utterly impossible for him to do so, his only saving grace will disappear and his innate viciousness assert itself. Some day he will commit murder, as inevitably as the freed tiger will do so. Being a human beast of prey, the safety of society will demand his death, though he is no more responsible than is the dog who knows that it is wrong to bite but does it.

It is absolutely imperative that dangerous elements be removed where they can do no harm; and since we are so unpardonably foolish as to turn loose upon society men and women who show from babyhood the characteristics of the criminal, a wrong becomes a necessity. Allowing the brute to run wild, instead of taming him as we might have done, we can only appeal to his brute instincts, and must dispose of the results of our own inadequate legislation. A child who in early life betrays decided viciousness, and is even slightly below par intellectually, should be kept from society as we would keep poison from food. He is poison, poison to the blood of the nation; and sanitary laws are quite as necessary for the blood as for the homes of the people.

My boys show in almost every instance a natural cunning, an aptitude for stealing and great dexterity in concealment. They can pick a lock as cleverly as a professional burglar, often with no other implement than a bent wire. Though I am able sometimes to teach them temporary honesty, I can in no instance feel certain that it will endure under temptation, because of their weakness. Education helps them for the time being, but its benefits are practically annulled by the after life of strife and exposure into which they must go.

Belonging to the brighter class, most of them are moral more than mental imbeciles, and the moral imbecile is as incapable of being thoroughly reformed as the mental imbecile is of learning Greek. Thirty-four per cent of the imbecile children are the result of the intemperance of parents, and with their own inhe-

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rent weakness and inclinations are sure to become drunkards themselves. I have wondered sometimes if the morphine or opium habit in parents was not often the cause of the cunning, mischievous, dishonest children with whom we are constantly coming in contact. In general characteristics they greatly resemble many of the Chinese opium eaters.

Imbeciles belong usually to one of four classes — the harmless, passive sort, who have no energy, no strong desires of any kind, who are simply congenital paupers; the brutal, stubborn, evil-minded, dull ones, governed almost entirely by passion; a brighter class who are cunning and dishonest, addicted to petty thieving and little sneaking villanies, seldom guilty of great crimes; and the fourth and smallest division, a class who have some good inclinations, and can with help and sympathy do fairly well in the struggle for existence.

In investigating, so far as it is possible, the histories of members of the last-mentioned class, one finds almost invariably that there is somewhere in the families, good blood, that is, honest blood. One such boy is among my pupils. He is slow but honest, clean in character. When I asked the matron of the infirmary which sent him here for his story, she said that his grandmother was one of the best women she ever knew. Her husband, however, was weak, and the mother of the boy, inheriting her father's character, fell a victim to it, more sinned against than sinning. In such cases there is apparently nothing which can be done to prevent misfortune. If we had a custodial working home for adults, however, the child could be kept from still further propagating the evil, and made quietly happy and industrious until his death.

There is no doubt in my mind that the brutal imbecile is responsible for many of the outrages committed in lonely, out-of-the-way places, for murders done with almost no motive. With strong passions, no power of resistance and feeble comprehension of consequences, prospective punishment does not frighten him. Even when he is burned or lynched he is scarcely able to connect the result with the crime. Is not the remark very commonly made in reports of such things in the newspapers, "The poor wretch did not seem to understand what it all meant"? Law produces safety for society, in a measure, because there are many intelligent criminals; but it does not always give us safety from the great crowd of half-witted tramps and low, degraded vagabonds who roam the country over, "a pillaging army in time of peace."

Working with feeble-minded children, one falls naturally into the habit of studying faces for traces of imbecility. Tramps in thousands of cases betray the characteristic features and expres-

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sions of the imbecile. There are hundreds of faces in the penitentiaries which are but the fulfilment of the promise of those in our schoolrooms. With rare exceptions the imbecile boy goes out into the world, ultimately to become a pauper or criminal, the girl to be the natural prey of those human hyenas who lie in wait for everything that is weak and unprotected. She is the victim of the law which should cry shame unto itself that it fails to defend her, poor drifting wreck upon the great sea of life.

Because we cannot entirely abate the evil of moral and mental imbecility is no reason why we should not do what we can. In this institution alone are four hundred children, who will in time probably go out to enter into the battle for bread. Though they form but a small per cent of the total number of imbeciles in the state, yet if they could be saved from themselves, kept under kind protection, developed by wholesome industry, and above all prevented from propagating their kind, fifty years from now would show a great saving to the state. As the laws stand, if the subsequent careers of these four hundred imbeciles and of their descendants could be traced, what a terrible chapter of misery, wretchedness and crime it would be, what an awful comment on the inefficiency of government.

There is a false sentiment widely prevalent among unthinking people, which demands that a person who has not actually committed crime, no matter what are his tendencies, who can earn a living, if he will, shall be given liberty. Many an imbecile can and does work intelligently under direction; but liberty means to him license — license to live by hook or by crook, a parasite upon society or a menace to it. Anarchy is born in him. Not being able to reason, he is the tool of every agitator, no matter how unprincipled, who comes along. His sympathies are always on the wrong side, and if he is of the brutal class he is more dangerous than the intelligent malefactor, for with him there is no stopping place.

In lesser crimes the only possible way of appealing to him would be by swift and sure punishment which he could feel. The lynching of his brother for murder does not affect him. If he knew, however, that upon the commission of certain misdemeanors he would experience certain punishments, he would learn to associate the crimes with their result, just as the dog learns to avoid theft because he knows that he will be whipped for it. Mr. Pixley of the *Argonaut*, in a recent editorial favoring the revival of the whipping post in California, said, speaking of the efforts of philanthrophy to reform criminals: —

The very sympathy which leads to his [the philanthropist's] activity, is apt to blind him to the fact that certain criminals are incurable. The footpad who, to gain a few dollars, beats his victim into insensibility

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with a bludgeon, or overcomes his resistance with a revolver, is congenitally lacking in certain of the elements that make up a desirable member of the community. Philanthrophy may exhaust its resources upon him without achieving any improvement in his mental or moral nature. He is and from his natural limitations must remain a brute and a menace to society. He will only keep within bounds through lack of opportunity or incentive to be lawless. The only way to restrain him is to imprison him; the only way to cure him is to flog him.

Mr. Pixley is right. The criminal is often congenitally so, and the congenital criminal is simply a moral imbecile. If we could confine him throughout his life where both incentives and opportunities for wrong-doing were absent, we might in time make him fairly manageable. There is no place in the world outside for him. Deserving sympathy because he is the scapegoat for his father's sins, he will still fail to receive it. Even were we willing with Victor Hugo's blessed bishop, to take into our clean, well-kept homes, the morally bruised and battered, the scum which rises from the great sea of degradation, it would not avail.

Self preservation is the first law of nature, but the saving of others is the first law of God. If we could only realize how utterly mistaken is a kindness which, in the guise of liberty, gives license to the imbecile criminal to work out his own corrupt destiny, we should have taken a long step in the direction of the millennium. Paganism murdered its defective children. Christianity should shelter them, save them — by regular, well-ordered lives under efficient supervision — from themselves, and from bringing more of their kind into the world. We pray with the murderer after the murder is committed, but we might have gone back to first causes, and kept that murderer from coming into the world. We forget that, as he is his own greatest curse, the truest kindness to the imbecile, moral or mental, is to prevent him.

Wise laws, which will cleanse the race from its stream of impure blood, will do quite as much toward converting the world to the love of Christ as the sermon from the pulpit. Hand in hand with the church should go scientific investigation of the causes of crime and the means for its prevention. We are too much afraid of spending a little money now, forgetting that a present outlay often means a future saving.

The civilization of a hundred years from now, a broader, nobler, better civilization than ours, will have learned the lesson that prevention is better than cure; that to keep, where it is possible, the murderer from coming into existence is more in accordance with the law of Christ than to allow him, through the inefficiency of the law, to come into being, and after he has fulfilled his evil destiny, likewise through the inefficiency of the law, to smooth with gentle offices his pathway to the gallows.

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CHRISTIANITY AS IT IS PREACHED.

BY BYRON A. BROOKS.

THE census of 1890 shows that there are in the United States one hundred forty-three religious denominations, most of them called Christian.

First in numbers and influence is the ancient (Roman) Catholic church, taking its name from the city which became its head when the "holy catholic church" was divided into the eastern and western communions. There are six other Catholic churches in this country — the Greek Catholic, Russian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Old Catholic and Reformed Catholic.

Then follow the multitudinous sects of Protestantism, led by the Protestant Episcopal church, the transplanted scion of the Church of England, itself a secession from the Roman Catholic church, when the autocratic Henry VIII. made himself its head in place of the pope. But it was claimed to be the same church, possessing the same "historic episcopate." This is also claimed by the Reformed Episcopal church, as its founder, Bishop Cummins, was a regularly ordained bishop.

The followers of John Wesley could not claim for him this authority, consequently his ordination of Francis Asbury as the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church in America is not recognized by regular Episcopalians. Wesley sought to institute reforms in the Established church, which not being acceptable, his followers were cast out, though he died within its pale. They were called Methodists, from the methods introduced by Wesley, which really had their birth from his remarkable mother, Susannah Wesley. The Methodist Episcopal church in America is divided into two great sections, the North and the South. The original secession took place in 1844 on the question of human slavery. The Methodist Episcopal Church South has the same articles of religion, the same system of conferences and the same discipline as the Methodist Episcopal Church North; yet, nearly thirty years after the close of the slave holders' rebel-

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lion, the Methodist church is still divided upon the old lines. These organizations are remarkably aristocratic in form, though composed mainly of the common people, and are very effective in establishing and extending their form of church polity.

But there has always been an irritation within the church under the rule of bishops and elders, and in 1830 the Methodist Protestant church was organized by members who had seceded from the parent church on the question of admission of the laity to a share in the government of the church, and of limiting the power of the bishops. These reforms have since been adopted partially by the Methodist Episcopal church, but the old division continues. The other Methodistic bodies are the Free Methodists, Independent Methodists, Evangelical Missionary Church, Wesleyan Methodist Connection, African Union Methodist Protestant and the Independent Church of Christ, founded upon the doctrine of "the oneness of the church of Christ."

The next great body is the Presbyterian or "Secession Church," which separated from the Church of England upon the question of the rule of bishops, and established presbyters in their place. It adopted the Westminster confession of faith at an assembly in the old abbey in 1690, and though differing but little from the old church in creed and liturgy, the two became implacable enemies and transported their antagonisms to the new world. They declared the Bible to be the only rule of faith and practice, but could never agree as to its interpretation.

In 1744 there was a division respecting subscription to the confession of faith, known as the Old Side and New Side Presbyterians. In 1837 the church was again divided into Old School and New School as the result of doctrinal differences concerning the atonement, whether it was for the "general" or for the "elect" only.

At the outbreak of the civil war, the church South separated from the church in the North and formed the Southern Presbyterian church. A recent attempt has been made to combine the two churches in their work among the negroes, but the upshot of it is that the Southern Presbyterians will not under any circumstances recognize colored Presbyterians as entitled to the same rights and privileges as themselves.

Early in the century there was an extensive revival move-

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ment in the Cumberland Valley. Differences of doctrine were developed, and the Cumberland Presbyterian church was organized.

The General Assembly in 1890 appointed a committee to revise the Westminster confession so as to soften some of its expressions, particularly those setting forth the doctrine of "preterition," or foreordained damnation. This has not yet resulted in the formation of another church, though threats of it are numerous. There are now in this country twelve denominations of Presbyterians, including North and South, Cumberland (white and black), the "United," Associate, Welsh Calvinistic and various Reformed bodies.

There are seventeen Lutheran denominations in this country. Their cardinal doctrine is that of "justification by faith alone." They believe that in the holy supper there are present with the elements and received sacramentally and supernaturally, the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, yet they reject both "transubstantiation," as held by the Roman Catholic church, and "consubstantiation." Their polity is a combination of the synodical and the congregational. There are four main bodies — the General Synod, United Synod in the South, General Council and Synodical Conference. There are, besides, thirteen independent bodies of Lutherans.

The large Baptist denomination stands, as its name indicates, upon the apex of a pyramid — the method of performing the rite of baptism. It is Calvinistic in creed and congregational in polity, but is divided into "Hard Shell" or conservative and the more liberal. We have also the "Seventh Day" Baptists, who hold sacred the seventh day of the week instead of the first.

The Congregationalists stand at the extreme of liberality in creed, and weakness in organization, each church being a law unto itself. But they are generally Calvinistic in doctrine, though recently involved in a heated controversy over the question of probation after death; the American Board holding that those were not fit to preach the gospel to the heathen who had doubts as to the eternal damnation of those unfortunate beings who had not enjoyed the privilege of listening to their preaching, previous to departure from the world.

There are four sects of Quakers — the Orthodox, Hicksite,

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Wilburite and Primitive. Other denominations are the Disciples of Christ or Campbellites; the Christian Connection, Evangelical Association; Seventh Day Adventists (two sects); United Zion's Children; Moravian, German Evangelical (two sects); Plymouth Brethren; Zion Union Apostolic; Universalists; Unitarians; Social Brethren; Mennonites or Dunkards, divided into sixteen sects, including the Conservative, Progressive and "Defenseless"; and finally, the Church of God — though where it is to be found amidst this multiplicity of sects and organizations, we are not informed. Apparently its numbers are so few as to be unnoticed among the hosts of those belonging to other churches.

Among the Mennonites, perhaps, is best seen the *reductio ad absurdum* of denominationalism. Though comparatively unknown, they are divided into sixteen sects, upon hair-splitting points of creed and custom, their most distinctive custom being that of washing one another's feet. Two of their sects are distinguished only by the presence or absence of buttons on their wearing apparel. "Buttons or no buttons" is the burning question between them, the wearers of those useful adjuncts of dress being accused of sinful "conformity to the world." Among the Methodists, not many years ago, the wearing of jewelry or flowers or any but the plainest apparel was regarded as sinful violation of the command to "come out from the world and be separate." But as they have become more prosperous, they quietly ignore the mandates of their founder that do not suit their tastes.

Many of these divisions seem to be maintained chiefly by inherited antipathies, like those between the Orangeman and the Catholic in Ireland, the Presbyterian and the Papist, the Puritan and the Churchman. Men rally around names and dispute most fiercely about doctrines of which they know the least. Much of the prejudice existing between the denominations is doubtless due to ignorance. When the Protestant clergyman goes to Europe and has opportunity to visit the cathedral unobserved, he finds there sincere worship of the same God. And when the Romanist is brought into contact with the Protestant in benevolent work, he learns that he is a man of like generous impulses with himself, serving the same Master. But each hies to his own pulpit on Sunday, put on the robes of ecclesiasticism and proclaims the doc-

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trines put into his mouth by the dead hand of traditional teaching.

Not only does sectarianism keep Christians apart, but churches of the same denomination are divided into rival associations. Thus, some of the Congregational churches of New York and Brooklyn, being unwilling to affiliate with the renowned but too liberal pastor of Plymouth Church, the Manhattan Association was sundered into two, which still stand aloof from each other and are unable to unite, though the "rock of offence" has long since been removed. In the face of such facts, "buttons or no buttons" seems to be a respectable ground of division.

Again, we have the grand divisions in the Protestant churches of "Orthodox" or "Evangelical" and the "Unevangelical," though the terms are somewhat difficult of definition. Orthodoxy has been defined as "my doxy" and heterodoxy as "the other man's doxy." The unevangelical churches include the Unitarians and Universalists, with which the Orthodox refuse to fellowship, and with whose children they will not allow their own to march in Sunday school parades, though they mingle freely with them in school and street without contamination. The Young Men's Christian (?) Associations will not allow those churches to take part in their organizations, though the membership of most of the Orthodox churches includes so many believers in future probation that the Universalist church has no longer a reason for being; and the theological doctrine of the Trinity is so explained away in most pulpits that there seems to be no reasonable ground for exclusion of the Unitarians.

In fact, so rapid has been the movement of modern life in the direction of the real and practical and away from the speculative and dogmatic, which has been heretofore the domain of doctrinal Christianity, that many of the members of the churches are utterly unable to give a reason for their denominational connection or an intelligent definition of their theological tenets. Yet it is theology and not religion which has produced these divisions, and it is this acquired momentum of ages of controversy that still keeps them extant in an age of coöperation and combination in practical affairs.

This incongruity is still more apparent when we consider the machinery by which this system of preaching the gospel

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is applied. Thus the Roman Catholic church has in the United States 10,221 societies, and owns church property to the amount of over $118,000,000, with a membership of 6,250,000, at an average cost to each of nearly twenty dollars. The Methodist Episcopal church, with 40,888 societies in the United States, has $115,000,000 of property, with 3,450,000 members, at a cost to each of nearly thirty-three dollars. The Presbyterians have 13,490 societies, with nearly $95,000,000 of property, and 1,278,000 members, at a cost of over ninety dollars to each, while the Congregationalists, with 4,868 societies, have $43,335,000 of church property, with 512,771 members, at a cost to each of over eighty dollars. In the United States there are 21,000,000 church members owning $475,000,000 of property.

It will be seen that while the Methodist Episcopal church has by far the largest number of societies, the cost to each member is nearly twice that of the Catholic. This, doubtless, results from the policy of the Catholics in establishing as small a number of societies as possible, with a large membership in each, while the Methodists multiply small churches in every locality, at a much greater cost and with questionable increase of efficiency.

These are the statistics of the first cost only of the church edifices of four denominations. What may be the annual expense of maintaining all the societies of all the one hundred forty-three denominations in the United States, including pastors' salaries, music, care of buildings and collections for denominational extension, can only be imagined. No figures are obtainable on that point, but it is well known that a very large proportion of that immense sum is wasted by the multiplying of churches and overlapping of their fields of labor.

All over the country, east, west, north and south, are villages of from five hundred to two thousand inhabitants, containing from six to twelve churches each. Recently passing through a humble hamlet in New York State, we counted the spires of six churches; subsequently we learned that the name of the place was "Big Flats," with less than five hundred inhabitants. The abandoned churches of New England are almost as numerous as its abandoned farms. A Christian minister has estimated that one fourth of the churches in this country are worse than useless, and that there are in the

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United States 25,000 supernumerary churches, wasting annually in the aggregate over $12,000,000. "The religious history of a New England town," recited by Rev. William B. Hale, is repeated all over the land.

Though the members of the various denominations perceive the evil, they seem to be powerless to correct it. An attempt has recently been made in Connecticut to induce some of the weak and dying churches to unite, but without much success. At the same time the missionary organizations of each denomination are at work planting their churches in the new towns of the West and South, regardless of the existence of other churches in the same locality. The Catholic utterly ignores the presence of the Protestant, and *vice versa*, while the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and Episcopalian go on overlapping one another's fields and building new churches which must be supported for years by outside contributions.

The missionaries of each denomination know and deplore the situation, while they nobly starve at their posts or live as mendicants upon the cast-off clothing and enforced charity of the wealthier churches at the East. The appeals that are heard in every church for aid in "spreading the gospel" and "promoting the cause of Christ," in many cases mean simply the cause of the denomination, which is considered by each as synonymous with that of Christianity, while in some towns are churches without a congregation and congregations without a church.

In the last analysis, Christianity itself is considered by the Catholic to exclude the Protestant, by the Protestant to exclude the Unitarian, and by the Baptists, all who have not been baptized by immersion. In fact, so potent has become the wastefulness and wickedness of increasing the number of weak, rival churches in new communities, that overtures have been made by the Congregational Missionary Association to unite with the Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists in an agreement that new churches shall not be established in communities where those of the other denominations are fairly filling the field. But this moderate proposition, we understand, has been declined by the two latter churches. At the same time the advocates of ecclesiasticism complain of the inadequacy of church accommodations in the large cities, and periodically discuss the problem why the masses

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do not come to church and follow them in their march "up town" to more prosperous neighborhoods.

But this does not apply to the Catholics. They seem to have solved long ago the problem of sustaining churches in the midst of the masses who most need their ministrations, and have discovered how to do this without drawing upon wealthy members outside of the parish or upon other churches. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, on account of the heavy expense of their maintenance, necessitated by the class of people of which they are composed, seem to be compelled to follow the march of wealth, or to cease to exist — at least in the manner to which they are accustomed. The question whether the kind of function which they perform is worth what it costs, or whether they are fulfilling the objects of their existence, is beginning to agitate their minds not a little.

The methods of maintaining these costly conventicles are various. In some the revenues of the sanctuary are obtained by a public auction in the pulpit of the choice of seats to the highest bidder, while those who cannot pay pew rent — with a premium — are unable to obtain a sitting in the church where the gospel of grace and of love to man is hebdomadally proclaimed. In the old New England churches the pews were sold and became the personal property of the purchasers, while other churches were built and conducted on the joint stock corporation plan. As in this country the church obtains no aid from the state, such methods seem to be necessary in order to obtain the large sums required for their maintenance, as they are conducted.

But in most towns and localities, without doubt, these methods would not be necessary but for the effort to maintain so many denominational institutions. For example, in the city of Brooklyn, within a radius of one mile from the intersection of Tompkins Avenue and McDonough Street, where two churches front each other, there are the following churches: six Baptist, six Congregational, three Lutheran, five Methodist Episcopal, two Colored Methodist Episcopal, one Primitive Methodist, six Presbyterian, seven Prostestant Episcopal, one Reformed Episcopal, one Reformed Dutch, one Unitarian, two Universalist, one Second Advent, one Trinity (Congregational) six Roman Catholic and one Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints (Mormon)—fifty in all.

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No person would be obliged to go more than one mile to attend church, if there were but one in the centre of that whole region. As a matter of fact, many go much farther to attend the church of their choice and in so doing pass not only numerous churches of other denominations, but also of their own. However, as long as church attendance is a matter mainly of hearing the preferred preacher or the best music, such anomalies will continue to exist. The practice of maintaining so many preaching places at so enormous expense, and thereby exhausting the resources of the Christian community for benevolent and genuine missionary work, must at least be considered as not good business policy.

Another striking feature of the method of preaching of Christianity is its periodical character. Every seventh day the closed and forbidding edifice is opened and garnished, the preacher dons his gown and the congregation their best attire, the former ascends the pulpit and the latter seek the softest corners of the pews, the choir lift up their voices, and the preacher, if an earnest and faithful minister, endeavors by a fresh presentation of old truths, to arouse his hearers to a lively sense of spiritual things. But his voice falls upon ears dulled by constant repetition and hearts seared by sermonizing. At all events, in thirty minutes his work is done, the congregation decorously file out to discuss the topics of the day, and straightway forget what manner of men they are. It never seems to occur to preacher or hearer that any immediate response to his appeal is expected — except occasionally to take up a collection — and the whole performance becomes perfunctory to the last degree.

The preacher, if a man of God, almost despairs of being able to arouse his hearers, and wears himself out in the effort to find something that will not pall upon their minds hardened by continual preaching; or if the reverse, he soon sinks into a mechanical performance of his function or endeavors to attain notoriety by sensational methods. After the two "church services" on Sunday, the "house of God" is closed for another six days, except that a part may be opened for an hour during the week for a formal prayer or praise meeting, and occasionally the audience room is occupied for a lecture or popular entertainment.

These facts do not apply in the same degree to the Catholic churches. They are open every day in the week, and

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the priest may at all times be found either in the confessional or in his house near at hand, to counsel, to comfort and to guide. The Sunday services are not so much given to preaching as to prayers, and the sermons are generally of a simple and practical character and not devoted to theological discussion, except when expounding the dogmas of the church. The priest, undoubtedly, comes much nearer to the hearts and lives of his people and has a much greater influence in the community than the Protestant clergyman. But it is charged by the latter that the religion of the Catholic is too much a matter of formalities and has little part in his daily life. Undoubtedly, the same may be said of the Protestant, except that a good moral character is considered essential to membership; but when once admitted, his "Christian duties" are mainly confined to attendance at church, and contributions to its support. He may even violate the law of the land and retain his church connection so long as he holds to its doctrines and does not violate its discipline.

By many in both, the church is regarded as a sort of Life Assurance Society for the future, as the church has been teaching for seventeen centuries that the end of religion is to save one's soul. The Catholic church has always taught that there is no salvation outside its pale, and the general idea of "salvation" has been escape from hell and admittance into a heaven of happiness hereafter. To this end all preaching and all sacraments have tended, in both the Catholic and Protestant communions.

In the former, it is to be obtained only in the church and by compliance with its requirements. God can be approached only through the intermediation of priests and saints, the Virgin and the Son. Luther proclaimed "salvation through faith alone," while the church insisted upon "works," though the works were mainly duties prescribed by itself. But the Protestant doctrine of faith as a substitute for righteousness and of "vicarious atonement," seems to be at least as illogical as the Romanist doctrines of penance and of absolution. While the Catholic trusts for salvation in an infallible church, the Protestant pins his faith to an infallible Book, to doubt the inerrancy of which is to condemn one to perdition. Each proclaims his own to be the only true way of salvation; yet when an earnest teacher de-

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clares both to be right, and that there may be *three* ways of salvation, namely, through the church, the Book, and the human reason as the sole means of apprehending either, he is tried for heresy and pronounced *anathema:* not, however, by the Catholic church, which has been supposed to possess a monopoly of heresy trials.

The fact seems scarcely to have been comprehended that the world is not to be saved by preaching alone; that salvation is begun in this life, and is mainly a matter of personal righteousness, which can be acquired only by right living among men; that the church is merely a human institution, encrusted with creed and custom, stifled in tradition, divided into a hundred warring elements and fast approaching the end of its usefulness, unless it be entirely reconstructed.

This condition of things has been observed and deplored by many in the churches, particularly among the Episcopalians. As early as 1886, resolutions were set forth at the convention of the Diocese of Central Pennsylvania reciting:—

Whereas, there is evidence that very many of our Christian brethren now separated from communion with us and with each other, are laying seriously to heart the great dangers we are in by reason of our unhappy divisions;

Resolved, That the House of Bishops be respectfully requested to consider whether, in view of the great reproach brought upon the name of our dear Lord by such divisions among His disciples, it be not fitting to set apart a day and to invite our Christian brethren of every name to unite with us in humbling ourselves before God, beseeching Him to remove this reproach from His people and from His church, that "all hatred and prejudice and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord" may be taken away, and that thus, not only with our lips but in our lives, we may more effectually bear witness to our Lord Jesus Christ and preach His gospel among men.

These resolutions were the origin of the famous "Lambeth Articles," by which it appears that the Episcopalians are so earnest in their desire for union that they are willing to give up nearly everything, except the "historic episcopate"; while more recently a leading Presbyterian has appeared in advocacy of a "reunion of Christians" upon that basis, claiming an equal right to the episcopate. It is also announced that the Pope is about to issue an encyclical looking toward a reunion of the Greek and Roman churches. Others propose a "Brotherhood of Christian Unity," upon the basis of love to God and service to man, in union for benevolent

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action, while retaining church membership with those of affiliated faiths.

Other good Christian men declare that they are pessimists concerning the church, though optimists concerning the "kingdom," and that the church may have to be destroyed in order that the kingdom may advance. They believe, in other words, that institutionalism is limiting life, so that the life, in order to grow, may have to break the institution to pieces; that the church, while containing many Christians, is itself far from Christian; that its methods are not those of Christ, and that there must come a new appreciation of the meaning of His life before the mission of the church will be realized.

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IMMIGRATION AND THE LAND QUESTION.

BY C. J. BUELL.

I. THE RIGHT TO MIGRATE.

THE last two or three years have brought forth a flood of literature on the question of immigration. Very little attempt has been made to discover fundamental principles; restrictive nostrums have been freely recommended, each writer appearing to believe that the millennium only awaited the adoption of his panacea. It has seemed to me that these discussions have overlooked or ignored the very first and most vital principle. That principle is involved in the question, "Have men a right to migrate?" Is the right to move about from place to place on the surface of the earth a natural right that belongs to all men equally, or is it a privilege with which nature has endowed a few favored ones, leaving it to them to grant or withhold?

The mere statement of this question brings out its own answer. Whatever degree of freedom may justly be claimed for one must necessarily be conceded to all. There can be no freedom greater than equal freedom. Whatever right I claim for myself, that must I concede to my brother. Have you, my reader, a right to change your habitation from St. Paul to California? Most certainly. Then that same right you must accord to every other one of your fellow-men. Have you a right to expatriate yourself and become a citizen of England, China or Afghanistan? With equal emphasis you reply, "Of course I have." Then you must accord that right to every other person on earth. All rights must be equal. In short, each person must be free to choose for himself his place of abode; and so long as he encroacheth not on the equal freedom of his fellows, no one may deny him.

The favorite reply of the restrictionist is somewhat as follows: "Of course no one man may justly deny his fellows their equal right with himself to migrate from place to place; but all the people, through the regular channel of legisla-

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tion, may make regulations and restrictions." If this is true, then the principle of equal freedom is a fallacy, and that part of our Declaration of Independence which asserts that all governments derive every just power from the consent of the governed is nothing but an iridescent dream.

No, the immortal Declaration is right. Governments can have no powers except such as rest originally and equally in each individual citizen. Consider, what is a just government? Simply an agent of the people, chosen by the people, to do certain things for the people. What are these things that the people may delegate to their agent, the government? Only such things as each citizen would have a right to do for himself in the absence of government; and of these only such things as the citizens *choose* to delegate. You can't delegate to your agent a power you don't possess. Your right to interfere with other people's migrations is just nothing. No other citizen has any more right than you. Sixty-five million times nothing equals nothing. A creature can never have rights its creator does not possess; so governments can never possess powers which do not inhere in each individual citizen before they come together to create their government.

I am aware that there are certain classes of socialists who claim that the powers of governments are limited only by the will of the majority; but such claims rest upon investigations so shallow, and are so plainly at variance with the principles of equal freedom upon which our democratic republic is founded, that they should be regarded as curiosities instead of being seriously considered.

It is also claimed that, because the members of a family may justly resent encroachments on the sacred precincts of the home, therefore the people of any country may with equal justice drive away peaceable immigrants. The cases are not parallel. The peaceable immigrant enters no man's home unbidden. He simply comes here to make a home of his own, in his own way, and this he has the same right to do as had the Pilgrim fathers who planted their habitations on Plymouth Rock. The only limitation that may justly be applied to the peaceable immigrant, is the same that applies to every other citizen—simply this: he must not encroach upon the equal freedom of his fellows.

True, our Congress attempts to enact laws to prevent people from coming to this country; but all such laws are simply

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tyrannical usurpations of power, without the slightest shadow of right behind them. Public sentiment may sustain them, just as it sustained the superstition of the divine right of kings to rule and rob the people; just as it sustained for centuries the laws for the burning of heretics; just as it sustains to-day all sorts of laws that interfere with the divine right of every man to free thought, free speech, free labor, free land and free trade; but in the very nature of things all such laws are void for want of authority — void because there is no power on earth that has any *right*, or ever can have any right, to enact them.

II. BENEFITS OF IMMIGRATION.

Having shown that no people can possibly have the *right* to prevent peaceable immigration, I now desire to show that the coming of others not only does no harm to those already here, but really benefits them.

Imagine yourself alone on an island; or, if you please, alone on a world. How poor, how weak, how insignificant you are! You must supply for yourself all your own wants. You must plow and sow and reap and thresh and grind and bake, before you can eat bread. Your clothing, in every part and in every detail, must be of your own make. Whatever shelter you have, you alone must construct. You have no one to aid you, no one with whom to divide the cares and the joys of life! How gladly would you welcome the distant sail; with what heart-throbs of hope would you watch its nearing; with what ecstasy of delight would you note the fact that an immigrant was coming! Even one would make you glad, but many would bring greater gladness. And how doubly joyous would you consider it, if, among the many strangers coming, you could but note the happy smile of some sweet maid of your former acquaintance!

Attempt to restrict immigration! No, 'twould be the last thought to rise within you. Think of the blessings those immigrants would bring. Now the subdivision of labor is possible. Now each can devote his energy to the production of such things as he knows most about, and then exchange with all the others. Now the joys of home and fireside cast about you their holy influences, and soon the patter of little feet reminds you that immigrants from out the great unknown are doubly blest in coming.

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Stop immigration? Never! Each one of the ten or one hundred now occupying the island can enjoy many times more of the comforts and blessings of life than before they came together to coöperate among themselves. How anxious you all would be to open up communication with the outside world, that you might exchange the surplus products of your labor with men beyond the sea, and thus get such comforts and luxuries of life as on your own little island you could not produce. With what scorn and contempt would you look upon the person who should seriously suggest that you ought to build a row of custom houses around your island and fill them with politicians whose duty it should be to protect you from the evil effects of swapping goods when you wanted to!

Isn't it always true that ten men working together can produce far more than ten times as much as any one of them working alone? So, also, a thousand, under conditions of freedom, can produce far more than a thousand times as much as one. This principle is universal. The greater the number of the people, the more completely the labor is divided, each doing the work he knows best — provided only they are left free to exchange their surplus products — the greater the wealth of each and the more each can have to enjoy.

Some one may here suggest that if all were permitted to come freely, the island might get too full of people. Nonsense — before the island got too full the people would stop coming.

III. WHY RESTRICTION SEEMS NECESSARY.

Why, then, does restriction of immigration seem necessary? Why does the incoming of our cousins from over the water seem to do harm? Why does it in reality intensify the competition among the workmen, and make immigration seem a curse when in reality it ought to be a blessing?

These questions can all be answered in one word — monopoly. All the good things for which men labor and strive and think and plan, must of necessity be brought forth from the earth by the exertion of man. In the language of political economy, "Labor produces all wealth." But labor can produce not one single particle of wealth unless it can have land to work upon. The food we eat, the clothes we

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wear, the houses that shelter us, even our very bodies — all are derived from the earth; all are the result of labor applied to land. Without the earth to use, human life is impossible.

What sort of a welcome does the immigrant receive who comes to this boasted "land of the free," seeking a place where he can use his energy and skill for the betterment of himself and all those who were here before him? Is he permitted to use the earth to satisfy his needs? Yes, if he can pay the price monopoly has placed upon land. May he not travel from place to place in search of cheaper land, or that he may find an employer to hire him? Yes, if he can pay the price that law-favored highway monopolists charge for a ride. Can't he go afoot and thus escape excessive transportation charges? No, he will be arrested as a tramp and put in jail, his only consolation being that some of those who helped make the laws that caused him to become a tramp will have to pay taxes to support him while he is there. Suppose he *can* pay the price demanded for transportation and for land, is he allowed to keep and enjoy the products of his labor, that he may thus become a good and self-reliant citizen? No, the tax gatherer is bound by law to fine him for every good thing he does, in order that some land speculator may the more readily blackmail his fellow-men.

Suppose, by hard work, he overcomes all these unnatural obstacles that stupid laws have put in his way, and has a surplus of wheat or other product, is he permitted to exchange that surplus in order to get the things he needs for the maintenance and comfort of himself and family? Yes, but on condition; if he exchange with his brothers who live outside the imaginary line that separates this "great free country" from the rest of the world, then he must give up from one fourth to three fourths of all he gets to a legalized robber called a customs collector before he may go home with the remainder. Or if he choose to exchange with some one on this side the line, he must pay the monopoly price that our tariff was designed to enable the home producer to extort. Suppose he submits to all these robberies and finally gets home with the fragment that remains, is he let alone to enjoy it in peace? Oh, no; the tax assessor comes around and fines him every year for having it.

What a "grand and glorious free country" this of ours is, to be sure! Is it any wonder that immigrants coming

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here compete with "our own laborers" for a chance to work? How could they do otherwise, when we shut away the earth from them and compel them to beg employment of the favored few upon whom our system confers the privilege of owning the planet on which we live!

This is just as true of those immigrants who come through the natural channel of birth, as of those who come from distant lands in ships; and to restrict or keep out one class is no more logical or just than to pass laws to prevent the coming of the other.

Why, then, do the citizens of foreign lands come here, and why do so many of them come in spite of all these evils that await them? Simply because they are compelled to suffer more evils where they are. But the tyranny of old world despotisms is no excuse for ours. Because in one country a man is robbed of ninety per cent of all he produces is no reason why in another he should thank God for the robbers who take only seventy-five.

Thus it appears that the problem of immigration does not stand alone. Freedom of migration is as clearly the right of every human being as is freedom to breathe the air. Monopoly alone is the cause of the evil.

IV. THE REMEDY.

What, then, is the remedy? Again the answer comes clear and plain: Abolish monopoly and restore freedom. These evils have been brought about by laws that restrict and interfere with the rights of man. The remedy must come through the repeal of those laws and the restoration to man of his natural right to be free. Not more laws added, but many existing laws repealed, is the kind of legislation we now need. Our watchword must be "*More liberty.*"

We must erase from our statute books all laws that tax men in proportion to their industry. No man should be taxed more because he has made a piece of land useful, than another is taxed for holding an equally valuable piece of land idle.

The great iron highways of the country must cease to be the private property of such as the Goulds and the Vanderbilts, the Hills and the Huntingtons. They must be made *real free public* highways, and all must have equal rights to use them, just as they now use the lakes and rivers, the bays and oceans, the country roads and the city streets.

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All existing laws that tend to currency monopoly must be repealed. The money of the country must not be made to favor either state or national banks, nor to give the owners of mines a greater price for their products than they will command in the free markets of the world.

But most important of all and *first* of all, land monopoly must be destroyed. We must recognize again nature's only title to land — the title that rests upon possession and use; and the value of land — that value which is produced by the presence of population and the evolution of society — the value of land must be taken for public use; not allowed to swell the private fortunes of mere title holders.

Look over this fair America of ours to-day, and see how few and how scattering are its people. More than all the inhabitants of the United States could live in peace and comfort east of the Alleghany Mountains were it not for the curse of land monopoly. Less than half the land even in New York City is really occupied and used. More than half is only partially used or is held idle by speculators who expect to reap large profits from the increase of value which always comes with increase of population.

Why do men hold land idle? For no other reason than to pocket the difference between the yearly *value* which the public *gives* and the yearly *taxes* which the public *takes*.

How can land monopoly be abolished? By making the yearly *taxes* which the public *takes* equal to the yearly *value* which the public *gives*. When the public takes what it produces, it won't have to rob individuals of the product of their labor under the pretence of taxation. Adopt the single tax, and the vacant-lot industry is a thing of the past.

All laws that pretend to grant to corporations or individuals any special favors must be abolished.

All men must be restored to their rightful condition of freedom, and then let alone to work out each one his own career, unaided by government bounties or favors, unhindered by repressive or restrictive legislation.

Democratic government is possible only under conditions of equal freedom; and that equal freedom must not be the variety proposed by restrictionists and paternalists, where all are equally oppressed by a governing class, but that broad and genuine freedom, where each person has perfect liberty to do whatsoever best doth please himself, so long as he does not interfere with the equal freedom of his fellows.

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All men must have equal rights to be on the earth, to move about on its surface, and to use its materials to satisfy their needs. Each one must be the owner of his own powers and capacities. All that his labor of hand or brain can produce is his own; and he must never be compelled to yield to individual or state any part of the product.

The value of land, which is not in any sense a product of individual labor, properly belongs to the community that has produced it. When this value is put into the public treasury where it may meet all public requirements, taxes on labor will be unnecessary, and can be abolished.

This simple, practical change in our system of taxation on the one hand destroys land monopoly and restores to labor its natural right freely to use the earth; while on the other hand it takes the burden from labor's back and leaves it free from the crushing weight of indirect taxation.

Thus again we reach the same conclusion — that only in freedom for the individual man we shall find the cure for all our social evils; freedom to think, freedom to speak, freedom to act; freedom to use the earth to produce the things that are necessary to life, comfort and happiness; freedom, absolute freedom, to exchange the products of his labor with his fellow-men the wide world over, with never a custom house nor a collector to interfere with his trading; freedom to cooperate with his fellows in all things, and never to know that government exists, except when he pays for the value of the land he uses, or when he attempts to encroach upon the equal freedom of his fellows.

With freedom established and monopoly, especially land monopoly, destroyed, the problem of immigration is solved; its terrors have vanished. The innocent comer from over the sea is no longer an enemy to take our work away and reduce us to a meaner standard of living; but a friend who comes to help us, while we all rise to better conditions and heights of nobler manhood.

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TWO VIEWS OF MODERN SPIRITUALISM.

I. The Bible and Modern Spiritualism.

BY THE LATE HENRY A. HARTT, M. D.

Modern spiritualism has all the features of ancient witchcraft, which makes its appearance in the second book of the Pentateuch under sentence of death: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." In the next book we find the command: "Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards to be defiled by them: I am the Lord your God." Again in the same book it is written: "A man also or a woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death."

The prophet Isaiah in his remarkable work says: "And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them who have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? On behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead? To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."

In the first book of Samuel we have an example in the case of Saul, the king of Israel, and the witch of Endor, in which a spirit purporting to be Samuel the prophet appeared before them in material form. No man, then, who believes the Bible can fail to admit the possibility of communications from spirits, or what are called the phenomena of spiritualism; nor can he deny that all consultation with witches, wizards, and those who have familiar spirits, whom now we term mediums, is strictly forbidden.

In the New Testament witchcraft is included in the list of grievous and deadly offences, as follows: "Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

To this category, or, perhaps, to consultation with demons, belong the magic of Egypt, the astrology of Babylon, the oracles

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of Greece and Rome, and all the divinations, soothsayings, and secret and black arts of the pagan world.

It is claimed that there is a higher order of spiritualism, in which power is given to heal the sick, to speak in unknown languages, to play melodiously on musical instruments, and to discourse with angelic eloquence upon any subject, however unfamiliar, that may be suggested.

We know that, in the beginning, a variety of gifts was imparted to the Christian church, and, however they may have been neglected and become dormant, there is no intimation that they would be withdrawn. St. Paul says: —

> Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another, faith by the same Spirit; to another, the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another, the working of miracles; to another, prophecy; to another, discerning of spirits; to another, divers kinds of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues; but all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing severally to every man as He will. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body.

In the apostolic age, it was, probably, sometimes difficult to distinguish between the manifestations which came from a holy, and those which came from an unholy inspiration, and so an injunction was issued, to "try the spirits, whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world." And infallible tests were given: "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God." And that we may understand the full import of this confession, it is added: "In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent *His only begotten Son* into the world, that *we might live through Him.* Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and sent His Son *to be the propitiation for our sins.*" And again it is written, "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel to you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

Tried by these tests, modern spiritualism, as it appears in the ordinary *séances* of mediums, with its tappings, table-turnings, banjo-playings, slate-writings, testings, and materializations, and in the discourses and writings of many of its most distinguished advocates, is found entirely wanting. It has set up a new religion, which it calls the religion of humanity, in which it borrows

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from Christ His divine precepts of unselfish love; but, utterly destitude of the spirit by which alone they can be carried out, in the midst of perpetual bickerings and quarrelings among its deluded and credulous followers, it contemptuously denies His divinity, miracles, resurrection, and ascension, and blasphemously affirms that He was only a medium.

Professor Henry Kiddle, formerly the superintendent of education in New York, in a discourse on the religious element in spiritualism, denounce the mediumship of which I speak as a form of animism or spirit-worship, below the paganism of the Greeks and Romans. "To build," he says, "a religion upon the consultation of familiar spirits through mediums, is to descend below the pagan practices of Greece and Rome." And yet he affirms that in consequence of the widespread spiritual ignorance and materialistic blindness which prevail, after Christian light, for so many centuries, has been poured upon the world, there is need of the mediumistic phenomena that are now witnessed; and that under the present circumstances they must be countenanced and encouraged in order to convince the unbeliever.

We must indeed have fallen upon evil times, if all the mighty truths of Christianity with their mountainous evidences, which in the commencement of their march, hundreds of years ago, silenced the satanic oracles and dethroned the false gods of the pagan world, and which on the ruins of ancient systems of superstition, sensuality, greed, and violence, have slowly but surely reared the grand superstructure of our modern civilization, have now, suddenly, within the last forty years, so far lost their hold upon mankind that there has come to be everywhere a spiritual eclipse, and all are enveloped in a shroud of Egyptian darkness, without God and without hope in the world, and can only recover their faith in immortality by a revival of divinations and occult practices, which even those who profess to officiate in the higher courts of the temple of spiritualism denounce as worse than those which were enacted under the auspices of paganism in the olden times!

The hour has come when the church and all good men should array themselves against this hoary-headed iniquity, not with stones nor with fagots, but with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. The hour has come when the reality of communications from the evil spirits and from spirits of devils should be admitted and proclaimed, and the words uttered by the great Jewish lawgiver should be repeated with all the emphasis of a command from Heaven: "Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards to be defiled by them; I am the Lord your God."

If the advocates of the higher style of spiritualism are willing

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to submit their cause to the tests of the word of God, and acknowledge the divinity and messiahship of Jesus Christ, they commit a prodigious mistake in holding any fellowship whatever with this ancient Hebrew and pagan heresy. On the contrary, they should at once stand forth as the true successors of the most eminent and gifted confessors of the early church, and be universally known as members of the highest order of Christian discipleship.

II. Primitive Christianity and Modern Spiritualism.

BY J. M. PEEBLES, A. M., M. D.

Cogito ergo sum—I think, therefore, I am. But thoughts do not more certainly imply existence and necessitate thinkers, than primitive Christianity logically necessitated a founder. That founder was the Jesus Christ of the gospels. Denial of the existence of Jesus of Nazareth in the face of the Talmud, the New Testament, the cumulative evidences of history, the most learned living rabbis, and the hundred millions of nominal Christians, is a pitiable confession of ignorance, and in one well acquainted with the evidences would require no little effrontery. Palestine, as seen by travellers and unveiled by the explorers of to-day, is of itself a convincing fifth gospel, confirming those of the evangelists.

The synoptic gospels, resplendent with the Sermon upon the Mount, the parables, the Galilean discourses, and those grand ethical teachings of love to God and love to man, accompanied by astounding spiritual marvels, constituted the magna charta of primitive Christianity. Dogmatic churchianity, founded upon Pauline mysticisms, Alexandrian sophistries, and the darker shadings of gnosticism, was the after-birth of several centuries.

The Jews were monotheistic, and Jesus, cradled upon the rugged bosom of Judaism, naturally worshipped Israel's one God. He kept the law. At twelve He astonished the templed doctors. Coming up from the baptismal Jordan, the spirit of God from the "opened heavens" infilled and divinely illuminated Him, and from this time He became the Christ, the light not only of Asia but of the world. The divine Spirit constituted the seal of His Messiahship, and made Him an authoritative exponent of the universal religion, the three basic principles of which were and *are* dependence, fraternity, and progress; or, more elaborately expressed, the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the immortality of the soul, the ministrations of angels, charitable care of the unfortunate and poor, and tenderest love, peace and goodwill to all.

Considered externally, primitive Christianity, the crowning blossom of Israel's fruitful trunk, was an evolution. Spiritually,

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it was an inspiration, a revelation and a *life* — a life of transcendent love, Christ being the central figure, the "Way, the Truth, and the Life." Christ no more created the truth or the light, than Newton created the law of gravitation. His first teachings were under cloudless Syrian skies in His Father's name. Says Renan: —

> The group that pressed around Him upon the banks of the Lake of Tiberias believed in spectres and spirits. Great spiritual manifestations were frequent. All believed themselves to be inspired in different ways; some were prophets, others teachers.

His apostles, disciples, and multiplying believers were endowed with such mighty spiritual gifts that they wrought wonderful works in the very face of agnostic Sadduceeism and sacerdotal Phariseeism. The sick were healed, the deaf heard. Denial of these miracles, otherwise spiritual manifestations, was sheerest madness. The cry of Beelzebub and of magic, was of no avail. "Judge ye of yourselves," were the fervid words of Christ. And the multitude did judge — and believed — until the day of Pentecost, when from the spiritual heavens there came a mighty rushing wind, resulting in tongues of fire, daughters prophesying, young men seeing visions, and three thousand accepting the truth of Peter's vigorously-expressed sermon — "Jesus of Nazareth, a *man* approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs which God did by Him in the midst of you."

Christianity, now solidly established, became at once a moral force as aggressive as potent. Apostles and missionaries were soon at the gates of Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople. Pagan persecution only fired their zeal. Martyrdom for truth only insured the glittering crown the sooner. Churches — i. e., assemblies of sympathizing believers — were founded in cities, villas, and private houses. Every church was blessed with what Paul denominated "diversity of gifts." These primitive churches had no fixed creed, no formulated confession of faith; they were Christians, not sectarians. Their tests of discipleship were these: "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another." "He that believeth on Me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do." "These signs [i. e., various spiritual manifestations] shall follow them that believe." And these signs, gifts and demonstrations of the Spirit did follow the early Christians for the first three centuries. Mosheim confirms this view, saying: —

> It is easier to conceive than to express how much the miraculous powers and the extraordinary divine gifts which the early Christians exercised on various occasions, contributed to extend the limits of the church. . . . Though the gift of foreign tongues appears to have gradually ceased, yet other spiritual gifts, healings, prophecies, visions and

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the discerning of spirits with which God favored the rising church, were, as we learn from numerous testimonies of the ancients, continued to some extent for several centuries.

Ignatius, native of Syria and pupil of Polycarp, declares that

Some in the church most certainly have a knowledge of things to come. Some have visions; others utter prophecies, and heal the sick by laying on hands; and others still speak in many tongues, bringing to light the secret things of men and expounding the mysteries of God.

Many confirmatory testimonies might be quoted from Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Papias, Justin Apollinaris, Cyprian, Lactantius, and others of the earlier fathers. The Phrygian Montannus affirmed with great emphasis that "These continuous prophecies, healing gifts, tongues and visions are the divine inheritance of the true Christian," quoting in confirmation the old Scripture words, "Where there is no vision the people perish."

St. Anthony in one of his fiery sermons exclaimed: —

We walk in the midst of demons, who give us evil thoughts; and also in the midst of good angels. When these latter are especially present, there is no disturbance, no contention, no clamor; but something so calm and gentle that it fills the soul with gladness. The Lord is my witness that after many tears and fastings I have been surrounded by a band of angels, and joyfully joined in singing with them.

Tatian, in his orations against the Greeks, said: —

Your poetess Sappho was an impudent courtesan, and sung her own wantonness; but our women full of faith in Christ are chaste, and our virgins, at the distaff, utter divine oracles, see visions, and sing the holy words that are given them.

Tertullian with fierce authority challenged the heathen to a trial of superiority in the matter of casting out demons, and the exercise of other spiritual gifts characterizing Christians. Among other facts, he referred to a sister's prophecies and very remarkable revelations. These are his words in the "De Anima": —

There is a sister among us who possesses a faculty of revelations. Commonly during religious service she falls into a trance, holding communion with the angels, beholding Jesus Himself, hearing divine mysteries explained, reading the hearts of some person, and administering to such as require it. When the Scriptures are read or psalms sung, spiritual beings minister visions to her. We were speaking of the soul once, when our sister was in the spirit [entranced]; and, the people departing, she then communicated to us what she had seen in her ecstasy, which was afterwards closely inquired into and tested. She declared she had seen a soul in bodily shape, that appeared to be a spirit, neither empty nor formless, but so substantial that it might be touched. It was tender, shining, of the color of the air, but in everything resembling the human form. (See note at close of argument, page 000.)

This is a very interesting illustration of Christian spiritualism, as exemplified and preached with such tremendous potency in the golden days of primitive Christianity.

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These early Christians taught and practised also the Master's beatitude, "Blessed are the peace makers." Speaking of this, the historian Guizot made the following observation: —

For three hundred years from the commencement of the Christian era a Christian was never known to fight. Whenever a soldier became a Christian he abandoned his profession of war.

So far as I have read history, I have seen no well-authenticated account of Christians entering the army in the second or third century. Christians of that period practically followed Christ, the Prince of peace. "We do not deem it right," said St. Jerome, "to fight with our enemies." "I am a soldier of Jesus Christ, whose kingdom was not of this world," exclaimed St. Martin, "and therefore I do not fight." "Early Christianity," wisely remarked Gladstone, "marched in the van of all human improvements and civilization. It inculcated arbitration, and everywhere made for peace and righteousness." The Christian principle of peace was practically adopted in our late settlement of the "Alabama Claims" with England.

Aglow with the fires of fraternity, those first-century Christians inculcated also the principle of universal brotherhood. To this end Max Müller, prince of scholars, assures us: —

It was Christianity that first broke down the barrier between Jew and Gentile, between Greek and barbarian, between black and white. Humanity is a word you look for in vain in Plato or in Aristotle. The idea of mankind as the children of one family, as the children of one God, is an idea of Christian growth.

Macaulay in a similar strain said: —

I altogether abstain from alluding to topics which belong to divines: I speak merely as a politician, anxious for the morality and temporal well-being of society, and so speaking, I say that to countenance Brahminical idolatry [he might have added Buddhism also], and to discountenance that religion [Christianity] which has done so much to promote justice, and mercy, and freedom, and arts, and sciences, and good government, and domestic happiness, which has struck off the chains of slaves, which has mitigated the horrors of war, which has raised women from servants and playthings into companions and friends, is to commit high treason against humanity and civilization.

The rationalist Lecky, writing of early Christianity in his "European Morals," says: —

The entire movement I have traced displays an anxiety, not only for the life but also for the moral well-being of the *castaways of society*, such as the most humane nations of antiquity had never reached. This minute and scrupulous care for human life and human virtue in the humblest forms — in the slave, the gladiator, the savage, or the infant — was, indeed, wholly foreign to the genius of paganism. It was produced by the Christian doctrine of the inestimable value of each immortal soul. It is the distinguishing and transcendent characteristic of every society into which the spirit of Christianity has passed. The first and most manifest duty of a Christian man was to look upon his fellow-men as

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sacred beings; and from this grew up the eminently Christian idea of the sanctity of all human life.

Here, then, we have primitive or pre-Constantine Christianity with its one God, the universal Father, the brotherhood of all races, boundless charities, peace principles, and an ever-flowing stream of such spiritual manifestations as prophecies, visions, discerning spirits, trances, healings, and speaking in tongues — *all* of which are in perfect accord with the higher spiritualism of this century. Certainly the fundamental ideas underlying them are concurrent. God is one and His laws are immutable. The universe is a unity, and there is clearly manifest everywhere continuity of causation and uniformity of law inducing and inspiring the processions of phenomena, or, as anciently expressed by Paul: "There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit [law]; diversities of operations, but it is the same God that worketh all and in all."

Spiritualism, however, must be differentiatad from spiritism. The terminologies absolutely necessitate, as every scholar knows, different meanings. Chinese, Indians, and Utah Mormons are spiritists, believing in spirit communications. Most of the African tribes of the Dark Continent worship demons and believe in spirit converse, but certainly they are not intelligent and religious spiritualists.

Spiritism is a fact, a sort of modernized Babylonian necromancy. Its devotees, hypnotized by the unembodied denizens of Hades, divine for dollars. It is promiscuous spirit commerce with a high tariff. It is from beneath and morally gravitates towards the dark. I repeat, spiritism is a *fact;* so is mesmerism, so is telepathy, and so, also, is a rattlesnake bite. Facts may be morally true or false. They may serve for purposes of good or direst ill. As an exhibition of wonders — as pabulum for scoffing atheists who demand visible sight of the invisible, infinite One, and insist upon a terrific clap of thunder to convince them of the existence of electricity, commercial spiritism, with its attending shadowy hosts manifesting in ill-ventilated rooms, may be a temporary necessity, but it legitimately belongs, with such kindred subjects as mesmerism, to the category of the sciences; while spiritualism, originating in God who is spirit, and grounded in man's *moral nature*, is a fact, and infinitely more — a fact *plus* reason and conscience; a fact relating to moral and religious culture — a sublime spiritual truth ultimating in consecration to the good, the beautiful, and the heavenly. Spiritualism proffers the key that unlocks the mysteries of the ages. It constituted the foundation stones of all the ancient faiths. It was the mighty uplifting force that gave to the world its inspired teachers and immortal leaders.

Rightly translated, the direct words of Jesus are, "God is

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Spirit." The spiritual is the real and the substantial. The spiritually minded are reverential. "The fruit of the Spirit," said the apostle to the Gentiles, "is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Spiritualism, by whatever name known, without the fruit of the Spirit, without religion and moral growth, is but the veriest rot and rubbish; and religion, by whatever name known, in any age, without spiritualism and its accompanying spiritual gifts, is only an empty shell — an offensive creedal *cadaver*, that should be buried without the ecclesiastical formalities of confessional "revision."

History has its cycles and transformation periods. Night follows the day. Soon after the battle of Thrace, 314 A. D., Constantine embraced and nationalized Christianity, making it a court religion, a kingdom of this world. Then commenced the reign of councils and of creeds. The highest church dignitaries quarrelled. Arius was arrayed against Athanasius. Some bishops were banished. Heretics were hunted and imprisoned. The church historian, Milman, says: —

> Nowhere is Christianity less attractive than in the councils of the church. Intrigue, injustice, violence, decisions on authority alone, and that the authority of a turbulent majority, detract from the reverence and impugn the judgment of at least the later councils. The close is almost invariably a terrible anathema, in which it is impossible not to discern the tones of human hatred, of arrogant triumph, and of rejoicing at the damnation hurled at the adversary.

We are all familiar with the license that Cyril of Alexandria gave to his monks, who murdered Hypatia; and our memories are too good to forget the account of the robber council of Ephesus. Creeds promulgated by one council were essentially modified by future councils, till the Christianity of the first three centuries was transformed into institutional Christianity, with its mystical dogmas and dry confessions of faith, causing a cloud-curtained moral darkness of twelve hundred years — churchianic reign of terror — a very *nidus* of theological demons, from the huge den of which were hatched Romanism and Calvinism, both ill-adapted to the fostering and propagation of the more delicate Christian graces, and especially of angel ministries. "When the church came into the hands of the Christian princes during the Constantine period," says Rufinus, "it thereby gained power and riches, but lost many of its virtues and more of its spiritual gifts."

Christianity, now championed by the state, and presided over by scheming, ambitious bishops, transformed portions of Syria, Asia Minor, and other localities of the Orient into crimson fields of slaughter, sprinkled with fraternal blood the fairest portion of Europe, and in a measure paralyzed the intellectual and moral

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growth of nations. The execution of heretics by Constantine ecclesiastics was the natural sequence of theological and institutional Christianity. Why should not bishops and priests hate those whom they believed God hated? Why should they not condemn and burn, in this world, those pagans and heretics whom they believed God would eternally burn in the future world? When great numbers of these heretical Priscillianists were put to death, in 385 A. D., at the instigation of the two dictatorial bishops, Ursatius and Ithiacus, they pleaded for clemency. But the reply was, "God, the Levitical code, and the interests of the church require it." When the so-called Christian warrior, Godfrey de Bouillon, took Jerusalem at the close of the tenth century, the whole garrison, without distinction of age or sex, was put to the sword. Infants were slain with their mothers; the streets of Jerusalem were covered with the bleeding, dying, dead; and yet Jesus, whom these ferocious, war-crimsoned Christians professed to follow, was styled the Prince of peace.

The murderous conduct of religionists during and following the century of Constantine's reign, together with the council-begotten dogmas of tritheism, commercial atonement, election and reprobation, eternal hell torments, and the endless punishment of the heathen and non-elect infants, have driven more brilliant minds into atheism and infidelity than all the Humes, Paines, Volneys, and Voltaires that ever lived or wrote.

The following extracts are samples of some of the good sound orthodox sermons of the past: —

When they (the saints) shall see how great the misery is from which God hath saved them, and how great a difference He hath made between their state and the state of others who were by nature, and perhaps by practice, no more sinful and ill-deserving than they, it will give them more a sense of the wonderfulness of God's grace to them. Every time they look upon the damned, it will excite in them a lively and admiring sense of the grace of God in making them so to differ. The sight of hell torments will exalt the happiness of the saints forever. — *Rev. Emmons' Sermons*, xi.

The happiness of the elect in heaven will, in part, consist in witnessing the torments of the damned in hell. And among these it may be their own children, parents, husbands, wives, and friends on earth. One part of the business of the blessed is to celebrate the doctrine of reprobation. While the decree of reprobation is eternally executing on the vessels of wrath, the smoke of their torment will be eternally ascending in view of the vessels of mercy, who, instead of taking the part of those miserable objects, will say, "Amen, hallelujah, praise the Lord." — *Rev. Emmons' Sermons*, xvi.

When the damned have drunken down whole draughts of brimstone one day, they must do the same another day. The eye shall be tormented with the sight of devils, the ears with the hideous yellings and outcries of the *damned* in *flames*, the nostrils shall be smothered, as it were, with *brimstone;* the tongue, the hand, the foot, and every part, shall *fry* in *flames*. — *Rev. Ambrose's Discourse on Doomsday.*

The godly wife shall applaud the justice of the Judge in the condem-

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nation of her ungodly husband. The godly husband shall say amen to the damnation of her who lay in his bosom. The godly parents shall say hallelujah at the passing of the sentence of their ungodly child. And the godly child shall from the heart approve the damnation of his wicked parents who begot him, and the mother who bore him *Rev. Thos. Bostins' Fourfold State, p. 336.*

If the word *damnable* were ever permissible it could justly be applied to the above irrational and blasphemously anti-Christian doctrines. They gave Colonel Ingersoll his coveted opportunity; he improved it to the utmost, all the while mistaking Calvinism for Christianity. This eloquent word-painting agnostic has never, however, attacked Christ, nor His beautiful moral teachings; neither has he hurled a solitary javelin at primitive Christianity, the golden radiance of which, for three hundred years, enlightened and bettered alike Grecian culture and Roman civilization.

Upon these theological matters we must be pardoned for writing warmly, incisively; for it was the ecclesiastical creeds formulated in the seventeenth century and preached in the eighteenth, that drove me, while yet in youth's sunny morning, into the whirling, chilling maelstrom of atheism — to be rescued, under God's providence, by manifestations of invisible psychic forces and the most palpable demonstrations of present spirit ministries, placing my feet firmly upon the rock of ages, Christ. It was not the cheeriest comfort, in those half-a-century-gone years, to be intellectually driven by the lurid preaching of eternal hell torments into materialism and unbelief, and then to be compelled to listen to sermons from the text, "He that believeth not shall be damned."

Churchianity and Christianity should no more be used interchangeably than spiritism and spiritualism. Churchianity, red with the blood of millions of slain heretics, still preaches salvation through blood, instead of through Christ, and points to the sepulchre and the crucified body of Jesus, instead of the living Christ in the heavens. Sharply prodded by science, criticism, and the broadening genius of this century, churchianity is at present undergoing a wonderful transformation. Its all-hopeful word just now is "revision." It is consciously aware that it must revise and grow, or die. Already the harshly-grating word *damned* in Mark's gospel has been made to read "condemned." Devil has been minimized to *diabolus* — an undesirable, uncompanionable adversary. Hell in the Revised Version has been softened down to *hades*, the invisible under world where Jesus preached to the spirits in prison, and the hell-fire where the worm was not to die nor the "fire to be quenched" — the Gehenna Valley of Hinnom — has become fruitful with vineyards. Absolutely, the writer, while visiting Palestine a few years ago, plucked and ate delicious grapes growing in the old

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hell-fire Vale of Hinnom. (See St. Mark ix. 43.) If, as Emerson taught, "Carrion under the genial and vivifying beams of the sun is changed into grasses and grains," why should not *hell*, that is, that ancient hell-fire valley just outside the walls of Jerusalem, with its extinct worms for fertilizers, be utilized and transformed into leafy, purpling vineyards laden with the most luscious clusters?

Evolution is everywhere manifest. The telegraph, the telephone, the phonograph, sarcognomy, mesmerism, clairvoyance, psychometry (see Professor J. R. Buchanan's works) in connection with other scientific discoveries and religious aspirations, seemingly constituted the befitting time for the rediscovery and propagation of spiritualism. We say rediscovery, for to agnostic materialists and sectarian Christians, spiritualism, demonstrating conscious communications between mortals and the overarching, invisible world of immortals, was literally a discovery, a new revelation. And yet from remotest antiquity all races and tribes had witnessed and echoed these phenomena in some form. They were considered at different periods miracles, magic, possessions, apparitions, oracles, special providences, witchcraft, demons and angels. Their persistence, surviving the decay of thrones and empires, is, according to Herbert Spencer, a proof of their reality and their value.

When in Canton, China, the guest of Dr. Kerr, physician and missionary, we chanced to speak of the spirit manifestations in America, when he coolly exclaimed: "Why, sir, these manifestations are very old in this country. China is an empire of spiritists." And to prove it he took me out to temples, shrines and booths, where I witnessed spirit-writing and other forms of mediumistic phenomena. It is no doubt the *consensus* of opinion throughout the enlightened world to-day that these psychic phenomena are the works of invisible spirit intelligences. Accordingly, Alfred R. Wallace, the eminent English naturalist and scientist, pointedly says: —

> My position, therefore, is that the phenomena of spiritualism, in their entirety, do not require further confirmation. They are proved quite as well as any facts are proved in other sciences.

These spiritual phenomena, however, are not miracles in any such sense as the seventeenth-century schoolmen defined them. They are not violations of the laws of nature, but the operations of higher natural laws than the masses comprehend. The supernatural is the natural upon the spiritual plane of existence. If Jesus in His time had telephoned from Jerusalem to Bethany, or telegraphed from Jericho to a friend residing at the foot of snowy Hermon, these methods of communication would have been pronounced astounding miracles. Can He who made the eye not

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see? Can He who ordained law, whether in the sprouting of an acorn or in the ordaining of a constellation, not modify it, or bring into activity a higher spiritual law transcending it? In the measureless realm of absolute being, personality reigns supreme. And so in the over-encircling lesser realms, minor spirit personalities, reigning finitely, produce spiritual manifestations made visible to us under proper conditions. They are natural. And being natural to the plane of conscious life and intelligence that produced them, they as naturally, as scientifically, demonstrate the future existence of man. "The vast universe is to me," said Emerson, "one grand spiritual manifestation." And the greater necessarily includes the less.

Personally, I know that the dead are alive—know that friends departed live and manifest to us still—know by careful observation and patient experience, in connection with reason and my best judgment, that the angels of God are about us and minister to us. It is knowledge. And I can rejoicingly say with the apostle, "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Possibly some ecclesiastic may say, "I have never seen the spiritual manifestations." Quite likely. Millions have not seen the seas, lakes, and canals upon the planet Mars, nor the telescope that discovered them. The more the pity. Ignorance, whether churchianic or agnostic, ought to be *very* modest. What individuals have not seen does not enter into the moral equation for determining truth.

Premonitions, hypnotism, telepathy, trance, visions, clairvoyance, psychometry and other varied spirit phenomena are all about us, and to ignore them without the most candid investigation is the shabbiest sort of self-stultification. Having witnessed levitation, i. e., a human being floating in the air at high noon (himself and myself in the room alone), I am quite prepared to believe that the "Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip" from the sight of the eunuch, leaving him afar off at Azotus. Having seen a medium's hand put by the entrancing spirit into the full blaze of a kerosene lamp and there held for fully three minutes unburned, I am all the more inclined to believe that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego walked in the fiery furnace, "the form of the fourth" as a protecting shield being in their midst. Having witnessed spirit writing in the air as well as upon walls by a vanishing spirit hand, all the more readily do I accept the recorded account of "the fingers of a man's hand" mystically writing upon the wall in Belshazzar's palace. Soundly said the most distinguished of the Beechers, "Modern spiritual manifestations strengthen faith." And just

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how sectarian religionists can believe and preach that Samson slew those foxes, and that the whale swallowed Jonah, and yet imperiously deny the long-prayed-for and now realized spiritual gifts and manifestations, as attested by many of the most highly cultured, most scientific and most erudite men of this and of foreign countries, is to me not only painfully unaccountable, but it must seriously try the patience of all true Christians.

Is it reiterated, "I have not witnessed the spirit manifestations, I have not seen spirits"? What of it? Francisco Sizzi was once in a similar predicament. These were his words: —

> Moreover the satellites of Jupiter are invisible to the naked eye, and therefore can exercise no influence over the earth, and therefore would be useless, and therefore do not exist.

This is logic gone mad. Ecclesiastics should not only be abreast of but in advance of their age, that they may fulfil the command, "Feed My sheep." But corn that yellowed in Kedron's Valley two thousand years ago will not feed the hungry of to-day; re-chewing the churchianic husks of the post-Constantine period will not fatten our souls in love and wisdom; nor will the snuffing of sulphurous Dead Sea breezes cure moral leprosy. The people are calling for a living Christ, a living gospel, and for earnest, inspirational pulpit exegeses of such living issues as the moral education of the masses, the abolition of poverty, thought transference, hypnotism, telepathy, psychometry and spiritual manifestations — *all* of which point to the bettering of life here, or to demonstrations of a life immortal hereafter.

Premier Gladstone, as morally courageous as eloquent, who has candidly investigated the spiritual phenomena, encouragingly said: "I know of no rule which forbids a Christian to examine into the signs of preternatural agency in the system called spiritualism."

Spiritualism, however, while inhering in and originating from God, does not centre alone in and rest entirely upon phenomena, but upon spirit — upon the spiritual and moral constitution of man, which constitution requires such spiritual sustenance as inspiration, prayer, faith, vision, trance, clairvoyance, and heavenly impressions from the Christ-sphere of love and wisdom. Spiritualists, like the primitive Christians, believe in God the Father and in the brotherhood of the races. They acknowledge Christ; they feel the influx of the Holy Spirit; they converse with angels; they cultivate the religious emotions; they exercise charity and the other Christian graces; they open their *séances* with prayer. They are richly blessed with visions and calm, uplifting ministrations from angelic homes. They see in every pure crystal stream a Jordan, in every verdure-clad mountain a present Olivet, and in every well-cultivated prairie a Canaan flowing

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with milk and honey; and they teach salvation by character, or by the *life*, as did Paul, who said, "Being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life" (Rom. v. 10).

And it is not matter nor sea-slime nor protoplasm that constitutes the basis of life, but spirit — that is to say, spiritual or divine substance. Spirituality is the *substantial* reality. And man is a spirit *now* — a spirit living in a material body, which body bears something of the same relation to the real, conscious, invisible man, that the husk bears to the corn. Evidently man is a trinity in unity, constituted of a physical body, a spiritual body, and a conscious, undying soul — triune here, dual over there, and *one* uncompounded, indestructible divine substance in his inmost, forever. Advanced spirits are denominated angels. Spirits are but men and women divested of their mortal bodies. They have taken with them consciousness, memory, reason, sympathy, *character*. They walk by our sides often, and yet unseen. Philosophically considered there is but one world, and that *one* world embraces the yesterdays, the to-days, and the innumerable tomorrows of eternity.

Spiritualism has not only positively demonstrated a future life, but it has explained the philosophy and psychic methods of spirit intercourse; it has greatly liberalized the religious mind; it has encouraged the philanthropic reforms of the age, and it has given us a revised geography of the heavens and the hells. Mortals enter the future world with as absolute substantial bodies as we have here, only more refined and etherealized. There are different degrees of happiness there. Memory is the undying worm. There is intense suffering in those Cimmerian spheres. And yet God builds no hells; He burns no man's fingers here, damns no souls there. Men are the architects of their own hells; they reap what they sow. Every child born into this world is a possible archangel or a possible demon; his head touches the world of light, his feet the world of darkness. He is a moral being, having power of choice. Punishment follows sin; there is no escape. Divine punishment is disciplinary in all worlds. Christ still preaches to undeveloped imprisoned spirits. The angels call, and souls are constantly coming up through tribulation deep. The door of mercy is not shut; there is ever the opportunity of progress from darkness to light. God is love.

Modern spiritualism — of which Swedenborg was the John the Baptist and the Shakers the first organized body of men and women in America to fully realize the meaning of the phenomena — has disclosed some of the unspeakable beauties awaiting us in the many-mansioned house of the Father. These mansions — aural spheres enzoning stars and planets — are real, substantial, and adaptively fitted for the abodes of spirits and angels. These,

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aflame with love, are ever active in some educational or redemptive work. Heaven's rest is not idleness; the soul's activities are intensified by the transition. The future life is a social life, a constructive life, a retributive life, and a progressive life, where the soul sweeps onward and upward, in glory transcending glory, through the ages of eternity.

Spiritualism does not say "good night" in the hour of death, but rather gives the glad assurance of a most welcome "good morning" just across the crystal river. It does not drape the mourner's home in gloom, but lifts the grim curtain, permitting us to hear responsive words of undying affection from those we love. Oh, let us rejoice, then, and be glad in these Easter years of spiritualism, for they give life a new meaning. They put new courage, new strength, new intelligence, new religious aspirations, into our daily duties.

The primitive Christians were religious spiritualists. They often saw Christ in visions, and in His name they healed the sick. Spiritualism, the complement of Christianity, sweetens the bitterest cup, helps bear the heaviest burden, lightens the darkest day, comforts the saddest heart, and gathering up the kindly efforts we make in behalf of our fellow-men, transfigures them with its brightness, ennobles them with its moral grandeur, and throws around them the circling aureole of fadeless splendors. And further, by and through its holy ministries, we know that the grave is no prison house for the soul, but that life, progressive life, is ours, eternal in the heavens.

Spiritualism converted Professor Hare, Robert Dale Owen, and multitudes of other materialists to Christianity. The once doubting, yet distinguished S. C. Hall, of London, rejoicingly used these words, "Spiritualism has made me a Christian." J. E. Jones, a staunch English spiritualist, in his little work entitled "Orthodox Spiritualism," makes this statement, "It may be well, as an historical fact, to state that more than one half of the spiritualists of England are Christians connected with one or other of the churches." May not this be a providence to spiritually leaven and enliven the whole churchianic lump? There is a very large and growing constituency of spiritualists in this country. They must number several millions. They are unorganized, except so far as the majority of them are in the organized folds of different religious denominations. And they will doubtless remain there in preference to frequenting miscellaneous and dingy halls, where they may frequently hear prejudiced and irreligious egotists deny Christ, ridicule religion, and boisterously fulminate anarchy and atheism in the name of spiritualism.

Truth is immortal. Truth never changes, though our conceptions of it change as we grow and unfold spiritually. Truth is

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never old. No truth ever perished utterly. The truths proclaimed by the early Christians live, though at times half buried under the rubbish of pagan myth and priestly confessions of faith. Often old-expressed truths receive new labels. They are more taking. Primitive Christianity, with its ameliorating fraternities and inspiring angel ministries, and true spiritualism, with its rational philosophy and heavenly ministrations of spirits, are in principle and essence one. The New Testament is a living fountain of spiritualism. And there is enough of Christian spiritualism, enough of Christianity, in the present institutional churchianity of the land, to prevent entire stagnation or complete moral putrefaction. Around the shattered vase the odors of the lilies still cling.

Schismatics and sectarists of different denominations, with no succession and not much of a pedigree, have never, singular as it may seem, in council or convention officially discussed the claims of spiritualism; while the Church of England, with magnificent courage and candor, grappled with it at a regular church congress, Dr. Lightfoot, bishop of Durham, presiding, and listening to the papers read and speeches made upon "The Duty of the Church in respect to the Prevalence of Spiritualism." It may be well to treasure up some of the gems gathered at this church congress. Rev. Dr. Thornton said that spiritualism

in its very nature is antagonistic to all Sadduceeism and materialism. It flatly contradicts the assertion of the miserable philosophy that makes the soul but a function of the brain, and death an eternal sleep. It tells of angels, of an immortal spirit, and of a future state of personal and conscious existence.

Spiritualists claim to hold intercourse with the spirits of the departed. Now I am far from denying the possibility of such intercourse; on the contrary, I believe that in God's providence it sometimes does take place. . . . We are terribly afraid of saying a word about the intermediate state. We draw a hard and fast line between the seen and the unseen world. In vain does the creed express our belief in the communion of saints. . . . Here, perhaps, some one will say to me, "You seem half a spiritualist yourself." Well, I am just as much a spiritualist as St. Paul was when he wrote, "I knew a man in Christ — whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell, God knoweth — such an one caught up to the third heaven." Just as much as St. John when he bade his beloved "try the spirits," and said of himself that he was "in the spirit on the Lords' day." . . . Let us thankfully acknowledge the truths of spiritualist teaching as weapons which we are too glad to wield against positivism and secularism and all the anti-Christian isms of this age.

Rev. Canon Wilberforce, after remarking that "Spiritualism was now undoubtedly exercising a potent influence upon the religious beliefs of thousands," further said: —

Those who are following spiritualism as a means and not an end, contend warmly that it does not seek to undermine religion or to render obsolete the teachings of Christ; that, on the other hand, it furnishes illustrations and rational proof of them such as can be gained from no

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other source; that its manifestations will supply deists and atheists with positive demonstration of a life after death, and that they have been instrumental in converting many secularists and materialists from scepticism to Christianity.

In corroboration of this statement may be appended the remarkable testimony of Mr. S. C. Hall, the founder and editor of the *Art Journal*. "As to the use of spiritualism," he says, "it has made me a Christian. I humbly and fervently thank God it has removed all my doubts. I could quote abundant instances of conversion from unbelief to belief—of some to perfect faith from total infidelity. I am permitted to give one name; it is that of Dr. Elliotson, who expresses his deep gratitude to Almighty God for the blessed change that has been wrought in his heart and mind by spiritualism." When this is the standpoint of the believer in the higher aspects of spiritualism, it is obvious that we have to deal with no mere commonplace infatuation, which can be brushed aside with indifference or contempt, but rather with a movement which is firmly established, and the influence of which is every day extended.

Appealing, as it does, to the yearnings of the soul, especially in times of bereavement, for sensible evidence of the continuity of life after physical death, belief in modern spiritualism continues rapidly to increase in all ranks of society.

Canon Wilberforce refers to the "well-attested manifestations, and to the materializations of spirits," as described in a pamphlet by Rev. T. Colley, late archdeacon of Natal (a talented English clergyman, by the way, whom I have met, and known to be an avowed spiritualist). The canon also refers to Professor Barrett, of the Royal College of Science, Dublin, and "certain evils growing out of a phase" of mediumship. But the professor subsequently wrote this: —

I know and rejoice in the blessing spiritualism has been to my own faith, and to that of several dear friends of mine. Moreover, I cordially recognize the fact that in bereavement and deep distress numbers have been cheered and consoled by the hope that spiritualism has set before them.

Directly in this line of thought, Rev. W. Stainton-Moses ("M. A. Oxon") of the English church, eminent as a scholar and the author of several spiritualist volumes, assures us: —

Spiritualism has proceeded by a process of permeation, and has rendered unique service to the cause of religion by adding to faith knowledge. There is nothing in the broad truths which we are taught that is incompatible with what the church requires us to believe. Indeed, there is nothing in what I have learned that conflicts with the simple teaching of the Christ, so far as it has been preserved to us. It is something to know that the whole fabric of religion, so far as it affects man, receives its sanction and stimulus from the doctrines of the higher spiritualism with which so many of us have made acquaintance. And in days when it is the fashion to bring up every time-honored truth for proof anew, when man has largely lost his hold on the ancient faith, when religion as a binding power is losing so much of its vitalizing influence, it is something to feel that by the mercy of that God who never fails to respond to the prayer of His creatures, we are being brought face to face with the reality of our spiritual existence by experimental evidence adapted to our understanding. I see in spiritualism no contradiction to that which I know of the teaching of the Christ.

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The distinguished and eloquent Methodist bishop, Rev. J. P. Newman, affirms: —

Christianity embodies all that is religiously good and true. That the spirits of the departed have returned to earth is a belief that is all but universal. Those eminent in the church for learning and piety have cherished this common faith. Two worlds met in Bible times; but does the communication between the two worlds continue to this day? It was the opinion of Wesley that Swedenborg was visited by the spirits of his departed friends. And it was Paul who said, "Are they not all ministering spirits?"

The higher Christianity and spiritualism are understanding each other better. They are coming together. Their aspirations and aims are one. Love is Christ's test of Christianity — that Christ who was "the first-born among many brethren." "We know," said the beloved John, "that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren." Pure love, remember, is the divine seal of Christian discipleship. To this end that erudite English churchman, Rev. H. W. Momerie, professor of logic and metaphysics in King's College, London, exclaims: —

I say Christ's Christianity, for there are plenty of other Christianities in the world. But Christ's consists entirely in perfecting the individual character. His salvation is neither more nor less than self-development. Christ's plan was a very simple one; it is all summed up in a single word. He taught that men were to be saved by *love*. And if you look into the *rationale* of this, you will see that His plan of salvation is profoundly philosophical, perfectly in harmony with the best ethics and the highest metaphysics of to-day.

When Christ's Christianity prevails, when nominal Christians become more Christlike and nominal spiritualists more spiritual, the chasm of shibboleths and almost brutal dogmatisms will be bridged, souls will be baptized afresh, estranged hands will be clasped, unsympathizing hearts will be warmed by the pentecostal flames of love, angels will daily walk and talk with mortals, and all the peopled realms above and below, mortal and immortal, will be recognized as constituting a vast fraternal commonwealth of gods, angels, spirits, and men; and love, pure, unselfish love — Christ's universal love — will then be the creed, the *one* acknowledged spiritual creed that endureth forever.

NOTE (see page 000). — The Mosaic enactment against spirit intercourse — a local Hebrew law — was practically annulled by Jesus when He conversed with the spirits of Moses and Elias on the mount; and was further bid defiance to by the original apostles and disciples, who not only had visions, but were in daily converse with angels and ministering spirits.

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OUR EVANGEL.

BY WILLIAM COLBY COOPER.

DON'T you see it in the sunshine of the newer way of thought?
Don't you feel its nascent thrillings in the air?
This breaking from the feral of self-service overwrought —
This philanthropic throbbing everywhere?

Don't it flash in glints of glory from the mantle of the age —
Give thou unto thy fellow-man his due?
Is't not writ in flaming letters, on the latest glowing page
Of the nineteenth volume now so nearly through?

Can't you catch the social meaning of the realistic wave,
Which is washing out the morals of the time,
And sweeping plutocratic priv'lege down into its grave,
Along with all its appanage of crime?

Don't you hear the distant music of the better time ahead,
As it trembles through the moral atmosphere?
Can't you sniff the subtle fragrance, in healing hintings shed,
From the bursting bud of glory, nearly here?

O premillennial sweetness! O epochal starlight!
O dream of poet-saint half realized!
The riddle is untangling, and the slowly lifting night
Shall leave the yearning world re-paradised!

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IN THE MIDST OF WOLVES.

BY EDWARD W. CHAMBERLAIN.

Prof. Andrew D. White, in his "Warfare of Science," has shown how, at every step, scientific progress has been resisted by bigoted intolerance. He has proven from history that no department of science has been free from inquisition, and no beneficent result of scientific inquiry has ever reached the masses of mankind until the obstacles raised by Pharisceism have been overcome. Because of this opposition, the most important science has remained neglected. Plato said, "Know thyself," and Christ taught, "Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?" And it has been the dream of many reformers, as it was the ideal of Sir Thomas Moore, that as much painstaking should be devoted to raising good men as was bestowed upon breeding good animals. Yet the knowledge of man's life, development and reproductive possibilities is to-day very meagre, and intolerance stands threatening research. This condition is curiously exemplified in the fact that, while the United States, by its Department of Agriculture, disseminates information on the reproductive organs and functions of the horse, a Kansas editor, the venerable Moses Harman, for mailing very similar language on a similar topic, but relating to the human species, was on a conviction of "obscenity," in a federal court, sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

So it is that man propagates recklessly, with no regard to racial development, and as a result humanity is cursed with all sorts of abnormalities and perversions. Hospitals flourish, insane asylums are swarming, prisons are overcrowded, suicides shock us daily, prostitutes throng the streets and greed saps national integrity. The deformed, the weak, the vicious confront us at every turn. Society is one vast conglomeration of vain-glory and misery, cant and vice, debauchery and scandal, and the Pharisee keeps up his grim struggle to appear respectable, crying "I am holier than thou," until overtaken by exposure, his hypocritical brethren rejoicing in his calamity turn and rend him, as the starving pack devour the wounded wolf. Still from humanity goes up the lamentable cry, emphasized by Tolstoi in his "Kreutzer Sonata," "If I had only known!" — "If timely knowledge had not been

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withheld from me!" And still beneficent science, that would spread a saving knowledge, is thwarted by ignorant prejudice. The depraved usurp the function of moral censors, and wield a terrorism as appalling as that of witchcraft days, and even the classical learning of centuries is proscribed.

But within the last generation men have shown a determination to gain this self-knowledge of which they have been defrauded. Professor Agassiz says, "The time has come when scientific truth must cease to be the property of the few — when it must be woven into the common life of the world," and a new race of reformers has arisen to withstand the monopoly of learning and to defeat the obstacles to the spread of vital truth. Kansas is the early battle ground of this crusade, as it was of the anti-slavery agitation, for the authorities there, not content with outraging Moses Harman, have raised the cry of persecution after a woman seventy years of age, whose efforts to enlighten her fellows deserve the highest commendation.

Mrs. Lois Waisbrooker, who for years has been an earnest, sincere, devoted worker, is now arrested on a charge of mailing obscene matter. Neither her age, her sex, her purity of soul, her nobility of purpose, nor a long life of worthy work avail to save her from the stroke of the assassins who as usual, in such cases, misrepresent her as a wanton, frivolous, impure woman. Like Moses Harman Mrs. Waisbrooker has advocated the freest and most ample discussion of vital subjects, and it is for this she is attacked. She too, a sufferer from ignorance, takes up the plaint of the "Kreutzer Sonata," and with unbounded love for humanity, and unequalled devotion to the best interests of her race, determines to throw the light of truth into the dark places of earth. In a circular issued since her arrest she says: —

Did men properly use creative life, properly treat women, or were not both sexes so ignorant as to destroy their own marital happiness, men need never suffer from a lack of such response as would satisfy the hunger of their now starved spirits or astral bodies — starved till then think and live obscenity; but it must be covered up, kept secret, they no harm will be done.

Can fetid cellars be kept from permeating and poisoning the atmosphere of the whole house because shut out from the light? Your health inspectors, those whose work it is to keep things physically clean, will find such places and demand that they be cleansed, even if one does have to hold the nose while doing so. But our moral inspectors will not let us turn our light upon the great, filthy moral cellar that underlies the structure called society. They think to preserve the morals of the young by keeping this putrid mass of moral corruption out of sight.

Alas, for the blindness that refuses to investigate this most vital of all questions, even till the land is filled with deformed specimens of what should be a grand humanity — and will be when sex law is rightly understood and obeyed. We then shall have no insane asylums filled with such as cannot stand the strain of life's struggle — then there will

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be none born who are only fit inmates of idiotic asylums, no blind, no deaf and dumb, and none will be found whom it will be necessary to imprison.

Yes, *I assert it*, and future generations will sustain me — not one of all these wrecks of society — not one of those in the various asylums — not one in your prisons who have been put there for *real* crime — not one of them has been rightfully conceived and gestated.

Indeed! none of us are a tithe of what we might have been had the full tide of creative power entered into that which gave us being. I mean had there been such a reverence for the creative act that soul forces had entered into the blending as a positive, controlling factor. Because of this lack, because physical pleasure was the dominating factor, we are all born under the dominion of the flesh instead of the spirit.

Painfully conscious of this — conscious of the poverty of my own makeup, and with an unceasing heartache because of the imperfections of one who drew his life from mine — now, when the remembrance of my own ignorance and its results stimulates me to do my utmost to arouse people to the importance of this question of questions; now, when my head is whitening for the tomb, some poor, obscene minded man or woman marks my paper and sends it to those *pure* men at Washington . . . and I am arrested — am under bonds — and liable to go to prison.

Well! The sun will still shine, and people will still think. Thoughts will in time become deeds, and the prison walls that enclose martyrs for truth will disappear.

This is not the language of a wanton. No lewd woman would or could make such an appeal. Her determination to free her race from the shackles of ignorance has made Mrs. Waisbrooker a victim of persecution. It is the old warfare of science.

> Whenever a woman speaks what she feels,
> And feels consistent with God's great plan,
> It has crushed her under its juggernaut wheels
> Since the world began.

She is not thoughtless nor mercenary. She has not sought her own aggrandizement. She has acted from a sincere desire to spread a knowledge which will lead to more general understanding of human needs, and through that understanding to better conditions, better living and a better humanity.

Deeply impressed with the necessity of her work, the dignity of her purpose and the grandeur of her self-sacrifice, I bespeak for her the sympathy and support of THE ARENA'S readers in her resistance to this assault of the inquisition. To the patriot who sees an inquisitorial censorship enforcing its law to silence arguments not otherwise answerable and restricting freedom of opinion and expression on American soil; to the scientist who sees investigation suppressed; to the humanitarian who sees the noblest efforts to enlighten mankind thwarted by licentious authority; to all men who love their fellows, this appeal will not be made in vain.

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THE CENTURY OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

First Paper, The New Learning North of the Alps.

Introductory Note.—The life and times of Sir Thomas More must ever hold special interest for students of social progress. For, aside from the inspiration which high-born souls have derived from "Utopia," the life of the great Englishman is very full of impressive lessons, and the epoch in which he lived is rich in significant hints and warning for our time. It was a period of transition, when civilization passed with pain and anguish from an outgrown order to a freer state; and the battle which was fought during that century is, to a great extent, being fought by us at the present time. We, to-day, are in the midst of a struggle much the same as that which marked the century of More; the same velvet-tongued sophistry is heard now from scholarly special pleaders for the old order as was heard in that elder time. For gold, fame and the praise of the powerful the prophets of conventionalism are actively endeavoring to lull to sleep the newly-awakened conscience of civilization. But the struggle has gone too far; the forces of the new time are too numerous and too powerful to be beaten back. A new social order is inevitable.

The century of More is so replete with suggestive lessons for thoughtful people of our time that a brief glance at civilization in the throes of the new birth will be helpful to us, apart from the interest which clusters around the names and the achievements of one of the most wonderful epochs in the history of civilization.

I.

If the reader will draw an arch extending from 1450 to 1550, he will have spanned a century in many respects the most remarkable in the annals of European civilization. It was an epoch of unrest and growth, of dazzling surprises and momentous achievements. It was an era of exit and entrance, witnessing at once the eventide of the Middle Ages and the dawning of modern times; a century in which the glory of former ages seemed to flood the receptive vision of chosen spirits, revealing at once the beauty of the past and unveiling new heights of attainment and nobler ideals than the preceding ages had conceived. This century broadened and deepened the ethical and spiritual impulses of the German and Anglo-Saxon peoples; it crowned Italy with immortal glory in the realm of art; it gave to Spain the sceptre of Western domain; it brought forth Colet, Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, Savonarola, Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Knox and Melancthon; it was the age of Correggio, Titian, Da Vinci, Michael Angelo and Raphael. During this period Columbus gave to Europe a new world, and Copernicus revealed a new heaven. And what is of special interest to the student of contemporaneous events, the spirit of this century seems to be present to-day, some of the parallels being significant if not startling; and in many respects it seems as if the budding blooms of the earlier era were destined to flower in our time.

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II.

A few years before the century opened Gutenberg invented movable type, and by 1455 books were being published. With the advent of the printing press came the possibility of which we now dream — universal education. But for the century of More it merely meant that books would no longer be inaccessible to all save the very wealthy. Many weary generations were destined to pass before the masses, even in civilized lands, would enjoy the advantages of education. The advent of printing, however, was a noteworthy landmark in the history of civilization, and doubtless made the Reformation possible, while it lent wings to progress and general education.

Another thing which exerted a civilization-wide influence in broadening the thought of man and lifting him to a higher intellectual altitude, was the promulgation of the discoveries of Copernicus, published in 1543. The great astronomer had arrived at his conclusions years before his work appeared, but not desiring the martyr's death, which the religion of that age too frequently reserved for those who thought great thoughts, he delayed its publication. Copernicus had gathered the golden truths dropped by Pythagoras and other sages who had made the heavens a profound study in earlier ages. He had added to them the rich results which crowned his own researches, and thus, in time, completed what is known as the Copernican theory.

We, to-day, can understand in a measure the significance of this broader vision of the universe, which to the conception of the millions of the sixteenth century was an impious contradiction of the expressed statements of the word of God. The same bitter opposition which played around the thoughtful and serene head of Charles Darwin when he announced the theory of evolution, assailed those who held the Copernican theory. But fortunately for Copernicus, he died on the day on which his book was published.

We are indebted to the German thought of this epoch for two of the most potent motors of our civilization — the invention of the printing press, and the Copernican theory; and, unlike the wonderful religious awakening of the period, their beneficent influence was ever free from the blighting spirit of fanaticism, bigotry and persecution, which so often darkened the history of the Reformation.

III.

Still another influence, destined to operate more powerfully upon that age than either the printing press or the Copernican theory, was known as the "new learning," which, north of the

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Alps, appealed to the ethical and spiritual impulses of the best thinkers, and silently but effectively undermined the old order. Many agencies had been quietly at work preparing Europe for the new time; but it was not until a wave of thought from a vanished civilization — not until the magic of Grecian philosophy, art and song swept over the brow of Western Europe — that her children awoke, and we entered that period known as "modern times."

The story is told of a beautiful maiden who lived in the far-away childhood days of earth, so rich in myth, legend and lore. This maiden was as fair as Venus, as wise as Athene and virtuous above all the multitudinous goddesses of mythology. Her smile radiated health and carried the sunlight of joy; her laughter dissipated gloom and voiced the music of the spheres; she was at once loved by all and an inspiration to all. At length, however, an evil genius cast over her a baleful spell; she fell into a trance, from which neither the entreaty of love nor the sobbing of grief could rouse her. The oracle was consulted. He declared that in music lay the remedy, that the vibrations of a certain chord would unlock the closed door of the senses and awaken or woo back the spirit. Now it chanced that Orpheus passed that way, and the whole city besought him to call the sleeper back to them. He consented, and at the sound of his heavenly music the maiden stirred, the breath grew deeper, a faint blush deepened into a crimson glow upon the cheek, the ashen lips became vermillion, the leaden lids lifted. The oldtime glory and light peered from eyes which had been glazed, and at length the voice caught up the strains of music, giving them a new sweetness and a deeper meaning than ever the musician had hitherto conceived.

In much the same manner the soul of Western Europe seemed enthralled until she was stirred by the wealth of Grecian thought. Plato spoke to philosophers and Homer to those of poetic imagination. Moreover the New Testament, read in the original, seemed to glow with new life. There was a vitality in the thought and language of this mother of European arts and letters which quickened the spirit of the century.

It is a curious but oft-noted fact, that the same thing may awaken entirely different sentiments in different individuals, and this fact is equally true of nations and civilizations. Thus that which may arouse the artistic or æsthetic side of one people may appeal to the ethical and religious sentiments of races more sturdy, younger, and not yet so enervated by wealth and luxury as their older neighbors; while still a third people may perceive the same new thought, but instead of its appealing to the æsthetic, intellectual or spiritual impulses, it quickens in them a desire for wealth which will permit the gratifying of the physical

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nature and the satisfaction of worldly ambition. Now the general awakening of this century produced exactly these phenomena; a triangle, as it were, in which the same thought waves and influences called into activity widely different sentiments and emotions. Thus north of the Alps, especially among the German and English people, it appealed almost entirely to ethical, religious and deeply philosophical sentiments. All for spiritual and scientific truth, or the eternal verities of the universe, became the watchword along this line of the triangle. South of the Alps, art, or the æsthetic sentiment, predominated. All for beauty was the keynote of Italian thought, and in Florence and Rome painting, sculpture and architecture blossomed as never before. To the westward the physical idea predominated. Riches — the gold of the Indies — this was the magnet which furnished the money for Columbus and which nerved the Portuguese to weather the Cape of Good Hope; discovery for possession, and commerce for the power and gratification which gold could yield. Wealth! — ah, that meant splendid homes, magnificent villas, the gratification of passions and appetites, the mastery of man, and, through this, further license. The greed for gold dominated the thought of Spain and Portugal, and was in essential character an appeal to the physical.

IV.

When, in 1453, Constantinople fell, the Greek scholars from the Bosphorus fled to Italy. In Florence they found a welcome home. To a civilization hungry for something more than husks, the Grecian philosophy, poetry and art opened a new world of intellectual wealth, which possessed an irresistible attraction for starving souls. A revival in art and letters followed, and for a time Western Europe drew new life and inspiration from the wealth of forgotten Grecian thought, and the beautiful, though to a certain extent sensuous, ideals of the mother of Western art. Tourists from north of the Alps, visiting Italy, carried back to their native lands wonderful stories of a rediscovered civilization. Florence became the Mecca of intellectual pilgrims. The blending of sturdy morality and lofty aspiration which characterized the noblest of the Western minds with the wonderful ideality and subtle philosophy of Greece, formed a pure and exalted spirituality which sought to marry all the glory and refinement of the past to the highest hopes and noblest conceptions of the present.

In England among those who caught the contagion of the hour were William Grocyn, Dr. Thomas Linacre and John Colet. They journeyed across the Alps and absorbed the spirit of Greece at her best. Oxford soon became a centre of the "new

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learning" in England. Grocyn's lectures created great enthusiasm; Linacre aroused among his countrymen a love for medicine, and later was a leading founder and president of the first college of physicians of London; while John Colet, a man of a profoundly religious nature, returned from Florence with brain aflame with lofty enthusiasm. He longed to make education general and to purify the church. He became Dean of St. Paul's, and founded and endowed the St. Paul's Latin Grammar School in England, thereby planting the seed of that glorious system of education which has silently grown in popularity and comprehensiveness, until on the soil of the great republic it has blossomed into our public school system of education. The blossom of Colet Grammar School is to-day the bulwark of democracy.

But this was not all. The enthusiasm created at Oxford by the "new learning" infected scores of young men and laid the foundation for the golden age of Elizabethan literature. Among the youths who caught this vivifying spirit were Sir Thomas More and the young German Erasmus. Linacre had returned from Florence imbued with a passion for science along medical lines, and Colet had been fired with the ideal of a purer church and an educated people. Oxford in turn aroused the loftiest ethical sentiments in More, leading him up the very Alps of spirituality, and calling from his brain "Utopia"; while that strange, erratic, but wonderful man — Erasmus, haunted by the new ideal, wandered from land to land, revealing to others the golden vision he had perceived.

Erasmus! We must pause a moment before this man, whose fair complexion, blue eyes and almost golden hair the canvas of Holbein has rendered familiar to the hurrying gaze of passing generations for three hundred years; for he embodied in a notable degree the union of the sturdy religious fervor of the Western mind with the high ideals and lofty thought which came with his knowledge of Greek. His was one of those receptive souls which when touched by truth become luminous. He stood for what might be termed the spiritual blossom of this intellectual revival. But neither the purely literary and artistic, nor yet the speculative side of Greek thought, appealed so keenly to his inner self as the Greek New Testament, for his was essentially a religious nature. An emancipated mankind and a purified and unified church — such was his dream, as it was the ideal of scores of other thinkers who came under the strange and seemingly almost mystic spell of this time of rebirth.

Erasmus, though born out of wedlock, was a highly refined and sensitive nature; his innate love of all that was pure and beautiful was second only to his insatiable thirst for knowledge, and a passion for all that pertained to lofty spirituality. Being

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placed early in a convent, he came to loathe the coarse and illiterate monks who were his constant companions. At length fortune favored him; he was able to attend Oxford, the Western centre of the "new learning." Here he formed lifelong friendships with some of the chosen spirits of his age, and though most of his life was spent in wandering from land to land, the ties made in England were of inestimable value to him.

Erasmus had an extremely delicate constitution and a highly sensitive nervous organism. He was by nature open and frank; but being an intellectual sensitive, his brain at times took color from its mental environment, and this led to the charge of fickleness, and even hypocrisy, when, in fact, he was as incapable of dissimulation as of coarseness. He fought the corruption of the church, and brought all the power of his pen to bear against the superstition of his age and the excesses of the priesthood. The monks hated him for his terrible satire, directed against their ignorance, superstition and excesses. Ecclesiasticism felt in a vague way that within her walls stood a knight of truth who, in assailing iniquity, was also loosening her foundations; while the conventional religionists openly declared that "Erasmus laid the egg of the Reformation and Luther hatched it."

And yet, while sharing many views in common with Luther, and while steadfastly refusing to exhibit the extreme spirit of fanatical bigotry, either for or against Rome, he nevertheless shrank from the crude and coarse literature which emanated from the strongholds of the Reformation; and still more did his soul recoil from the blind fanaticism which so frequently possessed the leaders of the movement and expressed itself in utter contempt for literature and art. "I abhor the Evangelics," he wrote, "because it is through them that literature is everywhere declining." Of Erasmus, Drummond well says: "He was in his own age the apostle of common sense and rational religion. He did not care for dogma; from the beginning of his life to the end he remained true to the purpose of his life, which was to fight the battle of sound learning and plain common sense against the power of ignorance and superstition."

Erasmus was essentially a "free lance" among the theologians of his day. Indeed, he has been termed the Voltaire of the Renaissance. In writing of him one of the most eminent thinkers in the Church of England observes that "The principle that reason was the only guide of life, the superior article of all questions — political and religious included — has its earliest and most complete example in Erasmus." *

The fact that this great man of letters refused to become a

* Rev. Mark Patterson, rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, in Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. VIII., p. 516.

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partisan in the bitter war raging between Rome and the Reformation naturally provoked the charge of cowardice; which, however, was clearly unjust, for the reason that a craven soul, or one who placed ambition above conviction, would have sided with Rome, as such a course would have secured for him wealth, glory and preferment from the opulent Roman hierarchy; or, if his convictions had swayed him strongly toward Reformation, he might easily have become the great literary head of the new movement. He chose the only course which a high-minded man of his bent could choose.

Moreover, the charge of cowardice sinks before the daring words of censure hurled at kings and potentates. On one occasion he declared that "The industry of the citizens creates wealth for the rapacious lords to plunder." Again he exclaims, with the irony peculiar to his writings: "Kings who are scarcely men are called divine; they are 'invincible' though they fly from every battle field; 'serene,' though they turn the world upside down in a storm of war; 'illustrious,' though they grovel in ignorance of all that is noble. Of all birds, the eagle alone has seemed to wise men the type of royalty—a bird neither beautiful, musical nor good for food, but murderous, greedy, hateful to all, the curse of all; with its great power for doing harm only surpassed by its great desire to do it."

I have dwelt somewhat at length upon Erasmus because he represents in so large a way the spirit of the "new learning" as exhibited at Oxford, where the artistic and literary phases which so charmed Florence sank before the spiritual fervor which the new movement kindled north of the Alps. Moreover, he represented one of the great moral forces which rose in this century. Erasmus and the Oxford school stood for the enlightenment of the people, a purified and unified church and the cultivation and extension of literature and art.

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POLITICAL CORRUPTION: HOW BEST OPPOSE?

BY THOMAS E. WILL, A. M.

I. THE SITUATION.

A. MONEY IN POLITICS. — "Well-informed public men estimate the ordinary expenses of an election district [one of the twenty-four chief political divisions of New York City] at from $220 to $280 per election. In presidential years these figures require to be much increased; it is believed by veteran politicians of New York that in November, 1888, the expenditure was not less than $1,000 per district."

Pointing out how voters are employed on election day as "ticket agent at a booth, runner, watcher to assure a chieftain that votes are cast according to promise or payment," the author continues: "Assuming this calculation to be correct, to the ten voters under pay by law in each district are to be added forty-four under pay from the machines [three in number, "those of Tammany, the County Democracy and the Republican party," p. 6], fifty-four in all; or in the whole 856 districts, a total of 46,224 voters. If this number is compared with the city's vote for president, 6th November, 1888, which was 277,281, we find one sixth of all the votes to have had a direct pecuniary interest in the election" (E. R., p. 11).

"In round numbers, then, we find the investment in politics in New York City to be about $700,000 in an ordinary year: —

Lawful governmental expenditures, say	$300,000
Machine expenditures at polls, say	200,000
Machine expenditures elsewhere, say	100,000
Voluntary expenditures	100,000
	$700,000

(E. R., p. 12.)

Prof. J. W. Jenks in his *Century* article points out how the politician classifies the voters under his jurisdiction as Republicans, Democrats and "doubtfuls"; the author then says: "These doubtful voters will not be divided carelessly into 'blocks of five and each block put into the hands of a trusty man,' but each doubtful voter, being known, with his habits, his work, his associates, is considered individually. If he is one whose vote can be affected by honest persuasion, the man in the party who would

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be likely to have most influence with him is selected to work with him, and to influence his vote by fair means, if possible. If he is a man whose vote must be purchased, he is assigned to the worker who can purchase him to the best advantage. If the number of 'floaters,' or 'commercials,' as they are variously called, is relatively large to the number of workers, it may well be that they will have to be purchased in blocks of fives or blocks of tens; or, again, owing to social reasons, they, at times, can best be bought in groups or clubs, or traded; but in all cases where the best work is done, each individual 'floater,' whether bought singly or as one of a group, is looked after personally by the man best competent to handle him" (M. P. P., p. 941).

Speaking in confirmation of what Professor Jenks has said regarding the keeping of poll books in which voters are classified according to their politics and their incorruptibility or venality, the editor of the *Century* adds: "In some sections of the state [New York] the number of purchasable voters enrolled on these books is said to exceed the number of those belonging to either party. What is true of New York is, in a greater or less degree, true of nearly every other state of the Union in which the strength of the two great parties is evenly balanced. In Rhode Island, for example, where money has been used corruptly in every election since the war, and in some before and during the war, there are known to be about 5,000 purchasable voters in a total of 54,000, or nearly ten per cent of the whole number . . . in every case their names and individual prices are a matter of record. In one town . . . all but ten of the registered voters were set down as purchasable. Prices range from $2 to $5 a head, according to the demand" (M. E., p. 952).

The editor of the *Nation*, discussing the price of votes (vol. 55, p. 274), declares that they have "gone up" in New York. "The very careful and trustworthy observer who has been travelling in the interior of the state for the *Evening Post*, reports that votes which could be had for 'the defence of American industry' for five dollars in 1888 are now held firm at twenty dollars apiece."

Professor Jenks, on pp. 945, 946, describes "How Votes are Bought." He speaks of a case in Indiana where "a man kept a half-idiot who was working for him shut up in his cellar for some days before an election, to prevent the opposing party from capturing" and voting him. "Then, on election morning, with a man on each side to guard him, he was marched to the polls with a prepared ticket in his hands, and voted."

"In 1888, in another county of the same state, six 'floaters' were kept under guard in an upstairs office over night, the next morning taken down, marched to the polls under guard, voted,

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brought back to the office, and $96 paid to their leader — $16 apiece."

He next describes a case in a Michigan town in which two "floaters" were seen to "go back and forth across the street several times between a Republican and a Democratic worker. The first bid was a dollar, and the bids were increased a dollar at a time. The men finally voted at $7. In one of the eastern counties of New York, some years ago, a good church deacon and his son received $40 each for their votes from a manager of their own party to keep them from deserting to the enemy. . . . That year, in that district . . . the Democratic candidate is said to have spent $190,000" (M. P. P., p. 945).

B. Campaign Funds. — Where does the money come from with which to pay legitimate campaign and election expenses and to buy up the purchasable voters? From E. R., p. 12, I quote the following table showing how the fat is fried out in New York City: —

2 Aldermanic candidates at $15 per election district, for 856 districts	$25,680
2 Assembly candidates at $10 per election district, for 856 districts	17,120
2 Candidates for Senate or Congress at $25 per election district, for 856 districts	42,800
4 Candidates for Judgeship at $10,000	40,000
2 Candidates for Mayoralty at $20,000	40,000
2 Candidates for a County office, such as Sheriff, County Clerk or Register at $10,000	20,000
2 Candidates for Comptrollership at $10,000	20,000
2 Candidates for District Attorneyship at $5,000	10,000
	$215,600

Professor Jenks, pp. 942, 943, indicates the sources of revenue as, firstly and, in most cases, chiefly, the assessments on the candidates; secondly, in national elections, the national committee, which, in one case — that of Indiana in 1880 — offered money to the local managers by the valise full on the promise that the recipients would cover the contribution "dollar for dollar"; thirdly, voluntary contributions. He adds, "Money comes to aid the candidates also in many other ways than in those mentioned," and instances the case of a candidate who, "within a week of his nomination, was approached by the postmaster of his city and told that if he would agree to vote for Mr. —— for United States senator he might have all the money that he needed to bear his campaign expenses of all kinds, and that he might name the sum himself. Any candidate who is willing to sell himself can easily find money to help secure his election" (M. P. P., pp. 942, 943).

In the same connection the author indicates how "the screws"

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are sometimes applied to a wealthy but penurious candidate to extort from him a more liberal contribution. Failure to respond results, sometimes, disastrously to the candidate seeking nomination or election. The reader may recall the cases of some aspirants to the vice presidency within the last fourteen years of whom this has been commonly reported to be true.

C. Prevalence of Vote-Buying.—Of one township Professor Jenks declares: "I have been assured by thoroughly trustworthy informants, from both parties, members of the county committees, that in that township of some two hundred voters there is not one thoroughly incorruptible voter." (M.P. P., p. 946).

"A man who knows assures me that there is one township in eastern New York, containing about four hundred voters, in which not more than thirty voters are entirely beyond the reach of the money influence" (p. 946).

He finds "that the localities are not very uncommon where from ten to thirty-five per cent of the voters are purchasable." In one county in New York, "the largest city of which has only some 12,000 inhabitants, about twenty per cent of the votes were purchased in 1888" (p. 947).

"In Michigan, in one of the best and wealthiest wards of a city of some 15,000 inhabitants, the ward manager tells me that he pays about five per cent of the voters."

"The evil is not confined to the city, nor to any one state. . . . It is said to be not an uncommon thing in New York State, for a farmer to drive in to the polls with his sons and hired help, and virtually auction off the lot to the highest bidder. In California, an eye witness tells me that he has seen fifty votes offered in a lump by one leader" (p. 947).

In addition to the foregoing some interesting election methods, as they existed in England previous to the passage of the Corrupt Practices Bill, will be found on pp. 731–34 of C. P. B. See also E. R., pp. 13, 14, and C. P. A., pp. 347, 151.

D. Causes of Corruption.—Professor Jenks finds these to be first the tremendous incentive, in a close election, to buy, and the slight risk incurred in either buying or selling; second, the fact that money is going, and the honest, poor working-man or student—who rides home on a free ticket to vote—feels that he might as well have some of it, especially since, by voting, he renders the candidate a valuable service; third, the lack of distinct issues between the parties, leading the voter to feel that the contest is merely one between the "ins" and the "outs" for the spoils of office. Why, then, should not the spoilers divide with the voters at least a part of the spoil? Fourth, the politician charges the independent voter with creating "floaters" who must be bought. When "doubtfulness" comes to be con-

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sidered a mark of superior intelligence the hitherto faithful party man may join the doubtful corps and demand pay as a guarantee of his loyalty. (M. P. P., pp. 947, 948.)

The author of C. P. B. instances the time in England in 1868 when corruption was popular and "political cleanliness was odious to the people" (p. 738).

The writer of E. R. (p. 6) declares: "Entering in at the two loop-holes of neglect — the non-provision for the printing and distribution of tickets by public authority, and for guarding the absolute secrecy of the ballot — have come the chief remediable frauds and abuses of the political machinery of New York City, whether Republican or Democratic."

Is it not true, however, that venality at the polls is the legitimate and inevitable result of unequal distribution of wealth, coupled with the pernicious teachings that have been dinned into our ears six days in the week from our earliest childhood — teachings, moreover, of which some of our most confident and emphatic reform writers cannot plead innocent? Is it not announced to us as an axiom that "A man may do what he will with his own"? And are we not continually exhorted to make the most of our opportunities and to look out for number one? Is not this the justification daily offered for all forms of "legitimate" commercial exploitation? Surely my ballot is "my own"; why, then, should I not do with it as I will, "limited only by the equal rights of others"? And if I see in it a snug sum why should I not make the most of my opportunities and look out for number one? Mr. Stead, in his book on Chicago, shows how this logic leads legitimately to prostitution; for why should not the painted creatures on Fourth Avenue do as they will with their own bodies and "realize on their assets"? The voter who holds the principles of the market place and does not sell his vote — where vote-selling is not recognized as a positive and serious crime — is restrained by other influences than the force of logic. Put, then, by the side of the above, the fact that this is an age of wealth worship; an age in which, "Go where you will, the same doctrine greets you — 'Be rich or despised.'" Note the adulation and adoration accorded the rich despite the means whereby their wealth may have been secured, and can we wonder that the poor man should sell his vote or even his country, to the highest bidder, did the opportunity but offer? These aspects of the case are graphically pointed out in M. P. and O. P. T.

II. REMEDIES PROPOSED.

A. Ballot and Electoral Reform. — Writers on the subject agree that English politics, before the passage of the "Corrupt Practices Act" in 1883, was as corrupt as American

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politics. (Note the situation as described in C. P. B. by a writer whose bias seems to be rather in favor of than against the methods and customs of the good old times; see also C. P. A., a treatment of the entire situation and the remedial legislation that leaves little to be desired.) Yet the improvement resulting from this piece of "restrictive legislation" seems, from the accounts, little short of marvellous. Some of the provisions of this act may be found on p. 350 of C. P. A. and on pp. 728, 729 of C. P. B.

Professor Jenks (pp. 950, 951 of M. P. P.) suggests a number of provisions designed to prevent corruption.

Some of the *principles underlying ballot reform* are as follows: —

"First, The ballots should be printed and distributed at the public expense. (This takes away the excuse for assessing the candidates.)

"Second, The names of all candidates for the same office should be printed upon the same ballot. (This destroys dealing and trading between candidates, makes independent nominations possible, and makes it impossible for the name of any candidate to be withheld from the voter.

"Third, The ballots should be delivered to the voter within the polling-place on election day by sworn officials. (This abolishes the paid political worker.)

"Fourth, Only ballots so delivered should be voted, the voter should be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory. (This prevents intimidation and destroys bribery at the polls.)" (E. R., pp. 18, 19.) See also N. M. V., pp. 753–55; M. E., p. 953; P. P. R., p. 128; *The Nation*, Vol. 52, pp. 25, 26, 360.

Copies of the Massachusetts and of the New York Ballot Reform Acts may be found in E. R. at pp. 23 and 36 respectively.

Twenty-nine states in the American Union have passed ballot reform laws, twenty-four of which laws are described as "excellent" (N. 52, p. 493).

A secret ballot bill became a law in South Australia in 1857–58. "A similar act was passed by the Colony of Victoria in 1856, by Tasmania and New South Wales in 1858, by New Zealand in 1870 and by Great Britain in 1872, everywhere effecting a notable abatement in the corruption and intimidation which had characterized elections" (E. R., p. 15).

Canada has had electoral reform since 1874. In E. R., pp. 21, 22, Mr. R. D. McGibbon, "a member of the Montreal bar who has had much practice in election cases," gives a strong testimony as to the efficiency of the law.

In N. M. V., pp. 752–54, Gov. Oliver Ames of Massachu-

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setts speaks in high praise of the Australian ballot in his own state.

On pp. 356–59 of C. P. A., Mr. Joseph Hutchinson outlines the California Act of 1893 which, he says, "seems to combine all the good features of the English and best American acts" (p. 359). This act should be carefully studied by legislators in other states who contemplate passing or amending ballot acts.

The chief obstacle in the way of genuine electoral reform Professor Jenks (p. 952 of M. P. P.) believes to be the general apathy on the subject. "There is as yet," he declares, "no popular demand on the part of the great mass of the voters for this reform. Public opinion must be created, and here is the work for reformers. We need the old Cobden cry, 'Agitate, agitate, agitate.'" *The Nation* (Vol. 52, p. 493) points out, too, in an editorial entitled "Genuine and Bogus Ballot Reform," how the politicians may be expected to sidetrack the ballot-reform movement when public sentiment becomes too strong to be resisted. Having a monopoly of legislation they can pass an act which, while ostensibly an improvement on existing legislation, may in fact prove as abortive as the legislation with accounts of which Herbert Spencer fills the pages of his "Man *versus* the State" and other anti-socialistic and anti-reform writings. Eternal vigilance must be the price of good legislation.

B. The Establishment of Popular Government. — As students of politics well know our government is one of, by and for the people in name only. In fact it is a government *of* the people — there can be no question that they *are* governed and far too much — but by and for the politicians or the classes whose servants and tools the politicians are. See on this point some strong statements in P. R. R., pp. 39, 40, 42; S. R., p. 332 and P. R., pp. 290–92. The testimony of the celebrated constitutional critic, A. V. Dicey, may certainly be taken as free from demagogic bias. He says: "The plain truth must be stated: the party system, whatever its advantages, and they are not insignificant, is opposed to the sovereignty of the people, which is the fundamental dogma of modern democracy. That system throws the control of legislation first into the hands of a party and then into the hands of the most active or the most numerous section of that party. But the part of a party may be, and probably is, a mere fraction of the nation" (R., p. 510).

1. *Proportional Representation.* What is it?

"Proportional representation substitutes for *falsely assumed* representation of majorities, penned within district lines, an *actual pro rata* representation of the *whole* people, so arranged in one form as to represent parties, more or less nearly, in pro-

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portion to the number of their respective adherents; and in the other, the *whole people*, whether in or out of parties.

"The latter system is known as the Hare or preferential plan, because if a vote is not needed or ineffective for the voter's first choice, it is transferred to his second, third, fourth, etc., in the order of his *preference*, so that very few votes — sometimes not one in a hundred or, perhaps, in a thousand — need be 'lost' or 'thrown away,' the percentage of ineffective votes under it being so small that in South Australia it is known as 'effective voting.' It is applicable to the election of trustees, committees, delegates to conventions, etc., of churches, orders, institutes, parties and other voluntary organizations, while waiting on that ponderously lymphatic corporosity, 'the state,' to 'get a move on.' Under it one twelfth of the voters of San Francisco could elect one supervisor, and one fifth of those of Santa Clara County could do the same; one seventh of the voters of the State, whether resident in one county or fifty, could elect one congressman; similarly with state senators and assembly men. It would thus cause 'the machine' to crumble to powder.

"The Gove plan is a modification of the Hare, slightly diminishing the voter's work but lessening his power over the 'contingent vote'" (*Hope and Home*, San Francisco).

For another compact statement of the various systems proposed see P. R., p. 294.

P. R., p. 296, points out that this system of representation is not a new-fangled fad in the United States but was advocated here as early as 1844 and has, since that time, often been put to the practical test. Its tremendous advantages over the present system of non-representation and misrepresentation are clearly indicated in P. R., p. 297, and R. C. G., pp. 73, 74. Not the least of these would be the "slaying of the gerrymander." (For an account of, with origin of name, see P. R. p. 297, and C. G., pp. 216, 217.)

2. *The Initiative and Referendum.* What are these?

"'Direct legislation' comprises the referendum and the initiative. Under the former, laws, etc., after being passed by the legislature, are referred to a direct vote at the polls to be ratified or rejected. When 'obligatory,' all bills *must* be so referred before they can become laws; when optional, they are so referred only on request of a certain percentage of the voters; the veto power thus rests with the whole body of voters. The initiative requires the submission to such direct vote of any proposed law formally approved by a certain percentage of the voters" (*Hope and Home.*)

I. and R., p. 697, defines the initiative as "the exercise of the right of a body of voters to initiate proposals for the enactment

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of new laws or for the alteration or abolition of existing laws"; S. R., p. 330, says, "The initiative is the right of a voter, or a body of voters, to initiate proposals for legislation." The referendum is defined on p. 697 of I. and R., as follows: "The referendum is an institution by virtue of which laws and resolutions framed by legislatures, are *referred* to the voters for final acceptance or rejection." R., p. 490, gives it thus: "The referendum may be roughly defined as the reference to all vote-possessing citizens of the [Swiss] Confederation for their acceptance or rejection of laws passed by their representatives in the Federal Assembly." See also D. L., p. 10. R., p. 497, continues, "The referendum is a revival of the miscalled 'veto,' but veto lodged in the hands, not of a sovereign monarch, but of a sovereign people." Again, pp. 496, 497, the same writer says, "Every 'bill' laid before the Swiss for their acceptance has, be it again noted — for this is a fact which can hardly be too strongly insisted upon — passed through both houses of the Federal Parliament"; hence the referendum gives the people the power which now vests nominally in the English sovereign and actually in the American president. Suppose the Sugar Trust which now (Aug. 16), according to Chairman Wilson, "has the country by the throat," were to be turned over with its tariff bill, which is but a shade removed from "the crowning atrocity of class legislation," not to the president but to the people of the United States for final disposition! How much longer would it probably hold the country by the throat?

That the referendum is anything but the abortive *plébiscite* whereby French autocrats or unpopular revolutionary governments have been enabled to strengthen their hold on power is clearly pointed out by Dicey in R., pp. 492, 493. He says, "The essential characteristics, the lack of which deprives a French *plébiscite* of all moral significance, are the undoubted properties of the Swiss referendum" (p. 493).

The advantages of the referendum are forcibly stated in I. and R., p. 698; D. L., p. 11; S. R., p., 231, and R., pp. 505–507. That it means "measures, not men" is well shown on pp. 494–496 of R. P. 508 of same shows how it might develop a surprising interest in politics on the part of citizens who, tired of the battles of kites and crows, stay at home on election day rather than help decide which of two scoundrels shall help skin the people in the interest of a corporation. On p. 508 he reminds us that the "issues" over which politicians go wild are by no means always those the people are aching to see handled, and indicates how the referendum would establish a harmony of interests between the people and their legislatures. To this end, however, the initiative would doubtless most powerfully contribute.

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That the referendum instead of complicating politics would clarify issues and make it impossible for the victorious party in an election to claim that the people have sanctioned every act performed or promised by that party, is brought out in S., p. 567.

Timid souls who fear the people and wish them to remain forever under the tutelage of the "better classes" and held down by poverty and standing armies, may find comfort in the assurance that the referendum is, after all, a conservative measure. S. R., p. 332, states: "The experience of Switzerland proves that the referendum forbids the piling up of laws, and acts as a drag on hasty legislation. Out of nineteen federal bills so far referred to the popular verdict only six were accepted, while thirteen were rejected." Dicey (R., p. 500) says, "Conservative Swiss opinion now, on the whole, favors an institution originally invented and introduced by radicals." On p. 496 he says: "The referendum does not hurry on a single law, nor facilitate any legislation which parliamentary wisdom or caution disapproves. It merely adds an additional safeguard against the hastiness or violence of party. It is not a spur to democratic innovation; it is a check placed on popular impatience." In D. L., p. 28, he is quoted as saying in *The Nation*, Oct. 8, 1885: "The referendum must be considered, on the whole, a conservative arrangement. It tends at once to hinder rapid change and also to get rid of that inflexibility or immutability which, in the eyes of Englishmen at least, is a defect in the constitution of the United States."

On pp. 23, 24 of D. L., Mr. Sullivan sums up the facts as to these two reform measures in Switzerland and closes with the statement, "Here, then, is evidence incontrovertible that pure democracy, through direct legislation by the citizenship, is practicable — more, is now practised — in large communities."

Both initiative and referendum are hoary with antiquity. Direct legislation by the people is the well-known principle of the New England town meeting (see I. and R., p. 697), which itself is the direct and legitimate descendant of the old English town moot; this but continues the principle Tacitus found in active operation in the national or *civitas* council in the German forests; from here it may be traced back to the primitive Aryan home in Asia beyond the Tigris. The application of direct legislation in small communities where freedom and substantial equality prevail is simple. It is when the population grows too large and widely scattered to meet together under the shade of a friendly tree, and when the society has differentiated its strong, self-seeking classes who despise those less powerful or less grasping than themselves, that the crucial test of democracy comes. Rome never discovered the representative principle; hence those near the city and especially those wielding

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influence in the senate and the forum converted the republic into their private property and proceeded to manage it as a Southern overseer ran a plantation. The end was inevitable. It is to ignorance of the representative principle that Dr. John Fiske attributes the downfall of Rome, and to the discovery of that principle, the political successes long achieved by the Anglo-Saxon people. We are coming to see, however, that such representative government as we have is now but a grade in advance of the non-representative system of Rome. Shall we wait for some barbarian horde to discover and apply the more perfect form and prove its superior fitness over us by surviving while we pass away? Or shall we seek to make our government in fact what it is in name, a government not only *of* the people but conducted by the people and in the interest of the general good?

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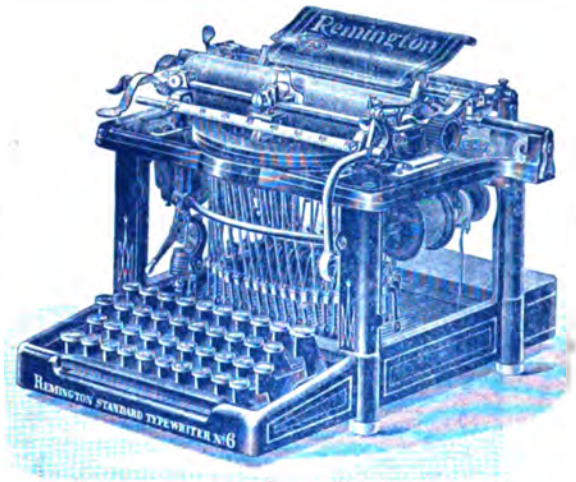

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Exceedingly interesting, especially the chapter on the coming religion, and contains many new ideas on an old subject. — *Truth, Toronto.*

Mr. Savage's "world-theory" appears to be that Christianity and all religious belief are evolved according to certain laws of development, and that their growth is not likely to be arrested at any point. The other theory, which he is combatting, is that the doctrine has been delivered to the saints once for all, and that no truth will ever reach mankind. No wonder there is conflict between them, unless they are kept apart as the poles of the earth. This seems to contain a good part of Mr. Savage's belief: "In the line of this religious evolution, I believe there is to be found scope and room for the development of sanctities of the spiritual life such as have never been heard of or thought of in all the world." — *Boston Transcript.*

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In one of the delightful papers included in "Virginibus Puerisque," Robert Louis Stevenson confesses to some slight disillusion about youth, in consequence of its nimble impermanence. For years he had silently resented the supercilious complacency of crabbed age, which would exorcise the divine enthusiasm of youth with worldly maxims, and he had long cherished a project of vindicating youth. He intended to show that the progress of the flame-touched young god, with his fine credulities, to the cynical and cautious old worldling, was not a progress of wisdom but of delusion. But the opportunity to write this vindication did not come with the tick of the clock, and when it finally came and experience had confirmed all his early keen intuitions, he discovered that, with the best will in the world to keep fast hold of the buoyancy of youth, he had insensibly crossed the boundary line. He had become thirty something, and though he felt as young as ever, and his interests in life had not changed, somehow when he settled himself in his chair to battle for the respectful recognition of the hopes, impetuous sympathies and generous wisdom and unwisdom of youth, the world suddenly became a trifle more gray, life a little more dull and uninspiring, and conduct a more perplexing and perilous business than it had seemed — in short, something of the glow and warmth and color of his ideas had mysteriously escaped him.

"I was to be the *Advocatus*, not I hope *Diaboli*, but *Juventutis;* I was to state temperately the beliefs of youth as opposed to the contentions of age; to go over all the field where the two differ and produce at last a little volume of special pleadings which I might call, without misnomer, *Life at twenty-five*. But times kept changing, and I shared in the change. I clung hard to that entrancing age; but with the best will, no man can be twenty-five forever. The old, ruddy convictions deserted me, and along with them, the style that fits their presentation and defence. I saw, and indeed my friends informed me, that the game was up."

The paper as it stands has patches of this gray philosophy amid the sunshine, and it may be that it is all the more pertinent and salutary on account of them. The poet, at least a poet of Stevenson's æsthetic temperament, lives less acutely in the monotonous hideousness of the everyday world of strife, in which the vast majority of us are hopelessly engulfed, and in the sunlit regions of the imagination he can manage to keep his youth and good humor longer than the common ruck of men.

I am satisfied that a certain remoteness, not necessarily the isolation of the hermit, is essential to any true perspective of life. Otherwise the

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portentous shadow of some local bum-bailiff will be sure to obstruct our vision at every turn and distort the whole world for us. And there can be no doubt that the finest and most fantastic humor, which is also the most relenting and merciful, is only possible to those who can make a solitude for themselves in a world of abstractions. The man who, in shutting his door, can lock out all thoughts of the world, and abandon himself to good dreams — or even bad ones, so long as they are sufficiently impossible — is more to be envied than Solomon, whose philosophy was shot through and through with the mockery of his worldly greatness. Such a man is the only sort of traveller who can excite my curiosity — and he can write no guide-books or sketches of travels of the regions he explores. Thus, perhaps, we but waste our pity upon madmen and opium smokers. The many lack this resource of the finer imaginations, and their only consolation in life (and it is a consolation, although it seems hard fare to some of us), is a sticky mixture of "Poor Richard" philosophy, and a fine large optimism that can wink at all iniquity here below, because the workers in it are doomed by our despair to reap their reward in an eternity of woe in some dark abyss of horrors in the bottomless space above which we hang quarrelling and fighting for the possession of moonbeams. The miserable alone are secure in their poverty and complacency. How the orthodox should envy misery its sharp bargain with St. Peter! Doorkeepers in this world are the despair of virtue; I can entertain no hopes of humanity so long as Beadledom exists; but St. Peter's tastes are so severely simple, if rumor tells us truly, that Dives should use his influence to have him removed from his post, or sad discouragements await him. But the rich seem tolerably reconciled to the prospect. By the law of contraries, in escaping the misery that comes from dependence upon others, which is sufficient cause for pessimism, the comfortables have contracted a habit of incurable scepticism. They have the firmest hold upon orthodoxy, but are quite cheerful about morality. They are so accustomed to gaining their ends with special skeleton keys, that they are sceptical of St. Peter's obduracy. And we may be sure they would not be satisfied unless they had keys which not only admitted them to Heaven, but also conferred upon them the equally valuable privilege of silent and shadowy exits for surreptitious adventures without.

But with the spread of doubt, many unfortunates have lost their grasp even of this moral compensation for outrages and misery suffered; and, still imprisoned in the petty circumstance created by the evil environment of their fellows, these can but newly torture themselves with the spleen. It is a dreadful fate to escape the grim consolations of superstition, unless one has a good bank account. We should pity these miserables, who, in gaining their freedom from false hopes and glozing superstitions, find no refuge from the cruel unreality of the pinching actual, in a world of fantastic egoism or idealism, who cannot ascend to any eyrie of dreams, from which to view this petty

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bustle of trading and tyranny and lose its harsher outlines in the dwarfing and merging of all the facts into the nightmare riddle of the universe, the eternally majestic tragedy of life and death, in which oppressors and oppressed are alike the poor pawns of the Omnipotent. The worldly wise should be sent ballooning to give them a hint of philosophy. Ah, yes, as Heine discovered and recorded, prone on his terrible pallet, the wittiest sarcasms of mortals are only pitiful attempts at jesting in comparison with those of the great Author of the universe, the Aristophanes of Heaven.* From birth to death, God's satire weighs heavily upon all mankind — sick or well — for we must perforce include thinking among the ailments, since it increases all our miseries so materially. Some writers occasionally rail upon our mortal satirists as too severe, too bitter, too malignant and unrelenting; but I think Heine put these objections out of court once and forever in that Titanic confession: "Alas! God's satire weighs heavily on me. How miserably I am beneath Him in humor, in colossal mockery."

Some lurking consciousness of this tragic mockery dogging every human life, gives true humor its savor. There are other sorts of literary cayenne peppers, which set the vulgar (and that includes all lacking in sentiment and sensibility) to laughing, coughing, spitting and sneezing — but it is needless to say they seem humorous only to those blockheads who can discern the ludicrous solely in distortion and deformity and suffering, who would gladly dispense with the so-called comic papers if they could but witness a hanging every Sunday morning.

But, although some of these considerations could well enough occupy the sober attention of some of our contemporaries who impose upon the purveyors of literature stale vulgarity as wit, I must hasten the advent of the Young Man in these pages, or I shall, perforce, be compelled to postpone his appearance for another month.

Just as Mr. Stevenson cherished his project of putting youth in countenance, of showing that its moods, if not always those of wisdom, are scarcely more unwise than the partial philosophy of old age, and, being equally inevitable and natural, have no greater cause for diffidence and deserve no more odium or suspicion, and then fell himself into the hesitancy of a man who feels young enough but cannot help remarking with some uneasiness the incontinent haste of the hours, the days, weeks, months, seasons, holidays, festivals, and those dreadful anniversaries at which nephews and nieces reappear perpetually taller, robuster, more mature and confident — so I used to clamor indignantly against that established and iniquitous Tory conspiracy, which did not care to put aside its decorous pantomime to see the world through my eyes, while I would have scorned to blind myself with its foolish crimson goggles. Those complacent Tories who made gravity ridiculous — as we may in

*This whole passage is a free paraphrase of Heine's language, in order to give what was a personal expression of tragic consciousness a general application to the whole drama of human life and history. The present writer has not the audacity to steal a passage that has haunted thousands of imaginations.

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our turn when we come to live in an opinion—would silence and exorcise the hopes and feelings and passionate crusades of youth with scepticism, indifference, excommunication, and even that indignity the "boycott"; but nature is against them, and as their contemporaries one by one fall out of the ranks and leave them to the mercies of the rising generation they are relegated to a pathetic neglect. We hear on all sides that this is the day of the Young Man, but somehow I do not feel so elated as I ought to, for the opportunity to riot in the glories of youth is a little belated. I have entered upon that disillusionizing *thirty something*.

Ah, do not rejoice too lustily, you triumphant youths, as you swarm through the breaches and plant your banners high upon the ruins—these fine brand new battle cries and banners will in a very little while become stale and disregarded, and in turn be supplanted. Why, these old, formal, tattered rags of conventionalism that excite our contempt and merriment once had the power to set the wits of some of the finest spirits ablaze—they were upon the lips of all the wits of court and *salon*, as well as Grub Street; and there are not lacking signs that some remnants of the old mode, with a new garniture of modernity and new names of living, substantiating human entities behind them, are again creeping into literature. After all those innumerable two o'clock in the morning triangular conventions, after all those high resolves that the breaking of the dawn for youth should bring real sunlight and breadth and generous latitude for all opinions, now that I see the hordes pouring in I am assailed with regrets, with doubts and qualms, and I welcome The Advent of the Young Man with rather mingled feelings. I have unfortunately discovered one fatal flaw in the programme of youth—it grows old, it becomes familiar, it becomes ancient, it has no specific with which to secure itself from the violent assaults of sons and grandsons. However, if I would not be put under the ban as a dreadful old fogy, I must toss my cap into the air. But I confess I do so in a half-hearted way, for I cannot help regretting the fine inconsistency allowed in those two o'clock in the morning revolutionary conferences, and I have discovered that the Young Man in literature has sometimes such strenuous ideas that inconsistency or any sort of frivolousness is visited with pains and penalties that suggest a sort of literary Calvinism. This is discouraging to me, for I find myself in the awful predicament of enjoying both the old modes and the new.

The Radical in literature is a healthy inspiration so long as he is in a minority, but unfortunately, like the Tory with his dolls, he is too human, and when a few years have added pertinacious fear as well as self-complacency to his dominancy, he is sometimes tempted to put poetry and fantasy under arrest for vagrancy and lack of decorum. In writing this I am of course thinking especially of certain writers, whose demands for the Young Man in literature are reasonable and wholesome enough, and in all conscience necessary, but who, nevertheless, fail to

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recognize that the faculty of cherishing fine fantasies is as natural to some men as the apprehension and seizure of facts is to others. I have not forgotten that the advent of the Young Man includes men of different views, and I shall deal with them later.

To look at this matter of the stuff of thought, let us for a moment take the idealistic view of the unreality of all phenomena. Since these unreal, haunting dreams float without summons into men's minds, and since the whole objective world is unreal and exists only in thought, the unreal and the real are but the counterparts of each other, and the most grotesque dreams are as much a portion of actual experience as love and sorrow and hope, and are equally real. I do not purpose maintaining the truth of this contention; it is enough for me that it is one of the theories held quite soberly by many able men, and whether materialists make merry over the theory or not, it certainly sways some fine imaginations, and its expression must therefore be perfectly valid in literature. It seems even to chime in with the holiday mood of some of those who pass their lives "in the rank and steaming valleys of sense," and I should recommend such airy philosophy for study in the Suicide Clubs. Besides, there is the indubitable fact that with the dawning of consciousness in child life there seems to be a natural, instinctive craving for the unreal. The real world but furnishes children with the stuff of day-dreams; and when we are quite grown up we do not entirely give up the game, for while our sorrows may be realistic enough, one half our occupations, our joys, dignities and successes are all make-believe; they could not exist if we all settled soberly down to the world of reality.

This being so, we must expect the same delusion to crop out in our poetry and fiction and philosophy, for even the most realistic and the most utilitarian philosophy cannot rid itself of the make-believe which is in human nature and has become traditionally bound up with all the sanctity of learning and wisdom and religion. As for poetry and fiction, they cannot hope entirely to disabuse themselves of make-believe, and the more they deal with the reality of real life, the machinery of the mind and will behind conduct and actions and sentiments, the more make-believe will inhere in them. The realist can scarcely hope to abolish in fiction an element that enters so largely into real life. It is only the wooden, objective sort of fiction and poetry which repels all the make-believe which the imagination would throw around it; one cannot really travel far with heroes and dragons whose convulsive movements and sentiments remind us every moment of the prosaic Mr. Smith behind them; and this is where the old gods, removed from ordinary humanity by the enormity of their depravity, have the advantage over the dull and stupid puppets of mediæval fiction. The prosiest utilitarian alive was probably a fantastic idealist as a child. The very fact that fictions prosper as they do, shows that the normal state of man is make-believe; the child's indifference about the grave affairs of life

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is a true instinct, and the vast majority of men and women love to make-believe to the end of their days. I dare not say that the mood of the uncompromising utilitarian is abnormal—but I like to hope that such a person is a rare phenomenon, and I keep all suspicious characters of this sort at arm's length. It may discredit me with some more strenuous and congruous persons, who are surfeited with the spectacle of the tragic realities engendered by the long reign of that hypocrisy of idealism which is simply propped up from the lower world of realities but affects to ignore the existence of the props, still I must confess I have my moods when I like to put all reality out of mind and perplex myself with vain fantastic speculations about the most palpable quibbles of imagination. It is ludicrous, I admit, that a panic on the Stock Exchange should destroy the whole structure of beautiful idealism for thousands and send all its gods pell-mell to the auction room; but the tragical reflection is not that men should indulge such comfortable delusions, but that the delusions should so depend for their existence upon mere comfort, and being so delightful and consolatory should not be accessible to all mankind.

Auction rooms and old book stores are half-way houses to Paradise for the poor, if they did but know it, for the dreams and delusions of scholars and comfortables find their way into such places in time. Unfortunately the masses are possessed of a mania for novelty, and their delusions as a rule have much less to recommend them than those of the comfortables. With a judicious investment of a few pence a poor devil can pick up a sufficient store of fantasy in the old book shops to last a lifetime. Circumstances have given me an unescapable intimacy with the realities of this world, and I think it ridiculous that there should be such a hubbub when the Young Man proposes to recognize these realities in poetry and fiction; but I am at the same time perturbed and solicitous for the safety of that Lotus-land that has been a compensation always within my reach, when I see that the Young Man has but too frequently his sad limitations of vision, and in insisting upon the realities of the social world and the dignity of human life and associations, has no patience with, or comprehension of, that airy fabric of fantasy which lies somewhere in the background of every human imagination. God knows we must have some men in our literature who do not live and write in a silly society glamour, but see and reveal the facts of our barbarism in all their unbudging ugliness—a nightmare of horrors that cannot even bring itself to the benignity and charity of actual cannibalism; but since we are in the trap and Plutus has the string and the cheese and we have not, we cannot afford to put away fantasy altogether. This must be our refuge, when to obtain a little peace in a lull in the game, we would either banish from memory the hideous shadows that usurp our human form, or else would delude ourselves by stripping them of both their virtues and vices; for we can never conceive of a tolerable human being who is not as entirely divested of the ordinary virtues of humanity as of its vices.

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We must therefore by no means abandon our dreams, because modern thought is giving the world its first sight of the real world, and of the real nature of the horrors of peace, which put cannibalism among the divine attributes; for if we do not maintain some sort of balance between our continually extending acquaintance with human characteristics and the illusions of our solitude, we must either go mad, or curse mankind and die. The old saying, "Curse God and die," has no salt of provocation. It is man we should curse. The laws of Nature are unchangeable and implacable: Nature has no favorites; her laws work out to the bitter end, and her punishments fall impartially upon the just and the unjust. It is the spendthrift and his posterity upon whom her severities fall, and he may be either rich or poor. We are all under sentence of death: and the certainty loses its horrors as our realization of it grows with age. But this impending, imminent Fate, this fiat of the ages, this relentless, grim mockery of all the delusions of hope and love and faith, joy and strength, is not so terrible as the malignancy of the petty, false Fate which has been created by organized society. In this case the ephemeral and grotesque vanity of man outweighs the grim eternal in immovable immorality. Nature decrees birth and death and suffering; this false Fate decrees that millions shall starve in body and mind and soul, shall slowly rot in hopelessness and misery, in order that a few idlers may play Moliere's comedy of *Les Precieuses Ridicules*, in the delusion that this is the superior life, the æsthetic, refined, delicate life of elect beings. Intellect — pshaw! you poor miserable genius of finance, you merchant prince and philanthropic exploiter, listen at your keyhole one moment while I whistle in your ear (*since I must keep my station and you are deaf to all philosophy*): "This is a mere jackdaw faculty." You lose your silver spoons; it is the jackdaw! We millions lose our minds, our days, our nights, our hopes, our joys, our religion, our lives — everything that struggles up in the human heart and mind to make Nature's tyranny endurable; and it is *the jackdaw* — the corporation, the beneficent exploiter of the universe, the philanthropic millionnaire, the genial bourgeois, who has no eye for the wonders of Nature because Nature never invented the *shop!*

And so we must remind the Young Man that fantastic dreams are all that make us endurable to ourselves, since we cannot escape our skins, and even our very virtues are as treacherous as the whimsies of the elect of this pantomimic Fate we take so soberly, and so tragically. Unfortunately we have a fatal resemblance to the elect, and are vertebrate animals. These dreams and Death are the only heritage that the jackdaw cannot *abstract* as the reward of abstinence, and earn laborious usury upon. Our pet doctrine of "the survival of the fittest," since we have grown *too broad* to believe in the vagaries of theology, is the philosophic apotheosis and canonization of the jackdaw! I would respectfully suggest that the jackdaw be fittingly commemorated in stained glass in a north window in one of Plutus' cathedrals. Indeed, fantasy

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holds within its misty boundaries the larger half of all human experience — the tangled web of our dubious morality, our whims, our thoughts, emotions, hopes, love, and every man's vague realization of the mystery of life, God, destiny, death — in a word, religion, the prime fact of every man's life. The Young Man who has addressed himself to the realistic in literature is fatally apt to overlook more than half the realities of life. Such defects of enthusiasm as this, and other limitations of vision, including most frequently a palpable lack of humor, which usually means an absence of philosophy, make me less ardent in my recognition of the fact that to-day belongs to the Young Man in literature, as in every other pursuit and calling, than I should have been, probably, some years ago, when I was concerned that the moral fervor of youth should share something of the decorous attention bestowed upon the mumbled patter of smug Gravity. But the Young Man in literature, as in all else, is so quickly persuaded to postpone the grappling with realities to the *next generation*, that we are reconciled to finding our worst expectations fulfilled; and while this may induce charity it also dampens enthusiasm. Sometimes the Young Man has even brought fantasy itself into disrepute by making it a poor apology for his lack of intellectual integrity. And then as to novelty — well, all our best thoughts are but old ones rocked in the laps of fresh nurses. Some years ago novelty seemed a far more intrinsically satisfactory thing to me than it does now; it is not new ideas the world stands so badly in need of, but the putting of some of the ancient recognitions of truth into practice in actual life. This view may be due to a bias, though, for I was probably a good deal more of a novelty to myself then than I am now. As we grow older we discover, as Mr. Stevenson says, that "The child of our imaginations is always a changeling when it comes from nurse." This is the bitterness of reading one's own proofs. To read other folks' gives a fillip to one's vanity; but to read one's own is to incur the risk of having to cry jackdaw upon one's self. This sobers and disillusions one, and should, and I hope does, make one more charitable. Anyway, a man who has got into the cautious habit of seeing both sides of a question is spoiled as an advocate in the court of letters.

This is but one phase of the significance of the advent of the Young Man in literature, and I have only been led into this diversion by the fact that some of these most salient and emphatic tendencies of a considerable faction of contemporary writers have become so pronounced as to have even found a lodgment in the current tea-table talk. I feel that in this defect of insight, even though it is born of a tender sympathy with the too long despised common life, lie some of the worst perils of the Young Man. It is apt to reduce the range of art too exclusively to the artist's parish and the life about him, and only the most transient and outward elements of even that; to foster an art that is never really true to the core of life, for it is too municipal, and it forfeits all the elements of permanency for an immediate diffusion among all the

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parishes which can find themselves mirrored in it. The novel of last year is becoming as much out of date as last year's almanac. It was too closely contemporaneous with a certain municipal phase of life to be true. That certainly was *fact* then, but not truth, and in the meantime "The event has trammelled up the circumstance"; it is a thing of last year — it has gone by forever; and the novel bound up in the obscure history of a municipal by-law, is as tiresome as a volume of aldermanic rhetoric. The author's passion for exactitude has alienated his art from all truth. In giving his readers the talk of the town, he fails to give any hint of human nature, he fails to touch the perennial facts of life — universal truth.

And this narrow and utilitarian conception of the purposes of art is apt to engender a sort of Puritanism that, without being in any sense irreligious, is bitterly opposed to those larger imaginations for whom literature can have no more distinct boundaries than those of the imagination itself — a conception of literature that gives it the sanctity of religion without compelling any sort of orthodoxy. It is only by setting no stamp of purpose on the highest thought that all the highest purposes can find their utterances in literature. Puritanism, whether of mere formalism or an all-absorbing and high purpose, cannot well discriminate between the quips of that large human humor, that in laughing humanity out of its follies and vices, sometimes startles its complacency rather roughly with some Jovian frolic in which the crack of the whip blends with the laughter, and that other sort of cheerful humor which is content to see the ludicrous in injustice and wrong and suffering and misery, which is content with low and base ideals, and laughs with the oppressors. To such optimistic humorists as these latter the men of sterner stuff seem very sons of Beelzebub, for they lay violent hands upon superstitions and dignities and orthodoxies, which not only prop up all sorts of established iniquities, but are also sacred in the popular imagination. The severity of Puritan enthusiasm cannot understand morality in this garb; it has no more sense of the sobriety of true humor than has the populace.

Earnestness is by no means incompatible with humor. Indeed, the humor that retains its saliency is not granted to the insincere, the mere *dilettante;* and, of course, without putting them into the same category as fops and would-be wits, it must be recorded of visionaries that the humorous is seldom included in their point of view. But if there is one general statement about the Young Man in literature, which a long, detailed indictment would measurably substantiate as a general statement, it is that he is lacking in humor, and so is apt to be a dreadful partisan. As a partisan, he may be very brilliant, very forcible, very persuasive, very human and very convincing; but, being a partisan, he cannot satisfy our every mood — he has no specific for, no knowledge of, all our whims. "There are more things in heaven and earth, than are dreamt of in your philosophy." We may not turn to books in the crisis

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of any great sorrow, except some few among us who find heartsease in *one* book; but in retrospect some Stoic philosophy adds something to the assuagement of memory, and our modern Stoics are all humorists. It goes without saying, that a man cannot be utterly lacking in a sense of the ludicrous and be a Stoic in this world; and a keen sense of the ludicrous is a discourager of that earnestness which is so entirely absorbed in the daily round of life as to leave no margin of time for withdrawal, for complete self-possession in meditation and solitude.

All the realities of this world are to be tested in solitude, and all true thought, which includes true humor, that does not circulate about the barn and the table and good living, as Emerson averred the bulk of English literature did, to stand the test of reading in the murmurous silence of the woods or within sound of the sea, must have some particles of their bracing elements bound up in it. Even those who make no professions of idealism, indeed are a little perplexed with all the pother of these distinctions, are unconsciously idealists amid the grandeur of Nature. They do not care to read any of the books that usually please them; they only desire to lie at ease and *feel* the beauty around them. It should never be forgotten that Nature is both a realist and an idealist. The finest humor touches upon the elusive mysteries of the spiritual in life, and it must be conceived in, or tempered and corrected by, solitude. The true humorist is essentially something of an idealist, although it may only be made manifest to even a critical audience by an impatience of certain grave farces in life, which the majority of men regard as being as much fixed by unalterable law as the phenomenon of gravitation.

To get at the truth, the core of human life, it is necessary for a man to get as close to the Eternal Spirit of the universe as possible; and though this spirit is conceivably resident in mankind, it is only felt in solitude — among the fields, the woods, or along the seashore. In the busy shock of men, instead of growing in sanity, one loses altogether the power of grasping the real significance of life — hence that conspiracy of folly called "society," comedians, critics, Beadledom, social ambitions and the dreadful battles of literary cliques. Perhaps it is because the Young Man in literature is always in such a hurry to seek his fortune in some metropolis, and has even taken to haunting the circles of "society" and the comfortables, that so much of our contemporary literature is lacking both in this breadth and sea-room and in humor. The garrets of Grub Street, being so close to the sky, served the men of former generations as some sort of substitute for the seashore or mountain-side. But the Young Man is aware of the social advantages of a good address, and he has abandoned Grub Street.

The Young Man, to put the matter paradoxically, is too much in and of the world to maintain the sanity and breadth of a spectator, which should be the attitude of an artist in his work. He should live life to reflect it — and the sanest reflection is only possible in some isolation

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from the tumult. The Young Man takes life too soberly and his art too lightly for this largest representation of and commentary on life. Almost every reader of current literature is willing to admit that there is a certain narrowness, a certain penuriousness (call it "economy" if you prefer some merciful euphemism), in the work of the Young Man of our day. Of course there are exceptions to such a generalization. The present writer will not now stop to critically consider his own attenuated figure, feeling quite satisfied that all his dearest friends will acquit him of any invidious presumption: they crush one's vanity by taking one's humility for granted. This may be due to more causes than those to be named, but these play an important part. To give it due consequence, we will put the competition of modern life first in order. This obtains as much in literature as in all other occupations. Indeed, the care and anxiety entailed in the struggle for a place, and the equally hard struggle to keep it when once gained, engross much more time than any ordinary business, and make this abstraction from the exclusively human arena of the literary world impossible to all but the most sturdy and congenital idealists.

It may come with something of the shock of disillusion to the generous minded literary aspirant to learn that in no occupation does human nature work more havoc than in literature. In other pursuits men tolerate their bitterest enemies, their moral and intellectual antipodes, and even joke with them over a bargain; but in literature, as every old hand knows, to have any friends at all one must make a most appalling list of mortal foes, who never allow an opportunity of doing one some quite gratuitous injury to pass. Human nature in its worst and most contemptible phases has full swing in the literary world — although some readers may not guess it from the elevated sentiment we get in our literature. We scribblers are a race of despicable hypocrites. There is scarcely an author living who is not uneasy and fidgetty when he hears another man's work, which is entirely different in spirit and character from his own, heartily praised. He dwells so exclusively upon the merits of his own performances that he cannot believe that you can admire and enjoy both his work and another's of a totally different order. He takes your generous praise as a disparagement of himself, and will bring you round with a quick luff to his own work, by way of some contemporary of somewhat analogous aims, whose work *he* admires as a new revelation. Oh, the elevated sentiments of these inky-fingered hypocrites, who have traded all the commonplace virtues for literary acumen and discrimination, how they weary us in our relenting human moods! It is a good rule never to seek the society of a moralist — he is only satisfactory at long range as a pure abstraction. One can get more wisdom and simple, bracing courage in spending a morning on the perch of a brewer's drayman than in the society of any predestinated moralist.

A, the editor of the *Monthly Miscellany*, loudly damns your productions in the dark — he has never read a line of any of them — because

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there is a hörrid rumor afloat that you doubt the immortality of the soul. This belief or disbelief may never find any expression in your social, economic or literary studies, but it is one of the established rules of the office of the *Monthly Miscellany* that, since A is a mystic and a Mugwump, and you are an agnostic and a knavish social disturber, anything on any subject, poetry or prose, that you may submit to the *Miscellany*, is to be immediately returned unread. Anything you may publish is to be summarily and contemptuously damned and formally banned. A can prove you are a heretic and a villain even if you only write a treatise on the differential calculus, or the fourth dimension. B, the brilliant editor of the *Weekly Banner*, hates and despises you and all your works, because he is a Transcendentalist in philosophy, and you are striving in poetry and fiction to show that real life need not be so ugly as it is, if only we were relieved of a little of the abstract idealism that somehow reconciles all the contradictions of our villainous political economy and Christian anarchism.

It is useless to go right through the list. The Devil and Dame Chance are the two most potent deities in the profession of literature, as in all other sublunary callings. To "stand in," as the phrase goes, with the Devil is of far greater consequence than the possession of the most transcendent genius — as far as prosperity in one's own generation goes; and posterity does not pay to-day's butcher and baker. In the literary world as elsewhere the meanest prey upon the highest; and ambition, though to the casual eye of such stern, unbending stuff, often bolsters up silly prejudice and vanity with sycophancy. These are some of the realities of the literary life — just a glimpse of them, enough, perhaps, to keep some honest, kindly, generous, manly, catholic-minded shoemaker from deserting his bench — and as they prey upon that most sensitive organ, the stomach, it is no wonder that there is so much contemptible jesuitry and wire-pulling and mean sycophancy in the literary world. There is less poetry about the average poet, flying from one five o'clock court of the Muses to the other, than there is about the average Fifth Avenue stage-driver, hit upon at hazard.

The culminating defect in the work of the Young Man (to continue the generic term I have hit upon so as to give general tendencies and leave every reader to make his own list of exceptions), is probably largely due to the conditions of our modern literary life at which I have just glanced. It is a lack of those broad sympathies, that large humor, which can see life in its true proportions, and not be swayed a hair's breadth from its aims and purposes, or influenced to the extent of one haunting doubt in its investigation and observation of men and books, by any consideration of the perils of offending A of the *Monthly Miscellany*, or the violent mania of B of the *Banner* to suppress all ideas and views but those which coincide with his own. In recent years we have only had one such independent writer in America, and he lacked humor, but made up for it in his pertinacity in holding his own ideas inviolate,

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and his noble passion for the abstract, the large and permanently true, facts of life, instead of the fortuitous and transitory facts of parochial uneasiness — Walt Whitman.

Our Young Man is too timorous of abstract ideas to ever fulfil the delightful promises he seems to make in the bud. This also is largely due to the conditions of the literary market-place, which is possessed of that agitation for novelty, that is the most infallible sign of crudeness and Philistinism. The Young Man is having his day, and it is usually a pitiably short one, and the pressure of circumstances is such that he cannot afford to bother with abstractions that must fail to touch the popular imagination. He writes with the public at the keyhole, for he has but one short season to live — to-morrow he is dead as an author, though he may still be permitted to write for the newspapers. Every man can struggle and hope for one season's success and puffing and lionizing, then he must fall back into industrious obscurity; for talent, even genius, has come to the pass of beauty: it can only expect to conquer for one season — and it has not the chance of matrimony, although fond memory and newspaper scraps are not denied it.

This is one of the new horrors of modern life, which the Young Man seems to fail to appreciate, until he is no longer quite young — not old, however, but *just ripe*. Then he discovers the bitterness of it, and thinks with regret of the old-fashioned days when youth was a fearful reproach, but manhood lasted until senility, and the authority of gravity, and a well earned reputation, often far beyond that. The fashions in literature come in and go out nowadays almost as rapidly as in millinery. The Humanist of last winter is an uncompromising Euphuist in the spring — of all times in the year! The milliners, however, frequently revive old fashions in bonnets, and it is not an unknown thing for a contemporary writer to be convicted by the curious of filching some startlingly original ideas from the old authors; but while the bonnets are welcomed, the old-fashioned ideas are regarded with suspicion by the mass of men whose thought is circumscribed by the round of smudgy prints which make their appearance within every twenty-four hours. There are of course, a few narrow circles in which reputations are more hardly earned and last longer; but these are of small account in casting up the ledger. We must discover a new genius at least as frequently as once a quarter, or we are in danger of intellectual bankruptcy, and the wisdom of five o'clock tea tables and the reviewers is threatened with an eclipse that involves the vanity of every individual concerned.

You would imagine these scandalous conspiracies of prophecy would bring prophecy into odium and disgrace. But it does not; we have too short memories to be troubled by conscience, which is, as every philosopher knows, merely an unhappy trick of memory. We not only forget the prophecies, but we show an amazing facility for forgetting our idols between Michaelmas and the season for superfluous resolutions. It is a damning demonstration of the universality of vanity that the victims

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of this game of battledore do not suspect our motives and fly with horror at our approach; but though the files of the critical journals are filled with the miserable histories of victims of a year ago, now regarded with indifference or contempt, there is no lack of martyrs for this dread preëminence. It is doubtful if fame of the old abiding sort will ever again be the portion of any mortal. We are all in too much of a hurry, and the discovery of even a great work is only a week's wonder; it may not be exaggeration to say that we would only accord a season's puffing to the recovery of a dozen or so of the works of Æschylus or Aristophanes or Epicurus — or even Plato or Aristotle. We are too busy, and not only do we have a distaste for long books, but it is becoming quite popular to gain a wide acquaintance in even contemporary literature through the medium of catalogues.

Fame nowadays consists of being constantly paragraphed in the newspapers for a season. Poets, novelists, artists and critics (for even critics fatuously hope to prosper and hear their names dinging among those they praise or censure), strive all their lives to achieve this distinction, and some fret and fume and make themselves unhappy over the delay of this recognition of their merits, thus foolishly throwing away the only real happiness possible to them, viz., that of anticipation. It is quite possible to the man of most mediocre abilities to become the poet, novelist or essayist of the year. We reckon up the annual crop of geniuses at Christmas and start with a clean slate at New Year's; but fame is quite out of fashion. This may seem a very discouraging view to some literary aspirants, but it is a plain statement of the facts.

In the buoyancy of the struggle in the dark, and in the first crimson light of the dawn, every artist believes that he has finally reached the Fortunate isles; he reads his name in all the periodicals which refused to consider his work a few weeks back, and reading the pretty phrases of commendation, he hugs himself with joy; he has reached the plane of J and K whom he envied, and whose vogue is dying out. He delights in the wane of his rival, poor, short-sighted creature, blind to the fact that this is but the presage of his own fate. We should rejoice in the prosperity of our enemies; it is a sign that there is a permanent place for all of us. But the man who has but newly arrived has no qualms; in the zenith of his prosperity, every writer believes that the coin minted for him is new, genuine, permanent — the pay of the present and posterity. But the critics are nearly all counterfeiters, and they pay all comers in the same coin all their lives.

There are but few men in America who attain the span of the Psalmist who do not outlive their reputations, and those of two intermediate generations as well. This is decidedly confusing to the moral sense of both middle age and old age; for what is the use of high ideals and martyrdom and unswerving devotion, if it is all merely to be the tea-table quip of one season? If we turn everything into amusement we shall soon have nothing that can move us to laughter but murder. In the decline

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of life, when the kindly indulgence of some of the smaller vanities is most acceptable to prop decrepit emotions and passions, our old men experience the chill disillusion of penetrating the inhospitable, alien atmosphere of a world that is too busy with its cabals and bustling wisdom and the latest catch-words to remember the wit and wisdom which won the approbation of the vanishing generation. It is not quite like this in Europe in the arts, at least, although the same tendency is observable in all other occupations as it is here. In America a man is considered an old fogy at forty, and the world has no further use for him. At forty — just the age when a man's powers are ripe enough to enable him to do a man's work in the world. Altogether I am old-fashioned enough to regret the days when one had to remain patient and be young longer, but also could remain middle-aged as long as health and inclination permitted. To-day it is an awful and unforgivable crime for a man to turn forty; and once the truth leaks out, as it must, like murder, a man can no longer get employment in any sort of occupation — commerce, literature, journalism, the stage, anything. At forty a man must be a capitalist or a pauper.

One sees young men filling every position in every walk of life, working upon a pittance (for a future!) — and seeing old men nowhere, one wonders whether one is eating them for breakfast. What becomes of the old men? how do they gain a livelihood? since the services of old men are not required in any enterprise, — or is there actually a Suicide club in every community, as Robert Louis Stevenson says there is in London? It is certain that one hardly ever sees an old reporter or bookkeeper or salesman, and though it is a matter of notoriety that ballet girls are often disappointing off the stage, I feel a sort of defiant assurance in making the unqualified statement that *no one* ever saw an old "young lady stenographer and typewriter." This modern tendency to dispense with the old folk altogether adds a new terror to old age. It seems that we have, by a sort of mental atavism, reverted to the pleasing custom of our cannibal forbears. It is doubtful if our system is really as charitable as cannibalism. I for one would rather be eaten than become a pauper: I might choke some young scoundrel.

I verily believe that when I am eating Cambridge sausages for breakfast, I am devouring some gray-headed patriarch, who, under the old *regime*, would have met a better fate. It does not add to my appetite to reflect that my friend Jenks, who abuses me in the *Tomahawk* periodically, may one day breakfast off a fraction of the throbbing intellect which at this moment so violently despises him and all his works. It is a great problem. Doubtless the only remedy for old age is the Suicide club. But if the Young Man gets any satisfaction from his complete ascendency under such conditions he must be altogether lacking in fits of prudential blues, even the crude form providentially provided by Nature; for listen — the merciless clock keeps tick-tick-ticking. One fine morning any man may look into his mirror and — see an old fogy!

WALTER BLACKBURN HARTE.

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Some Important New Books.

Three very important additions to American literature have recently been made by young authors whose names are intimately associated with this review, The Arena having introduced each of them in an important way to the English-speaking world. The Arena Publishing Company also brought out the first remarkable or eminently successful book of each of these authors. I refer to Helen H. Gardener, whose masterly historic novel, "An Unofficial Patriot," has already been noticed in this review, Hamlin Garland, whose late work, "Crumbling Idols," I notice below, and W. D. McCrackan, the scholarly author of "The Rise of the Swiss Republic," whose two admirable little volumes on Switzerland it is also my purpose to review. A literary gentleman of international reputation who has followed The Arena since its opening issues with great interest, was kind enough to say a short time ago that no review or magazine in the English-speaking world in recent years had introduced so many gifted young authors as The Arena. And the appearance in quick succession of the three works mentioned above calls to mind afresh the generous remark of the writer to whom I refer.

I think it is safe to say that the literature of the present which succeeds because it is what the people want, is that which deals with life in its varied aspects in an earnest, thoughtful and instructive way. Never was there a time when preaching, in the conventional sense, counted for so little as to-day, and yet there never was a time when the human heart yearned more passionately for truth than to-day. Knowledge and love — these two words fill the measure of humanity's soul cry of the present. But the cry is too real and the hunger too genuine to be satisfied with empty words or threadbare phrases. Nor can the rising generation be put off with impossible heroes and heroines — wooden puppets — such as have pleased less thoughtful people of former times. Real life, real earnest thought and tangible present-day solutions of the great questions of the hour — these are the demands of the awakened mind of this mighty transition period.

In the notable historical romance of Helen Gardener, we have a real story of real characters, in whose brains love, hate, patriotism, loyalty to truth and passion for justice surge to and fro. The book deals with a supreme moment in our national history, and consequently it reveals life in the floodtide of moral exaltation. And because it deals with life at such a climax and is true in its portrayal, because it is history instead of fiction, it is a great work, a war story which will live in permanent literature.

CRUMBLING IDOLS.*

Mr. Garland's last volume represents this powerful young writer in a new *rôle*. When his "Main-Travelled Roads" appeared, Mrs. Louise

* "Crumbling Idols," by Hamlin Garland, author of "Main-Travelled Roads," "A Spoil of Office," "Jason Edwards," "Prairie Folks," "Prairie Songs" (poetry). Cloth; price $1.25. Stone & Kimball, Chicago.

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Chandler Moulton aptly characterized him as the "Ibsen of the West," and his later works have justified that criticism, with this modification, which must always be made — Mr. Garland is more human and more in touch with our life than the great Norwegian. Ibsen is often cold — colossal, but not unfrequently glacial as well. Garland is profoundly human and genuinely sympathetic. Both are sincere and fearless; they are veritists, and both also are poets. Mr. Garland surprised thousands of admirers when his volume of verses, "Prairie Songs," appeared, and yet poetry is present in almost every sketch he has written. Parts of "The Private's Return" in "Main-Travelled Roads" are highly poetical, and the same is true of "A Branch Road" and other stories in that volume. In "A Spoil of Office" we were introduced to our Western author as a novelist, and it is doubtful if the real life of the Northwest has ever been so charmingly or truthfully drawn as in the really fine portrayal which deals with school days and the aspirations of early manhood, and which pictures so graphically the noble opening womanhood of the new day and the melancholy degradation of political life in Washington at the present time. "A Spoil of Office" is a strong work, but perhaps not so powerful as "Main-Travelled Roads." "Prairie Songs" is probably the best poetical work which a Western veritist has contributed to the new movement, and it contains by far the best poetical characterization of life in the Northwest, which has been written.

Now, however, we are introduced to our author as an essayist, as a defender and exponent of the new movement in literature known as veritism or truth in art. This work is characteristic of Mr. Garland in its absolute fearlessness. It is not strange that the audacity of our author in disregarding conventional critics has aroused their resentment in some quarters. This opposition, however, instead of injuring the work of a man of such ability as Hamlin Garland will aid it. But I shall be much surprised if "Crumbling Idols" does not awaken savage criticism. It will give an opportunity to the Philistines to appeal to popular prejudice, and by partial quotations and garbled constructions they will be enabled to wholly misrepresent the author, who has given us in this volume one of the bravest, most vital and able works of criticism which have appeared in our generation. This does not mean that I unqualifiedly endorse all Mr. Garland's views. Indeed, if I sympathized less with his views than I do, I should say the same, while for the most part I am heartily in accord with the wholesome and manly utterances found in "Crumbling Idols." It is a work of positive value and will be a bugle call to scores of young men and women, who from its pages will receive some of the inspiration which Hugo awakened in the brain of young France when he led the onslaught against the classics in the memorable days of Hernani's first representations.

This work should be read by all who wish to know exactly the position of the veritist in literature and the impressionist in art, as well

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as by those who think of engaging in literary pursuits. It is a work of permanent value and should be found in the libraries of thoughtful people who are in sympathy with the movements which characterize the present and which are revolutionizing life and thought. The subjects discussed in this little volume embrace essays on "Provincialism," "New Fields," "The Question of Success," "Literary Prophecy," "Local Color in Art," "The Local Novel," "The Drift of the Drama," "The Influence of Ibsen," "Impressionism," "Literary Centres," "Literary Masters," etc.

I earnestly urge all young men and women who love America and who cherish truth in life and art to give this invigorating and suggestive work a careful perusal. It will prove an inspiration to many and will broaden the intellectual vision of all who read it.

SWITZERLAND.*

Within the covers of two handsome little volumes of very convenient size, Mr. McCrackan has given us a popular work on Switzerland; one volume dealing with that part of the republic "where the Roman and Latin influences have remained uppermost," or, in other words, to French and Italian Switzerland. This work is aptly entitled "Romance Switzerland," while the second volume deals with "Teutonic Switzerland," or the cantons where the German people predominate.

These two little volumes are literally crowded with really valuable information, presented in as fascinating a manner as well-written fiction. Many writers who have the space to portray their subject at length can lead the general reader through a maze of didactic information in such an alluring way as to make him almost forget that he is becoming the possessor of dry facts which, told in the prosaic manner of text-book writers, would be intolerably irksome reading. Macaulay was a striking example of one gifted with this rare power. Very few persons, however, can deal with the barest outlines of a subject and yet hold the interest of the reader from cover to cover so completely that at the time he only realizes that he has been charmingly entertained. Mr. McCrackan has succeeded in this exceedingly difficult task, and I feel confident that his readers will agree with me that this notable contribution to our literature is, first of all, entertaining, though it is none the less realistic and severely accurate. Nowhere does the writer allow the mist of poetic ideality or the haze of legend to obscure the real facts which have given rise to song and story that have too long passed current for historical facts.

Perhaps the secret of Mr. McCrackan's success in attempting to entertain while he informs his readers, lies largely in the skilful way in which he shifts the scenes or turns from one subject to another. To

* "Switzerland." Two volumes: 1. "Romance Switzerland," (2) "Teutonic Switzerland." Sold only in the set. Vol. 1, pp. 315; Vol. 2, pp. 270; gilt top; price per set in box, $1.50. Joseph Knight Company, Boston.

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illustrate, let us take the opening chapters in the first volume, which are given to Geneva, for these pages are thoroughly characteristic of the author's method from first to last. Here we are introduced to the physical aspect of Geneva when "the keen fair weather *bise* blows from the northeast," and we catch a vivid picture of the city and its environs —the lakes and Mount Blanc in the distance. Next we see the change wrought by the atmosphere when the south wind blows; from purple and indigo the water turns to gray, and the vapory atmosphere veils all distant objects and invests those quite near with that fancy-stimulating indistinctness more suggestive of phantoms than of solid reality. Then we see the people—the gay, cosmopolitan character which at first sight amazes the student of history, who has fancied that the manner of Calvin would still exert some of the austere influence of old-time Puritanism in the ancient throne of his all but regal power. The great boulders and points of historic interest are next described, and then in a rapid, but in no instance abrupt, manner we are led through the museums to the educational facilities of the city. And as this subject must be particularly interesting to all thoughtful readers of THE ARENA, and also because it affords an admirable idea of our author's style and the method by which he deftly leads the reader from the consideration of one subject to the notice of a broader theme and one somewhat different in character, I give below an extract dealing with the University of Geneva and the industrial progress of the city :—

If one were to search for the hall-mark, the characteristic temper, of this University of Geneva, it would be found in its cosmopolitan scholarship, its combination of German seriousness with French adaptability, of liberality in thought with common sense in action. The lecture system is in universal use; complete liberty is left to the student in the choice of courses; and women are admitted on terms of absolute equality with men. The comparative method of study is in full vogue; and the relation between the professors and the students very nearly resembles that good-humored, cooperative comradeship which is one of the chief charms of the smaller American colleges. Moreover, by a series of free lectures on winter evenings, given by distinguished specialists, the question of University Extension has to a great extent been solved in Geneva.

In 1892, the number of students rose to over six hundred, thus exceeding that in attendance at any other Swiss University, whether Basel, Bern, Zürich or Lausanne. In regard to nationality, there are always a great many Russians, with a strong contingent of women in their midst, also a good many Bulgarians and Greeks. Even in holiday time, these foreign students may be seen in the adjacent public library, their dark faces bent in the eager pursuit of the learning they have come so far to acquire. In point of fact, no educational summary of Geneva would be complete without mention of this magnificent free library, with its one hundred thousand volumes and sixteen hundred manuscripts, founded centuries ago by Bonivard, the prisoner of Chillon. The writer has reason to speak highly of its usefulness in the study of local history.

Of course Geneva possesses the usual complement of graded schools, the most interesting of which is the College St. Antoine, dating from the time of Calvin. Its building deserves to rank among the most picturesque of the old city. Of special industrial and art schools there is an astonishing supply. Music, too, is studied with enthusiasm at the Conservatory.

It is well to care for the arts and to further popular instruction, but it is even more necessary to stimulate industrial enterprise and insure good trade returns. In one

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respect, Geneva may well serve as a model to all progressive, commercial communities. It has put itself in possession of one of the most effective and least expensive manufacturing agents to be found in the world. This consists simply in the utilization of the water power of the rapid Rhone upon an elaborate scale. Nowhere else has anything like it been attempted, unless the recently opened works at Frankfurt in Germany, and the projected ones at Niagara, may be taken as examples. As early as 1620, the current was made to turn primitive turbines; but in 1866 the magnificent stone, iron and glass palace of the Forces Motrices was formally inaugurated. Built by the eminent city engineer, Turretini, at the expense of the united citizens, and managed by the municipality, these industrial water works deserve to stand as an object lesson in practical coöperation. There are six huge turbines and foundations for fourteen more. Not only is drinking water supplied to the whole city by this means, but hydraulic power is also distributed to all parts through pipes under heavy pressure, and rented to users at low rates. Forty-two hundred horse power is thus at disposal for the use of manufactories.

An era of industrial aggrandizement would thus seem to await Geneva. Unfortunately, another factor mars the bright prospect. That is the protective policy of France, on the one hand, and of Switzerland on the other.

Very interesting, indeed, is the description of Mount Blanc and the story of how the monarch of the Alps was first scaled, as is also the sketch of Saussure, through whose efforts the summit was reached. But probably nothing in the pages given to Geneva will have more charm for the general reader than the admirable outline sketches of illustrious men and women who, when not Genevese by birth, at some time in their lives adopted this city as their home, not unfrequently being driven to accept her kindly shelter when exiled through religious intolerance or political despotism. Among these delightful brief characterizations, I must mention as specially vivid and eminently impartial those of Madame De Staël, John Calvin, Amiel, Rousseau and Voltaire.

As before observed, the chapters devoted to Geneva are thoroughly characteristic of the writer. Thus it will be seen that those who peruse these volumes will be acquainted with the land and its people, its historic places of interest, its eminent personages and its legends and myths. The second volume is fully as entertaining as that entitled "Romance Switzerland." The opening chapter outlines Basel, rendered dear to admirers of Erasmus and Holbein. Of the painter Mr. McCrackan drops the following words in passing: —

The painter lived there [Basel] fifteen years, between 1515 and 1532, with only an absence of two years, and died in London. A friend of his, Amerbach by name, had the good sense to collect all the paintings and drawings of the master he could find. They now form the nucleus of the splendid gallery in the museum.

What an array of stolid, prosaic burghers, painted with an unshrinking realism that seems to care nothing for beauty, if only the truth be told! That is why Holbein's portraits positively breathe, smile and scowl. Take the portrait of his ugly wife: it is the work of a veritist, who would not, could not, flatter. Holbein took his models as they were, at their ease, with everyday expressions on their faces, in all their corpulent commonplaceness. The dead body of Christ appalls with its startling truthfulness. The portrait of Erasmus is full of intellectuality. But Holbein was a man of the Renaissance, for all that, who could delineate the grace and idealism of the nude, fresco the walls of a house, and make drawings for stained-glass windows, or vignettes for books. His versatility is also emphasized by that wonderful fountain of the bagpiper, designed by him, as bright a piece of humor as one could well imagine. The

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piper stands on top of an ornate Renaissance column, bowing solemnly, while men and women dance in awkward abandon around the base — real ugly clodhoppers, like the peasants in Dutch pictures.

One of the most interesting chapters treats of Bern, the permanent capital of the Swiss Republic. Inasmuch as Switzerland is the nearest to an ideal republic to be found to-day, all things relating to her political machinery are particularly interesting to thinking Americans, especially because it is daily becoming clearer and clearer to thoughtful people that our republic, if it would avert the ruin which has overtaken popular governments in the past, through class privileges and the corrupt influence of money, must adopt means similar to the three great distinctive innovations of Switzerland — the Referendum, the Initiative and Proportional Representation. I shall, therefore, give a little extract relating to the political machinery of Bern, and also a word touching the international societies of this unique capital: —

If you can spare the time, be sure and see something of the political life of the place. At first it may seem a little dull, perhaps, but soon it will reveal its marvellous suggestiveness to the student of constitutional affairs.

The National Council and the Council of States, corresponding to the American House of Representatives and the Senate, occupy the two wings. The former is composed of one member for every twenty thousand inhabitants — making a total at present of one hundred forty-seven councillors — and the latter, of forty-four members, two from each canton. The houses meet twice a year, on the first Mondays in June and December. As a curious detail, the fact may be mentioned that the members of the National Council are paid six dollars a day for every day they are present, besides travelling expenses at the rate of four cents a kilometre. In case of absence at roll-call, however, the day's salary is forfeited. On the other hand, the manner of election and the pay of members of the Council of States are regulated by the cantons they represent.

The Federal Council represents the executive power of the government, corresponding only vaguely to the American president and his cabinet. It is chosen for a period of three years by the two houses in joint session, and consists of seven members. The two houses also annually designate who shall be president of the Swiss Republic from among these seven councillors. The president receives a salary of twenty-seven hundred dollars, and each of the other members, twenty-four hundred dollars — very small pay for very hard work.

But Bern is not only a national capital; it has in recent years also become an international centre. No less than nine international unions maintain permanent offices in this miniature city, and many more transact occasional business there. Indeed, no more suitable meeting place could have been found by the great powers for the discussion and safeguarding of common interests. Switzerland cannot be suspected of harboring desire for conquest; its neutrality is guaranteed; its institutions are remarkably stable; it lies in the centre of Europe, and embraces in its federal bond the Teutonic and Latin races alike.

Most of the international offices are very modestly lodged on the side streets near the capitol, with no flaring signs to betray their presence; and yet they are performing a work which future historians will rightly estimate as the first step towards the union of the world's nations into a vast federation.

These international institutions are purely modern; the ancients could not have conceived of them. Their great strength flows from the fact that they are the result of voluntary engagements, not of hostile pressure, and are founded upon common interests, and not upon individual ambitions. But beyond accomplishing the particular objects for which they are created, these unions exert a moral, peace-making force —

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they are schools of international courtesy. In time they will grow to be tribunals of arbitration for all questions that may arise between the nations; and in that day the solidarity of mankind will be assured once for all.

It is impossible to dwell longer on the conspicuous merit of these little volumes. Suffice it to say, they will be invaluable to all tourists and almost equally interesting to thousands of American men and women, especially thoughtful young men and women who are unable to travel abroad and who have neither the time nor the money to obtain through wide reading the immense treasury of facts found in those volumes. And, finally, they will prove delightful reading for that large commonwealth whose first thought is entertainment, for they are as charmingly fascinating from first to last as a work of fiction.

B. O. FLOWER.

THE HISTORY OF BROOK FARM.*

Mr. Arthur Sumner in an article published in the *New England Magazine* of May, 1894, under the title of "A Boy's Recollections of Brook Farm" writes, "It is often asked, Why has no one written a complete history of this queer little community, giving its bearings and results upon the social problems and describing the extent to which Fourierism was adopted?"

In answer to this and similar inquiries we can now say that the story of Brook Farm is finally written, and by one who was there for years and fully sympathized with the enterprise in its varied phases and conditions, which were known to the world by such names as "The Idyllic Life at West Roxbury," "The Community," "The Association," "The Phalanx," etc., and its members, likewise as "Transcendentalists," "Devotees," "Socialists," "Associationists," "Fourierists" and "Reformers." The public has long been waiting this announcement, and for the particulars of this unique social experiment in coöperative life, too long postponed.

Forty and more years ago, when Hawthorne wrote his "Blithedale Romance," into which he put only a faint shadow of this life, he said in his preface to the book, "The author cannot close his reference to this subject without expressing a most earnest wish that some one of the philosophic minds which took an interest in that enterprise might now give the world its history." Since that date this desire has been oft repeated. Every prominent member of the organization has been asked for the narrative. Its founder, Rev. George Ripley, was solicited for it again and again by his warm friend, Rev. Henry Channing — who was also a sincere friend of the movement — and received from him the amusing answer to his question, "When *will* you write the Brook Farm story?" "Whenever I arrive at years of indiscretion!" Repeated inquiries have been echoed by one and another to this day.

* "History of Brook Farm: Historical and Personal Memoirs," by Dr. John Thomas Codman. Cloth; 12mo; pp. 335; price $1.50. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

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The author of the Brook Farm memoirs was induced to commence the work by the remark of a lady of intelligence, herself a writer, that Brook Farm cropped out in all of our literature and yet no person could find out anything about it. The remark is nearly true, and most persons of this generation know of its social life only through the pages of "Blithedale," where it was used as a foil or background to Hawthorne's imaginative story. At the same time he utterly disclaimed using it as a record of its doings or a history of its life.

Though so many prominent persons associated with Brook Farm have been solicited for its history, by some curious negation it has not been written till now, and the public has been obliged to be satisfied with a few fragmentary sketches of it, issued at long intervals. There were to those most deeply interested in it, thoughts of tender memories evoked; ties of friendship and love; of young ambitions raised or blasted; of sweet dreams too deep, too pure to be exposed to vulgar gaze; hopes too high, too holy to be scorned and sneered at by unsympathizing outsiders, that sprang up by conjuring the magic name of Brook Farm. And so the days and years came and went without opening the home life with its active sympathies, high hopes, trials and loving hearts to the public eye, and its founders felt—and who shall say not truly?—that for them to write of it would be indiscreet.

It is years since the little band scattered. The founder, his wife and sister, with most of their mates, have passed into the silent land, and those who remain can now look back on the episode as part of our national history. The boys of Brook Farm are gray and bald, and it is no longer an indiscretion but a loving duty to publicly explain the earnest motives that led to the starting of this ideal life, to analyze the sentiments, to praise and admire the beneficent and profound æsthetical principles, the love of humanity and the coöperative feeling for all of the human race that inspired Mr. Ripley and his followers in the important work they undertook.

A stranger to the subject will find nothing in the title of the book to evoke any vivid imaginings, or much to awaken his curiosity, and it is the purport of this paper to stimulate such an one to look into its pages and find what they contain of amusement, philosophy, history, social science or matters of general interest; to show him what others have thought and expressed of the theory, the members and friends of the community and the *animus* of the undertaking. But it is left for the writer to deal more minutely with the incidents and history of the daily life and much of the *personnel* of the members with whom he was for years in daily contact, and to accomplish it under such limitations as non-consecutive time and the absence of the lost records made; but doubtless the interval which has passed since those youthful days and experiences has softened and idealized many incidents and events, of which process the reader gets the benefit.

That the author's manuscript fully succeeded in bringing out the

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details of the story is evidenced by the allusion to it of Rev. O. B. Frothingham who had occasion to peruse it in preparing the life of George Ripley, for he compliments the author by saying in that volume, that should he publish his recollections, all who are interested in the minute history of the undertaking would have "their curiosity abundantly gratified." We believe the compliment to be well deserved, for the years passed since then have added to his ability as a writer, and contributed many more important details to his memoirs.

To say that the story is interesting is to tell a half truth. It is more than that. It not only deals with a charmingly romantic episode, but with great principles, and suggests theories that cover the social problems that confront us on every side and stare us rudely in the face. It was a simple and quiet life at Brook Farm, almost purely idyllic, yet busy of purpose and with tremendous possibilities in it that stimulated its members to activity of body and brain. They were not vainly waiting for the millennium, but were at work trying to produce it. Freedom was in their minds, hope in their hearts, brotherhood in their lives. Viewed in such a light its founders were truly religious, and though the members did not pledge themselves to any creed, they owned a sanctity above all such expressions of divine loyalty.

That the writer of this may disabuse his readers of the thought of his too great sympathy or prejudice in favor of his subject, he wishes to present the opinions of well known persons, written at various times, on the *status* of the institution and its members.

Ralph Waldo Emerson described the motive of its formation in the *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1883, as follows: —

> It was a noble and generous movement in the projectors to try an experiment of better living. They had the feeling that our ways of living were too conventional and expensive, not allowing each to do what he had a talent for, and not permitting men to combine cultivation of mind and heart with a reasonable amount of daily labor. At the same time it was an attempt to lift others with themselves and to share the advantages they should attain with others now deprived of them.

Rev. O. B. Frothingham, whom all persons would probably be willing to take as a non-interested observer, writes: —

> For the brief space of seven years Brook Farm stood for all that was noblest and purest in the hope and imagination of men. . . . Brook Farm was simply the logical conclusion of the pulpit ministration, a final proof of the preacher's sincerity. — Life of George Ripley, page 109.

George William Curtis in the Easy Chair of *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1869, wrote an exceedingly interesting article covering the "Famous Intellectual Renaissance" of fifty years ago, "which is historically known by its nickname of Transcendentalism," from which is selected this paragraph referring to Brook Farm life: —

> But beneath all the glancing colors, the lights and shadows of the surface, it was a simple, honest, practical effort for wiser forms of life than those in which we find ourselves. . . . The friendships that were formed there were enduring. The devotion to noble endeavor, the sympathy with all that is most useful to men, the kind patience

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and constant charity that were fostered there, have no more been lost than grains dropped on the field. It is to the Transcendentalism, that seemed to so many good souls both wicked and absurd, that some of the best influences of American life to-day are due. The spirit that was concentrated at Brook Farm is diffused but not lost.

Of Curtis Rev. John W. Chadwick writes, in *Harper's Magazine* for February, 1893: —

In general, he was very loyal to that social dream. Some particulars were sufficiently amusing, but in its average purpose, spirit and result it was no laughing matter, and he could only think of it with pleasure for its idyllic beauty and gratitude for its influence on his life.

The testimony of the members themselves is both important and interesting, for whatever onlookers *thought*, they *knew* what the reality was, the actual contact with the individuals in their social life and toil.

There were no feeble spirits among the first members of Brook Farm. Their lives were earnest and their aims noble, and if they did not attain the life they hoped for, their natures enabled them to bear the hardships of life with fortitude. — Amelia Russell in *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1878.

I cannot but think that the brief and imperfect experiment, with the thought and discussion that grew out of it, had no small influence in teaching more impressively the relation of universal brotherhood and the ties that bind us to all; a deeper feeling of the rights and claims of others, and so in diffusing, enlarging, deepening and giving emphasis to the growing spirit of true democracy. — George P. Bradford in *Century Magazine*, May, 1892.

In reply to a statement made by Mr. O. B. Frothingham, May, 1892, that "The Brook Farm movement was a dream, a charming dream, a noble dream, still one of those evanescent yet not altogether evanescent visions of a better humanity that shall dawn upon this earth," Mr. John S. Dwight said: —

I do not think Brook Farm was wholly a dream, I think it was a good deal. It was a good deal to me. I think every one who was there will say so, though it is extremely hard to tell of it. The truth is every resident there had his own view of it. Every one saw the life with his own eyes and in his way. Naturally they formed groups, and one group was not like another. Certain ones were just as individual as in any common society. I felt and still think it was a good, wholesome life, that it was a practical education. I have no doubt I should not have been living to-day if it had not been for the life there, for what I did on the farm and among the trees, in handling the hay and even swinging the scythe. But those who have survived and have been active in their experiences have certainly most of them shown themselves persons of power and faculty, with as much sense on the average as ordinary men.

On the same occasion — from the report of the meeting in the *Christian Register* — Mr. James Sturgis of Boston said: —

I can testify to the effect on myself for the eight months I was there, that they were of more service to me than any eight months I have ever lived. I felt better and was better than I have ever been since. I look back with the greatest pleasure, and shall carry a red-letter feeling about it to the last of my days.

These public expressions of favor and sympathy by persons who had been actual workers in the school and on the farm could be duplicated but it is needless. A few selections from letters must close our list. In a personal letter to the writer of the memoirs, Major S. W.

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Saxton of the United States Treasury, Washington, D. C., writes as follows: —

It has always seemed to me that purity and virtue were two of the most striking characteristics of the Brook Farm life; without any preaching that was the natural atmosphere we imbibed. The prevailing influence was elevating to the mind, intellect and heart. There were sermons for us in the fields; there were love and confidence for us in the wash tubs; there was poetry for us in the pine woods and in the dormitory; there was mental and spiritual culture in the dining room and in our Sunday meetings; there were wit and humor in our waiting group, there was industry in the shop and kitchen, and there was music everywhere. I might say there were hard times, but we young people did not know very much about it then.

And Mr. Edwin F. Waters, so long known as a successful business man of Boston, thus wrote of the character of the Associationists, including himself among them: —

I never knew a similar number of persons in private life banded together in the same way, of equal individuality and force. And although the original objects of the Association were never accomplished exactly as proposed, yet I have always felt in my own case that I derived a lasting impulse and gain from the connection; and I consider the same to have been the case not only with the leaders who have acquired a world-wide fame, but with all of us modest workers.

The lady whose signature is attached to the following private letter, is so well known in her chosen work of benevolence — pursued ever since the war up to this date — that no one can doubt the earnestness and truth of her statements. She said: —

I cannot claim the honor of being a Brook Farmer but I am proud to call myself a friend. I recall with great pleasure the celebration of this anniversary [April 7th] after the noble band of "Farmers" had flitted to Boston. Those were days never to be forgotten. I then first learned the meaning of the words "Liberty," "Fraternity," "Equality." Then, I believe, were planted in my heart the seeds which have sprung up and are to-day bearing fruit in South Carolina to help teach the true meaning of liberty in mind, body and estate, to the emancipated slaves and the emancipated owners; to recognize the fact of universal brotherhood and not of a chosen few, and to prove that equality means equal rights for all before God. — Elizabeth H. Botume, Port Royal, S. C., April 3, 1877.

But to bring these memoranda to a later day and to round up what has been said of the book, a few personal lines from a lady writer must close the list. Mary Holland Lee, author of "Margaret Salisbury," has said: —

It is a history that every thinking mind must value. Those noble souls who formed the little colony had the just idea; they lived a generation or two ahead of the masses. The trend of humanity is in their direction!

PAUL PHILLIPS.

THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE.*

From whatever point of view we approach the problem wrapped up in the "supernaturalism" of the Bible, it far transcends in importance any other question that confronts the religious world to-day. In the widest

* "The Religion of the Future, or Outlines of Spiritual Philosophy," by Rev. Samuel Weil. 12mo; pp. 267; price, cloth $1.25; paper 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

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sense of the term, this includes the consideration of the nature and laws of inspiration or revelation. "Is man related to God and the universe solely by means of his five physical senses?" This is the first great inquiry. Materialists, most evolutionists and many scientists say, Yes. Christians and spiritualists say, No. The affirmative answer makes revelation impossible and utterly destroys the foundation of Christianity and of every one of the great historic religions. The negative answer does, however, furnish the indispensable foundation. There is this difference, though, between the two classes that give it: the Christian dogmatically assumes that God is the *immediate* source of revelation, while the spiritualist maintains, first, that *à priori* the source may be finite, and second, that it has been proved that in some cases, at least, the source has been finite.

Again, the "miracle" question belongs here and weighty conclusions follow in its train. It is the fashion of our day for advanced theologians to say that "miracles" do not and never did happen. Orthodox Science nods approval. To analyze this problem in the right way, it is necessary to distinguish between the facts alleged and the explanation of the facts. To say, "This is a miracle," implies, first, that the facts alleged are accepted as genuine and, second, that they are *explained* by placing them in the second of the two categories, natural phenomena, or those that occur under law, and miracles, or phenomena that do not occur under law. The critics mentioned are correct in denying the utility of the "miracle" category — nay, to acknowledge it is, within the realm of its conceded dominion, to exclude entirely the possibility of science — but does the casting out of this alternative justify them in emptying out the child with the bath? Does the inadequacy of one explanation annihilate the facts it was set up to explain? Surely not. Yet this is the capital mistake of many writers.

The higher criticism of which we hear so much, starts with the postulate that the Bible is a human production and, consequently, that it must be judged by the same canons that we apply to other books. We are led naturally, then, to that course of procedure which has proved so fruitful in many lines of biblical investigation, the interpretation of the text in the light of all reliable information, historical, philological and scientific, accessible at a given time. Unfortunately, however, — with a few possible exceptions — this common-sense course has not been followed in dealing with the "miracles." Relying upon events of this class as the only and sufficient proof of the divine authority of the miracle-worker, it became necessary for the Protestant Orthodox party to set up a statute of limitations which should confine "miracles" to a certain period in Christian history, otherwise the force of the argument would be completely lost by admitting Catholic "miracles" and modern spiritualistic phenomena into court. Theologians of this class, then, either deny all alleged facts of these kinds or else attribute whatever they concede to be genuine to the operation of the devil.

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A candid comparison of the "miracles" of the Bible with modern spiritualistic phenomena will convince any one — and this point our author illustrates — that the parallelism between the two demands their distribution amongst the same pigeon-holes. The attitude of science towards all such occurrences is reflected in the following passage quoted by Mr. Weil: —

Mr. Lecky, himself the apostle of modern enlightenment, declares quite naïvely in the opening chapter of his work ["History of Rationalism in Europe," Vol. I., p. 27] that: "There is certainly no change in the history of the last 300 years more striking or suggestive of more curious inquiries, than that which has taken place in the estimate of the miraculous. At present, nearly all educated men receive an account of a miracle taking place in their own day, with an absolute and even derisive incredulity which dispenses with all examination of the evidence."

Talk to a scientist of settling a question by *à priori* reasoning instead of by an "examination of the evidence" in any matter where evidence is procurable, and he will quickly bring you to book, but his own hatred of all phenomena once called supernatural precipitates him into the same fallacious proceeding without the slightest apparent suspicion upon his part that he is thereby proved to be a bigot.

One of the best features of Mr. Weil's book is that it supplies some of the materials needed for bridging the chasm between materialism and the prevailing type of evolution upon the one hand, and Protestant Christianity and spiritualism upon the other, and also between the two latter. The following extracts will show some of his views: —

Mankind is fast outgrowing the childhood of faith; it now wants knowledge, and the demand is amply supplied by glorious revelations, not based upon human authority as of old, not resting upon faith, but upon demonstrated facts.

The results already obtained constitute a new era for mankind; an era as much greater than that of the discoveries of Copernicus and Darwin, Newton and Spencer, as mind is greater than matter, and as, in the mental world, causes are greater than effects. Nothing less than "a new heaven" is disclosed to our amazing view. There is a spiritual evolution as well as a biological evolution. Copernicus discovered the physical heaven; spiritual research discovered the spiritual heaven; and this illustrious discovery will transfigure the earth. For human nature will be transformed, even as external nature has been transformed. The howling wilderness of human strife, selfishness and crime will be changed into a smiling landscape of human concord and fraternity; so that "the Brotherhood of Man" will no more be a mere sentimental phrase but an actual fact. Hitherto, nations, races and sects could not unite and coalesce, because the spiritual laws of altruism had not been adequately recognized. Even within a nation there were barriers erected between the various classes. As Mr. Bellamy points out, the rich are divided from the poor, the educated from the uneducated. But the system expounded by the spiritual philosophy admits of but *One* religion, being the science of man's spiritual nature, *One* coöperative fraternity and only One. Sectarianism is doomed. All social evils will spontaneously redress themselves. Slowly, gradually, but surely and irresistibly, the kingdom of God will be inaugurated on earth. Greater than the ideals of Plato and More, of Henry George and Edward Bellamy; greater than all utopias of the past, because based upon the eternal laws of man's spiritual nature, the system outlined in this book is superior to all religious and philosophical systems extant in the world. It is nothing less than *a universal solvent for the theoretical and practical problems of human life.* Unlike other systems, it is constructive, not destructive; positive, not negative; it is a grand synthesis, wherein all that is true in other systems is conserved, and finds its place as

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part of the great harmonious whole. It completes whatever was hitherto incomplete, makes clear whatever was vague and indistinct, puts knowledge in the place of faith, certitude in the place of belief; brings indubitable facts, and incontrovertible evidence accessible to all honest seekers after truth. It accredits itself in actually solving the riddle of human existence. It comes, to use a biblical saying, "Not to destroy, but to fulfil." Nay, it is no exaggeration to see in it the fulfilment of the prophecy of the ancient Seer: "When that which is perfect is come, that which is partial shall be done away." . . .

This book is addressed especially to those who are perplexed by doubts and misgivings concerning religion, and who are anxious to find out what is true and what must be rejected; to those who seek present evidence; who are not satisfied with the evidence of ancient times; to those who seek a basis for religion, not in faith, but in knowledge; knowledge verifiable by themselves. On the other hand, let those abstain from reading this book who are absolutely sure in their creed; who are not in the least troubled by any doubt or misgiving; who firmly believe their respective religious system and consider doubt a sin.

The "Religion of the Future" for which he claims such great things is Spiritualism, the bugbear of theological and scientific bigots. Is the epithet bigot — "a person who is obstinately and unreasonably wedded to a particular religious or other creed" (Century Dictionary) — too severe? No; if such men would only consent to open their eyes or if their constitutional limitations would only permit them to realize the incompleteness of their philosophy, posterity would not be fated, as it surely is to be, to marvel at the blindness of our present-day leaders. Leaders of humanity they are, and confessed to be, in some directions, but they are *traitors* notwithstanding — though for the sake of our common human nature I rejoice that I can say unwittingly, in many cases — to its highest and best interests in their attitude towards Spiritualism, if not otherwise. In view of the teachings of evolution and the influence of the narrow environments to which we are all victims, I do not wish to be too hard upon the bigots, however. I may live in a glass house myself — probably do — and after all, it is really a matter of degree with everybody. Even the thorough-going hypocrite, who carefully preserves his ism from the possible disintegrating effect of new ideas or who withholds what he knows to be true and sadly needed by those about him — even he is the victim of a *fear* for which an adequate cause can readily be found, and which it will take centuries to eliminate from the inheritance of our race.

Spiritualism, in the narrower sense of the word, is the knowledge of spirit-return and of the mode of life in the hereafter. . . . Spiritualism, in the wider sense, is the system of truth revealed by celestial beings to advanced spirits, who in turn communicate it to mankind through specially chosen mediums, that is, instruments prepared for transmitting to mortals the teachings of angels and archangels. A system of truth is thus obtained concerning the problems of human life, or, in other words, the laws of man's spiritual evolution.

We are in a true sense as much spirits now as we ever shall be, as much *in* eternity. Mr. Weil believes not alone in a planetary but an *interplanetary* brotherhood. From the vantage-ground of that conception of the universality of law in which the science of our day has done

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so much to educate us, he looks upon the old view of the atonement as mythical. He says:

The theological doctrine that teaches that we can escape from the evil consequences of our sins of commission, or omission, by recognizing another as having undertaken to bear the penalty for us, is certainly worse than the principle of inflexible justice. Boys and girls are gravely taught in orthodox Christian Sunday schools that they can wash away their sins in the blood of Jesus. Some one has drawn a contrast between a murderer who gets converted and becomes a Christian a few weeks or a few days before his execution, and consequently is "saved"; he goes to heaven; and his victim, the murdered man, who has not "taken religion," who is not a Christian, is consigned to hell.

While I am sure that Jesus never taught an atonement that so utterly contradicts common sense and every revelation of science, the contrast between the respective fates of the murderer and his victim as just pictured is no travesty upon the dominant Christianity, but, most unfortunately, the logical consequence and even the explicit teaching of many sectarian schools. It is refreshing to turn from such a nightmare to the real world of human existence. He interprets it thus:—

The spiritual science declares that the divine method of education [it is no longer with a "salvation" once for all that we have to deal!] is a uniform method, and that this method is a gradual progression in all departments of human attainments whatsoever. As no man, however high in mental and moral culture, may say, "Now I know all; now I am morally perfect," so no class or race of men can declare rationally to be in possession of perfect truth, of final truth, of a complete system of human revelation. The excarnated spirit is still a human being indeed, and no more infallible than it was when incarnated in the fleshly tabernacle. What it teaches mortals through a medium, must be subjected to the same tests, as we apply to teachers yet in the flesh. There can be no ready-made truth inserted from an outside source into the human brain, to be accepted without examination as absolute truth. Truths are not "obtained," they must be "acquired." Whatever is given by inspiration must be mentally digested and assimilated. In this process of mental digestion the nutritive portions are admitted into the system, and the innutritious and deleterious portions are ejected. No more can spiritual science adopt a fixed creed than physical science. The moment either of the two sciences does adopt a fixed creed, it commits suicide.

Reason is thus recognized for what it is in fact, the arbiter of truth. It is necessary, however, to remember that perception and the reasoning process have each their own province from which the operation of the other is excluded. As true perception through the eye cannot be contradicted by the other four physical senses, so the testimony of the higher psychical faculties or spiritual senses cannot rightfully be denied by *à priori* reasoning upon the basis of experience, however extensive it may be, through the physical senses. A disregard of what I have just said is the mother of a whole brood of fallacies which commonly serve as arguments against Spiritualism.

We have next to ask, What are the ethical implications of Spiritualism as wrought out by our author? Here are some pregnant passages.

Man reaps the reward for obedience to the spiritual laws of his being, just as he reaps the reward for obedience to the objective, physical laws of external nature; and any transgression of spiritual law is detrimental to his spiritual nature, just as the violation of physical law brings its penalty, or as transgression of the sanitary laws

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causes impaired health. Du Prel quotes the dictum that "the real test of any philosophical system is, in the last resort, the moral proposition flowing from it. The crucial test of any view of the world is ethics; because what is true is inseparable from what is good . . . and what is false is inseparable from evil. . . . Man in this system is the product of his own development; he builds his own character, his fate is in his own hands." . . .

True, absolute morality is imperatively enjoined only by the system here expounded. By absolute morality I, of course, mean doing right at any cost and under all circumstances, regardless of immediate unpleasant consequences, regardless of lower self-interests, or adverse social results. In short, I mean the realization of the highest spiritual ideal in conduct, no matter how much suffering may be involved to our lower self, or how it may injure our secular interests; uncompromising, absolute honesty in business; purity in thought and feeling, and universal philanthropy, that knows no barriers whatever, either national or religious, political or social; a philanthropy that is based upon the recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. This morality is imperatively enjoined by the laws of our being, the laws of human nature, of human development. To abstain from evil conduct is to obey the laws of our nature and secure spiritual health and moral growth; to do wrong either to self or to others, is to inflict self-injury, impair the health of our soul, disfigure or deform the spirit, which deformity becomes publicly manifested after death — after unmasking — and entails keen suffering in the hereafter. . . .

If now we ask Mr. Spencer: What are the ideal laws of human conduct? we shall find that from his standpoint of evolution, he recognizes no life beyond the grave, hence he himself flagrantly transgresses the logical law he lays down on the first page of his "Data of Ethics," to wit: "*If the part is conceived without any reference to the whole, it becomes itself a whole — an independent entity; and its relations to existence in general are misapprehended.*" I have put these words in italics to show how even a Herbert Spencer must necessarily misapprehend man's place in nature, if he conceives the part without any reference to the whole.

If du Prel is right in making the real test of a philosophical system "the moral proposition flowing from it," if Mr. Spencer is right in emphasizing the importance of conceiving the relation of the part to the whole as a prerequisite to the construction of an ethical system, and if it actually be true that mortals are not absolutely insulated from excarnated spirits, but live in real relations to them growing out of actions and reactions between individuals in the two realms of being, then it follows that the ethics of evolution must, to say the least, be reconstructed upon a larger scale and allow for some neglected factors before it can become fully adequate to the needs of a being who is not merely the inhabitant of a planet but of a cosmos.

Space will not permit me to dwell upon the author's views of the relation of spiritual law to the well-being of society, of the place of worship and aspiration in the New Dispensation where, indeed, they are not omitted but made more effective than in prevailing modes of thought, of the place of Jesus, of the effect of belief in spirit communion upon our ideas as to the source of Old Testament inspiration and how it solves some knotty questions, and of reincarnation or, as, following the teachings of Mrs. Cora L. V. Richmond, he prefers to call it, the philosophy of "successive embodiments." In this connection I can quote but a single passage.

In the new religion the main worship of God consists in the *service of man*. The duty of man is to cultivate the divine that is in his own nature, and to devote his life

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to the service of — humanity. The prophets in Israel made some attempts to direct the minds of their contemporaries to this true service or worship of God. Their aim, however, of substituting an ethical religion in the place of mere ceremonial piety, was frustrated by the popular love of priestly ceremonial. The essence of the new religion is the spiritual growth of man. . . . I repeat what I have said elsewhere: Modern Spiritualism is as much superior to current Christianity, as pristine Christianity was superior to the rabbinical Judaism of Christ's time.

Of the 267 pages comprising this book and divided into three parts — the facts, the source and the consequences — the second part is devoted to a consideration of the phenomena of modern Spiritualism. Does the author satisfy the reader of his work that spirit-communion is one of the grand facts with which man must reckon in seeking to understand his relation as a part of the great whole? This question I shall leave all who are interested to answer for themselves. My opinion is that but a very small percentage of spiritualists have ever been converted to their belief *solely* by studying the literature of the subject or by this means with the personal testimonies even of trusted friends added. The words of Dr. A. R. Wallace quoted by Mr. Weil are appropriate here: "The cardinal maxim of Spiritualism is, that every one must find out the truth for himself. It makes no claim to be received on hearsay evidence; but, on the other hand, it demands that it be not rejected without patient, honest and fearless inquiry." While personally I cannot say that I *know* that the spirit-hypothesis is true, I yet have had experiences that compel me to say that I *believe* that it is, and that keep me intensely interested in Spiritualism and, I hope, receptive to new light. I believe, therefore, that many spiritualists have become such as the outcome of personal observations, or, coming closer still, of first-hand experiences as mediums themselves, and of inferences based upon these, such that though now, in the smoke of battle, these products are scornfully denied verity and validity, they will nevertheless be deemed both scientific and conclusive in their main claim (spirit-communion) by the more enlightened students of psychical phenomena fifty or even fewer years hence. On the other hand, I greatly fear that many people have been converted to Spiritualism by fraudulent or insufficient evidence. Ninety-nine *genuine* manifestations do not warrant the inference that the one-hundredth must also be genuine. Eternal vigilance is here the price of truth.

The juxtaposition upon page 132 of Mr. Weil's book of statements about independent slate-writing and remarks about jugglery *versus* mediumistic phenomena gives point to what has just been said. I have met with some excellent testimony relative to this phenomenon. On the other hand, if the reader is curious to know what can be accomplished by trickery he will do well to consult the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, wherein is recorded how Dr. Richard Hodgson, to test the value of testimony in such cases, caused slate-writing known by him to be produced by conjuring to be observed by several persons. He found discrepancies between the statements of the

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observers relative to the same phenomena, and also between their records of the facts and what actually took place. To cap the climax, some spiritualists, who were called in among others, insisted that Mr. Davey, the conjurer, was a medium! I do not cite Dr. Hodgson's experience because it invalidates the testimony of any one in cases outside of this particular series, but I do assert that it proves that great care is necessary in such investigations in order to obtain reliable results.

While at present the canons of evidence in psychical research are so incomplete, and there are so many other obstacles to be overcome that psychical science has scarcely, if at all, emerged from infancy, nevertheless, I believe that we are to have a true science and that the time will come when the world will rely upon authority in this department, and be justified in doing so, just as it does now in physics and chemistry. Or, at the very least, if it proves unwise to accept too much upon authority in a realm where it is found advisable that each person should be subjected to the more vivid impression produced by the phenomena themselves, psychical science can still perform the important services, first, of inspiring faith in the reality of such phenomena and thus leading people to investigate, second, of supplying the principles which should guide the investigator, and third, of discovering the laws which in a given generation only a small percentage will have the requisite inclination, patience and capacity to study with the probability in their favor of obtaining valuable results.

The "Religion of the Future" is a valuable contribution to a great phase of thought which must more and more engross the attention of progressive minds. The author's claim that the spiritual philosophy is a "universal solvent for the theoretical and practical problems of human life," I believe to be well-grounded, though such a statement will necessarily impress many as extravagant. Any Christian — unless narrowly confined within the limitations of a creed — who will read this book will find much that is calculated to enable him to see that it may be true, as the author asserts, that Spiritualism comes "Not to destroy, but to fulfil."

T. E. ALLEN.

NO ENEMY (BUT HIMSELF).*

From the Putnams comes this handsome book bound in sea green and maroon, embossed, with twenty-eight full-page illustrations. The New York *Herald* in its issue of September 2, gives two columns to a review of "No Enemy," and declares it to be the strongest and most entertaining novel issued in America for a decade. We are not prepared to go quite so far as this, yet the book makes most interesting reading. Mr. Hubbard's style is marked by a crispness, brevity and what has been called "touch and go" that makes a yawn impossible. The wit is everywhere bubbling and spontaneous; there is no preaching, no ex-

* "No Enemy (but Himself)," by Elbert Hubbard. Cloth; pp. 283; price $1.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

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traneous matter. Nowhere is there a moral pointed; still there is a moral in it, but you must find it for yourself. Perhaps it lies in the vivid picture of an idle rich man turning into an idle tramp. Both are non-producers; both live on the labor of others, and thus they stand unconsciously, hand in hand, as the worst products of our civilization. The dry rot of idleness in a rich loafer is no more pardonable than in a dirty, impudent tramp, and the effect on the individual is the same in each case.

The story opens with a scene in the sumptuous bachelor apartments of John Hillard in New York. The tramp question is under discussion, and the host being pressed to express his views on the subject, says that there may be unfortunate men pushed out into vagabondage, but the kind of tramp he knows takes to the road because he likes it. This brings out words of disapproval, and one gentleman declares that a man like Hillard who has inherited money and merely lives on the interest without thought of adding to the world's wealth, is little better than a tramp himself. Hillard acknowledges that this is the case, and says that their positions are very similar except that the tramp's life is not so monotonous.

"If you lost your money, what would you do?" asks a member of the circle.

"I would still lead a life of pleasure. I would be a tramp."

This answer brings forth a shout of laughter and a remark to the effect that a man surrounded by the conditions that environ Mr. Hillard cannot sympathize with a homeless wanderer seeking work and finding it not. The conversation that follows gives the context. Mr. Hillard asks:—

"Did you read of how the New York *Herald* hired a man to make a month's trip as a tramp, and of how he wrote up the subject?"

"Yes, and they say the fellow liked the job so well that when he got back he just resigned his position on the paper and took to the road."

"Only partially right — I never had a position on the paper."

"Or as a tramp!"

"I tell you I did."

"Well, we will believe it as a favor."

"I ask no favors, but since you put me on the cross-examination, I will tell you: I was bluffed into working my way to St. Louis and back. It was all over a bottle of wine. I made the trip, stealing rides and begging my way, and got back in three weeks. The *Herald* paid me two hundred dollars for the articles I wrote. When I started away I expected to have a hard time of it, but there was so much fun in it that when I returned I just gave that two hundred dollars over to an orphan asylum and started off on a six months' cruise as a tramp."

The next chapter opens with a complete change of scene. We are shown a gloomy railway station at a dismal little town in Indiana. It is November and ten o'clock at night. The railroad agent is waiting impatiently for a freight train that is overdue when two tramps appear, a man and a boy. The rain dashes against the panes, the wind rattles in the casement and the light from the stove casts lurid gleams on the

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ceiling. The train that the agent is waiting for arrives and is boarded by the man and boy, who drop down into a car of sheep and ride many miles before being discovered.

Then follows an account of their wanderings; how they looked for work and begged and stole and beat their way, and invented methods of swindling the honest farmers on the route; of how they journeyed from central Illinois to New York City without expending a dollar either for railroad fare or meals. Here it transpires, what the reader has long before guessed, that "His Whiskers" is no other than John Hillard. Hillard seems to have conceived a strong attachment for this ragged waif he has found, and resolves on educating him and doing for him what he has never been able to do for himself — that is, make a man of him. In compliance with the boy's earnest wish, he is placed in a newspaper office where he is to be given an opportunity to learn the business.

After some months Hillard again disappears, leaving the boy in New York. Again we find him in the West — a tramp. This time it is under sad conditions. A coal train on which he had been stealing a ride is wrecked and he is badly injured. He is carried to a farm-house near by and undergoes very harsh treatment at the hands of the farmer who does not like the idea of having this Jonah about his premises. The women of the household side with the injured man and he is cared for; one of his legs is so badly crushed that it has to be amputated, but after six weeks he recovers sufficiently to be able to travel. He sends to New York for money and great is the surprise of these simple farmer folk to find that he is a rich man. He rewards them most liberally.

But while at this farmhouse, confined to his bed, a wonderful discovery is made by the man. It is this: A daughter thirteen years old has run away from them some months before dressed in boy's clothes. The description compares closely with the boy he has befriended — it is, in fact, "his boy." He thinks of the dangerous position this young, ignorant girl is in, and hastens back to New York, making plans as to what he will do. Arriving there he goes at once to the newspaper office where she was, only to find that she has not been there for several weeks. They give him some other startling news, however, and that is that the man who had charge of his father's estate has embezzled funds and absconded, taking with him the balance of Hillard's fortune.

This leaves our hero penniless, with one leg, looking for the only being in the world for whom he seems to have any affection — this "boy" he picked up on the prairies. Finally the girl is found in good hands and her benefactor proves also the benefactor of Hillard. Hillard borrows money of friends, then begs, then takes the girl out with him on begging trips among former friends. He teaches the girl music and she shows a rare talent in this direction and is encouraged by the young clergyman to whom we have been introduced in the first chapter. Two years go by and the girl blooms into a beautiful and accomplished young

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lady. But Hillard, alas, brought up in idleness and extravagance, is a beggar.

The end comes in tragic manner, but is worked over with rare skill and fidelity to the possible.

Scintillations from "No Enemy."

Love is the mintage of the soul — rich is he who possesses it.

A woman who has no curiosity is fit subject for an undertaker.

Old doctors work for cash — young ones (like authors) for glory.

We are always gay after work well done.

He shrouded all glee as in a winding sheet.

There is a morality that is immoral. A man may be moral and yet kill with the pin thrusts of persecution. Against this there is no law.

Silence is strength. Silence baffles, protects, protests. Silence unhouses hate, defeats malice, disarms wrong. Silence is tempered steel. Only the strong can use this weapon: few can draw the bow of Ulysses.

Give a woman some loving service to perform and she is happy.

He professed to love his enemies, but people who make this claim generally equalize matters by hating their friends.

The strongest impulse of the great soul is to love and be loved again.

Love is a form of self preservation — it is to keep our souls alive.

Not one millionth part of the sun's rays reach planets that maintain life — the rest of his beams die in cold and arid space with nothing to reflect back the heat and light. Nature fails. Jesus and Socrates failed. Columbus died in chains, grasping in his stiffened fingers the cross of Christ. Nature worked at the rusting chains to set him free, but death came first. Nature fails. We reach out thought after thought; our souls weave filament after filament — we send them swaying out into the darkness of the Unknown — a filament catches and is held fast — at last we are in communication with the Infinite. *Nature wins.*

FRANCIS MELVILLE.

GOSSIP ABOUT SOME NEW BOOKS OF VALUE.

FROM THE APPLETONS.

Among the valuable publications recently issued by D. Appleton & Co. are two more volumes of Professor Huxley's essays. As we have had occasion to remark at other times, the volumes of this series are of inestimable value to the general reader. They give an admirable digest of the results of modern scientific research, and in a bright, terse way make one acquainted with the drift of critical thought in the world of physical science. He does not confine himself to the field of evolutionary science; his range is very broad, and the reader will find Professor

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Huxley's versatility a source of constant delight, though perhaps he will at times be shocked by the daring of the writer when dealing with time-honored theories.

MAN'S PLACE IN NATURE.*

"Man's Place in Nature," which is Vol. VII. of the series, is a most valuable work, especially to those interested in evolution who want a clearer view of man's place in the world of physical life. The essays were primarily prepared as addresses to be delivered before a body of working men, and are, therefore, clear and easily comprehended by the general reader. It is true these lectures were prepared several years ago, but the fact that the rapid advance of scientific knowledge in regard to the ascent of life as taught by evolution has so far confirmed the views set forth that no material modification or extensive editing has been found necessary, speaks well for the author as a safe and careful scientist when dealing with subjects with which he is sufficiently acquainted to be competent to speak authoritatively. The subjects discussed in this volume are as follows: 1, The Natural History of the Manlike Apes; 2, The Relation of Man to the Lower Animals; 3, Some Fossil Remains of Man; 4, The Methods and Results of Ethnology; 5, The Aryan Question.

DISCOURSES BIOLOGICAL AND GEOLOGICAL.†

Vol. VIII. of this series consists of eleven lectures, prepared for the most part to be delivered before popular audiences, and, therefore, like the preceding work, is admirably adapted for the instruction and entertainment of the busy reader. The chapter which holds for us the greatest interest is entitled "A Piece of Chalk." It is, indeed, a fascinating story of nature's wonders, and will interest children almost as much as a fairy story, although it deals wholly with facts, and facts which are popularly supposed to be as dry as a problem in mathematics. Of the other papers in this charming volume the most interesting are on "The Problem of the Deep Sea" and "Some Results of the Expedition of the Challenger." These chapters also deal with "The Wonders of the Sea." Among the other subjects treated are "The Formation of Coal," "The Border Territory between the Animal and the Vegetable Kingdoms," "A Lobster, or the Study of Zoology," and "Palæontology and the Doctrine of Evolution." This series of essays which, when compiled, will consist of nine volumes, will give the public in a permanent form a contribution to scientific literature of immense value, because its contents deal with the latest aspects of scientific thought in a terse and graphic manner, and will do much toward popularizing the important truths which the patient research of this century has brought to light regarding nature and man.

* "Man's Place in Nature," by T. H. Huxley. Cloth; pp. 328; price $1.25. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

† "Discourses, Biological and Geological," by T. H. Huxley. Cloth, pp. 388; price $1.25. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

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THE MANXMAN.* Mr. Hall Caine's latest novel, "The Manxman," has achieved a signal success in England, being said to have proved more popular than "Marcella." And, indeed, this news is gratifying, inasmuch as Mr. Caine's novel, with all its faults, is a better book as well as a stronger story than Mrs. Ward's latest work. Many readers who have enjoyed "Marcella" will question this, therefore let us drop a word of explanation. Mrs. Ward's book is a specious plea for the perpetuation of that miserable conventional charity which is unquestionably the greatest barrier in the way of the people's obtaining justice. Her assault upon the Fabians, who represent real progress, is as unjust as it is unwomanly. She does not come out in an honest manner, but covertly prejudices the reader against them, and seeks to further strengthen the idea of charity as an ultimate, which is so pleasing to the Tory aristocracy of England and the millionnaire gamblers and monopolistic class in America.

"The Manxman" is a powerful story of human passion and the struggle of conscience against the sway of the flesh. It is not a pleasant story, not nearly so pleasant, when considered merely as a novel, as is "Marcella," but it is very powerful. The interest of the reader is absorbed from the first. It is a work of far more than ordinary strength. The climax reached in the closing chapter, while pleasing to the reader, is hardly what one would expect in real life. Indeed the novel is melodramatic rather than true. It is, nevertheless, a strong book. This story will doubtless prove immensely popular in this country, although it is doubtful whether many American critics will go so far as some on the other side, who have pronounced it the greatest novel of this generation.

ABANDONING AN ADOPTED FARM.† Kate Sanborn charmed thousands of readers who enjoy wholesome wit and humor, mingled with the philosophy of common sense, when she wrote her delightful little volume, "Adopting an Abandoned Farm." In her new book, "Abandoning an Adopted Farm," she has given her friends another treat. The dainty little work is brimful of fine humor, and it is safe to say that few who open it will be content until they have read the last word. It is a healthful volume, a real tonic to overworked brains, restful in its influence and pure in its atmosphere.

SOME GOOD THINGS FROM ROBERTS BROTHERS.

A MONK OF THE AVENTINE.‡ Ernst Eckstein is always sure to have a host of readers. His historical novels are scarcely less popular than those written by Georg Ebers, though Eckstein is more liable to introduce the improbable into his work than Ebers.

* "The Manxman, a Novel," by Hall Caine. Cloth; pp. 530; price $1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

† "Abandoning an Adopted Farm," by Kate Sanborn. Cloth, pp. 186. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

‡ "A Monk of the Aventine," by Ernst Eckstein. Translated by H. H. Johnson. Cloth; pp. 186; price $1. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

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But in spite of this his "Quintus Claudius," "Nero," and other historical romances dealing with Roman life have won for him a large circle of readers. In "A Monk of the Aventine," the author gives us a fascinating tale of papal Rome tn the Middle Ages. It is not nearly so pretentious as some of his earlier novels, and its sad ending will probably disappoint many readers, even though in the nature of the case, after reading the preface, one understands that the outcome will be sad. It purports to be a story written by a monk, who, fired with enthusiasm for Rome and humiliated at the spectacle of the holy city debased by the supremacy of greed, licentiousness and indolence, communicates his burning wish to a pupil, a beautiful daughter of a Colonna. She also becomes enthused with the idea, and incidentally falls in love with the monk. Her father seeks to force her to wed where her heart cannot go. She flies from home, succeeds in getting herself secreted in a monastery and later escapes to the home of a powerful relative, whom she wins to the new cause. An invading army menaces Rome; the monk plays an important part, but defeat ultimately overtakes the invader; the heroine stabs herself and the monk is imprisoned for life. Not very pleasant reading, you say? Ah, you are mistaken; Eckstein makes it most fascinating, and his description of Rome and of life there at the time of which he writes is very charming.

THE WORKS OF MOLIERE.*

Among the most important works which Roberts Brothers are bringing out this winter is the handsome library edition of the works of Molière. The translation is made by Katharine Wormeley Prescott, who, in an introductory note, sensibly observes that "The translation of a great writer can have but one purpose: to present him in such a manner that his reader in a language not his own shall obtain a correct general idea of his work. A student of Molière will go to the original." Two volumes have already been issued; the first contains a portrait of the great dramatist and a most sympathetic preface to the works of Molière, written by Balzac when the latter was trying his fortune as a publisher. Of Molière Balzac wrote:—

Louis XIV. said one day to Boileau:—

"Who is the first among the great men who have adorned my reign?"

"Molière, sire," was the reply.

Two centuries have confirmed the justice of that answer, which the ages still to come will ratify.

If it were possible to reform men by making them blush for their follies, their defects, their vices, what a perfect society this splendid legislator would have founded! He would have banished from the bosom of his nation falsehood, cant, deception, jealousy—sometimes insane, oftener cruel—the senile love of old men, hatred of humanity, coquetry, backbiting, self conceit, disproportioned marriages, base avarice, chicanery, corruption; the heedless frivolity of magistrates, the pettiness which makes men aspire to be greater than they are, the arrogant empiricism of doctors, and the laughable impostures of false piety. Such is a brief summary of the follies and vices which Molière attacked without ever ceasing to be humorous, natural and varied.

* "The Works of Molière," translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley. Vols. I. and II. Library binding; gilt top; pp. 332. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

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This preface is followed by a criticism by Sainte-Beuve, in which we are told:—

It is to modern times and to the Renaissance that we must look for the other men of whom we are in search: Shakespeare, Cervantes, Rabelais, Molière, with two or three others of unequal rank; and that is all! These may be characterized by resemblances. They all had diverse and thwarted destinies: they suffered, they struggled, they loved. Soldiers, physicians, comedians, captives, they found it hard to live; poverty, passions, vexing cares, impeded enterprises were their lot. But their genius surmounted all barriers; not feeling or not resenting the narrowness of the struggle, they kept their necks from the yoke, and gave free play to their muscles. These grand individuals seem to me to belong to the very genius of poetic humanity and to the ever living and perpetuated tradition of it — its undeniable personification.

Molière is the painter of human nature in itself, without regard for creed, dogma, formal constructions of any kind. In attacking the society of his time, he represented the life that is everywhere the life of the greatest number; and in chastising to the quick the manners and morals he found about him, he wrote for all time and for all mankind.

The plays in Vol. I. are "The Misanthrope" and "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme." In Vol. II. we have a second criticism by Sainte-Beuve in which the sympathetic critic further observes:—

Molière appears to me to represent nature with as thorough an acceptance and a more sovereign power than Montaigne, who analyzed it too closely. He seems to me to hold that office and to fulfil that idea as much as Shakespeare, the greatest (in the poetic order) of purely natural men. Shakespeare, as a dramatic writer, has, far more than Molière, the tragic and pathetic chords; which the latter often sought without being able to grasp them powerfully. But, if we add to Molière's talent his soul, we shall find him supplied with that pathetic inner being, that sad, grave bitterness that we see in Shakespeare. Writer of comedy as he was, his nature was serious rather than sportive. Sadness lay at his heart; also warmth of feeling. Laughing at humanity as he did, he loved humanity — which is perhaps an inconsistency, but one that is nobly natural. He has, too, his moments of extravagance and devotion. He seems to me, in all these traits and others, to be the complete expression of what I have called the morality of honest men. That morality was the sap within him; it caused him to create his "Tartuffe" through indignation, just as, in the world, it makes the play a fresh triumph at all recurring periods of hypocrisy.

This volume contains "Tartuffe" and "Les Précieuses Ridicules." The third volume will contain "Les Femmes Savantes" and "Le Malade Imaginaire."

Of the plays of Molière we shall probably have something to say at length a little later. We cordially recommend this inviting edition to all lovers of French comedy, and indeed to all who enjoy the dramatic masterpieces of literature.

A WHOLESOME BOOK FOR CHILDREN.*

"Jolly Good Times To-day" is the somewhat unconventional title of an excellent book for little girls, written by Mary P. Wells Smith. In this work the author strives to make children of to-day appreciate the joys of child life by depicting the royal good times enjoyed by a troop of little ones who live in a wholesome, childlike manner. The book is valuable because it is written in an interesting

* "Jolly Good Times To-day: A Book for Girls," by Mary P. Wells Smith. Cloth; pp. 282; price $1.25. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

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way and its influence will tend to make children realize the pleasures of everyday life. Fairy stories and tales of olden times make the young yearn for other joys and blind them to those of their own environment. This is a book for the little ones of from eight to twelve years of age.

THE LITTLE LADY OF THE HORSE.*

Another very delightful book for girls is entitled "The Little Lady of the Horse." It is unique, and while quite unlike the writings of Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, has the same fascinating quality which they possess and which is calculated to hold the interest of young and old. It pictures a little girl of ten with a beautiful child soul, unsullied and not spoiled by the unwholesome environment of city life. She has been reared in Southern California; later she is brought to a prim eastern town, and her stately grandmother is horrified at her lack of conventionality. Reverses, however, overtake the proud old lady, and complete ruin stares the household in the face. The child and her horse save the home. It is a charming story and quite out of the general run.

FROM FUNK & WAGNALLS.

COLONEL HINTON'S STORY OF JOHN BROWN AND HIS MEN.†

A very valuable addition to Funk & Wagnalls' Series of American Reformers has just appeared. It deals with the life of John Brown, and comes from the pen of a coworker with the man whose death, probably, more than any other single *ante bellum* deed, helped to make the perpetuation of slavery impossible. The attitude of the government previous to the tremendous moral uprising which blossomed in the election of Abraham Lincoln, was very similar to the action of our government during the past decade toward the industrial millions of the land whenever an issue has arisen between the great monopolistic class and the bread winners. This book is from the pen of a man who believes in *sacrifice*. In his prelude, Colonel Hinton says: —

> It is the cant of to-day to sneer at sacrifice. It is not "scientific" to act without a visible reward or hope of material success. Nevertheless sacrifices are made!

Yes, and sacrifices will continue to be made until the old order based on selfishness is supplanted by altruism or until our civilization becomes rotten to the core. The hope of humanity is embraced in the word *self-sacrifice*, which embrace that large love which sees nothing so alluring as justice, that splendid manifestation of the divine in man which makes all thought of self, or even of life, sink before the cause of the less fortunate and the miserable of earth. This book will be an inspiration to young men and women who peruse it, even though they may

* "The Little Lady of the Horse," by Evelyn Raymond. Illustrated; cloth; price $1.50. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

† "John Brown and His Men," by Col. Richard J. Hinton. Illustrated with twenty-two authentic portraits. Cloth, pp. 752; price $1.50. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

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have been taught to regard John Brown as a crazy fanatic whose deed merited an ignoble death. The great love the old man felt for the oppressed overmastered all thought of self and urged him on at a time when the conscience of government was anæsthetized, when the church was silent, and conventional society and public opinion were ranged on the side of human slavery.

In this work we have the truth about its hero and his followers. The author, himself their contemporary and fellow laborer, was in Kansas, correspondent of the *Boston Traveller* and the *Chicago Tribune*, at the time when John Brown there began his career as an active abolitionist. His being on the ground at the time, his account of "the roads they travelled to reach Harper's Ferry," is authentic, reliable and of the greatest interest, particularly his narrative of the struggle in Kansas, which he gives in detail and which is exceedingly graphic. For thirty years the author has been collecting the material for this 752-page book in which he contributes the best account of the birth, ancestry, training, national life, and death of John Brown, together with entirely fresh and exhaustive monographs on his men, all given in a spirit of earnest patriotism in which these ardent abolitionists are held as heroic exemplars of a true reformer's courage. In an appendix, occupying 150 pages of highly interesting and instructive matter, are included the principal and more important documents prepared by John Brown, or relating directly to the enterprises against American slavery in which he was actively engaged.

The volume contains considerable matter never before published, is full of fascinating reading, and is of great historic value. It is supplemented by a good index.

The twenty-two portraits which are given, are each authentic; the best is the frontispiece, furnishing a full-length picture of John Brown in a sitting posture, in top boots, and musket in hand, from a daguerreotype taken in Kansas, in 1856.

LEE & SHEPARD'S NEW BOOKS.

BEAUTIES OF MYTHOLOGY.* The magnificent new edition of "Bulfinch's Age of Fable, or the Beauties of Mythology" will be welcomed by the reading public. This new edition is greatly enlarged, and contains one hundred fifty illustrations. In his preface to the former edition of this work, which is included in the present volume, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale says:—

From the moment of its publication it met with a favorable reception, both from the teachers of young people and from young people themselves, and it has been in constant circulation and demand since that time.

The author's plan cannot be better stated than it is by the author himself.

"Without a knowledge of mythology, much of the elegant literature of our own language cannot be understood and appreciated. When Byron calls Rome 'the Niobe

* "Bulfinch's Mythology." Edition of 1894 revised and enlarged. Illustrated; pp. 568; price $2.50. Lee & Shepard, Boston.

of nations' or says of Venice, 'She looks like a sea Cybele fresh from ocean,' he calls up to the mind of one familiar with our subject, illustrations more vivid and striking than the pencil could furnish, but which are lost to the reader ignorant of mythology. Milton abounds in similar allusions. The citations from the poets, from Spenser to Longfellow, will show how general has been the practice of borrowing illustrations from mythology. The prose writers also avail themselves of the same source of elegant and suggestive illustration.

"Most of the classical legends are derived from Ovid and Virgil. They are not literally translated, for in the author's opinion poetry translated into literal prose is very unattractive reading. Neither are they in verse. An attempt has been made to tell the stories in prose, preserving so much of the poetry as resides in the thoughts and is separable from the language itself. The northern mythological stories as well as those on Oriental and Egyptian mythology seem necessary to complete the subject, though these topics are not usually presented in the same volume with the classical fables."

In this edition the scope of this work has been much enlarged by connecting the subject with sculpture and painting. Many fine illustrations and descriptions of the works of celebrated artists are given, as well as information as to their present location. Nearly one hundred pages have been added, together with an exhaustive index. The present edition will serve to explain all ordinary references to things classical in English literature.

THE LIBRARY CATALOGUE.* One of the most useful publications of the year for lovers of books who possess libraries will be found in Lee & Shepard's new "Library Catalogue." Owners of libraries will find in this volume just what they long have sought—a blank book of convenient size, ruled, with printed headings giving columns for title, shelf or mark, author, size, date, number of pages, publisher, etc., of each book in the library. At the end of the catalogue are a few pages ruled and printed for those who are so good-natured as to lend their books. If there were no other advantages, the cost and trouble of the catalogue would be fully compensated in the avoidance of the loss and destruction of many valuable works, of which every one complains as the ill-deserved but too common consequence of kindness in loaning books. By the arrangement of this catalogue any book desired can be found at a glance, and its use will be a great help to any book owner, be his library large or small.

TWO WAR STORIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE.† The war of 1812 is a field which has received comparatively slight attention from modern story writers. The romance of the Revolution and that of the Civil War has been more marked because the issues of those wars were more apparent. And yet, while the causes and results of the War of 1812 were not so manifest as those of the other wars, they were no less real. It was a time for the

* "The Library Catalogue." Price $1.50. Lee & Shepard, Boston.

† "The Search for Andrew Field: A Story of the War of 1812," by Everett T. Tomlinson. Illustrated; cloth; price $1.50. Lee & Shepard, Boston.

"Brother against Brother: or The Civil War on the Border," by Oliver Optic. Illustrated; price $1.50. Lee & Shepard, Boston.

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development of internal national qualities, and the confidence and self respect acquired were not the least of the results of the struggle.

The object of the author of this volume is to give the younger people an insight into the conditions of the times of 1812, a history of that war and a glimpse at the results, and this object is attained through the medium of this and the succeeding volumes in the War of 1812 Series of which "The Search for Andrew Field" is the first. It is well known that one of the causes of the war was "the right of search" claimed and carried out by Great Britain, and as a result of this Andrew Field was "pressed." The author is thoroughly familiar with the territory in which the scene is laid and many are the adventures, perils and difficulties met during the search. Andrew Field and his friends are manly American boys with a love for their country, and the story is full of life and spirit, manly in tone and free from "slang," conveying much historical information and many lessons of manliness and courage.

In response to many requests, Mr. Adams commences with "Brother against Brother," a new series of "The Blue and the Gray." The scenes, incidents and adventures of this new series are laid on the land as those of the previous series occurred on the water. The story opens in one of the border states which was the scene of many exciting episodes previous to and at the opening of the war, and the present volume relates largely to the conflict for supremacy between the hostile factions which, at first, seemed to be about equal in strength. In the families of two brothers who had removed to this state from the North a few years before, are two sons, just arrived at the military age, who are the heroes of the story, on the different sides of the question.

A BOOK FOR GIRLS.*

"Little Miss Faith" is the story of the holiday lives of two little girls, one being the guest of the other, at the latter's country home in Hazelwood, and is, as its second name indicates, the story of a summer week; showing how much of real pleasure can be gained by, and given to, a little city child, in seven days amid trees and flowers and birds. The historic holiday, the Seventeenth of June, comes into the week's history, also a birthday festival, and other enjoyments; and the story throughout is one of incident and pleasure, and, likewise, instruction; for in it the author has woven much of moral teaching, that cannot help but mould youthful minds, and make nobler women. It will also appeal to that large society interested in finding summer homes for children.

The author, who is well known through her previous literary work, most of which has appeared in the press of Boston and vicinity, has given us a charming book, and one that cannot fail to interest the children. The Hazlewood Stories will be complete in three volumes: although each volume will be in itself an independent story.

* "Little Miss Faith." Cloth. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

"A SAINT," translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley, from Paul Bourget's "Pastels of Men." Cloth; pp. 82; price $1. Published by Roberts Brothers, Boston, Mass.

"MOLIERE," translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley. Two volumes; cloth; pp. 226 each; price $1.50 each. Published by Roberts Brothers, Boston, Mass.

"ONE HUNDRED SONNETS," by Julia Noyes Stickney. Paper; pp. 100. Published by Ambrose & Co., Printers, Groveland, Mass.

"JOHN BROWN AND HIS MEN," by Richard J. Hinton. Cloth; pp. 752. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York.

"NATURE OF SPIRIT, AND MAN AS A SPIRITUAL BEING," by Rev. Chauncey Giles. Paper; pp. 206. Published by the New Church Board of Publication, New York.

"MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE," by Henry C. Whitney. Cloth; pp. 377. Published by John E. Potter & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

"THE MANXMAN, A NOVEL," by Hall Caine. Cloth; pp. 529; price $1.50. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

"ABANDONING AN ADOPTED FARM," by Kate Sanborn. Cloth; pp. 185. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

"BREAD FROM STONES," translated from the German. Cloth; pp. 135; price 25 cents. Published by A. J. Tafel, 1011 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

"A MONK OF THE AVENTINE," by Ernst Eckstein. Cloth; pp. 196; price $1. Published by Roberts Brothers, Boston, Mass.

"THE LITTLE LADY OF THE HORSE," by Evelyn Raymond. Cloth; pp. 276; price $1.50. Published by Roberts Brothers, Boston, Mass.

"JOLLY GOOD TIMES TO-DAY," by Mary P. Wells Smith. Cloth; pp. 281; price $1.25. Published by Roberts Brothers, Boston, Mass.

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THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, Cambridge, Mass.

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OFFICE OF THE COMMITTEE, Room 17, Pierce Building, Boston, Mass.

"The Union for Practical Progress knows no class, creed, nationality or sex. It welcomes as members ALL who desire to help redress this world and make it the happy home of a noble humanity."

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SOCIOLOGICAL BRANCH. Meets every Wednesday evening at 1127 Eleventh St., N. W. A. L. Diggs, secretary, 107 Eighth St., N. E.

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PROGRESS CLUB. Open discussions every Sunday at 4 P. M. in Baer's Hall, Fort Ave. and Light St. Daniel T. Drem, president; Mrs. Margaret Quarles, Secretary.

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Orange. UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. A. M. C. Hadock, secretary.

NEW YORK.

New York. UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Miss Ella Levin, secretary and treasurer, 10 E. Thirty-Third St. Executive Committee—James A. Herne, Hamlin Garland, William H. Tolman, Rev. Leighton Williams, William Scudamore.

OHIO.

Ashtabula. UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. W. D. Richards, president; Linn Colburn, secretary.

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Lima. ARENA CLUB. C. W. Taylor, president; Miss Nannie Baxter, secretary.

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Philadelphia. UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Meets the first Monday of every month at College Settlement, 617 St. Mary St. Miss K. B. Davis, president; Dr. M. V. Ball, treasurer, physician to Eastern Penitentiary; Miss Diana Hirschler, secretary, 2026 Camac St.

YOUNG WOMEN'S ARENA CLUB. Meets every Wednesday evening at 230 Pine St. Miss Diana Hirschler, president; Miss Kathryn Goldsmith, treasurer, 2426 Lombard St.

Somerton. UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Rev. A. H. Shaw, secretary.

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Culpeper. UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Mrs. Orra Langhorne, secretary.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS.

NEWS NOTES FROM THE FIELD.

The national secretary would be glad to hear from every town and city in the United States that would arrange for a lecture or a series of lectures on the work of the Union for Practical Progress. The National Union furnishes the lecturer free of charge, only asking that local entertainment be furnished him and that a collection be taken for the national treasury. It is especially desirable to hear immediately from the great Northwest, from Northern Missouri and Iowa, thence west and north to the Pacific; also from within three hundred miles of Boston and Baltimore respectively.

Most encouraging reports are coming in from every quarter on the opening of the fall work. In the majority of places the work rested during the summer months,

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but there is nothing of stagnation noticeable. The winter's work bids fair to be one of most marked growth. An increased confidence in the Union is manifested by the clergy, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor and the public generally.

The Philadelphia Union is strengthening its organization by establishing branches in all the suburbs of the city. Public confidence in the organization is greatly increased and the prospect is bright for the winter's work.

At the meeting of the Boston Union for Practical Progress, September 20, the Union reorganized its work, taking all the suburbs into its organization. Arrangements were perfected for Prof. Frank Parsons to conduct the economic classes until Christmas, Rev. Harry C. Vrooman, the manager of the educational department, having his time fully occupied by the fast growing educational work throughout the nation. The new secretary, W. H. S. Pittenger, is taking hold of affairs vigorously and making them go.

The ladies of East Milton, Mass., have organized a reading circle as a department of the local Union. They pledge to read, three hours a week, solid reading, at least one half of which is to be on the social question. They will make written synopses of their reading, the most important of which will be presented at the regular meeting of the Union. The fall work of this Union was opened September 21, by a lecture on "Municipal Reforms," by Dr. Duren J. H. Ward. Dr. Ward treated the subject in a masterly manner, his address being rich in statistical facts and the social philosophy involved in the situation. An exceedingly interesting discussion followed, being led by William Ordway Partridge, the famous sculptor, from Milton Hills.

Albany, N. Y., has organized a Union, Rev. W. M. Brundage having taken the initiative.

In the far West, the propaganda makes steady progress. San Francisco and its neighboring suburbs are doing good work. The Alameda Union is particularly aggressive and prosperous. One of the features found helpful there is the appointment of a press committee, whose duty is to keep the local papers posted on Union work, and a library committee to work for the introduction of books on sociological and economic topics in the free public library. In addition to discussing the national topics, they are planning for a system of practical local work for the fall and winter.

Denver, Col., did not relinquish its work during the summer months but kept up a working enthusiasm, throughout the season. Dr. A. M. Holmes, one of the leading workers of its Union, paid a pleasant visit to the national headquarters, in Boston, on his way to Europe, where he intends to make an extended tour, investigating the foreign hospitals. He reported that the Denver Union was establishing local Arena Clubs about the suburbs, auxiliary to the central body.

In many of the smaller centres of population, where sociological interest is low, progressive individuals, who are possessed with the ideals of the work of the Union for Practical Progress have kept the clergy informed, and secured many sermons on the monthly Union topics, even though they have not felt justified in forming a permanent union. Lemoore, Cal., is a place where work of this kind has been carried on very successfully, and in not a few districts we hear of this method of work, which indicates that the Union for Practical Progress is permeating far beyond the range of its mere organization. In other localities, as at Santa Barbara, Cal., Culpeper, Va., and Corpus Christi, Texas, a very small band of workers are advancing social thought.

The People's University. — The work of the People's University, which now takes the place of the lecture bureau, bids fair to be one of the strongest phases of the new movement. We are continually adding new men to our lecture list and are prepared to treat every phase of the social question.

In a large number of localities, we are prepared to give full courses of University Extension lectures, with a printed syllabus accompanying each and an examination at the close.

We also have a large variety of correspondence courses, which isolated students may take in their homes, being given full guidance and instruction in their work through the mails. These students can also take an examination on the close of their course, if they desire, and receive a certificate of the work covered.

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The department of social Bible study will be one to which special attention will be paid, and we most cordially invite all Christians, particularly members of Christian Endeavor and other young people's societies, to take up this line of study.

Papers. — *To-Day*, a leading liberal religious monthly, of Philadelphia, is enthusiastically supporting the Union and giving us a department every month.

The monthly symposium in *The Voice*, of New York, is a feature of great strength in our work.

The True Story Paper, a new publication, managed by Walter Vrooman, in Baltimore, is giving considerable space to the work of the Union and carrying a knowledge of united moral forces to a very large constituency.

Public Opinion continues to carry the good news of our Union gospel to its large constituency of readers.

The editor of the *American Farmer*, Atlanta, Ga., is manifesting great interest in the work of the Union, and *The Open Church*, of Salina, Kan., the organ of the Institutional Church of the United States, is paying considerable attention to the new movement.

The Brockton *Gazette*, the Bridgewater *Independent*, Whitman *Reporter*, East Bridgewater *Star*, West Bridgewater *Times*, Kingston *News*, the Braintree *Budget*, the *South Shore Press* and Duxbury *Breeze* are among the Massachusetts weekly papers that are enthusiastically pushing our work.

The above with the daily press of Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Denver, San Francisco and other places, which gives much space to the news of the work in their localities, make an educational force that has only just begun its action but which promises great things for the future.

Boston. — The second quarterly meeting of the delegates to the central conference of the Boston Union for Practical Progress, was held in Pilgrim Hall, Congregational House, September 25. In addition to the usual societies and reform bodies present, there was a large increase in the representation from the Christian Endeavor Societies. On the other hand the delegates of the Central Labor Union were absent.

By direction of the city executive board, Walter Vrooman, national organizer, presided. On taking the chair, he explained the aims and objects of the meeting, and gave a review of the progress in other parts of the country, particularly in Baltimore, from which city he had just come, on purpose to attend this meeting. In commenting on the action of the Central Labor Union, he said: —

The Central Labor Union withdrew its delegates from the Union for Practical Progress last week because one man said it was run by the A. P. A. Now, the manly and just method would have been to make inquiry and instruct their delegates to substantiate the statement made. But instead the Central Labor Union chose the unjust course of publicly condemning without a hearing the only body that has ever attempted to spread among all classes of society in Boston the very principles that the Central Labor Union claims to stand for.

Now, concerning the charge that the Union for Practical Progress is in any way connected with the A. P. A., I wish to say that it is a falsehood from first to last, and each man who made the statement in the Central Labor Union at their last meeting knew that he was telling a deliberate falsehood.

All the members of the executive committee of the Union for Practical Progress are uncompromisingly opposed to the methods of the A. P. A., and Charles J. Bonaparte, one of the leading Catholics of our country, is a member of our national advisory board, and is president of the Baltimore Union. Our organization is founded on the belief that Catholics, Protestants, Jews, free thinkers, all who believe in improved social conditions, should unite in defense of the public good.

The A. P. A. claims that it is striving to abolish the corruption in our large cities by preventing Roman Catholics from getting office. My friends, after every Catholic is voted out of office I will find you enough scoundrels, corruptionists and bribe-takers in any one of the Protestant denominations to take their places. It is said that Boss Croker is a Catholic and that Tammany Hall is upheld by the power of Rome. Now I have lived in both New York and Philadelphia, and I know that Boss Quay, Protestant, is as defiantly lawless in his methods as Boss Croker, Catholic, and that the thieving, conscienceless ring that controls Philadelphia in the name of Protestantism and Americanism, and whose senator introduced in the Senate the bill to close the World's Fair on Sundays, this ring steals 100 cents from the people of the Quaker City to every dollar gotten by Tammany Hall from New York.

This whole spirit of religious fanaticism is wrong. In Baltimore the oldest and most determined enemy of the ring is Charles J. Bonaparte, a Catholic, one of the leaders in civil service reform and the movement for purer politics in this country, while the man who is sent every campaign by the most corrupt ring into doubtful districts to help continue its criminal rule is a Methodist who goes into the churches and butters his political speeches with evangelical prayers.

Corrupt city rule has nothing to do with sectarian boundary lines. Instead of increasing the spirit of religious fanaticism as the A. P. A. is doing, the Union for Practical progress aims to destroy it by uniting Protestants, Catholics, Jews and atheists, all who believe in the brotherhood of man, in behalf of human welfare.

Both Jesuits and members of the A. P. A. are invited to join our movement for the common good. Our organization, as such, will advocate only those measures that are in harmony with the fundamental teaching of all religions, and at the World's Fair it was found that the principle all held in common was, love and helpfulness.

Dr. Duren J. H. Ward, formerly an instructor at Harvard University, made a strong plea for faith in human progress. He said the spirit of religious intolerance

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was fast disappearing and called attention to the broader basis on which the Union rests.

W. H. S. Pittenger, the new secretary of the Boston Union, told of the good work accomplished by the Union in Providence, where he formerly lived, and gave an outline of the proposed work in Boston.

Rev. H. C. Vrooman, who has charge of the educational department, explained the nature of the free lecture courses to be given in various parts of the city, and asked the clergy and Christian Endeavor societies to open their churches for economic classes, pledging that the Union would furnish University Extension lecturers free, wherever suitable classes were formed. He also explained the correspondence course, by means of which students can carry on a thorough study in all phases of social ethics and economics, at home, under the guidance of his department, and take examinations at the close of the course. He asked also that they organize neighborhood reading circles, in which the members pledge to read three hours a week, on matters relating to social progress.

The delegates unanimously endorsed the national topics for October, November and December, and requested the clergy and other moral leaders to present them to the people, on the second Sunday each month, or as near that day as possible. The subjects are as follows: October, "The Problem of the Unemployed"; November, "How Best to Combat Political Corruption"; December, "The Abolition of War."

Carl Vrooman of Harvard, the president of the Intercollegiate Debating Union, described the work of this organization in the lines of practical progress.

Chicago. — The wave of social reform and concerted moral effort has reached Chicago. On Sunday, September 23, the Civic Federation, an organization to elevate the morals of the city and cleanse it from its foul spots, held a large mass meeting at Central Music Hall which could not hold over one third of the people who came, and two overflow meetings were held. The meeting was remarkable for the great variety of social elements represented, from Thomas Morgan, the heroic labor leader and socialist, to men like Marshall Field and P. D. Armour, who can see in the city evils that need remedying. Catholic priests, Protestant ministers, college professors, merchants, lawyers, doctors, all came together to see what could be done for the civic life of Chicago.

The first executive work of this federation has been aimed at the gambling interest. Over one hundred twenty public gambling houses, employing three thousand men, and whose daily attendance averaged between twenty-five and thirty thousand men, have been closed. This is another indication of the wide-reaching demand for social righteousness, and is in line with the spirit of our movement.

The Providence Union. — The Union was organized in the city of Providence at a most opportune time. The July subject, "Parks and Playgrounds for Children," was enthusiastically undertaken and carried to a successful conclusion. The work elicited the hearty coöperation of all classes in the city, and as a result sufficient money was raised to equip and carry on three public playgrounds for the poor children of the city during the months of July and August. Competent teachers were employed, who directed the children in their play, and at the same time impressed upon their minds many useful lessons. There was an average attendance of nearly three hundred during the entire time that the grounds were open. The first effort has thus been successful but it is not the intention of the Union to permit the matter to rest here. A permanent committee will be appointed to keep the work in charge and strive to get the city authorities to conduct the work during the coming summer.

The successful management of this very popular movement not only drew the attention of the entire city to the Union for Practical Progress, but was also the means of greatly strengthening the Union itself. Men who were at first indisposed to identify themselves with the movement have since come into the Union and are now taking an active part in the work.

Almost weekly meetings were held during the summer, at which various practical questions were discussed, with a view to selecting the most feasible to be presented to the first meeting of the Delegate Board which occurred September 28. At this meeting delegates were present from churches, young people's societies, labor organizations and various reform bodies. Four practical questions were submitted to the convention by members of the Union. These were: —

(1) "RESOLVED, That we petition the city council to expedite its public works and to do the same itself, without letting out the work by contract, thus giving work to the *worthy unemployed* citizens of Providence."

(2) "RESOLVED, That we petition the city council to increase the number of small parks."

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(3) "RESOLVED, That we petition the general assembly to amend the laws so that members of representative bodies, such as aldermen and councilmen, be elected by proportional representation."

(4) "RESOLVED, That we petition for transfer tickets on the street railways."

These questions were ably presented and discussed, and referred to a committee of the Delegate Board for action.

A special committee was appointed by the Union to urge upon the city council the need of taking immediate steps for the relief of the unemployed. The petition was referred to a committee, which subsequently granted the Union a public hearing upon the question. The papers gave very fair reports of the meeting and much public sentiment was created. The result of this timely effort of the Union will doubtless be that the city of Providence will adopt some method of furnishing employment to its citizens in need of work and thus prevent them from feeling the sting of charity.

The educational feature of the Union's work is not to be overlooked. Active measures are to be taken to provide for lectures and monthly discussions upon the U. P. P. topics. In a word the prospects for a most successful campaign are very bright. W. H. PITTENGER, *Assistant Secretary.*

San Francisco. — An encouraging report of progress comes from the Union for Practical Progress at San Francisco, Cal. This Union has held meetings regularly every month in the summer with no break and with a constant increase of interest and growing attendance and membership. On October 1 the Union numbered about seventy-five members. Several clergymen have become interested in the work of the Union, and many other substantial citizens, although as usual the few zealous ones have had to carry it over its probationary period.

It is the San Francisco Union that first inaugurated the system of appointing a permanent committee to follow up the work begun each month. Thus in June a "Child Labor committee" was appointed which meets every week and reports at every monthly meeting. This committee has carried on a series of investigations in regard to the violation of the present laws on child labor and will have some specific recommendations to bring before the legislature when it meets. Following the August discussion on "Prison Reform" the committee on this subject made a careful investigation into the prison regulations of their own city. A large number of abuses being discovered, the committee drew up a long letter to the chief of police detailing the grievances and calling on him to aid in abolishing them. The newspapers printed the letter and at the September meeting the committee was able to report that some of the reforms asked for had been secured. The committee is still following up the matter. The subject of "The Unemployed" is of such vital interest that two public meetings were held in October to discuss it.

CONSTITUTION.

The following constitution, submitted in July, 1894, has been adopted by the Local Unions for Practical Progress throughout the country, without a dissenting vote. Accordingly, it is hereby proclaimed the

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS.

I. *Name.* — The name of this association shall be "THE UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS."

II. *Purpose.* — Its purpose is to unite all moral forces, agencies and persons for concerted, methodical and persistent endeavor in behalf of the public good, and especially for the abolition of unjust social conditions.

III. *Method.* — The Union aims to work, wherever possible, through existing organizations instead of forming new ones. It aims to secure the concerted action of the constructive elements of society once each month in opposition to some present-day evil or in the forwarding of some one positive reform measure, thus raising a definite moral issue every month and designating a common rallying ground for all friends of progress.

IV. *Membership.* — Three or more persons of good character, if not infringing on the field of any previously organized Union, may form themselves into a local Union, and may become attached to the general organization by sending an application to the National Executive Committee, accompanied by one dollar registration fee.

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V. *Organization.* — The national organization of the Union for Practical Progress shall consist of the National Advisory Board, the National Executive Committee and the General Council. Each of these bodies shall organize in its own way and elect and prescribe the duties of its own officers.

VI. *National Advisory Board.* — The National Advisory Board shall be composed of moral leaders of national reputation, twenty-five in number, who shall be named by the National Executive Committee. It shall choose the monthly topics for simultaneous discussion, and each member shall offer his best thought and advice to the National Executive Committee concerning all the affairs of the Union.

VII. *National Executive Committee.* — The National Executive Committee shall consist of seven members, four of whom must reside in a single city. The Executive Committee shall have charge of the business of the Union. Every action of this Committee, however, shall be subject to veto at any time by a majority of the General Council. The Committee as a whole and every member thereof shall be subject to recall at any time by a majority vote of the General Council; otherwise the Committee shall fill its own vacancies and choose its own successors.

VIII. *General Council.* — The General Council shall be the supreme power of the Union for Practical Progress. It shall consist of the two chief officers of every local union, and the two chief officers of each central conference or local body of delegates representing ten or more *bona fide* organizations. But in cities of more than fifty thousand inhabitants, where more than twenty organizations have delegates in the central body, there shall be four members each from the local union and the central conference.

IX. *Voting.* — A request signed by the head officers of one fourth of the local unions shall necessitate a vote of the General Council upon any subject whatever, including an amendment to this constitution; and a majority vote of the General Council shall be decisive until reversed by another vote. Any local union, by making application to the National Executive Committee and paying costs, shall be entitled to receive a list of all the local unions attached to the general body.

THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY.

THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS.

To facilitate speedy and systematic arrangements for a lecture course, please indicate under the months and evenings of the week, your first and second choice. The figure 1 under one or more months would indicate when the course might begin. Figure 2 would show the next choice and 3 the next. Your preference as to the evenings would be shown in the same way. Example: —

SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.
3	1	1	2		1	4	
	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THURS.	FRI.	SAT.	
	2	1	1		2	3.	

Next, go through each of the divisions of the following list and place the figure 1 against all lectures and entertainments which have your preference. Then go through once more, and place the figure 2 against those you would select in case your programme can not be filled out from those marked 1. When these reports come in, everything will be mapped out before the manager and he will know your wishes and to what extent they can be met. He will then report for your acceptance or rejection, a programme and terms. In case it is desired to keep this list for future reference, please copy the list so marked and send instead.

SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY.
	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THURS.	FRI.	SAT.	SUN.	

Do not fail to state in your note how many and what kind of entertainments you desire, and about what sum you can raise.

A course of five monthly lectures may be given at a minimum of about sixty dollars, for five consecutive nights for much less money; while others, including stereopticon, vary from thirty to seventy-five dollars a single lecture, but these last figures are the exception.

We have no inferior talent on our list, but our workers' prices, owing to their interest in the work, are but a trifle above their travelling expenses.

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1. We can give you *terms far more favorable than could otherwise be secured.* Appreciating and approving the purpose of the Union for Practical Progress, those whose names appear on the list have generally reduced their terms appreciably, thereby bringing within reach of those who desire, lecture courses of marked ability, and which cannot fail to give satisfaction.

2. By means of the People's University there is brought to your notice such an array and variety of talent to select from, and such an opportunity to fix upon convenient dates, as to save you a vast amount of trouble and correspondence and enable you to get more nearly what you want than would otherwise be possible.

3. While securing your own advantage you are at the same time assisting others to make use of like advantage. Because YOU have a lecture course, entertaining, instructive and elevating, it is made easier, not to say possible, for others to have one. The good you thus do extends far beyond your own community.

The necessity of prompt action is obvious. It is hoped that immediately on receipt of this, the attention of the Union for Practical Progress, the church, or other society with which you are associated, will be called to the plan set forth, and, if approved, a committee be appointed to arrange with the University for a lecture course.

That course can be as brief or extended as you may desire, and of suitable variety. We have in reserve talent adequate to all demands of large cities and colleges.

REV. H. C. VROOMAN,
Secretary People's University.

17 Pierce Building, Boston, Mass.

LECTURERS.

I. REV. JOHN B. KOEHNE.—Rev. S. W. McCorkle, moderator of Northwestern Pennsylvania Association of Congregational Churches, says: "The lecture on 'The New Aristocracy" is one of the most entertaining and thought-inspiring I ever heard. I have listened with delight to Beecher, and many others, and I do not hesitate to say that Mr. Koehne has the elements of great success. Among the younger men on the American platform he stands well to the front."

A. McLean, Acting President Bethany College, West Virginia: "Mr. Koehne's lecture gave great and universal satisfaction. The audience listened with increasing interest for two full hours. Professors and students regard this lecture as one of the best ever heard in Bethany."

A. B. Miller, LL.D., President Waynesburg College, Pennsylvania: "One of the most original and impressive men on the platform of to-day."

Howard M. Ticknor, the well known Boston dramatic critic: "Mr. Koehne's diction is to be marked for its variety of illustration, its picturesque imagery, its native force and directness, these qualities uniting in the production of individual and striking addresses."

Subjects: 1, The Genius of Christ; 2, Christ and Reform; 3, Christ and Civilization; 4, Strikes and Progress (Labor); 5, The New Aristocracy. These lectures form a series for five successive nights; they are also given singly.

II. HAMLIN GARLAND, author, poet, reformer. His lectures deal especially with economics and the cause of poverty. *Subjects:* 1, Poets and Reformers; 2, Living Issues; 3, Present-Day Reforms; 4, The Ethics of Modern Fiction.

III. PROF. D. S. HOLMAN, the celebrated microscopist of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science. His lectures on physical and biological science are illustrated by the tele-microscope, which projects upon a screen nearly all conceivable experiments. His wonderful instrument reveals the wonders of science on canvas, so that they can be understood by children. He explains all in a fascinating and scholarly manner. He can either give his feast in the wonderland of science, and present the objects of the new movement the same evening, or he can follow his scientific lecture by a social reform mass meeting the next night. *Subjects:* 1, Musical Tones made visible, and the Nature of Color; 2, Motion in Living Matter; 3, Motion in Not Living Matter; 4, The Circulation of the Blood; 5, Persistence of Vision; 6, The Constant Facial Angle in the Skulls of Animals.

IV. PROF. FRANK PARSONS, of the Boston Law School, author of "Our Country's Need," etc. *Subjects:* 1, Public Ownership of Monopolies; 2, What shall we do with the Slums?; 3, Poverty's Causes and its Cure; 4, The Liquor Traffic and the Gothenburg System; 5, The Initiative and Referendum; 6, Woman Suffrage; 7, Proportional Representation and Multiple Voting; 8, Sound Finance; 9, The Gospel of Industrial Redemption; 10, The Philosophy of Mutualism.

V. JOHN MITCHELL, a man of wide experience in the reform lecture work. All with stereopticon views. *Subjects:* 1, Heredity and Environment; 2, New Social Ideals; 3, Vampirism, or Man's Inhumanity to Man; 4, Woman's Rights and Privi-

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leges; 5, The Struggle for Bread and Shelter; 6, Poverty, its Cause and Cure; 7, Civic Duty; 8, The Aim and Method of the Union for Practical Progress; 9, The Nation's Shame (Temperance lecture); 10, The Commercial Phase (Temperance); 11, The Thermopylæ of Reform (Temperance).

VI. REV. ALEXANDER KENT, pastor of the People's Church, Washington, D. C., is a strong, logical speaker, and an earnest worker in the radical social reform movement. He is conversant with all phases of the social problem.

VII. W. D. MCCRACKAN, M. A., author, Boston. Especially familiar with everything that relates to the Swiss methods of government, such as the referendum, the initiative and proportional representation. *Subjects:* 1, The Referendum and Initiative; 2, Proportional Representation; 3, The Land Question (Single Tax, with stereopticon); 4, The Life of the Swiss Peasantry; 5, Three Romantic Heroes: William Tell, Arnold Von Winkelried and Francois Bonivard.

VIII. REV. FLAVIUS J. BROUST. He has but recently stepped upon the American platform, but is winning his way to popularity and esteem. He invariably speaks without notes. *Subjects:* 1, The Summit of the Nineteenth Century; 2, The Power of the People, etc.

IX. WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG. General Miles, of the United States Army, says: "I have heard all the great speakers of the United States, and I place William Jackson Armstrong among the foremost. *Subjects:* 1, The Russian Nihilist; 2, The Industrial Question.

X. MISS JOSEPHINE RAND, journalist and poet, is a good platform speaker. She presents the questions of the day in a masterly way. *Subjects:* 1, Wanted, Volunteers!—a Plea for Patriotism. A call to young men and women to enlist in the cause of human rights; helpful suggestions as to how to set to work; existing conditions and the vital phases of the social problem. 2, Signs of the Times, or Present Conditions. Living facts and general statements concerning the dangers of the present and future; monopoly and its strong hold; to what it all tends. 3, Nationalism, or Possible Conditions. Coöperation and its beneficent results; lessons drawn from the "trusts" and "combines"; a nation's prosperity dependent upon the prosperity of its individual members; each for all, and all for each. 4. Ethical Side of the Labor Question. 5, The Problem of the Unemployed. Dealing with the land question and the money question, as being the underlying factors in the problem of the unemployed; also with state management of industry; shows the needlessness of present appalling distress. 6, The relation of the Church to Social Problems. Every social problem at bottom a religious problem; Christians bound to heed Christ's teachings; the pulpit the place to plead for a just and humane system of living; Christ's denunciation of the oppressor of the poor; His command to break every yoke. 7, Union for Practical Progress. A plea for the new movement.

XI. MRS. HARRIETTE C. KEATINGE, M. D., Sci. D. *Subjects:* 1, Physiological and Psychological Heredity; 2, The Great Predisposing Causes of Crime, and Some of the Remedies; 3, The Ethics of Suffrage; 4, Womanhood; 5, Law, Justice and Morals; 6, Intemperance; 7, Health, and How to Keep It.

XII. REV. HARRY C. VROOMAN, a man with a thorough grasp of social and economic literature and of wide experience in reform work. He is pastor of the Congregational Church at East Milton, Mass., and general secretary of National Executive Committee of the Union for Practical Progress. *Some subjects:* 1, Social Ideals of Christianity; 2, The Evolution of the Social Problem; 3, Present-Day Phases of Reform; 4, Christian Socialism. Given in a series or singly.

XIII. DIANA HIRSCHLER, secretary Union for Practical Progress at Philadelphia, Penn. *Subjects:* 1, The Union for Practical Progress; 2, Social Problems.

XIV. REV. J. H. LARRY, pastor of Richmond Street Church, Providence, R. I., active in Christian sociology. *Subjects:* 1, The Mission of Machinery; 2, Money; 3, The Slavery of To-day. Illustrated Lectures: 1, From Nile to Nazareth; 2, Land of Scott.

XV. REV. EDWARD T. ROOT, pastor of Congregational Church, Baltimore. *Subjects:* 1, The Cause of Poverty; 2, Christian Citizenship; 3, Christian Socialism; 4, Union of Moral Forces; 5, Men in the Churches—a discussion of the causes for the small proportion of men in the churches.

XVI. PERCY M. REESE.—"There is but one opinion at Chautauqua concerning these lectures and that is that they have never been surpassed by any illustrated lectures given here. Mr. Reese possesses all the requisites of a successful lecturer—a voice of great clearness and carrying power, which was heard without difficulty in remotest corners of the new amphitheatre; a clear, incisive, deliberate style and an almost faultless enunciation, making it a pleasure to listen to him. He is a careful student of art history, a discriminating critic, a cultivated and interesting lecturer on art topics, and an enthusiast and an authority upon the whole subject of Roman and Italian history, ancient, mediæval and modern, to the investigation of which

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he has devoted years of study and travel."—*Editorial Chautauqua Assembly Herald, Chautauqua, N. Y., the official organ of the Chautauqua Assembly.*

Subjects: (With Stereopticon Views.) 1, Ancient Rome and the Cæsars. The great size and population of Imperial Rome. Views and maps of Ancient Rome. Matchless records left and late additions to them. 2, Early Christian Rome and the Catacombs. Everlasting attraction of Rome. We must go outside the walls and *underground*, for traces of the first three hundred years of Christianity in Rome. The Campagna and its wonderful, solemn beauty. The Appian Way and its tombs. Catacombs. First Christian arrivals in Rome. Paul's school and converts in light of Lanciani's late excavations. The earliest picture (caricature) of the Crucifixion. Comparison of earliest Christian with Pagan epitaphs. The Symbols. Nero and the persecutions. Marvellous growth. *Seven million graves, and six hundred miles of galleries.* Views of chapels, altars and slabs. The Sarcophagi and their sculptured scenes from Holy Writ. 3, Mediæval Rome and St. Peter's. 4. A Glimpse of Rome as She is To-day. 5, A Roman Mosaic. A few items of the world's debt to Rome in the fine arts. 6, Social Economics in Rome and in America (without Stereopticon Views). An address (without pictures) on the lessons furnished us, in the causes that led to the decline and fall of the all-powerful Roman Empire; showing that very many of the evils and problems which are perplexing nineteenth century civilization had their counterparts, and proceeded to their natural consequences in Imperial Rome; and that in study and profit by the warnings of history, lies a strong defence against the almost inexorable tendency of history to repeat itself.

THE NATIONAL TREASURER'S APPEAL FOR ONE DOLLAR PLEDGES.

The National Union for Practical Progress has accomplished an encouraging amount of substantial work during the past year, and it is steadily attracting to its ranks the reform elements in the different cities of the Union, and is growing both numerically and in its hold upon the interests of the people.

Among the measures which the Union for Practical Progress has agitated and brought before the people and the different legislatures, are the sweating system, measures for the relief and employment in public works of the unemployed, and parks and playgrounds for children.

We are glad to learn that the president of the Baltimore Union for Public Good, Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, who is also a member of the executive committee of the National Union for Practical Progress, has drafted a bill against the sweating evil, and with the aid of the Union and Arena Auxiliary Club the measure has become a law. The Union and Auxiliary were also instrumental in securing a law against child labor.

The agitation of the sweating system in Philadelphia has been carried on so vigorously by our Philadelphia Union under the splendid and effective direction of Miss Diana Hirschler, that we entertain strong hopes that a bill will pass at the next session. Many columns have been given to this work in the Philadelphia papers, and a strong public sentiment has been worked up.

From all parts of the land come calls for organizers and literature. The harvest is white, but the money required to put the earnest and willing workers into the vineyard is wanting. In view of what has been done, and keeping in mind the gravity of social and economic conditions to-day, we feel that this cause should appeal with especial pertinency to the minds of all who are concerned for the welfare of civilization and the progress of moral ideas. We feel it our duty to put the matter with considerable urgency before the reform and social and Christian elements in our community, because there are so many conditions in our social state that demand immediate remedial measures, and threaten grave social developments if too long neglected.

We do not ask anything unreasonable, but wish to submit a plan with which almost every reader of these lines can comply, and which will enable us to put lecturers and organizers in the field and supply various cities and towns with literature, so that within a year we shall have a union of the moral forces in every town and village from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We earnestly desire the reader to bear in mind that these lines are addressed

TO YOU.

The plan is as follows: We desire you to send in at once your pledge to pay one dollar to the National Educational Fund, to enable us to put organizers and lecturers in

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the field immediately and to keep them there, and to distribute literature giving directions for the formation of unions and outlining work. We earnestly urge *you* to fill out the following blank. You will not be called on for the money until *one thousand* pledges have been received. If you desire to pledge more than one dollar we believe it will be the best disbursement of money you will ever make, because we believe it will go farther toward hastening the New Day than if expended in any other way.

The Subscription Pledge.

I hereby subscribe one dollar to the Fund for the National Lectureship of the Union for Practical Progress, and will pay the same on demand when the National Treasurer shall have received one thousand similar subscriptions.

I also hereby agree to pay one dollar annually to the same subscription fund.

Signed .....

City .....

Street Number .....

County .....

State .....

When you have filled out your pledge and forwarded it to us, see if you cannot get some friend to follow your example.* If they know you have signed and forwarded your pledge, it will have a good influence on them. There is nothing like showing faith by works. The Arena office has opened this subscription by signing for twenty one-dollar pledges.

Now friends, in the name of the great republic, in the name of peace and a higher civilization, in the name of human brotherhood and for the cause of justice and progress, will you not help us to the extent of at least one dollar?

* We will send as many blanks as you desire.

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NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE DECEMBER ARENA

Will be the most brilliant number ever issued. Among other attractions it will contain papers by

Prof. MAX MÜLLER,

Count LEO TOLSTOI,

and other essayists of international reputation.

The Fate of Major Rodgers: A Buddhistic Mystery,

By HEINRICH HENSOLDT, Ph. D.

A valuable paper on finance will deal with

THE SILVER QUESTION.

It is written by the **President of the Oldest Bank in Missouri**, and in it "The Downfall of Certain Financial Fallacies," by David A. Wells, is examined at length.

A Symposium on the Abolition of War.

Another feature of the December ARENA will be powerful stories by

HAMLIN GARLAND

and WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

A charming sketch by **HENRY LATCHFORD** on

William Penn and Peter The Great,

which will be read with great interest by all lovers of peace.

Fine Portraits of MAX MÜLLER and OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

These are only a few of the attractive features which will be found in the December issue.

THE JANUARY ARENA

will contain a notable symposium on

The Infamous Age of Consent Laws.

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The Century of Sir Thomas More.

In this issue I begin a series of sketches dealing with the life and time of Sir Thomas More. It is my purpose to group together leading events and briefly outline some of the great figures of this wonderful age, and from a panoramic view of one of the most remarkable centuries of our history, to point out some historical parallels and significant facts, which will, I trust, be helpful at the present time. The next paper will deal with the Reformation and some of its leaders.

The Religion of Emerson.

During the past year we have given our readers a series of papers by the eminent Unitarian divines, M. J. and W. H. Savage, in which the religious thought emphasized in the poetry of Tennyson, Whittier, Browning, Whitman and Lowell has been discussed. In this issue Rev. W. H. Savage gives us a valuable paper on the religion of Emerson. These contributions are unique in character and have been very popular. As has been our rule, this paper is accompanied by a fine photogravure and autograph of the poet whose work is discussed.

The Arrest of Lois Waisbrooker.

In this issue we publish a protest from the pen of Mr. Chamberlain against the recent arrest of an aged woman, Mrs. Lois Waisbrooker, whose life has been given to the elevation of womankind and the furtherance of fundamental reforms. I have not seen the published letter which led to her arrest, but, while some phraseology in it may have come within the letter of the act known as the Comstock Law, the life, the teachings and the spirit which have animated all the noble work conducted by Mrs. Waisbrooker, appeal in trumpet tones against such infamous measures as permit the arrest of gray hairs whitened in the service of humanity, on account of the publication of some particular word or phrase, when the spirit of the article, the spirit of the life work of the prisoner has been in the line of the abolition of prostitution, *within* as well as without the marriage relation, and the establishment of a higher morality. From what I have learned of the case, this prosecution seems to bear the same stamp as the infamous arrest and prosecution some time since of the Rev. Caldwell, the editor of *Christian Life*, for the publication of an article on marital purity.

Such papers as the *Police Gazette* and other publications which are published for the purpose of making money by catering to a vicious taste, are untouched, but those who are laboring to establish a higher morality within the marriage relation and to secure for woman the right of her own body, are watched by the sentinels of conventionalism, and if a word is published which can be construed to come under the afore-mentioned law these reformers are sure to suffer. Below I publish a letter just received from the well-known author and noble-minded reformer, Mrs. Lucinda B. Chandler, touching this case of Mrs. Waisbrooker. Mrs. Chandler is thoroughly conversant with the case, and her words merit the careful attention of all our readers: —

MR. EDITOR: The arrest of Mrs. Lois Waisbrooker on the charge of sending obscene literature through the mails is a proceeding of monstrous injustice, not only, but an exhibition of the wretchedly inadequate ideas of the agency provided by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, in regard to the protection of society from vicious influences.

A woman of advanced years who has earnestly sought during a quarter of a century to help humanity to truer, cleaner, nobler views of the relations of sex, and the bearings of these relations upon the advancement of the race through parenthood, is placed in the same category, and subjected to the same legal interference as if she had been the keeper of a brothel or the disseminator of vile and degrading teachings.

The justice which has been devised by masculine lawmakers is correctly represented as blindfolded, and a moral perception which does not distinguish between the publication of a letter even containing plain statements for the purpose of conveying wholesome truth in the editorial reply, and a publication for the purpose of disseminating immoral ideas, is as blind as the ideal justice conceived by man.

If the infamous injustice to worthy persons in consequence of the operation of the Comstock Law cannot be averted by the repeal of the statute, some means should be devised to prevent such outrages.

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Usually such persons are least able to bear the expense entailed, and the cost in interruption of business and added strain upon vitality. Cannot the *common* sense of justice devise a better way to protect society from objectionable forms of expression than the operation of this law through the agents of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice?

LUCINDA B. CHANDLER.

The Defeat of Colonel Breckinridge.

The defeat of Colonel Breckinridge is a distinct victory for social purity. It was rendered possible by the indefatigable work of high-minded American women, who appreciated the immense importance of placing the seal of disapproval upon a man whose life had been a national disgrace, and who apparently realized so little the serious character of his offence against society. The small number of voters, however, which decided the contest against the once popular congressman affords an additional reason why women should have the right of franchise. There is no question but what the defeat of Colonel Breckinridge would have been overwhelming if the women of the Lexington district had been permitted to vote. Great progress along the lines of social purity will not be made until woman has the ballot. Then we may look for the abolition of the infamous age of consent laws and the double standard of morals.

Prof. Max Muller on the Significance of the World's Parliament of Religions.

A very important feature of THE ARENA for December will be a paper by Professor Max Müller on the real importance and significance of the World's Parliament of Religions. This paper will be the first of a series dealing with religious progress. The world is slowly but surely advancing toward a common ground upon which earnest and sincere men and women of all faiths, of all nationalities and of all lands, can unite in a religion of life or deeds, even while holding widely different opinions and beliefs. There can be no such thing as religious unity or real progress toward a thoroughly civilized state while intolerance prevails, or while belief is elevated above the religion of life, or of deeds. Subordinate belief and give persons the right of private judgment, while emphasizing the Golden Rule or a religion of life as essential for united work along various lines of progress, and the world will take a distinctive upward step and one which will ennoble manhood and ensure rapid progress along the highways which lead to true civilization.

Mr. Garland's Lectures for 1895.

In lieu of personal replies to the many inquiries from Mr. Garland's host of friends, we make the following announcement in regard to his eighth lecture season:—

Mr. Hamlin Garland will make his headquarters at Chicago during the coming year, and will give a limited number of lectures and readings from his own stories and poems. He has an entire course of lectures upon "The Development of American Literature," but prefers to speak upon one or all of the following topics: 1, "The Modern Novel"; 2, "The Drift of the Drama"; 3, "Impressionism in Art"; 4, "Living Authors." Suburban towns may, however, secure his lectures upon "American Literature."

In *The Modern Novel* Mr. Garland presents the very latest word upon the novel and the novelist's art. It is the artist dealing with his own craft. He speaks without manuscript and discusses the most vital fictionists of the present day, Tolstoi, Sudermann, Ibsen, Howells, Valdès. He discusses the local novel as exemplified in Miss Wilkins, Miss French, Mr. Cable, and many others with whom he has a personal acquaintance and concerning whose ideals he speaks with authority. He discusses veritism and romanticism, presenting matter impossible to secure elsewhere.

In *The Drift of the Drama* is presented a face-to-face study with the most advanced dramatic writing, as shown in Ibsen, Sudermann, Hauptman, Grundy, Pinero, Herne and Thomas. Mr. Garland

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has an intimate knowledge of the stage and the actor's art, and knows at first hand the aims and ideals of leading American playwrights.

Impressionism in Art. In this lecture is developed another phase of Mr. Garland's thought. Here again he has enjoyed close companionship with the most progressive men of the craft, and he presents the very latest word upon painting and sculpture. He takes up idealism, literalism and impressionism as shown in the French, English, Scandinavian and American groups, and discusses each method and its application to American art. No subject has so little available literature concerning it as impressionism, and Mr. Garland's lecture is, therefore, peculiarly valuable, because it sets forth in a lucid way, and in a layman's language, the most advanced theories of painting and sculpture. The lecturer hopes also to be able to carry with him a series of pictures illustrative of these various methods of painting. This will add great value to the lecture.

In *Living Authors* Mr. Garland will present, in a conversational way, his impressions of Mr. Howells, Mr. Cable, Miss Wilkins, Joaquin Miller, Edward Kemeys, John J. Enneking, and other representatives of fiction and painting. These lectures, amplified and illustrated by references, may be found in "Crumbling Idols."

For terms and dates, address care Stone & Kimball, Caxton Building, Chicago.

Freedom in Dress for Women.

The cause of freedom in dress for women is rapidly progressing. A league of fifty members was recently formed in Minneapolis, and clubs have also been organized in other places. A well known newspaper correspondent writes from Paris that the divided skirt is almost universally used for bicycling at the present time in that city, and so common has this style of dress become that ladies costumed for the wheel no longer attract the attention of the irrepressible small boy. In New Zealand a wedding recently took place at which the bride and all the bridesmaids wore the divided skirt or rational dress designed by Mrs. Alice Meredith Burn, whose picture and costume were a feature of the August ARENA.

Union for Practical Progress.

The readers of THE ARENA and the friends of progress everywhere will be delighted to know that the Union for Practical Progress is rapidly extending throughout the land. By reference to our Union department the News Notes will give some idea of the positive progress being made. The New York *Voice* and *To-day* of Philadelphia are doing good work by giving regular notices of the movement. *To-day* has added a permanent department, devoted especially to the Union work in Philadelphia. THE ARENA during the ensuing year will continue to give full reports from the field, and will also publish monthly symposiums and a full bibliography of the subject to be discussed each month. The subject for December will be "The Abolition of War"; that for January, "Charity Work, Organized and Unorganized." All earnest men and women throughout the land ought to be deeply interested in this great movement, which is broad, fraternal, progressive and permeated with the spirit of altruism.

The Author of the "Brotherhood of India."

In this issue we publish a criticism upon Doctor Hensoldt's papers, or rather some strictures upon the teaching of Coomra Sami. The author, for good and sufficient reasons, does not at the present time desire to reveal his identity. He is, however, known to the editor as a gentleman of excellent scholarship, educated for the bar, and naturally a very critical and scientific observer. For a number of years he has been a profound student of occultism, and during his researches he has been privileged as have few persons in witnessing many remarkable psychical phenomena and occult manifestations of an extraordinary character. He has, however, carried into his investigations the calm, critical, scientific spirit of the modern Western world;

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hence his criticisms and observations have special value.

Freeland University.

We have always endeavored to make THE ARENA suggestive and stimulating. Man is an imitative animal. Hold an ideal long before his mind and, chameleon-like, he becomes like the ideal; dominate his brain with a thought and it soon colors his life. This profound truth is little appreciated, else children would have far different environment. Parents, the church and state would at once become solicitous for the young, and the slums of our cities would soon cease to be; for the state would recognize the importance of abolishing them in order to rid society of the great hotbeds of crime and feeders of imbecility and pauperism.

In Mr. Garver's thoughtful paper we have a suggestive fore t of the author's idea of an ideal educational system where the state appreciates the importance of developing character and nurturing the mind in order to save free government and minify the expenses for courts, prisons and asylums. I do not see in the future education all Mr. Garver would have. For instance, I believe the school of the to-morrow of civilization will teach the import of the word *concord* where he emphasizes the meaning of the word *war*. But his paper is very suggestive; it is in the line of the new education.

Christianity as Proclaimed in Our Pulpits.

Special attention is called to the thoughtful paper by Byron A. Brooks on "Christianity as It Is Preached." Mr. Brooks is already well known to many of our readers as the author of that remarkable utopian romance, "Earth Revisited." Those who have not read this suggestive romance will find it most helpful. Students of psychical research also will enjoy its pages. It is a novel of more than ordinary merit.

Catherine Spence's Contribution on Effective Voting.

The World's Fair emphasized as never before the power of woman as thinker along the lines of social, economic, educational and scientific thought. Among the strongest speakers on political and economic questions at the Fair was Miss Catherine Spence of Australia. In this issue of THE ARENA we publish a notable essay by this remarkable woman on "Effective Voting," which is peculiarly timely, as it is in the line of the subjects being discussed this month by the Union for Practical Progress throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Imbecility and Crime.

I wish to call special attention to the paper by Martha Louise Clark on "The Relation of Imbecility to Crime." The writer has had years of experience as teacher of imbeciles and speaks authoritatively. It is a subject which calls for the thoughtful consideration of all earnest men and women.

The Bible and Modern Spiritualism.

In this issue we publish a paper written by two Bible scholars on "Modern Spiritualism." By this paper it will be seen that one gentleman finds out from the Bible that Spiritualism is from the Devil, while the other arrives at a diametrically opposite conclusion.

The late Doctor Hartt was one of the most sincere and rigid Christian men of the old school I have known. He informed me that he had witnessed so much of the phenomena of modern Spiritualism that he pitied the ignorance of men who made pretensions to learning, but who on hearsay or after a superficial investigation pronounced the phenomena the result of the snapping of toe joints and like absurd alleged explanations. Still, he was profoundly convinced that Spiritualism came wholly from the Evil One and was to be discouraged. I asked him if it were not a little singular, if he were correct, that the only thing which could convince a large number of our best and most sincere men and women in this materialistic and ultra-critical age of a life after death should be abandoned by the Spirit of Good to an alleged Evil One? He, however, could see no value in any hints or proofs of

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another life which the present age might give.

Doctor Peebles is a fine scholar; he has travelled extensively and written much; twice he has journeyed around the world; he has conversed with the sages of the East, and has attended *séances* in Paris at which such illustrious thinkers as Victor Hugo were present. He is a strong believer in the Christian religion and a scholar of signal ability. These papers will be read with special interest by Christians who are interested in psychical phenomena.

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Throat and Lungs.

Under the above head come such dangerous forms of illness as Bronchitis and Consumption. Coughs, Colds, Sore Throat and Weak Lungs are milder forms of the ailments of Throat and Lungs, but they come in the same category.

Scott's Emulsion

of Cod-liver Oil, with Hypophosphites, possesses soothing and curative properties not found in any other remedy for Throat and Lung complaints. It strengthens the system, supplies new lung tissue, soothes the throat, relieves inflammation and effects most remarkable cures. It has stood the test of twenty years and is more popular than ever, because it cures.

Trade-Mark.

Remember that Scott's Emulsion contains no harmful drugs. It is not a secret compound. It is sweet to the taste, easy on the most delicate stomach, and much more effective than plain Oil. The only genuine Scott's Emulsion bears our trade-mark on *salmon-colored wrapper*. Refuse substitutes!

Send for pamphlet on Scott's Emulsion. FREE.

SCOTT & BOWNE, N. Y. **All Druggists.** **50 cents and $1.**

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A Brief Prospectus for 1895.

I. SOCIAL PROGRESS.

In the social world the old idea of the right of classes to burden or tyrannize over the masses is giving place to the ideals of a new democracy which demands equal rights for all and special privileges for none, and which stands uncompromisingly for abolition of all special privileges and class legislation. During the ensuing year a marked feature of the ARENA will be a series of papers which will present the new political economy, which demands the immediate adoption of such republican safeguards as the Initiative, Referendum and Proportional Representation and the governmental control of natural monopolies, together with the recognition of the right of the whole people to the land. These subjects will be discussed by the clearest, ablest and most advanced thinkers in such a manner as to make the ARENA indispensable to all persons interested in social and economic problems.

II. THE NEW EDUCATION.

From the vantage ground of the present we are coming to appreciate the inadequate character of the education of the past. The ARENA for the ensuing year will contain a number of able papers by leading thinkers relating to the best method for character building in home and school, and the duties of parents, teachers and society, as they relate to the generation of to-morrow. Thoughtful parents and teachers will find this review indispensable during 1895.

III. THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY.

In his recent address, as President of the English Society for Psychical Research, Arthur Balfour, M. C., pointed out many reasons why progress in the psychical domain had been slow, and he also showed how exceedingly important it was for conscientious students to carefully investigate the phenomena on every hand. Mr. Balfour has also recently called for the appointment of a Royal Commission for the investigation of psychical phenomena. The ensuing year the ARENA will publish a series of papers from leading students of the new psychology, in which the progress made along the lines of modern critical investigation will be carefully pointed out, and a vast amount of important information will be given to the public, relating to hypnotism, telepathy, clairvoyance, psychometry and other psychical phenomena.

IV. THE NEW RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS.

Perhaps nowhere is there greater unrest than in the religious world at the present time; on almost every hand there is a growing liberalism, both within and without the church; we are beginning to understand that it is by its fruit that a tree is to be judged, and therefore creeds, dogma and professions are counting for less and less, while we are coming to realize that the truly religious man is he who doeth the will of the All-Good. This higher and truer conception of religion will also be ably presented during the ensuing year by some of the ablest thinkers of our age. This series opens in the December ARENA (which is the first issue of Volume Eleventh) with a brilliant contribution by Prof. Max Müller. All students of religious thought will find the ARENA for 1895 indispensable.

VI. METAPHYSICS AND OCCULTISM.

Metaphysics and occultism as expressed by the most eminent and thoughtful scholars among the transcendental thinkers will appear from month to month.

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VII. WOMEN IN THE ARENA.

During the past five years the ARENA has published papers from about one hundred leading thinkers among the women of America and Europe. During 1895 the review will contain a number of very important papers by the most thoughtful women of our time. Another feature will be a series of papers dealing with the lives and work of women who have led great reformative movements, and whose influence has been at once positive and enduring.

VIII. SOCIAL PURITY.

It is the intention of the editor of the ARENA to publish during the coming year, discussions on the Age of Consent Laws and various other phases of the social evil. These contributions will be of special interest to parents and indeed to all persons who are interested in the triumph of morality and the overthrow of the vicious double standard of morals.

IX. UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS.

The wonderful growth of the movement for a union of the moral forces for practical progress is one of the most encouraging signs of our time. This great movement it will be remembered is the outgrowth of a series of papers published in the ARENA. During the ensuing year the ARENA will contain able symposiums by scholarly thinkers and specialists on the union subject from month to month, with carefully prepared bibliographies. It will also publish a special department containing all the news of the movement, and will thus be indispensable to all members of the union who wish to keep in touch with the work. It will continue to afford all the assistance in its power to the movement.

X. BOOKS OF THE DAY.

It is the intention of the editor to make the department of Books of the Day absolutely necessary to all thoughtful men and women. Among the competent reviewers who write for this department are, Hamlin Garland, Walter Blackburn Harte, Prof. Orello Cone, Helen Campbell, W. D. McCrackan, Elbert Hubbard and the editor of the ARENA. The book reviews in the ARENA for 1895 will be the most important feature of this great review.

Biographical sketches, portraits of eminent thinkers and illustrations when the text requires their introduction, short stories, character sketches, prose etchings, etc., will be maintained.

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V. The News of the Union for Practical Progress. This department, like the Book Reviews, is in addition to the regular 144 pages which are published monthly and will contain all the news of the great union movement of the moral forces which has grown so rapidly during the past year that it now has organizations from the Atlantic to the Pacific and is a great factor in the present conflict for a higher civilization.

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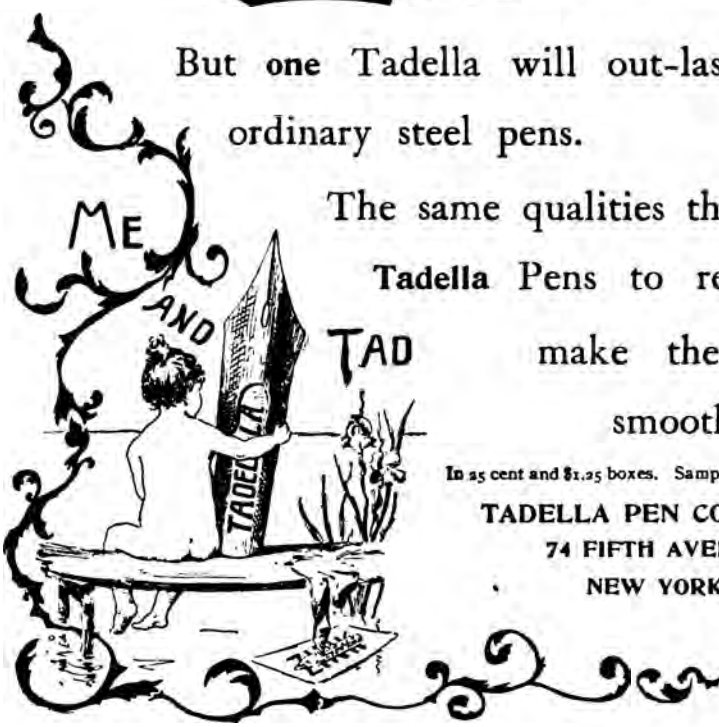

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