PROGRESSIVE MEN, WOMEN, and MOVEMENTS of the PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

BY

B. O. FLOWER


ILLUSTRATED
Dedication

To the old Arena Family—the contributors who gave the magazine an international standing among the world's great reviews of opinion, and to the many thousands of readers who from time to time have written me of the inspiration, moral and intellectual stimulation, new courage and faith, gained from its pages, this book is affectionately dedicated.
663545
Copyrighted, 1914
By B. O. Flower
CONTENTS

PART I.
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A BACKWARD GLANCE

CHAPTER I.
LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A HIGHER CIVILIZATION

The Last Hundred Years—Its Material Progress Greatest in History—A Survey of Some Notable Achievements—Prof. A. E. Dolbear on the Material Revolutions of the Nineteenth Century .................................................................................................................. 27

CHAPTER II.
THE FADING VISION AND THE HUMANISTIC AWAKENING

The Nineteenth Century a Tragic Period for Millions—How the High Vision Faded Before the March of Materialistic Commercialism— Typical Condition of the Poor in England—A Glance at the Great Ethical Leaders ...................................................................................................................................... 37

CHAPTER III.
MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY IN AMERICA PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR


CHAPTER IV.
THE RISE AND ONWARD MARCH OF PRIVILEGE AND CORPORATE WEALTH IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NEW WORLD

How Greed and Commercial Privilege Became a Menace to Free Government—Warnings by Representative
PART I.
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A BACKWARD GLANCE

CHAPTER I.
LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A HIGHER CIVILIZATION

The Last Hundred Years—Its Material Progress Greatest in History—A Survey of Some Notable Achievements—Prof. A. E. Dolbear on the Material Revolutions of the Nineteenth Century .............................................................. 27

CHAPTER II.
THE FADING VISION AND THE HUMANISTIC AWAKENING

The Nineteenth Century a Tragic Period for Millions—How the High Vision Faded Before the March of Materialistic Commercialism—Typical Condition of the Poor in England—A Glance at the Great Ethical Leaders .......................................................... 37

CHAPTER III.
MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY IN AMERICA PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR


CHAPTER IV.
THE RISE AND ONWARD MARCH OF PRIVILEGE AND CORPORATE WEALTH IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NEW WORLD

How Greed and Commercial Privilege Became a Menace to Free Government—Warnings by Representative
CONTENTS—Continued

Ownership—Other Workers Who Forwarded the Public Ownership and Democratic Campaign—Justice Walter Clark—Alfred Russel Wallace—Carl S. Vrooman—Senator Robert M. LaFollette ........................................ 110

CHAPTER XII.
WELSPRINGS OF DEATH

Crying Evils of Present-Day Society—The Slums of Boston—Rev. W. J. Swaffield—Social Purity Campaign—Helen Campbell, Author, Educator, and Worker—Society's Treatment of the Prisoners and the Insane—Important Work of Dr. George W. Galvin ..................... 120

CHAPTER XIII.
CENTERS OF CIVIC LIGHT AND LEADING

The Arena Clubs and Unions for Practical Progress—Important Work Carried Forward by These Organizations—The New Orleans Arena Club and Its Founder, Mrs. E. C. G. Ferguson—Benjamin Fay Mills and His Educational Work—Henry Frank and His Contribution to Liberal, Idealistic, and Social Progress . . . 128

CHAPTER XIV.
ACQUAINTING AMERICA WITH WORK IN FOREIGN EXPERIMENT STATIONS


CHAPTER XV.
WOMAN AND THE LARGER LIFE

Pioneer Workers—Women's Clubs—May Wright Sewall and the Federated Club Movement—Abby Morton Diaz, Fundamental Educator—Woman Suffrage—Mary A. Livermore—Early Suffrage Victories—Colorado's Influence on the Nation—Some Leading Suffrage
CONTENTS—Continued

CHAPTER VIII.
EDWARD BELLAMY AND THE NATIONALISTIC AND SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENT IN AMERICA


CHAPTER IX.
THE AGRARIAN UPRISING OF THE EARLY NINETIES


CHAPTER X.
WILLIAM J. BRYAN AND THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY

Stirring Scenes at the Convention That Nominated William J. Bryan—Some Striking Characters at the Convention—Hon. George Fred Williams—Mr. Bryan's Campaign—The Vice-Presidential Nomination—Tom Lawson on How Privilege Compassed the Defeat of Bryan—The Position of "The Arena" in the Conflict

CHAPTER XI.
POPULAR OWNERSHIP OF NATURAL MONOPOLIES

Popular Educational Work in Favor of Public Ownership of Natural Monopolies—Prof. Frank Parsons and His Great Work for Fundamental Democracy and Public
CONTENTS—Continued


CHAPTER XIX.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

Widespread Interest in the Subject—Victor Hugo's Criticism of the Attitude of Scientists—The Rise of Modern Spiritualism—Prof. Buchanan's Characterization of the Subject—Decline of Spiritualism as an Organic Force—Dr. J. M. Peebles, One of the Greatest Living Exponents—The English Society for Psychical Research and Some of Its Master Spirits—Some of the World's Greatest Thinkers Who Have Accepted the Spiritual Philosophy .............................................................. 183

CHAPTER XX.

THE RISE AND RAPID GROWTH OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE


CHAPTER XXI.

THE FOUNDER OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

Childhood of Mrs. Eddy—Home Influence—Marriage to George W. Glover and Death of the Husband—Years of Invalidism—Marriage to Dr. Patterson—Treatment by Dr. Quimby—Mutually Exclusive Differences Between Dr. Quimby's Theories and Christian Science—Her Remarkable Cure in 1866—"Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures"—The Rise of Christian Science—"Christian Science Journal"—Massachusetts Metaphysical College—Mrs. Eddy Makes Her Home in Concord, New Hampshire—Returns to Brookline—Passes from Life in Her Ninetieth Year .............................................................. 195
CHAPTER XXII.
NEW IDEALS IN POPULAR EDUCATION

Educational Advance of the Past Thirty Years—Prof. Joseph Rodes Buchanan’s Ideals of Full-Orbed Education—Wilson L. Gill’s Important Service in Democratizing Popular Education—Prof. S. S. Curry’s Fundamental Work for Character Building—Prof. John Ward Stimson, the Apostle of the Artist-Artisan Movement in the New World—William Thum and the Forward Step in Industrial Training—Notable Progress Made in Public School and Popular Industrial Training in Boston—Importance of Ethical Education and Necessity of Discouraging Dogmatic Theology in Popular Education .................................................. 208

CHAPTER XXIII.
LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR A GREAT NEW WORLD ART


PART IV.
SOME REPRESENTATIVE CONTRIBUTORS

CHAPTER XXIV.
EDWIN MARKHAM: POET OF DEMOCRACY

The Poet and His Childhood—In the University of Nature—Influence of Great Books Upon the Child’s Mind—The Struggle for an Education—Two Teachers Who Aided Him—His Academic Education—Educational Work in California—His Marriage—Removes to the East—His Principal Works ................................................. 225

CHAPTER XXV.
DR. ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE: SCIENTIST, SOCIAL REFORMER, AND PHILOSOPHER

Early Life—Four Years on the Amazon—Shipwrecked—Eight Years in the Malay Archipelago—Darwin and
CONTENTS—Continued


CHAPTER XXVI.
WILLIAM T. STEAD: COSMOPOLITAN JOURNALIST
A True Cosmopolitan—His Early Life and Struggles—Editorial Career—Full-Orbed Interest in Live Problems—Religious Views .................................................. 254

CHAPTER XXVII.
KATRINA TRASK: POET OF PEACE
One of the Most Fundamental Present-Day Poets—The Divorce Question—Fidelity to the High Ideals of Protestantism and Democracy—Some of Her Leading Works—"Night and Morning"—"The Little Town of Bethlehem"—"King Alfred's Jewel"—Her Great Peace Drama, "In the Vanguard" ........................................ 259

CHAPTER XXVIII.
FRANCES E. WILLARD AND PRESENT-DAY MORAL ADVANCE
Pioneer Social and Moral Advance—Personal Recollections of Miss Willard—Her Early Life—Breadth of Spirit—Noble Ambition—Vital Achievements ........................................ 269

CHAPTER XXIX.
SOME POPULAR CONTRIBUTORS

PART V.
THE DEFENCE OF VITAL FREEDOM
CHAPTER XXX.
THE BATTLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, AND FREE ASSEMBLY
Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Wendell Phillips on the Vital Importance of Fundamental Freedom—
CONTENTS—Continued


CHAPTER XXXI.

MEDICAL FREEDOM, OR THE STORY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PRIVILEGE AND THE PEOPLE IN THE HEALING ART

INTRODUCTION

Many of the most pleasant and inspiring hours of an editor's experience are those spent in the society of men and women prominent in the life of the times, by reason of their moral convictions, intellectual brilliancy, serious purpose, enthusiasm for humanity, or cleverness in contributing in a wholesome way to the joy of living. Most reminiscent literature is largely concerned with personal records, which, however pleasant and precious to the writer and his immediate friends, are of little interest or value to the general reading public. It has been my purpose in the following pages as far as possible to avoid this element of weakness in reminiscent literature and to occupy the space with the larger and more significant events of the time, and with sketches and word-pictures of men and women of prominence, together with personal recollections of interest, thus bringing the reader en rapport with a wonderful and distinctly germinal period that in a real way laid the foundations for greater things in the coming years.

This volume, though in part an historical record, lays no claim to being a history of the great movements and struggles described herein, many of which would require a book much larger than the present work to even properly treat in outline. Moreover, as the title indicates, the volume is especially concerned with those vital movements, ideals and theories with which "The Arena" and "The Twentieth Century Magazine" were intimately identified while under my editorial management; and being partly reminiscent, its more lengthy personal sketches relate chiefly to men and women of national and international influence among the contributors and staff writers with whom I came into intimate relation.

One of the chief purposes of the management of "The Arena" was to present great vital movements and theories of the hour, giving emphasis to the sides and views which,
because of their conflicting with entrenched privilege or the rising tide of reaction, or on account of their being too new and unconventional to be popular, were for prudential and financial reasons denied a free hearing in current periodical literature. “The Arena” aimed to give the ablest thought of the strongest living representatives of these newer and more unconventional theories; while through presenting the thought of leading fundamental democratic leaders, it strove to preserve important human rights and liberties won during the early struggle for freedom, but now being assailed in multitudinous direct and indirect ways by class interests and reaction.

Thus there were represented in its pages widely divergent thought, opinions, concepts, and mutually exclusive theories. Here, for example, were representatives of the new Nationalistic movement that had suddenly arisen after the publication of Edward Bellamy’s “Looking Backward,” and distinguished Socialistic leaders, such as Laurence Grönlund, who held that an ideal civilization demanded the extending of governmental power in every direction and bringing all the units under the definite control of the State, industrially as well as politically. On the other hand, there were men like Henry George, Thomas G. Shearman, and other leading representatives of the Single Tax, who held that the land, like the air and the water, being a common gift of the common Father to His common children, could not in justice be monopolized and held from use by part of those children, without working a fundamental injustice, but that it was the duty of the State, while taxing land values or appropriating unearned increment, to foster the largest possible freedom of the citizen that could be enjoyed without his infringing on the equal freedom of others; while a third group among our contributors went still farther—such men as Count Leo Tolstoi and Ernest H. Crosby, believing in the doctrine of non-resistance and making the Sermon on the Mount the ideal law of life and conduct.

In the field of religion and of speculative philosophy, we had men whose views were as far apart as the poles, as, for example, Rev. Minot J. Savage, who stood for lib-
eral Unitarianism and who frankly accepted the evolutionary theory; Rev. R. Heber Newton, one of the most scholarly and broad-visioned of the liberal Episcopalian clergymen; Canon W. H. Freemantle, representing the views of the Church of England; Rev. George C. Lorimer, one of the greatest pulpit orators and most convincing theologians of the Baptist church; Bishop J. L. Spalding, representing the Roman Catholic communion; Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, the most famous agnostic in America; and other men equally prominent as representatives of different religious and philosophical convictions in the Anglo-Saxon world, together with some of the most distinguished representatives of the various Oriental faiths, including Buddhism and Mohammedanism. Some of our contributors were frank materialists in their views, others as idealistic as either Emerson or Plato. Some seemed to distrust the people as much as did Alexander Hamilton, while many were as fundamental democrats as Thomas Jefferson.

With some of the great political, social, and economic movements I was and am in hearty accord. With some, while heartily sympathizing with their aim and purpose, I question the soundness of the premises and the practicability of the methods proposed. With others I found it impossible to sympathize, while recognizing the honesty, sincerity, and ability of their advocates.

So with ethical, philosophical, and religious thought. Personally, I have ever believed with my whole heart in the truth of the Bible declaration that "Where there is no vision, the people perish." I believe that spiritual idealism is the very oxygen of an enduring civilization; and yet I recognize as a great fundamental fact that those who honestly hold views diametrically opposed to this concept have the same right to present their conclusions before the bar of public reason as I have to express my convictions.

To me, few facts are more clearly taught by history than that progress, human happiness, and true civilization wait on intellectual freedom. Hence, believing that in the crucible of free discussion is found the gold of truth, I sought in "The Arena" to cultivate intellectual hospitality. It was the meeting place of fearless thinkers and men of moral
Introduction

convictions, of almost every shade of opinion. One of the most impressive lessons gained from my personal intercourse with intellectual and moral leaders was the importance of the injunction of the Nazarene, “Judge not.” It is a man’s duty bravely to stand for what he believes to be the truth, and to oppose what he conceives to be error; but in so doing it is all-important to accord to the representatives of the thought we are opposing the same honesty and sincerity we ask for ourselves. We must rise above prejudice and never lose sight of the fact that the noblest prophets and apostles of light and progress have almost invariably been the victims of the most cruel slander, misrepresentation, and calumny, even when escaping physical death at the hands of conventional society. From Socrates and the Nazarene to the present day, the man or woman who has dared to stand for new thought and unconventional theories has been the victim of popular prejudice and misrepresentation.

Take, for example, Thomas Paine, whose “Common Sense” and “The Crisis” so greatly helped our Revolutionary fathers to win the day for freedom in the darkest and most critical hour of the Revolution, and whose working creed was: “The world is my country; to do good is my religion.” He has been for over a century the victim of slander and unreasoning prejudice. Jefferson, Washington, and Lincoln were all alike at times the subjects of cruel misrepresentation and calumny, and the same is true to-day.

I remember on one occasion, several years ago, being in the presence of some very zealous members of a well known Christian fellowship. The names of Charles Darwin and Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace were mentioned, when one lady, who probably had never read a line by either of those great thinkers, exclaimed, “I don’t want to hear anything about those monkey-men”—a sentiment with which her companions seemed in full accord.

I know a man whose views are the extreme of heterodox on most religious, political, economic, and social subjects, and who is anathema to the unco’ good; and I know of one act of this man that splendidly illustrates his fine nature.
One day his attention was called to a poor woman who had been the victim of a series of the most cruel imaginable outrages at the hands of those who posed as "respectables." She had been driven by the force of tragic circumstances to what society would term the lowest depths. She had lost her faith in humankind and was sick and desperate. And this man, quietly, gently, and with infinite tenderness, befriended and slowly lifted her, restoring her faith in at least a part of humanity; and what was more, he brought back her own self-respect, helping her to return to her native land to make a new start in life. To-day she is a teacher and a moral and intellectual force in the battle for light and progress in Scandinavia. And yet I have had persons say to me, "I cannot see how you can allow any one holding such views to write for 'The Arena.'"

My relations with my contributors showed me how fine at heart, how noble in aim and purpose are most of those who dare to hold new and extreme views that so conflict with popular opinion or conservative thought as to make them the victims of prejudice and misrepresentation. Many of these thinkers, who hold opinions which I find it impossible to accept, are among the noblest men and women I have ever known—persons of vision and superb courage, whose passion for justice and love for the oppressed are unsurpassed by the most exalted prophets of by-gone ages. Some of these men are agnostics, some materialists, some extremists in certain directions that seem to render it impossible for them to exercise the judicial spirit, while in other respects they are fine, justice-loving, tender, and true.

The lesson I have learned is that it is not for me or you to judge our fellowman, but it is our duty to cultivate intellectual hospitality and to try and find the good in all other lives, all systems of thought, and theories of government. To me, one of the most beautiful things about Frances Willard was her untiring search for the good in those with whom she differed.

There are certain things that seem to me to be very fundamental to progress. I believe that civilization—true and enduring civilization—waits on love and liberty; love
in its broadest and highest significance, including justice, mercy, and the spirit of self-sacrifice, and fundamental liberty, not that false pretense of freedom that seeks self-interest or benefit by abridging the liberty of man, woman, or child, but the spirit of democratic liberty which fosters growth and happiness and, in the fine words of Theodore Schroeder, "does unto others as they would be done by." Love is the very soul of an expanding and upward-moving civilization, while liberty is the condition essential to full-orbed development, growth, and happiness. Hate and intolerance, being the antitheses of love and liberty, are fatal to progress and the larger life. From them issues no ray of light or germ of growth.

In this book I have tried to give a fair, though brief and sketchy outline, of some of the theories of government and of life which have risen to commanding proportions in our midst during the past quarter of a century, and to depict some of the men and women whom I have known intimately enough to warrant my describing them. I have not only sought to give the master ideals dominating the great movements and the import of constructive theories which seek to make the world a better and a happier place, but also to show why certain reactionary movements must be opposed in the interests of the larger life and the nobler development of man and nation. I have also briefly touched upon some of the inspiring and promising advance movements and theories in education, art, and literature which are making for progress, together with sketches of certain typical figures and reminiscences of some leading men and women in various walks who have contributed in a real way to brightening and enriching the life of the age.

The founders of "The Arena" had definite ideas and purposes somewhat different from those governing the periodical literature of the day. It was intended, first of all, to make this review appeal to the thought-moulders of the nation in all avenues of moral and intellectual activity.

Very clear and definite were the two great objects to be accomplished. First, the magazine was to give all-round discussions, by the ablest and most authoritative writers, on vital questions relating to the social, economic, religious,
Introduction

political, ethical, psychological, philosophical, educational, literary, dramatic, and artistic life of our age and people, giving special emphasis to the liberal or progressive ideals or the newer and more unconventional thought of the day. These general discussions were to be supplemented by carefully prepared papers by leading thinkers, on great historic passages, on the thought-moulders of other ages, with outlines of their messages, sketches of the great poets, philosophers, and teachers of the world, the work they accomplished, and the ideals that dominated their lives. These last papers, it was felt, would greatly broaden the general culture of the readers, giving popular interest to the magazine.

The second master aim was the uncovering of crying evils which were sapping the moral, mental, and physical vitality of the nation. This unmasking of deadly evils in the social body was to be accompanied by suggestive constructive measures for meeting and overcoming them.

It is with pleasure not untinged with sadness that Memory—that arch-magician at whose mystic call the past is reborn and visualized until it becomes as real as things of the vanishing present, summons the men and women whom I have known and loved in other days; thinkers and doers who have achieved so much in broadening, deepening, and enriching the common life of to-day and of all coming time—members of the aristocracy of mind and heart, as goodly a company as ever battled for human rights, justice, and that noble freedom that is the handmaid of progress and the servant of truth.

Many of these chosen ones have already crossed the Great Divide. Some have wearied of the conflict and are resting by the wayside, while others are valiantly carrying forward the battle of progress; and though the winter of age is on their brows, the warmth, life, and light of spring are in their hearts.

The memory of the hours passed with these men and women, and the exchange of views on vital issues in extended personal correspondence, is one of the most cherished possessions bequeathed by the hurrying years. They were for the most part children of the vision. They
were loyal defenders of what they conceived to be the truth, and they were dominated by as high ideals of justice, freedom, and fraternity as animated the apostles of progress who ushered in the democratic era. What mattered it that we differed on many points? Each felt the other to be honest and sincere. Each was working for what he believed would most surely usher in a happier, brighter, and juster day. Hence intellectual hospitality was ever the order of the day.

Prominent among these friends were Henry George and Prof. Frank Parsons, two fundamental democrats, as high-minded and unselfish apostles of social justice as have blessed the Republic; Gerald Massey and James G. Clark, England's and America's laureates of labor, and militant poets of democracy; Mary A. Livermore, one of the strongest and clearest-visioned exponents of woman's enfranchisement America has given to the world; Frances E. Willard, whose world-wide work for temperance and social purity was ever marked by a broad, sweet spirit that boldly contrasted with that of many temperance workers; Alfred Russel Wallace, co-discoverer with Darwin of the evolutionary theory, but a man of deeply religious temperament and one of the most advanced and sane workers for social and economic emancipation in the Anglo-Saxon world; Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, brilliant and bold iconoclast, who hated hypocrisy, sham, injustice, intellectual prostitution, and moral cowardice with all the intensity of a Savonarola or a Luther; Rev. Minot J. Savage, the most distinguished champion of evolution among the Unitarian divines; Gen. James B. Weaver, sometime Congressman and later the Presidential standard-bearer of the People's Party; Hamlin Garland, Single-Taxer and novelist of distinction; W. D. McCrackan, author of "The Rise of the Swiss Republic"; Helen Campbell, whose work for women and children and for the cause of social justice in general has earned for her the gratitude of all friends of progressive democracy and human rights; Ernest Crosby, Single-Taxer and disciple of Tolstoi, one of the finest, bravest, and sweetest spirits that the new moral renaissance has given to the world; James A. Herne, Single-Taxer, actor, and pioneer
among the distinctly American realistic dramatists; Rev. George C. Lorimer of Tremont Temple, a brilliant religious leader who splendidly represented the spiritual ideals of the Baptist church, before she became drugged with tainted gold; William T. Stead, one of the greatest Anglo-Saxon journalists and a man whose high ideals have ever been accompanied by moral courage; David Graham Phillips, one of the keenest analysts of human character, a brave, honest, fundamental democrat, who hated sham and abhorred the soulless commercialism and reactionary influences which are so gravely threatening the Republic; Edwin Markham, democracy’s greatest poet; Katrina Trask, a fundamental thinker whose lofty spiritual idealism permeates her novels, poems, and dramas; Mrs. E. C. G. Ferguson, one of the most cultured women of the South, who is at once a fundamental democratic thinker and an efficient worker for the higher ethics in individual and national life; William Salisbury, brave, high-minded, independent journalist, essayist, and novelist; Prof. John Ward Stimson, the author of the most fundamental and vital work on art that America has given to the world; Lilian Whiting, an idealist whose broad, wholesome optimism has inspired and encouraged thousands of lives; Bolton Hall, Single-Taxer and practical reformer, whose intellectual hospitality is only surpassed by his broad humanitarianism; Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina, a pioneer in advocacy of public ownership of national monopolies, and a jurist whose scholarship is matched by lofty moral convictions and the robust incorruptibility that is the crowning glory of jurist and statesman; Ryan Walker, one of the most virile and fearless cartoonists since Thomas Nast demonstrated that the cartoonist was one of the most formidable and effective powers against corruption, injustice, and superstition; J. J. Enneking, the foremost impressionistic artist of New England, a fundamental democrat and persistent worker for civic reform; William Ordway Partridge, the famous sculptor, poet, and essayist; Edward Everett Hale and Edward A. Horton, two of the great Unitarian divines, whose influence for good it would be difficult to overestimate; Prof. Joseph Rodes Buchanan,
author of "The New Education" and one of the great founders of the eclectic school of medicine; Louise Chandler Moulton, Will Allen Dromgoole, W. H. H. Murray, Joaquin Miller, Prof. N. S. Shaler, Elbert Hubbard, and George Wharton James.

These and scores of others—leaders in political, social, economic, and ethical advance, or prominent in the world of art, letters, and education—whom I have known more or less intimately during my editorial life, are with me tonight. Their thoughts and works have already made a deep impression on the public consciousness, and their ideals and influence are destined further to mould our civilization, and in far greater degree than superficial observers imagine.
The Last Hundred Years—Its Material Progress Greatest in History—A Survey of Some Notable Achievements—Prof. A. E. Dolbear on the Material Revolutions of the Nineteenth Century.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries—what shall be said of the record of the one and the promise of the other? We have advanced far enough into the new century to enable an intelligent retrospective vision of the last hundred years, and from its story can form a fair estimate of the value of its gifts to the human race and also note the promise which its achievements offer to the dawning age.

The last hundred years has been at once the subject of extravagant glorification and severe criticism. To many its record consists of a series of dazzling successes and undreamed-of triumphs. Some view its splendid achievements as of far less importance than the promise of greater things which its attainments have rendered possible and probable in our present century; while still others incline to regard it as a tragic period, dominated by a brutal spirit—a period during which civilization has turned her gaze
from the light on the heights, and, lost in self-absorption, has moved downward along the pathway trodden by Egypt, Persia, Greece, and Rome, when, clad in external glory, each civilization successively passed to its doom. This wide diversity of opinion, though due in part to the temperamental differences of the onlookers, is chiefly the result of the various points of view from which the age is regarded. In our survey we shall seek fairly to consider the views, mingled with their hopes and fears, of the different groups of thinkers; for there is enough of truth in the conclusions of each to call for serious attention.

The nineteenth century has gone down into history as the most luminous period in the ages, when considered from the standpoint of material progress. In inventions and discoveries of practical utility, all former ages put together cannot compare with it, while in the progress of physical science it is alone in its splendid pre-eminence.

Alfred Russel Wallace, in his admirable work entitled "The Wonderful Century," when estimating the achievements of the last hundred years, thus groups the great inventions and practical applications of science which "are perfectly new departures, and which have so rapidly developed as to have profoundly affected many of our habits, and even our thoughts and our language":

1. Railways, which have revolutionized land travel and the distribution of commodities.
2. Steam Navigation, which has done the same thing for ocean travel, and has besides led to the entire reconstruction of the navies of the world.
3. Electric Telegraphs, which have produced an even greater revolution in the communication of thought.
4. The Telephone, which transmits, or rather reproduces, the voice of the speaker at a distance.
5. Friction Matches, which have revolutionized the modes of obtaining fire.
6. Gas-lighting, which enormously improved outdoor and other illumination.
7. Electric-lighting, another advance now threatening to supersede gas.
8. Photography, an art which is to the external forms of Nature what printing is to thought.

9. The Phonograph, which preserves and reproduces sounds as photography preserves and reproduces forms.

10. The Roentgen Rays, which render many opaque objects transparent, and open up a new world to photography.

11. Spectrum Analysis, which so greatly extends our knowledge of the universe that by its assistance we are able to ascertain the relative heat and chemical constitution of the stars, and ascertain the existence, and measure the rate of motion, of stellar bodies which are entirely invisible.

12. The use of Anesthetics, rendering the most severe surgical operations painless.

13. The use of Antiseptics in surgical operations, which has still further extended the means of saving life.

But this summing up of inventions and discoveries that are "perfectly new departures," conveys little idea of the changes which during the last century have vitally affected civilization in all its ramifications, or of the improvements which in rapid succession have followed all the great inventions of the past and present, and which in many instances have increased manifold the practical value of the original discoveries. It matters not in which direction we turn in our comparison of the material conditions of society during the closing decades of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we see everywhere changes of the most astounding and revolutionary character.

Take, for example, man in his wider relations of life. Here, largely through the discovery and utilization of the subtler elements of nature, the improvements in locomotion and the transmission of thought have been such that all the world during the last hundred years has been bound together, and the remotest regions have been brought into the closest communication. The steam railway, ship, and boat, the electric car, the automobile, and the bicycle have so improved where they have not revolutionized the means of locomotion and transportation that it is difficult to conceive of the civilization of former centuries, when sails and horses were the swiftest couriers and carriers.
It was in 1825 that the first English railway was built. It ran between Stockton and Darlington. In 1830 the more important but short line between Liverpool and Manchester was opened. In our country the first engine that turned a wheel was on the property of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. The maiden trip was made in the spring of 1829, and the speed attained was six miles an hour. In 1833 the South Carolina Railway was opened. It was the longest iron road in the world, being 136 miles in extent. To-day there are over 355,000 miles of railroad in the world.

The history of the rise and development of steam navigation on rivers, lakes, and oceans is almost as remarkable and even more interesting than that of the railway; while the story of the street-car, a nineteenth century innovation, is marked by the same successive stages of development which we see the world over in the inventions and practical applications of important discoveries. From the slow-going horse-car to the swift electric coach, generating its own light and heat, we measure the march of progress. Then came the bicycle, ushering in the dawn of the good roads movement, followed by the automobiles run by petroleum, naphtha, steam, electricity, and compressed air, which are so rapidly supplanting the horse and giving a renewed impetus to the good roads movement that will prove an incalculable blessing to the whole people, but most of all to the agrarian population.

No chapter in the history of material progress is more essentially marvelous than that which deals with the discoveries and inventions of the nineteenth century relating to the transmission of sound. In 1837 Samuel Morse commenced his memorable experiments in telegraphy, but it was not until May 26, 1844, that the first message, "What hath God wrought?" was flashed from Washington to Baltimore, and an amazed and skeptical world was compelled to accept a discovery that most men had refused to concede as possible. To-day a net-work of wire, aggregating far more than one million miles, stretches over the civilized world. In 1866 Europe and America were bound
together by an ocean cable. At the present time all the
great continents and leading islands of the world are in
cable communication with the centers of civilization. In
1876 the telephone was patented—an invention that taxed
the credulity of a generation that had almost ceased to
wonder at the miracles of science which had blossomed
along the highway of the century. I well remember the
natural skepticism we all felt at the news of an invention
by which it was claimed that the human voice, with its
familiar tones and inflections, could be readily recognized
when speaking in an ordinary tone at a distance of from
fifteen to twenty miles; yet to-day messages are frequently
sent in this manner a distance of over a thousand miles,
while a large portion of the business daily transacted be­
tween the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Bal­
timore, and Washington is carried on by means of the
telephone. Wireless telegraphy, though in its infancy,
has already proved one of the great life-saving agencies
of modern times, and its progress has gone forward so
rapidly that messages have been sent from the Old World
to the New; while the wireless telephone promises to be­
come a practical factor in conveying sound.

Again, take light. The nineteenth century found man in
humble conditions striving to read and work by the dim
and uncertain light of the pine log, tallow dip, or lard
lamp, while the wealthy enjoyed candles, or lamps that
were little better than candles. Matches were unknown,
and the starting of a fire was no easy task. In 1830 the
improved Argand burner was brought within the reach of
the people, and in 1858 petroleum was discovered, bring­
ing with it a revolution in lighting. The first public use
of gas for outdoor purposes was in 1813, when the West­
minster Bridge was thus illumined, despite the frantic out­
cry of the timid, who expected to see all London wrapped
in a fierce conflagration. Many years elapsed, however,
before gas came into general use. Its introduction was
followed by the discovery and utilization of electricity for
illuminating purposes.

The story of scientific discovery and inventive progress
of the nineteenth century is a record of wonders, among
Progressive Men, Women, and Movements

which photography, color photography, the phonograph, the kinetoscope, and the telediagram—by which a picture sketched in Chicago is reproduced in New York, Boston, and St. Louis with the same speed and facility with which a telegram can be dispatched—and the wonderful Roentgen ray are only a few marvels that far surpass the old-time fairy tales which in by-gone ages were woven from the rich imagination of the poet’s brain.

Turning from the consideration of life in its larger relations to the narrower view as seen in the homes of the people and the shops of the nation, we behold present the same revolutionary changes. From the sewing machine down to the Reece invention for working button-holes, by which one girl is able to make five thousand button-holes a day, we find invention after invention aiding the housewife and the manufacturer and enabling work to be performed with a degree of ease and dispatch that would have been inconceivable to our fathers. Everywhere there has been a steady march of improvement. Thus, for example, the open fire and brick oven of the eighteenth century gave way to the stove, and it in turn to the improved range, which already appears cumbersome and antiquated when compared with the still more marvelous electric stoves, with clock attachments, by which the housewife can place her entire dinner on the stove, setting the clocks so that the heat will be generated at the proper time, whether it be three hours for a roast or three minutes for eggs, after which she can repair to her room, knowing that the dinner will be cooked to a turn at the appointed hour. With the cheapening of electricity, so that its general introduction into urban homes will be practical, these stoves, which have already been thoroughly tested, will doubtless as rapidly supplant the present range as did the stove supplant the brick oven in former generations. And should one desire to know how the dish-washing of our new century in great co-operative kitchens will probably ere long be performed, he has only to go to some hotel kitchen, like that of the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, and see how quickly and well immense crates or racks of dishes are washed and dried.
From the urban home let us turn to the farms of the land. Here again we are met by changes almost as radical and revolutionary as elsewhere. Take, for example, the great invention of Cyrus McCormick in 1851—the harvesting machines. This, as has well been observed, marked "the substitution of mechanical for muscular power in agriculture"; and the labor-saving and comfort-giving machines that have followed the advent of the mower and reaper are only equaled by the numberless improvements that have been made in these inventions. In the old times the sickle, the scythe, and the cradle were man's only means of harvesting his grain; while the flail and the fan were laboriously worked to liberate the grain from the stock and separate the wheat from the chaff. With the harvesting machine came a revolution the labor-saving character of which was enormously increased when the self-binder was invented. But it remained for the closing decades of the nineteenth century to witness a still greater advance step in the practical introduction of the combined mower, reaper, and thresher, which is now being extensively used in the great wheat-fields of the West, and by the employment of which two men can easily cut, thresh, and sack from ten to twelve acres of wheat in a single day.

The great mills, factories, and foundries, with their multitudinous devices and arrangements for the utilization of energy and the saving of labor, tell the same story of the triumph of man's skill and ingenuity in the laboratory of nature and the realm of invention; but space forbids any extended notice in this field of activity. I will merely mention one invention of superlative importance and far-reaching beneficence, which has already done much to make possible the greatest achievements in the manufacturing world. I refer to the dynamo-electric machine, which Mr. Charles Duell, one time United States Commissioner of Patents, characterized as "the greatest achievement of the century in invention." "The dynamo," observed this authority, "provides a cheap and efficient means of converting mechanical energy into electrical energy, so that laboratory experiments are turned into commercial successes. The dynamo has rendered possible the
utilization of almost incalculable amounts of waste energy and its transmission to long distances, thereby adding untold sums to the world’s wealth. As a natural sequence, we see Niagara’s vast forces converted into electric energy, furnishing power, light, and heat at reduced cost miles from their point of generation. Other waste water-powers are being utilized, and the forces of the tides will yet be compelled to produce electrical energy. The dynamo made electric lighting a commercial success, and every one of the millions of arc and incandescent lamps, turning night into day, illumines the glory of the dynamo itself. Its invention was naturally followed by that of the electric motor, for the latter is the converse of the former. The dynamo, therefore, solved the problem of rapid transit by means of electricity. The benefits flowing from that are also incalculable, and he who runs may read them. It enhances the value of suburban property, provides homes of comfort and health for those of moderate means, and affords added facilities for cheap, convenient, and rapid communication between distant urban points and between rural communities.”

To realize how revolutionary have been the changes wrought by discoveries and inventions during the nineteenth century, one has only to call to mind the following concise summary of innovations that have given us a changed world, as given a short time before his death by Prof. A. E. Dolbear:

“Suppose that a hundred years ago some prophet had predicted that within the century mankind would be able to travel with comfort and safety a thousand miles a day on land, and five hundred on the ocean in vessels of iron seven hundred feet in length yet guided easily with one hand; that the products of the most distant parts of the earth would be prevented from decay and distributed quickly over the widest reach of territory, so that famine would be impossible because foods could be carried over a continent before any one could starve; that everybody might know what had happened the day before all over the world; that one could talk with another a thousand miles away
as if they were face to face; that scholars could live fifty miles away from their school and attend every day; that the heating, cooking, and lighting of houses of a city would be done without a fire; that houses would be built twenty stories high, yet no climbing of stairs required; that sugar and other food stuffs would be manufactured in laboratories without dependence upon vegetation; that machines would talk and sing better than some men and women; that admirable portraits and pictures of the most complicated kind, containing details to the last degree of refinement, would be made in the hundredth of a second and afterward duplicated by the million, every one better than the best that the majority of mankind had ever seen; that daily papers would be made and distributed by the million; that there would be hundreds of colleges in the land, every one of them better than the best then in existence; that every town would have better schools and schoolhouses than the best then to be seen anywhere; that cannon would be made capable of shooting a ball twelve miles; that the coming of storms and of cold would be known in advance so as to be prepared for; that means for the prevention of diseases would be known, and cholera, small-pox, and fevers would no longer be a terror on the earth; that the body could be made so transparent that broken bones, foreign bodies, and diseased tissue could be actually seen and treated as intelligently as the external parts; that irreparable organs could be removed without danger, and some which had been thought to be absolutely essential to life, as the stomach, would be removed without fatal results; that pain would be absolutely prevented in some of the most serious crises of life, so that one might have an arm, a leg, an eye, or tongue removed and be utterly unconscious during the process; that mankind would know, not only the life-history of the earth, but the composition and condition of the stars, the sun, and the moon, as well as their directions and motions, and knowledge be increased a hundred-fold beyond all acquired in the previous history of the race; and that there would be well-endowed institutions for the care of the insane, the blind, and deaf, and hospitals for the imme-
diate treatment of emergency cases, where the most skilful surgeons and doctors were to be had without delay.”

Surely the man who had presumed to predict such changes as those outlined by Prof. Dolbear would have been accounted an irresponsible visionary; yet not only have all these things come to pass, but tens of thousands of other changes have been wrought which have influenced life in all its various relations.
CHAPTER II.
THE FADING VISION AND THE HUMANISTIC AWAKENING

The Nineteenth Century a Tragic Period for Millions—How the High Vision Faded Before the March of Materialistic Commercialism—Typical Condition of the Poor in England—A Glance at the Great Ethical Leaders.

Though the nineteenth century was the golden age of material advance, of scientific discovery, and inventive genius, it was a tragic night-time for millions of human beings in the most progressive Christian lands, due to a combination of causes, chief of which were (1) the fading of the moral vision in the presence of war, on the one hand, and unequal material achievement, on the other; (2) the rapid displacement of millions of able-bodied workers in various trades by machines, and the wholesale substitution of women and children for masculine labor; (3) the false interpretation of the law of liberty by the captains of industry or the new privileged class, and the tacit acceptance on the part of government of the monstrous theory that the employer had a right to infringe upon the rights of others and cruelly oppress the weakest and most defenceless members of society.

The great revolutionary epoch, culminating in the advent of democracy, had seemed to inaugurate an era dominated by freedom, fraternity, and justice. It had secured for Western civilization a larger measure of intellectual and political liberty than had hitherto been enjoyed; but the mental and political emancipation had not been accompanied by industrial emancipation. Here was a fatal flaw that left open a breach through which privilege, under a new form, could again oppressively control the masses.

The fathers of our Republic had insisted on equality of opportunities and of rights. They had preached the gospel of the greatest possible liberty to the individual compatible with equal liberty and rights to other individuals.
Equal rights for all and special privileges to none was accepted as axiomatic by many of the greatest apostles of democracy.

Unhappily, many of the leaders in the democratic revolution seemed to imagine that the throne, the aristocracy, and other engines of privilege and repression, that had long held humanity in check, were the only really dangerous classes to be guarded against. They failed to understand that privilege is ever changing its form, though its object—the enslavement of the many for the increased power and enrichment of the few—is ever the same.

Now with the overthrow of monarchy, or with king and aristocracy so sobered and subdued that they ceased to be the crushing power of oppression that marked the old order, and with the revolutionary changes wrought by the advent of steam and machinery, privilege appeared in new form. Captains of industry forged to the front. Great factories were installed, with labor-saving machinery, and armies of faithful workers were thrown out of employment to make place for women and children who operated the labor-saving machines. In the mines, women and children were also employed whenever it was possible to use them, under degrading and disease-promoting conditions.

Thus, for example, in England a Parliamentary Commission, secured after a hard struggle through the untiring zeal of Lord Ashley, revealed conditions in the mines of England that were calculated to excite horror even among the easy-going conventionalists.

It was shown by the report of the investigation that in some of the coal mines in England, in Scotland, and in Wales, children only four years of age were set to work, while in most of the collieries boys and girls on reaching five and six years were put to laborious tasks. These children, and also women, were made to do all the work of burden-bearing beasts. In many places "the coal-seams were not more than twenty-two to twenty-eight inches in height, the heat was intense, water was constantly dripping, frequently it lay deep over the feet and lower limbs of the workers. Along these terrible passages, for a hundred or
two hundred yards in length, between the working-places, the children and women had to crawl along on all fours, with a girdle passing around their waists, and harnessed by a chain between their legs to the carts they were drawing."

The testimony elicited from the workers by the investigating committee was almost past belief. Thus, for example, one poor woman said: "I have been in water up to my thighs; I go on my hands and feet; the road is very steep; when there is no rope we have to catch hold of anything we can; my clothes are wet through all day long; I have drawn till I have had the skin off me."

One of the commissioners said: "I found a little girl, six years of age, carrying half a cwt., and making regularly fourteen long journeys a day. The height ascended, and the distance along the road, exceeded in each journey the height of St. Paul's Cathedral." The children used to work on alternate days, but their working day was from sixteen to twenty-four hours. "I have repeatedly worked," said a girl of seventeen years of age, "for twenty-four hours."

The general working day was from fourteen to sixteen hours. It was further shown that the men in the mines were absolutely naked, and that the only clothing worn by the women was a pair of trousers made of coarse sacking. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that decency and modesty gave way to such revolting moral conditions that the imagination shrinks in horror from their contemplation, or that all hope, joy, and aspiration had abandoned the lives of these slaves of a tragic fate and victims of man's inhumanity.

The revelations of abuses of child-labor in the factories, also brought about by the laudable efforts of Lord Ashley, were only less disgraceful than were those called forth by his commission in its investigation of the collieries.

These crimes against the mothers of the race and the oncoming citizenship of the land were justified on the grounds that a man had a right to hire help wherever he could get it cheapest, and that he had a right to dictate the terms, no matter how hard and unjust they were, under
which the employee must work, if he accepted service. No greater perversion of the fundamental law of liberty as taught by the fathers could be conceived; and yet, strangely enough, government, to an appalling extent, accepted this inhuman crime.

While governments in the Old World were slow to take the proper action against the aggressions of the new commercial feudalism, and the assumed rights of representatives of the old order were again pressed to the front, the bitter disappointment of the disinherited millions found voice in a mighty onsweeping wave of discontent.

In England, the revelations of social injustice and inhumanity called forth burning denunciations, impassioned pleas, prophetic warnings, soul-stirring poems, and powerful novels. Seldom has Great Britain witnessed such a humanistic awakening as that of the thirties and forties of the last century. Leaders of thought and of the conscience element of society joined in this mighty protest.

It was at this time that the prophet voice of Thomas Carlyle was raised against the cruel oppression of the people; while Frederic D. Maurice and Canon Charles Kingsley, two of the noblest Christian scholars, arraigned the slothful church and social order, demanding that Christian civilization should again represent in a vital way the Golden Rule, the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the essential solidarity of the race, and the reciprocal dependence and responsibility of the units in the social organism.

Charles Dickens appealed to the reading public through his great novels. Elizabeth Barrett wrote “The Cry of the Children.” Thomas Hood penned “The Song of the Shirt” and “The Bridge of Sighs,” poems that epitomized the tragic fate of thousands of women and children under the reign of modern commercialism. Gerald Massey and Charles Mackay became veritable prophets of social advance, thrilling, inspiring, and arousing hundreds of thousands by their compelling verse.

It was this great moral awakening, the wonderful educational campaign carried on by Richard Cobden, John Bright, and their associates, and the wisdom and fore-
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

sight of Sir Robert Peel that saved England from a bloody civil war, when in 1848 Western Continental Europe became the theatre of forcible revolutions.

This far-reaching ethical illumination was accompanied by one of the most remarkable sunbursts of scientific discovery and intellectual brilliancy known to the history of Great Britain. During the forties and the decades immediately following we find, in poetry, Robert Browning and Alfred Tennyson, surrounded by a group of less brilliant singers; in physical science, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Alfred Russel Wallace, T. H. Huxley, and John Tyndall; in spiritual philosophy, Carlyle and Ruskin; while in fiction we have Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer-Lytton, and George Eliot; in historical and critical writings, Lord Macaulay. And these names by no means exhaust the list of writers of distinguished ability who made the Victorian Age one of the most splendid, if indeed it is not the most brilliant literary epoch in the annals of England.
CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY IN AMERICA PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR


In America, where there were as yet vast empires of virgin soil, where centralized industry and manufacturing interests were in their infancy, the evil influence of privilege on the industrial workers and the State was not appreciated during the first half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, there were no great extremes of wealth and poverty. Industry found opportunity on every hand, yet the great moral and intellectual awakening of the second quarter of the century in Great Britain was paralleled in our Republic.

This period was marked by unequalled religious enthusiasm. The rise of Unitarianism to commanding proportions in New England occasioned much controversy. Among the great liberal leaders whose influence extended in a vital way to various moral, philanthropic, and humanitarian movements were William Ellery Channing, William H. Channing, Theodore Parker, James Freeman Clarke, and later Edward Everett Hale. Ralph Waldo Emerson was a liberal Unitarian, but is better known as the greatest American interpreter and reflector of the Oriental, Grecian, and German metaphysical or transcendental philosophy than as a theologian.

Among the great orthodox ministers of this period, the Beechers enjoyed a merited distinction. Lyman Beecher spent much time and energy in combatting Unitarianism, and in early years was very orthodox. He, however,
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

came markedly under the broader influences of the century as he advanced in life. Henry Ward Beecher was probably the greatest pulpit orator America has produced, if indeed he was not the greatest preacher of the century. He was a man of broad intellectual vision, of splendid mental grasp, and of deep feeling. It would be difficult to overestimate his influence on the thought of the years following the Civil War.

In poetry this period stands pre-eminent, as during these years America's literature was enriched by the verse of Longfellow, Bryant, Emerson, Whittier, Lowell, Whitman, and Holmes, and at the same time Hawthorne was producing the finest fiction the Republic had given to the world. Motley and Prescott were writing their great histories, and numerous other thinkers were stimulating the intellectual and ethical life of the age.

The overmastering politico-moral issue was of course African slavery. William Lloyd Garrison had started "The Liberator" and been mobbed. He gathered around him a coterie of men and women of marked ability and moral enthusiasm, of whom Wendell Phillips was the most scholarly and distinguished.

There were many broad-visioned men and women of that time who saw more clearly the true course of wisdom that should have been taken by the Republic than either the slave-holding power or the Abolitionists. These patriots held with Jefferson that the duty of the Government lay in emancipating the slaves, but that inasmuch as the owners had come into possession when ownership was sanctioned by the laws of the land, the Government should reimburse them for their property at a fair valuation, and should transport the slaves to Africa, where, under full protection by the United States and with a government directed by our people for a time, the slaves could be as rapidly as possible led up to full self-government. These people claimed that this course would not only be just, but it would be wise from an economic standpoint. Conflict of opinion between the two sections had reached a point where public feeling was very much like that existing between Rome and Carthage in the elder day, and unless
settled peaceably it would sooner or later lead to the horrors of civil war, with a monetary cost far greater than the payment for the slaves, to say nothing of the loss of the best life of the nation and the hatred that would be engendered.

This broad and statesmanlike view was not, however, acceptable to either section. The slave power believed it was too firmly entrenched to be defeated, and the extreme Abolitionists for the most part insisted that it would be a moral wrong to reimburse the slaveholders; so the mighty clash of opposing thought culminated in the most terrible civil war known to history.

During this period and the succeeding decades, women in America came to the front in a more general and commanding way than ever before in history. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Dorothea Dix, Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, Lucy Stone, and a number of other high-minded women of intellectual power and ethical enthusiasm did valiant work for the higher morality, the cause of justice, and humanitarian progress.

Among this number Dorothea Dix merits a foremost place, for it was through her noble life of consecration and devotion to the insane that the awful abuses of the age and the shameful conditions surrounding these most unfortunate members of society, who more than any other class should receive the love, the best thought, and the greatest skill the heart and brain of civilization can bestow, were revolutionized. When Dorothea Dix commenced her campaign, the insane in Massachusetts, whose relatives were too poor or too indifferent to care for them, were rented out to the lowest bidder, and as a result they were in many instances treated with a degree of inhumanity almost incredible. Many were chained in outhouses, amid unspeakable filth, and treated as wild beasts. Patiently and tirelessly this retiring little Unitarian saint went from community to community, obtaining authentic data and making personal investigations which, when brought before the Legislature, raised a storm of opposition, denunciation, and denial from the conservative and conventional upholders of "things as
they are.” Fortunately for the cause of humanity, Dr. Samuel Howe was a member of the Legislature at that time and bravely defended Miss Dix, demonstrating the truth of her contentions. A revolution was effected, and though the conditions of the insane in Massachusetts and elsewhere to-day are far from what they should be, and are indeed a crying disgrace to twentieth century civilization, they are so incomparably better than the order that existed prior to Miss Dix’s revolutionary campaign that they afford a striking illustration of the humanitarian advance that has been made in a little over half a century. From Massachusetts Miss Dix went to Rhode Island, New Jersey, and other American commonwealths, and wherever she went she revolutionized the condition of the insane. New Jersey heard her plea and established the first free State asylum for the insane in America. From the Republic she went to Europe, where the same beneficent influence followed her wise, earnest, tireless, and loving labor.

If we except the Dred Scott decision, the influence of Garrison and “The Liberator,” and the raid, capture, and execution of John Brown, nothing exerted so widespread and positive an influence upon the public imagination of the North in favor of the abolition of slavery as Harriet Beecher Stowe’s “Uncle Tom’s Cabin.” It was fiction—something easy to read, intensely human. It appealed to the heart of the masses and aroused hundreds of thousands of persons who had been hitherto indifferent to the question.

Julia Ward Howe was another American woman who during the meridian period and the succeeding years exerted a wonderful influence for moral progress and humanitarian advance along a number of lines. She, however, will be best remembered by her noble “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” the genesis of which is most interesting. After a day of military excitement, fraught with hope and dread, with the thrill of moral enthusiasm and the sorrow born of the thought of a nation, like Rachel of old, weeping for her children, Mrs. Howe retired and fell into a profound sleep, from which she was awakened with the stanzas of the noble battle hymn sweeping through her consciousness like a
mountain torrent through a parched ravine. She immediately committed the lines to paper and thus was able to give at our most critical epoch one of the most inspiring martial songs in our literature.

It was at this time that a number of the most thoughtful men and women came to feel that, owing to changed social and economic conditions and the rapidly broadening fields of activity which the new age was offering to them, women should have a direct voice in government and be able to exercise more influence on vital issues, especially as they related to social justice, humanitarian and ethical problems. The pioneers, here as elsewhere, when a great new concept opposes tradition, conservatism, and popular prejudice, were ridiculed, misrepresented, and sneered at; but because their cause was rooted in justice and in accord with the spirit of advancing civilization, it slowly but steadily advanced.
CHAPTER IV.
THE RISE AND ONWARD MARCH OF PRIVILEGE AND CORPORATE WEALTH IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NEW WORLD

How Greed and Commercial Privilege Became a Menace to Free Government—Warnings by Representative Jurists, Statesmen, and Journalists—Railroad Investigations and What They Brought to Light—Other Illustrations of the Saturnalia of Corrupt Practices that Followed in the Wake of the Advancing Commercial Feudalism.

Passing over the tragic hour when our nation received the baptism of blood which might have been averted had we been great and wise enough to have been just, we come upon a period of several decades which in reality was fraught with greater peril to the Republic, and to the cause of democratic government and human rights, than we encountered during the Civil War—an evil that indeed might never have darkened our history had it not been for the war; for it was during the hours of stress and strain, when the armies were struggling in the field, that privilege, as represented by the present-day commercial feudalism, fastened its tentacles on government and reached out in various directions for control that would give monopoly power to the few.

The railroads were long the most baleful and corrupting influence in government. They succeeded in acquiring vast empires of virgin wealth, but this despoiling of the Republic was a far less evil than the corrupting of government in all her ramifications. As we would naturally expect, the railroads soon had ambitious imitators in other public-service corporations and in great organizations that were seeking to control the stores of natural wealth provided by the Common Father for the happiness and comfort of His common children; and the time soon came when, by unholy alliances and secret deals between public carriers and such corporations as those controlling oil and coal, competition was strangled, while the foundations were laid for fabulous fortunes.
At the close of the Civil War, for more than a generation of time, the great public-service corporations steadily, insidiously, and subtly undermined the old republican order, corrupting the fountain-head of legislation, and elevating the interests of corporate wealth above the rights and interests of the people. And during this time they firmly established and entrenched a powerful plutocracy whose seat was Wall Street, from which went forth a malign influence, when not absolutely controlling special legislation at Washington, in the State capitals, and great municipal governments of the Republic.

For more than twenty-five years the interests of the people were systematically sacrificed, the producer and consumer shamefully oppressed and defrauded, and the moral sensibilities of statesmen and public servants so blunted and degraded that from leading executives, State Superior Court judiciary, and United States Senators down, the people's servants were found unblushingly accepting favors from public-service corporations, notwithstanding the fact that the companies were known to have in various ways sought to corrupt the people’s representatives and defeat just and needed legislation, and, furthermore, to have systematically defied or evaded laws enacted to secure justice and bring relief to the public by curbing greed and avarice. During this time the public-service corporations, through various corrupt practices, largely by bribery, direct and indirect, steadily advanced to mastery in government through an unholy alliance with political bosses and partisan machines.

These grave allegations are so amply substantiated by the mass of irrefutable evidence that reached the public from time to time, largely through Congressional, State, and other investigating committees, that no unbiased student of our own political history during the thirty years following the Civil War can escape the conclusion that they are in no way exaggerations.

Many of the ablest statesmen, jurists, and public servants during the period were outspoken in their charges, while uttering solemn warnings. Thus, for example, we find Ex-Justice Jeremiah S. Black of the Supreme Court,
in a notable letter to the New York Chamber of Commerce, thus denouncing the oppression of the wealth-creators and consumers by the railroads:

"They express their determination to charge as much as the traffic will bear; that is to say, they will take from the profits of every man's business as much as can be taken without compelling him to quit it. In the aggregate this amounts to the most enormous, oppressive and unjust tax that ever was laid upon the industry of any people under the sun. The irregularity with which this tax is laid makes it still harder to bear. Men go into a business which may thrive at present rates and will find themselves crushed by the burdens unexpectedly thrown upon them after they get started. It is the habit of the railroad companies to change their rates of transportation often and suddenly, and in particular to make the charges ruinously high without any notice at all. The farmers of the great West have made a large crop of grain which they may sell at fair prices if they can have it carried to Eastern ports, even at the unreasonably high rates of last summer. But just now it is said that the railway companies have agreed among themselves to raise the freight five cents per hundred weight, which is equal to an export tax upon the whole crop of probably $75,000,000. The farmers must submit to this highway robbery or else keep the products of their land to rot on their hands.

"A grain dealer of Baltimore gets a reduction or drawback which is denied to others, and he makes a fortune for himself while he ruins his competitors by underselling them. A single mill at Rochester can stop the wheels of all the rest if its flour be carried at a rate much lower. By discriminations of this kind the profits of one coal mine may be quadrupled, while another, with all its fixtures and machinery, is rendered worthless. Such wrongs as these are done not only in the few sporadic cases, but generally and habitually on a very large scale. Certain oil men, whose refinery was on Long Island, got rebates amounting to $10,
oo0,000 in eighteen months, and seventy-nine houses (I believe that is the number) engaged in the same business were broken up. The creditors of the Reading Railroad having coal lands of their own, made discriminations between themselves and others which drove all competition out of the field, gave them the monopoly of the Philadelphia market, and enabled them to charge for their coals as they charge for their freights—whatever they pleased. Thus producers, dealers and consumers all suffer together.”

In commenting on this letter, the “Brooklyn Eagle” said:

“While the people of the United States have been dreaming of an enlarged and perfected liberty, a tyranny with the heart and structure of a devil-fish has been growing about them.

“To perpetuate these abuses they seek political power. In many places elections in the face of this influence have become the emptiest of forms. The railroads send their agents to the Senates and Assemblies of the States. Laws are passed or resisted as they dictate, and Governors approve or veto legislation at their bidding. In the House of Representatives they have their attorneys, and in the Senate of the United States their confidential allies. The President cannot ignore them, and the politicians who nominate Presidents curry their favor. They control thousands of votes in this and neighboring States, and order them to be delivered as if the suffrage were pork or pig iron . . .

“This, as we have said, so far from being in any sense a wild statement, is but a partial epitome of uncontradicted evidence laid before the public as the result of official investigations.”

The Hon. David Agnew, ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in an address delivered on June 15, 1881, said:

“A remarkable fact attending all the great railroads of the United States is the immense wealth of their leading officials. It is confined to no State, and is exceptional to all other employments. The grandest talent and greatest
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

learning, in law, physics, and other learned avocations, accumulate a few thousands in a lifetime; but railroad officials, often rising from mere clerkships, roundsmen, ticket and other agents, with salaries running from hundreds to a few thousands, eventuate as possessors of many millions. It is no uncommon thing to see a railroad president, rising from the humblest station, in the course of fifteen or twenty years, become the owner of five, ten, or even twenty millions, at a salary which would not average for the whole time, over ten or twelve thousand dollars. These are mysteries that the common people cannot understand.”

On January 27, 1880, Mr. Gowen, then President of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, in an argument before the Committee on Commerce of the House of Representatives, at Washington, said:

“I have heard the counsel of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, standing in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, threaten that Court with the displeasure of his clients if it decided against them, and all the blood in my body tingled with shame at the humiliating spectacle.”

Col. C. C. Post, in the second part of his work, “Driven From Sea to Sea,” quotes James A. Garfield as follows:

“The modern barons, more powerful than their military prototypes, own our greatest highways and levy tribute at will upon all our vast industries. And, as the old feudalism was finally controlled and subordinated only by the combined efforts of the kings and the people of the free cities and towns, so our modern feudalism can be subordinated to the public good only by the great body of the people acting through their government by wise and just laws.”

So vital is this story of the battle between privilege and popular government, which darkens the last forty years of our history, and which is still one of the gravest questions before government and the citizens, that it seems important to notice the subject somewhat at length.

During the seventies and eighties, when such statesmen as James A. Garfield, ex-Justice Jeremiah S. Black, United
States Senator Windom, Justice David Davis, Justice Agnew, and other incorruptible and far-seeing statesmen were sounding warnings and seeking to arouse the public conscience to a realization of the deadly peril that threatened the Republic through the corrupt practices of the railroad corporations, many startling facts were brought to light during official investigations. Thus, for example, in 1873 the New York Legislative Committee appointed to investigate certain allegations against the Erie Railroad, after a thorough examination brought in its report, in which it said:

"It is further in evidence that it has been the custom of the managers of the Erie Railway, from year to year, in the past, to spend large sums to control elections and to influence legislation. In the year 1868 more than one million (1,000,000) was disbursed from the Treasury for 'extra and legal services.'

"Mr. Gould, when last on the stand, and examined in relation to various vouchers shown him, admitted the payment during the three years prior to 1872, of large sums to Barber, Tweed, and others to influence legislation or elections; these amounts were charged in the 'india-rubber account.' The memory of this witness was very defective as to details, and he could only remember large transactions; but could distinctly recall that he had been in the habit of sending money into the numerous districts all over the State, either to control nominations, or elections, for Senators and members of Assembly. He considered that, as a rule, such investments paid better than to wait until the men got to Albany, and added the significant remark, when asked a question, that it would be as impossible to specify the numerous instances as it would be to recall to mind the numerous freight cars sent over the Erie road from day to day. . . .

"It is not reasonable to suppose that the Erie Railway has been alone in the corrupt use of money for the purposes named; but the sudden revelation in the direction of this company has laid bare a chapter in the secret history of railroad management such as has not been permitted before. It exposes the reckless and prodigal use of money, wrung
from the people, to purchase the election of the people’s representatives, and to bribe them when in office. According to Mr. Gould, his operations extended into four different States. It was his custom to contribute money to influence both nominations and elections.”

It was during this investigation, as officially reported by this committee, that Jay Gould, then the master spirit of the Erie Railroad, testified as follows:

“I do not know how much I paid toward helping friendly men. We had four States to look after, and we had to suit our politics to circumstances. In a Democratic district I was a Democrat; in a Republican district I was a Republican, and in a doubtful district I was doubtful; but in every district and at all times I have always been an Erie man.”

That the committee was not mistaken in its belief that the Erie Road was not alone in corrupt practices was shown by the report of the committee appointed by the New York Constitutional Convention, with the Hon. George Opdyke as Chairman. The following extracts from the verbatim report of testimony, given at that time, throw a flood of light on the methods by which the railroad corporations have systematically defeated the people, and have been enabled to control national and State governments, and to continue to practice extortion and unjust discriminations by which the producing and consuming public are annually plundered of millions of dollars.

“Edwin D. Worcester, Sworn: I am Treasurer of the New York Central Railroad Company, and have been for two years; was Assistant Treasurer for two years previous.

“Question.—Do you know of the New York Central Railroad Company paying out considerable amounts of money during the sessions of legislatures?

“Answer.—Yes, considerable amounts of money.

“Question.—I think you have succeeded in procuring legislation for two or three years past?
“Answer.—Yes, we succeeded in getting the legislation.
“Question.—Were the expenses attending the application paid by the President of the road?
“Answer.—I can state the amount of money he had; the whole amount of money was $205,000.
“Question.—Did he ever state to you any purpose for which it was to be applied?
“Answer.—Well, I don’t remember that he did.
“Question.—How are the items or entries made in your books with reference to the expenditure of this $205,000?
“Answer.—There were no entries made with regard to those disbursements.
“Question.—Was the authorization given before or after the advances or disbursements were made?
“Answer.—It was after the Board confirmed the advance, but did not state what should be made of the item.
“Question.—What is the condition of the item on your books?
“Answer.—It is charged to the Treasurer’s office and remains there. The action of the Treasurer in advancing the money was confirmed by the Board.
“Question.—The year previous about what money was expended?
“Answer.—I think it was something like $60,000, that was charged to expenses pertaining to the Legislature.”

Another equally scandalous exhibition of turpitude on the part of the public carriers occurred in 1882, when the New Jersey railroads attempted to bribe a bill through the Legislature, over the Governor’s veto, which would have given them virtual control of the entire water-front of Jersey City. Happily for the public interest, one of their agents encountered an incorruptible legislator, the Hon. Joseph H. Shinn, and he, by his prompt exposure of the high-handed and brazen attempt at direct bribery, prevented consummation of the proposed steal. In this same year, 1882, there was another exposure of attempted bribery. This time it was in Ohio, when an effort was made to corrupt certain members of the Legislature by offers of tempting bribes “with a view of gaining possession of canal proper-
ties in Ohio for railroad purposes." The investigation which followed led to the indictment of two legislators for accepting bribes.

These are only a few of many instances, similar in character, that might be cited, which occurred in the seventies and early eighties, and which indicate the prevalence of corrupt practices on the part of the railways a quarter of a century ago; and what was true of the railways was equally true of the influence and tactics of other public service corporations and associations of men who, through special legislation and the control of natural monopolies, plundered the people while debauching government in all its ramifications.

Moreover, this saturnalia of corrupt practices in many places continued into the present century. Even so late as the autumn and winter of 1913-14, the New Haven Railroad investigation, held in Boston, revealed the fact that a huge underground fund had been employed to secure the ends of the railroad, largely in its legislative campaign.

At intervals during the past twenty years the growing corruption in municipal life in our great cities has come to public notice. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cities have had their foul scandals. St. Louis and the State of Missouri afforded an impressive illustration of how cities and commonwealths have suffered. This was given to the public in the early years of the present century.

When Mr. Joseph Folk was elected County Attorney of St. Louis, he went to work investigating the stories of municipal corruption that were rife in that city, as they are in most great American municipalities.

To his amazement, he soon found that the public-service corporations had been spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in direct bribery. Acting in concert with the notorious bosses, they were in the habit of buying a sufficient number of votes in both chambers of the city government to enable them to procure any franchises or other concessions which they desired. This trafficking was not confined to either political party. Republican and Democratic officials alike were growing rich by selling the enormously valuable franchises of the city for private gain. Another re-
markable fact was the silence of the daily press. Here, as in other great cities, the daily papers were strangely silent, apparently blind, deaf, and dumb in the presence of the most revolting political corruption. Mr. Folk immediately set to work to bring the guilty to justice, and in spite of having almost insurmountable obstacles placed in his path at almost every turn, he succeeded in unmasking a condition that often exceeded the worst suspicions of the people. Later it was shown that the Legislature of Missouri was equally corrupt. The charges which reformers had made for years, and which had been sneered at and ridiculed when they were not ignored by the daily press and the political leaders, were found to be mild in comparison with the wholesale corruption and bribery everywhere revealed. The following brief extracts from an address by Mr. Folk merely hint at conditions that prevailed in St. Louis and the State of Missouri, as shown by investigations and Grand Jury reports, and which resulted from the union of corporations and political bosses for the plunder of the people. Of St. Louis Mr. Folk said:

"The revelations of official corruption in St. Louis and Missouri read like a tale from the 'Arabian Nights.'

"There is to-day locked up in two safe deposit boxes in the city of St. Louis one corruption fund of $135,000, which has been used as evidence in court. This was put up by the legislative agent of a street railroad company, in response to a demand from members of the municipal assembly, as bribes for their votes in passing a franchise ordinance.

"For another franchise $250,000 in bribes was paid to the members of the preceding assembly. This franchise was afterwards sold for $1,250,000, but the city received not a cent. Twenty-three of the twenty-eight members of the House of Delegates took bribes of $3,000 each for this franchise. Seven members of the Council obtained from $10,000 to $17,500 each for their votes.

"Seven members of the Council, elected to serve the people at a salary of $300 a year, were paid a regular salary of $5,000 yearly to represent corporate interests. A light-
ing bill was bribed through the House of Delegates for $47,500. The bargain was made right on the floor of the House.

"Nineteen members of another House of Delegates obtained $2,000 each as bribes for their votes on still another franchise. Indeed, no bill of consequence passed the Assembly for years unless the members were paid for their official action. Schedules of bribe prices were established, ranging from a few hundred dollars for passing a switch bill, to a hundred thousand dollars for a railroad franchise."

The disclosures made at the State Capital were scarcely less revolting. A dispatch to the "Boston Transcript," speaking of the systematic bribery practiced in the Missouri Legislature for twelve years, stated that the railways and other public-service companies were the most prominent and aggressive influences in thus tampering with the people's representatives. It was shown, however, that the long reign of bribery had resulted in attracting a horde of venal representatives, and various corporations were paying princely tributes to these criminals who were representing the people. In referring to the affairs in the State Legislature, Mr. Folk said:

"The Lieutenant-Governor of the State has confessed to more boodling than it was thought possible for one man to commit. The honor of the State has been peddled around by the seekers of bribes in return for official influence. The Lieutenant-Governor himself distributed bribe money amongst certain Senators. Thousand-dollar bills have been caught sight of here and there with Senators in hot pursuit. Lawmakers have confessed to boodling extending through a period of twelve years, indicating that legislation has been bought and sold like merchandise. . . . I cannot in this brief address more than give a faint idea of the real rottenness that existed. The story of corruption in St. Louis and Missouri, as revealed by sworn testimony, would fill volumes."

One fact should always be borne in mind when considering the debauching of government by privilege-seeking in-
terests, and that is that corporations bestow favors on outsiders only when benefits are expected in return, or when it is deemed important to oblige or silence some person who might become formidable, either as a friend of rivals, or as a champion of the producing and consuming public who are at their mercy and whose relief must come through the sovereign power of government.

No fact in the history of public-service corporations is more clearly proved than that whenever favors or courtesies are bestowed on outsiders, it is for services rendered, for favors expected or desired, or for the purpose of silencing someone who might call them to account.

Railroads are not found thrusting passes upon plain John Smith, but when John Smith becomes Congressman Smith, or Senator Smith, or President Smith, and thus is in a position to second the Interstate Commerce Commission’s urgent appeal for laws that would enable it to give the people relief from unjust exactions, exorbitant charges, or discriminations, the railroads are very ready to furnish him passes and grant him no end of favors or courtesies, not as plain John Smith, be it remembered, but as Congressman Smith, or Senator Smith, or President Smith, as the people’s representative, who can ignore the people’s reasonable demands for relief from unjust oppression or discriminations.

I have dwelt at length on this rise and triumphant advance of public-service corporations in the warfare of greed against humanity, for several reasons. First, we are liable to forget the deadly peril that confronted democracy in the closing decades of the last century. Second, the evil, though partially curbed, is still present. Third, it is the latest manifestation of the age-long struggle of privilege, under some form, for mastership of men and nations. Fourth, and finally, there can be no ideal democracy, no free people, in the noblest sense of the term, no intellectual, political, and industrial freedom, so long as privilege, in any of its forms, is allowed to abridge the sacred rights and wholesome liberties of earnest, high-minded citizens.
aga nada, and in America, Edward Bellamy’s fascinating so-
cial dream, “Looking Backward,” instantly appealed to the
popular imagination. But for the most part public opinion
in the United States, though seething with discontent and
unrest, was in a chaotic state, while government continued
to respond to the sophistical pleas of privilege.

In the field of religious thought there was much agita-
tion, but of a most profitless kind, being concerned with
dogmas and creeds rather than with the great spiritual ver-
ities and their relation to the life of men and nations; while
such social and economic evils as child labor, the slums,
and sweat-shops were only beginning to impress the more
thoughtful. Mighty political, economic, scientific, educa-
tional, moral, and humanitarian problems which affect the
larger life of man and society were conveniently ignored
by most of the popular conventional agencies for moulding
public opinion.

On the other hand, among those who dared or cared to
think, among the idealists who were also practical reason-
ers, there was a growing determination to search and find
remedies for the crying evils, worthy of a free people.
The modern critical scientific spirit was abroad among the
more fearless and profound thinkers.

Such, in brief, was the general condition when in the
closing months of 1889 the first issue of “The Arena” ap-
peared.
CHAPTER VI.
THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE RESTORATION AND MAINTENANCE OF POPULAR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT


Friends of democracy in the last decade of the nineteenth century were often in despair for the cause of popular sovereignty. So completely had the feudalism of privileged wealth gained control over political machinery, that the "interests" and the professional politicians were as absolute in their mastership of government as were the di Medici family the real rulers in the Republic of Florence, while the people possessed all the outward form and show of power. The growing unrest and indignation of the people over the oppression of privilege and the subserviency of the politicians to public-service corporations and other monopoly-seeking bodies, clearly indicated that the electorate had come to realize that the evil lay in the fact that their supposed representatives did not represent the voters, but were merely the tools of the exploiters and oppressors of the producing and consuming millions.

So general was the recognition of the passing of popular representative government, that many people were talking of the failure of democracy, and even tentatively suggesting that an hereditary monarchy and aristocracy might be preferable to the existing order in which, on important so-
social, economic, and financial legislation, the invisible government, whose throne-room was Wall Street, controlled the visible government in nation and state, in spite of statesmen’s warnings and popular protests.

The evil, of course, was not too much democracy, but the defeat of democracy through the machinations of privilege. De Tocqueville had well said that, “The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy.”

This great question was the subject of many serious discussions with valued contributors to “The Arena” and other leaders of progressive thought in the early nineties. It seemed to me that the most important immediate work was to clear up the confusion in the public mind, occasioned by the advocates of multitudinous paternalistic and partial remedies which did not touch the fundamental issue. If we could make the people see the basic difference between democracy or popular government and all forms of class-rule, and then show them a practical way to restore the government to the people without the shock of revolution, we would be far on the road to a peaceful solution of our gravest immediate political, social, and economic problems.

One day Hamlin Garland, who early became one of our special contributors, came into “The Arena” office.

“Flower,” he said, “I have found the very man you want to tell the people how they can get the government back into their own hands, for he can give them first-hand knowledge. This is W. D. McCrackan, who has recently returned from Switzerland, where he has been for five years studying political and social conditions and writing a comprehensive history of the Swiss Republic. He is a Single-Taxer,” he added, “a graduate of Trinity College, Hartford, a careful thinker, and a fine man.”

A presentation of Direct Legislation, by one who had personally observed its practical operation, was exactly what I wanted. I had become convinced, from my reading, that in the initiative and referendum lay a practical remedy for our present crisis, but the general public was ignorant of the subject. We had lost to a great extent the splendid spirit of initiative which had marked the early days of the Republic, and when any measure was proposed, the
first question invariably asked was, "Has it been successfully tried elsewhere?"

A few days later I made the acquaintance of Mr. McCrackan.

"In Switzerland," he said, "we can find the solution to the question of how to get the government back into the hands of the voters and how they can keep control, making them in fact what they are in theory, the sovereigns. The Swiss are a very practical people, and they have made these innovations simple and workable. By the referendum, a certain percentage of the voters can compel the submission to the electorate of a bill passed by the legislators. By the initiative, the voters can originate a measure which they have been unable to induce the statesmen to pass upon, and have it submitted to the people; and by the imperative mandate, or right of recall, a certain percentage of the voters are able to retire a public servant, when the majority of the electorate believes him to be corrupt, inefficient, or indifferent to the wishes of the sovereign people. These reforms have not only safeguarded democracy," continued Mr. McCrackan, "but they have made for public tranquility and kept the government from being careless or corrupt. The fact that the people are now in reality the sovereigns makes the representatives respect their wishes and renders it very seldom necessary to invoke either of these three provisions for preserving and maintaining effective popular sovereignty. After five years in Switzerland, not only closely observing the actual workings of the government, but interviewing all classes of people, I am satisfied that in the little Alpine Republic is to be found the practical solution to our most pressing political problems."

As a result of this interview, I arranged for a series of papers dealing with the democratic innovations in Switzerland, and these were the first series of papers on Direct Legislation published in a leading magazine of opinion devoted to general discussions.

Mr. McCrackan was one of a group of scholarly young writers whose contributions did much to make "The Arena" a vital agency in the political, social, and economic advance movements of the last twenty-five years. He is the author
of a number of books, of which "The Rise of the Swiss Republic" is the most pretentious. It was recognized as the best history of the Swiss people published in English. When I first knew him he was an enthusiastic Single-Taxer and a strong believer in the evolutionary theory. I think he inclined to agnosticism at that time, but later he became interested in Christian Science and subsequently joined that church. Since then he has served as First Reader in the Mother Church in Boston and for several years has been a member of the Lecture Board of that church. In the performance of this work he has carried the Christian Science message around the world a number of times.

Mr. J. W. Sullivan had previously published a most admirable little work on the subject of Direct Legislation. He was also the founder of "The Direct Legislation Record," which was later edited by Eltweed Pomeroy. "The Twentieth Century," under the editorial management of Hugh O. Pentecost, had also advocated the Swiss innovations, which "The Arena" early made one of its cardinal propaganda political demands.

Eltweed Pomeroy, an earnest, clear-visioned Single-Taxer, had early become an apostle of Direct Legislation. Indeed, great credit is due to both Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Pomeroy for their important pioneer work. The latter traveled over the entire United States in the promotion of his business, and wherever he went he hunted up the Single-Taxers and other advanced thinkers on political and economic problems, and presented Direct Legislation, thus performing a work that entitles him to live in the affection of all lovers of fundamental democracy. I often remarked to my friends that Eltweed Pomeroy reminded me of the apostles in the days of early Christianity, only his evangel was political emancipation. Wherever he went he gave the little band of workers all the latest news of progress and interest throughout the country, and brought workers far removed into touch one with the other; and all this was done quietly and without the slightest ostentation. At last his health failed for a time, and I well remember how he saddened his friends in Boston one day, when he told us
that he was out of the work and proposed to retire to the country in search of health. He moved to Texas, where he has since lived.

Mr. Pomeroy, I think, did far more than any other one man to popularize the initiative and referendum with the wide-awake leaders of progressive democracy throughout America; but there were a number of other high-minded patriots who deserve to be mentioned in regard to this great and vital movement. Some entered the field early in the nineties; others came into prominence later, when the battle became even more bitter than in the early years.

Next to Eltweed Pomeroy, the pioneer missionary apostle of Direct Legislation, no man deserves a higher place on the roll of honor than W. S. U'Ren, the blacksmith statesman of Oregon. He was one of the early readers of “The Arena” when he lived in Denver. Like Mr. Pomeroy, Herbert Bigelow, and indeed most of the other Direct Legislation leaders, Mr. U'Ren was a strong Single-Taxer. Eltweed Pomeroy frequently told me of the quiet, practical, and effective work being accomplished for the people’s rule in Oregon after Mr. U'Ren had moved to that State. “It is a good field for a missionary,” he would say, “for Oregon is already the bond-slave of privilege.”

Though a blacksmith by trade, Mr. U'Ren was a student by nature, a careful reasoner, and a high-minded patriot who possessed much of the rugged moral integrity and passionate love for democracy which marked Abraham Lincoln and the single-hearted statesmen of the earlier days.

To have attempted to carry a model constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum in Oregon by the brass-band and torch-light procession method would have been to court defeat, as it would have aroused the parasites of privilege who instantly would have brought all the power at their command to bear on press and legislators to effectively kill the amendment and thus prevent the triumph of popular sovereignty. But Mr. U'Ren first acquired all the available facts in favor of the reform. He showed how popular it had become with the greatest statesmen of Switzerland; how it had quieted the revolutionary discontent of
the people, since they found that they had the tools of democracy in their own hands and could use them if occasion required. He pointed out how it had quickened the interest of the electorate in all the great questions of the hour and tended to make the voters keenly concerned in the government. In this way he quietly won over the leading papers and legislators, convincing them of the righteousness and wisdom of the measures. A simple, honest, clear-visioned, high-minded patriot, with no political axe to grind, seeking no office, and desiring no personal fame, he won the support of journalists, legislators, and men of influence, as well as men of vision on every hand. Suddenly it was found that the Legislature had by an overwhelming vote agreed to submit a constitutional amendment to the people. Never, I imagine, in the history of this Republic, had so momentous an innovation been submitted with so little opposition; but when submitted, the princes of privilege and reaction began to stir uneasily in their seats. It was, however, then too late to marshal the lobby and helots, for while convincing the journalists and legislators, Mr. U’Ren had also interested the Grange and other popular organizations, so that the people had been appraised of the importance of the measures, and they entered the campaign with something of the zeal that marked the early battle for freedom. As in the Legislature, so at the polls, Direct Legislation was overwhelmingly successful, and what was more, the measure was admirably framed.

In many States, in subsequent contests, the tools of privilege have so tampered with the bills or acts that they are faulty, and in some instances almost unworkable. Not so in Oregon. This triumph marked the turning point in the history of that wonderful commonwealth, sometimes called the Massachusetts of the Pacific. The bondslave became the daughter of democracy. Reaction and privilege gave way to a progressive programme through which many great practical reforms have already been achieved.

True, Oregon has not yet shown the faith in freedom of speech and assembly that should, and ultimately must, mark a truly democratic State, though in most other respects her progress has been phenomenal; and what has been espe-
cially painful and disconcerting to privilege and the ma­
iche bosses is the failure of their Cassandra prophecies of commercial disaster and ruin, which they insisted would inevitably overtake the commonwealth. Oregon’s growth and prosperity since the introduction of Direct Legislation has been a fitting rebuke to those who sought to discredit democracy.

As a practical statesman, Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow of Ohio deserves to rank with Mr. U’Ren. “An idealist and visionary,” sneered the political bosses, “a parson, who has no right to wade in the dirt of politics.” And many similar slurs were flung at the brave, clear-eyed clergyman and Single-Taxer when, in Cincinnati, the citadel of one of the most powerful bosses of Ohio, he began to carry forward the campaign for clean, just, and popular rule in the southern part of the State, thus seconding the great work of Tom L. Johnson in Cleveland and north-eastern Ohio, and of Golden Rule Jones and his high-minded successor, Brand Whitlock, in Toledo and north-western Ohio. He appealed to the conscience side of life, which had already been stirred by the social vision and noble idealism of Tom Johnson and others who had sowed the State with the living seed of truth in earlier campaigns; and when the great test came, the friends of idealism won in the most critical hour—the time of revising the State Constitution. Mr. Bigelow became the master spirit of the Constitutional Convention, and though not able to get all he wished, was successful in securing Direct Legislation and many other important reforms. In the story of practical achievements in securing constitutional victories for the people’s rule, history will record the fact that W. S. U’Ren, the blacksmith, and Herbert Bigelow, the preacher, visionaries and idealists though they were, proved the most successful practical politicians among the fundamental democrats of our age.

The cause of Direct Legislation, like that of woman suffrage, has triumphed in so many States that its ultimate victory is wellnigh assured; but these legislative victories were only rendered possible by the systematic, nation-wide campaign carried forward by the friends of fundamental
Progressive Men, Women, and Movements

democracy. "The Arena" from its early months made this cause its own. In addition to the luminous series of papers prepared by Mr. McCrackan, most of the great leaders were represented in its pages. "A Primer of Direct Legislation," being a feature of several consecutive issues, was prepared by a committee composed of Prof. Frank Parsons, Eltweed Pomeroy, George H. Shibley, Hon. J. Warner Mills, Allan F. Benson, Dr. C. F. Taylor, Ralph Albertson, J. P. Cadman, John R. Haynes, W. S. U'Ren, and myself. This "Primer," published in pamphlet form, was widely circulated and did much to correct the misrepresentations of the partisans of privilege and friends of misrepresentative government. In later years, Prof. Frank Parsons, and still later Carl Vrooman, materially furthered the educational campaign by additional papers on the recent workings of Direct Legislation in Switzerland as they had personally observed its operation.

George H. Shibley, who devoted his wealth and consecrated his life to the cause, exerted a far-reaching influence through arousing and actively interesting in the people's rule the Granges and the labor unions. It would be difficult indeed to overestimate the influence of this single-minded patriot who devoted years to systematic educational agitation, prompted by no motive other than the restoration and maintenance of genuine popular representative government.

Another name that belongs to the honor roll as a leading educator is that of Dr. C. F. Taylor, the editor of "The Medical World." For years Dr. Taylor has been monthly educating thousands of physicians in his magazine talks in favor of Direct Legislation and kindred political reforms. He also published most of Prof. Parsons' invaluable social and reform works, while in his quarterly, "Equity," he has given the workers for Direct Legislation, the right of recall, proportional representation, the short ballot, and similar reforms, an authoritative handbook of great practical value.

In almost every State there have been groups of active and efficient workers, the list of which is far too great to give in the present chapter. The following names, however, call for special notice because of the signal service they have rendered this great cause:
Dr. William Preston Hill, Dr. John Randolph Haynes, Dr. J. H. Ralston, Samuel Gompers, James W. Bucklin, J. J. Pastoriza, William Allen White, Prof. Charles Zueblin, and Delos F. Wilcox; while among United States Senators, Governors and distinguished publicists who have materially forwarded the movement, we have the following: Robert M. LaFollette, Robert L. Owen, Charles S. Thomas, John F. Shafroth, George C. Chamberlain, Jonathan Bourne, Miles Poindexter, John D. Works, Lucius F. C. Garvin, Hiram Johnson, Ben B. Lindsey, George H. Hodges, W. N. Ferris, George W. Norris, and Morris Sheppard.

Special mention should also be made of the efficient service rendered the cause by “The Public” of Chicago and “The Star” of San Francisco. Indeed, the Single-Tax and Progressive Democratic, as well as the Socialist papers, have strongly advocated Direct Legislation, as has also Senator LaFollette’s able weekly.

The Socialist Party was the first political organization to endorse Direct Legislation, although the Republican Party in some States, and the Democratic Party in others, early favored it, while in other States they strenuously opposed every attempt to advance the interests of the people. During the campaign of 1912 Theodore Roosevelt came out for Direct Legislation, and it was made a strong issue in the Progressive campaign. President Wilson also strongly advocated these measures during the campaign which ended in his triumphant election.

Direct Legislation has from the first impressed me as being the most important immediate political reform to meet existing conditions. It places the tools of democracy in the hands of the people. No true democrat would wish to foist his theories, views, or ideals on an unwilling electorate. With the people possessing Direct Legislation, the representatives of every cause have a fair field before them. They must convince the people of the righteousness of their cause, after which there is nothing to prevent its introduction. Direct Legislation makes popular representative or democratic government an actuality; for it must be remembered that democracy is differentiated from all other
forms of rule by the sovereignty instead of the servitude of the people. In other forms of government, whether absolute despotism, limited monarchy, oligarchy, or plutocracy, the rank and file of the people are the subjects, and either the officials, or those to whom the officials look for support and favor, are the sovereign power.

Our fathers fought to establish a democratic republic, or a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; a government in which the people should at all times be the sovereigns, and the officials their servants. During the last half of the nineteenth century there arose in America, as has been pointed out, a mighty feudalism of privileged wealth, composed largely of the public-service corporations, trusts, and monopolies, which had become an overshadowing power through the special privileges enjoyed and by union with corrupt political bosses and the money-controlled party machines. This new commercial despotism had already destroyed truly popular representative government, when the campaign for Direct Legislation was inaugurated in the early nineties. We made Direct Legislation one of the leading issues in "The Arena" because we believed the imperative demand of the hour was the restoration of the government to the rightful sovereigns, the voters, to the end that it should be representative of their interests and wishes, instead of responsive to the demands of corporate wealth.
CHAPTER VII.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE


The last quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by greater interest in fundamental social and politico-economic theories among serious thinkers, than any preceding time in our history. From the establishment of the Republic, our people had imagined that with freedom of speech, press, and assembly guaranteed, and full manhood suffrage in operation, economic as well as political problems might be easily, justly, and efficiently dealt with. The abolition of privilege in the older forms, and the larger freedom and more prosperous life of the people under democracy, created a false sense of security. Men forgot that eternal vigilance is ever the price of liberty. One of the master lessons of history was strangely overlooked,—namely, the ever-changing aspect or form of privilege and its unceasing effort to enslave the many for the mastership and enrichment of the favored few. Nor did it seem to occur to our thinkers that there might be some great economic principle that intimately related to “equality of opportunities and of rights,” which was not considered in our present politico-economic régime. It remained for an American youth of small book learning, but richly endowed with philosophic insight, clarity of thought, aptitude for observation, and capacity for broad reasoning and logical deductions, together with moral vision, to give to the Republic the first great economic philosophical work that compelled the nation seriously to consider basic facts vital to the prosperity and well-being of the people.
Henry George was born in Philadelphia. His parents possessed little worldly wealth, but were characterized by sturdy principles, strong affection, simplicity, sincerity, and integrity. He had only limited common school advantages. Early he learned the printer’s trade. After a voyage to and from Australia, where he worked his way on the ship, he went to California, working his passage. Here he lived for several years precariously, working at his trade, prospecting for mining claims, publishing a paper, and writing for the press on current topics. At times he lacked money for food and shelter, but he lived a fine, clean life and improved his opportunities by diligently reading good books. The problem of increasing poverty in the presence of growing wealth always troubled him. Finally he was sent to New York on an errand connected with obtaining telegraphic news service for his employer’s paper. While there he was appalled at the spectacle of grim want, in the form of an army of out-of-works.

It was at this time that something extraordinary came to him as clearly and compellingly as the vision and the voice came to St. Paul on the way to Damascus, and as the vision and the message have from time to time come to the prophets throughout the ages. Many years later, when writing to a Catholic priest who had expressed his regret that Mr. George was not of his faith, the author of “Progress and Poverty” made the following intimate confession, which was not given to the world until after his death:

“There is something else I wanted to say to you that I can only write with my own hand. Don’t be disturbed because I am not a Catholic. In some things your Church is very attractive to me; in others it is repellent. . . . Because you are not only my friend, but a priest and a religious, I shall say something that I don’t like to speak of—that I never before have told to any one. Once, in daylight, and in a city street, there came to me a thought, a vision, a call—give it what name you please. But every nerve quivered. And there and then I made a vow. Through evil and through good, whatever I have done and whatever I have left undone, to that I have been true. It
was that that impelled me to write 'Progress and Poverty'
and that sustained me when else I should have failed. And
when I had finished the last page, in the dead of night,
when I was entirely alone, I flung myself on my knees and
wept like a child. The rest was in the Master's hands.
That is a feeling that has never left me; that is constantly
with me. And it has led me up and up. It has made me
a better and a purer man. It has been to me a religion,
strong and deep, though vague—a religion of which I never
like to speak or make any outward manifestation, but yet
that I try to follow. . . .

"Each in the station to which he has been called, let us
do what is set us, and we shall not clash. From various
instruments, set to different keys, comes the grand harmony.
And when you remember me in your prayers, which I trust
you sometimes will, do not ask that I shall be this or that,
but only for grace, and guidance, and strength to the end."

From that solemn hour, like Isaiah impelled with his
august, "Thus saith the Lord"; like St. Paul after he fell
into the light and rose a just man on the Damascus road;
like the Maid of Orleans, led on to the achievement of
deeds that neither king, general, nor noble could accom­
plish, this clear-visioned moral idealist after that momen­
tous experience was driven on. A message must be given
to the people. Great truths and basic facts that had long
vaguely haunted his mind began to appear clearly. The
earth, air, and water were the gifts of the common Father
to His common children. To monopolize either of these
requisites of life would be to rob some of God's children
of their birthright. Man is a land animal and cannot live
without access to her resources. The earth, with its stored-
up wealth beneath the surface, is the rich treasure-house
of the great Father for all His children. No man has a
right to seize and hold this wealth which he has not created
and which is in justice a part of the common heritage. The
value of the land is dependent upon two chief factors: its
productivity, or the wealth it holds above and below the
surface, and the value which society gives to the land. In
both instances, clearly justice demands that society, or the
common children, should derive the benefits of the wealth produced by nature or created by society. Monopoly in land violates the fundamental law of life and justice, enriching the individual at the expense of the people by permitting the privileged or favored ones to appropriate the unearned increment. Man should be secure in the possession of the land he uses, but society should exact her right by taxation of land values. Here, in barest outline, are some of the great truths that Mr. George clearly and logically elaborated in "Progress and Poverty."

From the hour when he received what seemed to be a divine call, he was possessed by the great theme and could not rest until he had completed the book. To secure a publisher was the next serious problem. No volume of economics published in America had as yet paid expenses, and publishers naturally saw no chance for return of their outlay on a book by an unknown author and setting forth such radical and unconventional opinions.

Finally Mr. George and his friends set up the book and had it plated, and the Appletons, who from the outset had been impressed with its clear, vigorous, pleasing style and the logical presentation of its message, accepted the plates and published the work as one of their own volumes. After a time the book created a genuine sensation, and soon, even from a financial viewpoint, it became a marked success. Likewise in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales its message created great enthusiasm. Indeed, few if any volumes of the last half century have exerted so compelling an influence over minds of noble mould.

Shortly after "The Arena" was founded, I went by appointment to the home of Henry George in New York City, to consult him about a paper which I wished him to prepare. He personally answered the bell and greeted me in that charmingly simple, easy, and winning manner that marks the genuine, sincere, and unspoiled nature.

I had suggested that he prepare an outline of his social and economic philosophy, but to my surprise he said that he would much prefer to write a paper in advocacy of free rum, to be one of a series of articles I had told him I was having prepared dealing with various aspects of the tem-
perance problem. I expressed my astonishment at his choice of a subject, and he replied:

"Mr. Flower, intemperance is a great curse; we all admit that. But there is something more deadly than intemperance threatening the Republic to-day, and that is political corruption. The rum power in politics is a greater evil than intemperance, and it has arisen and become the evil that it is to-day—an evil that is poisoning the political conscience of the nation—because of restrictive legislation. Restrictive legislation," he repeated, "is the cause, and the rum power in politics is the effect."

For half an hour he outlined his views, advancing many arguments to sustain his position, and in the end I arranged for the paper he suggested.

Our conversation then drifted to his social philosophy, and I remarked that it seemed to me that his writings, more than those of any contemporaneous thinker, enthralled the imagination of the serious-minded, interested in political and social advance; they were germinal in character, fruitful in suggestions, and wonderfully inspiring. His face brightened as he replied:

"That is simply because they embody fundamental truths that are in accord with the principles of democracy and human rights. Democracy aimed at the enfranchisement of man through the political sovereignty of the people. The Single Tax would supplement this by liberating man's great source of livelihood from the grasp of monopoly. This, and the freedom of commerce and industry that would follow, would necessarily result in economic enfranchisement. The principles are fundamentally sound, simple, and easily understood. They appeal to the sense of justice in the thoughtful who are not blinded by prejudice, self-interest, or preconceived opinions."

My first impression of Mr. George as a deep thinker, a man of absolute sincerity and nobleness of purpose, over­mastered by the light of a great truth, was confirmed in after meetings with him.

Mr. George was one of the clearest reasoners and fairest debaters of our time. If he thought a person was honestly mistaken or laboring under a misapprehension, he took the
Progressive Men, Women, and Movements

greatest possible pains to enlighten him. A striking illustration of this is found in his open letter to the Pope, on “The Condition of Labor,” called forth by the encyclical denouncing the Single Tax. In his reply, Mr. George, in a masterly, sweet, and altogether admirable manner, shows how thoroughly in harmony with the teachings of Christianity is the Single Tax, and how completely the Pope had misunderstood the philosophy.

When, however, he dealt with one who had seen the light and then had become an apostate, he evinced much of the spirit of the great Nazarene when he scourged the money-changers from the Temple. This fact is impressively in evidence in his reply to Herbert Spencer’s attack on the land theory. The great philosopher in his earlier days had taken a position as fundamentally sound and boldly progressive as had Mr. George, and the author of “Progress and Poverty,” in his work entitled “A Perplexed Philosopher,” evinces a degree of severity found nowhere else in his writings.

Among the great politico-economic writers, Henry George is justly entitled to a foremost position as a fundamental thinker, a clear-visioned and rigidly logical reasoner. But beyond and above this, he was dominated by moral idealism, and this made his work germinal in character. He did more than any other great American economic philosopher to awaken and inspire the nobler minds among us. Indeed, I think his thought has been responsible, to a greater degree than that of any other writer, for awakening the spiritual enthusiasm, along economic lines, of fundamental thinkers in the Republic.

Hamlin Garland told me how “Progress and Poverty” opened a new world to him—a world of hope and inspiration, when all life seemed hopeless and chaotic. Ernest Crosby, W. D. McCrackan, Bolton Hall, James A. Herne, J. J. Enneking, Thomas G. Shearman, Louis F. Post, Robert Baker, and scores upon scores of other robust American thinkers, experienced the same inspiration from this social evangel.

To Count Tolstoi, in far-away Russia, the message came as the dawn of sunrise following a starless night. Basically
sound and redemptive in its influence, it was a message instinct with the spirit of justice, that came at a time when the materialism of the market was rampant, and it instantly appealed to men of vision, awakening a moral enthusiasm akin to that which reached its high-water mark in the dark days of the Revolution, when the Declaration of Independence flashed from the inspired brain of Thomas Jefferson.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the transforming influence of Mr. George's writings was seen in the career of Tom L. Johnson. Here was a man who, as a boy, had tasted the bitter bread of poverty; but by hard work, tireless energy, inventive genius, a talent for organization, and a brain for business and industrial achievement, he had rapidly mastered what seemed an adverse fate and had acquired wealth. He had come under the commercial spirit of the hour and would soon have become one of America's money kings, for he had early discerned the fact that in every great city lay inexhaustibly rich mines of wealth, which should by right belong to all the people and benefit the community in common; but since the electorat was asleep, these inestimably rich franchises were being seized by shrewd men who, through owning and operating the natural monopolies, were able rapidly to become fabulously rich because they possessed the taxing power; and joining the princes of privilege, he was already reaping a golden harvest.

But Tom L. Johnson was an idealist at heart—a fine, true nature that the sinister and demoralizing code of present-day business ethics had not yet contaminated; and one day, when riding East on a train, a newsboy laid on his seat a copy of one of Henry George's works. Mr. Johnson took it up and began to read it, at first in a casual, listless way. But soon the printed words had gripped his imagination and captured his reason. The sleeping ethical nature awakened. Moral enthusiasm and love of justice took possession of his mind. From that hour a new life opened. He became a militant apostle of fundamental democracy and social righteousness, and through his splendid work scores upon scores of other men were awakened. Among
this number was Frederic C. Howe, author of "The City
the Hope of Democracy," "The British City," and "The
Beginnings of Democracy," and one of the strongest pro-
gressive leaders in the battle for civic righteousness that
we have with us to-day.

Joseph Fels is another impressive illustration of the
power upon the receptive mind of messages instinct with
moral virility. Mr. Fels was a millionaire soap manufac-
turer. Like Henry George and Tom L. Johnson, he had
entered the battle of life with no financial capital and with
very limited education. To him "Progress and Poverty"
was a social gospel, holding redemptive power for earth's
burdened children, and a fundamental remedy in perfect
accord with the basic principles of democracy and justice.
To further the Single Tax propaganda Mr. Fels devoted
his latter years and his millions. He inaugurated a world
campaign, which he personally superintended until his un-
timely death. The work, however, is being continued
through the active co-operation of his widow and the
friends to whom he entrusted its direction.

Among the journalists who early became interested in
the land philosophy of Mr. George, was Louis F. Post, at
that time connected with "Truth," a New York daily.
Through his influence "Progress and Poverty" was pub-
lished serially in this paper—something which contributed
greatly to popularizing the work. Later Mr. Post assisted
Henry George in the publication of "The Standard," and
in 1898 he founded "The Public," of Chicago, which he
and his talented wife, Alice Thacher Post, edited until 1913,
when Mr. Post received the appointment of Assistant Sec-
retary of Labor. "The Public" under his editorial manage-
ment was the ablest and best all-round national editorial
weekly, representing fundamental democracy, that has been
published in America. In its columns not only the Single
Tax, but all the great vital constructive issues, such as
Direct Legislation, public ownership, proportional repre-
sentation, and the warfare against privilege in all its forms,
have been presented in a most masterly manner, both by
Mr. and Mrs. Post and a corps of leading writers. It was
also one of the few journals in America which resolutely
opposed the advancing postal bureaucracy and other ominous bureaucratic, imperialistic, and subversive acts in government which strike at the vitals of democracy. Mr. Post is also the author of a number of exceptionally able works, of which perhaps the most important are "The Ethics of Democracy," "Social Service," and "The Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce." On receiving from President Wilson the appointment as Assistant Secretary of Labor, Mr. Post resigned the editorial management of "The Public," which was assumed by Mr. Samuel Danziger, with Stoughton Cooley and Angeline Graves as assistant editors. And in justice to the new management it should be observed in passing that "The Public" has lost none of its old-time ability, editorial discrimination, moral courage, and loyalty to the fundamental principles of democracy.

Another editor who deserves a high place among the apostles of the Single Tax and fundamental democracy is James H. Barry, editor of "The Star," of San Francisco, which since 1884 has given to the Pacific Coast a clean, able, courageous, and always dependable editorial weekly. Mr. Barry also deserves a place on the honor roll of those who have gone to prison in defence of popular freedom.

Among the Congressional leaders of the Single Tax, Tom L. Johnson and Jerry Simpson of Kansas were long the two most active spirits. Later Robert Baker of Brooklyn led the forces of land reform and fundamental democracy in the National House. Mr. Baker, by his strong, fearless, and uncompromising stand for civic honesty, genuine democracy, and social justice, contributed much toward awakening the public conscience during his active service at the Nation's Capital. He was a veritable watch-dog of the people's interests and was extremely obnoxious to the servants of privilege and reaction.

At the present time, among prominent Single-Taxers in our National House, are Henry George, Jr., and Warren Worth Bailey. Henry George, Jr., as journalist, novelist, and statesman, has materially furthered the great principles of social justice, clean and efficient government, and popular freedom, to which his distinguished father gave his life.

In New England, ex-Governor Lucius F. C. Garvin,
C. B. Fillebrown, William Lloyd Garrison, and Prof. Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard University, have rendered distinguished service in popularizing the Single Tax, advancing various sound movements for the restoration and maintenance of popular sovereignty, and raising the standards of efficiency in state and municipal government. And these names are merely a few of a large number of men of thought and conviction who have rendered or are rendering invaluable service to the cause of good government, and whose work affords an impressive example of the contagion of a message instinct with fundamental truth and appealing to the moral idealism or sense of justice and right in the heart of man.
CHAPTER VIII.

EDWARD BELLAMY AND THE NATIONALISTIC AND SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENT IN AMERICA


Edward Bellamy, after the appearance of "Looking Backward," became the recognized leader of the Nationalistic or Marxian Socialistic movement in the Republic. I imagine no one was more surprised than the author at the extraordinary success of "Looking Backward," unless it were the publishers. The book, according to report, had been accepted by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, merely because they thought it might prove a fairly successful novel for the summer reading public in quest of light fiction. Certain it is that had it not been for the rising tide of social and humanistic idealism that was opposing the dominant materialistic commercialism, and the nation-wide hunger for a nobler social order, the book would never have approached a sale of half a million copies.

But the soil was prepared for the message. Mr. George had doubtless done much toward this end, in that he had awakened hundreds of thousands of thinkers, breaking the moral lethargy that had long held the nation in thrall; but a great number of his readers had unconsciously imbied so much of the distrust of liberty and humanity that had gone hand in hand with the onward march of reaction and privilege, that they did not possess his splendid Jeffersonian
faith in freedom. Others did not want to do much thinking for themselves, and here was a problem worked out for them—a happy solution of the great issue of life, which eliminated involuntary poverty, secured justice and plenty for all and afforded an opportunity to face the stars and grow Godward. Hence, while those deeply grounded in the individualistic democratic philosophy of Mr. George were unaffected, a still greater number of those who had first been startled out of sodden complacence by "Progress and Poverty" enthusiastically acclaimed "Looking Backward" as a new social evangel which they believed had only to be read by the millions to be generally accepted.

Nor was it the industrial class alone that was attracted by this social vision. A number of the leaders of the culture and conscience thought of Boston were so impressed that ere long the Nationalist Club was formed. Among its members were Edward Everett Hale, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Anne Whitney, the sculptor, and Miss A. A. Chevaillier. I do not know whether William Dean Howells was numbered among its members or not. He lived in Boston at that time and was deeply interested in the views of both Henry George and Edward Bellamy. It was the great social awakening, of which "Progress and Poverty" and "Looking Backward" were at once expressions and promoters, that doubtless suggested the writing of "A Traveler from Altruria."

"The Nationalist Magazine" was soon founded, from which great things were expected. One brilliant member of the club, a lady of culture and literary attainments, came to my office one afternoon, completely intoxicated with the idea of Nationalism, which she believed was about to sweep over the Republic, transforming a capitalistic despotism into an altruistic civilization such as only prophets, sages, and poets had hitherto caught glimpses of. "The Nationalist Club and the Magazine," she said, "are the beginning of a movement that will soon envelop the country and change the old order, for the message is so simple and plain, and the benefits are so clearly discernible for the millions, that when they hear the new truth and see how it can be
realized, we will have practical Christianity for the first time realized in the State, as well as in the heart of man."

Henry Austin was the editor of "The Nationalist Magazine," and though the publication was not long-lived, it did much toward compelling a serious consideration of Socialistic philosophy by editors and other opinion-moulders of the New World.

The Club soon lost its popularity in certain quarters on account of its exclusiveness. Some persons, who freely accepted the tenets, found it impossible to gain admission. I remember one gentleman who came to my office one afternoon, burdened with grievances against the "kid-glove Socialists," as he termed the members of the Club, who thought they were holier than others. At the suggestion of some friends, the disgruntled ones formed an association known as the Cold Cut Club. They held monthly meetings at which simple cold food was served, and the members maintained that they were literally carrying out Emerson's philosophy of "plain living and high thinking." A leading spirit in this democratic Socialist club was Mr. Henry R. Legate. He was an ardent believer in Nationalism and a militant worker for the cause.

Edward Bellamy possessed a charming and lovable personality. There was nothing of the militant reformer about him, although he was a man who held steadfastly to his convictions. In religion and other fields where widely divergent theories obtained, he inclined strongly to freedom. In a brief personal conversation which I had with him when in New York, I expressed my fear that Socialism might result in interfering with religious, scientific, and medical freedom, through State provisions that would fail to recognize and safeguard individual rights and would render impossible new discoveries outside of orthodox fields. He replied, as nearly as I can remember his words:

"If I thought Socialism would not insure fuller freedom for the individual and foster intellectual hospitality in the realms of ethical, scientific, and philosophical research, I should be the first to oppose it."

Then he pointed out the fact that the great leaders of Socialism were pronounced liberals. I replied that reaction
and privilege, whenever they could no longer check pro-
gressive measures, always sought to control the new order
or changed conditions, and if they found machinery that
would favor oppression or despotism, I feared it would
only be a question of time before human rights and the
freedom essential to progress along theoretical lines, which
had been won at such terrible cost, would be imperiled. He
thought, however, that with the general intelligence of the
age and proper safeguards, such as he confidently believed
would be provided, these dangers would be obviated.

“Looking Backward” was followed by a number of social
visions and romances depicting the happiness, development,
and progress of peoples under the Fraternal State. Mr.
Howells’ “A Traveler from Altruria” was probably the
most finished from a purely literary viewpoint, although
William Morris’ “News from Nowhere” was a volume of
great charm, individualistic, idealistic, and singularly free
from the hard and fast lines of most of the Socialistic ro-
mances. Robert Blatchford’s “Merrie England” had a cir-
culation greater than that of “Looking Backward.” It was
written down to the easy comprehension of the rank and
file of toilers.

Later appeared Mr. Bellamy’s “Equality,” a work on
which he had spent much time and thought, in the hope of
answering the numerous objections to his social schemes as
outlined in “Looking Backward.” This volume came at a
time when the Socialistic forces were becoming more inter-
ested in straight propaganda than in idealistic pictures of a
Socialist State, and the public mind was also somewhat
cloyed with the multitudinous visions that had followed
“Looking Backward,” so the sale did not approach that of
his first volume.

To my mind, the most charming of all the social visions
was Joaquin Miller’s “The Building of the City Beautiful.”
Miller possessed the rich imagination of the true poet. He
had mystical insight. One of the peculiarities of this
strangely contradictory character was his deep religious
feeling. The novel is permeated with a noble spiritual ideal-
ism not present in other social romances. Again, in it
woman is made the victor in solving the social problem. It is distinctly the woman's novel of the romances of this period, and although it is deeply philosophical as well as profoundly and nobly religious, it is more individualistic than most of the visions that attempted to portray the ideal State under justice and love.

The Socialist Labor Party was during this period appealing to those more or less interested in the Marxian Socialist philosophy, who came from Continental Europe. Its propaganda was not, however, particularly attractive to the Anglo-Saxon mind, and the endless contentions of its leaders, over theoretical or philosophical quibbles, prevented it from accomplishing much that it might have achieved had the movement been directed by broad-visioned thinkers who appreciated the importance of adapting its philosophical principles to the ideals of a democratic State.

Later there arose the Socialist Party, largely as an outgrowth of the general propaganda campaign of the Socialist reformers and the growing interest of labor in the cities, and of the agrarian population, in social and economic matters—an interest especially stimulated by the high-handed methods of public-service corporations and the sympathetic action of the National Government in its effort to break the organized strength of labor. The great railway strike at Chicago, when Mr. Debs was arrested and his mail rifled in a manner that might have excited the admiration of Russian bureaucrats, helped almost more than any other single event to give the Socialist movement a powerful impetus, not only by convincing thousands of workers who had long trained with the old parties that the Government was far more responsive to corporate wealth than to organized labor, but also by converting Mr. Debs to Socialism.

We of the present time find it difficult to realize the ignorance and confusion that existed in the public mind in the early nineties in regard to Socialism and what it sought to accomplish for the people. This was largely due to the systematic attempt on the part of the mouthpieces of entrenched privilege to use Socialism as a bogey. The newspaper paragraphers who wished to discredit any reformer,
found it convenient to denounce him as a Socialist and an Anarchist. The fact that Socialism and Anarchy were the two poles in the concept of popular government did not prevent men who knew better from thus seeking to discredit the progressive opposition. The Nationalistic movement and the great Socialistic novels of the closing two decades of the nineteenth century largely destroyed the power of unscrupulous journalists and other mouthpieces of privilege to use the term Socialism as synonymous with lawlessness. More recently, however, the systematic campaign of certain religio-political organizations to discredit Socialism has served to mislead many people. Hence it seems important here to give the briefest possible outline of the Socialistic theory which shall fairly voice the authoritative views and aims of accredited leaders of the movement.

The recognized founders and masters of modern Socialism are Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and they were powerfully assisted by Lasalle. The central and master thought of Marx, Engels, and the modern Socialists has been the securing for the people of the full results of whatsoever they created. The earth, they held, should not be the property or monopoly of a class of individuals, it being the common gift of the common Father to His children. Nor should the child that comes into the world be bound and fettered by another child that happens to be born into another home.

The one master thought of Socialism, the one thought that must always be kept in mind, because it is the heart of modern Socialism, lies in the declaration that “there can be no solution of the great social problem that does not destroy the power of the exploiting class and liberate the exploited class.”

Says John Spargo, in his work, “The Substance of Socialism”:

“They [the Socialists] are insisting more and more that Socialism be regarded as a principle—namely, the conscious elimination of the power of an idle class in society to exploit the wealth-producers. Whatever tends toward that end of eliminating the exploiter from society contributes to the fulfilment of the Socialist ideal.”
Socialism is primarily an economic philosophy, and the Socialists have long since as a whole discouraged communal societies. Many Socialist writers, it is true, trod in the footsteps of Plato, St. Augustine, and Sir Thomas More, including Edward Bellamy, William Morris, and Mr. Wells, in picturing their concept of the State under what they conceived to be Socialistic conditions. But the great master teachers of Socialism have not concerned themselves with the details of any such State. They are battling for a revolution which shall forever end the economic slavery or dependence of a part of mankind, due to privilege or monopoly rights, whether those rights be in the land or in capital. They are fighting for a social order in which each man shall enjoy the fruit of his own labor, where woman shall have such economic freedom as to develop the best in her, and where children shall have that full-orbed freedom that shall tend to develop and bring out all the best in the child nature. They are concerned with principles rather than with the details connected with the civilization that will follow the establishment of those principles.

"The two fundamental purposes of Socialism," observes Mr. Newton Mann in his work, "Import and Outlook of Socialism," "are: collective ownership of the instruments of production—land, factories, utensils, machinery,—lifting labor out of bondage to capital; and the abolition, or great restriction of, inheritance, so that every person may (except in so far as natural endowments differ) have approximately an equal chance in the world."

The Socialists claim that by surrounding all life with justice, giving to every man that to which he is entitled by his labor; throwing around the child all the opportunities possible for the unfoldment of life; making men and women economically free; and extending to the weak and the helpless the generous hand of loving aid, not only will the fittest survive, but all humanity will rise to new and nobler expressions.

For some time Socialism was revolutionary in character, and its apostles looked for the early overthrow of existing forms of government and the establishment of a world-
Progressive Men, Women, and Movements

wide social democracy. This campaign was followed by a period in which many of the great leaders have more and more advocated constitutional methods, wherever suffrage is enjoyed, in furthering their economic revolution. "At the present time," says the author of "Import and Outlook of Socialism," "Socialists generally are coming to doubt that the substitution of a new social order for the old is to be brought about by a sudden overturning; to think rather that the end is to be reached by the gradual processes of evolution now going on under their eyes,—processes whose beginning is hidden in a far distant past, which have been accelerated in our day, but not so as to bring the consummation within sight."

The Industrial Workers of the World, as will be later observed, still cling to the revolutionary ideals and methods of propaganda, and the line of cleavage between these militant exponents of change and the advocates of the step by step method is becoming more and more distinct with the passing years.

The growth of Socialism is one of the most marked political facts of recent years. It is the only political faith that is held in common with the passion of a religion by millions of persons in various nations throughout the world.

One of the best brief statements of the present Socialistic programme was embodied in 1891 by the representatives of the German democracy in their declarations at Erfurt. As this statement is a luminous, yet very concise, outline of the doctrines of Socialism to-day, I give it in brief below, as summed up by the author of "Import and Outlook of Socialism":

"1. Universal, equal, and direct suffrage for all men and women of the Empire over twenty years of age.

"2. Direct legislation through the people, by means of the right of proposal and rejection. Self-government of the people in Empire, State, Province, and commune.

"3. Universal training in military duty, with abolition of standing armies. Settlement of all international difficulties by arbitration."
"4. Abolition of all laws which suppress or restrict the free expression of opinion and the right of union and meeting.

"5. Abolition of all laws which, in public or private matters, place women at a disadvantage as compared with men.

"6. Religion a private matter. No public funds to be applied to ecclesiastical or sectarian purposes.

"7. Secularization of schools. Compulsory attendance at the public people's schools. Free opportunity for higher education to the more talented.

"8. Administration of justice and legal advice to be free. Abolition of capital punishment.

"9. Free medical attendance; free burial.

"10. Progressive income, property, and inheritance taxes. Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs, and other financial measures which sacrifice the collective interest to the interests of a privileged minority."

It is sometimes claimed that the introduction of Socialism would disrupt all modern government. This is not the idea of the Socialists. Many have opposed Socialism on the ground that it would develop or degenerate into an oppressive bureaucratic despotism, and there would be great danger of this were it not for the fact that the Socialists the world over are first of all fundamental democrats. That is to say, the Socialists demand that the government be lodged at all times in the hands of the people, and be at all times responsible to the sovereign voters. Thus, in the American Socialists' platform they invariably demand the initiative, referendum, and right of recall. This would render it possible for the people to recall or retire to private life any official, at any time, who was unfaithful to his trust, while the initiative and referendum give to the people the power of initiating legislation and passing on all laws made. Thus, modern Socialism is fundamentally democratic. Its ideal is human brotherhood. Its aim is justice for all, and the giving to the worker the full return for his labor.
The most popular leader among the rank and file of American Socialists is unquestionably Eugene V. Debs. It was while in prison, at the time of the great railroad strike in Chicago, that Mr. Debs, after making a careful study of social, political, and economic philosophy, became convinced that the hope of the industrial millions lay along Socialistic lines. He came from prison an ardent Socialist. He was a man of much natural ability, who often suggested Colonel Ingersoll in his eloquent outbursts. He was a passionate lover of justice, kind-hearted to a fault, if that be possible, and intensely interested in bettering the conditions of labor. He soon became a dominant figure in the Socialist movement, and in spite of the systematic attempts to discredit him, on the part of conventional and conservative forces, few men in America to-day are more whole-heartedly loved by the industrial millions than Eugene Debs.

The man who did more pioneer work along this line than any other American, and who will ever be recognized as one of the greatest popularizers of Socialistic thought, was Mr. J. A. Wayland, formerly of Ruskin, Tennessee, Colony. Here he started "The Coming Nation." Later he moved to Girard, Kansas, where he founded "The Appeal to Reason," the most widely read journal of Socialistic propaganda in America. Mr. Wayland was a free thinker in religious matters, a passionate lover of humanity, and an enthusiastic apostle of progressive Socialism. That he was slandered, calumniated, and assailed in an incredibly reckless manner is not surprising. He merely shared the fate of Thomas Paine and, indeed, of almost all those who fearlessly choose to follow reason and seek to secure for man a better and juster social and economic life. "The Appeal to Reason" has popularized Socialistic ideals among the farmers of America and also reached hundreds of thousands of urban laborers. In the management of this paper, Mr. Wayland was later joined by Mr. Fred Warren, who became a worthy co-worker, and, after Mr. Wayland's death, his successor, in pushing "The Appeal's" propaganda campaign.

One of the most sinister and significant events connected with the story of "The Appeal to Reason" was the sys-
tematic attempt of the Post Office Department, under reactionary influences, to cripple and destroy this paper through unjust discriminations and various shameful overt acts. Only the able, prompt, and fearless action of Messrs. Wayland and Warren frustrated the designs of the Post Office Department in its Russia-like bureaucratic methods. Later, when "The Appeal" uncovered almost incredible prison and other evil conditions that were being winked at by those in Governmental control, the courts were invoked, in the hope of accomplishing what the Post Office Department had failed to achieve. Here again, however, though the cost of legal expense seriously menaced "The Appeal," the publication weathered the storm.

Among the men who in recent years have popularized Socialistic ideals among the masses, and who have done an inestimable work in arousing labor to a realization of unjust economic conditions, is Ryan Walker, the leading and most popular Socialist cartoonist on this side of the Atlantic. Like Wayland, Ryan Walker is a radical. He believes in Socialism with all his heart; believes that it, and it alone, offers justice, and that under its rule all citizens would have a chance to live, in the broadest and truest sense of the term. He believes that until the present capitalistic order is overthrown, the parasite class will fatten off of labor; that poverty and all its attendant evils will be the lot of an ever-increasing number, while extremes of wealth and the moral degradation that ever goes with such conditions will continue. Walker's cartoons are noteworthy for the telling manner in which, with a few lines, he forces a vital truth on the consciousness of even the most slow-thinking individual. For many years he contributed cartoons regularly to "The Arena." These were copied in the English and Australian "Review of Reviews" and other European and Australian journals. As a popular cartoon lecturer Mr. Walker has won deserved fame. His lectures on Henry Dubs and Henry Dubs, Jr., are in my judgment better calculated to reach and win for Socialism the army of day laborers than any other lecture propaganda that has yet appealed to the workers. Ryan Walker, the man, is loved and respected wherever known. He is a man
of high character, simple, sincere, unconventional, and very lovable. His home life is ideal. His wife, an author of ability, is thoroughly congenial, entering into her husband's work with the whole-hearted passion of one who also believes in the sufficiency of the social gospel to transform the face of civilization. Both have the enthusiasm for humanity which has dominated the militant apostles of progress in all ages.

A number of clergymen, university professors, and writers of eminence in other fields are found in the Socialist ranks. Among this number, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, an Episcopalian clergyman of marked ability and the author of "The Encyclopedia of Social Reform," deserves special mention. Rev. Eliot White and Alexander Irvine are two clergymen who, because of their loyal stand for the gospel of Christ and the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, have sacrificed their ministerial positions rather than be unfaithful to the truth as they saw it.

Among leading writers who have done much to remove the popular misapprehension in regard to Socialism, John Spargo, Morris Hillquit, Newton Mann, Robert Hunter, and Prof. Charles Zueblin deserve special mention. A few years ago ex-President Taft created considerable merriment by his rather slighting reference to the "parlor Socialists," who at that time were especially active in the country. These "parlor Socialists," however, have done far more than many people imagine to remove the deep-seated prejudice of a great number of thinking people who from the press and the pulpit had gained a thoroughly erroneous idea as to the real aims and objects of Socialism. These writers are prominent representatives of a group who are opposed to militant tactics and believe in devoting their time and energy to convincing the reason and intelligence of the citizens and proceeding by the step by step method.

Quite unlike this group, however, are the Industrial Workers of the World. They believe that capitalism can only be overthrown by forcing the issue, through strikes and by methods that will compel public attention. In New York, during the winter of 1914, the out-of-works, many of whom had no shelter and were ill-clothed, banded them-
selves together and went from church to church, demand­ing work, food, and shelter. As of old, the church and the government joined hands in summarily dealing with these disturbers of complacent conventional religion.

The treatment of Bouck White, the pastor of the Church of the Social Revolution and author of one of the most remarkable religio-social volumes of our day—"The Call of the Carpenter"—has aroused widespread resentment among a great number of justice- and liberty-loving citizens. Bouck White is probably the most commanding figure among the active believers in forcing a recognition of present-day evil conditions on the attention of conventional Christianity. He is a deeply thoughtful Christian who, unhappily for his own freedom, is too literal a follower of the Nazarene to be tolerated by the wealthy church in present-day New York. In "The Call of the Carpenter" he gave offence to the religious reactionaries who were anxious to see the church and State unite, with formal, dogmatic, and ritualistic theology dominant, as well as to the sleek, well-fed, and smug pastors of churches where the princes of privilege and masters of Wall Street expect to hear smooth things proclaimed.

During the time when the out-of-works, under the au­spices of the I. W. W., were visiting the churches and creating consternation by their presence and the questions put to the representatives of the Christian religion of the various folds, Mr. White went to service in the church to which young Mr. Rockefeller belongs. When he rose and began to speak, much, I imagine, as the Nazarene pro­pounded questions to the Scribes and Pharisees in the synagogues of Judea, he was summarily arrested and rail­roaded to prison as a felon, the judge sentencing him to six months' hard labor on Blackwell's Island. Students of history will agree that this treatment will strengthen the ranks of the militant Socialists and greatly tend to weaken reverence for the courts and the law, whose only source of real strength, in the long run, in a democratic government, is fidelity to justice and even-handed impartiality.

In Massachusetts, two prominent Socialists who were among the contributors to "The Arena" and "The Twenti-
eth Century Magazine" were Dr. George W. Galvin and Rev. Roland D. Sawyer.

Dr. Galvin, who as mayoralty candidate of Boston on the Socialist ticket polled an exceptionally large vote, is noticed elsewhere in this volume, in connection with his splendid work in behalf of prisoners and in exposing the abuses of the insane in Massachusetts.

Rev. Roland D. Sawyer is at the present time a member of the Massachusetts Legislature. He is the author of "The Making of a Socialist," a most interesting autobiographical record, and of an admirable work on Walt Whitman, the prophet-poet. Mr. Sawyer has done much to advance the Socialist cause, by his pen and on the platform. He is representative of an army of earnest-minded young men who dare to think and whose hearts and brains are consecrated to the service of humanity.

Among the college men of New England who have recently taken a commanding place among Socialist leaders is George Allan England, whose deeply thoughtful papers in "The Twentieth Century Magazine," "The Review of Reviews," and other serious publications have attracted wide attention throughout America and Europe. Mr. England is a graduate of Harvard, holding the degree of Master of Arts from that institution. Some years ago he became a convert to Socialism and since then he has manifested much of that religious fervor and enthusiasm which make Socialism one of the greatest moral powers of our time. Mr. England's recent novel, "Darkness and Dawn," though rather melodramatic, and calculated to appeal primarily to the general novel-reading public wishing to be thrilled and amused, is rich in imaginative power and instinct with fine moral idealism, while the Socialist concept of justice and equity is also woven into the web and woof of the story. This young leader lives in Maine, where he is taking a prominent part in the political activities of that State. He is a man to be reckoned with in the future.

Before closing this sketch, mention should be made of the great work done for the cause of Socialism by Charles H. Kerr of Chicago, in publishing and bringing within the reach of American readers the writings of a great number
of the leading Socialists of the world, from Karl Marx
down.

It is a notable fact that the Socialist Party was the first
political organization in America to unequivocally adopt the
initiative, referendum, and right of recall in its platform,
though to many who are broadly sympathetic toward So­
cialism, its members do not appear to be sufficiently im­
pressed with the vital importance of having the people
well schooled in the employment of these democratic meth­
ods of government before anything so sweeping and cen­
tralized as Socialism should be attempted. Indeed, these
people hold that without these provisions as a working
principle in government, Socialism would be in great dan­
ger of developing into a bureaucratic despotism as intoler­
able, and in time as corrupt, as the bureaucracy of Russia.

There can be no question but what the Socialist senti­
ment is steadily gaining in this country, in spite of the
various organized forces openly and covertly opposing its
theories. It is a world movement that seeks to utilize the
present organization and centralization of industrial life for
the emancipation and well-being of the producing millions
of all lands.
CHAPTER IX.

THE AGRARIAN UPRISING OF THE EARLY NINETIES


One of the most significant political events of the last decade of the nineteenth century was the agrarian uprising that not only threatened the apparently invincible rule of party political bosses and their real masters, the lords of privilege, but actually made the first serious breach in their walls of defence. Heretofore, the farmers had been absolutely loyal to the party. Names were cherished for what they had meant, and appeals to prejudice and alarmist cries were all that was necessary to make the farmers vote almost en bloc for their party. This was true of both the North and the South. Wall Street and the railway magnates, who were levying tribute on the farmers on the principle of taxing all the traffic would bear; great commercial and financial interests, which were automatically making a few multimillionaires by the excessive tributes levied by monopoly, by stock-watering, and inflation of securities, no less than those that managed the party machines, felt perfectly secure. They believed the politicians could indefinitely blind the slow-thinking, honest-minded farmers by flamboyant appeals to "Stand by Old Glory," and by arousing sectional prejudice. What was true of the North was equally true of the agrarian population of the South, where, if possible, the partizan sentiment was even more susceptible to inflammatory appeals. This condition had obtained during the thirty years following the Civil War and had rendered possible the rapid rise of the feudalism of privileged wealth and its control of government through the political bosses and party machines.
The farmers were slow to awake from the fatal dream, slow to realize that by riveting their eyes on a war long since ended, those who controlled government were winking at measures that were despoiling them of their earnings and blanketing the farms of the land with mortgages.

The Grange and the Wheel were schoolmasters which prepared the way for that wonderful agrarian body known as the Farmers' Alliance. This organization rose North and South and became a vast school of political economy. It showed the farmers that their interests, North and South, were one. It impressed them with the fact that the war was over; that a mighty new power was crushing industry, and that all appeals to State and Nation were falling on ears dead to their cry, because the politicians believed they could count on the farmers' vote by employing the old tactics. The Alliance went farther. It had its bill of grievances and its political programme. Soon the body became not only numerically strong and a unit, wiping out sectarian lines, knowing no Blue or Gray, but it was animated by a holy moral fervor as high, fine, and sincere as that which flamed in the breasts of the Minute Men and the Committees of Public Correspondence and Safety before the Revolutionary War. The leaders also were for the most part men of sterling worth and exalted ideals. A secret inner council, known as Gideon's Band, proved extremely valuable in maintaining solidarity and bringing to naught various cunning schemes of the now awakened and alarmed opposition.

A great convention was held in St. Louis, which was a revelation to the old line politicians. There the old war hatred and prejudice had given place to unity and a clear-cut determination on the part of the organized farmers to beat back the forces of privilege and restore again the Government to its old high function. Seldom in the history of Western civilization, since the days of Peter the Hermit, had spiritual enthusiasm been so marked as in that wonderful St. Louis convention. Nor was this all. The opposition press, subservient to the existing order, had sneered at the movement as an organization of calamity-howlers and mere glib-tongued demagogues. After the
autumn elections, however, it became serious, for the returns showed that seventeen members had been elected to Congress, and that the seats of several United States Senators were in jeopardy.

A new force had arisen in American politics, and the eyes of the industrial workers in the cities were beginning to turn to this organization with the hope that a union could be effected which would check the uninterrupted march of corporate wealth. Many of the leaders of organized labor, however, resolutely discouraged all attempts of the industrial workers in the cities to unite with the farmers.

The People's Party was the legitimate political outcome of the great agrarian uprising. The St. Louis and other great farmers' gatherings had laid the foundation, but it was the Omaha convention and platform that electrified the awakened farmers, while drawing to the movement an army from other industrial fields, as well as many fundamental democrats from both North and South. Before the Omaha convention, however, the Alliance movement had revolutionized politics in many sections, the most astonishing victory being won in Kansas, where the old Republican majority of approximately one hundred thousand was turned into an opposition majority of about eighty thousand.

The campaign that preceded this peaceful revolution was one of the most extraordinary in the annals of the Republic. Kansas, from border to border, was electrified by political mass-meetings such as had rarely been known in any period. The campaign took on the aspect of a religious revival. Indeed, the highest pitch of moral enthusiasm was reached in those great assemblages. At some of these meetings thousands of weather-beaten farmers, with gnarled hands and bent forms, came from twenty to thirty miles to listen to the stirring eloquence of natural orators, both men and women, and sometimes boys, who had made a painstaking study of political conditions.

One of the striking features of this campaign was the way the women came to the front and became State leaders. The two figures most prominent in Kansas were Mary
Ellen Lease and Annie L. Diggs, but they were merely typical of a score or more of women who in various parts of the land came to the front on this crucial occasion. Mrs. Lease was a natural orator with a voice clear as a bell, that could be heard by all present at great open-air meetings where more than five thousand persons assembled.

John Davis, afterwards one of the ablest and most respected Congressmen, and Jerry Simpson were powerful and effective campaigners. Davis was a careful student of history, a man who reveled in facts and statistical data, and was one of the best posted thinkers of the hour, on contemporaneous and politico-economic history.

Jerry Simpson had been awakened by Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." He was a statesman of the simple, rugged type of which Abraham Lincoln is the most conspicuous example. Honest, sincere, plain-spoken, unschooled, but possessing a vigorous mentality, he won the confidence of the people and ably represented them in Congress.

Another unique group of speakers who materially aided in the political revolution in Kansas were the Vrooman boys. They were young men of education, all wonderfully magnetic and gifted with the power of oratory. They were students as well as natural debaters, and being thoroughly under the spell of the hour, they carried their audiences with them, creating intense enthusiasm wherever they spoke.

The Vincent boys, a family of able, intrepid, nonconformist editors, greatly promoted the Farmers' Alliance and People's Party movement in various sections of the land, through papers which they established.

"The Arena" played a very important part in this remarkable campaign. Its management had early determined to carry forward a dignified and authoritative educational campaign for the restoration and maintenance of fundamental democracy and the enlightenment of the people on such questions as the land, public ownership of natural monopolies, the menace of an advancing feudalism of wealth, and kindred subjects. Naturally enough, this magazine had appealed to the leaders of the people's move-
ment. Several years later, one of the most popular speakers of the Kansas campaign described to me the part the magazine played in the political overturn.

"We always had 'The Arena' with us," he said. "It being a great magazine, numbering among its contributors many of the leading authoritative thinkers of America and Europe, and being published in Boston, its utterances carried great weight with the people, many of whose ancestors had come from Massachusetts, and in its pages were facts, clearly, tersely, boldly stated—just such facts as we needed to awaken and convince the people. We took it with us everywhere and clinched our arguments with its quotations."

The Omaha convention definitely threw down the gauntlet before the entrenched upholders of the invisible government of organized wealth. Its platform was clear, unmistakable, and though far from what many fundamental democrats could have desired, was honest and represented the force of popular protest against influences that were oppressing millions and corrupting and destroying popular government. Hence it drew to its support thousands of persons who did not agree with some of its planks.

Gen. James B. Weaver, the Presidential standard-bearer, was a man of marked ability and high moral integrity, a brave soldier, an incorruptible statesman, and popular campaigner. He was an ideal leader in a campaign that appealed at once to friends of democracy, lovers of justice and the progressive forces that had definitely broken with the old order.

The Omaha convention, like the great Alliance gathering in St. Louis, was dominated by moral enthusiasm, and the campaign that followed was one of the most inspiring as well as picturesque and unique Presidential battles in the history of the Republic. With Gen. Weaver went Mrs. Lease as a popular campaigner. On the Pacific Coast they were joined on some occasions by the venerable popular people's singer, James G. Clark, a man who as poet, musical composer, and singer, had wrought a great work in the days of the Civil War. Mr. Clark was to this great uprising what Gerald Massey was to the cause of Chartism in
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

Of the Past Twenty-five Years

England during the forties. Many of his poems were set to music, and almost all of them were widely copied by the progressive press from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He contributed a number of essays as well as poems, which were originally published in "The Arena." At this time he presented a striking appearance, with his long, flowing, snow-white hair and beard. His voice was clear, rich, and wonderfully sweet, though very penetrating, and his mind was as vigorous and clear as that of a young man. He had composed the words and music of "The People's Battle-Hymn," which had been published by Oliver Ditson Company, and this hymn was sung by great audiences of five and six thousand people, led by Mr. Clark, when Gen. Weaver toured the Pacific Coast.

"The effect upon the audiences," said Gen. Weaver, in describing the campaign to me, "was something indescribable. Tears flowed from thousands of eyes, and emotional excitement reached heights such as have only been known in the greatest religious revivals."

The phenomenal vote of the People's Party at the polls clearly showed that the forces of privileged wealth, which had honeycombed city, State and National government with political corruption, undermining where it was not destroying free government, and oppressing the millions for the abnormal enrichment of the few, would henceforth have to reckon with a new conscience element in public life.

In this brief sketch it is impossible to notice, or even mention, a number of the leaders in this wonderful political awakening. One name, however, must not be overlooked, and that is the most uncompromising, fearless and able leader of the People's Party movement in the South, Hon. Thomas Watson. In Congress he worked indefatigably in the interests of the producing and consuming masses. He was the father of the proposition for rural postal delivery, and this was but one of many important measures which he championed and which later became features of progressive legislation. So formidable did he become, that the interests finally succeeded in defeating him for Congress, but later he was the People's Party candidate for Vice-President. Through his papers, especially "The Jeffersonian,"
Mr. Watson greatly served the popular cause. He is also the author of an excellent life of Thomas Jefferson, a popular life of Napoleon, and several other works which enjoy wide circulation. Being absolutely independent and fearless, he attacked various influences and oligarchies which he held to be inimical to popular rights and free institutions and aroused the opposition of reactionaries of almost all classes. When the St. Louis convention nominated Bryan and Watson, the People's Party practically merged into the Democratic organization, under the leadership of William J. Bryan, the party ceasing to be a great power in American politics.

Newspapers and public speakers frequently refer to the Alliance and the People's Party as ephemeral uprisings that exerted small permanent influence on our national life. Such views are as wide of the truth as they are superficial, for besides doing more than any one thing to destroy sectional prejudice, arouse millions of our people, and make the first successful stand against the onward march of privilege and governmental corruption, many of the cardinal demands of the movement, in modified form, have already been enacted into law, while the success of other demands is in a fair way to be realized at an early date.

The Farmers' Alliance and People's Party, in their history and effect on the body politic, find a striking parallel in the rise and ultimate result of Chartism in England. This great popular movement, that rose to formidable proportions in the forties of the last century, made certain definite demands, its manifesto being termed the People's Charter. It reached giant-like proportions in 1846, and doubtless would have rendered forcible revolution inevitable in 1848, when Continental Europe became the theatre of revolution, but for the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the facing of the English Government toward democracy. Almost all its demands were later granted.
CHAPTER X.
WILLIAM J. BRYAN AND THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY


I was in Chicago when the unexpected happened and William J. Bryan received the nomination for the Presidency. The excitement that preceded the nomination beggared description. It would be difficult to conceive the passions of men reaching much higher pitch than during the days and hours that preceded this historic nomination, when the Democratic Party changed masters, the conservatives being unhorsed by a young and almost unknown knight from the West.

In the lobbies of the hotel, for several days, the great chiefs of the Wall Street wing, master politicians who had behind them banking interests representing many millions, and much of the wealth of such corporations as the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust, pulled every known wire in an effort to hold the party in the grasp of the feudalism of privileged wealth, or to keep it, as the mouthpieces of the interests termed it, “safe and sane.”

On the other hand, the leaders of the West and South were there in force. They feared, however, that they would be baffled, realizing that they were no match for the most astute masters of machine and underground methods; but with courage born of the fact that millions of aroused Americans were in open revolt, they determined to cast political precedents to the winds and make no compromises.

The triumph of Mark Hanna and the conservatives over the radical Republicans at St. Louis had been followed by
the defection of many of the Republican leaders of the West, and now the question was whether the Democratic Party should also follow the political bosses, who in turn represented Wall Street influences and corporate or monopoly power.

Senator Tillman of South Carolina, strong, blunt, passionate, and, when aroused, presenting a formidable presence, was in a highly belligerent mood. Hon. Richard P. Bland, "Honest Dick," as he was familiarly designated, was the favorite candidate of the South and West, though he had many warm supporters who regarded him as too narrow and lacking in certain elements demanded by the occasion. Epithets, charges, and innuendoes flew like sparks from the smokestacks of racing steamboats. "That man Tillman," I heard one say, "is a disgrace to the nation." "He sure looks like a Cyclops when his face gets red and he begins to bore you with his single eye. If he had his pitchfork, I would be making for the woods," said another. "Why, he is the wild boar of democracy," said a third; whereupon a young man walked up to the group and said slowly and with intense earnestness, emphasizing every word with a shake of his index finger:

"You don't like Tillman because you know he can't be bought by English gold or Washington's bribes of office. He is incorruptible; he is true to the people; and let me tell you, the Democratic Party will never again be in the hands of men who will betray the people to the Morgan-Belmont-Rothschild financiers. There will be no more secret bond deals under a Democratic administration. We will see to that."

I expected a sharp retort. Instead, the conservatives smiled in a superior sort of way, as much as to say, "That only proves how little you know."

That colloquy was typical of what was going on on every hand, though frequently the altercations were stormy and interlarded with much profanity.

As the time for the nomination drew near, there was a growing conviction on the part of the radicals that the reactionaries had settled on a candidate who had not so an-
tagonized the South and West that his selection would be followed by disastrous revolt, and yet who was thoroughly satisfactory to the Cleveland Administration. Gov. William Russell of Massachusetts was thought by many to be the man selected, but the radicals were in no mood for any candidate acceptable to the Wall Street element, and many of them felt that if the opposition succeeded, it would be best to have some out and out corporation or Wall Street man head the ticket. It was supposed that the Massachusetts delegation had been so looked after that it would solidly support the Cleveland wing, but a few days earlier the Hon. George Fred Williams had thrown a bomb into the camp of the reactionaries by open rebellion and asserting his independence. It was felt that his action would lead to several defections, not only among Massachusetts delegates, but elsewhere. And just here I wish to say a few words about this splendid representative of the un-bossied and incorruptible scholar in politics.

Had we had a few more such statesmen, privilege and corruption could never have threatened the very life of free institutions. Mr. Williams, after graduating from Harvard, entered the Massachusetts Legislature, where he menaced the plutocracy by boldly demanding an investigation of the ugly charges of corruption that were being made on every hand against the street-car monopoly of Boston in its dealings with the State Legislature. This investigation was attended by Hamlin Garland, who was so impressed with what he saw and heard that he wrote a strong and fascinating novel entitled "A Member of the Third House," one of the pioneer stories exposing the corruption of government by public-service corporations.

Mr. Williams subsequently went to Congress, but his bold stand for political purity and his later revolt against the Cleveland wing of the Democracy at Chicago, led to a determination on the part of the entrenched political bosses and the interests to compass his political destruction. He was for a long time socially ostracized, just as had been Wendell Phillips before him for the exhibition of the same moral courage and lofty fidelity to what he conceived to
be right. He carried on a vigorous educational campaign, however, and from the hour of the nomination of Mr. Bryan became one of the leading, if not the leading representative of progressive Democracy in New England. He has ever been inflexible in his loyalty to fundamental democracy and popular rights. He has been one of the ablest advocates of the initiative and referendum, of public ownership, and kindred reform movements.

After Mr. Wilson became President, he appointed Mr. Williams Minister to Greece. Men of the type of Wendell Phillips and George Fred Williams, however, are not likely to succeed in diplomatic positions, as they will inevitably voice their indignation when in the presence of injustice and oppression. After the Balkan war Mr. Williams visited Albania to investigate stories of oppression and cruelty in that distracted little kingdom. He refused to be silent in the presence of what he considered grave wrong, and resigned his position rather than forfeit the right to champion the cause of the oppressed.

At Chicago, Mr. Williams shared with Senator Tillman and a few other leaders the anathemas of the reactionary or corporation Democrats, while his presence aroused great enthusiasm among the radicals.

There have been many nominating conventions when passion and partizan feeling seemed to destroy for the time the reason and judgment of the delegates, but seldom indeed has excitement reached such a pitch as that which marked the hour of the nomination and election of candidates at this convention. The radicals or progressives, I think, half expected the opposition to win, and it was when the suspense was at its height that Mr. Bryan seized the psychological moment and delivered his historic “Cross of Gold and Crown of Thorns” oration, which captured the nomination. A great number of prominent thinkers who did not agree with many of Mr. Bryan’s views, especially his silver theory, heartily supported him. Their position was well expressed by Prof. Parsons in a conversation I had with him shortly after the nomination.
"I am not a believer in free silver," said the Professor, "and I do not subscribe to some of Mr. Bryan's other theories; but this conflict is a clear-cut battle between privilege and the people. Bryan represents the forces of clean and free government. Mark Hanna and those in charge of the opposition represent the feudalism of privileged wealth that has all but destroyed our Republic through its creatures, the political bosses, and its domination of the party machine. Bryan is clean, honest, sincere, and a true friend of the people and of free institutions. Therefore in this conflict there is but one thing for us to do and that is to support him. It is doubtful whether he will be elected, because the political bosses and the handymen of the interests have corrupt practice down to a fine art. Then, if Mr. Bryan makes a tactical mistake or two, the opposition has the press at its back and unlimited money. It will make any mistake appear sinister, and they may even win by resort to forgeries and eleventh hour canards, like the 'Run, Romanism, and Rebellion' of Burchard, which defeated Blaine."

That Mr. Bryan did make one tactical error was certain, when he came to New York and was a guest at Croker's banquet, which was characterized by the opposition as "Belshazzar's Feast." The Republican press seized upon this Tammany welcome and used it to influence the minds and arouse the prejudices of the West against Bryan; for Tammany had long been very justly regarded by decent people everywhere as the embodiment of moral turpitude, civic corruption, and political degradation. "Here is your leader," exclaimed the opposition, "becoming beholden to Croker and Tammany. If elected, Tammany will rightly claim, as she always does, her spoils. Do you want to enthrone Tammany in Washington?" These and similar cries were published broadcast. Cartoonists and paragraphers vied with each other in an effort to create distrust and doubt in the minds of tens of thousands of former Republican voters who had later joined the People's Party, but who were now expected to vote for Bryan.
The People's Party. When the convention met in St. Louis, The Democrats were not in the ticket as Mr. Sewall. The ticket, the Vice-President, who had built the executive disappointed. There is little doubt the Republicans spell

the tide
swept steadily Bryan-ward until a short time before the election, when the Republican canvass indicated that the progressive Democratic candidate would be elected. Mr. Thomas W. Lawson has graphically described how the bankers and princes of privilege were hastily summoned and how a gigantic sum was quickly raised to defeat Mr. Bryan. The press, the spellbinders, and the various agencies so frequently employed were called into service, with the result that the progressive Democratic ticket was defeated.

"The Arena" was the only leading review or magazine in the East which supported Bryan and the progressive Democracy. The stand which we took led to a serious cutting off of advertising patronage and was in other ways unfortunate for the success of the magazine; yet I have never for a moment regretted our stand. Believing as I did, and do, that the very life of free institutions depended upon substituting for government by privileged wealth and party bosses the rule of the people, and believing that Mr. Bryan and the progressive Democracy represented the people against privilege, I could not do otherwise than I did. Then I felt, what time has clearly demonstrated to be true, that the great campaign would do more than years of ordinary agitation to bring basic facts before the electorate and render possible an orderly, peaceable advance by which the people could regain their government and even, though it take years to do so, could and would be able to establish genuine popular rule, and through it win economic and social justice for all the people, without the shock of forcible revolution.
CHAPTER XI.

POPULAR OWNERSHIP OF NATURAL MONOPOLIES


The general recognition of the transformation of the Republic into a government of privileged wealth and political bosses led to various definite movements for the restoration of popular rule and the destruction of the chief sources of political corruption.

Going hand in hand with the campaign for the restoration of the people’s rule, through the initiative and referendum, was the crusade for public ownership and operation of railways, telephones, and telegraph. Henry Demarest Lloyd, a scholarly patriot of independent financial means, had published a volume entitled “Wealth vs. Commonwealth,” in which was uncovered, for the first time, in an authoritative manner the almost incredible story of the Standard Oil Company and the railways. This work was followed by other volumes exposing the riot of corruption and extravagance that marked the history of railway development in the United States; while the Congressional and State investigations to which we have referred further impressed upon the public mind the facts which the Congressional and State investigations of earlier days had revealed.

“The Railways of Europe and America,” by Marion Todd, was one of the earliest popular volumes boldly advocating governmental ownership of railways. It had a large circulation and did much toward directing public attention to the importance of the people’s owning and con-
trolling the great arteries of trade and means of transpor-
tion.

The Farmers’ Alliance and the People’s Party press, and
fugitive leaflets and pamphlets also largely promoted the
general interest in public ownership. “The Arena” was a
pioneer in calling the attention of thinkers to the importance
of this issue.

Prof. Frank Parsons, a member of the faculty of the Law
Department of Boston University and a legal text-book
writer of recognized ability, was one of the leading staff
contributors to “The Arena” in popularizing this important
issue. I had met Prof. Parsons at a legislative hearing on
Beacon Hill, where we had appeared in behalf of measures
calculated to better the condition of the slum dwellers, and
by appointment I spent an evening with him the following
week. He then expressed the conviction that unless the
people took over the natural monopolies, not only would
the Government become more and more the creature of
privilege, but the progressive impoverishment of the people
would inevitably follow, through the taxing power of the
public-service corporations, that regulated the fares and
freight rates to suit themselves, usually upon the principle
of absorbing the major part of the producers’ surplus earn-
ings. He said:

“The great railway trunk lines have not only received an
empire of rich territory as a free gift, but these and other
railways have set about deliberately issuing first and second
mortgage bonds and watering stock, so that the railway
bonds and stocks are now in many instances several times
as much as the entire outlay of the company for right of
way, building the roads, equipment, terminal facilities, and
other costs. Now interest and dividends have to be forth-
coming to meet the demand of securities that represent one-
half to three-fourths water, and these have to be paid by
the producing and consuming public. Moreover, the ra-
pacity of the great public-service chiefs is steadily growing
with their confidence in their power to control and direct
legislation. The facts brought out in official investigations
show how huge are the corruption funds of these compa-
nies and how effective is the influence they exert in Government and over the public opinion-forming agencies. It is all-important to bring these facts home to the people, but until this is done there is small hope of remedying the present evil conditions.”

As a result of this and subsequent conversations, I arranged with Prof. Parsons for a series of papers on natural monopolies, which were widely quoted by press and public speakers.

In reply to my suggestion that a parcel post and postal savings banks were imperatively demanded, and that I was planning to start a campaign for these things that had been successfully introduced elsewhere, Prof. Parsons said:

“I thoroughly agree with you on the importance of these measures, but I believe now that the public mind is aroused over the increasing rapacity of the transportation chiefs, and with the facts we have in hand from official investigations, we will be able to educate the public quicker by laying special stress upon the public owning the great arterial and nervous system of commerce, while all such educational agitation will further the cause of the parcel post and postal savings banks.”

Then he told me of a conversation he had had with Postmaster-General Wanamaker, who had made a brave fight for a parcel post.

“Mr. Wanamaker told me,” he said, “that there were four apparently insurmountable obstacles in the way of establishing a parcel post. Then he named the four great express companies. They are so entrenched in the Senate, and have behind them the great railways and all the combined influences of those vast interests, that it seems impossible to make any headway until the voters become impressed with the importance of public ownership, and informed as to the beneficial results of these innovations in foreign lands.”

I said that I had in mind the securing of papers from leading statesmen and publicists of New Zealand and the Old World, for the purpose of giving our people authoritative data.
"That," he replied, "is what we most need, but I fear the day is a long way off when we will get either the postal savings banks or the parcel post. The bank interests," he continued, "are ramified like the express companies, and are even more powerful."

I cite this conversation to show how pessimistic was one of the bravest and most optimistic of our great public ownership workers, in regard to the early realization of these two great reforms, both of which have now triumphed over the apparently insurmountable opposition of a few years ago.

Prof. Parsons was one of the noblest humanitarians and civic leaders I have ever known. He literally gave his life for the cause of justice and the larger life of the struggling millions. I remember very distinctly his coming to my office one afternoon, after a hard day's labor, for he was one of the most tireless of workers.

"I have an order for five legal text-books, and other offers that would mean considerable money in my pocket," he said, "but if I give my time to these things, I must give up this work which we both feel to be so important."

Here was a critical moment when he was compelled to decide. On the one hand were the applause of conventionalism, place, power, casting their lure before him and pointing to a flower-strewn highway of ease; on the other, duty and the high demands of freedom beckoned him up the rugged steeps. He did not hesitate, because to him the voice of duty was ever divine. He was above all an idealist, a lover of his fellowmen, and a firm believer in popular rule. He was one of the greatest apostles of fundamental democracy and efficient government that America has known, a practical educator, able, sane, well equipped with knowledge, and deeply conscientious. In each sphere of his activity his work was basic in character and so germinal in essence that it awakened enthusiasm for justice and human progress wherever his words or his personal influence extended; while his clear, logical intellect and psychological insight led him unerringly to the root causes in any question he considered. This passion for truth and justice and
his innate love for humanity goaded him on until he found rational, practical remedies for the evils or the failures to be remedied.

During one of the many long talks we enjoyed together, Prof. Parsons said:

"One of the important things to be done is to make the people see the fact that the chief cause of corruption and inefficient government in America lies not, as some would have us believe, in the corrupt masses, but in the intelligent and unscrupulous classes, that are using corrupt tools to obtain selfish ends. The cry that the people are corrupt is a base slander. There are, of course, many corrupt in all strata of society; but the heart of the people is sound.

"There is too much popular ignorance and too much moral lethargy. These, and the fact that many who behold the evils do not see a practical solution, are the great things to be dealt with. We must educate the masses; we must awaken the people to the dangers that are threatening free and pure government; and we must show the way out."

It was one of these four aims,—the removal of the distrust of democracy; the education of the masses in regard to civic duty and human rights; the awakening of the moral conscience of the people; and the practical remedies for the evil conditions, that inspired all his politico-economic work.

His magnificent pioneer book on municipal government, entitled "The City for the People," was called into existence after investigating municipal corruption and inefficiency and finding that there was so little valuable literature obtainable on the subject. This work not only greatly quickened the civic awakening in regard to municipal affairs, but was the pioneer handbook for the more serious-minded reformers in city government throughout the Republic. The question, peculiar to the situation, was but one phase of the larger problem. He early saw that one of the most fundamental and pressing needs of the hour
was the restoration of the people's rule. Consequently he prepared an able work advocating Direct Legislation.

Perhaps his capital work was "The Railways, the Trusts, and the People," a large volume of over five hundred pages. In its preparation he traveled throughout the United States, interviewed more than half a hundred railway officials and experts, and spent several months in Europe making an exhaustive investigation of railway conditions in the various countries of the Old World.

But there was another demand that Prof. Parsons felt to be very important in order to prepare the way for a democratic renaissance, and that was to show the contrast between a government faithfully operated in the interests of the people, and one that pretended to be a popular government while being operated in the interests of favored classes. New Zealand gave a splendid illustration of a government dominated by the ideal of the welfare, development, and prosperity of all the people, just as our Republic illustrated the results of a government of privilege, operating through a money-controlled machine, for the selfish enrichment and aggrandizement of the few. This led him to prepare his brilliant, masterly, and exhaustive "Story of New Zealand," a work of over eight hundred pages, embracing the best history of the Dominion that has been written, and giving a luminous and comprehensive exposition of the various democratic experimental reforms inaugurated in that most progressive and, in some respects, most democratic of all governments. These writings by no means embrace all the important politico-economic works that have been published from the pen of Prof. Parsons, but they are sufficient to show his breadth of intellectual vision, his splendid moral idealism, and the practicality that marked all his work.

Yet his writings in these departments of human progress represent but a small part of his labor for economic advancement. On the platform, in public conventions, on committees for civic advancement, before legislative bodies and Government commissions, he probably wrought as effectively as any single worker of our time.
He died in the very prime of life, and after he left us it was found that he had two volumes completed, as well as several partially written. One of these was on "Vocational Training"; the other was entitled "Legal Doctrine and Social Progress." These books were edited by his close friend and literary executor, Mr. Ralph Albertson, and were subsequently published.

His writings were invaluable to social reformers—veritable treasuries from which editors, speakers, and educators drew authoritative data. In his early death almost all the great progressive reform movements lost one of their greatest, if not their most practically efficient leader. His was the patriotism of the earlier day, pure and Grail-like in its brilliance. His was the faith that makes faithful, the love that ennobles, the philanthropic humanitarianism that dignifies, the educational wisdom that is as practical as it is philosophically sound, and as utilitarian as it is idealistic.

A statesman whose ripe scholarship is companioned by moral courage and high ideals of civic duty, who for years has stood for public ownership of natural monopolies, is Hon. Walter Clark, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. Like Prof. Parsons, he was one of the staff contributors to "The Arena" and my relations with him have enabled me to appreciate his immensely valuable work not only in educating the public in favor of popular ownership, woman suffrage, and other leading progressive issues, but in fearlessly denouncing judicial aggression or government by judges, which, like the stealthy advance of bureaucracy, or executive usurpation of legislative functions, is one of the most ominous evils that threaten popular rule. Justice Clark has also for many years, first as Associate Justice on the Supreme Bench of his State, and later as Chief Justice, given the Republic an illustration of the ideal jurist, an exponent of the loftiest moral integrity and even-handed justice. When nominated for the office of Chief Justice, two powerful corporations that did not find him a judge after their own hearts undertook to defeat him, but the people knew their man, and he was triumphantly elected by the largest majority ever given to a judge.
in North Carolina. It is not often that one finds a great jurist fearlessly criticizing his own class, or a Southern statesman who whole-heartedly espouses the cause of woman suffrage; but Justice Clark is one of those rare statesmen who study all sides of great questions and unhesitatingly take their stand for fundamental justice, freedom, and popular rights.

Among foreign thinkers who contributed to “The Arena” special papers of great value to the cause of popular ownership, were Alfred Russel Wallace and Hon. R. Henniker Heaton, the English Parliamentarian and leading authority on postal service.

Dr. Wallace’s contribution on public ownership of the railways took advanced and very radical grounds. He based his contention largely on Herbert Spencer’s law of social justice, which insists that “each individual ought to receive the benefit and evil of his own nature and consequent conduct, neither being prevented from having whatever good his action normally brings him, nor allowed to shoulder off onto other persons whatever ill is brought to him by his action.” In his discussion Dr. Wallace contended that the Government should take over the railways at their present capitalization, giving, however, to the owners and their children, during their lifetime, the full interest or revenue which they were receiving, after which the Government should be the sole possessor of the railway properties, not recognizing any claims to property by the unborn. He held that it was absolutely unjust to compel the people “to pay, to work, or to suffer, in order that certain individuals yet unborn should be endowed with wealth supplied by the labor of their fellowmen.”

Another prominent contributor to “The Arena,” who has rendered important service to the cause of public ownership, Direct Legislation, and other fundamentally sound and progressive democratic measures, is Carl S. Vrooman. From early youth he had engaged actively in the cause of social justice and popular rights. After leaving Harvard, where he distinguished himself as one of the leading orators among the young men of the day, he became one of
the Regents of the Kansas State Agricultural College. Later he engaged in a systematic investigation of the railway question, traveling extensively over the United States and spending two years in England and on the Continent, devoting his time chiefly to the study of public ownership, Direct Legislation, and general politico-economic, and social questions. During this time he contributed numerous papers to "The Arena." One, dealing with the practical workings of Direct Legislation in Switzerland, as he had observed it, was regarded by many leading workers as the most convincing and luminous short treatise on this subject that has appeared on either side of the Atlantic. As a result of his painstaking investigation, Mr. Vrooman published one of the most authoritative volumes that has been issued, on "American Railway Problems." In 1913 Mr. Vrooman received 37 votes for United States Senator from Illinois, cast by the leading representatives of the Bryan-Wilson Democracy of that State. He subsequently received the appointment of Assistant Secretary of Agriculture from President Wilson. Mr. Vrooman is a type of the younger fundamentally sound democratic statesmen who are coming to the front—men under the compulsion of the high civic spirit of the elder day. It is this new statesmanship, which represents a renaissance of the Jeffersonian democracy, that promises to restore the moral ideals and basic principles that made our nation in her infancy the ethical leader of the world.

The cause of public ownership is advancing too rapidly just at present—that is to say, there is danger that the popular indignation at the extravagance and corrupt management of the railways will make the people so insistent upon early taking over by the Government of the great arteries of trade, that those responsible for their being so shamefully waterlogged will be able to unload them on the people at an absurdly high price. The Government owes it to the people of to-day and to-morrow not to pay much, or anything, in excess of what it could duplicate the lines and equipment for.

In this pending conflict the friends of public ownership look with confidence to United States Senator LaFollette.
In active political life no statesman has been more aggressive or able in the warfare against railway abuses, extravagance, and corruption than this distinguished civic leader of Wisconsin. In vain did the railways and political bosses of his State and at Washington seek to relegate him to private life. He was shelved on occasions; he was tempted with offers of good positions if he would "be good" to the powers that were; he was cajoled and threatened; but he remained inflexibly faithful to the people and the cause of right. The voters felt they could trust him, and as Governor and United States Senator, he has been brave, honest, and true to his convictions. On some political issues I personally do not agree with the Senator, but I believe all friends of fundamental democracy will recognize him as one of the most efficient of our leaders against corporation abuses and corrupt politics, on the one hand, and as a champion of political rights and popular rule, on the other.
wholesome moral environment, a very large per cent. of our criminals can be restored to self-respecting manhood. In this great work the State of Colorado has been the pioneer. It is largely due to ex-Governor John F. Shafroth of that State and Warden Thomas J. Tynan, the man he selected to undertake the great work of demonstrating the power of just, humane, and nobly Christian treatment upon the criminal, that America and the world have seen the practicality of this reform.

In the nature of the case, the treatment of the criminal may easily be marked by abuses, while the general indifference of society has long been one of the most discouraging symptoms of moral inertia on the part of a social order that should be civilized.

The treatment of the insane, though greatly improved from what it was when Dorothea Dix a half a century ago wrought a veritable revolution, not only in Massachusetts, but throughout the Eastern States and in many European lands, is far from creditable. The amazingly small percentage of cures and the general indifference of society, and especially of the official class, to the higher demands of our age in regard to the treatment of this most helpless class of all our people, constitute one of the crying shames of the day. That the treatment of the insane in various hospitals, and especially in State institutions for the criminal insane, is often characterized by great abuses, is clearly indicated by recent investigations, and that State officials and the lawmakers are not quick properly to sift the charges and provide measures by which frequent investigations can be made by representative committees composed of brave, fearless, wise and humane citizens, reveals again the culpable moral lethargy of society. There are, however, a few men and women who for years have been voices crying in the wilderness of self-absorption and indifference; persons who, often at great financial and social cost to themselves, have become the voice of the voiceless.

In Massachusetts, the man who during the past score of years has done more than any other person—I think I may safely say, more than any other ten persons—in pleading the cause of prisoners and the insane and in forcing so-
The slums of our great cities were steadily enlarging their borders, and to me this seemed one of the most important subjects for investigation, not merely because they were breeders of disease, nurseries of crime, and the dismal world of the social exiles whose very presence was an indictment against our Christian civilization, but also because I felt they could be made such concrete illustrations of a three-fold peril to society that public opinion-forming agencies would be compelled to take notice in such a way as to start a revolutionary agitation for social betterment. I therefore determined to make a careful personal investigation and bring the result of my findings before my readers. I found many persons, supposedly well informed, who insisted that there was no serious slum problem in the New World. Others said, "You will have to go to New York to find slums." Another friend, prominent in social work, said, "You need not go to New York or Chicago. Get some of the earnest workers in the North or West Ends to guide you, and, my word for it, you will be embarrassed with wealth of material to draw from."

A few days after this conversation, I met the Rev. Walter J. Swaffield, one of the army of true Christians who freely give their lives, energies, service, and love to help the needy and raise the unfortunate. He had charge of the Baptist Bethel Mission in the North End and invited me to go on some pilgrimages with him through the social cellar of the Hub. On the day when I began my investigations, Mr. Swaffield said:

"Many people are misled about our slums because they are not so open and above-board as in New York and the Old World. We are now on Hanover Street. These buildings, with substantial brick fronts, do not suggest proximity to the squalor, degradation, and misery of the slum life; but we will go back of some of these buildings, and there we will find ourselves in the very heart of our slums."

A brief record of the scenes of supreme wretchedness and poverty that we encountered in this and subsequent pilgrimages, and the lessons which the appalling revela-

The papers dealing especially with concrete cases of uninvited poverty in the slums of Boston awakened much local interest. Rev. O. P. Gifford, the pastor of the Warren Avenue Baptist Church, who was then as now recognized as one of the ablest and most careful thinkers in his denomination, preached a powerful sermon, citing some cases which I had described. The sermon was reported in the daily papers and the statements were promptly challenged by one of our leading conservative citizens who was supposed to be actively concerned in the Associated Charities. I was, however, not only supported in all my statements by the pastor of the Baptist Bethel Mission, but I had had flashlight photographs taken of the various scenes described, and was thus prepared to establish the truth of all that had been stated and was ready to take any skeptics to the places I had investigated. The result of this discussion was most helpful, as it forced the press, and later the Legislature, to take cognizance of a condition that was a crying shame to church and civilization. One newspaper, after a careful examination of the list of taxpayers, found that many of the worst rookeries were owned by leading wealthy residents of the fashionable Back Bay district, not a few of whom were prominent pillars in the various churches. The report also showed that the rents paid for wretched attics and cellars and dark, evil-smelling tenements represented a return on the money invested that was nothing short of heartless extortion. These revelations and further exposures that followed led to much needed legislation which improved the general and sanitary conditions of these quarters.

These papers called forth so many letters from our readers, that I determined to make a direct appeal to the subscribers to aid in relieving the terrible distress of these victims of a cruel fate. I explained that such relief was in
the nature of the case merely palliative; that it was the root causes of poverty that must be attacked. Through wise and just fundamental measures alone could the evils be remedied, but this fact did not relieve us of our duty to throw planks and life-saving belts to those now sinking in the sea of want. The response was immediate and generous. Between three and four thousand dollars was contributed by the readers of "The Arena" to the fund for relieving the distress of such cases as I had described. This money was used by the pastors of the Baptist Bethel Mission in the North End, and the Bowdoin Square Church of the West End. A full account of the disbursements was published in "The Arena." Besides relieving immediate want, through it several persons were able to secure permanent positions.

The series of articles was later issued in book form, under the title of "Civilization's Inferno, or Studies in the Social Cellar." The chapter entitled "The Froth and the Dregs," gave a contrast between the idle, frivolous, and wickedly wasteful life of an element among the very rich in our metropolis which had recently been described at length by Ward McAllister, and the condition of misery at the social nadir. This chapter the New York "World" reproduced in a Sunday edition, with a reply by Mr. McAllister and a paper by A. C. Wheeler, popularly known in newspaper circles by the pseudonym of Nym Crinkle. Naturally, the publication of this chapter greatly stimulated public interest in the book in New York, but the reception was also very gratifying in all parts of the land, as in the neighborhood of fifty thousand copies, if I remember correctly, were sold—a phenomenally large circulation for a serious work dealing with social problems, and especially the tragic aspects of society.

Hand in hand with the publication of the series of papers exposing such evils as child slavery, the sweatshops, the slums, the oppression of the agrarian millions through the rapacity of the public-service corporations, and similar wrongs, we published a great number of fundamental papers, seeking to show how root evils could be remedied and how the ends of justice might be conserved. The
evils of the saloon in corrupting political life and as a source
of crime, misery and poverty, were made a strong feature
of “The Arena,” together with able papers by those ad-
vocating the various methods of dealing with the question,
such as prohibition, high license, free rum, the Gothen­
burg system of municipal control, and the State dispensary
system as introduced by South Carolina.

Another campaign waged by “The Arena” was against
the iniquitous so-called age of consent laws. It not only
attracted nation-wide attention throughout the Republic,
but bore immediate fruit in the removing of the legal pro-
tection in many States for men who were trafficking in the
virtue of young girls. In 1885 William T. Stead made
his astounding revelations of the crime against girls in
London, which resulted in forcing Parliament to change
the English statute, so that a girl could not legally consent
to her ruin before she was sixteen years of age. The ex­
posures of Mr. Stead, published in the “Pall Mall Gazette,”
awakened the W. C. T. U. and White Ribbon Workers in
America, and during the next few years several important
laws were enacted looking toward the better safeguarding
of very young girls.

When “The Arena” commenced its agitation, however,
the general interest in the subject had died out, while
shameful laws, protecting men who preyed upon the virtue
of little girls, remained a crying shame in our Republic.
When we closed our campaign, six States had joined
Wyoming and Kansas in passing laws raising the age of
consent to eighteen years, and in a number of other States
the age had been raised from two to three years.

Among the many women who wrought tirelessly and
efficiently in the great work of arousing the conscience side
of our social life to a realization of the paralyzing and de­
generating influence of advancing poverty, upon individual
and the State, Helen Campbell occupies a pre-eminent
place. By her fine writings, both in social studies and in
fiction, she compelled thinking men and women to see and
feel the evils she depicted. Working girls and women
were especially the subject of her tireless efforts at better­
ment. She was a staff contributor to “The Arena” and
besides many special papers, contributed a notable series of articles on working women in Europe and America that greatly helped the cause of industrial women. I saw much of Mrs. Campbell during the early nineties. Her presence was always an inspiration, her thought well poised and more fundamentally sound than that of many of the earnest-minded women who were much in the public eye. Mrs. Campbell, besides her magazine and periodical work, wrote many books of exceptional value and did important lecture work at the Wisconsin State University and the Kansas Agricultural College. She possessed in a large degree the mother heart, and I know of no woman who has done more to encourage, develop, and call out the best in numbers of struggling young men of vision, imagination, and intellectual power, during crucial hours or periods of great stress and strain in life. Not a few artists, writers, and social workers of eminence rightly look upon her as a kind of foster-mother, so great was her aid in hours when they most needed help. Her influence, whether she wrought for the aid of the slum-dwellers, the victims of the sweatshops, factories and mills, or to stimulate, arouse, and exalt to greater effort struggling genius in hours of stress, has always been that of a light-diffuser or the giver of more abundant life.

The condition and treatment of the two most dependent and unfortunate classes of society, the morally and mentally insane, were among the subjects prominently considered in “The Arena” and “The Twentieth Century Magazine”—subjects that must more and more challenge the most serious and loving thought and consecrated service of the children of vision.

In the case of the criminal, there is a most inspiring forward movement now in progress. After ages of cruel, brutalizing treatment, society is coming to see that her prison population can be very largely redeemed and that crime can be measurably reduced by the Government applying the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount in the place of an age-long treatment marked by indifference and a spirit of retaliation. At last it has been proved, by actual test, that by productive work, industrial education, and
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

Of the Past Twenty-five Years

ociety to take notice of existing abuses, is Dr. George W. Galvin. He is a scholarly physician and surgeon, a Harvard graduate, and founder of the Boston Emergency Hospital. For many years he has had a large practice, but in spite of the exacting duties of his professional life, he has found time to do an immensely important work in exposing existing wrongs in our prisons and insane asylums. Time and money have been freely given in an intelligent and tireless effort to turn on the light and ameliorate the condition of society’s most unfortunate and defenceless children. In the nature of the case, this work was free from the taint of sordid motives, for those he sought to aid could in no way materially help him, while, as is ever the case where fearless champions of the weak and defenceless arraign existing conditions, he aroused the fierce enmity of entrenched wrong and slothful officialdom. But the open and covert opposition of many powerful influences has not been able to turn him from the great work he has undertaken, and already much good has been accomplished, especially in awakening thoughtful people to a realization of the need of a revolutionary change in the treatment of both the criminals and the insane. Dr. Galvin’s exposure of prison conditions in “The Arena” was widely noticed; while in Boston, in the press and on the platform, he has carried forward a campaign such as ever precedes great revolutionary forward movements. His intense sympathy for the workers and his passionate desire to see even-handed justice for all, led him some years ago into Socialism, and as the Socialist candidate for Mayor of Boston he polled a phenomenally large vote, for a member of that party. Dr. Galvin is one of the humanitarian workers who, careless of self, is faithfully laboring to wipe out some of the great wellsprings of misery, injustice, and death that are blighting civilization.
CHAPTER XIII.

CENTERS OF CIVIC LIGHT AND LEADING


The nation-wide interest aroused by our papers on the slums of our great cities, the evils of child slavery, and kindred subjects, suggested a far-reaching social awakening, and from many prominent thinkers and workers, as well as from a great number of our subscribers, came letters expressing the wish that social groups or clubs might be formed in cities and towns, for the diffusion of moral, social, and economic truth, and that would assist in uniting the conscience element of every community. With this idea in mind, and also in the hope of further awakening the churches to a realization of their solemn obligation to present-day victims of social injustice, I prepared a series of papers entitled “They Have Fallen into the Wine-Press,” “Jesus or Caesar?” “Then Dined a Light in the East,” “The New Time,” and “Union for Practical Progress.” These were published in “The Arena,” and later in a little volume under the title of “The New Time, a Plea for the Union of Moral Forces for Practical Progress.”

After the appearance in “The Arena” of these papers, Arena Clubs and Unions for Practical Progress rapidly sprang up throughout the country. A national organization was formed, with Phillip S. Moxom, D. D., as chairman, and Rev. H. C. Vrooman as secretary-treasurer. On the advisory board were such distinguished citizens as Rev. George C. Lorimer, Prof. John Bascom, Rev. Minot J. Savage, James A. Herne, Rev. O. P. Gifford, Hamlin Garland, President David Starr Jordan, Frances E. Willard, Carroll D. Wright, and a number of other leaders in the
world of education and moral, social, and economic advance.

The Unions or Clubs were centers of social and civic activity. Most of them held weekly meetings at which some special topic, such as women wage workers, child slavery, the abolition of capital punishment, universal peace, the land and the people, co-operation, charity, old and new, social justice, etc., was made the subject of discussion. Clergymen were invited to speak in their pulpits on the subject that the different Unions were considering. In the clubs the subject would usually be presented by some member, or a lecturer from a distance, after which a general discussion would ensue. Committees also were formed for carrying forward practical movements for bettering local conditions, and for the purpose of further arousing public sentiment. These organizations also became clearing-houses for the exchange of thought by earnest, broad-minded men and women whose master aim was social betterment. In a short time there were between eighty and a hundred active Clubs or Unions. Rev. Henry Frank, Prof. Thomas Elmer Will, Prof. Frank Parsons, and the four Vrooman brothers, Rev. Hiram, H. C., Walter, and Frank Buffington, were among the active workers, lecturers, and organizers.

In Boston, Prof. Thomas Elmer Will, A. M., a Harvard graduate, who later became the very efficient President of the Kansas Agricultural College, organized an effective Union.

In Philadelphia, Prof. Frank Parsons, who was at that time much in the city superintending the publication of some of his works, became an active organizer. Under his direction the Philadelphia Arena Club and a Union for Practical Progress were started; while in conservative New Orleans the strongest and most efficient of all our organizations was formed, under the personal direction of Mrs. E. C. G. Ferguson, a Virginian by birth, being a grand-niece of Patrick Henry, and one of the most gifted, cultured, and public-spirited citizens of the South. As this Club was in many ways typical of the wonderful organizations that became centers for practical social, economic,
political, and moral educational agitation, from Boston to San Francisco, and because for many years it has exerted a strong influence in civic and progressive movements in New Orleans and Louisiana, I shall give a somewhat extended description of it.

This Club was organized in 1892. It was proposed at the outset that at the regular meetings of the Club a designated member should present an outline of some great social, economic, political, or other important theory or philosophy, reading an exposition made by the author of the theory in question or by some master-spirit among its exponents. Thus, for example, we will say that the subject of the Single-Tax was designated for consideration at a certain meeting. A member would present a digest of Mr. George's views as given by the great social philosopher in his own words, and after its presentation the subject would be briefly discussed by the members. By this admirable plan the cardinal points in an important subject were brought out, while the remarks and criticisms following tended to touch upon the various objections advanced by critics, and the person who had given the reading would be prepared, through careful previous study, to state how the advocates met many if not all of these objections.

The Club was emphatically a truth-seeking body of persons not afraid to think and with strong convictions, but not wedded to any particular "ism." They sought to broaden their culture by the frank searching for truth.

A second purpose of this association was to secure vital messages or lectures and papers from recognized authorities among educators, publicists, and authoritative thinkers whose love of truth and holy passion for imparting knowledge would lead them to consent to discuss certain themes with which they were familiar, under the auspices of the Club, and in this way the members and their friends, and on occasions the public at large, would have the benefit of the well-matured thoughts and conclusions of eminent thinkers. At that time several of the strong and brilliant contributors of "The Arena" staff were freely giving their services in cities which they chanced to visit or which they were passing through, in speaking
for the Unions for Practical Progress and Arena Clubs; and it was rightly believed that several of these workers, as well as other public-spirited thinkers who from time to time passed through New Orleans, would favor the Club with lectures or papers.

Among the distinguished thinkers who addressed the Arena Club and its guests were Hamlin Garland, James A. Herne, Joseph Jefferson, Prof. J. H. Dillard, Will Allen Dromgoole, Rev. H. C. Vrooman, Dr. Joseph Holt, Bishop (Episcopal) David Sessums, and George Wharton James.

Public meetings under the auspices of the Club, when important social and moral issues were uppermost, were another feature of this work; while its position on leading live questions, given to the public in the form of resolutions or of papers prepared for such leading dailies as the "Times-Democrat" and "Picayune," has contributed in no small degree to awakening thinking men and women on questions of grave importance. The work of the Arena Club has been frequently noticed by prominent writers in the New Orleans press. The following extract from an article contributed to the "Times-Democrat" by Catherine Cole, one of the most brilliant journalists of New Orleans, is typical of expressions published from time to time:

"I recall with pride the brilliant and progressive career of our now justly famous Arena Club. The Arena Club had its beginning some years since in the dainty drawing-room of one of the most powerful-minded women this town can boast, whose graces of mind and heart have gathered about her coteries of purely and thoroughly intellectual people—men and women who put Vanity Fair to blush through their earnestness and honesty and the value of their accomplishments. Many most distinguished speakers have had the honor of addressing this Club, which has become a distinct educational force in New Orleans and whose doings have inspired other Clubs to the same enterprises. The Arena Club has accomplished one beautiful work, inasmuch as it has taught many women how to think for themselves. That is a rare gift—that of doing one's own thinking—almost as uncommon as common sense."

A work similar in many ways to that carried on by the Unions for Practical Progress and the Arena Clubs was
later successfully inaugurated by the popular and highly magnetic clergymen, Benjamin Fay Mills. In Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Minneapolis, and elsewhere, Mr. Mills achieved an important work in establishing centers of moral, social, and intellectual activity and awakening numbers of persons who later have become important leaders and workers along progressive lines. Mr. Mills possessed the rare power of enlivening and awakening the noblest ideals and spiritual impulses in his congregations. When I first knew him he was an Orthodox clergymen. Later he became a Unitarian, and still later a profound student of Emerson and that practical idealism which is doing more than most people imagine to awaken the conscience side of American life. In coming under the spell of metaphysical thought, Mr. Mills, however, did not lose his sympathetic interest in the larger problems of the age, especially as they relate to the practical measures for social betterment. He, his talented wife and children, have made a deep, fine, and lasting impress on the thought of many communities and have become the touchstones that have called to active expression the higher impulses in numbers of young men and women whose influence will long helpfully affect humanity; for none of us live unto ourselves, and many who have been born into the higher life by the social and spiritual ministry of the Mills family will exert a beneficent influence on other lives after we have passed from the stage.

Another public-spirited speaker and writer who has contributed largely to the broadening social and ethical thought of the time is Henry Frank. Like Mr. Mills, Henry Frank was formerly an Orthodox clergymen. I first remember seeing his name in the eighties. He was at that time a Congregational minister in Jamestown, New York, whose liberal ideas were occasioning much discussion. Later I came in touch with him through some reports he sent me of remarkable psychical experiences which occurred in his home. He made a study of the new psychology and psychic science and has for many years been a deep student of metaphysical thought, while at all times being true to the ideal of liberty and social justice. He is the author
of a number of extremely thought-inspiring and helpful volumes. "The Kingdom of Love" is perhaps the most popular with students of what is known as the New Thought. It is a fine work, luminous with spiritual idealism. "Modern Light on Immortality," "Psychic Phenomena," "Science and Immortality," and "The Tragedy of Hamlet: A Psychological Study," are valuable contributions to advanced psychology and psychic research. "The Doom of Dogma and the Triumph of Truth" is a thoughtful contribution to advanced theological literature, which, though fearless in attacking the creeds and dogmas that have long dominated Christian civilization, is thoroughly constructive and optimistic in spirit.

The Mills family and Mr. Frank are representatives of a group of talented, earnest-minded, and spiritually illuminated men and women who during the past twenty years have enormously broadened, enriched, and elevated the thought and ideals of our nation.
CHAPTER XIV.

ACQUAINTING AMERICA WITH WORK IN FOREIGN EXPERIMENT STATIONS


HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD and Prof. Frank Parsons early saw the importance of showing our people what the enlightened and progressive statesmen and public-spirited reformers of other lands were accomplishing for the preservation and better expression of popular sovereignty and for securing a larger measure of liberty and prosperity for all the people. From the early issues of "The Arena," I had tried to give our readers the important results of progressive political, social, and economic movements in foreign lands, first, by means of great foreign authorities and careful investigators, secondly, by our leading American social and economic writers, and thirdly, by extended book studies or reviews, in which the most important facts were epitomized. Later Mr. Lloyd and Prof. Parsons devoted years to this work.

Henry Demarest Lloyd was a man of independent means, whose passion for humanity and the well-being of all the people was accompanied by a finely-balanced judgment and the clear vision of a philosophical statesman. He recognized the fact that we as a people had to a great extent lost the splendid old-time spirit of the fathers, which made them glory in taking the initiative in new movements that promised to advance the interests and happiness of humanity—that spirit which made the young Republic the admiration
of all lovers of freedom and the greatest moral governmental force in the world.

Mr. Lloyd was a pioneer in exposing the iniquitous methods of corporate wealth. His "Wealth vs. Commonwealth" was one of the most masterly social volumes of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the first great authoritative exposé of the iniquities of the Standard Oil Company. His "A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners" was one of the pioneer works exposing the remorseless methods practiced at times by great capitalistic corporations in their effort to subjugate the industrial workers.

But after the publication of these works, Mr. Lloyd became convinced that it was wellnigh impossible to deeply impress newspaper and magazine editors, as well as the rank and file of the nation, with theories calling for a radical departure from the beaten path, unless it could be shown that some other people had put the ideas into practical operation; so he made a study of New Zealand during the early years of the Liberal Government. Two important volumes were the result of his investigation, "Newest England," and "A Country without Strikes."

In the latter work Mr. Lloyd showed that New Zealand had determined that the Government had no right to stand by idle, while labor and capital fought their battle in a mediaeval spirit; that there were three parties concerned in these great contests: the capitalists, organized labor, and the people. The third party, embracing the men, women, and children of the whole nation, was always the sufferer in these struggles, and to meet the situation the Government established courts of conciliation or arbitration. These did not suit the extremists among the capitalists or the labor leaders, but they were most beneficent to the people at large and afforded the citizens rational methods for handling such conditions, which in a democratic land should be welcomed by all classes.

In our Republic both capital and organized labor have resolutely opposed compulsory arbitration, but we believe the day will come, and that very shortly, especially if women are accorded the ballot, when compulsory arbitration laws for labor wars will be enacted. Labor has noth-
Progressive Men, Women, and Movements

ing to fear in a democratic State if it exhibits anything like the same solidarity in voting which it exerts in striking; and if labor votes solidly for social justice and human rights, it will have nothing to fear from the courts appointed to pass on industrial problems.

Later Mr. Lloyd went to England, where he made an exhaustive study of the co-operative movement in Great Britain. The result of his investigation was embodied in a volume entitled "Labor Co-Partnership." It was a revelation to many persons who imagined that they were well versed in progressive movements.

Mr. Lloyd's purpose was to visit all lands where important progressive movements had been successfully inaugurated and to bring these messages to our people. His untimely death prevented his doing much that he had planned to execute; but the New World owes more than she knows to this quiet, scholarly worker for humanity, inspired by the elder spirit of lofty patriotism and love for his fellowmen.

Prof. Frank Parsons, in his fine "Story of New Zealand," in his magazine essays, and on the lecture platform, dealt in an illuminating manner with the Government that has done more than any other commonwealth to care for the people and inaugurate a progressive programme which looks toward securing social justice and equity by the peaceful step by step method. With pen and voice he unfolded facts regarding this wonderful experiment station of democracy that were a revelation to most people. He showed how the New Zealanders, wearying of railway mismanagement for private enrichment, had taken over the railroads and were operating them in the interests of all the people. The revenue, beyond that required for interest on the debt and operating expenses, was devoted to improving the service and lessening the cost of fares and freight. Thus he showed that from 1895, when the Government took over the railways, to 1902, the reduction in cost of freights was estimated at $2,350,000—an amount nearly equal to one-half the total receipts for 1895. And in July, 1902, "Minister Ward in making the Financial Statement announced still further reductions amounting to
$200,000 a year, or over 2 per cent. on the gross receipts of the last year. An equivalent reduction in the United States would mean a concession of $30,000,000 a year to railway users, but our roads have been increasing their rates in recent years instead of diminishing them, and the average receipts per ton-mile and passenger-mile have risen."

He showed, furthermore, that the Government in its effort to prevent slums in the cities, and in furtherance of its fixed policy of helping all industrious and ambitious citizens to obtain a stake in the land, not only sold the workers homesteads on time, with easy payments, like rent, and advanced money for them to build with, at low interest, but also made especially advantageous railway provisions for the workers and their children. The Government-owned railways also serve to promote the educational advantages of the young.

"Workingmen's tickets in and out from the principal points are sold at 2 shillings a week, or twelve rides for 48 cents, within any ordinary reasonable distance. Workmen going ten or twelve miles out, as many do, travel about three miles for a cent, or a 4-cent fare each way. The roads are used at cost or less to redistribute the unemployed and to settle the people on the land. The Railway Department works in harmony with the Labor Department, and men are carried to points where their labor is needed, and, if necessary, their fares are advanced, and they may pay them back to the Government from their earnings when they are able.

"The State roads are used to advance the cause of education. Children in the primary grades are carried free to school. Older children pay $2.50 to $5.00, according to age, for a three-months' season-ticket up to sixty miles. This gives them a possible 120 miles a day for three to six cents, in round numbers, or twenty to forty miles for a cent. If a child goes in and out six miles each day, he rides twelve miles for three cents.

"Excursions for school children are arranged at the rate of fifty cents for a hundred miles out and back—200 miles for fifty cents, or four miles for a cent. For teachers
and pupils above fifteen years of age, the charge is one dollar for the same distance. The Minister figures that the Department loses on these trips at four miles for a cent, but he justifies the low rates for school and factory excursions on the ground that 'from an educational point of view very marked and beneficial results must follow,' thus subordinating the lower forms of wealth to the higher. By these excursions the country children come to town, where they are received by school committees, who conduct them over museums, newspaper offices, gas works, ocean steamers, etc., and explain everything. A thousand city children see fields of waving yellow wheat reaped and bound; see orchards, forests, mountains, lakes and glaciers; look over sheep runs and cattle ranches; view dairy-farms and creameries; and learn about the country and the life of the country people."

Nor was this all. The New Zealand population is pre-eminently agrarian, and the Government not only sends lecturers over the country to give the farmers instruction in agriculture, dairying, stock-raising, and how best to prepare their products for the market, but it also becomes their commission merchant, working without the danger of exorbitant charges. On this point Prof. Parsons said:

"When the butter and cheese are ready for shipment, the Government will receive, grade, pack, ship, and sell it. It will do the same with meat, poultry, rabbits, fruits, vegetables, etc. It supplies cold storage free; it makes advances to the farmers on their produce; sends it to the London market; sells it at the best possible terms; collects the funds, and returns them to the producers less the cost of marketing.

"Here is a Commission Merchant who gives back the whole profit to his customers, keeping only the actual expenses of the business he transacts. All the farmer has to do is to deliver his stuff at the nearest railway station. The Government with its railroads, warehouses, and shipping offices does the rest all the way to England and back."

He pointed out the benefits of the old-age pension law, and showed how the Public Trustee was a veritable good angel for widows, orphans, and the poor, in settling their
estates without their running any risk of falling into the hands of land sharks, and how at every turn the interests of the people were being studied and conserved by broad-visioned, progressive, and democratic statesmanship. Here women had since 1893 enjoyed full franchise, and the results completely refuted the dire predictions of the reactionaries who were opposing extension of suffrage. Here, when coal mine owners sought to imitate American coal barons, the Government promptly went into the coal business and thus prevented the plunder of the people for the abnormal enrichment of the heartless and avaricious few, who by special privileges hoped to cruelly tax the many who were compelled to use one of the common gifts of the Common Father. The Government also had dealt a heavy blow to land speculation by condemning and taking over vast estates that were being held idle for a rise in values while the people were clamoring for homesteads. And these were but a few of the examples of what was being done in this experiment station in progressive popular government.

Prof. Parsons also made two visits to Europe in the interests of social and economic emancipation, during which he made careful studies of municipal and governmental ownership of public utilities, co-operation in Great Britain and Western Europe, and other important progressive movements. Some of the results of his painstaking investigations were put in book form, but many of them were especially prepared for "The Arena."

Municipal progress in European cities was made a special subject in "The Arena" and "The Twentieth Century Magazine." Prof. Parsons, George Allan England, and other authoritative writers contributed papers of great value. Clara Bewick Colby, whose long and brilliant service to the cause of woman suffrage and the general progress of women entitles her to the love of all high-minded men and women, contributed one of the most fascinating and informing papers, on "What Glasgow Is Doing for Her Citizens," that has appeared in any publication—a paper that was widely copied and commented on. In this paper Mrs. Colby not only showed how the municipal ownership
and operation of street railways had immensely improved the service and had also proved a veritable gold mine to the municipality, but also how the city was everywhere practically working for civic betterment and to promote a larger and happier life for the people. Here model municipal tenements had wrought a beneficent revolution. Here public playgrounds and recreations provided for the people were merely typical of a vast amount of municipal activity which aimed to contribute to the comfort and development of the people. Here also education was compulsory up to fourteen years, and free even through the University of Glasgow, which is co-educational.

These things are merely hints of the immensely important work which has been systematically carried on by "The Arena" and "The Twentieth Century Magazine" and by a number of apostles of democratic, social, and economic advance during the past twenty-five years, which has already borne much fruit and which has sowed seeds for a still greater harvest in the coming years.

There is another work which our magazines made very prominent and to which, as has been observed, such prophets of a better day as Prof. Parsons and Henry Demarest Lloyd devoted much time, which properly calls for notice in this chapter, and that is voluntary co-operation.

Mr. J. C. Gray, one of the master spirits of co-operation in Great Britain, contributed to "The Arena" important papers, showing the results of co-operation in England. The fact that a movement inaugurated by a few poor day laborers in Rochdale, in 1844, had reached in 1910 such proportions in Great Britain that the profits divided among the workers amounted annually to sixty million dollars, was well calculated to awaken general interest. And yet, of the great movements with which "The Arena" and "The Twentieth Century Magazine" were most intimately identified, that of voluntary co-operation has made the least satisfactory progress in this country, owing to various causes.

In California, the Rochdale system early took root and prospered, and the co-operative principle applied to the fruit industry of the Pacific Coast has furnished a fine illustration of its practicability. There are also many suc-
cessful co-operative movements in various sections of the country, notably in the Middle West, where elevators, dairies, and other branches of the industrial service are being extensively and successfully carried on; and signs are not wanting which indicate that co-operative farming will be an important feature of American industrial life. Co-operative banks have proved highly successful in various Eastern States, yet on the whole voluntary co-operation has not as yet become a great nation-wide movement.

We have, however, not been wanting in men of ability who have not only sown the seed, but who have striven faithfully to put the principle into practical operation. Among these thinkers and workers, Prof. Parsons and Mr. Ralph Albertson, Rev. George E. Littlefield, Rev. Hiram Vrooman, Mr. Bradford Peck, and George F. Washburn deserve special mention.

Mr. Albertson, as editor of “The American Co-operator” and as a leading worker in the Co-operative Association of America and the Co-Workers’ Fraternity, and later as President of the Twentieth Century Company, wrought consistently, unselfishly, and faithfully to spread this economic gospel that all over Western Europe is progressing most successfully. Mr. Albertson also made a valuable contribution to the co-operative and progressive cause in general by bringing out “Fellowship Songs,” the most admirable compilation of social hymns set to music that has yet appeared.

Our great financiers long fought each other. Later they united, and either in great trusts or monopolistic organizations, or by means of gentlemen’s agreements, were able to amass untold millions, much of which was unearned increment. It would seem strange that the people have taken no hint from these great commercial organizations. The keynote of the present age is union, combination, or co-operation; and if our nation is to escape becoming permanently a class-ruled land, with a commercial aristocracy holding the industrial millions in subjection, it would seem that there must be a general co-operative movement, conducted either by voluntary organizations or through the Government taking over, one by one, the great industries.
The next fifty years will, we believe, see a complete revo-
lution in business life, or in the production and distribu-
tion of natural products. Certainly some change will come
unless business methods are radically altered and great
abuses, that have marked the rise of trusts and monopolies,
are eliminated from our commercial life.
CHAPTER XV.

WOMAN AND THE LARGER LIFE


The significant awakening of woman that marked early decades of the nineteenth century found expression in the life-work of a band of noble pioneers which embraced Lydia Maria Child, Dorothea Dix, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mary A. Livermore, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, Lucy Stone, and others scarcely less eminent. Their work steadily made its impress on the slowly awakening mind of the women of the land, until in the closing decades of the century we find it taking concrete form in many ways, most notably in the woman suffrage movement, but also in the springing up all over the land of women’s clubs and centers of organized activity in which women were the leading moulding influence. These clubs later yielded to the dominant centralizing impulse of our age and were federated into the Council of Women.

The uninterrupted carrying forward of the educational campaign for suffrage slowly overcame the ridicule, misrepresentation, sneers, and persecution of earlier days and prepared the public for the mighty onward sweep of that movement which has marked recent years.

Great as was the work carried forward, however, by the pioneer woman suffragists, whose ranks were later strengthened by Frances E. Willard, May Wright Sewall, Clara B. Hoffman, Dr. Anna Shaw, Alice Stone Blackwell, and scores of women of intellectual and spiritual power who were nation-wide leaders, there were many other women of marked ability who more silently, and often very unobtru-
Progressive Men, Women, and Movements

...sively, wrought great things for human betterment and the larger life of the oncoming age. Women like Helen Campbell, of whom we have already spoken, and Abby Morton Diaz were fundamental workers, educators in the truest sense of the word, possessing the moral enthusiasm and living faith that characterize the apostles of progress.

Abby Morton Diaz, like Helen Campbell, was a valued contributor to "The Arena." She was also the author of several thought-compelling works and promoted many practical enterprises which, like the Boston Women’s Educational and Industrial Union, were at once helpful to the community while affording invaluable aid to numbers of self-supporting women.

The women's clubs were one of the principal factors in awakening woman to the demands of the larger life or bringing her to a realization of her grave civic duties which called for her best service. The clubs have also proved general educators, and since their union in the National Council of Women they have become an ever-increasing moral and intellectual force throughout the land.

Among the master spirits of this movement perhaps no one is entitled to greater credit than May Wright Sewall, a woman of broad culture and great versatility, whose success as an educator, organizer and director of united bodies, writer, and public speaker has enabled her to achieve a great and lasting beneficent work for womankind. Though very prominent and effective as a promoter of woman suffrage, Mrs. Sewall’s most important work has been wrought in the building up and strengthening of the National Council of Women and later in promoting the interests of the International Council. Mrs. Sewall was long principal of the Girls’ Classical School of Indianapolis, Indiana. She is the author of several thoughtful works, perhaps the most important of which is her two-volume history of the Council of Women. Her influence is international. She has traveled extensively in Europe as an official representative of organized womanhood, and in the International Council her influence has been only second to that wielded by her for the advancement of woman in America. Wherever she has gone, her refined womanhood,
commanding intellectual power, and moral enthusiasm have won for her the admiration, respect, and love of high-minded and progressive men and women.

Woman suffrage was one of the great movements which we believed to be fundamentally just, and being just, should be advocated. When preparing the first issue of "The Arena" I wrote to Mary A. Livermore, asking her to contribute a paper for the initial number. She answered my letter in person, saying that she wished to meet an editor who in starting a new magazine dared to publish an uncensored article on woman suffrage. After this call she became a frequent visitor at my office, and some of my most pleasant editorial recollections center around this wonderful woman whose clear mental vision, searching logic, and passion for justice were matched by a moral courage and enthusiasm that made her visits always a source of inspiration, pleasure, and profit. The first paper she contributed to "The Arena," entitled "Centuries of Dishonor," was one of the most masterly briefs that has ever appeared for the cause of woman's enfranchisement.

Mrs. Livermore was one of a group of intellectually brilliant and morally courageous women who wrought a mighty work for advancing civilization during the past fifty years. In girlhood she had become an ardent foe of slavery and had from childhood associated with the leaders of the abolition movement. Prior to the opening of the Civil War, she had been a reporter on a Chicago newspaper, and she was the only woman representative of the press assigned to reportorial duty at the historic Republican Convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln. When the war opened, she became an active and efficient leader in work at hospitals, in camp, and in organizing and directing soldiers' aid societies and other movements that rendered inestimable help to the men in the field. Her conspicuous services and prominence in work vital to the cause of the Union led James Redpath, the remarkably successful founder of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, to secure her as one of a number of platform stars who were destined to become a potent popular educational influence in the Republic during the quarter of a century following the war.
Few of the great pioneer reform workers of the last quarter of a century were more keenly alive to the wrongs, injustices, and inhumanities of our age and day than was Mrs. Livermore, but she also saw the mighty currents that were making for progress, individual development, and social righteousness, and this made her an optimist among optimists.

Spiritual enthusiasm and devotion to lofty ideals ever marked her life. Few women of the past century were so clear-visioned, so fundamentally sound in reaching rational conclusions, so morally fearless, or so completely dominated by the ideal of justice as was Mary A. Livermore. She was one of the potent nineteenth century influences that made for a better, truer, and juster civilization.

Mrs. Livermore’s paper on “Centuries of Dishonor” was one of the most widely noticed articles which appeared in the first issue of “The Arena.” From letters received from all sections, as well as from generous editorial notices given the article, I found that there was a much more general sentiment among the more thoughtful people, in favor of woman suffrage, than I had supposed existed at that time, and not a few correspondents declared that Mrs. Livermore’s arguments had convinced them of the soundness of her position.

In subsequent issues, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Frances E. Willard, and many other leaders contributed valuable papers in behalf of woman’s enfranchisement, while editorially the magazine threw its influence for the cause. And yet often in those years woman suffrage seemed a forlorn hope, largely because of the tendency of so many women to parrot the shallow sophistry of the male enemies of the movement, the aggressive opposition of leading Roman Catholic prelates, and the effort of penny-a-line paragraphers in the newspapers and in the so-called humorous journals to make the movement and its leaders the butt of ridicule.

To-day, since woman suffrage is successfully sweeping forward, there seems a tendency in some quarters to forget or minify the great fundamental work wrought by Mary A. Livermore, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, and their co-laborers, and
the inestimably important labors, at a later date, of Frances E. Willard. Seldom has a cause marshaled a group of women so able, well-balanced, lofty in idealism, practical in judgment, yet morally courageous, as this splendid band of cultured and conscientious leaders. They were seconded by others scarcely less able or effective, but they had to bear the brunt of coarse ridicule, unreasoning prejudice, and the cheap witticisms of shallow conventionalists innocent alike of moral idealism, fine sensibilities, or deep convictions.

Wyoming was the pioneer State in adopting woman suffrage, but the results seemed negative rather than positive, as there was lacking the enthusiasm of the women themselves to inspire the public mind. It was not until Colorado made the battle and won the day that nation-wide interest began to develop. Indeed, Colorado is the wayshower, the banner-bearer, in the present great onward movement for woman's enfranchisement.

"How is it that the women of Colorado and Kansas are so much more awake to the vital issues than those of Massachusetts?" was asked of Mrs. Livermore on one occasion; and she promptly replied:

"Massachusetts has been skimmed of the cream of her citizenship for Kansas and Colorado so many times that it is easy to explain why those States are taking the lead."

The recent rapid advance of the cause of woman's enfranchisement is more largely due to the practical success in Colorado, in Australasia, and certain European countries, where experience has proved the sophistry of the so-called arguments against woman's enfranchisement. Colorado has been especially helpful because she afforded an illustration at our very door.

Of a number of leading spirits who largely contributed to the success of the movement in the Centennial State, and who since have greatly furthered the cause by their first-hand testimony as to its practical workings, the following were valued contributors to "The Arena" and "The Twentieth Century Magazine": Charles S. Thomas, John F. Shafroth, I. N. Stevens, Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Thomas M. Patterson, and Ellis Meredith.

Hon. Charles S. Thomas has long been recognized as one of the ablest legal authorities of the West, and as Governor
of Colorado and a prominent progressive Democrat he has exerted an important influence in moulding public sentiment along broad and fundamentally sound and just lines. In the great conflict for the restoration of popular government to the people, in which Colorado has in recent years taken a leading part, Governor Thomas has been a tower of strength on the side of popular sovereignty. His election to the position of United States Senator was a worthy tribute to a statesman of intellectual breadth and brilliancy, who has been loyal to the ideals of the elder statesmen; and his re-election in November, 1914, at a time when the State ticket went Republican, was an additional significant mark of popular confidence in his fundamental democracy.

Senator Shafroth, familiarly known as "Honest John," is another of Colorado's Governors who in the executive office "made good." He is a man of vision and broad humanitarian sentiment, for many years a leader in the people's cause, and when Governor his fine faith in the essential divinity of manhood led him to install Warden Tynan, another practical idealist, at the head of the Colorado State Penitentiary, an appointment which has resulted in the inauguration of a radical departure in the prison treatment of the land that is as idealistic as it has proved wisely practical. Governor Shafroth's stand for the initiative and referendum, for woman suffrage, and other vital democratic measures has been worthy of twentieth century progressive statesmanship.

The "Rocky Mountain News," under the ownership and management of ex-Senator Thomas M. Patterson, was the most influential public opinion-forming agency of Colorado in favor of progressive democratic policies, and as such constantly enraged the princes of privilege and their political handymen. When in the United States Senate, Mr. Patterson became the victim of one of the most dangerous of the many attempts at judicial despotism in the United States—that of "constructive contempt." His paper published a cartoon that offended the sensibilities of the judges, and they judged the Senator guilty of "constructive contempt." The deadly danger of this monstrous attempt at judicial aggrandizement was recognized by leading papers
throughout the land and did much to awaken the people to the peril of the advancing despotism of a judiciary assuming arbitrary power and becoming prosecutor, judge, and jury, which Mr. Byran had earlier bravely attacked, and which recently Chief Justice Clark of North Carolina has so impressively criticized.

In the United States Senate Mr. Patterson made a splendid record. His address on the railroads and the people was one of the ablest utterances in favor of the people’s cause that has been delivered in the Senate Chamber. It was a distinct loss to progressive democratic government when Senator Patterson disposed of “The News” and retired from political activity.

Another distinguished citizen of Colorado who enjoys national and, indeed, international fame is the man who has striven for so many years to rescue and redeem wayward youths of Colorado who had started on the downward way. Judge Lindsey has been bitterly criticized by many because it was felt that he had often erred on the side of leniency and thus created in the minds of many youths a sense of security in their evil-doing that was unfortunate alike for them and the community; and it is possible that in certain cases the Judge’s intense sympathy for the young, his kindness of heart and desire to save them from disgrace or association with more hardened criminal natures, may have been abused. But the fact remains that, like Warden Tynan, Judge Lindsey has become a leader in a great movement to rescue and save to society those who in a vast majority of cases would, if treated in the old way, have ended by becoming hardened or incorrigible criminals. Judge Lindsey has also been a consistent advocate of woman suffrage, the initiative, referendum, and other progressive measures.

One of the most indefatigable workers for woman suffrage in Colorado and in the nation at large has been I. N. Stevens. He also performed important service in boldly attacking the corrupt influences of the public-service corporations. Mr. Stevens has written two novels, one, “The Liberators,” containing a vivid exposé of the politically degenerating influence of the private ownership of public
monopolies; the other, "An American Suffragette," being a strong romance favoring the emancipation of woman.

Ellis Meredith is the pen name of a woman known far beyond the borders of Colorado, through her journalistic influence and her able essays. Her work for the cause of suffrage and the larger life of woman, both within Colorado and without the State, has been extensive and effective. I first met this talented lady at the Silver Republican convention that met in St. Louis and ratified the nomination of Mr. Bryan and the Chicago ticket. She was one of the most womanly women I have ever known. Her moral idealism and broad intellectual grasp have enabled her to wield a far greater influence than many more pretentious persons. She is a representative of that fine type of American womanhood that the present demands to give to political life that vision that is vital to the progress of nations and civilizations.

This group of prominent woman suffragists and fundamental democrats of the Centennial State are only a few of those who have rendered possible the triumph of the cause of woman in Colorado. Colorado granted full suffrage to her women in 1893, the very year, by the way, when New Zealand, the most advanced governmental experimental station in humanitarian legislation, emancipated her women. In 1896 Utah and Idaho followed the example of Colorado. In 1910 the State of Washington entered the full suffrage column, to be followed in 1911 by California, while 1912 was the banner year, as Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, and the Territory of Alaska all granted full franchise to their women, and Illinois made an important forward movement in granting limited suffrage. In the hotly contested election of 1914, two more States, Nevada and Montana, joined the suffrage column, making in all eleven commonwealths, as well as the Territory of Alaska, that are now under the equal suffrage banner.
CHAPTER XVI.

THE LITERATURE OF SOCIAL UNREST AND PROTEST


The last two decades of the nineteenth century were marked by an unparalleled number of social visions, in England and America, many of which enjoyed extraordinary popularity, becoming in some instances the “best sellers” for numbers of months. But at length the public became surfeited, and the demand was for more practical and serious discussions of vital conditions, and the era of the social vision was followed by a large number of books depicting existing conditions, many of them advocating practical remedies. For a time we had a spectacle very much resembling that which obtained in England during the early days of the Anti-Corn-Law League. It will be remembered that after the organization of the Anti-Corn-Law League no powerful English daily papers would give space to the argument against the laws which protected the landed interests, and the League determined to sow England “knee-deep” in pamphlets. A great speaking campaign was inaugurated and at all the meetings pamphlets were given to those attending, presenting the issues in clear and comprehensive statements and arguments.

Such a condition followed in the nineties, when the people found that the daily press was becoming controlled. The fact was, the advancing feudalism of privileged wealth had set out to obtain mastery over the great political parties and the daily press, believing that in this way the rising
tide of discontent could be crushed. The methods employed were devious and multitudinous; but such were the wealth and ramifications of the great corporations that all attempts to inaugurate a campaign of publicity through the daily press proved abortive. Stockholders in public-service corporations became stockholders in the important papers. Here are some illuminating and typical examples of how the press was subjugated.

A famous authority on natural monopolies prepared a series of articles showing the excellent results of public ownership in Europe. The editor of a leading paper accepted these contributions and began to feature them, calling attention to the opening article in a most flattering manner. The next paper, however, did not appear for some time and was published in an out of the way place. The author investigated, and the editor explained that the first paper had caused such a storm of opposition that his position was threatened. Stockholders had insisted that one of the business enterprises in which they were interested should not publish matter that would jeopardize other interests in which they were largely concerned.

A great newspaper became dangerous by showing how a leading corporation was publishing *ex parte* matter or special pleading in its own interest, as simon-pure reading matter in various other dailies. A short time later a rich man who was one of the very heavy stockholders in the public-service corporation in question became a large stockholder in this uncontrolled daily, and it became "good."

Laws for the better protection and comfort of women, working girls, and children in stores and factories were championed by certain papers, but in the very midst of the campaign and before the Legislature had acted, these papers suddenly dropped the whole matter. Those on the inside knew that the big advertisers had been heard from. The banks were also so intimately connected with public-service corporations and other monopolistic concerns that they were often instrumental in silencing the press, while sometimes it was the political boss or the party machine that was successfully appealed to. Ere long the advancing commercial feudalism had the daily papers so well in hand.
that it felt safe, knowing its hold on political parties through liberal campaign contributions and the power of the political bosses; but the agitation had gone too far to be checked.

“The Arena” at that time was one of the foremost magazines that was fearlessly waging a warfare on the unwarranted aggressions and corrupting influence of privileged wealth. Many of the papers which appeared in this magazine were effectively used by public speakers throughout the West and South, and a demand was soon made that they should be issued in pamphlet form, so that they could be extensively circulated. One of these papers was “The Bond and the Dollar,” contributed to “The Arena” by Dr. John Clark Ridpath, the popular historian. In pamphlet form this paper circulated by the hundreds of thousands. A paper which I prepared, entitled “Are We a Free People?” and which contained statistics of the farm mortgages of the West, had a like extensive circulation. I mention these things merely to show how, after the people lost confidence in the daily press, they were able to continue their effective campaign by pamphlets and leaflets, as had been done over half a century before in England.

The cheap magazines had begun to appear, but it was before the era of great circulations which were soon to make them such powerful instruments in popular education. “The Arena” appealed to thought-moulders. Between fifteen hundred and two thousand copies, if I remember correctly, went into the editorial sanctums every month. It had an enormous circulation among the clergy, to whom special rates had been granted because of the desire of the management that it should become pre-eminently a public educator, and it was felt that by reaching the public opinion-forming agencies we could in many instances start new centers for the diffusion of the light of justice, fundamental democracy, and intellectual hospitality.

Among the popular early volumes dealing with tragic and evil existing conditions were Hamlin Garland’s first four works. “Main-Traveled Roads” and “Jason Edwards” presented powerful and moving pictures of the grim and often tragic conditions of farm life in America in the nine-
ties. "A Member of the Third House" was a virile and absorbingly interesting story dealing with the corruption of a State Legislature by a public-service corporation and was the pioneer of a host of similar novels that have played so great a part in arousing the people to a realization of one of the gravest evils that has threatened free institutions. "A Spoil of Office" was a sympathetic and inspiring study of the great agrarian uprising.

These novels were followed by a number of romances by popular writers dealing with different aspects and various theories dear to those in revolt against the existing order.

At length the popular magazines awoke to a recognition of the fact that we were in the midst of a politico-economic revolution, in spite of the influence of the great political parties and the metropolitan press. Mr. S. S. McClure had the instincts of the untrammeled journalist, and appreciating the opportunity to score a success, and more courageous than most of the popular magazine editors at that time, he opened a brilliant campaign of exposure that is of historic importance. Ida Tarbell, in a series of papers dealing with the Standard Oil Company, popularized and greatly amplified the formidable and convincing revelations formerly made by Henry D. Lloyd in "Wealth vs. Commonwealth." Lincoln Steffens performed one of the most vitally important works executed by any patriot in recent decades, in which he completely uncovered the amazing riot of corruption that had marked the life of our great cities since the feudalism of privileged wealth and the political bosses had joined forces for the mastership of Government and the exploiting of the people. These articles were prepared with great care, after weeks of patient investigation in every municipality. They were as unanswerable as they were amazing; and these two series of papers, one exposing the rapacity and corruption of organized avarice in the commercial world, the other picturing the breaking down of democratic government by privileged wealth, political bosses, and money-controlled party machines, were typical of other masterly contributions that marked "McClure's Magazine" during the period when it
was a great moral and redemptive power in the life of this nation. The papers proved immensely successful and the circulation of the magazine went forward by leaps and bounds. Public interest was so profoundly aroused prior to their publication that there was no stemming the tide, and newspapers were compelled to discuss them. Other magazines quickly followed the example of "McClure's," one of the series that awakened great interest being Thomas W. Lawson's "Frenzied Finance." Mr. Lawson had played the Wall Street game. He had been intimate in the councils of the high financiers. He spoke from personal knowledge, and when he took the people behind the curtain and revealed how unearned, swollen fortunes had been acquired, the effect, coming on the heels of what had preceded, served to show the princes of privilege that the once all-powerful influence of the daily press had for the hour passed to the magazines.

But the cheap magazines, like the daily papers, were vulnerable. They depended on the advertisers for their life. This was a fatal source of weakness, and, as we shall see, these mighty agencies that turned the searchlight upon the dark places and also showed the way to justice and social righteousness, quickly became innocuous. One day the reading public was startled by seeing in the daily papers that Mr. McClure had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived to cease the aggressive campaign he had been waging in opposition to evil conditions, and that Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, William Allen White, and other of his brilliant writers had severed their connection with the magazine. The change was as sudden as it was radical. Other magazines as effectually, but more slowly, were transformed, and diverting, entertaining, conscience-drugging fiction became the order of the day.

Charles Edward Russell, in "Pearson's Magazine" for February, 1914, gave the public a graphic, authoritative, but almost unbelievably amazing story of this silencing of the great magazines.

A very important contribution to the magazine literature of exposure, which "The Arena" published in recent years, was prepared for us by Rudolph Blankenburg, a leading
Pennsylvania manufacturer and merchant, who later became Mayor of Philadelphia. These articles, entitled “Forty Years in the Wilderness, or The Masters and Rulers of the Freemen of Pennsylvania,” gave the most complete and authoritative story that has appeared of how free government was overthrown in the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by the union of corporate wealth and political bosses.

The popular magazines had a strong ally in the books that at this time began to appear in increasing numbers, many of them marked by the keen insight of the trained journalist who possessed inside knowledge of vital facts. Indeed, it is a question whether the volumes of essays and novels of exposure did not have quite as great an effect on the public mind as the popular magazines.

One book that deserves special mention was entitled “The Career of a Journalist,” and was written by William Salisbury, a trained editorial writer of much experience on leading American dailies. Mr. Salisbury possesses the bright, epigrammatic style of the best modern editorial writers. His descriptions are so vivid, direct, circumstantial, and convincing that he holds the interest of the reader as compellingly as a strong writer of fiction. In this volume he took the public into his confidence, invited them behind the scenes, and showed them the secret workings and powerful influences that sometimes gag and silence the press, at other times making it the aggressive handyman of privilege and corruption. I know of no volume that has done so much to enlighten the people on the power of the advancing despotism of privileged wealth, and on the multitudinous ways in which the wells of public information have been poisoned, as “The Career of a Journalist.” In writing the book the author gave a fine example of the moral courage of a few of our strong young men of the present who place truth and the cause of right above all thought of personal success or even of livelihood; and no one knew better than he and his fellow journalists how remorseless and determined were the master spirits of the feudalism of privileged wealth in seeking to crush, discredit, and ruin all brilliant and formidable writers who could not be bought
or muzzled; and none knew better than he how bitterly the
daily press would resent having the unctious mask, which
it had so long worn, rudely torn away.

Later Mr. Salisbury wrote one of the most searching
novels of exposure dealing with high finance that this won­
derful epoch has given to the land. It is entitled “The
American Emperor.” In it, with keen penetration, he
graphically and mercilessly exposes the workings of the
master of high finance. The book is far more history than
romance, though not claiming to be history. With the au­
thor’s conclusions in regard to democracy and monarchy I
do not agree, but as a study of Wall Street and the over­
throw of popular rule, and of the degeneration of moral,
social, and commercial ideals that has gone hand in hand
with the rise of the feudalism of privileged wealth, the
novel is unequaled in the fiction of the period.

Mr. Salisbury is an idealist who places truth and justice
before all thought of self,—one of the band who in all ages
have striven to awaken sleeping society in hours of deadly
peril.

One of the most important volumes of vital historic lit­
erature of the time was “The Menace of Privilege,” by
Henry George, Jr., a work in which are massed grim and
terrible facts showing the cruel injustice to labor and the
crimes against rightful freedom. It is a simple, direct,
authoritative narration of morally disintegrating and po­
litically destructive conditions which no democracy can long
tolerate and retain its vitality.

Another important volume, somewhat similar in charac­
ter although dealing with an entirely different phase of the
question, was David Graham Phillip’s “The Reign of Gilt,”
in which plutocracy and democracy were contrasted in the
peculiarly graphic and powerful manner that marked the
fiction of Mr. Phillips; while the romances of this author,
presenting as they did many phases of the commercial feu­
dalism much as Zola pictured different evil conditions in
France, exerted a far-reaching and inestimably important
influence on the public conscience. Many of them were
published in periodicals of immense circulation, while when
they appeared later in book form they were often among
the “best sellers.” It would be difficult to overestimate the service to clean government, democracy, and popular rights rendered by this intrepid, fine, brave, and tireless worker, who in the early prime of a vigorous maturity fell a victim to the bullet of an insane assassin. Like Mr. Salisbury, Mr. Phillips contributed a number of important papers to “The Arena.” He was deeply attached to the magazine, which he said in one of his letters to me, was “the one magazine that always rang true and upheld the broad principles of just and free government.”

Charles Edward Russell, Upton Sinclair, and Jack London are three very popular authors who have become outspoken Socialists and with pen and voice have contributed materially to the general educational campaign along radical social lines. Mr. Russell was managing editor of the Chicago “American” and later a leading editorial and special writer in New York City. For many years, or until he became so uncompromisingly radical in his utterances as to arouse the enmity of the great interests, he was one of the most popular of our magazine writers. His work was in great demand by the popular magazines. He traveled around the world, writing a series of admirable articles under the general heading of “Soldiers of the Common Good.” His exposé of the Beef Trust was one of the ablest and most important of the contributions of recent years to the literature of exposure. Since abandoning the step by step method and becoming an out and out Socialist, he has written a number of valuable contributions to the Socialist literature and has been twice candidate for Governor of the State of New York on the Socialist ticket.

Upton Sinclair in “Manassas” gave America the most powerful peace novel that has appeared. His description of the battle of Manassas is not surpassed in vivid realism by anything that came from the pen of Zola. “The Jungle” produced perhaps the greatest direct effect on the public that has been achieved by any novel since the appearance of “Looking Backward.” It forced the Government to investigate the shameful conditions that prevailed in the domain of the Beef Trust and was an educator of immense importance. In “The Metropolis” and “The Money-
Changers” Mr. Sinclair dealt with evil conditions as they obtained in New York City under the spell of high finance. He has also recently written a number of thoughtful and highly stimulating reformative works.

Jack London is a radical novelist who in many of his romances presents great economic lessons in a telling manner. He has also managed to retain much of his popularity with the general readers who are not interested in Socialism.

Certain plays also, such as “The Fourth Estate,” by Joseph Medill Patterson, another young Socialist, “The Handwriting on the Wall,” and “The Lion and the Mouse,” have been distinctly useful as popular educators, compelling the people to take notice of conditions that are undermining democracy and working great wrongs to the poor, the weak, and the defenseless.

The writers mentioned in this section are of course merely typical of a number of authors whose works have contributed in a positive way to awakening the sleeping public and inaugurating a revolt, that threatens to become a revolution, against the iron rule of privilege. Great democratic movements are now under way, and the public is so aroused that it does not seem probable that there will be any turning back to the old domination of corrupt bosses and the mastership of the people by the princes of privilege, although the victory at this writing is far from won, and privilege is hydra-headed.

The broadly humanitarian awakening which is battling for the abolition of child labor and for better conditions for women workers, and for juster treatment of the toilers in general, is a hopeful sign of the times; but now less than ever can fundamental democrats or friends of social and economic justice afford to rest by the wayside. Much has been done, but a great work remains to be accomplished in the immediate future, if true democracy is to be firmly established and the reign of economic justice is to take the place of the exploitation of industry by privilege.
PART III.
SIGNIFICANT CHANGES AND MOVEMENTS IN RELIGION, ART, AND EDUCATION
CHAPTER XVII.
REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT


The New Learning and Protestant Reformation, which followed hard upon the heels of the Renaissance, dispelled the night of the Dark Ages and ushered in a new day for the world—a day in which men were enabled to use their God-given reason and freely to search for truth and knowledge along all the highways of learning.

With the advent of democracy this wave of liberalism and intellectual hospitality received a fresh impetus. Physical science assumed a commanding place in the world’s thought, and modern critical research marked the march of civilization. A new world was revealed through discoveries in geology, astronomy, paleontology, chemistry, and other fields of scientific research.

These things, and especially the general acceptance of the evolutionary theory by scholars of Western civilization, and the archeological discoveries in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, the rise of the higher criticism, and the study of the world’s historic religions have revolutionized the thought of Chris-
of the past twenty-five years] 161

tian lands. This is true of Catholic no less than of Protes-
tant countries. Witness France, long characterized as the fa-
vorite daughter of the Church, turning her back upon the
Papal See. Portugal, Italy, the Latin-American lands, and
even the growing liberalism in Spain and other Catholic
countries, show how modern thought, in spite of all the
efforts of reactionary bodies, is transforming the religious
opinions of Western civilization.

In Protestant lands the Roman Church has made much
progress, largely for the reason that a great number of
people in all these more liberal countries, who have not
wished to exercise their own reason and who have become
alarmed because Protestantism is keeping pace with the ad-
vancing world of knowledge, seek a church which will give
them a haven or refuge without having to vex themselves
with the attempt to reconcile the broadening knowledge of
the new age with ancient theological concepts and religious
dogmas. On the other hand, those who possess a living
faith and who dare and care to think, face the morning
rejoicing in the larger vision and the nobler concepts of
the All-Father.

In America, and especially in New England, this revolu-
tion has been most marked. The same forces that have
transformed the religious thought of other lands have been
active with us, but two additional factors have in America
exerted an influence that calls for special notice—New
England Unitarianism, and the dead hand of materialistic
commercialism.

Unitarianism, under the leadership of the Channings, met
the rising tide of agnosticism that was sweeping over the
religious world and checked it by giving a newer, larger,
and more rational interpretation of God, His universe, and
Christ and His mission than the dogmatic theology of earli-
er days had conceived. I think it is not too much to say
that Unitarianism, as a reconciling force between religion
and physical science, has been one of the greatest, if not the
greatest, steadying influence on the changing religious ideals
of the nineteenth century in the New World. It claimed a
large proportion of the finest thinkers of New England—
poets, philosophers, divines, historians, essayists, and re-
formers; and their influence, in sermon, song, essay, and philosophical theories, shed new light over the troubled waters and gave new faith and hope to thinking men and women in as well as out of the orthodox fellowship.

When "The Arena" was established, Unitarianism was a great denominational power in Boston. James Freeman Clark, Minot J. Savage, Edward A. Horton, and Edward Everett Hale were among a coterie of distinguished, brilliant, and masterful thinkers who occupied some of the leading pulpits of the city in the eighties, and most of them during the early nineties. Rev. C. A. Bartol, O. B. Frothingham, and other elder liberal divines were still raising their voices on frequent occasions. Dr. Savage's church, one of the very large auditoriums of the city, was filled every Sunday. The same was true of other leading liberal churches. To-day there are fewer congregations than there were in 1890 and the attendance is much decreased, yet never was the Unitarian thought so generally diffused as to-day.

Unitarianism has always been more concerned in building up the character or improving the citizenship of the people than in securing communicants for her denomination. It is pre-eminently a liberalizing influence, hospitable to and tolerant of other thought; yet these very elements are necessarily decentralizing in influence and a source of weakness to organic growth, especially during a time like the present, when the mighty forces of the hour are making for centralization, union, and co-operation. The earlier decades of the democratic era were very favorable to the growth of liberal and intellectually hospitable bodies which placed the diffusion of knowledge or truth above all considerations of organic growth and power; but during the past fifty years the keynote throughout civilization has been organization and centralization, and bodies that have depended largely on control of their membership through organization and autocratic authority have rapidly gained in strength and influence, while movements that stood for liberty and whose influence tended toward decentralization have lost in organic strength. This does not mean, however, that their influence on the world's thought has been
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

Of the Past Twenty-five Years

lessened. Indeed, to me it seems that never in the history of the church have the central ideas of Unitarian thought, its concepts regarding God, Jesus, man, the spiritual life, and the destiny of the soul, been so generally accepted as to-day.

Unitarianism has permeated the general religious thought of all communions that seek truth for authority rather than authority for truth. It has so leavened the orthodox Protestant churches that popular sermons to-day on every hand read like the noble utterances of William Ellery Channing.

But while the religious concepts have been broadened and the idea of God and His image has taken a new and nobler meaning in the general thought of the land, there has been at work in all churches the demoralizing and soul-deadening influence of materialistic commercialism or organized avarice, and this has done more to paralyze and debase the mighty moral energies of Protestantism in America than is realized even by many thinkers keenly alive to the creeping paralysis that has been in evidence for more than a generation; and there is a sound reason for this alarming phenomenon, as we shall presently note.

In all the great churches of the land there have been a number of men who early became active in acquiring wealth through special privileges, monopoly rights, and what in recent years has been euphoniously termed high finance; men who organized corporations and through them did many things they would have hesitated to do as individuals, sanctioning and even promoting dishonorable trade arrangements, like secret rebates and other things by which competitors were mercilessly crushed; who systematically secured legislative favors and privileges by lavish and often corrupt use of wealth; who through stock-watering and bond inflation levied an extortionate tax on millions of wealth-consumers and producers; while through grinding down labor and employing women and little children, they further created a wide chasm between the “haves” and the “have nots.” These men followed in their business life a course that, as has been seen in earlier chapters, debauched Government, lowered business and individual ideals, and
produced untold misery through injustice. They moved on
the plane of Caesar and did violence to the Golden Rule
and the noble ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. Yet
they held their places in the churches, and when, as a result
of their acquired wealth, they became millionaires and
multimillionaires, they began to bestow princely sums upon
the church and religious educational institutions. True,
the amounts given were only a moiety of the taxes they
were farming from the nation's wealth-creators and consum­
ers through special privilege, monopoly power, and high
finance, but they were large enough to poison the fountains
of spiritual life to such a degree that the once clear-flowing,
crystal stream became sluggish and turbid. The pulpits,
the religious press, and educational institutions no longer
were quick to note and denounce injustice and departures
from the ethics of the Founder of Christianity, because in
each of the churches were princes of privilege whose wealth
was being given for the temporal enrichment of the church.
True, there were many brave souls—great and God-fear­
ing men, who raised their voices in protest, but usually
they were soon made to feel that the day had passed when
it was safe to attempt to imitate the great Nazarene in es­
saying to drive the money-changers from the house of
prayer. These noble-minded preachers and religious edi­
tors fought a losing battle against the forces of material­
istic commercialism within the church.

A strictly typical example of how the pillars of a rich city
congregation were able effectively to express their disap­
probation of the outspoken arraignment of the unjust and
oppressive methods of the princes of privilege, was seen
when a few years ago Rev. George F. Pentecost was
preaching for a leading New York congregation. Dr. Pen­
tecost had long been famed as one of the most impressive
pulpit orators of the evangelical communions; a revivalist
who drew congregations of the more thoughtful among the
strictly orthodox, because he never resorted to the cheap
sensationalism of most of the popular ministers; and a man
who had served acceptably in earlier years over many of
the greatest congregations in England and America. Dr.
Pentecost was at the time of his indiscretion, from the
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

standpoint of the worldly-wise, ministering to a wealthy Presbyterian congregation. He preached some sermons on "Tainted Money," in which, while careful not to exaggerate or state as facts matters not easily susceptible of proof, he frankly dealt with the influence on church and society of Christian congregations accepting tainted money. Some very wealthy members of the church expressed their indignation at the minister's outspoken words by deliberately leaving the church during the discourses, and in a few weeks the great clergyman was not deemed the best person for a permanent pastor of that church.

Another incident of many illustrating this decadence of the church under the spell of tainted wealth comes to my mind as I write these lines. One day, after I had written to Rev. George C. Lorimer to secure a contribution, he came to my office. This was a short time before he left Boston for New York, if I remember correctly.

"Mr. Flower," he said, "I received your letter, and it occurred to me that you might like something in line with my baccalaureate sermon which I am to preach at Brown University, so I have brought it in to read to you, if you have time to hear it; for whether or not you would like something on this subject, I want to know what you think of this message which I have prepared for the young men about to enter the activities of life. But before beginning, I will tell you something, which for the present must be between ourselves. You know President Andrews has left Brown. Well, some of my good friends are very anxious that I shall be called to the presidency of that college. It is a place where a great work could be done in quickening the conscience of young men on the social side and doing a work we both feel is greatly needed."

He then read his sermon, which was entitled "The Scholar in Social Service." It was a magnificent utterance and I am tempted to give some extracts as showing that this justly distinguished Baptist clergyman and thinker clearly recognized the gravity of the situation through the advancing power of greed, and the importance of free and untrammeled scholarship to bravely face the evil and become a voice for justice and human rights.
Dr. Lorimer in this discourse spoke feelingly of "the untold multitude that are bound to the flinty rock of want and woe, with the vultures of greed devouring their life." "Culture has yet a great part to play in moulding and shaping the institutions of government, in modifying or revolutionizing industrial methods, and in delivering the race from the barbarities of its own ignorance and from the savagery of its own vices. . . . It has frequently been intimated that the educated classes do not feel as keenly as they should the appalling miseries of the race, or take the interest that they ought to take in the many vexed problems to which they give rise and which were never more perplexing than at the present hour."

Dr. Lorimer next showed that the nineteenth century had not been wanting in great prophet voices that arraigned modern society and demanded for man the right to work, to rest, and to essential lordship over himself.

"The ideal now governing individuals and communities is to be richer than their neighbors,—to be more comfortable, more gorgeous, to have more money, more diamonds, more luxuries; and in the main these are esteemed more highly than the spiritual and intellectual, and, as a result, crime and cruelty are rampant throughout the civilized world. . . . Our commercial leaders and our masters of industry do not act as though they believed Carlyle's saying: 'We touch heaven when we lay hands on a human body.' No; if railroads are only built, and copper stocks advance, and national manufactures are protected, and trade flourish, little thought is bestowed on the unbearable burdens which are maiming, disfiguring, and degrading the man, both spiritually and physically. . . . The immediate need is that the base and grotesque ideals which have for ages shaped society and determined its development should be exposed and discredited. Their folly, worthlessness, and absolute repugnance to our native craving for justice, order, beauty, must be revealed."

These are but fragmentary extracts from a really great sermon which boldly arraigned the apologists who sought to justify the wanton acts of the modern princes of privilege. When he had finished reading the address, Dr. Lorimer said:
“What do you think of it?”

“Splendid for the young men,” I replied; “just what they should hear, but it will destroy your chances for the presidency of Brown, if what I have heard is true,—that is, that Brown is hungering for some of Mr. Rockefeller’s money.”

Dr. Lorimer was not called to Brown.

Now the effect on the church of this accepting of rich gifts from the masters of the feudalism of privileged wealth has not only led to the church ceasing to be the great leader in the nation-wide crusade for crushing lawless wealth and the oppression of monopoly and privilege, but in my judgment it, more than any other cause—more, indeed, than all other causes—is responsible for the waning power of the Protestant Christianity over the minds of the masses. The wail about empty churches has become an old story, and all kinds of worldly and artificial devices have been employed to reawaken the old spiritual enthusiasm. One of the latest confessions of the futility of all these expedients was seen in the recent frantic effort to fill the churches on a certain Sunday. The “Go to Church Sunday” crusade told the story all too plainly of the waning power of the church over the imagination of the people.

The amazing and growing indifference on the part of the unchurched millions, who were once largely the churched millions, is the natural and inevitable result of the church permitting herself to be seduced by the princes of privilege. An organization which makes its master appeal to the spiritual ideals or the soul side of life must be true to her highest, or she dies; for spiritual truth is the sustaining oxygen of all such bodies, and the moment that a church descends from the mount of spiritual idealism to the materialistic plane, turning from Jesus to Caesar, she repeats the Esau act, selling her birthright and bartering her independence and vital power for the pottage of worldly influence and the externalism that is so prized by those who serve the god of this world. In such a case we find the vision exerting less and less compelling influence over her adherents. In proportion as she makes common cause with those who are powerful and rich by means of injustice and the exercise of carnal weapons, regardless of the
higher law, she loses her real vitality and her power de­parts as did the strength from the shorn Samson in the Bible tale.

When a church makes such a fatal choice, or even when she compromises with the god of this world, she must look for sources of strength on the lower plane and appeal to the material side of life and the personal or selfish interests of the people, if she retains even seeming power. If the church is rich, fashionable, and popular, her decline may not be obvious at first, for many will be held by motives of expediency. If she is well organized and shrewd enough to look out for the material needs—for place and position for her followers she will attract and hold those who follow movements for the loaves and fishes; and so in various ways she may, through appeals subtle or direct, on the materialistic plane, hold a large number of her adherents, or even apparently grow in power for a time, after the old light, vitality, and strength have gone from her; but the power and majesty are external and seeming rather than vital or real.

Now Protestantism was a mighty revolt against the cor­ruption of the church, on the one hand, and its refusal to permit man freely to exercise his God-given reason, on the other. It was singularly free from materialistic taint or sordid motives, and like the early Christian Church, its ap­peal being to the spiritual and ideal in man, its faith was a living, vital, irresistible force. But a church born of such a spirit could not make common cause with the apostles of a materialistic order and retain a vital force, and in pro­portion as she has yielded to the seductions of the world she has lost her hold on the imagination of the people. Herein, it seems to me, is found the explanation of the unchurched millions of to-day and the waning spiritual sway of the church.

It may be pointed out that the Catholic church has ample representatives among the princes of privilege and the cor­rupt political bosses, and yet she is seemingly growing rap­idly in power. In so far as this growth is real, it is easily explained. There are certain factors and conditions that have forwarded the organic strength of the Catholic church.
In the first place, immigration in recent years has been chiefly from Catholic lands and communities, while organized action, especially along political lines, has perhaps been the chief promoting cause. Several years ago the Knights of Columbus, a religio-political organization, arose and has become an active agent in solidifying the Catholic influence in Government, while unceasingly looking out for positions for its members. By being able to throw a solid vote, the Knights of Columbus exercise a power altogether out of proportion to what their numbers would warrant, if, like the Protestants, they were unorganized and indifferent. Then, through organization and increased activity in looking for positions for Catholics, the church exerts an influence greater in this respect than all the Protestant churches combined. Again, the head of the Roman church and the Vatican have never foregone their claim to temporal rule. Here is the great difference between the position of the supreme authorities in the Catholic church and the great Protestant leaders in America, who lay no claim to the seat of Caesar. In these factors and in the rapid increase through births which the Catholic church encourages, is to be found the explanation of the seeming growth of Catholicism in America. Were it not for the power of its material organization, the activity of that organization in every direction, and especially in looking out for positions for its members, it is not probable that the Catholic church would have held her own in our midst to any greater degree than have the Protestant bodies.

Yet in reality it is not the seeming, the external, which denotes real power, virility, or enduring life. The supreme question is whether or not spiritual idealism is the master influence in the life of man, church, or nation; whether the passion for truth, broad, tolerant, all-encompassing love which compels the highest justice and would do to others as they would be done by are the keynotes and touchstones of life and action. When these things dominate, religion and civilization have nothing to fear; but when externalism, materialistic and sensual ideals, or self-desire become the master notes, death advances. Edwin Markham has splendidly stated this vital truth to which all history bears testimony, in these lines:
"Voices are crying from the dust of Tyre,
From Baalbec and the stones of Babylon—
'We raised our pillars upon Self-Desire,
And perished from the large gaze of the sun.'

"Eternity was on the pyramid,
And immortality on Greece and Rome;
But in them all the ancient Traitor hid,
And so they tottered like unstable foam.

"No house can stand, no kingdom can endure,
Built on the crumbling rock of Self-Desire:
Nothing is Living Stone, nothing is sure,
That is not whitened in the Social Fire."

I cannot close this chapter without saying a few words about some of the distinguished ministers who were among the staff contributors of "The Arena."

Rev. Minot J. Savage was a leading contributor for our magazine. His papers were always strong, clear, logical, and convincing, and very popular with our readers. While in Boston Mr. Savage was one of the most popular pulpit orators of the city. He appealed to the more deeply thoughtful, for he was not a speaker who would interest the shallow or sensation-hunting mind. Indeed, I have never known a clergyman whose discourses were so clear-cut or convincing to those who dared to think and bravely face every knotty problem that the enlarged knowledge and broadened vision of our age presented. His sermons were also uniformly excellent—something very rare in the history of the pulpit. It was my privilege to attend his church for several years, and I do not call to mind a single sermon that could be characterized as mediocre.

During his residence in Boston I came to know Mr. Savage very well, and the more I saw of him, the more I admired the thinker and the man. We were associated somewhat in the investigations of the American Psychological Society, and in that research, as well as in his writings, he always seemed to me to be at once critical and open-minded;
to possess the true scientific spirit, rigid and insistent on requirements to guard against deception or fraud, yet intellectually hospitable and free from the unreasoning skepticism that marks the narrow-minded dogmatist or the man with a theory to establish. Though rigidly logical in his intellectual processes, Mr. Savage possessed much poetic talent, as his volume of verse amply testifies. On one occasion, when calling on Louise Chandler Moulton, she said:

“\nI saw Mr. Savage yesterday and we exchanged some spiritual experiences. He told me some things that were intensely interesting. You know I place a great deal of confidence in his judgment. He possesses in rare degree the modern critical spirit, with a poetic idealism that is most refreshing in our present-day, matter-of-fact, bread-and-butter age.”

This criticism impressed me at the time as being eminently just. When Mr. Savage was called to take charge of Rev. Robert Collier’s Church of the Messiah, in New York City, hundreds of admirers, who were not members of Unity Church, felt that Boston was sustaining a great loss.

Another popular clergyman of Boston who was numbered among our contributors was Rev. Edward A. Horton, pastor of the Second Church, the congregation that in older days had been ministered to by Cotton Mather, perhaps the ablest and most austere and influential advocate of Calvinism known to New England in theological history. This congregation later numbered among its distinguished ministers Ralph Waldo Emerson. When I came to Boston, in the early eighties, I frequently attended Dr. Horton’s church and always found his sermons rich in suggestive thought and spiritual inspiration. Dr. Horton was pastor of the Second Church until his health became impaired, when in 1892 he retired, to become superintendent of the Sunday School work of his denomination. He is the author of a number of works marked by ability, the living faith that makes faithful, and the ethics that hold redemptive power for civilization. At the present time he is Chaplain of the Massachusetts Senate.

Dr. Horton was followed by Rev. Thomas Van Ness, another splendid representative of the spiritual idealism
that has ever been the vital soul of Unitarianism. Dr. Van Ness, while living in San Francisco, had come under the spell of Count Tolstoi to such a degree that he traveled seven thousand miles to commune with the great prophet of Russia. In a paper which he contributed to our magazine Dr. Van Ness gave a most fascinating story of this visit with one of the greatest and noblest men who have left their impress on modern civilization.

Edward Everett Hale, Cyrus A. Bartol, and O. B. Frothingham were other prominent Unitarian contributors to "The Arena." Dr. Hale was unquestionably the most popular of all the Boston clergymen during the eighties and nineties. He was a tireless worker, ever engaged in bettering the condition of those less fortunate, and diffusing the gospel of optimism and mutual helpfulness. He possessed the rare power of enthusing with spiritual idealism and a passion for service almost every person who came under his influence. In this way he was able to accomplish a vast amount of good by ever having an army at work along different lines of social progress. His Helping Hand work was merely one of a number of activities in which he was the mainspring, around whom clustered a number of earnest workers. The motto of the Lend a Hand movement—

Look up and not down,
Look out and not in,
Look forward and not back,
Lend a hand!—

well expressed the spirit that ever radiated from this truly wonderful man, who during his later years was Chaplain of the United States Senate.

Dr. Bartol was one of the most lovable of men. An interesting story is told of him while he was a popular clergyman of Boston. The family of one of his parishioners had been absent some years, and on their return to the Back Bay district Dr. Bartol called upon them. The little girl, who had never met him, received him at the door, seated him in the parlor, and announced his coming to her mother.

"Who is it?" inquired the mother.
“I do not know,” replied the child, “but I think it is God.”

Rev. O. P. Gifford, another “Arena” contributor, like Dr. Pentecost and Rev. George C. Lorimer, of whom mention has already been made, wrought bravely and effectively for justice for the oppressed, for the maintenance of American ideals and principles, and for a larger and more spiritual civic life. While I was making my studies in the slums, Dr. Gifford was pastor of the Warren Avenue Baptist Church and he materially aided in awakening the conscience of the city in sermons suggested by these investigations.

Had orthodox Protestantism had more ministers with the high spiritual enthusiasm of Dr. Gifford, Dr. Pentecost, and Dr. Lorimer, it would be to-day as spiritually strong and invincible as it ever was in its history. It is such courageous thinkers and brave leaders who have kept the vital flame burning on the altars of the church; but unhappily, where there has been one Elijah, there have been scores ready to prophesy smooth things, and because of them the church has more and more ceased to be the mighty spiritual force that she should be.

Another of our staff contributors who was always popular with our readers was Rabbi Solomon Schindler of the Temple Adath Israel. He is a man of remarkable originality of thought and, like Mr. Savage, was accorded much space in the Monday morning papers, as he always had something worth hearing. He was extremely liberal, and I imagine his radical views were far from pleasing to some of the more orthodox Hebrews. Rabbi Schindler fled to America to escape imprisonment for treason. He was a schoolmaster in a German village in which he lived at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, and when the Kaiser decreed a peace celebration, to be observed throughout the cities and towns of the Empire, Rabbi Schindler was selected as the man of the village best fitted to deliver the oration for the occasion. Now Mr. Schindler is nothing if not frank and fearless. He strongly disapproved of the Germans’ despoiling France of Alsace and Lorraine, believing that the taking of those provinces was unjust and
that it would rankle in the breast of patriotic France until at a later day, when favorable opportunity offered, she would war against Germany. In his address he said as much, declaring that the day should be called a war day rather than a peace day, because the unjust requirements would some day lead to another war. Shortly after he returned from the meeting, a friend who was in official circles notified him that a warrant was being prepared charging him with treason. He had barely time to get the train for a neutral seaport, where later Mrs. Schindler joined him, and they came to New York, where he was compelled for some time to engage in manual labor under trying conditions. At length, however, he was called as Rabbi of a Hebrew congregation in New Jersey, whence he received the call to Boston. Dr. Schindler, after resigning his pastorate of the Congregation Adath Israel, was for some time superintendent of the Leopold Morse Home. Here he introduced many notable and beneficent innovations, establishing, so far as lay in his power, an ideal home for aged Hebrews and orphans.

Rabbi Schindler was followed by Rabbi Charles Fleischer, who was also one of our contributors. Rabbi Fleischer, like so many liberal and cultured Hebrews, is an idealist, profoundly interested in humanitarian and social progress. He is a fundamental democrat and has been active in progressive, co-operative, and welfare work. For many years he was Rabbi of the Congregation Adath Israel, but in 1911 he became too liberal for that communion and resigned. Since then he has been the leader of the Boston Sunday Commons, a liberal humanistic congregation.
CHAPTER XVIII.
EMERSON'S PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS AND
THE NEW THOUGHT MOVEMENT

Sources of Inspiration—Ralph Waldo Emerson Its Great Fore­
runner—Robert Browning—The Healing Phase, Its Sources
and Feeders—Fundamental Difference Between the New
Thought and Christian Science—Some Representative Lead­
ers—Charles Malloy—Gerhardt C. Mars—Lilian Whiting
—Gertrude Capen Whitney—J. A. Edgerton—Henry Wood
—Charles Brodie Patterson—James Allen—Ralph Waldo
Trine—Orison Swett Marden.

To properly yet briefly describe the New Thought move­
ment is difficult, from the fact that this latest expression
of liberalism has been fed by many great currents. Its dif­
usive influence is one of the most marked features of
present-day religious thought. It suggests a great river
whose numerous tributaries have taken rise in remote and
widely separated mountain ranges. The metaphysics of
India and Greece, no less than those of Hebraic origin,
and the transcendental thought of modern times have each
in turn contributed in a large and definite way to this
movement, which, however, is distinctly modern and has
been markedly affected by nineteenth century developments
along psychic and psychological lines.

Marked by intellectual hospitality and the modern search­
ing critical spirit which reverently but courageously chal­
lenges every passing theory that assumes to explain the
profounder problems of life, its representative thinkers
have emphasized, some one and some another, of these sev­
eral sources of thought, spiritual philosophy, and seemingly
assured verities that have appealed to the rationality of our
age.

On its philosophical side, its great forerunner, or the man
who did more than any other thinker of our time to prepare
the popular mind to accept the new practical idealism and
gospel of optimism, was Ralph Waldo Emerson. He was
the pioneer New World diffuser of metaphysical and transcendental thought and Oriental philosophy; and this great movement, along certain lines, is largely a concrete and practical application of his metaphysical generalizations and unfailing optimism. Indeed, it would be impossible to overestimate the broadening and illuminating influence on American thought exerted by Emerson. By nature a poet and spiritual philosopher, this one-time Unitarian clergyman had made an exhaustive study of Christian theological thought. He was ever broad-visioned and open-minded, ever looking for the good in the literature of aspiration. In this respect he strikingly resembled the great Mohammedan, Akbar, who welcomed to his court scholars of all faiths, encouraging them to present their religious concepts; and when the Mohammedan zealots remonstrated with him, he refused to yield to the narrow-minded sectarians, saying in substance what Tennyson thus beautifully clothes in verse:

“There is light in all,
And light with more or less of shade,
In all man’s modes of worship.”

The German transcendental philosophy held special charm for Emerson, and from it he turned to Plato, the greatest of all metaphysical philosophers of olden times. Plato became his Bible for a time and was ever one of his chief sources of inspiration. But another rich mine of speculative philosophy awaited him. When the “Bhagavad Gita” fell into his hands he experienced far greater pleasure than is known to the gold seeker, who suddenly after long and weary searching, comes upon a rich lode. The “Bhagavad Gita” appealed to Emerson with compelling power. In Emerson’s writings the metaphysical thought of India, Greece, and modern transcendentalism were fused.

Another nineteenth century thinker who contributed in no small degree to the spread of the newer concepts was Robert Browning. Like the Concord sage, his thought is nobly idealistic and metaphysical. He strikes a deeply religious note, and though Christian idealism predominates, his views
are often strongly tinged with the philosophical concepts of India.

The works of Emerson and Browning, however, were but two of many factors that transformed the mental attitude of thousands of our people. The far-reaching influence of Unitarian thinkers in general was perhaps the most positive and pervasive influence of the century in liberalizing the thought of the East, and the rise and rapid spread of modern spiritualism was another contributing factor. Theosophy, as taught by Madam Blavatsky, and the wide diffusion of Eastern occult and metaphysical thought through the numerous Swamis who visited America at the time of the Chicago World's Fair, were also feeders of this new movement.

In so far as the New Thought movement has concerned itself with the healing of the sick, the metaphysical message of Christian Science as enunciated by Mrs. Eddy, the spiritualistic teachings of Andrew Jackson Davis and other great healers among the pioneer spiritualists, and the teachings of Phineas Quimby and his pupil Dr. Julius Dresser, have been its principal feeders.

Though many of the prominent teachers of metaphysical healing in the New Thought movement were at one time Christian Scientists, there is a marked and fundamental difference between the philosophical or metaphysical concepts of these two great schools of thought. Mrs. Eddy refused to recognize as real all transient phenomena or manifestations of what is popularly termed material life. Even man's physical body is, according to her teaching, a manifestation of error. This bold and radical departure from conventional theological tenets is not accepted by many of those who came out from Christian Science and became leaders in New Thought metaphysical healing. While holding to the potential supremacy of the spiritual and man's dominion over sin and sickness through a recognition of his sonship with the All-Father, they hold with Emerson that the material universe is a part of the creation of the Infinite Mind. These teachers hold that the body is potentially the servant of the spiritual entity. It is the temple of the soul or the machine through which the spirit-
ual nature is able to manifest on the physical plane. They teach the recognition of good as the positive force in life, and the power of man to so come en rapport with the Divine Life as to reflect harmony in spirit, mind, and body. This is the gospel of good cheer and sunny optimism; but it will be noted that there is a fundamental difference between it and the central claims of Christian Science as promulgated by Mrs. Eddy.

Many New Thought representatives believe in employing suggestion as a therapeutic agent and for strengthening the moral sensibilities, holding that all men are governed to a greater or less extent by the mental impressions and images that are constantly being received, directly through other minds, or through literature, and that it is the duty of the believer in the supremacy of the good to seek at all times by suggestion to break the spell of error thought. Here again the New Thought comes in direct antagonism with the Christian Science concept, which positively teaches that it is erroneous and wrong for any one human mentality to attempt to influence another; that the human mind should be taught that man's real identity is with God; that his true self images the Divine Mind, and only as he has allowed the mist that has arisen from materialistic concepts or error thought to hide the Divine, is he the victim of sin, disease, and death. It is his privilege to return to the Father and reflect the Mind that was in Christ Jesus.

The New Thought movement is developing a remarkable literature, though of very uneven merit; and though certain central or cardinal tenets are held in common, there is a wide difference in the views and teachings of various leaders. Because of the great number of authors and their widely divergent thought, I can only briefly refer to a few typical representatives of the different lines that are reflected in this movement.

Among the finest and most deeply thoughtful representatives of Emersonian philosophical concepts was Charles Malloy. In early manhood Emerson's thought captured his imagination, and the philosopher in turn became deeply interested in the young man,—so much so that he loaned him his copy of the "Bhagavad Gita." Like Emerson, Mr. Mal-
loy came under the witching spell of that wonderful book, and forthwith set out to copy the entire volume in longhand. In later years Mr. Malloy became the most luminous expounder and interpreter of Emerson's philosophy. He prepared a number of papers for "The Arena," dealing with the greatest poems by the Concord sage, which proved to be the most popular series of metaphysical papers published in our magazine.

Perhaps the thinker of the present day who has given the greatest world-wide survey of metaphysical thought, in language that can be comprehended by the popular mind, is Gerhardt C. Mars. His large volume, "The Interpretation of Life," is a truly monumental work, brilliant and profoundly thoughtful. In it the author accepts evolution as "the gradual unfolding of a rational plan in time, or the becoming explicit of an implicit idea." He gives the best outline and discussion of the thought of the great metaphysical thinkers of the ages, including St. Paul, Plato, and Kant, of any New World thinker. He considers the great problem of life from the idealistic or metaphysical viewpoint in a way to arrest the attention and hold the interest of the serious student of the deeper things of life, while for all those who believe in the fundamental ideals embodied in the metaphysical philosophy the work will prove irresistibly fascinating. Mr. Mars pays an extremely high tribute to Christian Science and its founder, while his comparison of Paul and Plato is a most thought-inspiring discussion. His treatment of the pedagogy of pain is also one of the most deeply thoughtful expositions I have read in years. "The Interpretation of Life" is, in my judgment, one of the most important works that the past fifty years has produced.

Perhaps the most popular among all the New Thought writers is Lilian Whiting. Her series of "World Beautiful" books, three volumes, and "The Life Radiant," "The Outlook Beautiful," "The Joy That No Man Taketh from You," "Life Transfigured," "From Dream to Vision of Life," and her volume of poems, "From Dreamland Sent," have probably done more to popularize the broad New Thought principles and the wholesome optimism of Emer-
son, Browning, and other masters of nineteenth century metaphysical thought than the works of any other writer. Yet these volumes represent but a small part of the literary out-put of this remarkable author, whose study of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, "The Brownings, Their Life and Art," "Boston Days," "Paris the Beautiful," "Italy the Magic Land," "The Florence of Landor," "The Land of Enchantment," and "Athens the Violet-Crowned," are among the most charming popular biographical and descriptive writings of the present day.

Miss Whiting, though by church affiliation an Episcopalian, is as intellectually hospitable as is the most liberal Unitarian, and after the death of her intimate friend, Kate Field, she had remarkable psychical experiences which resulted in making her a pronounced spiritualist or a believer in the power of the spirits of those who have passed from view to return, under certain conditions, and communicate with mortals. Her "Kate Field, a Record," "After Her Death," and "The Spiritual Significance" deal with psychical and spiritualistic thought in a most interesting and suggestive manner.

Mrs. Gertrude Capen Whitney is a writer whose appeal is made to the general reader, but whose message is so instinct with the ethics of the New Thought movement that she belongs among those who represent the higher philosophic concepts of this movement and their practical application to life. Two of her little volumes, "Yet Speaketh He" and "I Choose," are among the notable recent contributions to the idealistic and purposeful fiction of the day.

The man who probably has done more than any other single person to organize the New Thought movement is Mr. James A. Edgerton, who since 1909 has been President of the National New Thought Alliance. For many years he was one of the most efficient leaders of the People's Party movement; first in Nebraska, when as editor, organizer, and speaker he did much toward electing the first People's Party Governor of that State. Later he served as Chairman of the National Organization Committee of that party. It was during these years that Mr. Edgerton wrote a number of stirring poems and songs voicing the aspira-
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

In the past twenty-five years, the democratic impulses of the people and the ideals of the great Declaration—poems which led many to regard him as the legitimate and worthy successor of James G. Clark. In 1899 Mr. Edgerton accepted an editorial position on the “Rocky Mountain News,” and for four years he served in that capacity. When he left this position to come East, he was chief editorial writer on the “News” and the Denver “Times.” It was during this time that Mr. Edgerton became identified with the New Thought movement. In the East he served for some time as special writer for the American Press Association and occupied important editorial positions on influential journals. In 1909 he formally joined the Democratic Party and later campaigned New Jersey in the interests of Woodrow Wilson, candidate for Governor. In 1913 he was appointed to the important position of Purchasing Agent for the Post Office Department. Mr. Edgerton is the author of several volumes. “Glimpses of the Real” and “In the Gardens of God” are probably his most important New Thought works.

Among prominent New Thought writers who have given special attention to the healing phase of the philosophy, Mr. Henry Wood and Dr. Charles Brodie Patterson call for special notice, as they were prominently identified with “The Arena.” Mr. Wood, after having vainly sought health in Berlin, London, and other European cities, came to America in a hopeless condition and was restored to health through Christian Science. He afterwards became one of the leading and most scholarly of the New Thought writers.

Dr. Patterson, as author, teacher, and practitioner, enjoys an international reputation, his works, classes, and practice having been almost as popular in the Old World as the New.

Of a number of other writers who in a general way have broadened and popularized the New Thought in its relation to our every-day life, James Allen, Ralph Waldo Trine, and Orison Swett Marden call for special notice. Their writings have circulated by the hundreds of thousands and are full of sane, wholesome, idealistic philosophy greatly
needed in an age of stress and strain and where the forces of materialistic commercialism are everywhere exerting a deadening influence on the popular imagination.

The New Thought movement, like Unitarianism and modern spiritualism, is diffusive and broadening in influence. It permeates the general consciousness and exerts a power far out of proportion to its organic strength; for like all liberal organizations, it lacks the centralizing power of compact creedal and dogmatic bodies, and in an age like the present, when the keynote is combination, organization, and centralization, liberal movements appear to exert far less influence than movements that depend more largely upon advance through organization.
CHAPTER XIX.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

Widespread Interest in the Subject—Victor Hugo's Criticism of the Attitude of Scientists—The Rise of Modern Spiritualism—Prof. Buchanan's Characterization of the Subject—Decline of Spiritualism as an Organic Force—Dr. J. M. Peebles, One of the Greatest Living Exponents—The English Society for Psychical Research and Some of Its Master Spirits—Some of the World's Greatest Thinkers Who Have Accepted the Spiritual Philosophy.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, psychical phenomena were challenging the attention of many psychologists, physicists, and other leading thinkers trained in modern critical methods of research. Indeed, for more than fifty years a veritable battle raged over the reality or the meaning of the alleged phenomena of modern spiritualism. The orthodox physical scientists and the church had for the most part sweepingly denounced spiritualistic phenomena, the former claiming them due either to fraud, to unlimited credulity on the part of the investigators, or to self-delusion on the part of the alleged psychic; while the church maintained that when not the result of conscious fraud, they were a manifestation of demonism.

So far back as the fifties, Victor Hugo had upbraided scientists for their unscientific treatment of this subject. In his distinctly great work on “William Shakespeare” he says:

“To replace inquiry by mockery is very convenient, but not very scientific. For our part, we think it is the strict duty of science to test all phenomena. . . . The unexpected ought always to be expected by science. Her duty is to stop it in its course and search it, rejecting the chimerical, accepting the real. She should verify and distinguish. All human knowledge is but picking and culling. 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 refusing the corn? Hoe out the weed error,
but reap the fact, and place it beside others. Science is the sheaf of facts. The mission of science is to study and sound everything. All of us, according to our degree, are the creditors of investigation.”

Before noticing the work of recent decades by great scholars in their effort to solve the age-long problem, “If a man die, shall he live again?” it is necessary that we consider for a moment the rise and decline, as an organic force, of modern spiritualism. It came with the Rochester rappings. It came at a time when, owing to the rise of physical science, the discoveries, inventions, and research that had revolutionized the thought of the world, many of the old religious concepts had lost their hold on the public mind, and with these changes, materialism was rapidly but subtly dominating the thought of the people, paralyzing the church and taking from life one of its mightiest sources of inspiration. The phenomenally rapid rise of spiritualism, in the face of the strong opposition of the church and conventional thought, was one of the most significant facts of the religious history of America during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century.

In 1880 this religious belief was one of great power in New England, while commanding a very numerous following in the Northern and Western States. Especially was it strong in California. But from that date it began, as an organic force, to rapidly decline, and in the early nineties I remember calling the attention of Prof. Buchanan to this fact. He was an ardent spiritualist, having become a profound student of psychology and psychical phenomena many years before. His explanation was interesting. He said:

“Spiritualism, broadly speaking, may be classified in three divisions. There are the Christian spiritualists, the free-thinking spiritualists, and the idle, curious, and selfish wonder-mongers. The Christian spiritualists accept the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount and the Bible phenomena. Indeed, they insist that the Bible is full of spiritualism, from Genesis to Revelation; that nothing is emphasized more positively, clearly, or convincingly than the return, under certain conditions, of spirits who had once
dwelt in the flesh. Thus, Moses and Elias on the Mount of Transfiguration were so real and tangible to the Apostles that they suggested to their Master the building of three tabernacles, one for Moses, one for Elias, and one for Christ and the Apostles. The liberation of Peter from the prison in Jerusalem, the apparition which announced to St. Paul the coming wreck of the vessel on which he was sailing to Rome, are merely two of numerous incidents illustrating this fact.

"Again, the Apostle John clearly emphasizes the verity of spirit return when he says, 'Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God.'

"Furthermore, as showing that in the opinion of the canonical writers, the angels constantly appearing throughout Holy Writ were disembodied spirits that had once lived on the earth, we find that in the last chapter of Revelations, when the author of the book falls down to worship before the feet of the Angel who showed him the things, the Angel says: 'See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant and of thy brethren the prophets.'

"The Christian spiritualists," continued Prof. Buchanan, "hold that the Bible clearly teaches that the spirits of the dead, both good and bad, under certain circumstances, influence the lives of mortals, and that the only way to be safe and secure from the possibility of evil influences is to be positive against evil thoughts and not give them attractive power; that Jesus was constantly casting out evil spirits who had taken possession of unfortunate mortals—mortals who probably were not necessarily bad, but who had been negative. It is their belief that very many cases of insanity are due to these influences, and if rightly treated could be entirely restored."

Dr. Buchanan himself inclined strongly to these beliefs, but was quite sympathetic with the free-thinking spiritualists who were also under the compulsion of moral idealism. These men and women, he claimed, confuse the ethics of Christianity or true religion with dogmatic theology. They read the history of the past and see how intolerant of new thought, of science, of progress, and how narrow has been the church throughout the ages. They see how almost in-
variably she has ranged herself on the side of the throne and of conventional and conservative thought in all great battles for freedom and progress, until the nobler ideals have gained ascendency; and confusing religion with dogmatic theology, they unreasoningly reject the wheat as well as the tares.

"But there is a third class," continued the Professor, "who are the bane of spiritualism and are threatening to destroy it as a great organic force; and these are the careless, curious, shallow, and selfish men and women, without ideals, who are ever seeking wonders and whose only interest in spiritualism is either to be amused or to find out something that may gratify their material desires. These persons naturally attract the same kind of forces from the other side, and because spiritualists have never adopted as binding an ethical or spiritual creed which would effectively bar from their ranks any psychic caught in tricks or fraud, and because many of the leading spiritualists have seemed to feel it their duty to defend all mediums attacked, whether they were worthy or unworthy, the whole movement has been discredited and thousands of thoughtful people, who were being attracted to it, are losing their interest and seeking spiritual food and illumination elsewhere."

Prof. Buchanan's views were entertained by many eminent thinkers of America and Europe. Of this number probably the most distinguished living representative is Dr. J. M. Peebles, who at the present time is in his ninety-fourth year and enjoying a degree of physical, mental, and spiritual health and virility rarely seen in men who reach the eightieth milestone. Dr. Peebles was a prominent Universalist clergyman and also a regularly educated physician. He is a man whose thought has ever been characterized by intellectual hospitality; broad of vision, strong in his convictions, yet tolerant, loving, and sympathetic. Five times he circled the globe, proclaiming the truth as he sees it and seeking additional spiritual light and information from great religious teachers throughout the world. For many years he has written for prominent papers in America, Europe, and Asia. In a recent letter he tells me that he is contributing at the present time to more than thirty dif-
ferent journals. Dr. Peebles, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Rev. Minot J. Savage, Dr. Richard Hodgson, and Louise Chandler Moulton were among a group of world-famous writers who discussed psychical problems in "The Arena."

Whether Prof. Buchanan's description and explanation were the true ones or not, certain it is that as an organic force spiritualism has steadily declined during the past thirty years; and yet, strange as it may seem, during this period there has probably been a greater number than ever before of profound thinkers—men and women trained to weigh evidence, and who are distinguished among our critical observers, who have come to believe in the central claim of modern spiritualism,—that is to say, in the fact that under certain circumstances it is possible for the spirits of those we call dead to manifest to the living. This is partly due to the systematic investigations of such bodies as the English Society for Psychical Research, the American Society, and similar organizations, although in many instances, in cases like that of Lombroso, the great criminologist, the investigators have approached the subject independently and with a strong conviction that the phenomena were due to fraud.

The English Society for Psychical Research has performed an exceptionally valuable work in its serious attempt to impartially examine all alleged occult phenomena, with an eye single to arriving at the truth. It was organized in 1882, having as president Prof. Henry Sedgwick of Cambridge University. Among the original vice-presidents and subsequent prominent officials and investigators were Prof. Balfour Stewart, F.R.S., the Right Honorable Arthur J. Balfour, Prof. W. F. Barrett of Dublin University, Mr. F. W. H. Myers, Sir William Crookes, F.R.S., Sir Oliver Lodge, and the Bishop of Ripon. Of the value of the work, William E. Gladstone said:

"It is the most important work which is being done in the world—by far the most important."

Later an American branch was established in Boston, under the special direction of Dr. Richard Hodgson, who, with Prof. William James and later Prof. James H. Hyslop, conducted a number of exhaustive and illuminating ex-
periments. Among other prominent Americans who were officially connected with the American branch were the late Bishop Phillips Brooks, Rev. R. Heber Newton, and Rev. Minot J. Savage. These thinkers became thoroughly convinced of the truth of psychical phenomena, though perhaps some of them hesitated to admit that the spiritualistic explanation is the true one.

From the start it has been the aim of the Society to account for all possible phenomena, that were proved to be genuine, on the grounds of telepathy, thought transference, etc.,—that is, they have striven to exclude the theory of disembodied spirits wherever another explanation could be reasonably advanced. Yet men like Dr. Hodgson, Sir Oliver Lodge, F. W. H. Myers, and Prof. Hyslop, and, I think, Prof. James, were forced, after long years of painstaking and critical investigation, to conclude that much of the phenomena was not only genuine, but could not be reasonably explained on any hypothesis other than that of the presence of disembodied intelligences. The same conclusion was arrived at by a number of independent investigators in Europe and America. Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the co-discoverer with Darwin of the evolutionary theory; Sir William Crookes, one of the greatest chemists of the age; Rev. Minot J. Savage, the ablest exponent of the evolutionary theory in the Unitarian pulpit; Victorien Sardou, the great French dramatist; and William T. Stead, the famous London journalist, are typical representatives of those who through independent investigations became convinced of the truth of the central claim of spiritualism.

The subject is at once one of the most baffling, alluring, and, in the opinion of many of our greatest thinkers, most vital to the cause of civilization, of any of the great questions that intimately affect religious thought. The world, they hold, has reached a stage when tangible evidence of the persistence of individuality after the change called death alone can stay the on-sweeping tide of materialism, which, fed by many head-waters, has been subtly enthraling the imagination of society, paralyzing the church, and devitalizing the spiritual energies of Christendom.
CHAPTER XX.

THE RISE AND RAPID GROWTH OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE


The rise and rapid growth of Christian Science constitutes one of the most interesting chapters in the religious history of our time. It came at a period when Unitarianism and other liberal organizations had broadened the thought of the land and made it tolerant of, if not hospitable to, new and unconventional religious ideas. The revolutionary changes in the world’s thought of the nineteenth century had shattered the old-time theological beliefs of millions of people; while the subtle advance of materialism and opportunism had weakened the living faith of the Christian world. People everywhere were hungering for a religion that should reawaken the old passion for righteousness and rekindle the altar-fires of faith as they were kindled during the first century of Christian history. The time was ripe for a positive message.

Christian Science, however, so boldly challenged conventional orthodox thought, on the one hand, and popular theories in regard to the physical universe, on the other, that it early awakened pronounced opposition on the part of many prominent critics, and was dismissed as too absurd for serious consideration by other leaders of conventional opinion. Patiently and faithfully, however, did Mrs. Eddy proclaim her religious thought and apply its teachings in the healing of the sick and the reforming of sinners. She refused to make compromises with the existing order. Her appeal was from the external to the interior; from the objective to the subjective; from sense dominion to spiritual supremacy;
from emotionalism to rationalism; from physics to metaphysics.

Nor was this all. At the time when the church was resorting to all kinds of expedients to attract the people, was emphasizing form and ritual, providing splendid music and eloquent speakers, and in various ways was appealing to the senses in the hope of attracting large congregations, Mrs. Eddy adopted a service that was innocent of all sensuous appeal, a service that made no bid to the lover of rite or ritual or to those who went to church to hear fine music or eloquent discourses; and yet this radically unconventional and, to the sense-worshipers, unattractive teaching took root and steadily grew. In the eighties it attracted some attention in New England, and in the early nineties it was being vigorously combatted, and though steadily gaining, it had no church edifices; yet less than a score of years later it had girdled the world, having vigorous and growing congregations in almost every civilized land. Its church edifices were numbered by the thousands representing many millions of dollars, while its membership was numbered by the hundreds of thousands; and it must be remembered that this astounding phenomenon had occurred in what we are pleased to call the most enlightened hour in historical civilization.

What is the explanation? This is a question which during the past ten years has been asked by thousands of thoughtful people. A well-known writer whose travels have brought him in touch with thinking people in various parts of the land, said to me when discussing this question:

"To me the most surprising historical fact of the past twenty-five years is the rapid growth of Christian Science in this nation, and the permanent hold it seems to have taken on tens of thousands of highly intelligent and discriminating citizens. The healing part of the new faith affords no adequate explanation for this phenomenon. It doubtless is largely the means of interesting very many, and perhaps the greater number of those who are attracted to Christian Science, but it is not the explanation.

"Now to say," continued this gentleman, "that there is no great motor power behind this new religious organiza-
tion save the healing of the sick, is absurd; and especially is this apparent when one takes into consideration the way the faith dominates the ideals or moral impulses of its disciples. Nothing is more marked about this religious teaching than the way it seizes hold of thought and imagination, frequently changing the whole course of one’s life.”

“That is very true,” I replied. “I have known not a few persons who were the slaves of drink or given to other forms of dissipation, who through Christian Science have been lifted to a noble plane and have become active workers for all that is finest and truest in life. Indeed, my investigation, extending over many years and conducted at all times with an earnest desire to be impartial and unprejudiced, has fully convinced me that the great majority of those who accept Christian Science become changed persons. They are cheerful, optimistic, and dominated by inspiring and uplifting ideals. They strive to reflect love and exhibit much of that living faith that marked the early Christian church.”

“Exactly so,” returned my friend. “And I repeat, the reason for this phenomenon is a baffling mystery to me. If we had here a splendid ritual that appealed to the imagination, an elaborate and popular song service, or men of eloquence who could draw great audiences and hold them spell-bound, I could understand its success. But the Christian Science service is to me the least calculated to interest and appeal to the outsider, ‘to the man on the street,’ to use the popular saying, of any church service with which I am acquainted. Now, what is your explanation of this mystery?”

“Its success, it seems to me,” I replied, “is to be found in its meeting the heart-hunger of hundreds of thousands of people in a satisfying way. The most significant fact about this religious message is the power it exerts in quickening the conscience or spiritual side of life and bringing the believers under the compulsion of moral idealism. In personal interviews with a great number of Christian Scientists, and in the course of extended correspondence in which I have sought for facts and data that would enable me competently and justly to judge this new religious
movement, in almost every instance the persons communicated with have placed the spiritual awakening that has been wrought through Christian Science as incomparably the greatest blessing that it has brought into their lives; although in numerous instances these parties, who are now in the enjoyment of excellent health, had been doomed to early death by medical science.”

At first the cures of Christian Science were either denied or dismissed as being merely cases where people imagined they had some troubles, but were not suffering from what physicians would term real ills. Later it was admitted that Christian Science did cure very many functional diseases, while the physicians stoutly maintained that it did not cure organic diseases. Some years ago I made a painstaking and rather extended investigation of the healing phase of Christian Science, and the result was most surprising, in that a very large proportion of the well authenticated cures were of cases that had been diagnosed by the regular physicians as organic. Blastomycosis, cancer, tuberculosis, Bright's disease, and other organic disorders usually considered fatal were among the diseases that had markedly yielded to Christian Science treatment.

The oft-expressed prediction of many critics, that with the passing of Mrs. Eddy from the scenes of earth life Christian Science would rapidly disintegrate, has not been verified. Indeed, the growth of Christian Science seems at the present time to be even more rapid and general than at any previous period. It is a great fact in twentieth century religious history, and its progress has been made in the face of the most amazing popular misconceptions and, at times, misrepresentations.

Even to-day, one frequently hears it said that Christian Science healing is merely a form of hypnotism or therapeutic suggestion; yet no one can read the literature of Christian Science or listen to any of its authoritative teachers or lecturers without knowing that Christian Scientists are positively forbidden to attempt to control another mentality or to cure by mental suggestion. The Christian Science theory is diametrically opposed to the teachings and belief of those who advocate healing through therapeutic suggestion or hyp-
notism. Mrs. Eddy held that each person's mentality must be respected and held inviolate. Her effort and that of the Christian Science practitioner is merely to awaken the patient to a consciousness of his divine origin and nature; that as one created in the image and likeness of God and given dominion by the Eternal, he, the real ego, is the perfect child of God, who, when the illusion of sense domination is broken, expresses the harmony of health and righteousness. The attempt of one person to dominate or control another mentality by human will-power is held by Christian Scientists to be morally criminal. Christ, they hold, realized His divine sonship and that all men and women were in reality children of God, however much they might be lost in the maze of sense illusion. It was to seek and to save, or to awaken the children of the Divine to a sense of their sonship, that the Master came. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in Heaven is perfect" would not have been commanded by the Christ if he had not realized the potential perfection of each child of God. Christ, by realizing the stupendous truth of man's real self being a reflection of the Divine Life, was able to restore harmony and health and to awaken the spiritual, or the real ego in the sick and sinning; and it was His plain command to His disciples everywhere that they follow His example. The twelve, and later the seventy, were sent forth to cure all manner of disease. Then came the sweeping command reported in Mark, to go into all the world and to preach the gospel and heal the sick; and in John, Christ says, in speaking to His disciples, when referring to what they could do if they remained awakened and recognized their oneness with the All-Father, that the works which he did, and even greater works, shall they do. The apostles and the early disciples carried out this injunction. Long after the apostles were gone, the disciples practiced healing, according to the testimony of the church fathers.

Now Mrs. Eddy claimed that in making the healing a part of the vital teachings of Christian Science, she was merely carrying out this divine injunction which was stated by the Founder of Christianity to be a sign of discipleship; and in "Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures,"
she sought to set forth the principle by which the healing was accomplished.

One may or may not agree with all the teachings of Christian Science, but if one studies its text-book and literature, he cannot fail to recognize and admit that Christian Scientists have laid hold on great eternal spiritual verities that are vital to the highest expression of life. Faith, with them, is a living faith. Purity of thought and life is unceasingly emphasized. They are taught to strive with unwearying effort to express in daily life the higher and more spiritual teachings of the Bible. These cannot fail to give a degree of power, poise, harmony, optimism, peace, hope, and courage that are strangely lacking in our present age of rush and worry, lip-service, artificiality, and shallow make-believe.
CHAPTER XXI.

THE FOUNDER OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

Childhood of Mrs. Eddy—Home Influences—Marriage to George W. Glover and Death of the Husband—Years of Invalidism—Marriage to Dr. Patterson—Treatment by Dr. Quimby—Mutually Exclusive Differences Between Dr. Quimby’s Theories and Christian Science—Her Remarkable Cure in 1866—“Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures”—The Rise of Christian Science—“Christian Science Journal”—Massachusetts Metaphysical College—Mrs. Eddy Makes Her Home in Concord, New Hampshire—Returns to Brookline—Passes from Life in Her Ninetieth Year.

The founder of Christian Science was born in a little rural New England town, six miles from Concord, New Hampshire, on June 16, 1821. Behind her stretched on either side six generations of hardy, resolute, conscience-guided pioneers, English Puritans and Scotch Covenanters, who for the love of God and to keep their conscience clear had severed all the sacred bonds that held them to the fath­erland and had fearlessly set forth to face the hardships, privations, and terrors of a bleak, stern New World peopled by hostile savages. They were all men and women of ster­ling character, of deep and oftentimes austere religious convic­tions; lovers of freedom, lovers of home, and resolute defenders of the land they loved to call their own.

The father was a man of ability and wide influence in the community; a strong, stern, upright Christian of the old order. The mother and grandmother, who exerted great influence on the life of Mary Baker, were women of strong character, high ideals, and deep religious convictions, each possessing a dash of the poet nature and the passionate love of the beautiful which even repressive Puritanism could not destroy. In the mother were blended superior intelligence and that broad, sweet spirit of love that glorifies, refines, and elevates all who come within its influence. The grand­mother did much to feed the child’s imagination. At her knee, when the elder woman was industriously engaged at
the spinning wheel, Mary was wont to sit by the hour, listening to the stirring stories of the Covenanters, who for conscience's sake fought and fell on the heather-veiled hills of Scotland, and of the Protestant heroes of other lands and how, to keep their souls clean in the eyes of God, they endured all manner of torture rather than renounce their faith. The grandmother also told the child the ever-enthralling Bible stories, and sometimes she read the wonderful and inspiring Psalms of David, whose elevation of thought and pleasing rhythmic quality charm at once the pure heart and music-loving ear.

Another life that exerted a strong influence on Mary was her brother Albert. The two were very congenial. Both were at once idealists and logicians, possessing the poet's rich imagination, the artist's passionate love of beauty, and the truth-seeker's quenchless thirst for facts and reasons. Albert became Mary's special mentor, and after he entered Dartmouth College, during the four years of his undergraduate course, she studied in her home several of the courses he was carrying, including moral science, natural philosophy, and Latin.

As in most Puritan homes, the Bible was the volume most in use and whose value far outweighed that of all other works; and almost from infancy Mary began to learn of Israel's wanderings under Divine guidance; of her rise to power and her forgetting God; of the Captivity, when the children of Israel were carried to far-away Babylon, where they hung their harps on the willows and exchanged the songs of rejoicing for bitter lamentation, and during which the power of unshakable faith in the one living, all-pervading God was demonstrated by Daniel and the three children of the fiery furnace. But perhaps of all the Old Testament stories, none exerted greater charm than the wonderful and fairy-like tale of David the shepherd lad, who became Israel's hero king and the most famed royal singer of the world. Then there was the lesson of little Samuel, who in the silence heard the voice of God.

And then, coming down the ages, she early learned to ponder on the story of Jesus' life; its beauty and simplicity; its all-consuming love for all earth's children; its lofty spir-
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

Ituality, before which disease and sin fled as darkness before the golden dawn. Here she learned to regard God as a loving Father, the essence of love, and the embodiment of truth and power.

This early history was a dominant influence in her after life. It lived in the memory and imagination of the girl and woman, peopling her thought-world with great characters, as vivid and real as those with whom she came in daily contact.

At times the child heard clairaudiently. Her name was called, she thought by her mother, but it seemed that no one in the flesh had voiced it.

The father moved to the town of Tilton when Mary was about fifteen years of age, and here she entered a fine select school kept by Prof. Dyer H. Sanborn, where young men were prepared for college and girls were given an academic education. From this school Mary graduated.

The minister at Tilton, the Rev. Enoch Corser, a clergyman of broad vision and marked ability, was strongly drawn to Mary. Her deep religious nature, her introspection and firm grasp of the deeper spiritual truths, were a constant source of wonder and pleasure to the old clergyman, who welcomed her into his communion.

It was under these favoring conditions that the childhood of Mary Baker blossomed into beautiful young womanhood.

In 1843 Mary Baker married George W. Glover, a young contractor and builder, and the two moved to Charleston, South Carolina; but in 1844 the young husband died of yellow fever and the widow returned to her father's home, where some months later a son was born. The sudden death of the husband, just when life was rich in promise and full of joy, wellnigh wrecked the health of Mary Glover, and after her son was born she became a chronic invalid whose life seemed often to hang on a slender thread. In 1849 another affliction came in the death of her mother.

Such calamities would have embittered one less developed religiously, but hers was a nature so deeply imbued with the living, abiding faith that was one of the chief glories of Protestantism, that the successive and terrible blows and
the afflictions that darkened these years only seemed to make her faith in God more absolute.

It was some time later that Mary became a patient of Dr. Daniel Patterson, whom she subsequently married,—a most unfortunate union. The husband lived a roving life and his moral standards left much to be desired. In time, indeed, he deserted his wife, leaving in company with another woman, and as a result Mary secured a divorce; but this is anticipating the life story.

During the time when Mary was traveling from town to town with Dr. Patterson, and at a period when she was suffering greatly from physical illness and mental harassment, she became acquainted with an old man named Merrill, who had passed the ninetieth milestone and whose faith in the Bible was unshakable. He came frequently to the invalid's home to read from the Scriptures and to pray for her recovery and happiness. After this aged saint left, on one occasion, Mary pondered long on the multitudinous promises of God found in the Old and New Testaments. Suddenly her illness seemed to fall from her as the darkness vanishes before the dawn. She arose, dressed herself, and for a time enjoyed the wonderful sense of freedom that is only known to those to whom comes relief after being long held in some form of bondage. When the aged man next came to the house, the invalid went forth to greet him, and the two united in praising God for the answer to their prayers.

But this illumination was merely a glimpse of the potential supremacy of the spiritual. As yet there was no realization of the great spiritual law or truth that makes for life, which later the founder of Christian Science believed she discovered. Hence when doubts assailed, when the skepticism of neighbors and the materialism of the age pressed upon her, her faith appears to have given way to fear, and she again fell back into the old conditions.

Some time after this experience, Mary Baker Patterson heard of Dr. P. P. Quimby, who, it was said, was making many wonderful cures at Portland, Maine. Finally she set out for Portland to visit him. Dr. Quimby was kind appearing and invited confidence rather than repelled it. He
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

was innocent of book-learning, a clock-maker by trade and naturally quite inventive. When he was well in his thirties he attended a course of lectures by a French hypnotist, or, as it was then termed, mesmerist. The lecturer took kindly to Quimby and especially instructed him, with the result that the clock-maker soon became somewhat of an expert in mesmerizing people—so much so that for a time he made his living by giving public exhibitions of the power of suggestion. Later he began healing the sick by means of what would now be termed suggestive therapeutics, accompanied in many instances by magnetic passes. Dr. Quimby appears to have possessed clairvoyant power which he believed to be of great assistance in the treatment of the sick. Several years later, one of his leading pupils, in giving me an account of Dr. Quimby, said:

“He believed he possessed clairvoyant power. He said that often he could see the spirit of the patient standing by the invalid’s side, pointing to the affected part and complaining of the discordant or inharmonious conditions that were occasioning so much distress.”

Mary Patterson had all her life pondered the Bible teachings and prayed unceasingly for health and guidance, and she came to Portland fully believing that God would effect a cure through the agency of Dr. Quimby. The doctor treated her, and wonderful was the relief experienced.

For some time Mrs. Patterson sought to convince Dr. Quimby that his cures were the work of God. The doctor did not antagonize her, but rather encouraged her to write out her views, as he also got her to put into shape for him the story of many cures which he had effected. In later years a bitter controversy arose between friends of Dr. Quimby and Christian Scientists, the former claiming that Mrs. Eddy appropriated Dr. Quimby’s system of cure, christening it Christian Science, and put it out as her own discovery. Happily the question can, I think, be clearly settled in the mind of any thoroughly impartial person, by intelligent comparison of the facts involved. Thus, for example, on the one hand we find the admitted facts regarding Dr. Quimby’s early sources of inspiration and healing practices; his methods of treatment; the fact that he
believed himself possessed of clairvoyant power which greatly aided him in his work; and that he did employ suggestion, as where it is alleged that he frequently sought to set up a pain in another part of the body in order to divert the patient's mind from the ailment he was treating. All this points to one thing: Dr. Quimby followed the general trend of psychological and psychical thought of the nineteenth century—thought that developed and advanced side by side with the evolutionary theory of life and which was at first largely spiritualistic, but later, after Dr. Braid rechristened mesmerism hypnotism, and the regular profession recognized and commenced to practice hypnotic suggestion, became to a large degree materialistic. The theory of Dr. Quimby, therefore, was a nineteenth century theory, in line with the mighty trend of popular thought and embodying concepts held in common by many leading apostles of the evolutionary theory and modern physical science.

But Christian Science is diametrically opposed to these theories. Its postulates rest on certain religious statements that are unquestioningly accepted by its disciples. God is infinite, omniscient, omnipotent. In Him we live, move, and have our being. God is the supreme embodiment of Life, Love, and Truth. He is spirit, and man is created in His image and likeness and was given dominion over all living things by his Creator. If God is spirit, and man is created in His image and likeness, the real man is spirit and reflects the attributes of Deity, and it is a loss of the sense of oneness with the Divine that produces inharmony, fear, disease, and death on the mortal plane.

Christian Science seeks to awaken man to a realization of his relation to Deity and the dominion that is his when he comes to recognize the true from the false, and through this realization it claims to restore the sick and sinning to health, bringing them again en rapport with God.

On the other hand, Christian Science holds that no man has a right to exercise hypnotic or mesmeric power, as this brings one mind under the thought-compulsion of another; that physical manipulation and all kindred modes of treating disease are erroneous and harmful.

Christian Scientists hold that all that is is spirit, and the seeming materialistic phenomena are fleeting illusions that
may endure for a short time and then pass away and are seen no more. They hold that a recognition of the omnipotence and all-wisdom of God, that He was Life and Love, and that in the highest sense all men are His children or ideas, enabled Christ and the early Christians to heal the sick and to awaken from spiritual death the sleeping Jewish and pagan world.

Now it will be seen that Christian Science is a philosophy based on spiritual supremacy. It is metaphysical and idealistic and the very antithesis of any theory that emphasizes physical conditions or seeks to control mortal mind by mortal mind. The two theories are mutually exclusive, and Mrs. Eddy, after her remarkable and instantaneous cure in 1866, after the death of Dr. Quimby and when she was at the very verge of the grave, by a sudden realization of the great basic idea she afterwards embodied in Christian Science, discovered, as she believed, a mighty truth, or rather rediscovered this truth, which after years of further incessant study of the Bible she fully embodied in the Christian Science text-book "Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures."

Now to claim that Mrs. Eddy's teachings in "Science and Health" were borrowed from Dr. Quimby's theories, which, as we have seen, were diametrically opposed to those taught by Mrs. Eddy, is no more reasonable than it would be to claim that the Apostle Paul taught the precepts of Judaism after his fall into the light on the way to Damascus, because for many years before this experience, he had faithfully studied and conscientiously believed the teachings of Judaism.

The cure of the invalid was not permanent, and in the following year she again fell ill. In 1886, several months after the death of Dr. Quimby, Mrs. Patterson slipped upon some ice on the sidewalk and sustained a very serious injury—so serious, indeed, that her physician and friends believed there was only slight chance for her recovery.

On the following Sunday, however, a strange thing happened. To the sufferer whose master wish for more than thirty years had been to know God, there came a realization of the presence and power of the Infinite. Suddenly
there flashed on her consciousness the meaning and import of Christ’s healing message: “Thy faith hath made thee whole,” uttered two thousand years before to another who had long vainly sought relief through material agencies. Now she realized that all pain and weakness had fled. She rose, dressed herself, and amazed the waiting friends by stepping forth, a well woman, from what was supposed to be the chamber of death.

This wonderful experience and the spiritual illumination that came with it carried the invalid to the very crest of the spiritual Alps, and for two weeks she remained free in spirit and body. But all this time she encountered on every hand the skepticism of her friends. The world belief pressed against her. Those to whom she recounted her wonderful experience assured her it was temporary; and we may well suppose that some of them reminded her of her previous experience, when, after the reading of the Bible and the prayer of the aged saint in New Hampshire, she had experienced complete relief for a time, only to sink again into a condition of invalidism. Moreover, there were doubtless many ready to ask her, if the healing dispensation did not end in the days of the Primitive Church, how it was that the saints through succeeding ages had failed to realize the power of the Word to heal.

It was not strange, therefore, that with the world belief settling upon her and the militant skepticism of her friends, fear began to creep into her consciousness. No life at all moments is free from the encroachments of fear, and “fear hath torments.” Moreover, it exerts a morally negative influence. As darkness creeps over the land when the sun’s light is withdrawn, so fear creeps over the consciousness when the spiritual light is dimmed and faith wavers; and it is perhaps not strange that before long there set in a measurable reaction from the spiritual exaltation of the patient, and fear began to manifest itself in a threatened return of invalidism. In this crisis, Mrs. Patterson turned to the Bible, and after some hours of deep study her fear disappeared and also her pain and symptoms of illness.

The deliverance of the invalid from Doubting Castle did not, however, mark the end of her temptations or her trials.
For her a new epoch had dawned, but for many weary years she would be beset with temptations and perplexities at every step. She was, as is ever the case with the pioneer thinker, to find her views misunderstood and distorted, her motives impugned, her integrity of purpose questioned. Dark and sinister inferences were to be deduced from the most innocent circumstances or facts, and her theories were to be ridiculed and bitterly assailed on every hand. Slander, calumny, misinterpretation, and persecution were to develop with greater and still greater force and persistency as her new views spread and became popular. She was destined to tread the thorny path of the spiritual leader whose message conflicts with age-long ideas.

Believing she had gained glimpses of a great truth for which humanity was suffering, Mrs. Eddy determined to devote her life to an attempt to so realize it as to be able to teach it to the world. In "Retrospection and Introspection" she writes:

"I then withdrew from society about three years,—to ponder my mission, to search the Scriptures, to find the Science of Mind that should take the things of God and show them to the creature, and reveal the great curative Principle,—Deity.

"The Bible was my text-book. It answered my questions as to how I was healed; but the Scriptures had to me a new meaning, a new tongue. Their spiritual significance appeared; and I apprehended for the first time, in their spiritual meaning, Jesus’ teaching and demonstration, and the Principle and rule of spiritual Science and metaphysical healing,—in a word, Christian Science!"

During her years of meditation and study and the early years of teaching and practice, the founder of Christian Science was steadily moving into the light, but it was not until we come into the seventies that the great problem became clear and she beheld the sharp line of cleavage between the confusing prevalent human theories and the concepts and teachings of the Founder of Christianity. From 1866 to 1872 Mrs. Glover had been steadily advancing toward the illumination that was to clearly reveal to her the difference between the theory of cure as practiced by
Dr. Quimby and embracing as it did magnetic passes, bodily manipulation, and mesmerism or suggestion, and the Scriptural philosophy. She held that the Bible teachings in regard to cure were in bold contrast to nineteenth century theories as practiced by Dr. Quimby and his pupils.

Christ had taught the supremacy of the spiritual. The new birth was a birth from the dominion of the physical to the supremacy of the spiritual. God was all in all. In Him we lived, moved, and had our being. He was the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last. She found that the Bible taught that the entrance of God's Word gave light. God is spirit; God is love; His Kingdom is not visible to the physical senses; it is within and comes without observation, not apparent to the human eye, but felt and realized by the spiritual or real being. Man was created by the All-Father, who is spirit, in the image of God and was given dominion over all created things. All through the Old Testament were found luminous examples of healing, where man came en rapport with the Divine. But it is not until we come to the New Testament that we find a luminous and comprehensive manifestation of the results that follow the faith that rests on understanding of man's sonship to Deity or his oneness with God. This Christ apprehended, taught, and demonstrated. Moreover, He not only cured all manner of disease Himself, but He commanded His disciples to do the same, and even declared that greaters works than He had wrought should they do, in carrying the message of healing and joy to the remotest bounds of the earth. It was Christ who opened the door and flooded the human mind with the light of truth, revealing the fact that the power to cure came with the recognition of man's sonship and all that it implied. It was not to human will power that the soul must look, but to Spirit, to the great reservoir of Life and Love which we call God, realizing that we are spirit, that through recognition of our relation to the Perfect One we pass from the dominion of error into that of reality, and with the recognition come health and regeneration, or righteousness. Here we get away from sense dominion, from personality and all the perils and limitations they suggest, and pass into the liberty to which the Christian is called.
With these facts in mind, it becomes at once clear that the philosophy of Christian Science healing is diametrically opposed to the nineteenth century theories, and with a clear realization of this distinction Mrs. Glover set to work on her message. It was not, however, until 1875 that the work was finished and published under the title of “Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures.” The story of the early vicissitudes of this work and its amazing and ever-growing popularity constitutes one of the most interesting, as its success is one of the most significant, facts in the history of printed volumes since the invention of movable type. On the fourth of July, 1876, the Christian Science Association was formed, and three years later, in 1879, the Church of Christ Scientist was incorporated under a charter from the State, and Boston soon became its home and the chief working center of the new movement.

The succeeding decade was not only fruitful in great achievements; it revealed Mrs. Eddy as one of the most remarkable religious leaders known to history—at once a child of vision, an organizer and an executive leader of extraordinary ability, and a person in whom indomitable energy and determination were matched by untiring intellectual activity.

The organization and establishment of her church was followed by the incorporation and successful establishment of the Massachusetts Metaphysical College. Here she daily taught from two to three hours and met throngs of visitors who were eager, from varying motives, to know more of the new message. Nor was Sunday a day of rest, as she regularly filled the pulpit of her church.

In the spring of 1883 she founded the “Journal of Christian Science,” later called the “Christian Science Journal,” and became editor-in-chief and a leading contributor to its pages as well as in a general way overseeing its business management.

No one can read the simple record of this decade, in which Christian Science had become organized and had grown into a great movement extending from ocean to ocean, without being impressed with the marvelous achievements of Mrs. Eddy during these brief years. Great men
and illustrious women whose lives have been rich in work and golden results, have accomplished far less in a lifetime than was wrought in the brief space of ten years by this little, refined, and apparently frail woman, whose delicate childhood had been followed by more than a score of years of supposedly hopeless invalidism, and who at the age of forty-five had passed through a succession of great afflictions, years of pain, privation, and poverty, and whose life in the eyes of the world, up to and beyond her sixtieth year, was accounted a failure. Yet though the Christian Science text-book was printed in 1876 and the church organized in 1879, by 1889, fourteen years after the publication of the book and ten years after the official organization of the church, Christian Science was so firmly established that ere a score of years had passed it was destined to claim its hundreds of thousands of adherents and to number its splendid church edifices by the hundreds, while its congregations would circle the globe.

The movement had now grown to such magnitude and questions of great moment were so constantly arising, that Mrs. Eddy found it impossible to give her attention as she had in the preceding decade to the more petty details of the work, or longer to see the throng of visitors, many of whom were idle curiosity seekers or persons who came to see her as did the Scribes and Pharisees to see Jesus—not for enlightenment in regard to the message, but for the purpose of misrepresenting the leader and the thought.

Accordingly, after due consideration, she settled in Concord, New Hampshire, finally moving into a pleasant home that overlooked the picturesque valley where she was born and had spent her early years. The wisdom of this move was soon manifest. She was now able to address herself to the larger plans of the work while being able to write in quiet and to give the attention she desired to revising her principal work.

The rapid growth of the great movement naturally awakened the opposition of reactionary elements in organized religious and medical circles. A campaign of unequalled bitterness culminated in a law-suit that attracted worldwide attention and which resulted in the complete vindication of Mrs. Eddy.
In 1909 she moved to Brookline, Massachusetts, where in 1910 she entered her ninetieth year, and on the third of December passed from earth, her last words being, "God is my life!"

In speaking of the appearance of Mrs. Eddy after her death, Dr. George L. West, the medical examiner, said:

"Mrs. Eddy’s face was that of a beautiful old lady. There was a most unusual expression on her features, a rare expression of perfect tranquility at the moment of death, which made her, without exaggeration, actually beautiful."

Personally I can testify to the truth of this statement. In no other instance have I witnessed, on the face of the dead the radiant tranquility that is the child of faith and love, blended with strength of purpose and a cultured refinement that gave an indefinable beauty to the countenance, even though the eyes were closed.
CHAPTER XXII.

NEW IDEALS IN POPULAR EDUCATION


In sweeping the field of educational advance during the past thirty years, I am impressed with the real progress that is being made along various lines in harmony with the ideals of certain pioneer workers whose thoughts a few years ago, although appreciated by the discriminating few, made no visible impress on the rank and file of our educators. Within the past ten years, many of the views that were formerly regarded as visionary, impractical, and not adapted to present-day life, have been rapidly introduced and have proved so effective that their further extension, at least so far as industrial education is concerned, seems assured. In this chapter I shall notice a few of the practical idealists who quietly and unostentatiously, but none the less effectively, presented these new ideals in education.

A book which produced a deep impression on my mind early in the eighties was entitled "The New Education" and was written by Prof. Joseph Rodes Buchanan, M.D. In this work the author gave a searching diagnosis of our popular educational systems and showed how and why they failed to develop full-orbed manhood. We had centered our thought on intellectual training, without complementing it by industrial schooling, physical development, and moral education; and intellectual training he characterized as the little finger on the educational hand. Character development is of supreme importance; not the teaching of dog-
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

mathic theology, which should be left to the church, but the
great moral development that all right-minded people be-
lieve in, and it should be early impressed on the child by
precept and story. He laid great stress on industrial train-
ing. Every child, he urged, should leave school so skilled
in some useful industrial craft that he would be equipped
to make an honest living with his hands if occasion de-
manded. Every child should be studied and given the trade
in which he seemed best qualified to succeed. Here was
the germ of the vocational educational idea later so splen-
didly developed by Prof. Frank Parsons. Industrial train-
ing, Dr. Buchanan held, was vitally important not only
for the individual, to make him more independent in
life's struggles, but in order to maintain the democratic
spirit in our life and school system. There was, he pointed
out, already a tendency to form classes in this country. A
parvenue aristocracy of the dollar was exerting an evil
influence on our democratic life and government, and it was
already being complemented by a class spirit among the
college men that boded ill for the fundamental principles
of liberty, justice, and fraternity. Even our intellectual
training was very deficient. It too frequently repressed
rather than developed the natural genius and inventive
ability of the child, and thus defeated one of the highest
functions of education, weakening the power of initiative
and teaching the child to receive what is given without ques-
tion. Our colleges and universities were too frequently
teaching the young to look backward rather than forward.
They failed to foster the independent thought and investi-
gation, or hospitality to new ideas, that is one of the great-
est promoters of genuine intellectual growth and advance-
ment.

When "The Arena" was established, I arranged with
Prof. Buchanan for a series of papers outlining his educa-
tional concepts. These were very widely noticed by the
press. Many marked copies were sent to educators and
other thought-moulders, and from many appreciative letters
received I am persuaded that they opened up new and fruit-
ful fields for thought in many minds. In looking over the
educational field to-day, I am impressed with the number
of ideas suggested in Prof. Buchanan's "The New Education" which have already been successfully introduced in many public schools and endowed institutions.

Prof. Buchanan was one of those rare thinkers who possess the power of stimulating thought and opening new highways of truth for the searching mind. He was one of the founders of the eclectic school of medicine and for many years was a member of the faculty of the leading college of that school. He was the author of numerous important scientific works dealing with health and the philosophy of life, but he was intellectually cosmopolitan. Education, the healing art, physical science, spiritual philosophy, and social and economic progress alike challenged his thought and called forth many volumes rich in speculation and noble ethical idealism.

Another educational innovator whose work is entitled to the serious consideration of all lovers of democracy is Mr. Wilson L. Gill. Some years ago Mr. Gill recognized a fact which has proved disquieting to many patriotic citizens—namely, that there was a strong tendency on the part of our people, and especially our young, to accept the European or reactionary governmental ideals in lieu of genuine democracy. He felt there must be something wrong in a popular education where the silent inroads of bureaucracy could mark the passing years without any strong and general protest on the part of the electorate, and where such an evil phenomenon as the political boss could rise and flourish. In studying educational methods he soon recognized that they were pre-eminently autocratic. The child during the sensitive period of life, when impressions were received which mould character in a determining way, was expected to accept the authority of those above, without questioning, and to live under the arbitrary rule of his superiors or instructors. This order, which at first sight appeared essential, Mr. Gill felt to be subversive of democracy; and such was his faith in childhood and in the possibility of newer educational methods, that he set to work to introduce, at first on a very limited scale, the principles of democracy in school government. So marked was his success wherever the teachers entered into the spirit of the
work, that he soon formulated the School City idea for school government, which was in reality nothing more or less than a miniature republic in which the school children were the governing forces, exercising the legislative, executive, and judicial functions. To the surprise of educators, the children entered heartily into the spirit of the innovation, taking great pride in their own government, and wherever the teachers have been intelligent and faithful in introducing the School City, it has proved a marked success. When Gen. Leonard Wood took charge of Cuba, he sent for Mr. Gill to introduce the School City system in the island, which he did in a most successful manner.

Mr. Gill held, and rightly held, that so long as children passed from the primary grades through the universities, without being taught self-government in a practical way, they would be the easy victim of the boss and the machine. Moreover, he believed that no part of education was more essential to the young than the teaching at an early age of the principles of free government and developing the ideals of good citizenship in the child. His recent work, "The New Citizenship," presents an inspiring story of the achievements which have already marked this fundamental and vital educational innovation which promises to be a real factor in building up and maintaining genuine popular rule, while also showing the practical method by which the changes may be promptly and effectively introduced.

Among fundamental pioneer educators, Prof. S. S. Curry, of the School of Expression of Boston, has also inaugurated a work of importance far out of proportion to its seeming achievements. Prof. Curry believes that the ideals and mental imagery that are cherished by the young necessarily color, mould, and direct the life currents, and as a teacher who has devoted many years to preparing other instructors, he has systematically aimed to impress the highest idealism upon the minds of his pupils and to so familiarize them with the writings of such thinkers as Browning and Emerson as to make them look to the great idealistic writers for moral and mental stimulation and nourishment. He is the author of a number of inspiring volumes, which, like his school, are calculated to broaden
and deepen the culture of all who come under their influence.

In practical and industrial art education, a man whose thought and work entitle him to rank among the true leaders is Prof. John Ward Stimson, author of "The Gate Beautiful," probably the most fundamental and inspiring volume on the grammar of art, whether considered from a philosophical or an industrial view-point, that has appeared in the English language. Prof. Stimson, after graduating from Yale College, spent a number of years in Paris, graduating from the Ecole des Beaux Arts and subsequently spending several years in the art centers of the Old World, making an exhaustive study of art. He returned to America, where, in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts and later as founder of the Artist-Artizan movement of New York, he wrought a great work in teaching the young the principles of art and arousing a passion for industrial art education of a high order. He pointed out that while France and some other European lands were becoming enormously enriched by their really fine industrial art, and that Japan on the other side of the world had done much along the same lines, America was allowing the years to vanish without preparing an army of artist-artizans who should give us an industrial art equal to that which had long enriched other lands.

His health failing, Prof. Stimson retired to the solitude of the mountains, where he blocked out his great work, "The Gate Beautiful," which has no peer in volumes of the same character. It is germinal in character, full of inspiration and suggestions, nobly idealistic, profoundly philosophical, and yet written in so fascinating a manner as to lure the reader from page to page.

Some years ago Mr. William Thum, a public-spirited citizen of Pasadena, California, in an eminently practical work on industrial popular education entitled "A Forward Step," presented in a clear and convincing manner the importance of popular industrial education, showing how a child could be instructed industrially with little or no additional cost to the public, while the result would greatly increase the efficiency of the people. This work, together
with several essays which Mr. Thum prepared for "The Twentieth Century Magazine," was sent to leading educators throughout the country, and coming at a moment when the nation was beginning to recognize the importance of industrial training, it has given material impetus to this growing movement. Mr. Thum was subsequently elected Mayor of Pasadena, where he performed important services to his city and the cause of municipal progress by his strong progressive stand in favor of public ownership and operation of natural monopolies and of clean, practical, and efficient civic government.

Turning from a consideration of these pioneer educators who were identified with "The Arena" and "The Twentieth Century Magazine" and who did so much good work in laying the foundations for a broad, full-orbed, and truly worthy democratic education, it will be interesting to notice some of the many inspiring innovations of our day which are along the lines laid down by the pioneers.

In Boston in the past few years industrial training has been made an important factor in high school education, and in some of the grammar schools special educational advantages fitting the young for gainful occupations, such as printing, type-setting, stenography, typewriting, and bookkeeping, are being offered. In the early part of 1914 the magnificent new Girls' High School of Practical Arts was opened in Boston. It accommodates over seven hundred girls, and in addition to a special academic course it gives thorough instruction in all lines of domestic science in general, while special courses in designing, dressmaking, and millinery are given to girls wishing to prepare themselves for proficiency in one of these business pursuits.

The Boston Mechanic Arts High School has recently been revolutionized, so it is no longer merely a preparatory school for technical institutions, but will henceforth prepare scholars for immediately engaging in self-sustaining mechanical labor.

A magnificent new High School of Commerce is in course of erection in Boston which will accommodate over one thousand pupils. These extensions of the public school service supplement rather than supplant the regular aca-
demic high school courses for all students desiring to prepare for college or university instruction.

Endowed trade schools also are affording unsurpassed opportunities for poor but ambitious young men who otherwise would be condemned to drudge as unskilled workers. A typical institution of this character is the famous Wentworth Institute of Boston, where the tuition is merely nominal, but where the instruction is unsurpassed for affording apprentice education in both day and night classes.

We have not yet an ethical system of training that, free from denominational theology, shall develop character and ennable life by calling out all that is most strengthful and lovable in one's nature. This, as was pointed out by Prof. Buchanan, is one of the most vital, if not the most vital demand of education; yet it is all-important, as he clearly showed, not to allow our popular educational system to become the vehicle for the teaching of denominational or creedal theology. In all lands where education has been placed in the hands of the church, and especially where church and State have been united and where the church has been able to hamper freedom of thought and independent educational institutions, the school systems that have obtained have signally failed not only in giving a broad, comprehensive, and practical general education, but also in developing character and properly emphasizing the fundamental teachings of the Sermon on the Mount or the eternal moral verities.

The condition of popular education in Russia, Spain, and Portugal, prior to the recent revolution, affords an impressive illustration of the baleful result of abandoning public education to the church, or, indeed, of the State's favoring any education that teaches religious sectarianism and dogmatic theology to the young. Ethics and character development are heartily favored by all right-minded people, whether Hebrew or Christian, and like intellectual training and industrial education, should rightly be made a part of popular schooling; but it is not the function of the State to foster dogmatic or creedal theology in education.
CHAPTER XXIII.
LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR A GREAT NEW WORLD ART


Long after the birth of our nation, little was achieved along artistic lines or for the building of a New World art; for the people were poor, the land new, and the struggle for a livelihood engaged the thought and energies of the nation. Our few artists who achieved fame wrought for the most part in the Old World. This pioneer period of stress and strain was succeeded by the great Civil War, after which came an era in which materialistic commercialism was triumphant, and though during these years many men of genius in various fields of art wrought nobly with chisel, brush, and pencil, the nation was under the gold spell and society was more concerned with the acquisition of wealth than the beautifying of land and home in such a way as to meet the hunger of refined and cultivated minds.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, was pregnant with promise for better things. Indeed, during the past thirty years there has been a steady growth in general artistic taste and noble art work that is giving America a place in the art world, and which I believe may be taken as a prophecy of a golden future.

To trace this steady and inspiring rise in the art of recent years and to sketch the many men of genius and imagination who have given to the world works of which any nation might be proud, would of course require a volume. I
must therefore confine myself to the work of three or four typical characters—men of vision, insight, and rich imagination who well represent the forward movement for a great art in the New World. All of these were contributors to “The Arena” and have materially aided in stimulating the awakened art interest throughout the Republic.

In sculpture, we find that a group of men of genius have done much really great work—strong, virile creations instinct with something that eluded even the Greeks—those greatest masters in depicting sensuous beauty. St. Gaudens, for example, gave a wonderful impetus to American art by his distinctly great work—work that has proved at once an inspiration to fellow-artists and a source of uplift and pure joy to all our thinkers and lovers of the beautiful who possess the penetration that enables them to appreciate genius; and though pre-eminently the greatest leader, St. Gaudens was merely representative of a group of sculptors who are laying the foundation for a worthy American art.

Of this group, one man who occupies a noble eminence is William Ordway Partridge, who from the early nineties was a frequent contributor to “The Arena.” Mr. Partridge, like so many of the master-builders throughout the ages, is a many-sided man of genius. Besides his magnificent creations in marble and bronze, which challenge the admiration of the discerning in the New World and the Old, he is a finished essayist and has done much by his voice and pen, as well as the chisel, to forward the art movement for the New World. He is also the author of a volume of verse rich in poetic imagination and spiritual virility, while his “Nathan Hale” and some admirable works of fiction further illustrate his versatility.

It is, however, as a sculptor that he has earned a permanent place among the creative workers of America. He, in far greater degree than most of our sculptors, is dominated by the modern spirit that characterizes the leading present-day workers—spiritual idealism. This it is that is wanting in the Hellenic art, which reached the acme of perfection in portraying physical beauty. On one occasion when in conversation with Mr. Partridge, he thus clearly set forth the higher modern concepts of the artist’s mission:
"Sculpture," he said, "was the soul of Grecian Art and her greatest artists represented what was conceived to be the highest in life—beauty in the human form. You know the Greeks reverenced beauty. They held the finely developed human form to be actually the abode of divinity. But sculpture, like life, is evolutionary; as man's mind broadens, the concepts of Art are enlarged. Greek sculpture, if produced to-day, would not satisfy the demands of our civilization, for we have reached a point when sculpture must depict character. Mere beauty, as the Greeks conceived it, is not enough. Our Art demands that we shadow forth the ideals, the conception, and thought which mastered and moulded the man. To meet the requirements of to-day, the sculptor must put into his work the feeling of the twentieth century—the luminous dream of humanity—the humane and Christian relation of man to his fellow-men, robed in the lights and shadows of modern relationship.

"To me Art is essential to development, whether it be that of the individual or that of the nation. Art is essentially the manifestation of the Divine: a completion, as it were, of Nature's sweet suggestions. What is life, what is character, until the ugly is changed into the beautiful? The artist's mission is pre-eminently to destroy the ugly, which is evil, and the cultivation of the ugly, which is sinning. Now he does this not so much by depicting the immoral for a moral purpose, which is often a questionable proceeding, but by shadowing forth the high and noble ideals which beckon man upward, which awaken the best in our being and call forth that which is fine and high in our natures. True Art is a spiritual representation of an idea or a person, and it cannot fail to uplift, dignify, and ennoble life and thought. I can conceive of nothing more elevating than that lofty sense of beauty which Art carries with it and which is, indeed, the very atmosphere of Art."

It was in the early nineties when one day Helen Campbell came into my office to request me to go across the street to the Museum of Fine Arts and see a Madonna then on exhibition. It was a wonderful creation, a revelation or strength and purity in marble. It was a nineteenth century Madonna, such a woman as the modern mind would con-
ceive as the mother of the great Nazarene. This was the first of Mr. Partridge’s work that I had seen, but from the moment I looked upon it, I became deeply interested in the young master whose imagination was haunted with such noble ideals, and whose genius enabled him to compel the marble thus to reveal his dream.

I soon came to know and love this fine, high-minded man, whose love for art is surpassed only by his love for man. Among my friends I know of no one who possesses in so large a degree the exquisite sensitiveness and refinement that are among the rarest charms of woman. Here we have the union of the true artist with the true man.

In the years I have known the sculptor he has created and executed so many really great works that it is impossible in a short sketch even to mention them. Among his most recent triumphs are a profoundly thought-provoking work made as a memorial to Joseph Pulitzer, and a statue of Thomas Jefferson that is the only really satisfying statue of our greatest fundamental democratic statesman that has yet been executed. It stands in front of the School of Journalism of Columbia University. Not far distant, in front of the Hamilton Building, one sees Mr. Partridge’s statue of Alexander Hamilton.

Nowhere has this artist’s genius been more in evidence than in his sculptured busts of great poets and thinkers. In all his work there is this two-fold excellence: fidelity to the subject in hand, with that touch of idealism—that emphasis on the soul or real self, that makes the work radiate a helpful influence, makes it give a moral uplift to the imagination of those who have eyes to see and souls to sense the subtle something in all the creations of genius that minister to the spiritual side of life. Now this kind of creative work requires an eminent degree of penetration and discernment, in order to reflect at once the outer and the inner man; being true to the life and thought of the subject, yet never losing sight of the fact that all men are children of God, are spiritual beings, who in nature image the Divine.

Among these portrait busts which embody in a pre-eminent degree the double excellence of facial likeness with the spiritual life or soul of the subject, Tennyson, Franklin,
Edward Everett Hale, Lincoln, and Dr. S. Weir Mitchell seem to me to call for special mention, although they are but a few of the score or more of portrait busts which make one feel that he is in the presence of the thinkers who have left their impress on the world.

For several years Mr. Partridge has wrought on a great Peace statue, a goddess of heroic mould, not unlike one's ideal of Columbia. She is crowned with the olive wreath; her foot rests upon a dismantled cannon; she has just broken the sword; the hilt is in one hand, she holds the broad blade in the other. Here are life, thought, earnestness, and determination. Lofty of countenance is this Peace of the poet's dream—a worthy representative of the advancing genius of civilization, of liberty, and of twentieth century womanhood at its best. Never was there a time when such statues as this were more urgently demanded by civilized society.

We are at the moment of this writing in the midst of a world war that is the direct result of a nation having been nourished for thirty years upon militarism, until her citizens, young and old, have become thoroughly psychologized—the victims, as it were, of a baleful idea. If we are once and for all to abolish the murder game of nations called war, it must be done by filling the imaginations of the people with the ideal of peace, by statues and pictures, by essay, song, and story.

All of Mr. Partridge's work carries with it spiritual idealism, which is the key-note of true progress, and let us trust that it will become the dominant idea of our civic life.

Another sculptor whose thought was very helpful to "The Arena" readers is Mr. F. Edwin Elwell. He too is an artist whose work is instinct with that idealism that exalts and refines. Mr. Elwell has long stood as a resolute foe of commercialism in art and the toadying spirit that has been so paralyzing an influence in the life of many of our men of genius—the obsequious spirit in the presence of gold and the lords of material wealth. He has been very clear and fundamental in his vision, and his work, no less than his voice, shadows forth the virility and inspiration which mark the free man of genius.
To appreciate the significance of the various movements that are really making for progress, we must never lose sight of the fact that the war that is on to-day is one, though the armies are many; and though they are fighting on different highways, the eyes of the leaders are consciously or unconsciously riveted on the same glorious goal. In political life, democracy or the genius of free government is combatting reaction, class-rule, militarism, and imperialism. In the domain of economics, the battle is between the people and privilege—between the millions of producers and consumers demanding equality of opportunities and of rights, and the favored few who through monopoly rights and other special privileges are becoming the overshadowing peril of the Republic. In the field of literature, the practical idealists and the friends of enlightened veritism are alike warring with the reactionary dilettantism which, innocent of moral virility, seeks the smile of privileged interests by substituting the vicious formula, “Art for art’s sake,” for those of “Art for justice and utility” and “Art for progress.” In religion, the conflict is between the spirit and the letter, freedom and bondage. Here on the one hand we have the forces that are attempting to bring men back to unquestioning allegiance to iron-bound creeds and dogmas, or to the authority of the church that assumes through fallible men to render infallible dicta; and on the other hand we have those who hold that the letter killeth and the spirit maketh alive, that the cage confines and makes ineffective the free, soaring mind, and that in the great fundamental moral verities and spiritual truths that must ever be the foundation of character and that from religion’s shrines have been the inextinguishable lights that in all ages have shone through the darkness of superstition, dogmas, ignorance, and fanatical bigotry, is found the true Grail that exalts, purifies, ennobles, enriches, and glorifies human life. And finally, in the realm of art, the battle is being fought between those who stand for sane and normal freedom and who, though true to the basic principles of art, refuse to be copyists or imitators, holding that this land and age should produce an art great enough to embody at once all that is finest and best in the art of other lands and times
while shadowing forth something of the soul of democracy—something of the larger, truer life of our day, and, on the other hand, those who for the favor or the lucre of parvenue wealth are ready to subordinate the vital demands of art, and those who, imbued with the soul-stagnating spirit of modern commercialism or the reactionary spirit of organization, would form a trust where the measuring-rod of mediocrity would become paramount, and where, however pure and sincere might be the motives of the founders of such a trust, the result would inevitably sooner or later lead here, as elsewhere, to favoritism counting more than merit, and to subserviency to the master or ruling spirits in the organization being essential to success.

On one occasion, when I had interviewed Mr. Elwell at his studio at Weehawken, New Jersey, and we were discussing the artificial and the truly great in life and art, the sculptor said:

"There are thousands upon thousands of people, many of them prominent representatives of the present order, who have plenty of morals and who on the purely external side of life are perfectionists, but who have no character. We have plenty of artists who are laden with a kind of superficial morality, who would not offend a custom of society, but who have no artistic character; and the proof is found in their work. There is in every line the hard commercial instinct, the cold touch of conceited morality, but little or no artistic character—that sublime quality which raises a work of art out of the commonplace and makes it truly great—that spiritual sense that is inherent in the soul of the artist and which is imparted to all works that live. There is no mart where it can be purchased. It cannot be stolen or tricked into shape by some cunning manipulator. It must be directly wrought out of the fiber and sinew of the human soul."

Mr. Elwell was born in Concord, Massachusetts. His parents died while he was very young and he was brought up by his grandfather, an intimate friend of Henry Thoreau. The future sculptor in his early years was much in the society of the nature-loving philosopher. Louisa Alcott later became his foster-mother, and after a youth marked
by poverty and industry, by plain living and high thinking, the boy, through the aid of friends, was able to study art and go to Paris, where through St. Gaudens' influence it became possible for him to go through the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Several years were spent in France, during which the sculptor's work attracted much attention and was exhibited in the Paris Salon and elsewhere. Mr. Elwell has created many notable works since coming to America and has long since ranked with our really great sculptors—the men of originality, imagination, and the higher vision, who are laying the foundation for a great American art.

A splendid representative of distinguished American painters and of the new civic spirit which promises great things for the future, is Mr. John J. Enneking, whose vigorous thought was much appreciated by our readers and who has exerted a commanding influence in Massachusetts as a leading spirit in beautifying Boston and securing for her the magnificent park and boulevard system which belts the city. Mr. Enneking, though American born, comes of German stock, and when he determined to make art his life-work he set out with all the thoroughness of the German scholar to master the grammar of art and to acquaint himself with the works of the great masters, living and dead. In 1872 he went to Europe for the purpose of further perfecting himself. He first traveled through England, Holland, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, and France, that he might study the masters in all the art centers. Next he spent six months in Munich, studying landscape and drawing the figure. Three months were given to sketches in Venice, after which he repaired to Paris as the city of all European centers where art students could make the most substantial progress. There he entered the then famous school of Bonnat, where he devoted the greater part of three years to the figure, after which he became a pupil of the great landscape painter, Daubigny. He returned home in 1876, but two years later returned to Europe, chiefly for the purpose of making a thorough study of the Dutch masters. He spent some months in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, remaining abroad more than six months. On his return he settled in Boston, where his genius had for years been recognized.
Although his work is not confined to landscape, in this peculiar field we find him at his best. Few of our American landscape painters have succeeded in producing the brilliancy of nature in her brighter moments, without any approach to the objectionable chromo effects of the German artists, which has been attained by this artist, while on the other hand he excels in a marked degree in carrying into a picture the feeling of mystery which is present in nature when, for instance, a great storm is brewing or when the twilight shades are falling.

“What I learned,” he said to me on one occasion, “was very important. All artists must master the rudiments or basic principles of art, but it is the easiest thing in the world, while learning these things, to imbibe more than that. It took me several years to get away from the influence of some of my great masters and be myself.”

For years Mr. Enneking has ranked with the greatest of our impressionistic landscape painters. His canvases appeal to me in the same compelling manner as does nature in her varying moods, and my experience is merely that of all lovers of art who feel the spell of beauty and sublimity in nature, and genius and imagination in art. One soon tires of a photograph or a cheap picture. It is obvious; it tells its story and we turn from it. Not so with a great work of art—one which holds the spell of nature or the suggestion of soul. Now it is this imperial or compelling power of art that one feels in the presence of Mr. Enneking’s capital work.

He is also a broad-minded judge of art. Many critics see little or nothing to praise in schools of painting diametrically opposed to their own. Not so the man of broad and judicial temper; and because of his knowledge of art values and his breadth of spirit, few artists are so sought as Mr. Enneking for the position of judges in great exhibitions.

Several years ago, when in Vienna, he wrote a series of papers for the Boston “Transcript,” describing how the Austrian Capital was being systematically beautified through a wonderful park system, and after his return to America we find him soon hard at work promoting our great park and boulevard system.
But this is not all. He has long been a prominent figure in the great battle for civic morality and better environment for the people, as well as a strong defender of the rights of labor. Years ago he read with deepest interest Henry George's great works, and since then he has been a constant and tireless worker for a larger, freer, juster life for all the people.

These men are merely typical figures, worthy representatives of a great art movement that is slowly but surely materializing and which will give the Republic a noble eminence as a leader in an elevating and ennobling art.
PART IV.
SOME REPRESENTATIVE CONTRIBUTORS

CHAPTER XXIV.

EDWIN MARKHAM: POET OF DEMOCRACY

The Poet and His Childhood—In the University of Nature—Influence of Great Books Upon the Child’s Mind—The Struggle for an Education—Two Teachers Who Aided Him—His Academic Education—Educational Work in California—His Marriage—Removes to the East—His Principal Works.

Edwin Markham, democracy’s greatest poet, is the reflector of the mighty spiritual undercurrent of our age. He represents the new conscience and the broadening spiritual ideals of our wonderful age.

In the course of a delightful evening spent with the poet, he gave me some intimate reminiscences of his childhood.

“I was born,” he said, “in 1852, in Oregon City, on the picturesque Willamette. Among my earliest recollections was my mother’s store, often frequented by the Indians, who were among her best customers; a store that stood almost under the shadow of the tall bluffs that rise behind the town. I was at that time between four and five years old, and I had a little playmate, Maggie Kilburn, who lived in a little yellow house. We used to wander on the river bank, gathering shells and watching the waterfalls that were directly in front of the town. The wonder and beauty of those falls took hold of me even then, for I recall the impressions most vividly. A little later I went to the mountains to live for a time with a brother, and among the pictures photographed on my mind at that time is that of my father coming home one night with a deer on his back. My father was a mountaineer, a silent man, a deeply religious nature with a dash of mysticism.”

The poet paused, enthralled by the retrospective spell, while the pageant of long-vanished scenes, with dream-like
rapidity, yet vivid as events of yesterday, swept before the mental retina.

When he was nine years of age, young Markham’s mother sold the store and bought a sheep ranch in Lagoon Valley, California. Here hard toil, severe hardships, and the privations common to the pioneer life fell to the lot of the boy. Through the meagre advantages of the poor frontier country schools, the child, who had early evinced a passion for knowledge, learned to read and write. Happily, two circumstances favored the boy: he gained access to the writings of many of the greatest masters in the world of literature, and it fell to his lot to herd sheep in the valleys of the Sierras, amid the beauty and sublimity of nature. Day after day he spent in this solitary life, companioned by his sheep in the mountain-rimmed valley where during half the year the earth is robed in emerald and spangled with gold. Through the other time it is yellow, seer, and arid.

“California,” said the poet, “has but two seasons, one of cloud and flowers, the other of dust and skies.”

In his mountain home the youth held double converse. Nature, the mother of giants, and the geniuses of the past communed with the boy. Day by day, under the shadow of the rocks or in the shade of the trees, with flowers blooming at his feet and the wind crooning in the branches overhead, he would turn with wistful eyes from the mountains to his books. How in keeping with the emotions awakened by the grandeur of Nature were the stately verse of Homer and the wonderful poetry of the Shepherd King of Israel; and how naturally did the youth turn from contemplation of the greatest children of song to the life and teachings of that One whose name will ever be “The Wonderful, the Counselor!” How stately was that simple life—that supreme incarnation of Love! The boy, as he bent over the marvelous flowers that carpeted the mountain side, often wondered if the Rose of Sharon and the Lily of the Valley were as fair as the wild blossoms of the Sierras. He remembered how Jesus loved the flowers of Palestine—and how to him the lily was more beautiful than Solomon in all his glory; and he often pictured the great Prophet
journeying alone into the silent recesses of the mountains to commune with His Father. Was not God also in the Sierras? Might it not be that in moments when he felt a strange exaltation, he too came in contact with the Infinite? He loved to think of the Great Nazarene, when on the mountain side of old Galilee he delivered that Sermon which embodies the loftiest ethics ever given to the world. Long he pondered the Golden Rule. How simple the word!—yet empearled in that magic message lay the hope of civilization, the secret of man's redemption. He who would know the meaning of happiness must weave that law of conduct into his daily life. He who would bless his race and help to further the knowledge of God must not cry, "Lord, Lord!" while serving self. He must work for the realization of the "Fraternal State."

As day by day the boy stood beneath the blue dome of heaven, walled in by rugged, age-scarred mountains and enthralled by the solemn, ceaseless roar of the distant waterfalls, or the mysterious whisperings of the pines as the wind caressed their graceful plumes and the sun called forth their incense tribute of rich, health-giving exhalations, while enveloped in the wonder and beauty of Nature, whose aspects ever changed, but whose glory never lost its witching charm, little did he imagine that God Himself was storing his youthful mind with treasures not gained in man-made schools.

Time and again the boy lingered in the early morn with face toward the east, enrapt by the transformation scene of dawn. The sentinel stars of the morning waned and disappeared, while a soft pink glow, delicate as the blush upon the opening blossom of the peach, suffused the east. And then, as by magic, the pink deepened into a warm red glow that lent new charm to rock and tree, while the soft haze that hid the distant mountains suddenly became a bridal veil, mantling the peaks that first greeted the day. And then the red was lost in the glory of light, and the sun's radiance lit up the western heights while yet the valley lay in shade.

Sometimes at evening, when the herd was headed for the corral and the distant tinkling of the leader's bell and the
pounding of many hoofs on the rocky pathway came as an accompaniment to Nature's subdued strains, young Markham was overmastered by the sea of glory that filled the western sky and witnessed anew to Nature's delight in gorgeous colorings. Here, sometimes with flaming scarlet, sometimes with crimson, gold, orange, and lemon for a background, clouds rolled together in mighty billows, momentarily taking on new tints as luminous and multitudinous as were their shapes varied and suggestive. Sometimes royal purple predominated, and then beaten gold, with here and there a cloud that glistened with that dazzling whiteness which we associate with the robes of those whose purity of heart has admitted them into the audience chamber of the Eternal; and all the while the earth answered back to the glow of the sky. The red, the green, the gray, and the purple tints of the rocks took on vivid hues that vied with the splendor of autumn; while the peaceful valley, where it had not come under the shadow of the rocks, was glorious in emerald and russet, and the mountain brook, so lately a ribbon of silver, now caught up and reflected the beauty of the sky, becoming a serpentine stream of molten gold.

And there were nights such as are known only to those environed by Nature in her majestic moods—nights when the stars refused to yield their glory to the moon, and the deep blue firmament was studded with diamond dust, while below rose the sable, gloomy, and solemn Sierras, seamed and riven by the travail of Nature, eloquent in their sphinx-like silence—age-long watchers, gravely noting the rise and fall of races and the coming and going of generations.

And so in this great university of Nature, amid scenes where sublimity touched hands with beauty, the imagination of the boy was fed and his vision expanded. God spoke to the soul of the youth as surely as in olden times he spoke to the child Samuel, and, though the physical ear was not yet attuned to catch the vibrations of the Infinite, the spirit received the message with awe and wonder and pondered its lessons. The prophets of ancient Israel were no more truly prepared by God to deliver their message to the children of men than was this child of the Sierras,
whose pure imagination was flooded by the wonderful wealth of lofty imagery and whose thought-world was tinged and colored by the beauty, simplicity, and dignity of Nature.

In those days the district schools were held for three or four months a year. The Western lands had been settled by so many sturdy children of the older States that, in spite of poverty and privation, the importance of giving the children a knowledge of at least the three R’s was accepted as a matter of course, and before he was ten years of age, Edwin Markham could read well and had acquired a passion for books. The barren home did not possess a library, but one day in rummaging through a closet the boy came upon some books—Byron’s complete poems, Scott’s “Tales of a Grandfather,” and Pope’s translation of “The Iliad.” These opened a new world to the eager young mind. Byron was his chief delight. The splendid poetic pictures and vivid imagery of that luxuriant imagination, clothed in flowing rhyme, awakened the poet in the boy. Byron’s lines were germinal, starting trains of thought and stimulating the imagination, so that earth took on a new and strange beauty.

At this time, young as he was, the boy concluded that thoughts and ideas were the only things worth while and that poetry was the proper vehicle for expression. He determined to become a poet, and with this idea in mind he improved every spare moment to acquire knowledge, a grammar and an arithmetic occupying much of his time.

When the lad was twelve years old the mother sold her sheep and bought cattle, and he henceforth became a cowboy, with horse, spurs, and lariat. This new life, though more picturesque and active, was not so favorable to his studies, yet many were the hours he enjoyed with his books, and the life, with all its hardships, was not devoid of romantic interest. There was one time in the year when all the cattle of the valley were rounded up and branded. This was quite an event, and the memory of it stands out vividly in the poet’s imagination. It was a week of fraternizing with the neighbors, and often one of the Morgans of the valley would have some fat steers killed and barbecued, when all the stock-men were invited to the feast.
The rigidly practical mother had scant sympathy for the dreams of the poet lad. Life to her was something stern and practical—something not to be wasted on books or frittered away in idealistic dreams. She shrewdly distrusted literature as a provider for the outer man and wished her son to remain on the soil. But the boy was not wholly devoid of sympathetic counsellors. Two of the schoolteachers exercised great influence on his plastic mind between the ages of nine and fourteen. Their help, sympathy, and encouragement are among the most precious memories of his boyhood days. One of these men was Mr. Wood, afterwards a prominent lawyer in San Francisco and still later a Congressman. He took great interest in young Markham and devoted noon hours and other time to helping him with his more difficult studies.

The other teacher was a Mr. Hill. He came from the South and was an ardent admirer of Augusta J. Evans. He had a well-worn copy of "St. Elmo" which he read during the noon hours to the boy, who seemed chiefly to enjoy the verse interspersed throughout the chapters.

Edwin one day unfolded to the teacher his interest in poetry, informing him that he was well acquainted with "the great poet," Byron.

"Yes, Byron was a wonderful poet, but there were others."

The boy's eyes grew large with expectation as the teacher told him of Tom Moore. "He wrote 'Lalla Rookh'; you must read it some day," he said, and forthwith Mr. Hill began to quote from the poem, while the youth stood spellbound.

"I know poetry," he exclaimed at last, "and that is poetry."

"Yes, it is poetry, and there are other poets."

"Other poets?" repeated the boy, in tones that invited further confidences.

"O, yes. There is one named Bryant; he is an American." And at this he began to quote "The Past."

"And that is poetry, too," confidently affirmed the young oracle.

"Yes, and there is another poet, greater than the others; his name is Tennyson. He has written many poems. "The
Idylls of the King' and 'The Princess' are very beautiful and you must read them some time." And the teacher began to quote the famous lines beginning, "Tears, idle tears."

"I stood riveted to the earth," said the poet, "spell-bound by the new wonder."

The haunting witchery of this new world of wealth that had been thus glimpsed to him gave place to a resolute determination to possess these books. But how could they be secured? That was the serious question. Poverty had ever dogged his steps. On one occasion the poet said: "I have eaten of the edges and the very heart of poverty."

Happily, a neighbor had a twenty-acre field that he wished to have ploughed, but nobody cared to undertake the task, because the land was full of stones, rocks, and boulders. Young Markham had had considerable experience in ploughing on his mother's farm, and now he applied to the neighbor for work.

"You can plough that twenty-acre field," said the farmer, "and when it is done I will give you twenty dollars."

The boy accepted the offer and set to work to master a task not calculated to inspire poetic thoughts. When it was done and he received his pay his mother was ready for her annual trip to San Francisco to lay in the year's supply of food. She promised to buy for him an unabridged dictionary and the volumes of Moore, Bryant, and Tennyson. In due time she returned, laden with the treasures.

"I was," said the poet, "on Pisgah's height. The heavens opened before me and the days that followed were filled with the joy of living."

The poets, however, only increased his determination to become himself a poet, and the need of more education made him again restless. His mother so discouraged all his literary aspirations that the hour came when he felt he must either leave home or settle down to the hum-drum life of a farmer, so one day, when the mother was away from home on a visit, the boy saddled his horse, took a blanket and a week's provisions, and turned his face toward the tall timber of the mountain region.

After various adventures, some of them rather perilous and exciting, he secured work in different places. One day,
while hired out as a cowboy, his mother appeared on the scene, and he returned with her to the home, but resolutely determined to acquire an education, and the mother at last consented to his going to San Francisco to attend the normal school. With his earnings he was enabled to spend one year in the school, when he received a second-class certificate as a teacher. He then secured a school where by teaching he obtained sufficient money to enable him to complete his normal course. He graduated, ranking second in his class, and after teaching school for a time, entered Christian College, Santa Rosa, California. After graduating from this institution, Mr. Markham secured a position as superintendent of education in one of the northern counties of California and later was made principal of Tompkins Observation School at Oakland. This is the preparatory school for the University of California.

There were many times when he supplemented his brain work with manual labor, and at one time he learned the blacksmith's trade and earned needed money by that work.

He was trained in a rugged school—an education well calculated to develop body, brain, and the heart-mind. He learned the dignity and worth of hard manual labor, and there also sprang up in his heart loving sympathy for the struggling toilers and an intimate understanding of their trials and hardships.

Gifted with the poet's imagination, he saw a beauty, glory, and splendor in earth, sky, and the phenomena of Nature that eludes the many. A child of fine and sensitive nature, a dreamer and a mystic, his youth was cast in a hard and unlovely mould that would have crushed or ruined a less resolute soul or one wanting in high moral idealism. With almost everything against his realizing the dream that haunted him, with adverse circumstances ever present on the pathway to the land of his heart's desire, with poverty dogging his footsteps and home influences retarding rather than fostering his ambition, he resolutely met and conquered obstacle after obstacle, rising above the crushing pressure of seeming unkind fate, until he triumphed and triumphed splendidly; for his victory was that of the moral hero, who in rising has not pushed down another strug-
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

gling life or gained his goal at the expense of the happiness, the rights, or the just demands of others.

Poverty did not embitter him, and through all the years of stress and strain he was faithful to the vision that like a pillar of fire floated on his mental horizon. During years when he was working with hand and brain, he was creating the poem that, when published, made him at once a poet with a world-wide reputation. "The Man With the Hoe" is epic in character, and one of the most sweeping indictments of civilization to be found in literature. Such a work could only be written by a true poet, who, in addition to being dowered with imagination, possesses the heart-mind and that glowing moral enthusiasm that is the glory-crown of those who achieved for themselves only by ennobling the lives and thought-world of others.

It was while in Oakland that Mr. Markham published "The Man With the Hoe," and there, in 1897, he married Miss Anna Catherine Murphy. From this happy union has sprung a son, Virgil, a fine, wholesome, sunny-natured child, who, with his mother, brings into the poet's life something no wealth could bestow.

For many years Mr. Markham has resided in the East, devoting his life to literary pursuits. His two published volumes of poems are to be followed in a few months by a third book, now in press, entitled "The Shoes of Happiness and Other Poems."

One of Mr. Markham's most important recent works is entitled "Children of Bondage," a volume which he has prepared in collaboration with Judge Ben B. Lindsey, George Creel, and Owen R. Lovejoy. It is one of the most compelling and conscience-stirring volumes that our wonderful age has produced, dealing with the moral crime of child labor or the slavery of the little ones which dwarfs their physical, mental, and moral natures and robs them of the heritage that should be the right of every free-born child.

His latest work deals with California, from the remote past; a volume in which historical verities are treated in the lofty imaginative vein of the true poet.
Years have not chilled his heart nor weakened his faith. He has maintained through all the vicissitudes of life the child nature, open to the truth, receptive to the beautiful and the true, the tender and the loving. His is a deeply religious nature, tinged with mysticism; but he is as far from dogmatism or the limits of creedal theology and the thralldom of superstition as was the great Nazarene whose life he has ever striven to emulate and whose great truths have ever been to him an unfailing source of inspiration.
examining the plants of which they had read. Later he studied geology, ornithology, and entomology in the same painstaking manner. When in London he visited the great museums to familiarize himself with the birds, butterflies, beetles, and other animal life of the world described in the various text-books he had set out to master, and which he did master more completely than most specialists in natural history of his age.

Later he spent a year teaching in the Collegiate School at Leicester, kept by the Rev. Abraham Hill. Here he had access to a fine library, and as a result he made great advance in his self-education through systematic study of standard works.

At this time occurred one of those seeming accidents that exercise a life-shaping influence. Mr. Wallace chanced to become acquainted with Henry Walter Bates, an enthusiastic entomologist who had made extensive collections of bugs, beetles, and butterflies. In association with this scientific enthusiast, young Wallace became as deeply interested in entomology as he had been in botany, and forthwith began a most thorough system of self-culture on the subject, supplementing it with studies of other branches of natural science. He and Bates became intimate friends and together conceived the idea of setting forth for the tropics as collectors of butterflies, beetles, and other forms of life. A work had recently appeared by Mr. W. H. Edwards entitled "A Voyage up the Amazon," which determined the young man to fare forth to the wilds of the South American forests, provided they could make arrangements for the disposal of their collections of butterflies and other insects, so as to pay expenses. They were encouraged in their purpose by Mr. Edward Doubleday, who had charge of the department of butterflies in the British Museum. He stated that if they collected land shells, birds, and mammals as well as insects, he felt sure they could easily pay all their expenses. Thus encouraged, and after making arrangements with a party to act as agent in London, the two young men took passage in a sailing vessel for Para in the spring of 1848.

For four years Alfred Russel Wallace devoted himself tirelessly and with unflagging zeal to his labors.
The father belonged to a circulating library association which enabled him to obtain the latest and best books. These he read aloud to the family during the evenings, and in this way all the little group gained a love for literature and a breadth of culture in certain directions that many youths with far better scholastic advantages do not acquire. Later the father was librarian in an excellent library, and many afternoons after school was out, Alfred went to the library and devoured the contents of choice books until it grew too dark to read longer.

But the time came, and that when the youth was only fourteen years of age, when the father could no longer support the boy and it became necessary for him to leave the home-roof and earn his own livelihood. It was arranged that he should go in company with his elder brother William, a surveyor by profession, and as his aid earn a sufficient amount to maintain himself while learning land surveying.

In the early summer of 1837 he set out as aid to his brother William in surveying, and for the next few years the two brothers were thus engaged. Very beautiful is the description of the simple and wholesome life they led as they journeyed through England and Wales, wherever their work chanced to call them. Both brothers were great lovers of Nature, but to Alfred the marvels of the Great Mother appealed with irresistible charm. The wonderful wild flora and the multitudinous plants of England and Wales were an unfailing source of pure delight. Yet he longed to know the names of the plants, their habits, and the great families to which they belonged. He had time to study during rainy days, on Sundays, and frequently in the evenings, and at length he obtained a small work on botany, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge. Later, by saving up his money, he was enabled to buy a large and authoritative work on the subject.

Thus equipped he began a systematic study of the plants with which he came in contact. Soon he had obtained a far better knowledge of botany than most youths who had gone through the books at school but who had not had the subject illustrated and impressed on the brain by seeing and
examining the plants of which they had read. Later he studied geology, ornithology, and entomology in the same painstaking manner. When in London he visited the great museums to familiarize himself with the birds, butterflies, beetles, and other animal life of the world described in the various text-books he had set out to master, and which he did master more completely than most specialists in natural history of his age.

Later he spent a year teaching in the Collegiate School at Leicester, kept by the Rev. Abraham Hill. Here he had access to a fine library, and as a result he made great advance in his self-education through systematic study of standard works.

At this time occurred one of those seeming accidents that exercise a life-shaping influence. Mr. Wallace chanced to become acquainted with Henry Walter Bates, an enthusiastic entomologist who had made extensive collections of bugs, beetles, and butterflies. In association with this scientific enthusiast, young Wallace became as deeply interested in entomology as he had been in botany, and forthwith began a most thorough system of self-culture on the subject, supplementing it with studies of other branches of natural science. He and Bates became intimate friends and together conceived the idea of setting forth for the tropics as collectors of butterflies, beetles, and other forms of life. A work had recently appeared by Mr. W. H. Edwards entitled "A Voyage up the Amazon," which determined the young man to fare forth to the wilds of the South American forests, provided they could make arrangements for the disposal of their collections of butterflies and other insects, so as to pay expenses. They were encouraged in their purpose by Mr. Edward Doubleday, who had charge of the department of butterflies in the British Museum. He stated that if they collected land shells, birds, and mammals as well as insects, he felt sure they could easily pay all their expenses. Thus encouraged, and after making arrangements with a party to act as agent in London, the two young men took passage in a sailing vessel for Para in the spring of 1848.

For four years Alfred Russel Wallace devoted himself tirelessly and with unflagging zeal to his labors. He ex-
explored the banks of the Amazon, Rio Negro, and many of
their tributaries and sent home enough specimens to pay
his expenses, but he saved the greater number of his collec-
tions to take with him when he returned. He collected but-
terflies, beetles, and other insects, and many rare specimens
of birds and other forms of life. He made a study of the
wonderfully beautiful fish of the rivers he traversed. These
he described with great minuteness and accompanied his
descriptions with careful drawings. He also made geo-
 graphical surveys, charting and mapping little-known rivers
and correcting errors in the maps of the day in regard to
certain streams in parts of their courses.

At the end of four years Mr. Wallace determined to re-
turn home with his rich collections, a veritable argosy for
the young man, representing the principal harvest of his
hard years of toil. He embarked on July 12, 1852, on a
sailing vessel named “The Helen,” loaded chiefly with rub-
ber, cocoa, anatto, and balsam-capivi. The voyage, which
was as rich in thrilling experiences, disasters, and narrow
escapes as the most daring creation of the novelist’s brain,
was described in the simple and unaffected manner peculiar
to the writings of Mr. Wallace at the time of its occurrence
in a letter written to a friend in South America as the
young naturalist was nearing the coast of England, and so
graphic is the description that we give the story largely in
Mr. Wallace’s own words.

On the morning of August 6th, when the young naturalist
was busily engaged in his stateroom, the captain appeared
saying: “I am afraid the ship is on fire.” Mr. Wallace im-
mediately went with him on deck, when it was found that
the smoke was rising from various parts of the vessel. The
balsam-capivi, which is highly combustible and liable to ig-
nite after a ship begins to rock, is usually transported in
kegs packed in damp sand. The captain of the vessel, how-
ever, not knowing the danger, had packed a large portion
of his cargo in rice-chaff, with the result that this highly
flammable gum had taken fire. After vainly endeavoring
to check the flames it soon became evident that the only
hope for the sailors lay in the life-boats. Accordingly, to
use Mr. Wallace’s own language, “the crew were employed
getting out the boats, the captain looked after his chronometer, sextant, books, charts, and compasses, and I got up a small tin box containing a few shirts, and put in it my drawings of fishes and palms, which were luckily at hand; also my watch and a purse with a few sovereigns. Most of my clothes were scattered about the cabin, and in the dense suffocating smoke it was impossible to look after them. There were two good boats, the long-boat and the captain’s gig, and it took a good deal of time to get the merest necessaries collected and put into them, and to lower them into the water. . . . The crew brought up their bags of clothes and all were bundled indiscriminately into the boats, which, having been so long in the sun, were very leaky and soon became half full of water, so that two men in each of them had to be constantly bailing out the water with buckets.

“All hands were at once ordered into the boats, which were astern of the ship. It was now about twelve o’clock, only three hours from the time the smoke was first discovered. I had to let myself down into the boat by a rope, and being rather weak it slipped through my hands and took the skin off all my fingers, and finding the boat still half full of water I set to bailing, which made my hands smart very painfully. We lay near the ship all the afternoon, watching the progress of the flames, which soon covered the hinder part of the vessel and rushed up the shrouds and sails in a most magnificent conflagration. Soon afterwards, by the rolling of the ship, the masts broke off and fell overboard, the decks soon burnt away, the ironwork at the sides became red-hot, and last of all the bowsprit, being burnt at the base, fell also. No one had thought of being hungry till darkness came on, when we had a meal of biscuit and raw ham, and then disposed ourselves as well as we could for the night, which, you may be sure, was by no means a pleasant one. Our boats continued very leaky, and we could not cease an instant from bailing; there was a considerable swell, though the day had been remarkably fine, and there were constantly floating around us pieces of the burnt wreck, masts, etc., which might have stove in our boats had we not kept a constant lookout to keep clear.
of them. We remained near the ship all night in order that we might have the benefit of its flames attracting any vessel that might pass within sight of it.

"I cannot attempt to describe my feelings and thoughts during these events. I was surprised to find myself very cool and collected. I hardly thought it possible we should escape, and I remember thinking it almost foolish to save my watch and the little money I had at hand. However, after being in the boats some days I began to have more hope, and regretted not having saved some new shoes, cloth coat and trousers, hat, etc., which I might have done with little trouble. My collections, however, were in the hold, and were irretrievably lost. And now I began to think that almost all the reward of my four years of privation and danger was lost. What I had hitherto sent home had little more than paid my expenses, and what I had with me in the 'Helen' I estimated would have realized about £500. But even all this might have gone with little regret had not by far the richest part of my own private collection gone also. All my private collection of insects and birds since I left Para was with me, and comprised hundreds of new and beautiful species, which would have rendered (I had fondly hoped) my cabinet, as far as regards American species, one of the finest in Europe. But besides this, I have lost a number of sketches, drawings, notes and observations on natural history, besides the three most interesting years of my journal, the whole of which, unlike any pecuniary loss, can never be replaced.

"Day after day we continued in the boats. The winds changed, blowing dead from the point to which we wanted to go. We were scorched by the sun, my hands, nose, and ears being completely skinned, and were drenched continually by the seas or spray. We were therefore almost constantly wet, and had no comfort and little sleep at night. Our meals consisted of raw pork and biscuit, with a little preserved meat or carrots once a day, which was a great luxury, and a short allowance of water, which left us as
thirsty as before directly after we had drunk it. Ten days and ten nights we spent in this manner. We were still two hundred miles from Bermuda, when in the afternoon a vessel was seen, and by eight in the evening we were on board her, much rejoiced to have escaped a death on the wide ocean, whence none would have come to tell the tale."

The vessel that rescued them was an unseaworthy old tub, but meagerly provisioned with food that was not fit for human beings to touch. Shortly after they were taken aboard a terrific storm arose which threatened to destroy the vessel, and it was followed a few days later by a still greater tempest. The ship was considerably damaged and it was necessary to keep the pumps going steadily to keep down the water. However, she weathered the storm and reached England by October first.

Here a pleasant surprise awaited Mr. Wallace, as, arriving in London, he found that through the foresight of his agent his collection had been insured for a thousand dollars. This supplied him with money for immediate needs and enabled him to spend several months in London,—time enough to get out his two first works, one on "The Palms of the Amazon and Rio Negro," and the other "Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro," and to further prosecute his studies in natural science so as to fully equip him for his next expedition to the tropics; for though when on the ocean he had determined never again to brave the seas, he soon felt the goad of desire for more knowledge in regard to tropical life which would enable him to solve many problems that were haunting his brain, and he determined to make the Malay Archipelago the field of research, as here tropical life was particularly rich in those forms that were the most alluring to him.

The collections which he had sent home from time to time during his stay in Brazil had made his name well known to the authorities of the Zoological and Entomological Societies, and on reaching London he received a ticket giving him free admission to the Zoological Gardens while he remained in England. He was a welcome visitor at the scientific meetings of both societies. In 1850 he had sent a paper on the Umbrella Bird, then almost unknown to Brit-
ish ornithologists, to the British Zoological Society, which was printed in the Society’s Proceedings for that year; and on his return to England the Royal Geographical Society induced him to contribute a paper on the little-known region traversed by the Rio Negro and Uaupés rivers.

In the early spring of 1854 Mr. Wallace set out for the Malay Archipelago and in due time arrived at Singapore, from whence he began his eight years’ of wandering throughout the Malay Archipelago, which, to use his own language, “constituted the central and controlling incident” of his life. Here for eight years he journeyed from island to island, often visiting the seldom-frequented regions where savage tribes of head-hunters had dwelt for generations, and at times camping for weeks or months on the edge of swamps and in jungles; and during the greater part of his wanderings he had no white companion, but was served by a bright little Malay boy, who proved very faithful both as servant, cook and assistant in his work. For the rest he had to depend largely on strangers of alien races whom he was able to pick up from time to time to serve as boatmen, guides, burden-bearers, and land servants.

That he was more than once in deadly peril we can easily imagine. On one occasion his little boat was driven on rocks and almost wrecked on a savage coast. At other times he was for weeks and months in constant peril from poisonous reptiles, insects, and the denizens of the virgin forests and swamps, to say nothing of the savage peoples. Frequently he was the victim of the fevers of the tropics, and one of the most interesting parts of his life story is his description of how the key to one of the great riddles of the evolutionary theory flashed upon him when he was in the grip of a hard chill incident to a malarial fever. So important is the truth that came to the naturalist at this time, and because it is related to one of the most interesting incidents in the history of the development of the evolutionary theory, we quote somewhat at length.

Dr. Wallace, after showing how for eight or nine years the problem of the origin of species had been continually pondered, and how varied observations and study had laid the foundation for its full discussion and elucidation, de-
scribes how he hit upon what he believed to be the exact process of change and the causes leading thereto—something that heretofore had appeared almost inconceivable.

"The great difficulty," he says, "was to understand how, if one species was gradually changed into another, there continued to be so many quite distinct species, so many which differed from their nearest allies by slight yet perfectly definite and constant characters. One would expect that if it was a law of nature that species were continually changing so as to become in time new and distinct species, the world would be full of an inextricable mixture of various slightly different forms, so that the well-defined and constant species we see would not exist. Again, not only are species, as a rule, separated from each other by distinct external characters, but they almost always differ also to some degree in their food, in the places they frequent, in their habits and instincts, and all these characters are quite as definite and constant as are the external characters. The problem then was, not only how and why do species change, but how and why do they change into new and well-defined species, distinguished from each other in so many ways; why and how do they become so exactly adapted to distinct modes of life; and why do all the intermediate grades die out (as geology shows they have died out) and leave only clearly-defined and well-marked species, genera, and higher groups of animals."

Mr. Wallace next observes how this new idea or principle which occurred to him at this time "answers all these questions and solves all these difficulties, and it is because it does so, and also because it is in itself self-evident and absolutely certain, that it has been accepted by the whole scientific world as affording a true solution of the great problem of the origin of species."

And now follows the interesting narrative of how the new truth was suddenly revealed to him and the result:

"At the time in question I was suffering from a sharp attack of intermittent fever, and every day during the cold and succeeding hot fits had to lie down for several hours, during which time I had nothing to do but think over any subjects then particularly interesting me. One day some-
thing brought to my recollection Malthus's 'Principles of Population,' which I had read about twelve years before. I thought of his clear exposition of 'the positive checks to increase'—disease, accidents, war, and famine—which keep down the population of savage races to so much lower an average than that of more civilized peoples. It then occurred to me that these causes or their equivalents are continually acting in the case of animals also; and as animals usually breed much more rapidly than does mankind, the destruction every year from these causes must be enormous in order to keep down the numbers of each species, since they evidently do not increase regularly from year to year, as otherwise the world would long ago have been densely crowded with those that breed most quickly.

Vaguely thinking over the enormous and constant destruction which this implied, it occurred to me to ask the question, Why do some die and some live? And the answer was clearly, that on the whole the best fitted live. From the effects of disease the most healthy escaped; from enemies, the strongest, the swiftest, or the most cunning; from famine, the best hunters or those with the best digestion; and so on. Then it suddenly flashed upon me that this self-acting process would necessarily improve the race, because in every generation the inferior would inevitably be killed off and the superior would remain—that is, the fittest would survive. Then at once I seemed to see the whole effect of this, that when changes of land and sea, or of climate, or of food-supply, or of enemies occurred—and we know that such changes have always been taking place—and considering the amount of individual variation that my experience as a collector had shown me to exist, then it followed that all the changes necessary for the adaptation of the species to the changing conditions would be brought about; and as great changes in the environment are always slow, there would be ample time for the change to be effected by the survival of the best fitted in every generation. In this way every part of an animal's organization could be modified exactly as required, and in the very process of this modification the unmodified would die out, and thus the definite characters and the clear isolation of each new
species would be explained. The more I thought over it the more I became convinced that I had at length found the long-sought-for law of nature that solved the problem of the origin of species. For the next hour I thought over the deficiencies in the theories of Lamarck and of the author of the "Vestiges," and I saw that my new theory supplemented these views and obviated every important difficulty. I waited anxiously for the termination of my fit so that I might at once make notes for a paper on the subject. The same evening I did this pretty fully, and on the two succeeding evenings wrote it out carefully in order to send it to Darwin by the next post, which would leave in a day or two.

"I wrote a letter to him in which I said that I hoped the idea would be as new to him as it was to me, and that it would supply the missing factor to explain the origin of species. I asked him if he thought it sufficiently important to show to Sir Charles Lyell, who had thought so highly of my former paper."

Mr. Wallace does not enter into the details of what followed the receipt of his paper by Mr. Darwin, as the latter had dwelt on that in his autobiographical sketch published years earlier. Briefly, it may be observed that Charles Darwin had years before come to conclusions similar to those expressed by Mr. Wallace and had imparted his views confidentially to a few intimate friends, including Sir Charles Lyell, Dr. Hooker, and Professor Asa Gray of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. On receipt of Mr. Wallace's paper and letter, Mr. Darwin found himself in a quandary. He did not desire to appear to appropriate any one's else discovery, yet his conclusions, though carefully guarded save as he had imparted them to his intimate friends, had been entertained for fifteen years and he had already prepared half of his great work elucidating them. In his dilemma he sought advice from Sir Charles Lyell, who counseled him to make an abstract of his great work and accompany it with explanations and a letter which he had written to Professor Gray a year previous, showing that he had long ere this fully arrived at the same conclusions as those advanced by Mr. Wallace, and that both
these papers should be given in the forthcoming meeting of the Linnean Society. In the “Life and Letters of Charles Darwin” the great author of the “Origin of Species” gives this interesting account of the publication of the two papers:

“Early in 1856 Lyell advised me to write out my views pretty fully, and I began at once to do so on a scale three or four times as extensive as that which was afterwards followed in my ‘Origin of Species’; yet it was only an abstract of the materials which I had collected, and I got through about half the work on this scale. But my plans were overthrown, for early in the summer of 1858 Mr. Wallace, who was then in the Malay Archipelago, sent me an essay ‘On the Tendency of Varieties to Depart Indefinitely From the Original Type’; and this essay contained exactly the same theory as mine. Mr. Wallace expressed the wish that if I thought well of his essay, I should send it to Lyell for perusal.

“The circumstances under which I consented at the request of Lyell and Hooker to allow of an abstract from my MS., together with a letter to Asa Gray, dated September 5, 1857, to be published at the same time with Wallace’s Essay, are given in the ‘Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society,’ 1858, p. 45. I was at first very unwilling to consent, as I thought Mr. Wallace might consider my doing so unjustifiable, for I did not then know how generous and noble was his disposition. The extract from my MS. and the letter to Asa Gray had neither been intended for publication, and were badly written. Mr. Wallace’s essay, on the other hand, was admirably expressed and quite clear.”

On reaching London Mr. Wallace found that his printed papers and his valuable work for natural history had won for him the admiration and friendship of most of England’s foremost physical scientists. Everywhere the worth of his views on subjects relating to physical science in general and natural history in particular was highly respected and his great ability as a logical reasoner was fittingly recognized. Among those who were especially warm in their friendship and appreciation were Sir Charles Lyell, the Nestor of
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

physical science of the day, and Charles Darwin, the master-
spirit among the evolutionary leaders. Herbert Spencer,
T. H. Huxley, and indeed all the more eminent of the pro-
gressive school of physical scientists, were numbered among
his personal friends. He also found his services in demand
by the great societies which were carrying forward the
various branches of investigation in natural science and
history. It was during the thirty years following his return
to England from the Far East that Mr. Wallace wrote his
greatest scientific works, among the most important of
which were "The Malay Archipelago," "Geographical Dis-
tribution of Animals," "Natural Selection and Tropical
Nature," and "Island Life." He also published a great
number of smaller treatises and wrote frequently for the
leading magazines, as well as preparing several papers for
the Ninth Edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica."

Nor was his work confined to physical science. He wrote
on a number of subjects entirely foreign to his special fields
of research. Among his principal later scientific works
were "Darwinism," the best popular exposition of the evo-
lutionary philosophy that has been written, and "Studies
Scientific and Social," embracing many of his shorter es-
says, both relating to physical science and social advance.

In 1882 Dublin University conferred on Mr. Wallace the
degree of LL.D., and in 1889 he received the degree of
D.C.L. from Oxford University.

In the autumn of 1886 Dr. Wallace was engaged by the
management of the Lowell Lecture Course of Boston to
deliver a series of lectures that were given in November
and December of that year.

On his return to England he suffered greatly from
asthma and came to the conclusion that his days of active la-
bor were well-nigh over. He was, however, induced to go to
Switzerland and deliver a lecture on the great achievements
of the nineteenth century, which was so well received that
friends urged him to prepare a volume on the subject. This
he did not at first contemplate doing on account of his pre-
carious health, but by a happy chance, if there be such a
thing as chance, he was shown a way to health about this
time, and with renewed life set to work on his splendid
and thought-inspiring book, “The Wonderful Century,” one of the best if indeed it is not the most graphic and informing survey of the marvelous advances and also of the shortcomings of the nineteenth century. This volume was followed by his work, “Man’s Place in the Universe,” and still later by “My Life: A Record of Events and Opinions,” written after he had passed the eightieth milestone.

Dr. Wallace’s interest in social problems dates from his brief residence in London when he was but fourteen years of age. At that time he became deeply interested in the work of Robert Owen at New Lanark, and the social views of that great philanthropist and reformer exerted a marked influence on his mind. He was ever a passionate lover of justice, and he was too fundamental a thinker to fail to see the essential iniquity of present-day unjust social conditions. But it was not until the publication of Herbert Spencer’s “Social Statics” that he clearly saw the iniquity of private-ownership in land and how it was a prime cause of social inequality and a leading factor in producing poverty, misery, and the crime incident to these.

In 1881, after the publication of a luminous paper on how to nationalize the land, a Land Nationalization Society was formed and the great naturalist was elected its first president.

Dr. Wallace hailed the appearance of Henry George’s “Progress and Poverty” as the message of a true prophet of civilization; but though a firm believer in the Single-Tax idea, he was socialistic rather than individualistic in his economic views. He may be called a Fabian or an opportunist Socialist—a Socialist something after the order of Jean Jaurès, the eminent French statesman. In defining Socialism as he understood it, Dr. Wallace said:

“I may here state for the benefit of those ignorant writers who believe that socialism must be compulsory, and speak of it as a ‘form of slavery,’ that my own definition of socialism is ‘the voluntary organization of labor for the good of all.’ All the best and most thoughtful writers on socialism agree in this; and for my own part I cannot conceive it coming about in any other way. Compulsory socialism is, to me, a contradiction in terms—as much so as would be compulsory friendship.”
As to the practicability of socialism he says:

"I have ever since been absolutely convinced, not only that socialism is thoroughly practicable, but that it is the only form of society worthy of civilized beings, and that it alone can secure for mankind continuous mental and moral advancement, together with that true happiness which arises from the full exercise of all their facilities for the purpose of satisfying all their rational needs, desires, and aspirations."

He was, however, nothing if not a democrat, not believing in any form of government that does not conform to the wishes of the majority. "To my mind," he observes, "the question of good or bad, fit or not fit for self-government, is not to the point. It is a question of fundamental justice, and the just is always the expedient, as well as the right. It is a crime against humanity for one nation to govern another against its will. The master always says his slaves are not fit for freedom; the tyrant, that subjects are not fit to govern themselves. The fitness for self-government is inherent in human nature. Many savage tribes, many barbarian peoples are really better governed to-day than the majority of the self-styled civilized nations."

Few economic papers published in "The Arena" were so widely copied and noticed by leading editors as Dr. Wallace's "The Social Quagmire" and "The Way Out for the Farmers and Laborers," and a later contribution dealing with the railway question, in which he advanced a method for the Government acquiring the railways, which, he observed, is founded on "a great principle of ethics, which, when it is thoroughly grasped, is seen to solve many problems and to clear the way to many great reforms in the interest of the people at large. This principle is that the unborn can have, and should have, no special property-rights; in other words, that the present generation shall not continue to be plundered and robbed in order that certain unborn individuals shall be born rich—shall be born with such legal claims upon their fellow-men that, while supplied with all the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life they need do no useful work in return. It is not denied that the present generation may properly do work and ex-
pend wealth for the benefit of future generations: that is only a proper return for the many and great benefits we have received from those who have gone before us. What this principle says is, that it is absolutely unjust for our rulers (be they a majority or minority) to compel us to pay, to work, or to suffer, in order that certain individuals yet unborn, shall be endowed—often to their own physical and moral injury—with wealth supplied by the labor of their fellow-men. As this is, I consider, perhaps the most important of all ethical principles in its bearing on political reforms and general human progress, it will be well to show that it is in harmony with the teachings of some of the greatest thinkers of the age.

"The great philosopher, Herbert Spencer—so recently lost to us—has perhaps as many admirers and followers in the United States as in his own country. In one of his later volumes on Justice, forming Part IV. of his 'Principles of Ethics,' he gives us what he holds to be the very foundation-stone of Justice in the domain of Sociology, in the following words:

"'Of man, as of all inferior creatures, the law by conformity to which the species is preserved, is, that among adults the individuals best adapted to the conditions of their existence shall prosper most, and that the individuals least adapted to the conditions of their existence shall prosper least—a law which, if uninterfered with entails survival of the fittest, and spread of the most adapted varieties. And, as before, so here, we see that, ethically considered, this law implies, that each individual ought to receive the benefits and evils of his own nature and consequent conduct: neither being prevented from having whatever good his actions normally bring him, nor allowed to shoulder off on to other persons whatever ill is brought to him by his actions.'

"The passage here printed in italics is the 'law of social justice,' and it is again and again appealed to by its author, being usually condensed into the shorter formula, 'each shall receive the benefits and evils due to his own nature and consequent conduct.'

"For it is quite clear that both Herbert Spencer's formula and my own imply, not only equal opportunities of nurture
in infancy and of education in youth, but also equal opportunities to earn a livelihood; and this absolutely forbids the inheritance of wealth by individuals. Private bequests, above what is sufficient to give nurture and education, must therefore be abolished, and the surplus used to give all an equal start in life. This economic equality follows from Spencer's law of social justice. For by inheriting exceptional wealth a person receives what is in no way 'due to his own nature and subsequent conduct,' be its results either evil or good. If, therefore, we accept Spencer's law of social justice as being sound in principle, or adopt the formula of 'equality of opportunities' as being anything more than empty words, we must advocate the abolition of all unequal inheritance of wealth, since it is now shown to be ethically wrong, inasmuch as it dignifies unearned wealth and a consequent life of idleness and the pursuit of pleasure, as one to be admired, respected, and sought after.

"Having thus firmly established the principle of not recognizing any claims to property by the unborn, it follows that in all transfers of property from individuals to the State we have only to take account of persons living at the time of the transaction, and of the public interest both now and in the future. When therefore the Government determines, for the public good, to take over the whole of the railways of the Union, there will be no question of purchase but simply a transfer of management. All trained and efficient employés will continue in their several stations; and probably their numbers will for some time be steadily increased in order that shorter hours of labor may be adopted and the safety of the public be better guaranteed.

"The first step towards an equitable transfer will be to ascertain, by an efficient and independent enquiry, the actual economic status of the shareholders of each line, dependent largely on the honesty and efficiency of its previous management. As a result of this enquiry the average annual dividends of each company or system which have been honestly earned while keeping up the permanent way and rolling-stock in good repair and thorough working order, would be ascertained. The amount of this average dividend would, thereafter, be paid to every shareholder in the
respective companies during their lives, and on their deaths would, except in special cases, revert to the railway department of the State for the benefit of the public.

"The exceptions would be, that in the case of all shareholders leaving families or dependents insufficiently provided for, the dividends would continue to be paid to the widow and to unmarried daughters for their lives, and to sons till they reached the age of twenty-one, so as to help towards their education and industrial training. But whenever the shareholder's property was above a certain amount, and producing sufficient income to support the family in reasonable comfort (which might perhaps be fixed at that of a high-class mechanic), then no such allowance would be made. Of course in a great number of cases where the shareholder was moderately wealthy, there would be no difficulty in drawing the line. In other cases it should be the rule to treat the families of shareholders liberally, so that in no case should actual poverty be caused by the cessation of the dividends."

Dr. Wallace was born into a Church of England family and was reared in that faith, but his investigations led him, as they led most of the great physical scientists of the nineteenth century, into agnosticism. Later, however, his attention was called to modern spiritualism. He investigated, as he investigated other subjects, carefully, patiently, rigidly, keeping his mind open to the truth, but with what prejudice he had against rather than in favor of the spiritualistic claims. At last, however, like Sir William Crookes, F. W. H. Myers, Dr. Richard Hodgson, Sir Oliver Lodge, Camille Flammarion, and many other of the profound scientific thinkers of the past century, he became convinced of the truth of the central claim of modern spiritualism, and despite the advice and remonstrances of his scientific friends, he boldly championed what he conceived to be demonstrated truth, his volume of "Miracles and Modern Spiritualism" being one of the ablest expositions of the spiritualistic philosophy that has appeared. Since the publication of this work the investigations of the English Society for Psychical Research have led many of Europe's greatest scientists, both physicists and psychologists, to ac-
ceptance of a belief not very different from that entertained by Dr. Wallace, though for many years his religious convictions made against him both with his scientific fellow-workers and the leaders of the religious world, who were, however, wont to seize upon his arguments in favor of immortality with great avidity when arguing on evolution with scientists.

His home life was as beautiful as his public career has been worthy and illustrious. He married some time after his return from the Malay Archipelago. No spot was so dear to him as his home. He naturally loved Nature and always strove to live in the country or where he could have ample land for flowers, shrubs and garden, and a fine view. "My gardening," he says, "has always been to me pure enjoyment."

Dr. Wallace lived to the ripe age of ninety, dying in 1913. Up to the last his mind was clear and vigorous and his hand busy. He was an uncompromising foe of militarism—as much so as are the Quakers. In this respect his life stands out in splendid relief from those small-souled but loud-mouthed mortals who delight in taking the lives of unoffending animals, who glory in the "big stick," and who take pride in war and great armaments, but who are strangely lacking in the supreme test of true bravery—moral courage that cannot be swerved from what one believes to be right. Alfred Russel Wallace's moral courage was only equaled by his hatred of war, the useless taking of life, and the inflicting of pain on others. He loved peace, he believed in human brotherhood, he worshiped toward the dawn, and his life was dominated by a love for justice, freedom, and fraternity.
CHAPTER XXVI.

WILLIAM T. STEAD: COSMOPOLITAN JOURNALIST


William T. Stead occupied a unique and commanding place among the great Anglo-Saxon journalists of the past fifty years. In him there was a rare blending of intellectual force with moral conviction, idealism with utilitarianism, a virile imagination and a common-sense practicality that strove to make the vision a useful reality. Dauntless determination, superb moral courage, and untiring energy marked his whole journalistic career.

He was cosmopolitan. His influence was international. All world problems fascinated him. The superficial observer might have imagined that he was constantly under the spell of the wanderlust. We find him in Russia interviewing the Czar, and later persuading the young sovereign to call an international peace conference. The Pope of Rome grants him an audience. From the Sultan of Turkey he obtains a long and illuminating interview. The President of the French Republic, and leading rulers and statesmen of other nations, empire builders, publicists, scientists, and thinkers were all found "good copy." From Olive Schreiner, the idealistic author and humanitarian, to Richard Croker, the one-time Tammany boss, men and women in the public eye were interviewed and described with rare penetration.

A broad catholicity of spirit, rare even in a cosmopolitan journalist, was a distinguishing characteristic. All vital political, scientific, economic, social, ethical, and spiritual problems were alike interesting to him.

At times he reminded one of the old prophets of Israel, laying bare iniquity in high places. London was the modern Babylon; Chicago the throne-room of Mammon-worship
and civic corruption. In New York he found “Satan’s Invisible Empire Revealed.”

But it must not be supposed that he was a pessimist. I have never known a publicist more optimistic; but he believed that only by courageous and unflinching unmasking of iniquity, and forcing the people to face the conditions that were conveniently ignored, could real progress be made.

With Gladstone, he appealed to the conscience of Europe in behalf of the victims of Turkish atrocity. Later he became very unpopular with the jingo element of England by his stern denunciation of the Boer War as unjust and unjustifiable.

Great reform movements and organized movements for helping the helpless and ennobling humanity found in him a militant advocate. One New Year he sent me an autographed photograph on which he inscribed: “For the union of all who love in the service of all who suffer”; and this was his living creed.

In later years he, more than any other individual, aroused the sleeping conscience of the English-speaking world to a sensible realization of the evils of militarism by his unique crusade in which he waged “war against war.”

Such was the tireless, Argus-eyed modern journalist, whose methods were those of the New World rather than the Old, and in whom there was a mixture of idealism and opportunism, of practical utilitarianism and rugged, militant non-conformity.

Of many pleasant hours spent in the society of Mr. Stead, one evening stands out in bold relief, for during that time he gave me in graphic outline the story of his early life, where on the one hand were poverty, hardships, illness, and great fear, and on the other the powerful inspiration of a vision or dream that became the pillar of cloud and fire which led him onward through all the stress and strain of after life.

He was the son of an Independent minister. The Non-conformist conscience, stern regard for duty, and a keen recognition that life carried with it solemn and inescapable obligations were a part of his early heritage that remained with him throughout the mighty rush of world events in which he played so important a part.
With Mazzini, he felt that "Life is a mission." From his earliest years he learned to love and revere the Bible. Like John Bright, whose eloquent addresses were always marked by Biblical illustrations, Mr. Stead was continually comparing men, events, and conditions with those of Israel’s important history.

“I was one of a large family,” he said. “We were very poor, and when fourteen years old I had to take the position of errand boy in a merchant’s store, for which I received four shillings a week. Of this I had an allowance of three pence, or six cents of your money, for myself. My nights were my own, and they were given to reading and studying. The few books that appealed to me were almost learned by heart. I determined to fit myself for a literary career and secretly cherished the hope of becoming an historian, and every spare moment I could call my own was given to improving my mind. Long hours spent at night reading by very poor light, and over-study, resulted when I was fifteen years old in a bad nervous break-down and the failure of my eye-sight.

“I was literally saturated with the memory of the Puritans and oppressed with a sense of my unworthiness. A Non-conformist conscience is very valuable, sometimes. It was the salvation of England and had far more to do with your greatness and moral stamina than your people appreciate; but there are occasions when it is not only inconvenient, but dangerous, and now I was thrown into the lowest depths by the conviction that my literary ambitions were prompted by the devil, who was bent on getting my soul. The gloomy theology in which I had been brought up almost proved my ruin; but in the darkest hour there came into my life the message of your own poet, Lowell, which lifted me from the pit and changed despair to buoyant hope.

“How did I happen to get Lowell’s poems?” he continued, in reply to a question. “Well, that is one of the most curious and interesting events of my early life. It was in this way. The publisher of “The Boys’ Own Magazine” offered a prize of a guinea’s worth of books for the best life of Oliver Cromwell written by a boy. I won the prize, and among the books I received was a paper-covered copy of the
poetical works of James Russell Lowell. This book, coming at a crisis in my life, was my redemption. I still have it, and it has been my companion wherever I have been. It is worn and thumbed almost to pieces, but no money could buy it. I can truthfully say that Lowell’s ‘Extreme Unction’ changed my life. I here learned that a call, a divine call, was sounding for everyone to devote life in helping right the great wrongs of the world.

“I determined that henceforth I would try to brighten the lives and lot of others with practical service, and though I did not decide on journalism as a life-work until some years later, in looking back I am convinced that it was Lowell’s preface to ‘The Pious Editor’s Creed’ that set my mind in the direction of journalism. To me Lowell’s declaration that the high mission of the true editor was to find tables of the new law among our factories and cities, in the wilderness of sin called civilization, and become the captain of our exodus into the Canaan of a truer social order, was a revelation, and it has remained a constant guide and inspiration through all the years of my journalistic career.”

Mr. Stead early began to write for the newspapers, and his ability finally won him the editorship of “The Northern Echo,” a position which he filled until invited by John Morley to come to London as an associate editor of “The Pall Mall Gazette.” On this important metropolitan paper he was able to carry out his wishes along various lines. Mr. Morley had many important demands upon his time, apart from the paper, and before long Mr. Stead became its virtual editor. In those memorable years “The Gazette” was a commanding power in the social, political, and economic life of England. Its sympathy with the artizan class, its efforts in behalf of social betterment, and the high and aggressive stand it took for civic and personal morality, contrasted boldly with the cowardly opportunism of most of the great newspapers of the day.

Then came the titanic battle for social purity. The attempt to raise the age of consent was blocked at every turn through the influence of men in high places, in and out of Government. Stead led the battle for the bill, and when
no other way seemed open to obtain evidence of appalling
conditions that investigations had clearly shown to exist,
Mr. Stead, thoroughly understanding the danger he ran, de­
termined to obtain the evidence to force the bill through,
even though he personally suffered. This he did. The
revelations of “The Pall Mall Gazette” appalled the world
and forced through Parliament the important legislation,
but the editor was made to pay the penalty of his daring
act by two years’ imprisonment.

In 1890 Mr. Stead founded the English “Review of Re­
views” and later was instrumental in having the American
and Australian “Review of Reviews” established.

Social and economic problems, practical Christianity, and
temperance work found in him a tireless advocate. His
interest, however, was not confined to the kaleidoscopic
events of the passing years and the problems that intimately
affect man now and here. The to-morrow of life, the age­
long question of the Arabian seer, “If a man die, shall he
live again?” threw its spell upon him. He essayed to pene­
trate the dark continent of psychology. After he com­
menced his investigations, his own hand was seized and
began to write automatically. From that time forth his
interest became personal and intimate. It is doubtful
whether any one having his experience would have failed
to believe as he did, and yet one can readily see how those
not so favored found it impossible to accept his conclusions.

During his later years perhaps his most immediately im­
portant work was his tireless peace campaign. In England
and America he did much to crystallize the growing senti­
ment into definite opposition to the murder game of nations.

Mr. Stead was on the ill-fated “Titanic” when she went
down, and in his death the Anglo-Saxon world lost one of
her greatest and noblist journalists, a man who combined
at once moral rectitude, intellectual brilliancy, tireless in­
dustry, and rich imagination.
CHAPTER XXVII.

KATRINA TRASK: POET OF PEACE

One of the Most Fundamental Present-Day Poets—The Divorce Question—Fidelity to the High Ideals of Protestantism and Democracy—Some of Her Leading Works—"Night and Morning"—"The Little Town of Bethlehem"—"King Alfred's Jewel"—Her Great Peace Drama, "In the Vanguard."

The chosen ones who prepare the world for higher and better things—the thinkers who lay the foundations for a nobler social order, are rarely popular idols of the hour. Often they are spurned or ignored, and never are they greatly heeded if the age is one of profound moral inertia or given over largely to externalism and materialistic attractions; for the obvious reason that the vision which they behold, and which is the life of men and nations, is hidden from the eyes blinded by sensuous thoughts and materialistic dreams.

Christ, in speaking of His heedless generation, to whom His great ethical truths were unintelligible or without interest, said: "Eyes have they, but they see not; ears have they, but they hear not; neither do they understand." To such a society the real prophets and leaders of the higher moral order speak in an unknown tongue.

What is true of other ages is true of our own time and land. The most significant thought is not the most popular. But while the multitudes are clamoring for frivolous, artificial, and superficial romances dealing with butterfly lives and the ghastly make-believe that passes for love, and while many social reformers, terrified by the growing arrogance of materialistic greed, the lowering of ideals, and the laxity of life which undermines character, are rushing into the world of reaction and are seeking to meet moral disintegration by exalting the letter, through repressive statutes which do not touch the disease, the real prophets, the fundamental thinkers and broad-visioned philosophers, knowing full well that the
letter killeth and the spirit maketh alive, are directing their messages at once to the intellectual apprehension and the moral sensibilities, or to the court of reason or justice in the house of life, and are making the appeal direct to the spiritual man, even as did the great Nazarene in the elder day. And they who are thus enriching our literature are building for to-morrow’s civilization, for they are appealing from the shallow and superficial to the fundamental and causal.

To me it is one of the most inspiring signs of the day that in the midst of the deluge of frivolous, trashy romance and verse that floods the nation, we have with us earnest writers who are enriching our literature with really fine work that is vibrant with the note of a higher and truer manhood. Among these literary workers few have done so much fine work unobtrusively as has Katrina Trask. I have followed her writings for years and have noted with deep pleasure that with the steady growth in strength of thought, wealth of imagination, and mastery of style, there has remained as the supreme or dominating characteristic a fine, high moral message, marked alike by intellectual hospitality or that broad spirit of freedom that awakened civilization from the intellectual and moral paralysis of mediaevalism, and a steadfast insistence on the recognition of the fundamental law of ethical or spiritual progress. Here the demand for lofty morality is never weakened, as is the case with most religious enthusiasts, by a demand for wholesale legislation aimed at effects while practically ignoring the basic and fatally defective causes that produce the evils.

Take the divorce question, for example. The great majority of religious reformers who attack divorce legislation and would have prohibitory laws enacted, ignore the fact that in so doing they would force thousands upon thousands of women to live lives of prostitution, becoming the instruments of men’s gross sensualism after loathing and abhorrence have taken the place of love; and furthermore, they would curse the society of to-morrow and untold thousands of unborn lives by compelling women to have children, whose husbands are ad-
dicted to drink or are the victims of revolting diseases. These well-meaning but shallow thinkers have proceeded on the sophistical assumption that laws prohibiting divorce would check the evil of which frequent divorce is but one, and by no means the gravest, effect. Mrs. Trask is too fundamental a thinker not to see that the evil lies in hasty and thoughtless marriages, in which the supreme importance of the great and solemn union is ignored by school, church, and society. She would impress the august importance of marriage on man and wife so clearly that the life object of each would be to understand, appreciate, and so far as possible sympathize with the other, to the end that the interest of each should become the master concern of the other. To exalt marriage and impress its great responsibility is a master purpose in her altogether charming novel, "Free Not Bound." In considering the divorce question and statutory offenses of married people, Mrs. Trask's appeal is made not to the letter that killeth and that unhappily is the sheet anchor of conventional Christianity to-day as it was with Judaism in the days of Christ, but to the spirit that maketh alive. And what is true of this problem is true of her handling of other grave and vital issues.

It has been the proudest boast of Protestantism that it sought to exalt spirituality while demanding and safeguarding freedom of thought. It has been the proudest boast of democracy that it has protected the many from the oppressions of privilege and has fostered science and learning by protecting them from dogmatic assumptions of infallibility and the intolerance of ignorance and ancient thought. This rare and beneficent spirit—the most precious gift of Protestantism and democracy—is reflected in all of Mrs. Trask's writings.

In this sketch it is impossible to notice many of her works, but a brief examination of the following volumes that are representative will show something of the fine work she is doing in behalf of a noble, spiritually illumined literature touching on the most vital issues of the hour.

In "Night and Morning" she has made a wonderfully
inspiring and suggestive addition to our literature dealing with the union of the sexes. Here, in blank verse that is rich in imagination and graceful expression, is told a tale of Palestine in the time of Christ, dealing with the loveless union of a rich Pharisee and a beautiful young Jewess. The wife, finding no love in her own home, falls a victim to the wiles of a Greek of marked physical attractiveness, winning manner, and persuasive voice. The woman is discovered and turned over to the authorities to be stoned to death. Christ, being in the Temple, it occurs to the Jews, who hate Him, that here is an admirable opportunity to entrap Him. He is therefore appealed to and there is here woven into verse the beautiful incident related in the Fourth Gospel.

One of Mrs. Trask's notable creations is "The Little Town of Bethlehem, a Nativity play which, when performed by the Ben Greet players at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in 1909, scored a great triumph before one of the most critical audiences that ever assembled in the City of Churches. It was later successfully produced elsewhere throughout the country. When given at a special performance at the Majestic Theatre in Boston by the Northampton Players, it was my fortune to witness it, and I cannot call to mind any performance which ever so impressed me as did this religious play, with the conviction that the stage offers to the children of the vision probably the most powerful instrument for popular enlightenment. It is a drama that is highly poetic, and when produced as it was when I witnessed it, with an excellent company, admirably staged and costumed, it satisfied eye, ear, imagination, intellect, and spiritual sensibilities. I hope that the day is not distant when this play and similar dramas of spiritual uplift may be produced in every city and large town in the land, as they will feed the brain and imagination in such a way as to call forth all that is highest, finest, and truest in life.

"King Alfred's Jewel," like "Mors et Victoria," was published first anonymously, and as in the earlier work, the critics everywhere assumed the author to be a man—an Englishman. In England, where the volume first ap-
peared, as well as in America, the leading literary critics devoted much time to the work, referring to it in the highest terms.

"The majestic figure of the King dominates the drama from first to last," said the critic of "The Academy" of London; observing that: "Seldom among writers of contemporary verse have we encountered work of so fine a promise or of so dainty an achievement."

James Douglas, the well-known critic of the London "Star," said: "The living Alfred lives in this gracious play, for the author has fashioned his great spirit out of the mist of time."

Henry Van Dyke, in an extended review of the drama, said:

"To call a great name of history and evoke a really human figure; to construct an episode which shall fit, without being forced, into the puzzle-map of past events; to show that human figure moving through the episode in such a way that his character is more fully and more clearly revealed—this is a threefold task of large import, and this is what the author of 'King Alfred's Jewel' has done."

The drama is indeed a contribution to English literature of no mean value. In Alfred, the Christ spirit shines through his words and deeds. He is no monkish pietist, prating of holy texts in sanctimonious tones, but a great, brave, tender, wise, loving, and just man who strives to make his nation good and great.

The drama opens just after the terrible defeat of King Alfred at the battle of Chippenham. The King has fled into the forests, where a little child, playing in her woodland bower, finds him and brings him milk and bread, since he is well-nigh famished. His life saved, he sets out to reunite his scattered forces and prepare for a final stand against the Danes. Knowing the coming battle will be decisive, and realizing the importance of knowing the enemy's strength and the position of its forces, he discloses to his young wife his determination to disguise himself as a wandering minstrel and visit the enemy's stronghold. In vain she strives to dissuade him. He
makes the trip, accomplishes his mission successfully, and returning finds a large band of Saxons about to desert him, as the Danes have made overtures to them and they doubt Alfred's power to cope with the enemy. The King, still disguised as a musician, tells the story of his struggles and his latest achievement, as though he were speaking of another monarch. The Saxons are enthralled by the tale and in the end again pledge fidelity to Alfred. The great battle of Aller is fought shortly afterwards and the King wins and wins so completely that the power of the Danes is forever broken. The leader becomes a Christian, the humanity of Alfred winning all the nobler souls. Shortly after this victory, however, a Dane determines to assassinate the King. The girl, however, who in the opening act nourished the King when famished, overhears the plot and warns Alfred in time. A Roman maid of the Queen inspires in the royal wife a jealous hate against the peasant girl, and after she returns from warning the King the Queen has her seized and thrown into a noisome dungeon, there to perish; the Queen supposing that the secret Jewel is intended for the girl instead of for herself. Later, when it appears that the Jewel was intended as a birthday gift for the Queen, she confesses her sin and the child is released, and amid general rejoicing the play ends.

The drama is rich in poetic invention and there are many lines of great beauty, while from first to last the play is marked by the noble ethical spirit that was so distinguishing a characteristic of Alfred.

To create a convincing character, as Mrs. Trask has done, from the meagre data at hand, evinces real imaginative genius on the part of an author; for the annals and records of Alfred, aside from his own literary work and written aspirations, while they are in one accord, showing him as brave a warrior as he was humane and peace-loving a king; as gentle as he was gracious; as nobly religious as he was solicitous for the prosperity and happiness of his people—a man at once a king, scholar, and patron of industry, yet are didactic and fragmentary presentations which fail to convey a full-orbed picture of the king to the
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

imagination of the general reader. From all this crude data, and especially from Alfred’s literary work, the author has drawn material which she embodies in the play, creating an ideal King, in whom simplicity, regal manhood, love of wife and love of people, faith in God and service to man, unwavering loyalty to duty, and a conscientious desire to help others are shadowed forth most convincingly.

There is a further excellence in this play. The author has refrained from putting on the stage any battle-scene or scene of blood and vengeance. Thus here is a drama of a great historic figure which does not foster the accursed lust for war and violence that has been so marked a feature of other historic plays. To have presented a great war scene showing the victory of Alfred as a climax would have greatly increased the popularity of the play with the multitude, but it would have necessarily stimulated the war spirit; and Mrs. Trask is an aggressive advocate of world peace as well as other of the lofty moral tenets that makes the Sermon on the Mount the ideal code of a spiritually awakened and emancipated civilization.

The greatest service which Mrs. Trask has rendered the cause of peace, however, is her latest drama, “In the Vanguard.” This is a play simple, direct, yet rich in imaginative power, convincing in its logic, strong in its appeal to the heart, faithful in its reflection of the dominant and the true ideals of life in regard to war, and compelling in its fine, true love interest.

The story opens in an English village on May Day. A bevy of maidens enter, revealing the freshness and beauty of dawning womanhood and with heads packed with romance and dreams of love; with imagination enthused by the old false idea of the glory of war, and with strong ambition for their lovers to become military heroes. The artificiality and the spell of inherited ideas and deep-rooted prejudices dominate many of the characters, as they do the lives of most people, young and old, to-day. Several characters in the play are typical. The Rector is the embodiment of the conventional, slow-thinking, conservative, and time-serving clergy. Mr. Greart is the type of the
modern broad-visioned liberal who thinks fundamentally, who loves justice and essential manhood and the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount as much as he hates the sham, mockery, sophistry, and pretense that obtain in all conditions of modern life.

War comes. The two most popular young men of the village go to the front amid flying flags, beating drums, and the loving encouragement of their sweethearts. Then comes the battlefield after the conflict. Phillip, the hero of the play, has distinguished himself by his reckless daring in leading charge after charge; but when the battle is over, the insane murder lust that is the spirit of war, vanishes and a reaction sets in, and while this mood is on him he comes upon the mangled form of a dying soldier—one of the enemy; and it is here that Mrs. Trask advances one of the strongest and most compelling arguments against war that has been written. Phillip urges the enemy to die as a soldier, and the wounded man replies:

"O I'll die like a soldier all right—that doesn't trouble me—what troubles me is that I've been killing like a soldier for ten years—I tell you, dying opens the door and one sees a new view. I thought I was a fine hero and I find I'm just a common murderer—a wholesale murderer! . . . Wait until you come to die, and see how differently you will see everything—that is—if you let yourself look—most men don't—they die with their eyes shut—as they have lived! . . . Killing is against the Law—the law of God—the law of Society—the inner law of Conscience. Calling it fine names doesn't change it. It has been murder in the first degree, for it was intent. Every shot the army fired was intended—aimed—planned to kill, and I was a part of each purpose—each intent."

The last moments of the soldier are pictured in a tremendously effective manner. Phillip has declared that he will bring help, that the dying man may be properly cared for, but the enemy refuses, laughing hoarsely:

"That's funny, too. Blow a man to pieces in the name of patriotism, and then try to patch the pieces together in
the name of humanity. It's really comic when you come to think about it—I won't be party to such a farce any longer. There's no help for me now, and besides—I wouldn't take it from any enemy!

There is an awful silence, broken only by the ominous sound in the man's throat and by piteous sounds that come from the battle-field.

The Enemy.

His voice broken and failing.

"Mary—Mary—the roses—in the garden—Put your head upon my breast—No—it is wet with blood—it will hurt your beautiful hair.

Phillip, very pale and with something new in his eyes, leans over the enmy.

The Enemy.

Brokenly.

"Universal Brotherhood—those are your words, Mary! Say, old Chap—give us your hand—

He tries to move his only hand toward Phillip. Phillip takes it tenderly.

The Enemy.

"Uni—vers—al Brotherhood—"

This encounter with the dying soldier opens the eyes of Phillip. He refuses promotion offered by the general for his bravery. He even refuses to continue in the army and is dishonorably discharged. His parents and home people execrate him; all but Mr. Greart, and later his sweetheart Elsa, who has a vision which opens her eyes.

The play ends happily, but in doing this Mrs. Trask has not sacrificed the verities or weakened the lesson. She shows how government, church, and society, under generations of false ideas, seek to cover with ignominy and shame those who dare to stand for the higher law and the eternal moral verities, even as in the elder day the Jewish church and pagan Roman united in their efforts to destroy Christ and His message.
No play of recent years has been written so timely, or rich in lessons for the present hour, when we are confronted by a world war such as has never been known before in the annals of history. Since the publication of this volume it has been read literally from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf, before every kind of public audience, and in all instances it has enthused its auditors. Men’s clubs and Young Men’s Christian Associations, all kinds of women’s organizations, college gatherings, and independent groups of serious-minded people representing all shades of thought, have alike come under its spell. One of the most popular serious lecturers and readers of our time, Mr. Alfred H. Brown, who, by the way, was a regular contributor to “The Twentieth Century Magazine,” and who is the head of the Dramatic Department of the Brooklyn Institute, some time ago demonstrated the extraordinary power of this drama of peace, when he successively gave it before a great popular audience at the Maverick Congregational Church in East Boston, the Theological Department of the Boston University, the Young Men’s Christian Union, a number of women’s clubs in Greater Boston, and before large audiences of high school girls. In every instance the play was enthusiastically received, showing how great and universal is its appeal to the more thoughtful people.

This play alone would place Mrs. Trask in the front rank as one of the great torch-bearers of civilization in one of the most critical hours known to history.
CHAPTER XXVIII.
FRANCES E. WILLARD AND PRESENT-DAY MORAL ADVANCE


To many persons few things have been more inexplicable than the sudden widespread temperance awakening that has swept many States into the prohibition ranks and caused much stringent restrictive legislation in other commonwealths.

The same thing has been seen in regard to woman suffrage. For years the battle was a forlorn hope. Then there came an awakening, and State after State has given the ballot to woman. It is also significant that keeping pace with these movements, there has gone forward a nationwide crusade against the white slave traffic and a no less vigorous campaign for the abolition of child slavery in factory, mill, and mine.

To the student of history who has followed the life of our people during the past quarter of a century, these movements that seem to have arisen so suddenly and spontaneously, are the natural and inevitable results of the patient, determined work of a number of women, and some men, who were in a very real sense the sowers of virile thought-seeds throughout the land, chief among whom was Frances E. Willard.

She was one of the most masterly organizers, persuasive public speakers, and efficient workers in the field of social progress. More than any other one person she organized and crystallized the conscience spirit of the church and forced her sleeping thousands to think of the evils that were sapping home, manhood, and democracy. She was a practical idealist, a woman of wonderful penetration and broad vision. Her favorite maxims: "No sectarianism in religion; no sectionalism in politics; no sex in citizenship,"
became the marching orders for a vast army of social and humanitarian workers. Her breadth of spirit and sweet reasonableness brought her into sympathetic touch with persons of the most diverse views and enabled her to win recruits in the most unlooked-for quarters. Her faith and moral enthusiasm were contagious, and her sincerity and earnestness awakened respect in thousands who did not share all her views.

My recollections of Miss Willard are as vivid as they are pleasant. While I was editing "The Arena" she usually, and I think always, visited me when she was in Boston. Some of the most inspiring hours I have known were spent with such persons as Frances E. Willard, William T. Stead, and Mary A. Livermore. Sincerity, earnestness, a living faith, and a passion for social justice were characteristics of each. All were profoundly interested in woman suffrage, temperance, social purity, the abolition of child slavery, and world peace, and all left their impress on thousands of minds which in turn are influencing others.

Miss Willard was the daughter of a Wisconsin farmer. The simple, gray life of the country marked her early years. Even as a little child she was ambitious. She has told us how one election day she stood with her little sister by the barn door and watched her father and brother as they drove off to town to vote, when her pent-up feelings found expression in these words:

"Shall we ever be anybody, know anything, or go anywhere?" And this pathetic question reveals the aspiration, desire, and dream of the child mind, which led onward and upward from the rude farm home to the head of the greatest woman's organization of the world.

Broad, tolerant, loving, she was ever looking for the good in every one. There were a number of portraits of leading literary men and women in my office which greatly interested Miss Willard. I remember how impressed I was with her good words for each and her fine discrimination. She spoke in glowing terms of Emerson and his beautiful life, and surprised me by saying what she later recorded in one of her books.
"When a girl," she said, "I became a great admirer of Emerson and took this verse as an inspiring motto:

"'I pray the prayer of Plato old,
O make me beautiful within,
And my eyes the good behold
In everything but sin.'"

I was not surprised at her words of admiration for Whittier, Lowell, and Holmes, but was hardly prepared for her remarks about Walt Whitman.

"I met the poet one evening at the home of a friend," she said. "When I saw him, the first thing I thought of was a symphony in gray. He was clothed in gray, hat, mittens, overcoat, and all. His hair and eyes were gray. Those kindly, twinkling gray eyes—I shall never forget them. His cheeks were ruddy. He seemed almost seventy, and I thought him the mildest, most modest, simple-hearted man I had ever seen. The evening did not change my impression of the poet. He was unobtrusive, preferring to listen than to be heard. When nature was mentioned he was all attention. He seemed to me a man whom the love of the good and the beautiful, in man and nature, had lifted to noble heights."

Henry Ward Beecher stood very high in Miss Willard's regard, although she was not prepared to accept his evolutionary views. On one occasion she addressed a vast throng in Plymouth Church. After introducing her, Mr. Beecher took a seat in the audience, and at the close of the address, said Miss Willard, "The pastor of Plymouth Church came slowly up the steps. On reaching the platform he turned to the audience and pointing to me said: 'And yet she cannot vote. Are you men not ashamed that this should be?'"

Mrs. Livermore had written a very powerful paper for "The Arena" on woman suffrage, entitled "Centuries of Dishonor," which delighted Miss Willard.

"When such magazines as yours publish articles like 'Centuries of Dishonor,' we have good reason to hope
that it will not be long before women will have the ballot,” she said. And then came such a beautiful tribute to Mrs. Livermore as one woman seldom gives to another.

Some narrow-visioned persons claim Miss Willard was unduly ambitious and not over-pleased when other women leaders were praised. Such claims were the farthest possible from the truth. She was ambitious—nobly ambitious, as are all men and women who help the world onward. In later years, in referring to this charge, Miss Willard replied:

“I have been called ambitious, and so I am, if to have had from childhood a sense of having been born to a fate is an element of ambition; for I never knew what it was not to aspire and not to believe myself capable of heroism. I always wanted to react on the world about me to my utmost ounce of power. . . . Lying on the prairie grass and lifting my hand toward the sky, I used to say in my inmost spirit, ‘What is it? What is the aim to be, O, God?’ I did not wish to climb by others’ overthrow, and I laid no schemes to undermine them; but I meant that the evolution of my own power should do for me all that it did.”

“With malice toward none, with charity for all, that must ever be our working rule,” she said to me on one occasion. “It is often very hard to separate the sin from the sinner, and to hate the one and love the other, but this must be done. You remember the old pagan philosopher Epictetus said every one carried a God within him. Now it is our duty to awaken this sleeping God, and it can only be done by love and loyalty to all that is highest and finest in life. Four years ago,” she said, “I held we were in the gray light of a coming day, which would be marked by a moral, social, and economic revolution. Now it is ‘red of dawn,’ and perhaps some of us will live to see the full splendor of this new time; for few people realize how deep-rooted, far-reaching and many-sided is the present revolutionary movement.”

She paused, her face clouded for a moment, and she slowly added: “God grant it may come peacefully, as if should.”
Of the Past Twenty-five Years


Miss Dromgoole is peculiarly happy in her children's stories. She has written many books for the young. The best known are "Hero Chums," "The Farrier's Dog and His Fellow," "Adventures of a Fellow," and "Harum Scarum Joe." The first of these stories has, in my judgment, no superior among juvenile books of the present generation. It belongs to the class of which "Little Lord Fauntleroy" is the best known example, and while being every whit as fascinating and quite as fine and true in its lesson and atmosphere as Mrs. Burnett's delightful story, it strikes deeper notes, has a greater reach and range, and is less artificial. I know of no child's book that is better calculated to fascinate and hold the interest of the young, and at the same time to fill the heart and brain with lofty, fine, and true ideals of life, or a book in which the atmosphere is more thoroughly wholesome than this story "Hero Chums."

"The Farrier's Dog and His Fellow," "Adventures of a Fellow," and "Harum Scarum Joe" are charming little stories, full of human interest, and each teaches an important lesson. They are worthy of a place in every child's library.

"Rare Old Chums" I do not regard as a juvenile book so much as one calculated to interest older heads with young hearts. It is largely the autobiography of a human heart, depicting the hopes, purposes, expectations, aspirations, and a great haunting fear which at times assailed the writer. It is a strange, sad, sweet story, possessing peculiar fascination and containing much excellent philosophy.

Miss Dromgoole's latest work, "The Island of Beautiful Things," is a charming idealistic story in which the real
CHAPTER XXIX

SOME POPULAR CONTRIBUTIONS


Though small space in “The Arena” was given to fiction, we published a number of short stories and two quite notable long romances, one of the latter being Hamlin Garland’s “A Spoil of Office,” which has already been noticed in these pages. The other was “The Valley Path,” by Will Allen Dromgoole, a serious novel dealing in a heart-gripping manner with life under the stress and strain of old and new religious ideals.

I have always felt a special interest in the success of Hamlin Garland and Miss Dromgoole, because it was “The Arena” that first introduced them to the general reading public. Aside from contributing to “The Youth’s Companion,” they were practically unknown until “The Arena” made their names household words to tens of thousands of the more serious-minded of our people; and after we had published the first volumes of their “Arena” short stories, their literary success became assured.

Mr. Garland gave new and wonderfully vivid pen-pictures of the hard life of the prairie farmers. Miss Dromgoole portrayed phases of Southern life, especially the negro life of Tennessee, with a compelling yet always charming realism that has, I think, never been equaled either in fidelity to the life as it is or in delightful humor and moving pathos. She also gave us some remarkably vivid pen-pictures of Tennessee characters—men and women of the common life about her. Her “Fiddling His Way to Fame” and “the Heart of Old Hickory,” two stories
Of the Past Twenty-five Years


Miss Dromgoole is peculiarly happy in her children's stories. She has written many books for the young. The best known are "Hero Chums," "The Farrier's Dog and His Fellow," "Adventures of a Fellow," and "Harum Scarum Joe." The first of these stories has, in my judgment, no superior among juvenile books of the present generation. It belongs to the class of which "Little Lord Fauntleroy" is the best known example, and while being every whit as fascinating and quite as fine and true in its lesson and atmosphere as Mrs. Burnett's delightful story, it strikes deeper notes, has a greater reach and range, and is less artificial. I know of no child's book that is better calculated to fascinate and hold the interest of the young, and at the same time to fill the heart and brain with lofty, fine, and true ideals of life, or a book in which the atmosphere is more thoroughly wholesome than this story "Hero Chums."

"The Farrier's Dog and His Fellow," "Adventures of a Fellow," and "Harum Scarum Joe" are charming little stories, full of human interest, and each teaches an important lesson. They are worthy of a place in every child's library.

"Rare Old Chums" I do not regard as a juvenile book so much as one calculated to interest older heads with young hearts. It is largely the autobiography of a human heart, depicting the hopes, purposes, expectations, aspirations, and a great haunting fear which at times assailed the writer. It is a strange, sad, sweet story, possessing peculiar fascination and containing much excellent philosophy.

Miss Dromgoole's latest work, "The Island of Beautiful Things," is a charming idealistic story in which
hero is a child, although the man and the woman figure quite prominently. For many years Miss Dromgoole has been a leading staff writer on the “Nashville Banner.” No fiction writer for “The Arena” was so popular with our readers as she, and her short stories have been especial favorites with public readers and their audiences.

Another Southern writer who has since become a popular magazine contributor and the author of several notable works, whom, if I remember correctly, “The Arena” introduced to the magazine reading public, was Mrs. LaSalle Corbell Pickett, the talented wife of the brilliant Southern General who led the famous charge at Gettysburg.

Louise Chandler Moulton was another popular contributor to “The Arena.” She was a poet of rare charm, her sonnets being recognized as the most perfect examples of that difficult art written by an American. For many years Mrs. Moulton spent her winters in London or on the Continent, where she became intimately acquainted with many of England’s most distinguished authors, artists, and publicists. She was the most pleasing conversationalist I have ever known. Her At Homes were hours of pleasure and profit highly appreciated by many of the most prominent persons in the fields of art and letters in New England. She was ever deeply concerned about the future life. After the organization of the American Psychical Society, I remember she sent me a note inviting me to call and see her. She had just returned from England, and after giving a most delightful account of literary London, she said:

“I was a little selfish in sending for you, but I want to know all about the American Psychical Society and what it has done. I hear Mr. Savage, Rabbi Schindler, Hamlin Garland, and Professor Dolbear are among its leading members.”

I described the work the society carried on up to date, and she narrated many interesting experiences she has had; also her conversations with William and Mary Howett, who, though Quakers, were also strong spiritualists. Mrs. Howett related to Mrs. Moulton some remarkable psychical experiences, one of which impressed me as being so
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

interesting that I induced the poet to give it to our readers.

This experience had to do with the death of young William Howett, who was absent from his parents in New Zealand. The boy wrote every post to his father and mother, whom he dearly loved, but one day they received a letter saying that he probably would not be able to communicate with them for some time, as his party was going on an extended tour into a remote part of the country where no civilized persons lived, and he expected to be gone for some time. One day shortly after receiving the letter, Mrs. Howett was in the garden, when a voice told her that her son was dead. She said nothing to her husband, but he noticed how sad she appeared and asked for an explanation. Still she refrained from telling him, but a few days later he came to her saying, “Mary, I know now why thee was so sad. Our Will is dead.” And on a subsequent post came a letter from the young man’s companion which described the death of Young Howett, who was drowned while trying to cross a stream.

Though devoted to literature and a lover of intellectual society, no question seemed so absorbing to Mrs. Moulton as the age-long query, If a man die, shall he live again?

Among our popular contributors who lived on the Pacific Coast or had come from California, were Edwin Markham, Joaquin Miller, George Wharton James, and Charles Frederick Holder.

Joaquin Miller was one of the most unique and interesting figures known to our literature. Born in Indiana, he went with his father at an early age to Oregon. Here all the perils, hardships, and excitement of pioneer life surrounded by hostile savages, marked his early boyhood. He was a born poet, and the stern scenes of his childhood stimulated his naturally vivid imagination. Later he lived with the Indians for a time; was with the gold-seekers of ’49; still later roved into Central America and was in the Walker Revolution. In after years he shouldered arms for Queen Liliuokalani in the abortive attempt to reinstate the dethroned Queen of the Hawaiian Islands. He traveled much, in Europe, Palestine, and Egypt. He braved the rigors of the frozen North when the world was thrilled
with the news of the Klondike gold fields. Here he almost lost his life from exposure. Still later he was with the allies who marched to the rescue of the European population at Pekin.

Mr. Miller was a dreamer and a true poet. His life was full of contrasts; his character strangely contradictory. In this connection it may be interesting to my readers to give a brief sketch of his last visit to Boston.

Among my many pleasant recollections of Miller, an afternoon spent with him in the North End of Boston has remained in memory almost as distinctly and vividly as events of yesterday. He had expressed a desire to see Copp's Hill and the Old North Church, and I seldom knew him to take so much interest in anything as he did in the old historic graveyard. At the family grave of the Mathers he paused to deliver a eulogy on the ability, sincerity, and courage of Cotton Mather.

There was one tomb, marking the burial place of a doctor and bearing a duck in the arms cut on the stone, which afforded him much amusement.

"Whenever you see a duck you think of a quack," he explained, "but that duck on the tomb is not bad, even if the doctor was no quack, for a duck was the symbol used by the ancient Egyptians to designate a physician.

"What is the little place fenced off there?" he asked, pointing to a small enclosure within the cemetery.

"That," I replied, "was a spot of unhallowed land provided by the Puritan fathers for the unbaptized babies, who were supposed to be lost."

"Flower, you don't mean that?" he said, looking me squarely in the eyes; and turning toward the spot, he continued: "A Potter's Field for damned babies, by men who were banishing the Baptists, cutting off the ears of the Quakers, and hanging the witches! Curious, isn't it? And yet," he added, "on the whole they were great and good men. They laid well the foundations of our Republic. They were big men, I say; men of moral force and courage; and yet they were not willing to let other men believe and teach what they honestly believed to be the truth. That was the fault of their theology. They put
the law and the prophets above the Sermon on the Mount—\textit{that was the trouble.}"

"You see how these tombs are dented, chipped and defaced," I observed. "That was done by the British soldiers who were encamped on the hill before the Battle of Bunker's Hill. All these stones, you will notice, mark the graves of men who in early days had opposed the Stamp Act and other oppressive measures of the Mother Country, and the British soldiers used them as targets."

He shook his head sadly, as he said: "War destroys all thought of brotherhood; war makes devils of men."

Returning, we stopped at the Old North Church.

"And that is where the lantern was hung that lighted the path to freedom."

"Well," I said, "perhaps it was from the belfry of this church, but many people hold that it was from the steeple of the Old North Meeting-House that the historic lantern was hung. The congregation of that church, from the belfry of which the light could be easily discerned on the Cambridge side, was heart and soul in sympathy with the Colonists, while the congregation of Christ Church, known to-day as the Old North Church, was Episcopalian and Loyalist. The British later tore down the North Meeting-House and used the wood for fuel—something which those who hold to this theory urge would reasonably explain such action. We know that in consequence of the Tea Party the Old South Church fell under the ban and was used as a stable by the British. What more natural than that after the humiliating experience of Lexington and Concord the indignant soldiers should wreak their vengeance on the offending edifice?"

This claim interested him much. He seemed inclined to favor it as probable, but regretted any attempt at this late day to rob the Old North Church of its glory, since there was no North Meeting-House to be a shrine for patriotic pilgrims. "For," he exclaimed, "we have too few shrines."

We were going down Salem Street, and he surprised me by saying:

"If I were coming to Boston to live, I should come
down here and dwell. Life here is real and genuine. There are no frills and pretence or artificiality here.”

We were on Hanover Street, passing a clothing store where a number of much-handled gray cotton flannel shirts were displayed for sale at thirty-five cents each.

“Let us stop here, Flower,” he exclaimed. “I am going out to Nixon Waterman’s to dinner to-night and I must have a clean shirt.”

He bought one, and some time later, in mentioning the incident to Louise Chandler Moulton, I said: “I never learned whether he wore the gray cotton flannel shirt to the dinner or not.”

“I expect he did,” she replied, “as on his first visit to London, when he was quite the lion among a brilliant literary group, he appeared more than once in a picturesque cow-boy costume which included a red flannel shirt.”

“A confirmed optimist, he radiates good cheer as the sun sheds light and warmth.” Such was Joaquin Miller’s characterization of George Wharton James, when I was telling him of a delightful visit I had recently had from Mr. James. And indeed, such a characterization seemed most apt. Moreover, judging from the love of the Indians for this popular author and lecturer, no less than from the impression one gains from his writings, his seems to be the heart of love and compassion for all life. A number of the Southwest Indian peoples have adopted him into their tribes.

Mr. James, however, is more than a humanitarian. His love extends to the dumb animal world, as is beautifully brought out in his exquisite volume, “Scraggles,” the story of the saving of the life of a little wounded bird and its love for those who befriended it.

Mr. James was one of the very popular and frequent contributors to “The Arena” and “The Twentieth Century Magazine.” A number of his papers were richly illustrated and dealt with important cities and places of special interest. Some were characterizations of important personages, and all were instinct with that rare charm that marks the books and lectures of Mr. James, making them as fascinating as romance.
He is a lover of the solitudes, an ethnologist and explorer who has made the great desert wastes and mountain fastnesses of the Southwest his happy hunting ground. Often he spends weeks and months with the Indians, or with a companion he will camp in the desert and revel in the strange beauty of a region that to duller eyes is innocent of charm. I know of no volumes in our language, dealing with desert life, that can compare in fascination with Mr. James’ voluminous work on “The Wonders of the Colorado Desert.” It is as enthralling as fiction and well calculated to open the eyes of the blind to beauties that are ever around those who have eyes to see and imaginations to enjoy.

Mr. James has written many notable works, a veritable library, covering a wide range of subjects, the most important of which deal with the mountains, deserts, and Indians of the Southwest, historic California, including the missions and mission workers of the pioneer days, and the heroes of California. All his books are characterized by a compelling charm and unfailing optimism that lure the reader from page to page. All are rich in information, so told as to make a lasting impress on the mind.

Another popular contributor whose home is in California is Mr. Charles Frederick Holder. He is an author of distinction, having written many important works, perhaps the most notable of which deal in a popular way with scientific subjects, chiefly in the realm of natural history. Mr. Holder is a descendant of Christopher Holder, one of the leaders among the pioneer Quakers who figured prominently in the early history of New England. In my judgment one of the most interesting papers that we published in “The Arena” was an article by this writer dealing with the truly remarkable ocean voyage of the pioneer band of Quakers who, fleeing from the persecution of the Old World, came to this country, and of their persecution at the hands of our Puritan fathers. The ocean voyage of the little band who set out in a small coastwise sailing vessel, which carried the eleven Quakers across the sea, is one of the most amazing tales of which we have any record. In addition to the eleven Quakers, the crew consisted of but
Progressive Men, Women, and Movements

two men and three boys. Not a soul on board the little craft knew anything of ocean navigation; but the Quaker band was imbued with faith that God would guide their vessel.

"Knowing nothing of navigation," says Mr. Holder, "the captain looked to his spiritual-minded passengers for guidance, and we have the singular spectacle of a vessel being sailed across the Atlantic, the helmsman each day taking his orders from the ministers, who daily held a silent Quaker meeting for this purpose. During this meeting one or more of the Friends would invariably receive an impression as to the course to pursue, which at the close of the meeting was conveyed to the captain, who laid the course until the following day. Early in the voyage they were threatened by a foreign fleet which attempted their capture, Humphrey Norton announcing in advance that they would meet with this danger; but he calmed the alarm of the captain by saying, 'Thus saith the Lord, ye shall be carried away as in a mist.' This was literally true; a fleet soon appeared and chased them, but the wind suddenly changed, and in the fog the Woodhouse escaped. One of the ministers then received word: 'Cut through and steer your straightest course and mind nothing but me.' This they did, holding a meeting each day and having such good fortune that but three meetings were omitted during the long voyage on account of storms."

Two months after leaving England, the Woodhouse sailed safely into Long Island Sound and her little band disembarked, thus ending an ocean voyage unique and unparalleled in the history of navigation.

Another resident of California who was a regular and very popular writer for "The Arena" during the stirring years of the early nineties, was the people's poet and apostle of social progress, James G. Clark. Many of his best poems, as well as his ablest essays, were contributed to our columns. Mr. Clark was a popular song writer, singer, and musical composer before the opening of the Civil War. His songs, "The Old Mountain Tree,"
“Meet Me at the Running Brook,” “The Rover’s Grave,” and “The Rock of Liberty” were extremely popular.

One day his mother, a deeply religious woman, asked him to write a hymn. As a result, he wrote “The Ever-Green Mountains of Life,” which instantly became very popular. He later composed many other hymns, the best known being, “Where the Roses Never Wither” and “The Isles of the By and By.”

During the early years of the war the poet traveled from town to town, singing the spirit of freedom into the hearts of the people, and arousing to action scores and hundreds of persons in every community visited, who had heretofore taken little interest in the pending struggle. In this way he raised many thousands of dollars for the Sanitary Commission and Soldiers’ Aid societies.

With the rise of the people’s movement in the early nineties, he became the people’s poet of the period. His “Freedom’s Reveille,” “The Fall of the New Babylon,” “All for One and One for All,” and other stirring poems written after he was past the sixtieth milestone, most of which first appeared in “The Arena,” were the most popular poems of those years of social awakening. “The People’s Battle-Hymn” was the campaign song of the People’s Party during General Weaver’s campaign.

Mr. Clark was deeply religious, a Christian spiritualist, a man of the noblest ethical idealism, a prophet of progress, and a passionate lover of social righteousness.

Among the prominent dramatic authors and actors who were contributors to “The Arena,” Dion Boucicault, Helena Modjeska, and James A. Herne were perhaps the most popular. Mr. Boucicault was a dramatist and actor of much skill and power. His plays, especially his Irish comedies, as well as his acting, won for him a measure of popularity enjoyed by few leaders in his profession. He represented the old dramatic order rather than the new school which drew its inspiration largely from Ibsen and Sudermann, and which aimed to make the stage truer to life. Boucicault was genial, pleasing, and entertaining in his social intercourse. The few hours I spent in his company were even more enjoyable than those I spent before the footlights.
when he was assuming leading rôles in his own plays; and this is saying much, as all will agree who looked forward to his annual engagement at the old Boston Museum, when he played a round of his Irish comedies, supported by the always admirable Museum stock company.

Helena Modjeska, the justly famous Shakespearean actress, was a delightful person to meet socially and a really wonderful example of what a woman of fine dramatic ability, nobly ambitious, and untiringly industrious, may accomplish in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. She was a poor Polish young woman in a poverty-stricken town of Austrian Poland, when in her effort to help relieve some unfortunate neighbors, poorer than herself, she got up a dramatic entertainment which was so successful that she was encouraged to go on the stage, where after encountering many difficulties that would have crushed one less inflexibly determined, she triumphed at Warsaw, the cultured capital of Russian Poland, and later in America and England.

James A. Herne was another of our contributors who had long since won a large measure of popularity with the theatre-going public. In the early nineties, when I first met Mr. Herne, he was living in Ashmont, a suburb of Boston. His long run of success in playing "Hearts of Oak" had been followed by a period of bad luck, and at that time his fortunes were at their ebb tide. The cause of the failure of this long-time favorite, who with his talented wife had won the hearts of tens of thousand of theatre-goers, was curious but not surprising.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Herne were at heart idealists. They possessed far more than the proverbial emotional Irish temperament, keen sense of humor, and appreciation of dramatic values. They were susceptible to the vision, and when it touched their heart and brain, the cheap, tawdry heroics of popular melodramas not only lost their charm, but became irksome to them, and their own play, "Hearts of Oak," depending so largely on stage effects and theatrical climaxes, fell far below their new standard of excellence. The virile dramas of Ibsen, the lucid and stimulating thought of Herbert Spencer, and the noble economic philosophy of
Henry George opened new intellectual horizons to the earnest actor-playwright and his gifted wife.

"Hearts of Oak," at first a failure, proved a gold-mine, netting the Hernes over one hundred thousand dollars, but they now determined to make a worthy contribution to American dramatic literature—a contribution that would be in keeping with the high new thought of our wonderful age. It was followed by "The Minute-Men," an ambitious play of Revolutionary days; and "Drifting Apart," a powerful temperance sermon in the form of a fascinating drama, marked the transition from the old to the new—to the serious and nobly realistic interpretations of present-day life. Both these dramas failed in spite of real merit, excellent acting, and adequate stage setting. To many thoughtful lovers of the theatre these failures were inexplicable, and yet the explanation was simple. In each instance Herne's old audiences, long schooled to look for startling stage effects and thrilling climaxes, found themselves in the presence of serious and earnest representations of life as it is; while the theatre-going public accustomed to patronize plays that were worth while, associating the Hernes with plays that made slight appeal to serious thinkers, naturally refrained from attending the new productions.

The cost of the production of these two dramas was so great as to exhaust most of Mr. Herne's resources; but such was his faith in his work that he was unwilling to forego the dream of winning success in plays that should at least be natural and realistic in the noblest sense of that much-abused term. Nor was he alone in his faith in his power. Among those who had become deeply interested in his work were William Dean Howells, then living on Commonwealth Avenue, J. J. Enneking, the painter, Hamlin Garland, and other thinkers of the new time—men and women of vision.

One day Hamlin Garland called on me and explained that Herne had written a powerful drama dealing with the double standard of morals. I recall very vividly his enthusiasm.

"Flower," he exclaimed, "it is a tremendously fine piece of work, and with Katherine Herne in the title rôle and Herne playing a character part in which he is simply great, I don't see how it can fail; but whether it does or not, if
we can get it before the Boston public it will introduce Herne to those theatre-goers whom he must win in order to succeed in his work. Now no manager has faith enough in Herne in his new rôle to give him a chance, and a lot of his friends are trying to arrange to have the play produced at Chickering Hall. I want your help."

I replied that I would gladly do what I could, but questioned the wisdom of attempting to produce a play where there were no stage facilities for a regular dramatic performance. However, the effort to get the hall and bring out the play was successful, and "Margaret Fleming" was produced several times before highly appreciative audiences composed of deeply thoughtful people, among whom were many leading thought-moulders of the day. The attendance, however, was not sufficiently large to pay expenses, so after a brief run the performances were discontinued.

Then came one of the most trying waiting periods, filled with perplexity and discouragement which would have led a less resolute character to abandon his ideal and again cater to the unthinking and undiscriminating many. But Mr. Herne had put his hand to the plough, and the vision haunted his every hour. He did not surrender, but set to work on a beautiful idyll of the simple life, which should mirror forth the thoughts, aspirations and every-day life of the common people in a Maine hamlet that fronted the sea.

After "Shore Acres" was written, the author made several ineffective attempts to induce managers to give it a trial. At last Hamlin Garland called on a young man in charge of one of the local theatres and eloquently urged the merits of the play. The manager declined to consider it, because he believed the public wanted more suggestive and inferior work. His answer was more expressive than elegant.

"Herne," he said, "writes good plays. They are too good to succeed, for the people want rotten plays—not too rotten, but just rotten enough."

At the darkest hour, however, as is so frequently the case, a door suddenly and unexpectedly opened. Mr. Field, the successful manager of the Boston Museum, had put on a play
which he confidently expected would have a long and prosper­ous run, but it proved such a dismal failure that he felt it must be taken off before he could prepare for the next scheduled production. Mr. Herne urged him to give “Shore Acres” a trial. A number of letters were sent by prominent citizens expressing confidence in the play. Field had little faith in it, but in his extremity he finally consented to give it a brief trial. On its production the “Transcript” and one or two other papers of influence gave it excellent extended notices, and for several evenings the attendance was encouraging. Then the box office receipts suddenly began to fall off and Field expressed the conviction that the play would have to come off at the end of the second week. Herne was in despair, but again his friends rallied to the support of the play. Those who saw it liked it, and by the end of the second week the audiences had so steadily increased that Mr. Field was quite content to continue it another week. Then followed that long and successful run that re-established Mr. Herne among the successful actor-playwrights whose work was fine, true and wholesome.

Dan Beard, illustrator, cartoonist, popular writer on outdoor life and sports, the ideal of the normal boy, and a strong Single-Taxer, contributed essays, stories, and cartoons to “The Arena.” Beard may be rightly called the father of what is most worthy and admirable in the Boy Scout movement. For years before Baden-Powell started the movement in England, Dan Beard had been interesting the American boys in woodland life and sports and seeking to educate them in the lore of the forest, while teaching them how to make canoes, build camps, and follow trails. His writings are well calculated to develop the normal and healthy side of life without arousing the accursed military spirit in the child.

Elbert Hubbard was well known to “The Arena” readers long before he founded “The Philistine.” While attending special lectures at Harvard, he spent much time in “The Arena” office. At that time we brought out his justly popular volume, “Forbes of Harvard,” and Mr. Hubbard materially aided us in extending the circulation of “The Arena.”
PART V.
THE DEFENCE OF VITAL FREEDOM
CHAPTER XXX.
THE BATTLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, AND FREE ASSEMBLY


THOMAS JEFFERSON was one of the strongest and most effective apostles of vital freedom among the master builders of the democratic State. "I am," he declared, "for freedom of religion, and against all manoeuvres to bring about a legal ascendancy of one sect over another; for freedom of press, and against all violations of the Constitution to silence by force, and not by reason, the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents. The liberty of speaking and writing guards our other liberties. Errors of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat them."

In 1859 Abraham Lincoln wrote a letter regretting his inability to accept an invitation to address the Republicans of Boston on Jefferson's birthday, in which he said:

"It is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation. The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society, and yet they are denied and evaded with no small show of success."

This danger, which Lincoln with his clear statesman's vision appreciated in '59, is one of the gravest perils that con-
fronts the friends of fundamental democracy to-day. Indeed, during the past twenty-five years there has gone forward a steady attempt to slowly undermine vital popular rights, such as freedom of thought and speech, freedom of assembly, the right of habeas corpus, and that of trial by jury. And hand in hand with these reactionary evils that are essentially destructive to free institutions, other assaults on popular rights have been marked by the encroachments upon legislative functions by the executive and judicial departments of Government; and these evils are growing rather than diminishing, being fostered by various reactionary religio-political influences as well as by the autocratic assumptions of privilege and the equally ominous imperialistic and bureaucratic arrogation of unwarranted powers by Government.

As yet our people have not come to realize how deadly is the danger, and how, under all manner of plausible pretexts, precedents are being established that are alike fatal to the most sacred rights of the individual, to intellectual growth, and to society's advancement, which can only come through freedom. Almost every beneficent truth in the fields of ethics, philosophy, and physical science has had to battle for its life against reaction, prejudice, superstition, or privilege, which have striven to suppress and destroy it, under the pretext of the "general good" or the protection of the people from dangerous error.

The chief reason for the marvelous advance in science, intellectual development, moral growth, and the upward sweep of civilization since the democratic era is due to the large measure of liberty of speech, press, and assembly that was one of the greatest of all the blessings won from entrenched power, ancient prejudice, and dogmatic theology by the democratic revolution.

The spectacle of consistent and determined enforcement upon the principles of freedom should arouse the inspiration of Lincoln's faith in freedom and fearless friend of
to the world, thus stated in concrete terms one of the most fundamental facts underlying a free State or a democratic society worthy of the name:

"No matter whose the lips that speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth, you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion, no matter how wide its range. The community which does not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves."

Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, in his brilliant generalizations and apostrophes which scintillated through his popular lectures and speeches, did much to awaken many people to the importance of liberty; yet it is to be regretted that he spent so little time in showing how reaction was stealthily destroying vital liberty. A few striking cases, with logical deductions, would have greatly aided in arousing the people.

Shortly after starting "The Arena" I spent a very enjoyable hour with Col. Ingersoll, when he spoke with approval of the lines from Heine which we had taken as a motto.

"It is an excellent keynote for your magazine," he said. "But," he added, "if I were starting a magazine, I should take this splendid truth of Shakespeare as my motto, 'There is no darkness but ignorance,' and I would write under that, 'And there is nothing so safe as freedom.'"

Then, eloquently and in that vivid and epigrammatic style of which he was a master, he sketched the historic past, showing how ignorance and intellectual bondage had checked progress and darkened the lives of millions; how, with the advent of popular education, came freedom for the brain and some recognition of the rights of man, woman, and child, which awakened civilization and ushered in an age of progress and development unapproached in history. He closed with one of those rare bursts of eloquence that were quite as frequent in his conversation as when he became enthused by a great theme on the lecture platform. I
cannot at this moment reproduce his noble apostrophe to freedom, but I remember that it stirred me exactly as did a very similar outburst when he uttered these words, in closing an eloquent lecture on “The Liberty of Man, Woman and Child”:

“Wait until the world is free before you write a creed.

“In this creed there will be but one world—Liberty.

“Oh Liberty, float not forever in the fair horizon—remain not forever in the dream of the enthusiast, the philanthropist and poet, but come and make thy home among the children of men!

“I know not what discoveries, what inventions, what thoughts may leap from the brain of the world. I know not what garments of glory may be woven by the years to come. I cannot dream of the victories to be won upon the fields of thought; but I do know, that coming from the infinite sea of the future, there will never touch this bank and shoal of time’ a richer gift, a rarer blessing than liberty for man, for woman, and for child.”

At the close of his eulogy of freedom, I remember that I replied that some of the worst industrial crimes of our age and century were being perpetuated in the name of freedom. Look at child slavery in England and America. Look at the sweatshops, with womanhood being crushed, under conditions that foster disease and destroy all that makes life worth while. Yet, I said, we must remember that the apologists insist that the employer has the right to get his labor in the cheapest market and to produce his wares at as little cost as possible; so the man gives place to the woman, and the woman to the child.

“Ah!” said Col. Ingersoll, “that is not freedom; that is slavery—inhuman slavery. The law of freedom gives no man letters of marque and reprisal by which, in justice, he can do anything that violates the equal law of liberty or oppresses another; much less does freedom sanction oppression of the weak and defenceless. They are her special charge. Freedom conserves the right of all, protecting the mind from the jailors of superstition, bigotry, and intolerance, and the body from the oppression of greed. No, liberty is the protector of the weak, the servant of progress, the hope of civilization.”
It would require several chapters merely to outline the numerous instances of arrogation of autocratic power, invasion of just popular rights, and grave abuses of the injunction power which have marked recent decades in our history. The tragic shooting of peaceable citizens marching on the highway in Pennsylvania some years ago has been followed by almost incredible disregard for the constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly in many instances, and this abuse of power has even gone so far as to officially forbid the giving of food to starving strikers. The arrest and imprisonment of industrial or political leaders on flimsy charges that would not have been entertained for a moment if the accused had represented conventional or conservative forces of society, have done more than most statesmen or publicists imagine to arouse a most ominous spirit of resentment in tens of thousands of justice-loving people. The arbitrary exhibition of bureaucratic power by the Post Office Department, in instances where men have been branded as frauds and refused the use of the mails, without having been first granted a trial or the opportunity to defend themselves before a jury of their peers from the ruinous charges of the bureaus, is another form of despotism borrowed from Russia and other reactionary and despotic lands and which strikes at the very vitals of free government or the democratic order.

This essential lawlessness or disregard for fundamental principles of freedom and justice on the part of Government and officials, has in recent years emboldened certain reckless leaders of reactionary bodies to attempt to suppress free speech, by breaking up public assemblies, doing bodily harm to public speakers, and otherwise attempting to prevent freedom of speech.

Against all these dangerous assaults on fundamental justice and free government, a group of high-minded citizens have in recent years voiced the spirit of Jefferson, Lincoln, and Phillips in a splendid and morally courageous manner. It is impossible to notice all these workers, even among those who were contributors to "The Arena" and "The Twentieth Century Magazine." I shall therefore have to content myself with a brief notice of a few typical leaders
who were among our contributors and who have done great service to the cause of progress, justice, and human rights by bravely fighting the people's battle in the present crucial hour in the history of popular government.

Foremost among these apostles of freedom is Theodore Schroeder, a master spirit in the Free Speech League. Mr. Schroeder is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. His father was a district judge and the son followed law as his profession. Shortly after graduating, he moved to Salt Lake City. He had read many attacks against the Mormons and had come to the conclusion that they might be the victims of intolerance and bigotry; that they were probably being misrepresented, and in that event he proposed to do what he could to right the wrong. He fortunately gained access to the secret books and libraries of the Mormons, and after making a thorough study of the subject he did not feel warranted in championing their cause, and came to New York, where he began practicing law. The defence of the weak and unfortunate, however, has commanded much of his time. In the cause of free speech he has done probably more than any other single individual of recent years to awaken thought-moulders to the peril of the present situation. He is a contributor to a number of the leading law journals and has compiled a valuable "Free Press Anthology." He was a valued contributor to "The Arena," one of his most powerful papers being a circumstantial exposé of the un-American and undemocratic spy system of our Post Office Department.

Personally I differ with Mr. Schroeder on several points—in religion, for example, we hold widely different views. This, however, is right and proper so long as we each hold that the other has precisely the same right to his views that we have to our own. I know no man in whom the passion for fundamental justice glows with such radiance as in Theodore Schroeder. I know of no man to-day who is so consistently and unobtrusively extending the helping hand to the helpless as the master spirit of the Free Speech League.

Another man who deserves special notice for his loyalty and devotion to the principles of freedom and human rights
is Bolton Hall. He early came under the transforming spell of Henry George’s economic gospel. The son of a distinguished and popular metropolitan clergyman, Bolton Hall had the moral courage to stand for principles in opposition to the positive views of his father and his associates. Later he also became a disciple of the Nazarene in a larger sense than most men of to-day. For years he has wrought, in book, essay, parable, and paragraph, for the happiness, the larger life, and the well-being of others and in defence of vital liberty for all the people. He is the author of a number of eminently practical works dealing with the land and the people and was one of the promoters of the movement to utilize the vacant lots in and about cities for the benefit of the industrious poor, after the plan inaugurated by Mayor Hazen Pingree of Detroit. Among his most important principal volumes are “Things as They Are,” “Free America,” “Three Acres and Liberty,” “The Garden Yard,” “What Tolstoi Taught,” and “The Mastery of Grief.”

Ernest H. Crosby, whose untimely death made such a breach in the picket-line of true progress, was ever a valiant champion of liberty. Like Bolton Hall, Mr. Crosby was the son of a distinguished New York City clergyman. Shortly after completing his education and entering upon the practice of law, he was elected to the State Legislature of New York, where he was appalled by the prevalence of corruption masquerading under the robes of respectability and deceiving the people with high-sounding but insincere words. He had hoped to become an influence for good in reforming state politics and advancing noble reforms, but he soon became convinced that under prevailing conditions his only hope of success depended upon his silencing his conscience and compromising his moral integrity. He therefore gave up his cherished dream, for he felt the people would long be the victims of precedent and convention.

After leaving the Legislature, Mr. Crosby was tendered the office of Judge of the Mixed Tribunals at Alexandria, Egypt. This position he gladly accepted, as he felt he could prove himself a just judge and a true man. In many respects the position was congenial to the young scholar and
Of the Past Twenty-five Years

idealistic, but one day one of Count Tolstoi's germinal and soul-searching messages fell into his hands. Here was a man who seemed to have learned the high meaning of life, a man who in the nineteenth century dared to take Christ seriously and to follow in the footsteps of the Nazarene, and who through so doing had found peace which he himself had so long and so earnestly craved. So profoundly was he influenced by Count Tolstoi's writings that he resigned his position and made a pilgrimage to the home of the great Russian. During their conversations, Tolstoi spoke of the great work for human freedom, justice, and emancipation which the illustrious American philosopher, Henry George, had given to the world. From that hour Mr. Crosby became an earnest student of Henry George and whole-heartedly accepted the land philosophy.

With broadened vision and new faith and enthusiasm, he returned to America determined to devote the remainder of his life to the cause of humanity. He was the champion of justice, of peace, and of the cause of the oppressed. Whenever and wherever he felt that an individual was wrongfully treated, or that a cause was right, it mattered not if the whole world were against him, he stood resolutely for what he conceived to be his duty—characteristics which also mark the lives of Bolton Hall and Theodore Schroeder. Mr. Crosby was the author of a number of books instinct with the loftiest spiritual truth. There is in them the rugged democracy of Whitman and something of the austerity of Tolstoi; the clear-visioned sense of justice and human rights which marked the writings of Henry George, and the luminous love that glorifies the Sermon on the Mount.

Another of the efficient leaders in this fundamental battle which carries with it the hope of true democracy and of untrammeled progress, enlightenment, and human development, is Leonard D. Abbott. As writer, speaker, and worker, he is displaying anew that moral courage that has marked the men and women who in all the great crises of history, when freedom and progress have been imperilled by entrenched despotism, ignorance, intolerance, dogmatism, or reaction, have dared to risk all for vital truth
and liberty. Mr. Abbott is by birth an Englishman, having been born in Liverpool in 1878. In 1897 he came to America. Two years later he accepted a position as associate editor of "Current Literature," now "Current Opinion." He has been prominently associated with the Socialists as well as the leaders of the movement to preserve freedom of speech, press, and assembly. He was one of the leading founders of the Rand School of Social Science and of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. As President of the Free Speech League and of the Francisco Ferrer Association he has accomplished much for the cause of liberty and general enlightenment. He is an able author and editor. His "Ernest Howard Crosby, A Valuation and Tribute," and "Francisco Ferrer, His Life, Work, and Martyrdom," are especially worth while. Mr. Abbott in the latter association is striving to carry forward the noble ideals of the great educator and apostle of progress who some years ago suffered martyrdom in Spain.

Henry George, Jr., is another champion of popular freedom who has performed special service in combatting the aggressions of the judiciary, especially in certain mining and manufacturing States where abuses of the injunction power, the odious "constructive contempt" of court, and virtual government by judges have threatened to break down the democratic order.

Mr. George when a boy adopted journalism as a profession. He early manifested his father's passion for justice, freedom, and fundamental democracy. As journalist, author of "The Menace of Privilege" and other important works, and as a member of Congress, he has loyally and resolutely stood for the great principles of freedom and human rights.

In 1890 Postmaster-General Wanamaker excluded from the mails Count Tolstoi's "Kreutzer Sonata." This attempted censorship, however, aroused such a storm of protest from magazines and newspapers that the prohibition did not stand. At that time I pointed out at length, in an article entitled "The Postmaster-General and the Censorship of Morals," the menace of this arrogated censorship to the cause of wholesome freedom and sound morality. I
that the major cause of preventable misery and suffering of the people has ever been due to the oppression and restriction of privilege enjoying monopoly, and thus possessing the taxing and enslaving power over the masses. The conflict of the ages has been a battle between privilege, under her ever-changing form, and the people, who, striving to be free from the crushing burden of monopoly or restriction upon rightful freedom, have found Government the strong arm of privileged classes. Privilege impoverishes the many for the enrichment of the favored few, and when it enters the realm of experimental knowledge or theory, it retards scientific advance and the growth that ever goes hand in hand with liberty, while robbing the individual of sacred rights at once intimate and essential to his full-orbed development, happiness, and well-being.

Every page of history bears melancholy evidence of the blighting curse of privilege on the physical, mental, and moral progress of mankind. Considered from the purely material view-point, we find that law-bolwarked privilege, possessing monopoly power, has always fattened off of productive industry. Possessing as it does taxing power, it is able to exact from the producing and consuming millions a tribute far in excess of a fair return for the capital invested and services rendered. Such oppression not only strikes at the happiness and prosperity of the people, but is inimical and in the end destructive to fundamental democracy.

But baleful as is the influence of privilege in the realm of commercial activity, the evil dwarfs into insignificance when compared with its influence in fields that are largely speculative or theoretical; for here, while exerting the same impoverishing and demoralizing effects that mark it in the domain of material life, it encroaches on things intimately personal. Religion and the healing art afford two striking historic illustrations of this fact.

During the Dark Ages intellectual stagnation marked Western civilization, because along all the highways of spiritual thought and experimental philosophy, restriction instead of freedom obtained, by reason of an all-powerful religious privileged class. With the rise of the New Learning and the Protestant Reformation came a powerful re-
CHAPTER XXXI.

MEDICAL FREEDOM, OR THE STORY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PRIVILEGE AND THE PEOPLE IN THE HEALING ART


He who approaches every question with candid mind, open to truth and with a desire to know where lie equity and justice, will usually be able to see the true face behind the most pleasing mask that privilege may wear, and detect the essential sophistry of the most plausible plea that self-interest, masquerading under the robe of altruism, may advance.

To the student of history no fact is more apparent or pregnant with suggestive truth than that the happiness, prosperity, and development of the millions and the true progress of civilization have been chiefly retarded throughout the historic past by law-bulwarked privilege, on the one hand, and entrenched conventionalism assuming infallibility, on the other.

Had we a phonograph record vocalizing the tragic cry of earth’s millions throughout the ages, it would be found
that the major cause of preventable misery and suffering of the people has ever been due to the oppression and restriction of privilege enjoying monopoly, and thus possessing the taxing and enslaving power over the masses. The conflict of the ages has been a battle between privilege, under her ever-changing form, and the people, who, striving to be free from the crushing burden of monopoly or restriction upon rightful freedom, have found Government the strong arm of privileged classes. Privilege impoverishes the many for the enrichment of the favored few, and when it enters the realm of experimental knowledge or theory, it retards scientific advance and the growth that ever goes hand in hand with liberty, while robbing the individual of sacred rights at once intimate and essential to his full-orbed development, happiness, and well-being.

Every page of history bears melancholy evidence of the blighting curse of privilege on the physical, mental, and moral progress of mankind. Considered from the purely material viewpoint, we find that law-bulwarked privilege, possessing monopoly power, has always fattened off of productive industry. Possessing as it does taxing power, it is able to exact from the producing and consuming millions a tribute far in excess of a fair return for the capital invested and services rendered. Such oppression not only strikes at the happiness and prosperity of the people, but is inimical and in the end destructive to fundamental democracy.

But baleful as is the influence of privilege in the realm of commercial activity, the evil dwarfs into insignificance when compared with its influence in fields that are largely speculative or theoretical; for here, while exerting the same impoverishing and demoralizing effects that mark it in the domain of material life, it encroaches on things intimately personal. Religion and the healing art afford two striking historic illustrations of this fact.

During the Dark Ages intellectual stagnation marked Western civilization, because along all the highways of spiritual thought and experimental philosophy, restriction instead of freedom obtained, by reason of an all-powerful religious privileged class. With the rise of the New Learning and the Protestant Reformation came a powerful re-
volt against the intolerance and assumed infallibility of the dominant power in society. This civilization-moulding struggle was a clear-cut battle between two mighty age-long world theories—conservative, privilege-seeking restriction on the one hand, and progress under the ægis of freedom, on the other. In every land where freedom triumphed, and man was accorded the right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience and the privilege to search for truth along all the highways of learning, an onward and upward movement marked the passing years; and what was more, the progress attained was in proportion to the freedom enjoyed. Science, discovery, and invention vied with one another in unlocking the treasure-houses of knowledge and achieving blessing-bearing victories for the children of men.

What is true of religion is equally true when we come to the healing art, for here again, in the twilight zone of belief, speculation, theory, and experimentation, privilege seeks to shackle nonconformist thought, to outlaw the scientist, the philosopher, and the apostle of new truths, whose methods of practice do not conform to the dogmas of the privilege-bulwarked class, and to rob the people of the right and benefit of personally testing the virtue or truth of the newer systems or methods. Thus all attempts on the part of a school, creed, or class to protect itself and obtain monopoly rights by restrictive legislation, check progress, for sound scientific advancement is only possible where freedom obtains. Monopoly or class protection in any speculative or theoretical field leads to moral or intellectual stagnation, or to both.

Nor is this all. Not only does restrictive legislation, when it invades a field so essentially speculative in character that it is represented by several schools of practice holding widely divergent theories, tend to check that free and independent investigation to which scientific progress, as past history amply testifies, is largely indebted, but it infringes on the most sacred right of the individual.

The history of civilization—that long, sad story of humanity’s slow advance—contains no darker pages and none more pregnant with solemn lessons for present-day society
than those which record the struggle of new truths with the ever arrogant and intolerant conventional error, which, as has always been the case, assumed to embody the truth and claimed the right, in the interest of the spiritual or physical welfare of the people, to crush the apostle of progress, the prophet of truth, and the scientific savant who dared to face the dawn rather than blindly worship at the shrine of the past; and it is a fact known to all students of history that the privileged, entrenched class that seeks to crush or slay the thinker with a new message and place a ban on his teachings, does so under the pretext of protecting the people. It is always the spiritual or physical well-being that is advanced as the ostensible reason for restrictive legislation that outlaws successful innovators, while enormously increasing the power and revenue of the protected class.

No one can study the history of the healing art without being impressed with the fact that organized medicine has always been intolerant. When Hahnemann, one of the most distinguished regular physicians of Germany, sought to bring order out of medical chaos and formulated a new philosophy of cure, his remarkable success in the treatment of the sick soon aroused the fierce opposition of his more orthodox and less successful medical brethren, who combined and succeeded in driving the illustrious physician from Leipsic and other German cities. He took refuge in Paris, where under freedom he was enabled to carry out his work and establish a great school of cure.

While the medical monopolists in the Old World were able either to prevent the rise and onward march of new systems or greatly cripple them, in America for over fifty years, in most commonwealths, the robust spirit of democracy was strong enough to safeguard the people's rights and protect scientific research, outside of orthodox lines, from the privilege-seeking class. For half a century, however, and in some States for a much longer period, the old school of medicine has steadily, persistently and with increasing aggressiveness driven by the step-by-step method to cripple, weaken, destroy, or outlaw all rival schools of medicine and methods of cure, in order that the protected class may enjoy monopoly in the healing art and enormously add to its revenues by controlling the health activities of the people.
Furthermore, the simple record of the persistent attempt by the privilege-seeking doctors to deprive the people, by restrictive legislation, of their cherished right to employ the practitioners of their choice, is so clear and definite as to establish beyond question the truth of this serious charge.

A brief survey of the uninterrupted attempts of the old school State medical societies to obtain restrictive or monopolistic laws, since they realized they could not successfully compete with other schools and systems of cure in a free field, will prove at once illuminating and convincing.

More than fifty years ago the political doctors of the various State medical societies, which to-day are integral parts of the American Medical Association, began their attempts to take from the people by law the right to employ the practitioners of their choice. Later, when the commercial monopolies began to arise, the attempts of these privilege-seeking doctors, who so keenly felt the need of legal protection, became increasingly determined and insistent, but the spirit of '76 was still abroad in the land. The people were in the earlier days very jealous of their dearly bought rights to political, religious, and medical freedom, and the privilege-seeking doctors had to move with great caution. The advance was by the well known step-by-step method, the first attack being made on other medical schools or physicians dispensing drugs.

Under the ægis of freedom, homeopathy had made splendid progress in the New World. The superior results of this treatment over the heroic methods and ever-changing empiricism of the old school were more and more rapidly winning the confidence of the people. Eclecticism or the American system of medicine also arose, and so marked was its success over the old so-called regular practice that it promised soon to become a formidable rival of orthodox medicine. In the presence of these rapidly growing schools, the so-called regular doctors realized that if they were to hold their own, they must secure special legislation that would weaken, cripple, and probably in time destroy the newer schools. The law-makers were accordingly appealed to, but homeopathy had grown too powerful to be outlawed, and the most that could be done, for a time at
least, was to place it at a great disadvantage. It was given minority representation on the medical boards. Its practice was not recognized or permitted in the Federal Government. In most States the old school also had control of the public health activities, such as hospitals and asylums, and through all the multitudinous wiles that could be employed by a powerful self-seeking organization bent on monopoly power and advantage, homeopathy was placed at a disadvantage and thus weakened.

Eclecticism, being a newer school, had a still harder battle to fight. It was frequently outlawed, and where it held its own it was, as a rule, given so small a representation on the boards that it was in a hopeless minority. Indeed, representatives of both the homeopathic and the eclectic schools usually constituted a minority of the entire board, enabling the old school to dominate. Moreover, year by year the weaker schools had to battle with the aggressive demands of the comparatively well organized allopathic school, with the result that the constant menace of unfriendly legislation tended to greatly check the hitherto rapid growth of homeopathy and eclecticism and greatly cripple their educational institutions. A business man well understands that a growing and flourishing commercial organization can be wrecked and destroyed by the constant threat of destruction or unfriendly legislation hanging over it; and but for the splendid comparative record of homeopathy and eclecticism, these schools doubtless would have succumbed through their constant hampering by legal machinations and the arbitrary discriminations of boards and bodies where the majority was made up of the hostile old school. Judging from the rapid growth, the steady rise, and the increasing popular favor of the newer schools so long as freedom obtained, it is safe to say that had they been untrammeled by restrictive laws and the constant attempt at unfriendly legislation, they would long ere this have possessed great and flourishing colleges, equal to, or greater than, any of the old school institutions; while it is impossible to estimate the damage done to the cause of science and the healing art by this fettering of freedom, obtained through the privilege-seeking school. For both these new systems of cure were
far less dangerous than allopathy, with its unbounded faith in the most deadly drugs and its heroic methods of practice. Then again, the master spirits of the new systems were less the slaves of old concepts and dogmas. They had little or no faith in the deadly heroic treatments of the older generations, while, belonging to minority schools, their physicians had to observe a degree of caution in their practice which is always necessary for the innovator who knows he has a powerful and hostile enemy watching for mistakes in order to discredit him.

Scientific progress, the safety of the people's bodies, and the right of the citizens all suffered through this self-seeking legislation of the State societies that are to-day integral parts of the American Medical Association—legislation enacted under the insincere plea of being for the protection of the people's health instead of the protection and enrichment of the class seeking legal advantage and protection.

In the early attempts at restrictive medical legislation, the political doctors did not dare to make such sweeping demands as would arouse the general public's opposition, for they well understood that the people were still keenly alive to the wonderful advance in knowledge in all domains of research since the era of freedom and democracy had taken the place of the Dark Ages with its intolerance, prohibition, and class and creedal assumptions. Hence, they silenced all public clamor by disavowing any desire to interfere with the rights of those who chose to employ persons who did not administer drugs. It was represented that the laws demanded were only to save the people from the danger of being poisoned by ignorant practitioners, charlatans, and quacks. By this shrewd method, the monopoly-seeking doctors prevented the homeopathic and eclectic physicians from securing the popular support that would have rendered unjust restrictive legislation impossible. The great majority of citizens little appreciated the real significance of the battle being fought between the rival schools, and under the freedom that was permitted for practitioners who did not employ drugs, hydropathy, magnetic treatment, and later osteopathy, together with other systems of cure that eschewed drugs and depended on external applications and
manipulations, grew in favor with astounding rapidity. Great hydropathic institutions and sanitariums were successfully established, and magnetic and massage practices grew in favor, simply because the results satisfied a large number of people that the benefits derived were greater than those obtained from drug medication.

Later arose osteopathy, a more scientific method of treatment through intelligent manipulation of the physical organs. Its success under freedom was as marked as its spread was rapid. Before the monopoly-seeking doctors realized the hold it had taken on the people, flourishing schools had been established and those who owed health to osteopathy were so numerous that the new school began to seriously encroach on the revenues of the drug-dispensing doctors. Hence all over the country the American Medical Association began its campaign to outlaw the osteopaths. Happily for the cause of progress, the simple cures made by the new method where old school doctors had signally failed, prevented the success of the monopoly-seeking doctors in many States. Still the battle is raging. It is now a recognized practice in many States, and there is little doubt but what the American Medical Association cherished the hope and expectation of ultimately succeeding, through legislation, in depriving the people at an early date of the legal right to enjoy the treatment of osteopathy and other methods of external treatment of disease.

Still later, the chiropractic treatment arose in our midst, its practitioners seeking to restore nervous equilibrium by scientific manipulation of the parts of the body governing the nervous system. It has already become quite a popular school of practice in many sections of the country, numbering its practitioners by the thousands and its patients by the tens of thousands. Yet here as elsewhere there is a persistent and determined effort on the part of the monopoly-seeking class to take from the citizen—even the one who has failed to receive any benefit from the regular practitioners—the right to employ a chiropractic physician, though experience has convinced him that the new practitioner is relieving or curing his disease.

Even after the monopoly-seeking doctors had commenced
their campaign against those who employed external methods in the treatment of disease, they disavowed all desire to interfere with the freedom of the people in treatments of disease, if the healing was a part of their religious convictions, or to interfere with those who practiced such treatment as a part of their religious belief, unless they administered deadly drugs. Here again, under freedom, a mighty revolution in therapeutic theories has resulted, and hundreds of thousands of cures of the sick, who in a large number of instances had been pronounced victims of supposedly incurable diseases by the flower of the medical profession, have resulted in seriously diminishing the revenues of the drug-dispensing doctors. And what is even quite as significant, and for the well-being of civilization of far greater moment, is the fact that the cures made by the chief representatives of this newer treatment have been accomplished through a direct appeal to the spiritual nature that has resulted in moral reformation as well as physical cure. The older treatments have left the invalid where they found him; the newer treatment, in most cases by awakening his moral nature, has led him from sensuous or sensual domination to spiritual supremacy. And so great have been the physical healings that the trust-seeking doctors are now as thoroughly alarmed as were the image-makers of Ephesus when through the preaching of the Apostles the supremacy of Diana was menaced. Hence they have formed a mighty nation-wide political machine or organization, and are advancing along three definite lines in order to gain absolute monopoly of the healing art. From the Atlantic to the Pacific in various States they are seeking to obtain greater legislative protection for themselves—protection that will place the pocket-books and bodies of the people more completely at their mercy. At the same time they are striving to secure national legislation on the one hand, while endeavoring to fasten on the tax-payers a vast army of fear-creating, State-salaried medical inspectors who will virtually be drummers for the protected doctors.

Many of those who are most industriously seeking to secure the national legislation that the American Medical Association demands, are making the old-time plea by de-
declaring that there is no real desire or intention on the part of the American Medical Association to interfere with anyone's religious opinions or medical prejudices by preventing him from enjoying the practitioner of his choice, and especially do they declare that there is no desire to do anything that would go contrary to the religious tenets of any church; that there is no attempt being made to place the people at the mercy of those who through legal protective laws have gained special advantages in the past. But the general history of restrictive legislation refutes—completely refutes, these claims, while recent acts serve in a striking manner to re-emphasize the insincerity of all such pretenses. Let us consider some concrete illustrations that tend to expose the hypocrisy of all those who in the future may make such reckless claims. In States where the trust-seeking doctors think they have weakened the opposition through monopoly laws to such a point that it will be safe to take a further step, they seek to cripple and outlaw those who insist on taking the Founder of Christianity seriously and following His solemn and explicit commands. The method usually resorted to is to try to secure legislation forbidding practitioners to make charges for treatment. True, Christ declared when He sent out His seventy disciples and instructed them to heal "all manner of disease," that the laborer was worthy of his hire, but the privilege-seeking doctors endeavor to prevent the practitioner who cures those they have failed to successfully treat from receiving any remuneration for the benefits bestowed, if the cure is made by following the commands of the great Nazarene. In Ohio, Maryland, and some other States, such fundamentally unjust laws have been secured by the political doctors, and under these laws the physicians who have doctored their patients into the grave can collect princely fees from the widows and orphans, while the man who cures the patient whom the drug doctors have failed to benefit must not charge a fee for his time or the service rendered.

The great object which the monopoly-seeking doctors have in view is so to weaken Christian healing practitioners as to render it possible for them to obtain their real object—that is, laws that take from thousands and tens of thou-
sands of conscientious and intelligent citizens the right to enjoy the healing practice that is a part of their religious faith, and to prevent those who have been thus cured from further enjoying the successful treatment. Such laws, fostered by organized avarice, make law-loving citizens law-breaking citizens, and are at once unjust, un-American, and iniquitous. That the object of the privilege-seeking doctors is to outlaw Christian Science and other drugless healing methods is clearly shown by attempts made in Ohio and elsewhere, to follow the enactment of laws forbidding practitioners to charge fees by prohibitory legislation.

Nor is this all. When they find that the popular representatives cannot be induced to grant them the monopoly rights they so covet, by taking from the people the rightful protection they enjoy, they seek to outlaw the non-conformist practitioners by harassing them through court proceedings, even though in so doing they deliberately violate the very provisions granting protection to these practitioners that they themselves had agreed to.

It has long been the custom of the representatives of State medicine to indignantly resent charges of greed, self-interest, hypocrisy, and bad faith, and doubtless they would like to be able to deny this very serious charge. But unhappily for them, we have recently beheld in New York City a convincing example of this insincerity or bad faith that runs through the web and woof wherever organized greed seeks to weave for itself a cloth of gold from the hard earnings of industry upon the loom of unjust special legislation.

In New York City the county medical society secured the indictment of Mr. Willis Vernon Cole, a successful Christian Science practitioner, on the plea that he was practicing medicine, though Mr. Cole did nothing more than undertake to heal by prayer or to carry out the positive injunction of the Founder of Christianity. At the trial the case was decided against the Christian Science practitioner. Later the Appelate Division of the Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the lower court. Seldom has the bad faith of the representatives of privilege-seeking doctors been more clearly illustrated than in this case, as will be seen from the following extract from an article in one of the New York
dailies by Mr. Eugene Cox, in which he shows that the exemption protecting Christian Scientists was agreed to in the existing statutes by the very society that has now secured the indictment of the Christian Science practitioner.

"An interesting phase of the case," observes Mr. Cox, "is that the County Medical Society claims to be desirous of testing the law which exempts from the provisions of the medical practice act those practicing the religious tenets of a church.

"This is interesting because this exemption was put in the law by the attorney for the County Medical Society when it was framed, four years ago. And no case of its being invoked in the defense of any Christian Science practitioner is on record. Hence it is somewhat difficult to understand the sudden desire for its judicial interpretation."

This pitiful exhibition of bad faith is merely one of numbers of instances that might be cited, showing to what lengths privilege-seeking bodies dominated by materialistic commercialism will go in their attempt to prevent free citizens from enjoying the priceless privilege of being cured when the old school doctors have failed to give them relief; for almost every Christian Science practitioner has effected many cures of patients who had long and vainly sought relief from the law-bulwarked doctors.

If the Founder of Christianity were in New York to-day and should do as He did in Palestine when He sent forth His seventy disciples to cure "all manner of disease," He and the disciples sent forth would be subject to arrest and imprisonment for curing the sick whom the monopoly-seeking doctors had failed to cure. As a matter of fact, there are tens of thousands of intelligent citizens who can easily be brought before a Government commission, and who will under oath, corroborated by credible witnesses, prove that after seeking vainly for cures from orthodox doctors, after wasting their financial sustenance fruitlessly on the law-protected class, and frequently after the regular doctors had said they were suffering from so-called incurable diseases, they have been completely restored to physical health, as well as morally regenerated, through Christian Science. And yet, so greedy is this most evil of all would-be monopolies, so
intolerant of all new theories and methods of cure, so alarmed at the greater success of the nonconformist treatment, and so determined to take from the citizen the right to enjoy the practitioner of his choice, that it makes such an exhibition of bad faith as the above, which is also a most eloquent confession that it dares not compete on merit with the newer methods of cure.

The hollow and over-worked pretense of the public good, which every merciless and avaricious monopoly uses as a pretext when asking for protection or special privileges, ceases to serve as a mask for the greed and lust for power that dominates this most empirical of all schools of medicine, which for its own enrichment seeks to rob the citizen of his rights.

The doctors know that the people have never asked that their liberties be abridged. They know that but for their insistent and selfish activity in seeking restrictive monopoly laws, the newer and more successful schools or methods of cure would have made wonderful strides. They know from bitter experience that in spite of their desperate efforts for monopoly privileges, they are ever in peril through the appearance in a community of representatives of one of the newer schools or methods of cure. They know that time and again there have appeared in various communities doctors and practitioners representing new methods of treatment, who, finding several invalids who have been abandoned by the regular doctors as incurable, have offered to treat them free of charge in order to demonstrate the success of the new system, and they know that when this has been the case, frequently a number of these cases have been restored to health, after which, naturally enough, many other sick in the community, who have been unsuccessfully treated by the regular profession, insist on trying the new method, and the revenue of the law-protected doctor is thus materially diminished. Whenever, through success, a new practitioner becomes formidable, the old school physician at once appeals to the law which his school has secured for its protection. They do not fear nor are they concerned about the unsuccessful practitioner, but the very moment their own revenues are imperiled through the successful results of the newer methods, the law is invoked.
The pretext is always the same—the conserving or protection of the health of the people and the raising of the standard of learning; yet many of the ablest scientists, philosophers, educators, and even physicians great enough to rise above professional prejudice or self-interest, hold as a truism a fact which history amply emphasizes—namely, that in all fields of experimental knowledge, freedom and not restriction is the condition essential to scientific advancement as well as to popular rights.

My first interest in medical freedom was awakened in the seventies of the last century when, at the Kentucky University, a friend loaned me a copy of Herbert Spencer’s “Social Statics,” where I read his magnificent argument for medical freedom, in which he said:

“Moved as are the projectors of a railway, who, whilst secretly hoping for salaries, persuade themselves and others that the proposed railway will be beneficial to the public—moved as all men are under such circumstances, by nine parts of self-interest gilt over with one part of philanthropy—surgeons and physicians are vigorously striving to erect a medical establishment akin to our religious one. Little do the public at large know how actively professional publications are agitating for state-appointed overseers of the public health.

“There is an unmistakable wish to establish an organized, tax-supported class, charged with the health of men’s bodies as the clergy are charged with the health of their souls. And whoever has watched how institutions grow—how by little and little a very innocent-looking infancy unfolds into a formidable maturity, with vested interests, political influence, and a strong instinct of self-preservation, will see that the germs here peeping forth are quite capable, under favorable circumstances, of developing into such an organization.”

Herbert Spencer was strongly seconded by such authoritative thinkers as Prof. Thomas H. Huxley and Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace in England and Prof. W. J. Youmans and Prof. William James in America. Prof. James’ protest against medical monopolistic legislation deserves special
attention because of his being a foremost medical educator of the old school. In 1898 he appeared before the Health Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature to protest against a bill which the Massachusetts Medical Society was seeking to have passed, and during the course of his remarks he said:

"Mr. Chairman: I rise to protest against this bill. I come to represent no body of persons with special interests, but simply as a private citizen interested in good laws, and in the growth of medical knowledge. . . . I hold a medical degree from Harvard University. I belonged for many years to the most scientific of our medical societies. I have taught anatomy and physiology, and now teach mental pathology in Harvard College. The presumption is that I am also interested in science. I am indeed; and it is, in fact because I see in this bill (along with some good intentions) a movement in favor of ignorance that I am here to oppose it.

"It will inevitably trammel the growth of medical experience and knowledge. Were medicine at present a finished science, with all practitioners in agreement about methods of treatment, such a bill as this, to make it penal to treat a patient without having passed an examination, would be unobjectionable. But it would also be unnecessary then. No one would attempt to cure people without the instruction required.

"But the present condition of medical knowledge is widely different from such a state. Both as to principle and as to practice our knowledge is deplorably imperfect. The whole face of medicine changes unexpectedly from one generation to another, in consequence of widening experience; and as we look back, with a mixture of horror and amusement at the practice of our grandfathers, so we cannot be sure how large a portion of our present practice will awaken similar feelings in our posterity.

"My duty is to the larger society, the Commonwealth. I cannot look passively; and I must urge my point.

"That point is this, that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is not a medical body, has no right to a medical
opinion, and should not dare to take sides in medical controversies. This safe neutral position the friends of the proposed legislation summon the Commonwealth immediately to give up.

"I venture to say that you dare not, gentlemen. You dare not convert the laws of this Commonwealth into obstacles to the acquisition of truth. You dare not do it, gentlemen—and yet that is what you are asked to do exactly, if you pass this bill.

"Pray do not fail, Mr. Chairman, to catch my point. You are not to ask yourself whether these mind-curers do really achieve the successes that are claimed. It is enough for you as legislators to ascertain that a large number of our citizens, persons as intelligent and well-educated as yourself, or I, persons whose number seems daily to increase, are convinced that they do achieve them, are persuaded that a valuable new department of medical experience is by them opening up. Here is a purely medical question, regarding which our General Court, not being a well-spring and source of medical virtue, not having any private test of therapeutic truth, must remain strictly neutral, under penalty of making the confusion worse.

"Our State needs the assistance of every type of mind, academic and non-academic, of which she possesses specimens. There are none too many of them, for to no one of them can the whole truth be revealed.

"Whatever you do, you are bound not to obstruct the growth of truth by the freest gathering in of the most various experiences. I urge that the best way to do that is to say 'Hands off.'

"The history of medicine is a really hideous history, comparable only with that of priestcraft; ignorance clad in authority, and riding over men's bodies and souls. Let modern medicine dispel all those inherited prejudices by living the historic memories down. It may well be ques-
tioned whether a regime of license and monopoly will tend to hasten that even as much as one of freedom and conciliation.

"Let us not be infected with the Gallic spirit of regulation and reglementation for their own abstract sakes. Let us not grow hysterical about law-making. Let us not fall in love with enactments and penalties because they are so logical and sound so pretty, and look so nice on paper. Let us cultivate a robust Anglo-Saxon spirit of insensibility and tolerance, toughening ourselves manfully to the sight of much that we abhor, and of still more that we can but imperfectly understand."

Though from year to year during the past half century the people opposed these medical monopolists as they annually petitioned for special legislation, they did it for the most part as individuals or small, unorganized groups of citizens. In the later eighties and early nineties a civic organization did some very effective work. This was the National Constitutional Liberty League, with headquarters in Boston, and one of the leading spirits of which was Mr. J. Winfield Scott who formerly had performed valuable work in the cause of medical freedom in Des Moines, Iowa, founding "The National Liberator," a journal of medical freedom, later published in Boston. Prof. Joseph Rodes Buchanan, M.D., and Prof. R. F. Humiston were also active workers in the League in Boston. It was my privilege to engage in this work in which we were able to organize effective opposition to the medical monopolists in Massachusetts and elsewhere and to publish much valuable propaganda literature.

In 1910, when it appeared that the Owen Bill would be enacted in the course of a few weeks, The National League for Medical Freedom was organized, and it prevented the passage of the measure at that time. It has pushed forward a vigorous educational campaign, warning and enlightening the people upon the vital issues and fundamental dangers involved in this most sinister form of privilege-seeking power. In less than two years the League enrolled in its membership over two hundred thousand citizens, embracing several thousand educated physicians and men and women prominent in almost every walk of life.
An outline story of the heroes in the battle for medical freedom would require many chapters, but space forbids more than a mere record of the names of some of the more prominent and illustrious of these apostles of science and human rights.

One of the strongest and ablest of the early champions was Dr. John King, the master spirit in founding the eclectic school of medicine, and Dr. King was ably seconded by Prof. Joseph Rodes Buchanan and Dr. Alexander Wilder, two other scholarly physicians, men of extraordinary intellectual breadth and power, who were pioneers in the great battle for medical freedom, Dr. Buchanan’s services to the cause extending over half a century. He and Dr. Wilder were both fundamental democrats and men whose intellectual work, outside of medicine, commands the respect of the thoughtful and discriminating.

In the eclectic school there have been a number of other men of fine scholarship and breadth of vision who have labored unceasingly for the right of every citizen to employ the practitioner of his choice. One of the most distinguished of these is Dr. A. F. Stephens of St. Louis, who as medical author and educator no less than as a conspicuously successful practitioner, has long held an enviable position among the progressive physicians of the New World Dr. Stephens has been an active member on the Board of the National League for Medical Freedom and has rendered important service to the cause of popular rights.

Many leading homeopaths also have taken a brave stand for freedom. Among those who have actively assisted in the campaign of The National League for Medical Freedom we mention Prof. William E. Leonard, for nineteen years professor of Materia Medica in the University of Minnesota; Dr. Maurice Worcester Turner, formerly instructor in the Boston University School of Medicine and one of the most scholarly homeopathic physicians of the day; Dr. W. A. Dewey, editor of “The Medical Century”; Dr. Lewis Pinkerton Crutcher; Dr. J. B. S. King, editor of “The Medical Advance” and a leading homeopathic educator; and Dr. J. W. Hodge.

Among the osteopaths, Dr. H. L. Chiles, secretary of the American Osteopathic Association and editor of “The Jour-
nal of the American Osteopathic Association," has been a leading member of the Board of Directors of The National League for Medical Freedom, and he has been actively assisted by prominent osteopaths throughout the land.

The late Prof. William James of Harvard University rendered inestimable service to the cause of medical freedom by his brave and masterly defence of popular rights. Among distinguished thinkers other than physicians who have battled for democracy and the freedom of the people, are Rev. Minot J. Savage; Rev. Edward A. Horton; William Lloyd Garrison, Jr.; Rabbi Solomon Schindler; Abby Morton Diaz; Hon. Charles W. Miller, legislator, editor, and Democratic leader of Iowa, who for twenty years has waged an unceasing warfare against the unjust and monopolistic aggressions of the privilege-seeking political doctors; Mrs. Diana Belais, the talented editor of "The Open Door," and one of the most brilliant of our humanitarian workers who are striving for a nobler civilization; and Mr. Porter F. Cope, the master spirit in the anti-vaccination movement in America, who richly deserves to live in the love of the ages for his tireless and self-sacrificing work in enlightening the people on this vital question.

These are but a few of a galaxy of noble-minded men and women of conviction, intelligence, and a high sense of civic duty who have battled to preserve the rights of the people from probably the most dangerous monopoly-seeking class in our land to-day.

The End