

selling at wholesale, if they did not have some reservoir to draw from to make up the difference. I am going to point out to you that reservoir. First: It is in the fertility of the soil. The farmers of the Northwest, especially those that raise wheat, are mining the fertility of the soil. It costs this year an average of \$24.00 to raise an acre of wheat in the Northwest. Farmers are getting an average of less than \$17.00 or \$18.00. They take it out of the soil, if the soil will stand it. In some places where the deep, black loam goes eight or ten feet down in the ground, the farmers are pretty well to do, pretty fairly prosperous. That reservoir in the soil enables them to build good barns and houses; and once in a while one can send his boy to college; but a little farther west where the black soil is not so deep, they cannot get enough out of the soil to make up the difference. Then they start in on another reservoir. All over the Northwest, insofar as the farmers cannot get enough out of the ground to make up the difference, they begin and take the rest out of their own hides.

Now, if you could stand where I am standing and look at the hides of these farmers present, you would know that that was so. Did you ever notice the difference between a farmer's hide and the hide of a profiteer, for instance? Do you know I could put three or four of these farmers inside of some profiteers that I know—you have taken so much out of your hides that that is about all that you have got left, and that is not very thick

any more. When you cannot get enough out of the soil and your hides, then you begin upon the lives of the women you married and promised to take care of, but don't. You work the mothers of your boys and girls too long hours in both the country and the city.

And when that won't make up the difference, then you begin on the lives of the boys and girls; you keep them out of school and work them to death, too. I see that you KNOW that this is so.

Then there is another item upon which he draws, that is as fast as the value of the land increases he increases the size of the mortgage, then after a while the price of the land quits going up, and the mortgage gets in its work and we have another tenant instead of home owner. The farm is gone along with the life and health and work of the farmer and his family.

We are going to correct these conditions, and we are going to do it by having a little more to say about the RULES of the farming game.

Do you know what is the most important part of any business? The farmers of the Northwest have learned that the most important part of the farming business is **the business of fixing the price of wheat**, and the rules that govern the grading of wheat. The most important part of the business of banking is the part that fixes the law which fixes the rate of interest and how much it costs to foreclose on the farmers.

The most important part of the railroad business is the fixing of railroad rates—



passenger rates. The most important part of the labor organization's business is the business of fixing the number of hours and the number of dollars they shall get for those hours.

Now we are going to have something more to say, we hope, about fixing the rules of the farming game than we have had. I want to show just how important that is, and what part you farmers play in this matter of fixing rules.

If there is any farmer here that has anything to say about the price of what he sells or the price of what he buys, I would like to have him stand up here and tell the audience what he has to say about it.

Mr. Chairman, isn't there anybody here who has anything to say about those prices?

What a ridiculous proposition—but—I will tell you the rest later, when I get the ground better laid.

I had a man one time stand up in the audience and say, "I had something to say one time about the price of a steer I sold."

I said, brother, you are the first man I ever heard of who did. What did you say? Well, he said, I would not dare to repeat it here in this audience. (Laughter.)

At this point a man in the audience made a remark and was requested by others in the audience to speak louder.

Mr. Townley: Well, I will tell you what he said. He says that he was offered \$1.75 for shelled corn raised about 100 miles from here, and that the price here

was \$2.20. That makes 25c and 20c for hauling it up here. The freight is pretty high! (Laughter and applause.)

To show you what part my friend back here, who has corn to sell, plays in fixing the price of corn, I am going to play a little game of poker. I play this game every day. (Laughter.)

I have not made a dollar yet. I am going to play with my friend here. I am going to assume my friend here, who is a newspaper man, is a farmer, and he is one of those farmers who do not believe in organizing, who do not believe in having anything to say about the rules of the farming game.

He agrees to play poker with me and let me fix the rules of the game.

We start to play. Everything goes all right for a while.

I keep talking to him about the money he is making all the time, but I discover that he is making more than I am making, so I say to him: There is a new law going into effect next month. I have got it here. A ruling from the attorney general which says that after the first of next month you get five cards and I get seven. And I go on playing. I continue to get his money. But not fast enough to suit me. And so I decide that another change is necessary; and I say to him: Brother, after 7 o'clock tomorrow night there is going to be another change in the rules. After 7 tomorrow night I am going to look at all of your cards.

Now, if he is a good, substantial citizen and a contented sort of fellow like some



of the boys that we have not been able to organize, he will agree to that. He will say, if the attorney general says it is necessary and the supreme court is back of the attorney general, why it must be all right; especially if all the lawyers and politicians say the same thing. And so we go on playing poker.

Now, that is not overdrawn at all.

I see his hand. He don't see mine. When you go to town to buy that broom next time, after you get home, take a good look at it. Look for some marks upon the broom. You will find some marks running about like this. I don't know what brooms sell for now, but we will say 40 cents, and then above that there will be some Chinese language you can't understand. Now, that mark below, that 40 cent mark, is YOUR hand. The other mark is the other fellow's hand.

It runs the same way through pretty nearly everything else you buy. You don't know what it costs to deliver coal at your door; what it costs to make a pair of shoes; what it actually costs to transport freight. No, you don't! You don't even know, most of you, what it costs for raising wheat. You have been working so hard, that when we asked you to figure up the cost of raising wheat, you forgot to put in there the interest on the mortgage.

Well, my friend and I continue to play poker. We keep going, and if I figure that he will stand for it, why I begin changing the rules again, pretty soon. If he is sufficiently contented and there are not any League Organizers around, I will

change the rules again. Pretty soon I will say to him, "The legislature has passed a new ruling upon this poker game. From now on whenever you take a trick you get 25 cents, and when I take a trick I get \$25.00."

Oh, that is not so bad. It is not overdrawn. In the year 1912, when I was farming at Beach, the farmer sold his wheat at 65 cents a bushel.

A voice from the audience: Sixty-three cents.

Another voice: Sixty-four cents.

Mr. Townley: Sixty-three cents and 64 cents they say—because that year North Dakota produced the biggest crop it had ever had in its history. And the farmers got less for the big crops of 1912 than they got for the small crop of 1911!

That is, they THOUGHT they were taking a trick, but they didn't take it. When they came to buy seed last spring, the other fellow took a trick and they paid \$3.50 a bushel.

Some poker game! Now, if I wanted to make myself absolutely sure, I could fix it like this: That if by any chance he should get all my money he could be compelled to give it back! I probably would not go that far, because he might not stand for it.

Well, now, supposing while we were playing, somebody comes along and says to him, say Mr. Smith. We will say an organizer comes along now and he says to him, "Aren't you rather foolish? Don't you know that fellow is going to skin you alive? Don't you know he is getting



everything you have got?" Smith would say, "Well, I don't know. I am getting along pretty well. I have been here 40 years playing poker. They have not driven me away yet. I guess I don't need to be organized."

Or he might listen a little bit to the organizer; and if he did, you know what I would do. I would go to Smith and say, "Smith, I understand there was a suspicious character around to see you the other day."

I would say, "Smith, you don't know him at all. He is a stranger to you. But Smith, you know me, don't you? Haven't you known me all my life? Haven't I been your friend all your life? Didn't I loan you 25 cents to ante when you didn't have anything at all? And when you didn't have anything to eat, didn't I tell you where you could chase jack rabbits and catch them to eat?"

And I would say, "Smith, you be careful of that fellow. You be careful of him. He is a dangerous citizen. I have made it my particular business to find out who this fellow was, who was talking to you, and Smith, I have learned that he is one of the chief spirits among the I. W. W.'s." Or, I might say, "Smith, he is a freeloader. He does not take any interest in you at all. He is after your wife." Or, if I were one of those gentlemen who are making some billions of dollars of war profits out of this world crisis, and did not want this organizer to talk to Smith about the price I was charging him for shoes and farm machinery, do you know what I would say

to Smith? I would say, "Smith"—with the flag waving above me, I would say, "Smith, look out for that fellow. **He is pro-German.** (Great applause, whistling and laughter.) And if I could make Smith believe it, I could go on playing poker with Smith till he died.

And I could continue to pile billions and billions and billions, wrung from the misery and the sweat and the toil of these American people, into my pockets—if I could make Smith believe it.

You may think that is theory. It is not. In today's paper (after holding the paper up before the audience, Mr. Townley read therefrom as follows):

**"OFFICIAL EYE OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL NON-PARTISANS' OPENING TODAY.**

"Although officials of the league protest that nothing seditious would be tolerated, patriotic citizens of St. Paul, and representatives of the Department of Justice expected to watch the entire proceedings critically, prepared to act if necessary."

Citizens of the Department of Justice are very, very welcome here today. We are not ashamed of our particular brand of patriotism. We would suggest to the gentlemen who are doing their duty representing the Department of Justice by being here today, that there is a great deal being said about the patriotism of the farmers of the Northwest, that may not be quite so.

You know we have been charged—the



farmers of the Northwest—with holding our wheat, refusing to put it on the market, because we were not satisfied with the prices, and the rules of dockage. Because we would not turn it over—because they SAID we would not turn it over, at the prices fixed and by the rules of grading—we have been charged with being pro-German.

I am not criticizing men who are paid by this government to represent the majority of the people of these United States for being here today to see whether that is so or not. That is their duty. BUT I read yesterday at Fargo, a little article which I clipped out of the Daily News two or three days ago, which stated that the storage warehouses containing leather rawhides in the East, were packed to the roof.

And yesterday in the city of Fargo, I met a friend of mine who had been for 15 years working among the farmers, buying hides, who had been discharged because they had no more use for the hides.

Meanwhile, the American people are paying anywhere from \$1.00 to \$4.00 a pair more for shoes. And while we welcome here today, most fully, representatives of the Department of Justice, whose duty it is to take a look at the hides we wear, and by a study of what we say, learn whether we are pro-German or not—I would suggest to them that it may also be their duty to go East where our hides are piled to the roof, and see whether there is any injustice there.

One man cannot play poker alone.

This is a two-handed game.

We are here today to lay our cards flat on the table.

We have not got anything to hide. If you want to ask us any questions today, we will answer them gladly. But I hope that as soon as you get through with US you will go and see the fellows holding the other hand. We are not afraid of impartial inspection. We don't however, want to be inspected and have the decision rendered by fellows in the employ of those who have our hides stacked to the roof. We want to show our cards to a Department of Justice that represents the WILL of the MAJORITY of the PEOPLE.

Gentlemen, there is no use of offering to show our cards to those representing the Leather Trust, the Steel Trust and the Grain Trust, because they see our cards EVERY DAY!

Now, gentlemen, and you representatives of the press—I don't want you to interpret anything that I say this afternoon as criticizing or condemning the good intentions of those in the government who are sincerely working to represent the will of the people.

Any injustice that we may suffer from, we suffer from because we have neglected to reinforce those who do serve us in the national congress.

We have made every effort to get the representatives of the administration; especially the HEAD of the Price Fixing Board—or the HEAD of the Food Board, here to meet these farmer delegates today.



We have been charged with being unpatriotic, and pro-German, not because WE said this meeting was going to be a protest against the price of wheat, but because our enemies said it was going to be a protest against the price of wheat. We have been charged with being unpatriotic, and disloyal, and PRO-GERMAN, because of the prospect that we are coming here to protest against the price of wheat.

We are doing nothing of the kind.

The GRAIN GAMBLERS, grain dealers, or by whatever name you are most familiar with them, have been getting along up to this time with a commission of one cent a bushel. After they had paid their membership fees over here in Minneapolis, they got together here one day and arbitrarily raised it to two cents a bushel. I suppose to protect themselves against the government.

You see they are taking more chances this year when they buy wheat and turn it over to the government than when they buy without the price fixed; and so they arbitrarily fix the commission at one per cent, which is about two cents a bushel. We invited Mr. Hoover to be with us to meet this delegation of farmers. We invited Mr. Barnes to be with us to meet this delegation of farmers. WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO GET THEM TO COME.

But TODAY representatives of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the Duluth Board of Trade, and Kansas City, and all the rest, are gathered in Chicago TO PROTEST AGAINST THE GOVERN-

MENT'S DEMAND THAT THEY CUT DOWN THAT COMMISSION, AND HOOVER'S REPRESENTATIVE IS THERE TO MEET THEM!

Mr. Hoover has so far been led to believe that it is not his duty to meet US, in OUR program, which is not to protest, BUT TO CONTINUE AND CARRY OUT THE PROGRAM OF PRICE FIXING THAT HE HAS STARTED. I do not charge Mr. Hoover, or anyone else, with willfully neglecting an opportunity here today to find out what IS the will of the majority—but I CHARGE YOU with having neglected to keep Mr. Hoover sufficiently posted upon what WAS THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.

I want to say that when you have an organization as strong as the organization of grain buyers, who are able to keep men right at Hoover's elbow all the time, he will see things as YOU see them and not as THEY see them, then you will have Mr. Hoover at your conference, too.

I believe that Hoover is trying to do his duty as he sees it. He has a tremendous responsibility. And I say you criminally neglect your duty, unless you aid him all the time to see things as the majority sees them. (Applause.)

I may talk a little long this afternoon, but to a man from the country, you know, who is used to speaking in school houses, this seems like a good opportunity. This is the biggest terminal elevator I ever saw. And it is about as close as the farmers of North Dakota have gotten to one, so far.



We are inclined to stick around awhile and take a look at the building.

I have given you some idea, comparatively, of the business ability of the farmers and merchants; and I think I have done the farmer credit. Before I get through, I am going to show you the difference between the patriotism of those profiteers who make four billion dollars a year, and the patriotism of those who sweat that they may **MAKE** the four billion dollars a year. If I can make that as clear to you as it is to me, and the representatives of the press here get it as clearly as we get it, and tell the rest of the people of these United States the truth about it, there won't be any misunderstanding about the patriotism of the farmers of the Northwest from now on. I would warn you, however, not to expect too much of the newspaper boys here because this is their first lesson, maybe; and they may not get it all today—though they are a good, bright looking bunch of fellows.

The farmers and the workers of this nation have not been doing much of anything lately. All they have been doing is working at the business of producing corn, wheat, barley, oats, flax, rye, potatoes, mustard, custard, steel, coal, iron, shoes, clothing, guns, munitions, bullets, battleships.

All the workers these last several months, since this nation got into the war, have been doing on the farm and in the city, all they have been doing is to provide the necessities of life and war, to feed the

people of the world and their armies of liberty.

While they have been doing that, certain other gentlemen, NOT so busy, leaving this less important work of providing beans and bread for everybody to eat—leaving this for the farmers—who know how—these other gentlemen who have not been so busy, have spent a good deal of time **announcing** their patriotism. **They have gotten a little the start of us.**

That is all the difference. Five or six billion dollars of war profits will pay for a pretty good sized announcement.

The corn is—how does that go? “The frost is on the pumpkin and the fodder’s in the shock.” The beans are taken care of. The ships are being built, the farmers have provided for the feeding of the world, and the armies of liberty. The farmers and workers in the city have provided amply for all those material things necessary to win the war, and have given up their sons to fight the war, and you, their delegates, are here today to make an announcement of **YOUR** patriotism.

You know when a man works 16 hours a day, raising the wheat for the government to commandeer to feed the soldiers and win the war—and when he works long hours in the steel mills or the coal mines, producing the things that the government of this nation needs to win the war—at the end of the day he has spent so much of his energy in the patriotic effort to actually **DO** something for his country, that he doesn't have much energy left to



wave the flag and talk about it. HE GOES TO SLEEP!

Others who leave the little business of producing all these necessities to us—whose hands are white and whose skins are soft—have more time to wave the flag. If we spent as much time waving the flag as they do, we would all starve to death—they and us alike.

I repeat, we are here today to make as much of an announcement of our patriotism as what practice we have had enables us to make, and I predict that if we continue to improve in the next two or three years as the farmers of North Dakota have in the last year, he, at the end of that time, will be able to make pretty nearly as much noise as they do.

Providing, however, that we get enough for our wheat and our leather so we don't starve to death during that time. We are not afraid of the comparison either of business ability or patriotism, with any of these gentlemen with coal and iron and steel.

We have invited them here today to compare theirs with ours, and they DIDN'T COME.

The kept press, the newspapers owned by those who make four or five BILLIONS of dollars a year, and the mouths of some gentlemen have been full of professions of patriotism; but many of those professions of patriotism come from men whose pockets bulge with gold stolen from us.

They are not patriots, because they possess billions and billions of war profits wrung from the agony and sweat and toil

of starving men and women, the possession, I say, of these billions of dollars of war profits in the pockets of the profiteers—their arms red to the elbow in the blood of this nation—is proof that they are not patriots.

For, in the language of the highest authority of these United States, "patriotism and profits do not go together." Then, in a time of the world's crisis, in a time of the nation's needs, if they are not patriotic, what are they? Get a German helmet, place it upon THEIR head, and YOU SEE THE KAISER himself.

It is absolutely the only conclusion that you can come to. Patriotism consists in doing something for the good of the NATION; patriotism consists in sacrificing something for the Nation's good.

A Voice: That's right.

Patriotism is based upon Justice—NOT UPON ROBBERY.

A Voice: Absolutely.

Well, I want to say to you that if these men and women, here today, will tell the truth about this thing as YOU see it, I won't ask them to tell it as I see it—as you representatives of some two or three million people, who have been toiling night and day, for their country. If they will tell the truth about this thing as YOU see it, THE PROFITEERS WILL HAVE TO GO OUT OF BUSINESS, for they cannot stand the light of truth. No criminal can stand the light of truth.

Ah! Let me show what we face. Let me make that also plain to you. Across the water, in the trenches over there,



where your sons are sacrificing all they have and all you have—because their life is dearer to you than anything else—over there where they are making that most tremendous gift, that Liberty and Democracy may live for all the world—AFTER the battle crawling among the bodies of the dead, are animals in human form, ghouls of the night, that rob the dead bodies of your dear boys.

Rob them of the little gold, the clothing, the jewelry, the gifts that you may have sent to remind them that you still are thinking of them, waiting their return—rob their bodies of these little things. No language I can command can do justice to the crime of the man who would rob the dead. BUT if you take my money when I am dead, and my clothing when I am dead, that is not so bad as it might be, for I do not need the clothing and I cannot spend the money. And, though those ghouls over there may do this, bad as it is, the clothing may do them some good and they may spend the money for liquor, BUT while the mothers and fathers of those boys killed upon the battlefield are struggling here in this nation—as YOU struggle—in an effort to keep the rest of those boys in clothing and in food; while you and I—their brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, are trying ourselves to pay the cost of war, a set of the worst criminals God ever permitted to roam this earth, HERE AMONG US, are robbing OUR starving children to death!!

At the time when this nation needs

every ounce of its energy, when its very LIFE hangs in the balance, when liberty and democracy over all the world hangs by a thread, these vultures are sucking our life-blood, and they have so far succeeded in misleading these American people that we call them patriots! And a farmer out here, who thinks that he should not be docked 20 cents per bushel because a bushel of wheat has five pounds of barley in it, IS PRO-GERMAN.

I hope—I hope we are going to make a change. I believe we are, with your assistance, and with the aid of brothers and sisters of the boys who are going to the battle front, we may yet defeat those allies of autoocracy here in our own midst.

You and the people at large have been led to believe that this is a protest against the price the Government has fixed upon wheat. It is not.

You have been led to believe that we want the price of wheat raised upon the same basis with the price they are charging for what THEY have to sell. We have not got the nerve to ask that.

If we should get as much for wheat according to what it cost to produce it, as they are getting for coal and steel, we would have so much money we could not carry it around. We are not used to handling so much money. More than that, we have got to spend our time plowing and seeding and feeding the cows.

So we are not here this afternoon to protest either against the price fixed by this government for wheat to the farmer



in the Northwest or against the law that authorizes the government to fix prices. We believe there is a better way, one that can more easily be explained—and men that work sixteen hours a day need their proposition put in plain language. One that can be more easily explained; and that is this. That we accept the government's proposition to fix the price of wheat as it has, and all on God's green earth we want, everything we ask, is this. The thing we pray for night and day is that the government may be able with YOUR help and my help and the help of a majority of the people of this nation—we pray the government may be able to fix the price of everything else on the same basis as it has fixed the price on wheat.

We are not at all selfish in this matter. We don't want the prices you are getting for what you have to sell. We want you to take the prices we are getting for what WE have to sell. Come on in, you gentlemen of coal, and iron and steel and flour. Come on in with us. **THE WATER'S FINE!**

For, according to this American democracy as I understand it—I may be mistaken—a rule that should apply to one group of citizens ought to apply to the others likewise.

I refuse to believe that America has been Prussianized. Until I am compelled to stop, I am going to continue to shout from the house tops, that it is our duty to support the Government in its program to fix prices.

And I am going to continue to believe, as I do now, that except for the influence of those over-patriotic gentlemen of coal and iron and steel, we would be **GETTING** a square deal today.

But the only method you can follow to get a square deal is to bring to bear upon your Government an influence that will beat theirs. You have got to out-do them at their own game.

Oh, no!! **SOMEBODY** is mistaken. This is not a protest at all. We are gathered here today to **support** the Government in its program to lower prices.

We are gathered here today to bid God-speed to the agents of the Department of Justice in **THEIR WORK.**

Urging them as soon as they are through with us, to **GO ON DOWN THE LINE.**

It is difficult to hold meetings these days. But the city of St. Paul seems to be very progressive and I believe if the representatives of the grain trust and the coal trust and the steel trust and the sugar trust and the leather trust and all the rest—want to get together and do as we are doing, I believe if there is not any other place in the United States where they can get together and do what we are doing here today, that **ST. PAUL** will let them come here and do it. And I want to say further that if they don't want to take any chances at all and have not the money to do it, we will pay the rent. The Non-partisan League will do that.

Not because we have got so much money, but because we believe it would be a good investment. We will mortgage



our farms to pay the rent. I hope the Resolution Committee is present and will take note of some of the things I say, and embody some of these things in a communication to these gentlemen.

If they don't want to meet here, bring their own hides here—we don't ask them to eat and drink with us, but we will beat that a million miles, if they will come and do what we are doing here today.

They are in Chicago today. But not doing what WE are doing here today. Oh, no. They are making a mighty effort to convince the Administration that they need two cents a bushel commission when they always got along with one cent before. And I don't know but what they MAY succeed.

I hope we have not come to that PASS where they will succeed. If they MUST have two cents a bushel, let us make a treaty with them and have them wait until the war is over, because we NEED that money TO PAY FOR THE WAR!

It is your duty to support the Government and see to it that these billions and billions that must be raised to finance this war for Liberty and Democracy—billions, I repeat, that will be wrung out of the sweat and toil of the mothers and fathers of the soldier boys—billions that must be paid back when the war is over, it is absolutely YOUR duty, to do all you can to see that **not too many** of these billions stick to the fingers of the gentlemen of coal, and iron and steel and bacon.

If you can do that—if you can see that these billions, instead of falling into the

pockets of the profiteers, shall go to pay the worker in the mine, the worker in the factory, the ship builder, the leather worker, the farmer, all those who produce the things that are needed—if you will see that these millions go to the worker in mine and mill and factory, **THEY WILL HAVE ENOUGH SO THAT THEY CAN PAY ENOUGH FOR BREAD, SO THAT THE FARMERS' WHEAT WON'T HAVE TO BE SOLD FOR LESS THAN IT COSTS TO PRODUCE IT.**

We hear a great deal of noise made by these gentlemen, but if you can so support the Government that those gentlemen will be compelled to sell their coal and their iron and their steel on the same basis that the Government now buys the farmers' wheat—I want to say to you that the howl that will go up from their camp will drown all the noise that these millions of farmers could make. For, if there is anything those gentlemen can do with more vigor than make profits, it is make a noise when they feel those profits getting away from them.

If you can do that—support the government in its purpose to fix prices so that all these gentlemen will have to sell their products on the same basis as the farmer now sells his wheat—it will only be a short time before they will come with the mines and the mills and the railroads and the rest, and say here, take these things over—I don't want them any more, for these gentlemen of coal and iron and steel and leather won't produce what their



country needs in time of war for ANY war for liberty and democracy. They don't do it. Their patriotism doesn't GO that far. Their patriotism won't enable them to produce or make anything at a normal profit. **THEIR PATRIOTISM IS THE KIND THAT REQUIRES WAR PROFITS TO MAKE IT WORK.**

But the farmer will produce wheat at less than cost to feed the armies of Liberty. He is used to that. He has been at it all his life. That is why his farm is mortgaged. Why he keeps his children out of school to keep the mortgage from growing too fast.

You know the place where the children of the manufacturers of steel and iron is, at Harvard and Yale, where YOUR boys would LIKE to go. But about the only place your boy gets a chance to find out anything is at a League convention.

And I submit that those gentlemen would find out something, too, if they would come here today. Something that they don't learn in Harvard and Yale.

Now, the patriotism of the farmer is of a different kind from theirs. I know it is a better kind. Because the farmers' patriotism and the workers' patriotism enables them to go on producing at less than cost, to feed the world in its time of need. And I want to say to you right here—in support of your patriotism, that even though we must pay five, or six, or eight billions of dollars of tribute every year to these pirates in order to get them to produce guns and munitions and things, we have got to have to win the war—

even though we must pay that tremendous tribute, there is STILL hope for Liberty and Democracy. Because the farmers of this nation and the workers of this nation have got enough patriotism in **their** hearts to make up for the patriotism and manhood that the profiteers lack. And if necessary, we will go on producing wheat to feed the world and its enemies of freedom—even with those profit vultures clutching at our throats. We will go on and make ALL the world safe for Liberty and Democracy. And then we will settle with those gentlemen after the war is over.

Now, I think if you can lower the prices that these gentlemen get for the coal and iron and steel that they have to sell—compel them—by supporting the Government in its program to LOWER prices; compel them to sell their products on the same basis—on the same basis as the farmer now is compelled to sell his wheat—**WHEN YOU DO THAT**, the patriotism of the coal trust and the gentlemen who sell iron and steel, the patriotism they have left will then be of very much better quality than what they have got now. It won't be as good as the farmer now has, but it will be better than theirs is now. I think it would grade about No. 4. It won't be rejected.

We can make something out of it, and if you can get some of that kind of patriotism into those gentlemen, by enabling the Government to continue its program to reduce prices, and put that patriotism together with the kind the farmers and workers have, this country, this nation



will be able to bring this war to a very successful conclusion, in a short time.

This war for Liberty and Democracy will be a TREMENDOUS success, because we shall not only have secured Liberty and Democracy to all the world, but we shall have INCREASED OUR HOME SUPPLY.

And I am foolish enough to believe that it is just as much our duty to make sure of Liberty and Democracy for ourselves as it is to carry Liberty and Democracy to foreign people.

It is only the patriotism of the profiteers that would have us give up OUR Liberty. For when we have given up our liberties they can get everything else we have got.

Organize; raise your voice; Lay OFF a day or two once in a while, as the farmer says, knock off hoeing corn; get together; announce your Patriotism oftener; support your Government in its program to lower prices, and this war will come to a very successful conclusion.

This nation will be able to bring this war to an end a good deal quicker than it will if you don't do that. For two reasons: First, when you have manifested the will of the Majority, and brought to bear a greater influence upon this National Congress and the profiteers than they feel now, and you have so far supported those who WOULD represent you, if they could, that they have compelled the owners of steel, iron and coal and bread and butter and bacon to sell them on the same basis as the farmer sells his wheat, take as much profit out of their business as has

been taken out of the business of wheat raising in the Northwest, and you take nearly all the profits out of all business.

Now, as soon as you do that, nobody will want to continue war any longer than is necessary to secure Liberty and Democracy. We will all be so determined in our purpose to win this war for Liberty and Democracy that the German autoocracy cannot stand against us.

The only place when you have done that where you will find any slackers will be among that bunch of plutocrats that is robbing you blind.

Why, ladies and gentlemen, THESE PEOPLE, OUR PEOPLE, are all for Liberty and Democracy. THAT IS WHAT WE PAY OUR SIXTEEN DOLLARS FOR!

Ninety-five per cent of the people of this country want to win for Liberty and Democracy, 95 per cent of all the people of all the allied countries, want to win for Liberty and Democracy, 95 per cent of the GERMAN people want to win for Liberty and Democracy.

**We are all against autocracy WHERE-  
EVER we may find it!**

And the only reason we are not able to bring this war to a successful conclusion and win Liberty and Democracy for all the world, and do it quickly is because you have neglected to make known your demands, and sufficiently impressed the will of the majority upon your national congress.

Oh, you American people, you hold the meaning of Liberty and Democracy for all



the world, and if the Liberty and Democracy for all the world does not come out of this world conflict, it will be your fault, you leaders of the world.

And if you fail it will be because you do not express, fully express, your will in this democracy that you have now, and give every man a square deal. For when you do that, when you support the President of the United States when he says that PROFITS AND PATRIOTISM DO NOT GO TOGETHER, when you back him up, and those with him, so that they can make that phrase a LIVE phrase, and a fact, so that instead of industrial despotism in this country, where we have POLITICAL liberty, we have also INDUSTRIAL LIBERTY—when you do that—the German government will not so easily be able to lead the German people to believe that the profiteers want to do with them what they are doing to us.

When you do that you will show the German people what can be done in a democracy; and they want that; and when you show the German people what can be done in democracy, where the people have the right to make their own government, THEY WILL TURN AGAINST THE GERMAN AUTOCRACY, and the German autocracy CANNOT STAND AGAINST THE AMERICAN PEOPLE!

So I repeat, our purpose here today is as far removed from being a PROTEST against the government's purpose to lower prices, as is the mid-day light of the sun from the darkest hell.

We have been grossly misrepresented.

If there are any patriots in this world, they are here today in this house.

So if we should fail to sufficiently make known to our Congress—if we should fail during the war to sufficiently make known that will of the majority of those who WANT TO FOLLOW the will of the majority, that will have to be done after the war is over, HOWEVER it shall end.

Let me try to make plainer still to you the reason for the injustice in our industrial life. This war will cost America maybe thirty, forty billions of dollars. It is very difficult to raise those many billions of dollars. It entails tremendous sacrifices upon us all. A sacrifice that WE SHALL NOT SHIRK. Those billions will be spent by this government to win the war for Liberty and Democracy. Part of it will be spent for guns, part for ships, part of it for coal, clothing, shoes, leather. A part of it will be paid to those who are making millions of profit out of the war today.

But a soldier boy cannot carry a gun unless there is bread in his stomach. A soldier boy cannot dig a trench unless he has a strong body made by BREAD.

And some of those billions of dollars have to be spent to pay the farmers for the wheat to make the bread. Now, we have been calling for government control of prices. And we got them all right. But in our clamor for government control we overlooked the better tool.

We forgot, or neglected to see, that the representatives of the profiteers were too LARGE a part of our government, and so



we got the government control too largely in behalf of the profiteers. They are today influencing this government in too large a measure. Else they would not fix a price on coal twice what it was BEFORE the war; else they would not be so long reducing the price of bread AFTER they have reduced the price of wheat.

They have too large an influence. An influence so large that they can say to themselves:

"We are going to have forty billion dollars spent here to prosecute this war.

"Now, how much have we to pay these farmers for wheat enough to get bread into the boys' stomachs? What we do not have to pay to the farmers for wheat for the soldier boys we can use to great profit for ourselves."

I think this is their analysis. Let me show you that it is. I am going to reverse the situation now. I am going to assume that instead of there being too much profiteer influence in Congress, we have enough men like John Baer, the farmers' North Dakota Congressman, and Congressman Young, and a few others that represent THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.

I am going to assume that we have enough true representatives of THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY in Congress, so that they could make their will felt. What would these gentlemen do?

Here is what they would do:

We are going to have forty billion dollars to fight the war. Now, we need coal.

Where is the coal? It is in the ground. Who put it there? God Almighty put it there. Did He put a price on it? No. All right. THEN WE'LL TAKE THE COAL FOR WAR.

And they would want lumber and want steel and say, Where is the steel? And somebody will say: these men; men like John Baer, representing the WILL OF THE MAJORITY, representing YOU, men who have given your sons for the war, they would say, IF IT IS RIGHT TO CONSCRIPT THE LIVES OF OUR BOYS, IT IS RIGHT TO CONSCRIPT THE STEEL!









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# Organization and Agitation — Ways and Means —

Suggestions by National Executive Committee  
Adopted in Session January  
22-24, 1909

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## SUBJECTS

Study Courses in Socialism  
Socialist Party and Trade Unions  
Organization      Public Meetings  
Literature      The Socialist Press  
Campaign Methods

COMMITTEE: Victor L. Berger, A. H. Floaten, Morris  
Hillquit, A. M. Simons, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Carl  
D. Thompson and John M. Work

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## Suggestions for Outline of Study Courses in Socialism

### I. The Definition of Socialism and its Elements.

Socialism is the modern movement of the working class to abolish the private ownership in the social means of production and distribution and to substitute for it a system of industry, collectively owned and democratically managed for the benefit of the whole people.

### II. The Philosophy of Socialism.

1. Rise and Mission of the Proletariat.
2. Development of the Social Tool.
3. Collective Ownership.
4. Democracy—Industrial and Political.
5. Economic Determinism.
6. The Class Struggle.
7. Surplus Value.

### III. The Development of the Socialist Theory.

1. Utopian Socialism.
2. Scientific Socialism.

### IV. The Program of Socialism.

1. Relief of the Unemployed.
2. Collective Ownership, means of transportation and communication and natural resources.
3. Collective Ownership of Monopolized Industries.
4. Extension of Public Domain.
5. Reforestation and reclamation.
6. Freedom of Press, Speech and Assembly.
7. Shorter Workday.
8. Weekly Rest Period.
9. Factory Inspection.
10. Child Labor.
11. Transportation of products of Child



Labor, of Convict Labor and of uninspected factories.

12. Substitution of Insurance for Charity.

13. Inheritance Taxes.

14. Graduated Income Tax.

15. Unrestricted and Equal Suffrage for Men and Women.

16. Initiative and Referendum, Proportional Representation and Recall.

17. Abolition of Senate.

18. Substitution of Referendum for Supreme Court in passing upon Constitutionality of Laws.

19. Manner of Amending Constitution.

20. Education and Health.

21. Establishment of a Department of Labor.

22. Judges and Injunctions.

23. Free Administration of Justice.

V. Municipal Problems of Socialism.

1. Municipal Ownership.

2. Municipal Milk and Bread.

3. Slaughter Houses.

4. Dwellings and Tenements.

5. Education.

6. Public Health.

VI. Special Problems of Socialism.

1. Agriculture.

2. Trade Unions.

3. Intemperance.

4. Militarism.

VII. The Socialist Party.

1. Organization and Growth.

2. Propaganda.

3. Politics.

4. Legislative Activity.

5. Political Achievements in all Countries.

VIII. Objections to Socialism.

Weekly lessons will be issued by the National Executive Committee and published

in the party press, containing suggestions on the study course outlined above.

We recommend that each Local procure the following books to be used in connection with the study courses. These books can be obtained from the National Office.

Theory—

Socialism in Theory and Practice. Hillquit.

Social Revolution. Kautsky.

Economic Foundations of Society. Loria.

The Development of Socialism—

Socialism Utopian and Scientific. Engels.

Economics—

Capital. Marx; or The People's Marx. Deville.

Socialism. Spargo.

Special Problems of Socialism—

Woman. Bebel.

The American Farmer. Simons.

The City for the People. Parsons.

Collectivism and Industrial Evolution. Vandervelde.

Tactics and Methods—

Socialists at Work. Hunter.

Constructive Socialism. Thompson.

History—

History of Socialism. Kirkup.

History of Socialism in the United States. Hillquit.

## Socialist Party and the Trade Unions

There is no royal road in agitation and least of all in dealing with the trades unions. Patience and hard work are required.

Nor can we establish any rule or set procedure for every city of the United States. Local conditions vary and our methods of agitation must change accordingly.

All we can do is to define certain principles to guide us in our attitude towards the trade union movement. And the agitation for our party, no matter how conditions



may differ locally, must adhere to these general principles.

Two great mistakes in tactics have been made in the past—mistakes which are still lingering in our party to no small extent, and must be avoided in the future if we wish for success. First, we must get rid of the idea that things must go in this country as they did in Germany, Austria, France or Italy.

Our trade unions were not patterned after the continental unions, but followed the English precedent, and this was natural enough since not only many trades union men came directly from England, but the similarity of institutions and the identity of language made this almost a necessity.

Besides, in Germany and in most of the continental countries, the trades unions were largely founded by the Socialists and have remained ever since under socialist influence.

In England and America this was not the case. Some of the older trades unions attained considerable influence and size long before the Socialist party was known, or before it had made any headway.

Second, we must get away from the notion of considering the trades union movement simply a recruiting ground for the Socialist propaganda and the Socialist party. We must get accustomed to the idea of a labor movement with two arms. The economic arm represented by the trades union movement is fully as important as the political arm represented by the Socialist party.

Among the Socialists there was formerly a tremendous under-estimation of the trade union movement. And when they tried to rectify the mistake, some went clear to the other extreme by overstating the value of the trades union.

In Germany the Gewerkschaften, the trade unions, were started and nurtured by the Lassalle wing of the Social Democracy before the two wings united.

The Lassalleans started the trade unions as a matter of self-defense because the Liberal party (Fortschritts-Partei) had gained ascendancy in the Deutsche Arbeiterverein of which Hirsch and Duncker had formed the German trades societies (Gewerkvereine). For that reason the Lassalleans rather unwillingly founded the trade unions (Gewerkschaften) and for a long time considered them merely recruiting grounds for the Social Democracy. And even after the two wings of the German Social Democracy united in 1875, our comrades in Germany for some years still considered them merely recruiting grounds.

However, the German party has changed its attitude in this matter. The German Socialists now agree that membership in a trade union is a necessity of life for every workingman, and that the trade union therefore must accept its members without respect to religious or political opinions. The trade union which cannot weld together all existing fellow-craftsmen into one organization cannot accomplish its mission or will accomplish it very imperfectly.

The tendency of the Socialist trade unions in Germany of late is therefore not only to try to get into their ranks the Hirsch-Duncker trades societies but also the Catholic and protestant workingmen's associations, which were founded in opposition to the trade unions.

The accepted view of Social Democracy today is that a trade union is the organization of labor which fights for the improvement of the workingmen's condition under the present order of society,—under capitalism.

And therefore the trade unions are very deeply interested in all legislation concerning accident, old age, sickness and invalid insurance—or in establishing insurance of this kind of their own.

Furthermore, the trade unions naturally are deeply interested in immediate legislation on sweat-shops, factory laws, factory



inspection and protective legislation of all kinds.

The conditions of the workingmen even under capitalism can be very effectively improved by legislative measures. To get these improvements is the duty of the trade unionists and the trade unionists will very soon learn that their chances of getting their demands through, city, state and national legislatures are infinitely greater if they have representatives of their own class, who stand for the abolition of the present wage system. These measures stand a better chance just in proportion to the number of such representatives in the legislative bodies.

So while the trades unions as such, must necessarily remain neutral, the trades unionists as an individual and as a voter will very soon appear as a party man. For only as a party man can he attain his purpose, which in this instance is necessarily a class purpose.

What we have to do, therefore,—in fact what we must do—is to gain the ear and the good will of the individual trade union man.

We want to make him understand the condition of his class. We want to make him see conditions in the right light and we want him to act accordingly.

To pass resolutions in favor of Socialism or of the Socialist party in trade union meetings resolutions that are not understood by some and opposed by others—is, therefore, worse than useless.

We do not ask any trade union to endorse the Socialist Party. Party politics is not within the scope of the trade union.

On the other hand, we must make the trade unionist constantly feel that the Socialist party is the political complement—the other half—of the economic organization.

Wherever we can, we must continuously bring up measures for the improvement of

the working class today and fight for them today.

Besides the measures mentioned above, we should take up popular and higher education, taxes, public administration, care of public health and care of the poor, administration of civic and penal justice and many other measures.

In the union meetings these topics ought to be brought up by the Socialists under the head "For the good and welfare of the order" or under the head "Economic Questions"—which order of business is in use in practically every union in the country.

In the state conventions and national conventions and also in the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor the same should be done.

For instance, the Socialist delegates have proposed among other things, a resolution in favor of old age pensions in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor at least ten times. And after it had been turned down every time it was finally adopted in 1907 in Norfolk and again last November in Denver.

Socialistic measures of this kind bring the Socialists and the non-Socialists in the trades unions nearer together.

However, the Socialist Locals in the various cities ought to make a point of distributing free literature among the trade union men and getting Socialist members of the unions to take it to their meeting halls and lodge rooms. For after all, literature must form the basis of all our propaganda if the results of this propaganda are to be lasting.

Of course it is advisable to invite trades men and particularly the opponents of our cause to our lectures and discussions—but literature must remain our chief method of agitation.

It is not necessary nor even advisable that all the trade unions should be covered at the same time. It is preferable to take up one union or a few of them at a time and work at them patiently and ploddingly



—preferably trades unions whose members work in big factories or shops.

And we must not expect too much from one single distribution of literature, or even a number of them. But by keeping up the fire continuously for some length of time there is absolutely no doubt about success.

If this is done systematically it will soon be found that every such shop will turn into a discussion meeting every noon at the dinner hour.

In view of the aforesaid we make the following recommendations:

First.—That every Socialist who is eligible to membership in a trade union should join the respective union.

Second.—That our party or any local or branch of it should not interfere with the differences within or between trade unions.

Third.—That Socialists everywhere should assist the trade unions in their struggles with sympathy and active help, not only in strikes and boycotts, but also by demanding the labels and working cards wherever possible.

Fourth.—That every Socialist who is a trade union man should make it his business to get as many subscribers for the local Socialist papers as possible. It should be the aim of the Socialists in trade unions to get unions to subscribe for the local Socialist papers for their members in a body.

Fifth.—That wherever possible the Socialists in the trades unions should make the local Socialist paper the official organ of the trades unions and of the central body in that place.

Sixth.—That Socialists shall refrain from trying to get the indorsement of any trade union as such for the Socialist party.

Seventh.—That whenever possible under the head of Economic Questions, or under the head "For the good and welfare of the order," measures for the improvement of the conditions of the working class and particularly in regard to all legislation con-

cerning accidents, old age, sickness and invalid insurance, popular education, care of public health and the poor, administration of civic and penal justice and other measures of the same nature shall be brought forward by the Socialists in the trades unions for discussion.

Eight.—The same should be done by all Socialist delegates to state and national trade union conventions. And also by all representatives of the Socialist party in the legislative bodies.

Ninth.—Special attention should be given to the distribution of Socialist literature treating these subjects.

Wherever it can be done Socialists in the trade unions should distribute literature of that nature in the union meetings and also in the shops.

Our motto must be under all circumstances, join the union of your craft and the party of your class.

## Organization

In our judgment, organizing should be the chief work of the National Office. Except during the heat of the biennial campaigns everything else should be subordinated to the work of organization.

Organizers have diverse characteristics and cannot all be fitted into one groove.

A closer bond of co-operation should be established between the organization and the Socialist papers and magazines. The Socialist publications should make their subscription lists more valuable for organization purposes by persistently urging their non-member readers to join the organization, and by persistently emphasizing the fact that there can be no such thing as success without a strong and efficient organization. On the other hand, the field workers, including both the organizers and those who do chiefly lecture work, should be required to handle the subscription cards of the Socialist publications while in the field.



They should also supply the Socialist press with news items in connection with their work.

As the work of an organizer must infallibly disintegrate and fail of its purpose unless the state organization vigorously follows it up, the National Organizers should be assigned to states, for such periods as the circumstances warrant, to work in conjunction with the state organizations, to co-operate with the state secretaries in laying out their routes, and to have the advance work along the line done by the state office and not by the national office. The state secretary will then be fully informed of everything that occurs, because he had a hand in it, will have the benefit of learning efficient methods if he has not already done so, and will be in position to follow up the results accomplished and keep the new locals growing rather than disintegrating. This paragraph does not necessarily apply to those field workers who lecture chiefly and only organize incidentally. In many cases it may be best for them to be toured direct by the national office.

To give a definite idea as to the best method of penetrating new territory, the following extract is given from a report of Comrade Work.

"I was sent to Utah as an organizer in January, 1908. I went direct to the state secretary, where, together with two members of the state committee, we spread out before us the map of the state and the subscription lists of the Socialist publications. We decided that I was to go to all the accessible places where there was a goodly bunch of subscribers. In about half of these places we did not know the name of a single Socialist. We selected a subscriber in each of such places as our correspondent. When we found that one person was taking two or more Socialist publications, we sized him up as being a Socialist and took him for our correspondent. If there was none such, we simply picked out a name that looked good to us. We did not send any

letters to the various places asking if they could use an organizer. We laid out my route definitely with short jumps, one day in a place, sent my posters to the correspondent whom we had selected, and told each of them that I would be there on a particular day and asked him to get up a meeting. Lest the correspondent should not be a Socialist, or should neglect the matter, we prepared a circular letter to send to all other subscribers in each place except those where we knew the correspondent and trusted him. This circular letter was neatly printed in imitation typewriter type on the state organization's letter heads and it read as follows:

Ogden, Utah, January —, 1908.

Dear Comrade:—There are thousands of working men and women in Utah who throw their votes away, giving them to parties that are opposed to their interests. They do this because they do not know any better. You and I will have to show them better before we can reap the benefit from our own votes. To do this requires time, work, money, persistence, and an organization that is always on duty, giving the enemy no rest, but continuing the attack with untiring activity.

The presidential campaign is upon us. There should by all means be an organization of the Socialist Party in your town. We have assigned Comrade John M. Work, National Organizer of the Socialist Party, to speak there on..... and organize a local if possible.

Comrade ..... has charge of the arrangements, and we urge you to give him your hearty co-operation in making the meeting a success.

You do not believe in exploitation, and yet you are exploiting your own brother Socialists if you make them carry the burden you ought to carry. We are sure that you will line up and do your part.

Fraternally yours,

Jos. MacLachlan,

State Secretary Socialist Party of Utah.



"The state secretary filled in the blanks in the forgoing circular letter and sent it to each and every subscriber for a Socialist publication in all the places where we were not sure of our ground. He also sent my posters ahead of me to the selected correspondents along the line, and co-operated with me in every possible way. In a few instances the parties to whom the posters were sent proved to be non-Socialists. In most such cases the subscribers to whom the circular letter had been sent got the posters and arranged the meetings anyhow. In four places I lost out entirely, but I penetrated more than that number of places not on the list at all. I literally subordinated everything to organization, cutting my speeches short and making organization the prominent thing both at the meetings and in conversation beforehand. The result was that in nine weeks we organized and re-organized thirty-one locals with three hundred and forty-nine members, added twenty-six members to existing locals, secured twelve members at large, made thirty-seven propaganda speeches, sold one hundred and seventy-one subscription cards and five hundred and sixteen books, and secured numerous names of Socialists in places not visited. It appears to me that these results are a good recommendation for the method used."

After getting locals organized, the next vital question is how to hold the members and get new ones. The main reason why new locals in the smaller towns and villages frequently go to pieces is because they have nothing to do. A number of enthusiastic comrades are formed into a local. They appoint a time for the next meeting. When the time arrives they are all on hand, only to discover that so far as they can see they have absolutely nothing to do. The meeting is therefore uninteresting and the result is a smaller attendance at the next one. In a few weeks the local lapses.

Weekly lessons published by the national office for the use of all locals and

branches that will use them, will go a long way toward making the local meetings interesting.

Locals and branches can also hold and increase their membership by establishing the systematic and periodical distribution of literature, by taking an active part in the local affairs of their respective communities, by appointing committees to visit all delinquent members, by visiting all sympathizers, and personally and systematically soliciting the entire population for subscriptions to the Socialist publications.

In some places a card filing system has been used to good advantage for the purpose of keeping a record of party members and sympathizers. A card is devoted to each person, giving his name, address, occupation, and other salient facts. A sample of such a filing card and other material for organization will be sent to locals.

The addresses can be collected from Socialist publications, from comrades and from other sources. Locals and branches should make use of them for personal visits where feasible, and for sending circulars and letters where personal work is not practicable. State and district organizers can make good use of similar methods. Locals and branches should endeavor to carry on their business meetings in a business-like manner. They should also insist upon accurate financial records and reports.

A number of state organizations suffer from the fact that the state secretary is compelled to earn a living at his regular occupation and do the work of state secretary besides. Such states should put the state secretary on a salary as soon as possible and enable him to give his full time to the party work.

In view of the foregoing, we make the following specific recommendations:

1. That the Socialist periodicals support the work of the organizers by persistently urging upon their readers the duty of joining the party.

2. That the field workers handle the sub-



scription cards of the Socialist publications, especially those in whose fields they happen to be working, and that the subscription cards be furnished to them at wholesale rates.

3. That the locals use the weekly lessons.

4. That locals and branches adopt the systematic and periodical distribution of literature.

5. That locals take an active interest in the affairs of their respective localities and seize every opportunity to do useful service for the community and the cause.

6. That locals and branches study parliamentary rules and carry on their business meetings in a business-like manner.

7. That state secretaries make use of the subscription lists of the Socialist publications for the purpose of sending out letters and circulars to organize new locals and to secure members-at-large by the persistent follow-up system, and for the purpose of routing organizers.

8. That each local and branch make "Lapsed Members" an order of business at their meetings, committees to be appointed to visit such members and report at the next meeting.

9. That locals and branches appoint committees to visit all unaffiliated Socialists and invite them to join the organization."

## Public Meetings

"It is much better to have a few well-organized meetings than a large number of hastily arranged and inefficient ones.

As soon as a public meeting has been decided upon and carefully planned the most important thing is to have it well advertised.

The exact time and place should be published in the local newspapers from two days to one week in advance.

The name of the speaker should always be mentioned with a statement of his or her position in the party and other qualifications.

The subject of the speech should be stated as fully as possible.

Whenever it is possible to obtain a half-tone cut of the speaker it should be used, as pictures help to attract attention.

Supply the local papers with short paragraphs about the meeting and the speaker.

Don't be stingy about paying the newspapers for space used. Most of them have a hard time to live, and if you patronize them by advertising the meetings many of them will publish free a report of the meeting if you will write it in a brief, intelligent style. The best way is to supply the press in advance with a synopsis of the speech. Refrain from personal abuse.

Another good method of advertising is by placards and posters. In many workshops, mills and factories you will be allowed to tack these up, and in many barber shops, restaurants, hotels, saloons and stores you will be allowed to put them in the windows.

Still another effective way is to have either a neat little handbill or a card of pocket size and have these distributed at places where people pass in large numbers mornings and evenings.

In all advertisements be particular to have the exact date, day, hour and place, as well as the name of the speaker and subject, plainly and prominently printed.

If there are special features, such as pictures, charts or music, to be used at the meetings these should be advertised.

Music might be used to good advantage to attract an audience.

Have some comrade at the meeting place one hour before the time of calling to order to see that lights and heat are provided.

Provide ushers to show the audience seats and to take particular care that the front seats should be filled.

Careful provision should be made for the sale of literature and subscription cards of Socialist periodicals.

Leaflets or newspapers for free distribution should also be given away at the door.



The best time for a collection is just after the principal speech. One collector in each aisle can handle the collection hats on both sides, but it is better to have two in each aisle.

Start all collectors in the front row—never begin in the rear. Announce the amount of the collection received.

A chairman should be selected in advance. He should call the meeting on time and introduce the speaker in ten minutes or less.

Outdoor meetings should be as carefully planned as indoor meetings. Promiscuous street meetings without arranged plan are of little good to the movement.

If speakers are not toured by the national or state organization, be careful in their selection.

In deciding whether an outdoor or indoor meeting, the suitability of the speaker for each kind of work should be considered.

The constitutions of the various states provide for the right of free speech and public assemblage. We have the right to hold meetings on the streets at all reasonable hours, all local ordinances and laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

It must nevertheless be borne in mind that the right of free speech on the streets does not include the right to interfere with either teams or pedestrians. Socialists should always have comrades to keep the walk and driveway open so as not to block the passageway. We should never demand a privilege which we would refuse to let others have.

At any meeting, indoor or out, an urgent invitation to join the party should be extended to those present."

## Literature

"Literature is perhaps the most effective of all instruments of Socialist propaganda. A good book on Socialism contains as much material facts and argument as an

entire series of good lectures, but more clearly expressed and more carefully worded. Good lectures on Socialism serve as a valuable introduction to the subject. But the man who has a complete exposition of the Socialist philosophy before him in permanent and lasting form is more likely to study the subject carefully, to read and perhaps re-read the book, and if he becomes sufficiently interested in it, to pass it on to his friends, and to discuss the subject with them. The converts who come to us through a study of Socialist literature are, moreover, apt to be more steady and reliable than those whose sympathies have been aroused by one or more propaganda speeches or convincing lectures.

Our party has heretofore made no determined effort to organize the work of systematic and planful dissemination of Socialist literature. We believe the time has come to undertake that task vigorously, and to that end we make the following recommendations:

1. That every local procure a supply of select Socialist books and pamphlets for the purpose of sale. Have few books, but good ones. Do not stock your literature tables with a large number of pamphlets, all covering the same general ground and restating the same proposition in different language, but get one good book on each important phase of our philosophy. Much has been said about the need of short, pointed leaflets on the general subject of Socialism or on current issues discussed from a Socialist point of view. Such leaflets certainly have a useful place in our general propaganda work.

There are thousands of questions within our present society that can be answered only by the Socialist philosophy. The object of special leaflets should be to present the particular one of these questions which is of greatest interest in each locality. Such leaflets should be issued only when there is definite occasion for them, and great care should be exercised and their wording and



typographical appearance and in the manner of their distribution.

In ordinary cases our daily and weekly papers fully accomplish the object of leaflets, and the time and money expended on the indiscriminate distribution of hastily prepared leaflets will probably yield better and more lasting results if turned to the support and dissemination of our party papers.

2. At every public meeting of every local the speaker or the chairman should make it a point to request the audience to buy some Socialist books or pamphlets. The request should not be made in general terms, but should be limited each time to two or three specific books, the nature and merits of which should be fully described.

3. Each local should elect a "literature agent," whose duty it shall be to see to it that the organization is at all times supplied with a sufficient quantity of Socialist literature, that the latter be properly advertised and sold at all public meetings of the local, and if possible also at the meetings of other progressive and labor organizations.

4. The National Literature Bureau will from time to time publish and transmit to all local lists of books recommended for the study courses of the members and for sale at meetings. The Bureau will have a sufficient supply of such books, and will sell them to the locals at cost or with a moderate profit.

### The Socialist Press

The co-operation between the Socialist press and the work of organization, education and agitation is at present decidedly imperfect. Every campaign carried on for any one of these three purposes, in any locality, should be conducted with the assistance of the Socialist paper which is most suitable.

If it is proposed to concentrate upon any locality, not only should the subscription

lists of the Socialist papers be secured, but the names of probable subscribers should be obtained for sample copies.

The "Party Press" should be made a regular order of business at business meetings. The best methods of increasing the number of subscribers should be discussed, all news and notices for which publicity is desired should be arranged for and subscription cards for the various papers be distributed to those ready to take them.

A correspondent should be selected in every local, who should be a regular "publicity agent" for his locality. It should be his duty to send in all items of interest. He should tell of work done and to be done. He should write out descriptions of any new forms of agitation or new methods of organization attempted by the local. In sending items of general news the greatest care must be taken to verify all facts.

As soon as possible the National Office will hire a special correspondent, who will be stationed at Washington, to supply regular matter to the party press."

### Campaign Methods

The chief aim of our campaigns must, of course, always be the education of the people to a better understanding of the Socialist philosophy and movement. But it does not follow that our methods during the period immediately preceding election should be identical with those of our everyday propaganda.

In times of electoral campaigns the people are more keenly interested in the discussion of social and political problems than at any other time, but their interests are primarily centered on the particular issues which the campaign advances. To adapt itself to this state of the public mind and to turn it to best account for our cause, propaganda at such times must be not only more intense than usual, but also more specific. We must fairly meet the concrete



issues of each campaign, and seek to bring home to the voters the significance of the Socialist movement by a practical application of our philosophy to the problems uppermost in their minds.

Our electoral campaigns should always start in early and be well prepared.

The first step in a carefully planned campaign is the drafting of the platform. Our platforms in each electoral campaign, whether national, state or local, should be not merely abstract declarations of the principles of Socialism, but concrete applications of these principles to the issues involved in the specific campaign. To this end we must in each case attack primarily the most palpable and vital evils of the city, state or national administration, as the case may be, and offer the most timely and direct remedies for them. In other words, Socialism must be shown to be real and vital by concrete demonstration and application, rather than by a mere reiteration of theory that tends to weary the people unless its practical application is made clear.

Our platforms should be as brief as consistent with a clear and specific statement of our criticisms, purposes and aims, and should be written in the language of the people. Special care should be taken to avoid technical phrases which are full of meaning for the student of Marxian philosophy, but are worse than Greek to the uninitiated multitude. The platforms thus conceived and constructed should form the basis of our propaganda.

We should arm ourselves with definite facts and information concerning the local situation, political, social and economic, and dwell extensively upon these facts, avoiding as far as possible unsupported denunciations. This rule should apply to our speeches and literature at all times and not merely during the electoral contests.

Another matter of importance in connection with electoral campaign is the selection of our candidates for public office.

While in the majority of case our chances of election are but very remote, it must nevertheless be borne in mind that Socialist campaigns are rapidly ceasing to be a mere political curiosity in this country. Our campaigns are being considered with ever greater seriousness by the voters, and our candidates are being subjected to ever closer scrutiny by them. In measure as our candidates contrast advantageously with those of the old parties, our chances of gaining support among the voters are greater. Our candidates should, wherever possible, be selected not only with reference to their ability as Socialist propagandists, but also with reference to their qualifications for the offices for which they are nominated. If we want the people at large to accord us serious consideration, we must take ourselves seriously.

Still another matter of great importance, but too often overlooked by Socialists, is the necessity of a proper organization for the count of our vote. In a large number of cases we depend for the count of our vote entirely upon the Republican and Democratic election officials, and it is very doubtful today whether the vote with which our party is officially credited really represents the total vote for our ticket.

Our party workers should, wherever possible, be subdivided into election district or ward or precinct committees. Such committees should take charge of the distribution of literature, meetings, personal canvass of citizens, registration of voters and the count of the vote in their respective districts. They should make it their business to acquaint themselves thoroughly with their districts. In our present state of organization this will, of course, be a difficult task in many localities, but it may be readily accomplished in the better organized places, and some beginnings in that direction may be made even in places in which our organization is as yet weak.

But with all our attention to practical



details, we should never forget for a moment that our campaigns at election times as well as at others must remain educational in the most thorough sense. We should not be too abstract and didactic in our political activity, nor should we allow our campaigns to degenerate into mere vote-catching or office-hunting politics. We should never miss an opportunity to direct the attention of the voters to the ultimate objects and final goal of the Socialist movement or to induce them to read the Socialist press and Socialist literature.

Our campaigns should at all times be carried on upon the highest possible plane as well as by the most effective methods available.

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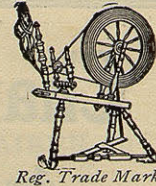
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VOLUME 94

MARCH 5, 1910

NUMBER 10

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# The Outlook

MARCH 5, 1910

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## FIVE THOUSAND PER CENT

Voluntarily there appeared before the Senate Committee on Territories, on the 18th of February, two representatives of the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate that is interested in the development of the natural resources of Alaska. Mr. John N. Steele and Mr. Stephen Birch, respectively General Counsel and Managing Director of the syndicate, testified that the syndicate owned a railway and a copper mine, and what is virtually a controlling proportion of the stock of a concern that owns a fisheries company and a group of steamship lines. They resented the imputation that the syndicate was trying to "gobble up" all of the natural resources of Alaska. Inasmuch as the Territory of Alaska has an area equivalent to that covered by seven or eight of the largest States in the Middle West, this denial is very far from being an assurance that the property of the people of the United States is properly protected against the privileged interests that are busy in Alaska. Later, one of the representatives of the syndicate testified that it had an option on the Cunningham claims, which have figured so largely in the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy, but that this option covered only a half-interest! Since the validity of those claims depends upon proof that there was no combination among the claimants before the filing of the claims, this testimony is particularly significant. The manager of the syndicate, moreover, estimated the possible profit from coal that could be obtained from the land included in the Cunningham claims as twenty-five million dollars, and stated that the price which the syndicate had agreed to pay for a half-interest in the property as soon as patented was a quarter of a

million dollars. This means that the total profits would amount to five thousand per cent of the investment. Are the people of the United States willing to hand over to syndicates of capitalists, practically free of charge, such enormous treasures? It is to be remembered, of course, that the development of such coal deposits in a remote region like Alaska involves the building of railways and the provision of expensive equipment, not necessarily included in the cost of the mines themselves. Nevertheless, the figures given indicate how rich a reward may come to those who secure ownership in coal lands and other resources in Alaska. This testimony before the Senate Committee should open the eyes of the people of the United States. Every American citizen is a part owner in the public domain. Does the reader of this paragraph want his property presented as a gift to corporate concerns?

## THE OWNERS OF THE PROPERTY

The undeveloped coal in the public domain of Alaska belongs to the people of the United States, and its value should come into the possession of the people. Whoever does the work of mining the coal and bringing it into use should be paid fairly for the labor and the risk involved. All returns over and above this should go to the real owners. Indeed, since the people of the United States own these coal lands, they have the right to say under what conditions the coal shall be mined, or even whether it shall be mined at all. They should not dispose of those coal lands, but retain the ownership of them. They should retain with the ownership the right to lease the lands to those who wish to mine the coal, and the right to make regulations under which the mines on those lands shall be managed, including



the right to fix the rate of wages and salaries, and the hours and conditions of labor. They should retain the right to fix the price at which the coal may be sold. With these rights well preserved, the Government of the United States can offer any individual or company the opportunity to mine that coal. It can say to such an individual or company, "These are the conditions; you can accept them or decline them; if you do not like them, we can mine the coal ourselves." Following the example of the arrangement between the city of Boston and its Gas Company, the Government of the United States might well say to such a mining company: "If you keep the price to the consumer down to such and such a figure, you may have a specified profit; if you lower the price still further, you may have a larger profit; a certain amount must be paid to the Government as a fair and adequate rental, and all profits over and above the percentage allowed must also go into the United States Treasury." In one respect, therefore, the bill that is now before the Senate, introduced by Mr. Nelson and recognized as an Administration measure, is defective. This bill fixes the royalty to be paid to the Government at the flat rate of fifteen cents per ton. What ought to be fixed is the percentage of profit; all over and above that should be divided in an equitable manner between the consumer and the United States Treasury. With this and other less important exceptions, this bill embodies in general the principles we have laid down. The representatives of the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate have put the public under obligation to them for making so clear by their testimony the need for the enactment of a law that will secure to the people the wealth that is theirs.

#### HOW TO MAKE THE POST-OFFICE SELF-SUPPORTING

There is a deficit, according to Postmaster-General Hitchcock, of twenty-eight million dollars in the rural delivery service. Under the present rates of postage and the regulations in the rural delivery service there will always be a deficit. If, for example, a merchant desires to send a four-pound package to patrons living on a rural route extending from that merchant's post

office, he must pay sixty-four cents. But he would pay sixty-four cents if he were sending the same package to patrons living on a rural route which starts from some post-office at the other end of the country. In the interest both of equitable individual treatment and also of financial return to the Government, the matter ought to be more reasonably adjusted. There should be at least a local rate on parcels on rural routes starting from the same post-office. Hence we are glad to note that the Hon. David J. Foster, of Vermont, has introduced a bill to this end in the House of Representatives. As every carrier on a rural route is prepared to transport a hundred and twenty-five pounds of mail, yet as, in point of fact, he carries an average of not over twenty-five pounds, the carriage of local parcels would not entail any additional expense to the Government. The returns would be all net profit. Mr. Foster would establish rates of postage on parcels of third and fourth class matter of one cent for parcels weighing two ounces or less, of two cents on parcels weighing over two ounces and not over four, of three cents on parcels over four ounces and not exceeding eight, etc. No parcels would exceed eleven pounds in weight. Under such a bill, with our present number of routes, the return would be, so Mr. Foster believes, as much as twelve million dollars a year. Two interests will doubtless oppose the bill—the express companies and the country stores. The expected opposition of the express companies to this bill can easily be understood; but it should have no weight against the public interest. As for the country stores, which have heretofore opposed the extension of the rural free delivery on account of the advantage that it might give to the big mail order concerns in the city, they will find no such cause for opposition in this bill, for, by its provisions, postage on packages which they send to neighboring consumers would be much less than the postage which those same consumers would pay on packages from more distant stores. The country stores thus would be ultimately brought into really closer contact with the farming community, instead of being detached from it. It would not be surprising if the result of the present interest in our postal

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service were to show itself in enactment into law, not only of Mr. Foster's measure, but also of one providing for a more general parcels post.

#### TO PROTECT WATERSHEDS

The Hon. John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts, has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to establish National forests on forested watersheds. For the present fiscal year the bill appropriates \$1,000,000, and for each fiscal year thereafter a sum not to exceed \$2,000,000, for acquiring lands located on the head-waters of navigable streams or those which may be developed for navigable purposes. These provisions are applicable to the head-waters of rivers in any part of the country—the head-waters of the Columbia, the Missouri, and the Mississippi, as well as the head-waters of the Connecticut, the Ohio, and the Tennessee. As, however, the head-waters of our Western streams are protected by existing National forests, the money to be derived from the Weeks bill, should it become law, would doubtless be spent for the first few years in the mountain watersheds of eastern America. The watersheds most needing attention are those of the Appalachian Mountains. They have a double value. First, they contain the largest and most varied hardwood supply in America. Second, they control the flow of a vast number of brooks, streams, and rivers. For many years the great Appalachian forests have been going the way of the ax. When we contemplate wood and water supply, such a loss is grievous enough. But this is not all. The ax is wielded not by public but by private interests. Yet here are forests which should be used for public, not private, benefit. It is not surprising, then, that a measure to protect these watersheds has been urged by three Presidents and by the Department of Agriculture, that for over a decade it has been before Congress at practically every session, that it has passed the Senate three times and the House once.

#### MR. PINCHOT ANSWERS ONE OBJECTION

The objections to the bill are three: First, it is claimed by some, and in particular by Professor Willis L. Moore, Chief of the Weather Bureau,

that the removal of forests does not necessarily intensify floods, hence the necessity for such a bill is not great. What are the facts? Floods do not occur where watersheds are forested, for every forest covers what is practically a reservoir. This reservoir is made up of the tree roots and the little hollows or basins between, of the fallen limbs, of logs, twigs, and leaves. All these catch and hold back the raindrops as they fall. Underneath a deep vegetable mold immediately forms. The ground becomes porous like a sponge, and is called humus. It has greater power to absorb moisture than has any other known vegetable or animal matter. It holds the rain for months after it has fallen. Contact with underlying rock finally causes the water to drain off slowly and continually all the year round. Some of the water finds its way into the beds of brooks and streams and rivers, into which it grooves deeply, leaving little or no deposit. Devastate the forest and you devastate the humus; its spongelike quality can be preserved only by the forest's dampness. The forest gone, the obstructions to waterflow are removed. The rain no longer falls deep into the earth; it is not retained there as in a reservoir and drained off slowly. Instead, it is quickly drained along the earth's surface, causing destructive freshets and floods and dragging its deposit into the river-beds. These soon fill up with the deposit known as silt and become shallow. The rains, no longer falling into the deep beds, easily overflow the shallow beds. The country becomes flooded. Damage to property and often unhealthful conditions follow. The experience of the ages has crystallized this common knowledge into the common belief that beyond question forests do influence stream flow. A signal proof is shown by the injurious floods which every year visit deforested China, Spain, and Syria, but do not visit forested Germany. Mr. Gifford Pinchot, late United States Forester, says: "Every one who uses his eyes knows that the condition of the surface has a powerful and immediate influence on the run-off or drainage. . . . The essential function of the forest floor affords a physical obstruction to the rapid escape of water over the surface. . . .



There is, however, another function which in practical value far surpasses this one. The forest floor reacts upon the soil itself to increase its absorptive capacity. The humus, which, by natural action, is being constantly mixed with the upper layers of mineral soils, adds to their receptive and retentive powers, while the deep, penetrating roots open passages through which water regularly passes to underground drainage. The greatest influence, then, which the forest exerts on fallen moisture is that of changing surface to underground drainage and of replenishing the great underground reservoir from which springs and streams are fed. . . .

It is flying in the face of what every outdoor man knows to deny it. If," adds Mr. Pinchot, "Professor Moore's figures seem to prove the opposite, then I should be much more inclined to believe that there was something wrong with the figures than with the common knowledge of the human race. And then there are all the figures which contradict him to be considered also, figures at least as reliable as those he submits."

#### NATIONAL FORESTS A NATIONAL AFFAIR

Mr. Pinchot is right. "The common knowledge of the human race" needs no figures to indicate the folly of a policy which wastes not only timbers and water, but also soil, through erosion, clogging the course of streams and rivers, and filling the mouths of harbors. All this happens because we are cutting our forests, in general, at least three times as fast as they are being produced, and hence are destroying the sponge-like soil which has acted as a reservoir as long as the forest protected it. So much for the first reason why the Appalachian Bill has been opposed. The second is because of the claim that the acquisition of forest reserves by the National Government from State property is unconstitutional. But the National Government has the Constitutional power to acquire forest reserves in a State for the purposes of navigation, and hence Mr. Weeks's bill is entitled "A Bill . . . for the protection of the watersheds of navigable streams." The third objection is that the separate States in which forest reserves are pro-

posed should pay for them out of their respective State treasuries. But, with the exception of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and a few others, the separate States cannot afford this. Moreover, the preservation of the Appalachian forests, for example, is not of merely State benefit, and should not be made a matter of State cost. The objections fall to the ground. The bill ought to pass. Its passage is indissolubly bound up with the prosecution of the principle and policy of the conservation of our forest resources.

#### MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM

During the past fortnight, under the authority granted by the Payne Tariff Law, President Taft has issued proclamations stating that, in addition to the others already named, the Governments of the following countries do not unduly discriminate against goods imported from the United States, and are therefore entitled to the minimum rates of our new tariff: Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Portugal, Persia, India, Japan, Aden, Malta, Egypt, Abyssinia, Morocco, Liberia, the Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia, Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, British Guiana, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil. The treatment to be accorded to the remaining countries is still undetermined; the more important ones, concerning which a decision is yet to be reached, are Canada, France, Austria-Hungary, and China. If it is found that any countries unduly discriminate against American goods, the maximum tariff will go into operation against them on April 1. Of the decisions made by the Tariff Board concerning the tariff systems of the above-mentioned countries, the most interesting and important was that with respect to Germany. As a result of the long series of conferences between the German and American Governments, the former conceded to us unlimited enjoyment of its minimum or lower tariff in return for our minimum. A bill approving this arrangement was submitted to the Reichstag, the lower house of the German Parliament, and was adopted without debate. The result is that the United States has finally secured a free-

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dom of entry into the German market which it might never have secured under a single schedule tariff. The trade between Germany and America much exceeds four hundred million dollars; not only is it an immensely valuable trade in itself, as indicated by these figures, but it is particularly valuable because of the difficulty which, in the event of a tariff war, either country would experience in the endeavor to obtain certain commodities elsewhere.

## COLD STORAGE

Through a combination of their interests, the packers may have considerable to answer for in the manipulation of supplies and prices, as the beef investigation at Chicago may show. But last week a Grand Jury in Jersey City, New Jersey, decided to bring indictments against the directors of a packing company on a charge of conspiracy to raise prices by keeping food-stuffs in cold storage. What is cold storage? The term does not mean the ordinary plants for the refrigeration and preservation for a short time of perishable products like meats, poultry, eggs, dairy products, fruits, and vegetables, but far vaster plants where for very extended periods the temperature is kept at a far more abnormal degree—as low as twenty degrees below zero—and where meats and fruit become for the time being frozen like wood. The system of cold storage has been, first of all, of enormous use in affording the enjoyment of food necessities and luxuries out of season, where, under the old system, such enjoyment was not possible. For instance, even the ordinary housekeeper may in the month of February have her strawberries occasionally. Second, the system has increased production; the farmer has augmented his production of perishables, knowing that the cold storage companies would purchase the surplus. Third, by its distribution the system has also tended to prevent waste and loss. Finally, it has helped to equalize prices by limiting their fluctuation. As a total result the cold storage system may, we think, be regarded as in a very real sense a public utility. The present appallingly high cost of living, however, has suggested to the suspicious that cold storage may also be a device to be used

by unscrupulous persons whenever they think desirable to control the supply, and, by keeping meat and eggs and fruit out of market, to fix prices and obtain undue profit. This opportunity for extortion becomes doubly possible when one realizes its extension through the combination of cold storage and transportation in the form of a refrigerator car service. The retailers must also bear their share of the blame. By cold storage, game, fish, and eggs left over from one open season to another may be passed off as recent products. This deceit is most widely practiced in the case of eggs, which may be bought by retailers from cold storage warehouses at not over thirty cents a dozen and then sold to the public as new-laid eggs from the country at sixty cents. Why should the now indispensable system of preservation help unscrupulous retailers to exploit the public? Properly regulated, such a system should serve the public well. No matter how great the gain has been to the public, there is now a suspicion that the gain to private interests, both wholesale and retail, may have been proportionately greater. If so, then the cold storage system, already classed as a public utility, must be supervised by the Government for the general good. The best warehousemen themselves see the advantage of being so regulated by the Department of Agriculture that the ultimate consumer would be notified by a Government stamp whenever and how long commodities offered to him have been subjected to the cold storage process. Fortunately, in its power to regulate interstate commerce, Congress possesses authority to deal with the matter for the whole country.

CHICAGO'S  
GRAFT INQUIRY

Chicago is turning the light on municipal dishonesty and inefficiency in a manner to excite the interest of all students of the city government problem. The Merriam Commission, headed by a college professor who is also an Alderman, is conducting the investigation. Professor Merriam, of the Department of Political Science of the University of Chicago, was elected last spring to represent his ward in the Chicago City Council. One of his first moves after election was to offer a



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resolution for the appointment by the Mayor of a commission on municipal expenditures, to be composed of Aldermen and citizens. The practical politicians did not take the matter seriously. They looked upon it as an academic proposition advanced by a college professor. The resolution was passed without serious opposition. Alderman Merriam was named as Chairman of the Commission, and Mr. Walter Fisher, former Secretary of the Municipal Voters' League, one of the members of the Commission by appointment of the Mayor, was made counsel, and was authorized to conduct the examination of witnesses at public hearings. The Commission is without legal power to summon witnesses, to administer oaths, or to compel the giving of testimony. However, city officials and employees were directed by the resolution creating the body to supply it with such city documents and information as it might need. Money was appropriated for the hiring of a staff of investigators. Probably at the outset even Alderman Merriam did not expect the inquiry to assume the importance that it has now attained. He planned it as a scientific investigation. He has insisted upon following scientific methods. While the newspapers at times have dealt with the subject-matter of the inquiry in a sensational manner, Alderman Merriam has refrained from what are characterized as brass band methods. The disclosures have been exceedingly hurtful to the present city administration, but it cannot be charged that the Commission has gone out of its way to accomplish any political purpose. On the other hand, the directing members of it have refused to be swerved from following the probe wherever it might lead.

#### DISCLOSURES OF WRONG-DOING

Fortunately for the Merriam Commission, shortly after its creation other agencies began to investigate certain phases of municipal activity. The State's Attorney, Mr. Wayman, secured the indictment and conviction of a captain of police on the charge of accepting bribes from keepers of disorderly resorts. The "Inter Ocean," formerly a staid partisan newspaper of the reactionary type, violently opposed to "muck-raking," began

the publication of a series of articles attacking the administration of Mayor Busse. It was believed by many that political motives inspired these attacks. Nevertheless, the "Inter Ocean's" work was ably done, and brought to light many facts that the Merriam Commission might not have been able to uncover. This was the situation when the Merriam Commission began to hold public hearings. The investigators of the Commission had been doing their work thoroughly. One of them, Mr. Herbert E. Fleming, a former newspaper man, looked into the subject of the purchases of coal by the city. He had expert analyses made of samples of coal delivered to the city under contract. The samples did not meet the specifications. By means of the shipping bills the cars in which the coal came were traced to their origin. It was found that coal delivered as Youghiogheny nut, to be obtained only from Pennsylvania, and for which the city paid \$3.50 a ton, actually came from a soft-coal mine in Indiana and was worth in the Chicago market only \$1.15 a ton. As a result of these disclosures two coal men held responsible for the fraudulent deliveries were indicted by the Grand Jury. One of them is a Democratic ward committeeman. The city administration is Republican. Lumber and other supplies purchased by the city were taken up in much the same way. As the result of inquiry into the charge that \$45,000 was paid as an extra for the removal of shale rock where no shale rock existed, about a dozen persons were indicted, one of the number being the Deputy Commissioner of Public Works, who immediately resigned his position following the submission to the City Council by the Commission of its report on that subject. The contractor involved was also indicted. The Merriam Commission is proceeding with its investigations carefully and thoroughly in spite of efforts to embarrass it by "honest taxpayers" who are striving to enjoin its expenditure of public funds for investigating purposes, and by others. It is significant that it is the administrative departments of government that are under fire in Chicago, and not the legislative department or City Council. On the contrary, it is the Council that is back of the inquiry. As the result of its fifteen

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#### BOSSISM OR BRIBERY?

in reply to a cash bribe opposed by He declares back was not a piece of ' in order to from those Mr. Allis and his had lost the towns local officials necessary a of the tax and restriction vent corruption he personally restrictive to favor the and earned exception. be the very alleged to asked to e in his act counsel, ca did so because to! Let's show that do what the inference these companies and possible. Mr. Platt suggestion proposed so as to people of writer of p a better illustration of bo the danger ute to par



years' fight for better Aldermen, Chicago to-day probably has the best Council of any large city in the country. And it is the Council in Chicago, rather than the executive branch of the government, to which the people look for the betterment of municipal conditions.

#### BOSSISM OR BRIBERY?

That is a singular defense which Mr. Allds is making before the New York Senate in reply to the charge that he accepted a cash bribe for preventing legislation opposed by the bridge-building companies. He declares that the bill which was held back was not, as Senator Conger asserts, a piece of "strike" legislation introduced in order that money might be extorted from those interested in its suppression. Mr. Allds asserts that the bridge companies had long been engaged in plundering the towns of the State in collusion with local officials through the erection of unnecessary and costly bridges at the expense of the taxpayer; that State supervision and restriction were greatly needed to prevent corruption and extravagance; that he personally was heartily in favor of restrictive legislation and, opposed efforts to favor the bridge companies consistently and earnestly for years—with one single exception. This exception happens to be the very matter in which Mr. Allds is alleged to have taken the bribe. When asked to explain this singular about-face in his action, Mr. Allds, through his counsel, calmly tells the people that he did so because Thomas C. Platt told him to! Letters were adduced which at least show that Mr. Platt did urge Mr. Allds to do what the bridge companies wanted, the inference being perfectly plain that these companies were friends of the party and ought to be helped wherever possible. Nowhere in the letters from Mr. Platt to Mr. Allds is there even a suggestion of a belief that the legislation proposed or opposed should be shaped so as to be for the best good of the people of the State of New York. No writer of political satire could possibly ask a better illustration than this of the character of boss rule in State politics and of the danger of letting corporations contribute to party political funds.

#### A BRAVE SHERIFF

The city of Cairo, Illinois, which is situated at the southernmost point of the State, in a wedge between Kentucky and Missouri, has been further injuring an already badly damaged reputation. Last November it was the scene of a lynching that has an evil eminence among the deeds of mob violence which have shamed this country. Because the sheriff at that time did not succeed in keeping his prisoner out of the hands of the rioters, he was dismissed from office. Week before last his successor, Sheriff Nellis, had to face another mob. He had under his care two young negroes charged with snatching a pocketbook from the hand of a white woman. Learning that a crowd of men from the saloons in the lower part of the town was gathering together to make an attack upon the jail and to secure these two negro prisoners, and realizing that he could not, probably, repel the attack single-handed, he notified the Governor of his desire for aid, and secured a number of men as deputies. In the short time allowed him he had, it is understood, no opportunity to secure enough white men and so was unfortunately forced to secure the services of negroes. This fact accentuated the race feeling already aroused. While the mob was attempting to batter down the doors of the jail, the deputies, under order of the sheriff, fired a volley from their rifles. The mob retired. One of its number, however, a leader in the attack, son of a former Mayor of the city, was left wounded on the ground. There he lay dying for hours. For several days a race war was feared. In fact, Cairo has been a lawless city for months, and in these last two weeks it has only become more openly, arrogantly lawless; and there are people in Cairo who, so far from feeling the shame that has come upon them, have, public reports indicate, been engaged in criticising, abusing, and threatening the brave sheriff. They have criticised him because he used negro deputies, as if it were not the business of the sheriff to exercise all his power in defense of those in his charge. They have criticised him because he allowed no one to go to the aid of the dying ringleader. What would these people have the sheriff do? Would they suggest that he parley with



the mob? If this had been a battle under the rules of war, he could have recognized a flag of truce, or the Red Cross of the surgeon; but a mob knows no rules of war. The man who joins a mob is not accepting the fortunes of a soldier, he is accepting the fortunes of a wild beast. He must abide by the consequences. Cairo's experience is that of Philadelphia. Corruption in government, which has brought within the city an ignorant and corruptible population, both white and black, and which has permitted vice to flourish at a price, has had its inevitable outcome in anarchy. The one man who by his physical and moral courage has brought any credit to Cairo is the man who during these past days has had to go back and forth surrounded by a guard to protect him from Cairo's citizens—Sheriff Nellis.

#### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Who should bear the burden of industrial accidents? When a workman is injured in the course of his duties, should the loss of his time and the cost of his care be borne by himself, or should it be borne by his employer? In the old days when industry was simple the answer was easier to find. If the workman was negligent or took the risk of working with a careless fellow-workman, it was easy to say that he should bear the consequences of his own thoughtlessness. To-day, however, no such easy answer is possible. The workman cannot choose his tools; he is a part of a great organization, and finds himself set before huge machines which he did not select and from the danger of which he has very little power to protect himself. Moreover, his fellow-workman from whose negligence or misfortune he may suffer is as likely to be many yards, or in some cases many miles, away from him as at his side. On the other hand, the employer is no longer, as a rule, an individual who can oversee all departments of his business, but is a corporation whose owners, as stockholders, may have no more acquaintance with the actual conduct of the business than any one else. Under such conditions, brought about by great changes in the form of capital and the methods of production, it is almost if not quite impossi-

ble, in most instances, to fix personal responsibility for accidents either upon the employer or the employed. Yet we are living under laws enacted and judicially interpreted to fit the earlier stages of modern industrial development. The consequence is that the workman, whose only source of income is his physical capacity, must bear either the whole burden of any disaster that falls upon him in the course of his work, or else the equally unjust burden of carrying through the slow processes of the courts his claim for compensation. This is one aspect of the situation which has brought about the organization of the American Association for Labor Legislation, of which Professor Henry W. Farnham, of Yale University, is the President. This also has been the subject of careful study by men trained in the law. In particular, it forms the subject of the report presented by a special committee to the thirty-third Annual Meeting of the New York State Bar Association, which was held in Rochester, New York, recently. This committee recommends the adoption of the principle that the cost of such industrial accidents should fall, not upon the workmen as such, nor upon the employer, but upon the industry. This is done, not by enabling injured workmen to recover from the employer whatever damages the jury may allow them, but by fixing definitely by law the compensation to which a workman is entitled for each kind of injury he may receive, and making that compensation a regular charge upon the business as a part of the cost of production. The committee believes that such a statute should not deprive the employee of the option of proceeding against the employer in the courts, but that it should provide that the employer could by contract at once relieve himself of the necessity of defending a suit at law and assume an obligation to his employee to pay without litigation the statutory compensation. The question naturally arises whether this method of distributing the cost of industrial accidents among those who, as consumers, receive the benefits of modern production is better than a system of workingmen's insurance by which a part of the cost of production is the increased wages necessary for providing a working-

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man's insurance fund. There is much to be said for both methods. The chief thing, however, to be noted is that everywhere it is becoming recognized that for the present unjust way of allowing the burden of industrial accident to fall on those least able to bear it there should be substituted a method of letting that burden fall upon those who use the products of industry.

#### THE ENGLISH POLITICAL SITUATION

The British Parliament reassembled on Monday of last week with picturesque and time-honored ceremonies. As a spectacle it is reported to have been more brilliant than usual, and the crowds between Buckingham Palace and Whitehall were larger and more demonstrative, while the *tableaux vivants* in the House of Lords, of which the King was the central figure, were more impressive and brilliant. The speech was read in a strong, clear voice, and followed with almost breathless interest. It was brief, and indicated only two general lines of legislation. After announcing the establishment of the Union of South Africa as fixed for the end of May, the journey of the Prince of Wales to that section of the world, the extension of the functions of the legislative councils in India, and the increase of the number of their members, the speech declared that the revenue required to meet expenditures authorized by the last Parliament has not been provided by the imposition of taxation, and that "arrangements must be made at the earliest possible moment to deal with the financial situation thus created." Addressing both houses, the King said:

Recent experience has disclosed serious difficulties due to recurring differences of strong opinion between the two branches of the Legislature. Proposals will be laid before you with all convenient speed to define the relations between the houses of Parliament so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons over finance and its predominance in legislation. These measures, in the opinion of my advisers, should provide that this house should be so constituted and empowered as to exercise impartially in regard to proposed legislation the functions of initiation, of revision, and, subject to proper safeguards, of delay.

What the British Premier, Mr. Asquith, proposes to do, therefore, is to present

the Budget first, and deal with the question of reformation of the House of Lords later. So far as the Budget is concerned, its speedy passage seems assured, since Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, has said that, if the new House of Commons adopted the Finance Bill, the Lords were ready to expedite its passage, although their opinion regarding it was unchanged; and Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, has said that, although the reception of the Budget has been cold and chilly and numerically inadequate, it will doubtless become a law, and that he believes the majority of the constituencies of Great Britain are prepared to support it. In regard to the reform of the House of Lords, Lord Rosebery has declared that the House of Lords must take the matter into its own hands and reform itself; and Lord Lansdowne has said that the peers themselves are prepared to co-operate in finding a remedy if the Ministry is able to show that the manner in which the upper chamber is now constituted is not adequate to the efficient discharge of its business. These may be accepted as the facts in the situation. They rise like isolated peaks out of a weltering ocean of newspaper conjecture and criticism. The Prime Minister finds himself surrounded by gentlemen who offer him, in the most vociferous tones, absolutely contradictory advice. The Radicals urge him to abolish the House of Lords, and tell him that that is his principal business. The Nationalists notify him that they are allied to no British party; that they supported the Government at the last election because of the Prime Minister's pledge to grant Home Rule, and to abolish the veto of the House of Lords, which they accept as tantamount to the adoption of Home Rule; and Mr. Redmond has notified the Prime Minister that, if the Nationalists receive assurances that he will carry the Veto Bill into law this year, they will vote for the Budget, otherwise "we are not willing to pay that price for nothing." The Labor party urges the abolition of the upper chamber. Other advisers are of opinion that Mr. Asquith ought to resign, and this would undoubtedly be the advice of the Conservatives if they were willing to



assume the responsibilities of government in the present state of affairs. From that great burden, however, they shrink; and they are in the curious and anomalous position of trying to discredit the Government at the moment when they are unwilling to take its load on their own shoulders. The Premier is a clear-headed, thoroughly trained lawyer, and the course he has marked out seems to those who stand outside the general whirl sensible and practicable. The English are a reasonable people, although, like us, sometimes given to explosions of unrestrained individuality. The Asquith Ministry was promptly confronted with a division on an amendment to the address to the Crown made by Mr. Austin Chamberlain in favor of tariff reform. While the vote was being counted there was great tension of feeling, and, when the result was announced, tremendous cheering from the Conservative members, who accepted it as indicating a great reduction of the majority against them. The amendment was rejected by a vote of 285 to 254, a majority of 31. The Nationalists of both wings abstained from voting, while the Laborites cast their votes with the Government.

**RUSSIA ON TRIAL** The personal letters written from her Russian prison by Catherine Breshkovsky and printed elsewhere in this number of *The Outlook* indicate in a touching way the serenity of character of this gentle and noble-minded woman, against whom the Russian Government is marshaling all its arbitrary power as if she were a frenzied Anarchist. The story told by Mrs. Barrows in connection with these letters, of her efforts to extend human sympathy and womanly friendliness to this prisoner and the obstacles which those efforts met, points out equally clearly the straits to which such a reactionary government is forced in its efforts to restrain free speech. So far as we have read or heard, there is no charge that Madame Breshkovsky has ever herself been guilty of a revolutionary act, or has incited others, except as that may be inferred from her open advocacy of freedom of person and action and the proper representation of the Russian people in their own affairs. The same may be said

of Nicolas Tschaykovsky, whose trial will precede that of Madame Breshkovsky. It is significant of the present Russian idea of a fair trial that the cable despatches seem to regard it as a great concession that the court will hear witnesses of the accused who offer proof that Mr. Tschaykovsky was neither the organizer nor a member of the Peasants' League. This charge and the admitted fact that he has advocated in other countries the establishing of a representative government in Russia appear to be the chief offenses for which he is to be tried. The same despatches, however, state that the court refuses to allow the defense to impeach the credibility of the chief Government witness, described in these despatches as a condemned revolutionist who volunteers testimony at all important political trials in order to postpone the carrying out of his own sentence. It is hoped that the trial will be open, and that one of the most eloquent of Russian lawyers will plead for Mr. Tschaykovsky. These concessions—for many prisoners accused of being revolutionists have been tried and condemned in secret sessions of the court and without adequate representation by counsel—are doubtless due (if indeed they are granted, which is not certain as we write) to the interest expressed in England and America as well as by intelligent Moderates in Russia. Many petitions from foreign men and women of distinction and influence have asked that Mr. Tschaykovsky and Madame Breshkovsky should be tried in accordance with the common principles of all civilized countries. The press and people of America, England, and France will follow these trials with keen interest and with sympathy for the now aged man and woman who have so long been confined on indefinite accusations, and who are known to the people of these countries to be unselfish and to be moved only by high ideals of the truth and the right. As we have said before, it is really Russia that is on trial.

**THE NEW THEATER: ITS  
AIM AND SUCCESS**

At a recent luncheon at the City Club of New York some very interesting statements were made with regard to the New Theater.

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There has been, of course, a good deal of criticism of the plays and the management of the theater, as well as much cordial commendation. Mr. Ames called attention to the fact that the New Theater was still a long way from the perfection of the Comédie Française, but that it must be remembered that the New Theater is only fourteen weeks old, while the Comédie Française has been in existence one hundred and fifty years. He also made the very interesting statement that the New Theater is now playing to more people per week than any other theater in New York, and that its receipts are one and a half times greater than those of any other local theater. The New Theater was not founded for commercial purposes and is not being run in a commercial spirit; but, like every other enterprise, it needs strong financial support, and its financial success is not only gratifying from this point of view, but especially gratifying as evidence that the public is showing deep interest in the high-class performances at the theater. Mr. John Corbin, who has been so deeply interested in the organization and management of the theater, commenting on the criticism that some of the leading parts in some of the plays were not brilliantly rendered, said that the emphasis at the New Theater was not on parts but on plays, and the endeavor was, not to secure two or three star performers, but a high level of excellence in the presentation of a play as a whole. In other words, at the New Theater the play is treated from the standpoint of literary and dramatic art, and not from the standpoint of the exploitation of a particular actor. The degree in which the company of actors at the New Theater shares the aims and spirit of the institution was illustrated by Mr. Ames, who told his hearers that not long ago Miss Busley, who is a successful star, asked to be permitted to play a part which had only two lines in it, so eager was she that the apparently insignificant parts of the play should be rendered as well as the leading parts. The presentation of "The School for Scandal" is an excellent example of the thoroughness and artistic feeling for the play as a whole which the New Theater is putting into its work. Lady Teazle has been

more brilliantly played than by Miss Russell, but she puts into the part her keen intelligence and her excellent stage training; while the play, as a whole and in all its details, is presented with admirable spirit and general excellence of acting. This is a far better result from the standpoint of art than the concentration of the genius of a play upon a single rôle while the other parts remain more or less in judicious obscurity. Those who have seen "The School for Scandal" cannot but feel the difference between its brilliancy, its lightning-like play of wit, the superb talent which pervades it, and the monotonous level of commonplaceness which afflicts most of the plays in most of the theaters. It is reported that a conversation between two young people coming out of the New Theater ran like this: "Who wrote that play?" "I am blessed if I know, but whoever did was on to his job, every line." Some very good plays are now being written in this country, but the average popular play, even if it is not indecent or unwholesome, is too often written by a man who has only an elementary notion of his job.



IN MEMORY OF  
MR. GILDER

The meeting held in Mendelssohn Hall in New York City on February 20 in memory of Richard Watson Gilder was a very impressive tribute to a man who was not only a distinguished poet and editor, but an eminent citizen. The invitations for the meeting were sent out by a large group of societies representing almost every department of what may be called the higher American life—literature, art, music, public service, civil service reform, and tenement house reform; a list which brought into view the breadth of Mr. Gilder's interests and activities. Governor Hughes, who presided, said that in democracy we should reserve our highest honors for those who illustrate the worth and dignity of citizenship, and pointed out the various ways in which Mr. Gilder had conformed to this standard. "He was the pure gold of civic righteousness. He was sensible, he was a man of vision and a poet, but he was not a man of visionary aims."

We must walk [he said] in the footsteps of Richard Watson Gilder. The contribution



which one makes as a citizen is by no means to be considered with particular regard to the holding of public office, nor, indeed, with respect to the discussion of public questions. The contribution which one makes as a citizen is in that influence which radiates from his life in every department. It is determined in its extent by the wholesomeness, the purity of his life, the soundness of his judgment, his effect upon his neighbors and the wider community that he may reach with regard to their point of view, their aspirations, their sanity, and their poise. So that the richer and fuller a man's life is, the more that he can bring to it of literary skill, of culture and acquaintance with the best that has been said or written, the more powerful should be his influence as a citizen and the more powerful his contribution to the forces that make for the good management of democratic institutions.

Mr. Jacob A. Riis was singularly happy in presenting what may be called the human fellowship side of Mr. Gilder's career, his deep sympathy with the people in the tenement-houses, his long, arduous, and fruitful work for them, the love in which they held him. "The Italian, Greek, Hungarian, and the refugee," he said, "were all alike Americans to him. The people loved him and the mothers mourned him." Mr. Riis gave many instances of Mr. Gilder's patient, personal work and of his personal relations with the people of the East Side. Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, spoke at some length on Mr. Gilder's relations to art and letters, commenting especially on the fact that his work gained maturity and beauty as he grew older in years, and that he gave the best wine at the end of the feast. Dr. Butler very briefly but effectively summed up his career, declaring that Mr. Gilder was a true American citizen and a fine example of public service in private station. Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, who has succeeded Mr. Gilder as the editor of the "Century Magazine," read two of his poems, and Mr. J. Forbes-Robertson further interpreted Mr. Gilder's work by a beautiful rendering of "Music in Darkness" and a shorter poem. The audience was one of the most representative and distinguished that could be gathered in the city. It is proposed to make a permanent Memorial of Mr. Gilder by establishing a fund of one hundred thousand dollars to be known as the Richard Watson Gilder Fund for the Promotion of Good Citizenship, to be administered by

Columbia University, the income to be used for the support of fellowships for the pursuit of the political and social sciences and for practical civic work here and abroad, the holders agreeing to devote themselves to the investigation and study of actual conditions, and to be known as "Gilder Fellows." A large and influential committee has undertaken the raising of this fund, and there is small doubt of their early success in securing an endowment so happily in accord with Mr. Gilder's spirit and interests. Contributions of any amount may be sent to Mr. A. S. Frissell, 530 Fifth Avenue, New York.

#### THE NEW NATIONAL PROTESTANT CHURCH OF GENEVA

small states which compose the Swiss Confederation. It counts about one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Protestants are a two-thirds majority among the native population, but no longer of the total population. In 1907 the National Protestant Church of Geneva was disestablished by an amendment to the Constitution, intended to take effect on January 1, 1909. During 1908 the Genevan Protestants, of all shades and groups, organized a new Church. Though disestablished, it retained the title of National, and rightly so. For never was the national character of a Church affirmed with more force than is the new Protestant Church of Geneva, separated officially from the State, but quite as national at present as at any other moment of Genevan history. But, what is more, it was devised broad enough to permit *all Protestants* to find place in it. Any man who styles himself a Protestant is a member and elector. As to doctrine, the new Church simply and impressively confines itself to the acknowledgment of "Jesus Christ, the Saviour of Men." It adds, however, that, as an integral part of the Universal Church, it may be regarded as perpetuating the old Church of Geneva and that it is in fellowship with the Reformed Protestant churches. The remodeled Church has preserved the organization which characterized the foregoing period in its main features, of course with the exception of the financial support from the State

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treasury. The organs of the Church are: an elective Consistory of nine pastors and thirty-one laymen; the Company of Pastors, formed of the pastors in charge; and the Parish Councils, elected by the twenty-four parishes. Every graduate in divinity of good repute may obtain his admission as an "auxiliary pastor," which, without allowing him any stipend, confers on him the right of acting as a pastor. When a post becomes vacant, the new pastor is chosen by the electors of the parish among the graduates in divinity recognized as eligible. This is the Congregational principle; but it does not hold everywhere. For instance, the expenses of the Church are supported by a central fund, to which all are invited to contribute. But if any one should neglect his duty, he would not be for this reason erased from the list of the Church members. All the ecclesiastical buildings, including the historical cathedral of Saint Peter's, where Calvin's voice seems still to resound, are soon to become the property of the Consistory. Never was the passage from one ecclesiastical régime to another accomplished with fewer shocks than in the case of the merging of the old Protestant cults of "Protestant Rome" into a new and liberal communion.

#### MUNICIPAL REFORM IN MONTREAL

The recent municipal elections in Montreal formed a satisfactory conclusion to a most deplorable story of civic corruption. The revelation of the extent to which wrong-doing had prevailed arose out of a proposal by a committee of the City Council to award a million dollars' worth of paving contracts to a firm which had not put in the lowest tender. Public suspicion having been thereby aroused, a Citizens' Committee was formed to inquire into the case. As an outcome of this action a Royal Commission was appointed to make a formal investigation, and the Citizens' Committee engaged counsel to assist the Commission. The evidence thus brought out showed not only that paving contractors were being called upon to pay sixty cents per yard into a corruption fund, but that positions on the police force and fire brigade were being trafficked in as well by men in control of the City Council. In the

face of all this the committee in charge of the city works persisted in going on with the awarding of the paving contract until restrained from taking further action by injunction. Several of the members had the audacity even to go before the electors for re-election in the late municipal elections, but of the twenty-three implicated in the exposures only one was returned. The defeat of the corruptionists and the election of better men affords one more proof of the extent to which the civic conscience is gaining strength all over America.

#### WAR ON THE PEOPLE

Not employer or employee, but the patient, long-enduring public—foolishly patient and weakly enduring public—is the real sufferer in such riots as those which last week disgraced the city named in honor of brotherly love. Street cars burned, innocent bystanders shot, men and women clubbed, fusillades of missiles from windows with answering volleys of pistol-shots—all these things are the physical outcropping of industrial mediaevalism. The street car corporations have rights, the striking employees have rights—under the present system of not-dealing with labor disputes both parties have too many rights. But above these legal rights of stopping work and of refusing to treat with unions stands the higher right of the people of Philadelphia to peace, safety, and order. We do not care for the present purpose whether this labor war was provoked or unprovoked, whether the companies or the men are most to blame; ultimately the fault lies with the community at large, because it has provided no reasonable way of dealing with such a situation, despite the fact that it is perfectly obvious that under the existing law conditions of lawlessness and violence may arise at any moment.

It is true that Philadelphia is no worse in this matter than many other cities, although political vote-buying and partisan bargaining with unions and corporations have there induced a peculiarly corrupt condition. On the other hand, all cities which have failed to note that some countries have taken steps to make such strikes difficult or impossible are to blame



for their civic backwardness. In another place in this number of *The Outlook* an interesting account is given by Mr. Paul Kennaday of New Zealand's radical law for compulsory arbitration, which, if it has not literally abolished strikes, has at least in large measure stopped senseless labor warfare. Repeatedly *The Outlook* has described Canada's Board of Conciliation, under which it is a punishable offense against the law to declare either a strike or lockout without prior investigation by the Board. A few weeks ago Mr. Walter G. Merritt in *The Outlook* pointed out that strikes on public utilities in their effect on the public were disastrous and dangerous, and suggested that the Inter-State Commerce Commission and the Public Service Commissions of the States receive power to do as part of an ordered system what was done as an informal expedient and to avert public disaster by Mr. Roosevelt's Anthracite Commission. How or by whom the work is to be done is an open question. The trouble is that we—that is, municipalities, legislatures, and Congress—sit supinely by and do nothing.

Every reasoning man knows what will follow in any large American city if suddenly street car motormen and conductors go on strike and the companies send out part of their cars manned by strike-breakers or even by old employees who refuse to join their fellows. Crowds gather, a rabble collects, made up of men and boys, some strikers—more; probably, of the rowdy and reckless hoodlums found in the worst districts. From hooting and rough horse-play the advance to stone-throwing and brutal beating is quick. Then come police clubbing and shooting, and quickly the city is in a state of semi-anarchy, and savagery is seen to be as surely the result of mob excitement as it was in the days of the French Terror. It is a public duty to put down rioting; but it would be wise to forestall it by making the exciting cause impossible. The law should forbid strikes of public utility employees in a body and without notice, because such strikes are an incentive to crime and an outrage against public safety and comfort. But if it does this, it must, as a matter of plain justice, provide a fair and reasonable way in which the claims of the employees acting together may be heard

and the right or wrong determined. Conciliation and compromise must supersede brickbats and pistol-shots—and this not only for the benefit of workingmen and business men, but in order that such civic chaos as that in Philadelphia may become impossible under the sway of industrial democracy.

### THE PRESENT DUTY

This week President Taft begins the second year of his Administration. One-fourth of the term for which he was elected has passed. During these twelve months his optimism has been severely tested. Entering his office supported with an extraordinary degree of popular confidence, he has had to do his work under the depressing influence of diminishing enthusiasm. Though trained, as lawyer and judge, to keep his mind on the task before him without hesitating because of popular opinion, and though still further inured to hostile popular views by his experience in carrying out the Philippine policy in spite of the earlier ignorant opposition of Filipinos and the continued selfish opposition of American special interests, he has not been oblivious of the growing volume of criticism during these latter weeks. Speaking impromptu, with that engaging frankness that wins for him the good will even of those who most emphatically oppose him, he is reported to have said in a speech at Newark, New Jersey, last week, in reference to the words used by ex-Governor Murphy in introducing him: "It is true I told him I wanted to make good a year ago. I am not so certain now of having done it. He said something about the newspapers. When the newspapers are prone to criticize, and sometimes unite in hammering your Administration, treating it sometimes with contemptuous disdain and sometimes with patronizing friendship, it is hard to overcome the feeling that perhaps you ought to begin all over again."

What the President refers to is really more deep-seated than merely newspaper criticism; it is a feeling widespread among the people. Unquestionably public opinion over a large part of the country is growing more and more critical and impatient. And the object of the criticism, the cause

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of the impatience, is the Administration. Here lies a danger.

In its absorption in the occupation of judging the efficiency of the Administration, the country is forgetting the duties that are laid upon Congress. Certain great laws are needed, and needed now. Public ownership in public wealth must be retained; public control over organized wealth must be increased. The only body that can make such public ownership and public control secure is Congress. There are men in Congress who would be glad to see the policy of Government ownership and Government control impeded. They hold that the natural resources of the country should be exploited by and for private interests, and that the business of the country, as now organized, should be free from what they call interference. These men represent only a minority of the American people, but they have on their side the advantage that always lies with those who would do nothing, the obstacles that have been placed in Governmental machinery against hasty legislation and therefore against all legislation, and the natural inertia of human nature. Is the country going to allow Senators and Representatives to escape from doing their duty? If the country wants its will carried out, it must not devote its attention exclusively to the deeds and omissions of the Executive; it must take time and thought and energy to demand of Congress that the needed laws be passed.

These laws now before Congress constitute a legislative programme such as has been presented at few sessions. First in immediate importance are the Conservation bills. They are first because they are designed to prevent loss that would otherwise be irreparable. They must be debated and perfected and enacted. They will not be, however, unless public opinion in their favor is emphatically and repeatedly expressed. The bill to regulate further the railways of the country, enlarging the powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission so that the highways of the Nation shall be open on fairer terms to all the people, is scarcely second in importance. It necessarily contains many technical provisions, and therefore affords opportunities for obstructionists. If the people of the country are not to be

defeated in their determination to see that the policy of railway regulation is furthered, they must make their insistence known to Congress. The bill to establish postal savings banks is a bill to conserve the wealth of the people, to make it easier for the ordinary man to increase his resources. The bill is opposed by special interests and by Constitutional literalists, and it can become law only if the country gives it its hearty support. A bill for the control of industrial corporations is also before Congress. It is of great importance. It carries out that policy of Federal control over modern industry which during the past six or seven years has been approved most emphatically by the Nation. Now that this bill is before Congress, ready for discussion and for such modification in detail as may be needed, the country will have to renew its demand. Other bills, less conspicuous, but not less vitally affecting the public interest, are to come before Congress, such as those to establish a Bureau of Public Health, in order that the Government may give as much attention to the health of men and women as it does to that of cows; to establish a Children's Bureau, that it may conserve the boys and girls of the Nation as well as its coal and oil; to modify injunctions, so that it may promote justice between men; to provide a better government for Alaska, so that the American population there may have at least as good a chance to live under orderly conditions as have the Filipinos and the Porto Ricans, and at least as good a chance as they to well-distributed wealth. The people of America have only a limited amount of attention that they can devote to their Federal Government; if they are not to be frustrated, they must give some of that attention to Congress.

If, as some people predict, the next House of Representatives is to be Democratic, then the chance for the enactment of such measures as these will be greatly reduced after this session. A Congress divided against itself is not likely to be an actively legislating Congress. If it is to remain Republican as it is now, it must prove its present ability to carry out the people's will. In either case, this legislative programme, if it is to be enacted at



all, must be enacted within the next few months. The country must see that Congress does its task. That is the present duty.

### THE NEW YORK POLICE PROBLEM

Mayor Gaynor is taking hold of the New York City police problem with vigor, and, if he is sustained by the Police Commissioner and his immediate subordinates, or is able to get subordinates who will sustain him, there is a good promise that he will succeed in introducing some better degree of discipline in a force which now sadly lacks it. Up to this time the policemen have been less dependent on the Police Commissioner, or even on the Mayor, than they were on political leaders and a political organization which made and unmade mayors. Of this political control even the Police Commissioner could not be independent—and remain Police Commissioner—as was demonstrated by the fate which befell General Bingham. We may reasonably hope that the investigations which Mayor Gaynor has so vigorously undertaken will at least make two much-needed improvements: the police patrols will really patrol the streets at night, which are now too often left unguarded while the appointed guardians sleep or engage in pleasant social fellowship; and the brutalities sometimes indulged in by ill-tempered individual members of the force will be less frequent, if they do not altogether cease.

But the radical reforms which are indispensable to make the police force of New York City what it ought to be cannot be achieved by any Mayor, however honest and efficient, without the co-operation of the Legislature in two important respects.

At present the policeman's office is regarded as a piece of property of which he cannot be deprived without due process of law. And this principle is so construed that any policeman dismissed for the good of the service can appeal to the civil courts, and, unless the removal can be sustained before the courts by the kind of evidence required in determining the rights of property by the courts, he can be reinstated. Nor is this a barren right.

Frequently it has been availed of by discharged policeman, who have been reinstated and awarded their salary for all the time they were out of commission, so that the discipline to which they have been subjected by their superior officer has been a vacation of one or two years with full salary paid during the vacation.

Two claims for this system are interposed by its defenders. First, that it is very rare that policemen have been reinstated without adequate grounds. There is good reason to question the accuracy of this claim, but, if it were true, it would not justify the practice. It is impossible to maintain true discipline in the force if disciplinary acts of the superior officer are always subject to review by the civil courts, with the consequent certainty of delay and uncertainty of result. For adequate discipline, promptitude of action and inevitableness of penalty are indispensable. What discipline could be maintained in a school if every teacher were liable to a damage suit for the suspension or expulsion of a pupil? What discipline in an army if every soldier might appeal to the courts for reinstatement after his discharge? The police force should have its police court, as the army has its military court; the accused member of the force should be entitled to a court martial, and the decision of that court martial should be final. The police force is essentially a military force, and the laws which govern it should be military laws.

The other defense for the present system may be thus stated: Tammany controls the police; it would control the police court; any policeman who was not obedient to Tammany might find himself at any time discharged under circumstances which would make him ever after a marked man. This argument reduced to its simplest terms is: If democracy gives to a public officer the power necessary to enable him to be efficient, he may misuse it. Therefore, deprive him of the power and leave him inefficient. To concede this argument is to concede that democracy is a failure; for it is to concede that democracy cannot secure honest, faithful, and efficient public officers. The remedy for dishonest officers is not to deprive them of power; it is to deprive them of office. It is true that injustice

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might sometimes be done by a police court with power of final judgment. So injustice is sometimes done by a court martial and sometimes by the ordinary courts of civil and criminal law. This is only to say that to err is human. Under the present system, in order to prevent occasional injustice to a single policeman, we have invented a system which inflicts continual injustice on the entire community by depriving the community of the advantage of a well-organized and well-disciplined police force to protect its person and its property.

The other radical remedy which New York City has a right to demand of the Legislature relates to the Excise Law, and of that we shall speak in a future issue.



## LENTEN THOUGHTS

### THE LIVING CHRIST

There is but a single sentence relating to the Christ in the Roman literature of his time, and that declares that he was "executed in the reign of Tiberius by the order of the Administrator, Pontius Pilate." That event was a central fact in the history of Christian faith, but there was another fact of still greater importance; he also rose from the dead! A small group of disciples saw him die on Mount Calvary; a small group saw him reappear and heard his voice and watched his coming and going for a little time; a mighty host, with St. Paul at their head, bore witness to his resurrection by their quenchless zeal in his service, their faith in his victory over death and the grave, their readiness to lay down their lives for his sake. The historic Christ is the foundation of the Christian's faith; the living Christ is his inspiration, his consolation, his companion.

The early followers thought oftener of the living than of the historic Christ; even those who had seen him in the flesh or had heard the story of his wonderful words and deeds from those who had walked with him in his earthly ministry looked forward to his return rather than back to his going out of the world. For many decades the churches waited upon his coming in the clouds of heaven, at times almost breathless with expectation.

His followers had largely ceased to be Jews; the vast majority were Greek-speaking people, to whom the Jewish background of his life counted for little; Rome had obliterated the Jewish state; the earliest community of his disciples had been scattered. It was to the future that the Christian world turned with confident expectation that there were then living those who should not taste death until they saw his second coming, surrounded by hosts of angels, in the glory of his final triumph. It was to the living Christ that the heart of the world turned with eager and impatient hope. "In the events of his earthly career," says a recent writer, "the believers took little interest; if they looked back at all, it was to declare that the Lord himself had instituted the rite of the common meal, for which they met week by week, and that he had prescribed the form of their daily prayer to their Father in Heaven."

But one by one the expectant generations went to their graves and he did not reappear; they had learned to die with him symbolically, their lesson was now to learn to live with him in the spirit. In the place of a sudden and dramatic ending of the struggle to establish his kingdom they slowly discerned that they must accept a long and arduous process of education. That kingdom had a deeper foundation than they had understood, and in the building of it many generations must conspire in the power of a faith which left times and seasons in his hand. The vision of a heaven suddenly made glorious with the angelic host slowly faded, and as it vanished the historic Christ became more real and vivid to many than the living Christ.

It was the living Christ, however, who sent Paul to the nations outside Palestine with the glorious news that he had risen from the dead; and it was the living Christ who conquered the new world that built itself on the ruins of Rome and became the Christian world of to-day. It is the living Christ who moves the hearts of men to-day to care for the children, the weak, the disinherited, the sorrowful; to establish justice in the earth; to hate greed and avarice, and love generosity and helpfulness. It is the living Christ who walks with us in the sorrows of life



and stands beside us when we commit those we love to the dust; it is he who gives us strength when we are weak, and light when the darkness closes about us. He is invisible, as are all the great physical forces, the great moral laws, the great spiritual influences that play through the world. If one doubts the existence of the law of gravity, he has but to throw himself from a height; if he doubts the reality of the moral law, he has but to

violate it and the invisible penalty is instantly imposed on him, not from without, but from within; if one doubts whether there is a living Christ, he has but to trust him in some trial, to rest on his promise of help in some great sorrow, to call upon him in some temptation. He lives not only in the hearts of those who love him, but in their daily needs and cares and work—at once their strength, their peace, their infallible guide.

## THE WAR IN PHILADELPHIA

### STAFF CORRESPONDENCE

**L**AST night, between daylight and dark, a fellow-craftsman and I boarded a car on Kensington Avenue for the ride back to the City Hall. The carmen's strike was then just six days old—a strike which had taken several thousand (variously estimated by company officials and labor leaders at from four to six) men from their cars, had for four days filled a considerable area of the city with violence and disorder, had damaged more or less seriously nearly a thousand cars, had killed several persons, and injured hundreds more. Our route lay through what had been the most turbulent section of the city. We passed over the spot where, on the first day of the strike, a courageous if foolhardy volunteer motor-man, driving his car full speed through the crowd with one hand on the controller and the other holding a revolver, was dragged from the platform when the car had been wrecked by a spiked switch, and killed "cold," as an imaginative policeman described it. We rode between rows of the great textile mills which make the Kensington district of Philadelphia one of the biggest industrial centers in the country, and whose throngs of workers emptied into the streets at this very hour had earlier in the week provided the material for threatening and riotous mobs.

But we rode quietly and uneventfully, except for one tiny incident. It explained graphically why rioting was no more, and why Philadelphia was, practically speaking, again at peace. The car ahead

developed internal trouble, and finally had to transfer its passengers to ours and switch back to the barn. The maneuver took a few minutes, and presently three cars were standing there together. It made what was, under the circumstances, a natural focus of interest, and a group of perhaps a dozen or a score quickly gathered on the corner. But more swiftly yet there galloped up from various directions five men on horseback. One of them, without an instant's hesitation, guided his horse, no less intelligent and ready than he, on to the sidewalk among the curiosity-seekers, and scattered them like flying leaves. One man, as he was crowded up on the steps of a saloon, turned and protested, but a quick thrust of the rider's arm sent him through the saloon door to think it over inside.

The incident was hardly an incident at all. It was rather a symbol, made more significant by the futile presence on the corner of at least three of Philadelphia's (very) ordinary policemen. One survey of these guardians of the peace suggested why Philadelphia had been terrorized. They were fat, flabby, good-natured, weak-looking men, too obviously the creatures of a corrupt political machine, petty politicians each in his own little circle, given their jobs in return for the votes they could hold together for the machine candidates. The keeper of a little restaurant where we had just supped epitomized the secret of their utter failure to control the rioting crowds: "You can't

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## PHILADELPHIA

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ask a man to-day to vote your ticket and to-morrow crack him over the head with a night-stick."

One look at the men on horseback, on the other hand, and one exhibition of their methods, showed why the arrival of only 170 members of the State constabulary had accomplished what 3,000 policemen had failed to do. The troopers were sinewy, athletic fellows, clear of eye and lean of jaw, bent simply but with terrible intentness upon their single business of keeping peace. It needed hardly more than their presence, with one or two trials of their temper, to break the back of disorder and mob rule.

But, after all, the violence which marked the first days of the strike is more a symptom of the general condition of misrule which Philadelphia hugs to its bosom than an important element in the conflict between capital and labor in that city. Given a political, inefficient police force and an extensive hoodlum element, whose existence and growth such a condition inevitably permits if it does not foster, and riot follows a strike as infallibly as ever sore heads a Donnybrook fair. How far the strikers are to be held responsible for the disorder is hard to say. The leaders certainly preached against disorder, and among those who were arrested and sentenced to terms of from a month to six years there were apparently no carmen. But the leaders also protested formally and bitterly against the presence of the Constabulary (quite clearly the only force which could really insure peace); a committee of the strikers tried to induce our restaurant-keeper, for example, to refuse to feed the police; and expressions among the carmen of satisfaction at the prevalence of violence were more common than deprecation of it. The responsibility for the lion's share of the disorder must be laid, however, at the door of rowdy gangs, uncontrolled youths, and discontented factory workers, strangers to that respect for law and order which a corrupt administration and a debauched police force have been unable or undesirous to instill.

But what of the strike itself? It is the second engagement in a campaign for the enforcement of the principle of the closed shop on the traction lines in Philadelphia. That the closed shop is the ultimate issue

the traction officials stoutly claim; while the labor leaders practically admit that that is the goal toward which they are trying to win, by successive moves. The first engagement was the strike of last June. The carmen's union, which had been in existence for several years, was weak and ineffective until C. O. Pratt, a representative of the National organization who had done successful work in Cleveland, came to Philadelphia and assumed the leadership. Under his guidance the union was strengthened, and in June a strike was declared for higher wages, easier hours, the right to buy uniforms at more than one store, and the right to present grievances to the company through a representative committee. Unfortunately, the strike was settled, neither by the fortune of war nor by arbitration, but by political interference.

The traction company, like the Metropolitan system in New York, has been built up by the consolidation of numerous lines and by successive reorganizations with the usual injections of abundant water, until it is so burdened with fixed charges on overlapping issues of securities that it is, all but technically, bankrupt. The final, holding company has never made money, and seemingly never expects to. As an inevitable result of the financial jugglings, the service which the system renders is, in the word of one of its responsible officers, "rotten."

The company has long been in bad odor with the decent citizens of Philadelphia, and as a consequence the strikers had much public sympathy in their first fight. That strike was going on just before the primary at which the supremacy of the Republican machine was threatened by a reform movement, and the machine leaders realized that its continuance would help to jeopardize their cause at the primary polls. The very day before the primary the Republican boss of the city came to the traction officials, informed them that the strike must be settled that night, laid an agreement before them, and declared that if it was not signed every policeman would be taken off their cars the next day. The officials, who believed that they were winning the strike, considered for two or three hours, discussed whether they could hire men to protect their cars, found that



the city officials would not swear them in if they could hire them, realized that without police protection they could not hope to run their cars—and signed the agreement. The agreement provided for the reinstatement of the strikers without prejudice, for the presentation of grievances through accredited representatives, for the purchase of uniforms at any one of five stores instead of at a single one, for less onerous hours, for a slight increase of wages and a further increase if an audit of the company's books should show that it could afford to pay more. The agreement was to remain in force for a year.

The settlement was a victory for the union, although it was brought about by political pressure. It was naturally galling to the company, and quite as naturally it tended to make the members of the union a little arrogant. What has happened since that settlement is a matter of bitter controversy, and to attempt to give, after such brief study, an exact estimate of the truth would be ridiculous. One thing is certain, however. Sometime last fall a new union came into existence among the carmen, familiarly known as the Keystone. It obtained a membership of about two thousand men, and when its committee came to the company officials with some grievance, the officials treated with it as they had done with the older union. Now the strike leaders assert that the Keystone was organized by the efforts of the company officials, working through detectives, that its purpose was to injure the interests of the older union, and that when it was once formed the officials discriminated systematically against members of the old union and in favor of the Keystone men. The latter, it is claimed, were given preference in promotion to positions of responsibility, while the former were not only not promoted, but were discharged wherever a pretext could be found. The company, on the other hand, absolutely denies having had any connection with the formation of the Keystone or any knowledge of it until it was an accomplished fact. It admits, however, that members of the old union received fewer promotions than those who were not members of it; but its officials contend that that arose because the members of that union, puffed up by

their victory last June, and made arrogant by their new feeling of power, became careless, insubordinate, and inefficient. To all intents and purposes the company says: Yes, the union men were discriminated against and the Keystone men favored, but for good reason—because each group of men deserved just what they got. Early in January the union committee began negotiations with the company for a new agreement to supplant that made last June. The labor leaders declared that the officials had violated every clause of that agreement except one—that relating to the purchase of uniforms. The rock upon which the negotiations split was, it is claimed by the employers, the question of the recognition of more than one union. The officials wanted inserted in the agreement the following clause in place of one which they contend would have compelled them to discuss grievances with the committee of one union only:

Employees shall be free to join or not to join any organization, and may present their grievances to the company individually, or, if members of any organization of employees, by a committee or the representatives thereof, and there shall be no intimidation or discrimination against any employees so doing by any officers of the company or their subordinates.

The strike leaders, on the other hand, assert that there were several points at issue, including a further wage increase; but at the same time they admit that they insist upon the elimination of the Keystone union, and that the proper and adequate recognition of their union is the basic principle of their contest. Negotiations were continued with little progress for a month, until, on Friday and Saturday, February 18 and 19, the company discharged 173 men. As soon as this news reached the union headquarters a strike was ordered, and the cars stopped running within an hour. Those discharges, the company officials say, were merely an accumulation of discipline cases which had been allowed to pile up while the conferences over the proposed agreement were under way. There was no abnormal number of them, they assert, for in the regular course of business ten or a dozen men are discharged every day. The strike leaders, however, declare that there were from four

to six hundred men who were discharged. This was only the beginning of the weakening of the company's position. When the company's figures showed that this modification of the agreement seriously struck the men would have been in the midst of a wholesale strike for a wholesale war. The most normal feeling of bitter feeling wanted to fight against the company, convinced that its strategy was a moment's thought.

The fight against the company was the closed shop, the young, led by the strikers in the factories in the city whose personal lives were chosen for in establishing a unionism with Welshman, personal matters, superficial and "smooth" the possession of the company. He gives the company is interested in the other side, powerful than the company rather than improving the man. He says rather than two things great extension of emphasis is reference.

As I have said, the table now certainly for and appeared. In my opinion, accepted with situation has union was in position to make success. I as the little began to pay



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to six hundred dismissals, and that the move was only the first of a series intended to weaken the union and to force a strike when the company wanted it. The company's figures and explanation of the dismissals is probably the true one, with this modification. Officials who were seriously striving to make peace with their men would hardly have chosen a moment in the midst of important negotiations for a wholesale discharge which even in the most normal times could not fail to arouse bitter feeling. The company probably wanted to force the strike then and there, convinced that it must make a strong fight against the closed shop principle and that its strategic position was better at the moment than that of the union.

The fight was apparently inevitable. The company is unalterably opposed to the closed shop principle. The union is young, led by a man who has won victories in similar fights elsewhere, and whose personal reputation and position in his chosen field depend upon his success in establishing and making powerful trade unionism wherever he goes. Pratt is a Welshman, of attractive presence, with personal magnetism, though of a rather superficial and evanescent kind, a ready and "smooth" talker, a clever strategist, the possessor of an exaggerated ego. He gives the impression of a man who is interested in winning fights, in beating the other side, in making his cause more powerful than that of his opponents, rather than in redressing grievances and improving the condition of the working-man. He seems to be working for Labor rather than for laborers. Of course the two things must go hand in hand to a great extent, but the point at which the emphasis is placed makes a deal of difference.

As I have said, the conflict was inevitable now or later; the company almost certainly forced the issue at this moment, and apparently with excellent judgment. In my opinion, which should perhaps be accepted with caution, for my study of the situation has been of the briefest, the union was not yet in a strong enough position to make the fight with any hope of success. It was beaten, I believe, as soon as the little troop of State Mounted Police began to patrol the streets. For, little as

the strikers may have been responsible for the disorder, it undoubtedly helped their cause and weakened their opponents, at least for the moment. The company has gone steadily on, running more and more cars every day. Yesterday they had over 700 cars running, out of a normal service of about 2,000. Wherever I went cars were passing, at irregular intervals it is true, but making on the whole a good showing. Apparently nothing can help the strikers' cause now but a general strike among the Philadelphia trades. That has been voluminously discussed, threatened several times—and in all probability could not be brought about. And if it could, it would probably hurt the general cause of organized labor more than it would benefit the striking carmen. In many trades in Philadelphia employers and employees have trade agreements, and to break such contracts for the sake of a sympathetic strike would cast discredit on all union labor. This is especially true because of the fact that the striking employees have not, it seems to me, a very strong case to bring before the bar of public opinion. Their grievances are more the grievances of their leaders than of the rank and file. So I believe the union will lose this fight because it is not strong enough to win, and because it has not a cause at this moment which commands the support of the popular mind.

The situation in Philadelphia, of which this strike forms one aspect, is intricate and complex. The web of misgovernment and political corruption in which the city is entangled, the interrelations between the political machine and a traction company all but drowned in the water injected by its exploiters, the domination of great department stores over almost the entire press of the city, with the effect of concealing and misrepresenting public sentiment, go to make up a situation which could not be illuminated without weeks of study, perhaps not even then. Philadelphia deserves its fate. This strike and the attendant violence were some of the things (if I may be sadly colloquial) "that were coming to it." Let us hope this pin jab may join with many others to wake the city up.

HAROLD J. HOWLAND.

Philadelphia, February 26.



## THE LAND WITHOUT STRIKES

BY PAUL KENNADAY

**B**Y law strikes are forbidden in New Zealand. By law strikes are also in a measure prevented. New Zealand labor and capital bring their differences before State-appointed tribunals, and the awards of those tribunals have the same effect as have the judgments of the law courts in other civil actions, but no greater effect. Awards once agreed to by the parties or settled by the Appeal Court become the law of the land, binding upon the community, binding upon the litigants, enforced, if need be, by attachment and other pains and penalties.

They came to this compulsory arbitration of labor disputes in New Zealand as a result of hard experience. Strike after strike had crippled the industries of Australia, and in New Zealand, as in the Australian states, the bitterness and resentment of workers defeated in their long, unequal industrial struggle called loudly for a redress of grievances.

In New Zealand and Australia various schemes of voluntary arbitration were discussed. Mr. William Pember Reeves, Minister for Labor, in 1892 placed before the Parliament of New Zealand a bill for the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. It took two years before the upper house would consent to the novel and drastic principle of compulsion which experience and study had convinced the author of the bill was vital to the successful operation of arbitration. Since then the original Act has come in for a plentiful amount of tinkering. As experience has shown defects in the original Act, amendment after amendment has been added, and at its session of 1908, in response to widespread discontent with the administration of the old law, Parliament recast the much-amended original Act into the "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1908."

It is in the details of administration, however, that most of the changes have occurred. In the new Act, as in the old, are found State-appointed conciliation tribunals of original jurisdiction, to determine the differences between disputing parties

and to bring them to agreement on an award; an appeal court, rendering final awards of binding effect; and the penalizing of strikes and lockouts.

Only those workers may avail themselves of the Act who are registered as "industrial unions." "To encourage the formation of industrial unions and associations" was declared in its title to be the purpose of the original Act. And although a shocked upper house succeeded later in striking out this open discouragement of "free contract," New Zealand has continued deliberately to legislate against non-union labor. While employers singly or in association may sue and be sued, the Act has brought about on the part of capital a corresponding strong movement toward association for mutual protection and support. The rights and the responsibilities of the individual have merged in those of the group.

Disputes in the first instance are heard by Councils of Conciliation, composed of a commissioner and from two to six assessors. Each commissioner is appointed for three years, and exercises jurisdiction within one or more of the industrial districts into which New Zealand is divided. When workers or employers make application to him to hear a dispute, the commissioner, from nominations made to him by workers and employers, appoints to sit with him as a Council of Conciliation assessors who are or who have been actually and genuinely engaged as employers or workers in the industry in respect to which the dispute has arisen.

It is the duty of these Councils to endeavor to bring about the settlement of disputes, and, if they are successful in this regard, the terms of the settlement are set forth in an industrial agreement binding upon all parties for a period of not more than three years, fixed in the award, and continuing in force after the expiry of the term originally set until superseded by another industrial agreement or by an award of the court.

Disputes which the Councils are unable to settle are heard before the Court of

Arbitration are a president of the Supreme Court, an office for members, and nominating respectively under review minimum rate of wages to be awarded a commission of industrial disputes for the entire final, and other court poses may trades' court nary judgments for strikes. it may order offending workers.

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Councils are unable before the Court of

Arbitration. The members of this Court are a presiding judge, usually taken from the Supreme Court bench, who holds office for life, and two "nominated" members, holding office for three years, and nominated by employers and workers respectively. In any particular industry under review the Court may prescribe a minimum rate of wages, may give "preference to unionists," and may make its awards a common rule for an entire industrial district, and, in certain cases, for the entire dominion. Its judgments are final, and are not subject to review by other courts; the money damages it imposes may be collected through magistrates' courts in the same manner as ordinary judgments for debt or damages; and for strikes, in addition to money damages, it may order that the registration of the offending union shall be canceled.

While a dispute is pending before Councils or the Court anything in the nature of a strike or lockout is punishable by a fine of not more than \$250 upon the guilty party, whether employer, trade union, or individual worker. If an award or industrial agreement has come into operation in an industry, every worker who is a party to a strike is liable to a penalty of \$50, and a penalty of \$2,500 may be imposed upon every employer who is a party to a lockout in that industry. Instigating, aiding, or abetting strikes or lockouts is further punishable by fines of \$50 upon individual workers and of \$1,000 upon trade unions and employers.

Such, in brief, is the new Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of New Zealand. The features of the old Act which had caused the most irritation have been eliminated, but it is as yet too early to determine whether the recent amendments will not themselves give rise to fresh discord. By compelling the parties first to lay their claims before the Councils of Conciliation, instead of giving to them the option of going in the first instance either to a Conciliation Board or directly to the Arbitration Court, the volume of that Court's business will be much lightened, and labor's general complaint will be met against the delays to which cases coming before the Court were formerly subjected. The four strikes of 1908 which brought about the amend-

ment of the old Act certainly gave point to the contention of employers that arbitration had been in fact compulsory only because awards had all been in favor of the workers. But it may be that the new Act, with its cancellation of union registration and heavier fines in the event of strikes, may more equably distribute the advantages and burdens of arbitration, and that employers will now no longer complain that the awards of the Court can be readily enforced against them and defied with impunity by the unions.

But if the present scheme of compulsory arbitration does not give the satisfaction the Government promises for it, fresh amendments will be tried. The principle of compulsory arbitration will not be abandoned. There will be no return to our American ways, imperfect though they acknowledge their own ways to be. Neither the New Zealand community nor employers or employed will go as far as that. As well expect an American community to abandon its penal code because all bank presidents are not held to honesty.

But it seems extremely doubtful whether industrial arbitration of the New Zealand compulsory type could operate with much success in other countries not possessed of New Zealand's unique advantages. Economic forces over which the statutes have had no control have played an important part in giving to New Zealand the large measure of industrial peace enjoyed since arbitration has there been compulsory. Times have been good, trade has prospered, money has flowed into New Zealand as never before. Since 1895, when the first Arbitration Act went into effect, the exports of gold have almost doubled, the value of wool exports was last year more than twice what it was in 1895, the frozen meat trade is now very nearly three times as great as it was then, manufactured articles and butter and cheese have been exported every year in ever larger quantities, until now they are six times what they were fifteen years ago. The total annual export of New Zealand produce is now nearly \$100,000,000, as against a little over \$41,000,000 in 1895. And while factories have been multiplying and while farmers, thanks to the invention of the refrigerator, have been finding



a steady and ever-ready market in London for their mutton and dairy produce, the Government, increasing the national debt from \$200,000,000 in 1895 to \$332,000,000 in 1907, has been disbursing each year among a population of less than a million people hundreds of thousands of pounds of money borrowed for the most part in London.

The scarcity of the population—8½ persons to the square mile—and its slow increase, due to one of the lowest birth-rates in the world and to an immigration which during the past decade has brought the total of arrivals to but 70,000 over the total of departures, has been another important factor in the successful operation of New Zealand's compulsory arbitration. If labor has not at all times been as difficult to obtain as has been claimed by employers unwilling to pay more than the lowest wage fixed by law, certainly there has not been any large fringe of unemployed and casual workers, ready and driven to take work away from the regularly employed whenever these demanded more pay or shorter hours. Nor have the women and children given much relief to the situation, only 75,000 women being breadwinners in New Zealand, while the boys and girls under sixteen years of age working in factories number only 2,500. Manufactured articles from neighboring Australia, as well as those coming with heavy freight rates from far-off Europe and America, are tariff taxed, and so factories multiply in an agricultural land; laborers leave farms and sheep "runs" for the higher wages of the city; rents in Wellington become the equal of those in London; New Zealand mutton, butter, and cheese sell in New Zealand at the London market rates; wearing apparel costs what it does in America. The laborer, seeing his money wages higher by far than they were at "home" in England, becomes a firm believer in State-fixed wages, while nothing will shake the faith of the landlord, the manufacturer, and the farmer in State tariff fixed prices.

Conciliation Boards and Arbitration Court have felt the pressure of these forces, and to the constant demands of the workers for more pay to meet the increasing cost of living and the relatively high standard of life in New Zealand they

have by a succession of awards favorable to the union demands made the workers of the dominion more than willing to refrain from strikes. The ruin to industry that employers predicted as a consequence of this policy has not occurred; indeed, the expansion of industry has never been so great as during these years since compulsory arbitration has been in force.

In the United States the machinery necessary for the enforcement of a scheme of arbitration on the New Zealand model would be stupendous, and would utterly fail unless we were willing to substitute for our inefficient factory inspection such complete and continued oversight as is practiced by the Labor Bureau of New Zealand. And even our most experienced judges and our most potent captains of industry might quail before the prospect of sitting in judgment on the magnitude and diversity of industrial problems that here would be brought before Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration Courts for adjudication.

Moreover, it has been the experience of New Zealand that unorganized labor cannot be held accountable for its acts, and that it is only by a frank recognition of trade unionism, and indeed by a considerable fostering of unionism, that compulsory arbitration may be in any measure successful. But the closed shop in New Zealand has meant the open union. Union dues must be small, all qualified applicants must be admitted. It is obvious that the strong unions of America, with their restricted memberships, would hesitate before consenting to any such policy, and that they would be unwilling to advance any scheme which would lay open their treasuries to court-imposed fines for refusal to abide by arbitration awards.

Nor has union labor gained much by such a course in New Zealand. The unions, it is true, have grown greatly in number and in membership, due to the Arbitration Act, but that Act, by requiring registration by industrial districts, has checked any movement toward organization of trades on strong national lines. The ranks of unionism have been flooded with men by order of the Court, as it were, changed into trade unionists: men who have not fought the battles of labor, who

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have little or no interest in the trade union ideal, to whom class solidarity means nothing and wages and hours everything. Perhaps it has been on account of these made-to-order unionists, perhaps due to the preponderating influence of trade union secretaries who become the "bush lawyer" representatives of their unions before the Arbitration Court, that the unions of New Zealand have been so slow to realize the defects and dangers of the Arbitration Act. Thanks to his secretary and the Court, the union worker had a few more shillings in his pockets of a Saturday night, and so why worry about rising rents and more costly foodstuffs? and who would bother about forming a political labor party when a Liberal party in power was most solicitous to keep its large and grateful labor vote?

Councils of Conciliation of the New Zealand type, though without power to compel a settlement of differences, would be in any country agencies of practical power. Let us suppose that in the strike of the shirt-waist makers in New York City there had been available, after the New Zealand fashion, a commissioner of conciliation holding a three years' salaried appointment from the Governor. One or more employers, or the Union, could have applied for the appointment of a Council of Conciliation, each side might then nominate to the commissioner assessors familiar with the shirt-waist making industry, and the hearings, public or private, in the discretion of the commissioner, would be speedily under way. Each side could summon witnesses to testify under oath, books and papers could be produced, but—falling in with the wisdom of the New Zealanders—"no barrister or solicitor, whether acting under a power of attorney or otherwise, shall be allowed to be heard before the Council." If a settlement of the dispute should be arrived at by the parties during the course of the inquiry, the terms of the settlement would be set forth in an industrial agreement. If a settlement proved impossible within two months of the appointment of the Council, the Council would give public notice to that effect, accompanied by "such recommendation for the settlement of the dispute according to the merits and

substantial justice of the case as the Council thinks fit, and may state in the recommendation whether, in the opinion of the Council, the failure of the parties to arrive at a settlement was due to the unreasonableness or unfairness of any of the parties to the dispute."

Such recommendation would be made only upon the unanimous decision of all the assessors, the commissioner having no vote upon such a matter. "Such recommendation of the Council [would] in no case have any binding force or effect, but [would] operate merely as a suggestion for the amicable settlement of the dispute by mutual agreement and as a public announcement of the opinion of the Council as to the merits of the dispute."

How much more sane and more civilized is this New Zealand method than our own way, where the sole duty of the State is, as the old Tory statesman put it, "to keep the ring"!

The other lesson that New Zealand's Arbitration Act has to teach us concerns the minimum wage. It has been through the exercise of its right to prescribe a minimum rate of wages (with a special provision for a lower rate being fixed in the case of any worker unable to earn the prescribed minimum) that the Arbitration Court in New Zealand has been most signally successful in stamping out the worst evils of the so-called "free contract" between labor and capital. "Sweating," in its typical European and American form, was not uncommon in New Zealand before the days of the minimum wage, but now, with the State determining the rate of pay below which workers may not be employed, no New Zealand employers may make profits out of keeping wages at the point where their employees are not self-sustaining. And the tariff always may be called upon to help save a local industry if a living wage will let in foreign-made goods—lumber milled by the "pauper labor of America," for example. If the industry cannot be saved, public opinion in New Zealand would rather sacrifice the industry than the worker. The Court in fixing the minimum wage takes into consideration the variation in cost of living between city and country, between one industrial district and another; weight is given to



the standard of ease and comfort generally regarded in the community as essential, as well as to the wages paid in correlated industries; profits are inquired into more with a view to determining how low it is necessary to fix the minimum than how high on a profit-sharing basis it might be raised.

Employers unite in praising this aspect of the law. It has prevented unfair competition by the unscrupulous who would sweat the last penny out of their employees, it has raised the purchasing power of the workers, and it has made the workers in what were formerly the sweated trades—dressmaking, white goods, and other occupations chiefly carried on with women and minors—more efficient, more contented, and more ready buyers of New Zealand commodities. It has accomplished its primary object—there is now no sweating in New Zealand.

But they have gone on beyond this in New Zealand. Minimum wages are fixed by law in trades in no sense sweated. The Arbitration Court is called upon to settle an industrial dispute, and in rendering its award it must determine the often recurring question of wages. It fixes a minimum wage for slaughtermen, carriage-makers, miners, wharf laborers, bakers, shoemakers, in any and all occupations, skilled or unskilled, for time or piece workers. Here employers are unanimous in objecting. They say, and the facts appear to be wholly with them, that the Court-fixed wage is in no proper sense a minimum; rather that it is, or at least becomes, a standard wage. No latitude is left for varying ability; the slow and shiftless, unless he sinks to the level of incompetency, where a permit may be issued for his payment at special rates, must be carried by the energetic and competent, and all workers, good and bad, must be paid the same rate. Moreover, as the wages customarily paid in any industry are considered by the Court on subsequent application to fix a new minimum wage for that industry, employers feel that any payment they may voluntarily make above that required by the award under which they are working may be used against them when that award expires and they are next haled to court.

And yet, although under this extension of the original minimum wage conception there does not appear to be in New Zealand a sufficient reward for exceptional skill and exertion, the average of wages is not high in New Zealand when compared with the cost of living or when the general high efficiency of the New Zealand worker is considered. Wages are higher than in Great Britain, whence most New Zealanders or their fathers have come, and so New Zealand, with its sunshine and its balmy air, its little cities and big pastures, its few rich and many well-to-do, its time for all to watch and gamble upon football, cricket, and horse-racing, has come to be called God's Own Country. Yet the wage-earners are beginning to appreciate the fact that it needs more than an increase of money wages to increase their real earnings, that their margin of profit is no more now than it was fifteen years ago, and that to regulate wages and to leave prices unregulated means that their standard wage will remain always but a minimum wage.

Two men in the capital city of Wellington put in a few words the present awakening of labor in New Zealand and the general complacency of capital in relation to State regulation of wages. The first was a young Irishman with the memories of evictions in his Irish home still rankling. "Well, if this is your God's Own Country, all I've got to say is that there's a lot of absentee landlordism here."

The other was a shoe manufacturer. "We don't care much how the Court increases wages, provided they don't go so far as to let in foreign shoes over our tariff wall. The people pay more for wearing our shoes, that's all."

The New Zealanders are willing to pay for industrial peace, and if they may not save enough for this from the savings of strikes prevented, then they are quite prepared to pay more for their shoes. We of America for some years appear to have been making advance payment on our shoes. It seems time now for the American purchaser and the American worker to insist that they, too, shall get their money's worth through State Boards of Conciliation and State-fixed minimum wages.

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# THE ETHICAL TEACHINGS OF JESUS

## I.—SOBRIETY

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

On June 6, 1899, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania accepted from the Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D., LL.D., and his wife, a Deed of Gift providing for a Foundation to be known as "The Boardman Lectureship in Christian Ethics," the income of the Fund to be expended in procuring the delivery, on stated occasions, at the University of Pennsylvania, of Lectures on Christian Ethics, from the standpoint of the life, example, and teachings of Jesus Christ. The first lecture in this course was delivered by Dr. Boardman himself on November 18, 1900, his subject being "The Golden Rule;" the second lecture by the Rev. Oliver Huckel, of Baltimore, on March 20, 1906, his subject being "A Modern Study of Conscience;" the third lecture by Dr. Lyman Abbott on December 1, 1909, on "The Ethical Teachings of Jesus." The last lecture was delivered extemporaneously, and was afterwards written out by the author on the basis of the stenographer's notes. The series of four articles, of which this is the first one, is in substance this lecture delivered upon the George Dana Boardman Foundation.

The most  
ancient creed  
in Christendom

Scholars have made a very careful and microscopic examination of the four Gospels. We know from the preface to Luke's Gospel that he edited it out of pre-existing materials; and there is good reason to believe that this is true of the Gospels of Matthew and of Mark. I have no disesteem for the labors of those scholars who have endeavored to ascertain what are these pre-existing materials, and how far, in these Gospels, we have the exact teachings of Jesus of Nazareth and how far they may have been modified or colored by their reporters. But into those scholarly investigations I shall not enter. I shall simply attempt to interpret to you the life and teachings of Jesus as we find them recorded in the four memorabilia of his life and instructions. In other words, what I shall try to do will be to interpret the life and teachings of Jesus as they were understood at the close of the first century by the Christian Church. That understanding is embodied, or at least indicated, by what is the oldest creed in Christendom, a creed which is found in the Epistle to Titus: "The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ."

You will observe of this creed, first, that

it is vital, and, second, that it is comprehensive. Most of the creeds of Christendom state what we should think. This creed aims to state how we should live. "The grace of God hath appeared teaching us that we should *live*." And this creed is comprehensive. It covers the four relations in which man stands in this life: his relation to the material universe through his body; his relation to his fellow-man; his relation to God; and his relation to the future. What the author of this ancient creed thought was that Jesus Christ teaches us how we should live in this fourfold relation; and these are all the relations in which we stand and which our conduct can affect; for we cannot alter the past. Our duty to ourselves in our relation to the material world through our body is expressed by the word "soberly;" our duty to our fellow-men, and incidentally to the brute creation, is expressed by the word "righteously;" our duty to God is expressed by the word "godly," or devoutly, or piously; and our correct feeling respecting the future by the word "hopefully."

What, then, did Jesus teach respecting sobriety, righteousness, godliness, hope? In other words, what did Jesus teach respecting our relations to the material world, to our fellow-men, to the Eternal, and to the future? You will not expect me in a single hour to give a complete and comprehensive interpretation of all these teachings which the Christian Church has been engaged in interpreting for



many centuries. If, when I have finished, you shake your heads and say, "I think that was very imperfect," allow me to say, at the outset, I heartily agree with you; it will be very imperfect.

**Christ pities the prosperous**

In one striking passage Jesus has taught us that he does not think that either happiness or wealth or reputation or power is an end to be sought; and these four desires—the desire for pleasure, for wealth, for power, and for reputation—are four very dominating desires in human life. To clear the way for what I shall have to say, let me first put this negative teaching of Jesus:

Alas for you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Alas for you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Alas for you laughing ones! for ye shall mourn and weep. Alas for you, when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets.

Here are four types of men whom we are apt to envy; the rich, the full, the merry, and the popular. And Christ pities all four.

He does not pity the rich because he is rich; but he pities the rich because he has received his consolation—because, that is, he has gotten that for which he has been striving. He does not pity the satisfied because he is contented with what he has: he pities him because he has no aspirations, no outreachings, because he is full, because he desires nothing more in the future; for aspiration is the secret of progress. He does not pity all that laugh, but the laughing ones, the merry-makers, the men and women who think that life is one huge jest, who never take anything seriously, who count "all the world a stage, and men and women only players." And he does not pity men who are thought well of; but he pities men when all men think well of them; because no man who has courage, vigor, forcefulness, and real and vital influence in making the world better than it is has all men thinking well of him. The desire for happiness, the desire for wealth, the desire for rest or satisfaction, and the desire for popularity—Jesus disowned them all as legitimate ends of life. The men who made these desires their dominating motives were objects of Jesus' pity. Taking this

statement as a clue, what did he teach respecting the world and the body? What respecting our relations to our fellow-men? What respecting our relations to God? What respecting our relations to the future?

**Christ not an ascetic**

Jesus Christ was not an ascetic. He did not condemn the desire for pleasure. He did not renounce the world. He did not call on his disciples to renounce the world. He said of himself that he came eating and drinking; and that was so characteristic of him that men said of him that he was gluttonous and a wine-bibber. It is true that they lied; but you can tell a good deal about a man from the lies that people tell of him. They would not have told that kind of a lie of an ascetic. It was not that kind of a lie that they did tell of an ascetic—John the Baptist, who came neither eating nor drinking; the lie they told about him was that "he hath a devil." Jesus Christ accepted a great many invitations to feasts, and from all sorts of people: from reputable people and from disreputable people, from men and women of fine social position, and from men of no social position at all. Nor do the Gospels anywhere contain a record of his having ever declined any invitation to a social gathering. He compared himself to a man playing in the market-place that the children might dance to his playing. In the parable of the prodigal son he spoke of music and dancing with apparent approval. He began his ministry by creating wine to prolong the festivities of a wedding occasion; and as, in that Oriental age and country, the wedding festivities ordinarily lasted three or four days at the least, it would seem to an average Puritan that they hardly needed prolongation. He ended his ministry by bringing his disciples around a table and saying to them, I have desired greatly to have this last supper with you; and I want you to remember me in connection with the supper table. He wore a robe so precious that the soldiers would not rend it, but cast lots for it. He did not think good dress or good food or harmless pleasure was wicked. He did not think the material world a bad world. He rejoiced in it. He loved the trees

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**Christ not an epicure**

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and the flowers and the birds and the clouds and the mountains and the lakes. So far as he had any hours of rest and recreation, they were spent either on the mountain top or in a little sailboat on the Sea of Galilee.

**Christ  
not an epicure**

But, on the other hand, no one, I think, has ever accused Jesus Christ of being an epicure. He did not live for good things. He did not care much about good things. He was born in a manger; he spent the earlier years of his life in a peasant cottage; when he began his ministry, and from that time onward, he was without a home. To a disciple desirous to follow him, he said, "I have not a place wherein to lay my head." He was invited at one time to a friend's house; the housekeeper was busy getting a great supper for him, and she asked him to send her sister to help her. In reply he made it very clear that he did not care about a great supper. He cared a great deal more about a sympathetic listener than he did about an overloaded table. We have one incident in the Gospel narratives which shows what his ordinary food was. He had been preaching all day; the sun was beginning to sink behind the western hills; the time had come to dismiss the assembly. But Jesus, it is said, had compassion on the multitude, and was unwilling to send them away fasting lest they faint by the way; for many of them were a long distance from their homes. To provide them with food he asked the disciples what they had. Seven barley loaves, somewhat resembling our sea biscuit, and two little fishes, caught from the Sea of Galilee, corresponding to our sardines. Such was apparently his ordinary food—that of the poorer peasant class. Jesus did not, on the one hand, treat material things as the source of evil, nor the animal appetites and passions as sinful; nor did he, on the other, yield himself to the animal appetites and passions, or make them the source of his happiness.

**"Where shall we  
draw the line?"**

Jesus Christ did not draw lines; he did not say, All things are wicked; nor did he draw a line and say, The things on one side of this line are wicked, and the things on the

other side of this line are right. He did not prescribe rules for the regulation of conduct. Rules are temporary; principles are eternal. Christ formulated no rules; he interpreted principles. Sobriety is not conformity to rules; it is a principle of conduct, and even more a spirit of life. A few years ago some stir was made in this country by a now forgotten little book bearing some such title as "What Jesus Christ Would Do if He Came to Chicago." I do not know what Jesus Christ would do if he came to Philadelphia. I heard the other day that a college evangelist told the students that if Jesus Christ were in college he would be captain of a football team. I do not know whether he would be the captain of a football team or not. But I am very sure that, if he were the captain of a football team, the man on the team who tried to win success by foul play would get a rebuke that he would remember all the days of his life. And I am sure that if he came to Chicago or New York or Philadelphia, the men who are corrupting our great cities would be branded with a hot iron and would carry the brand with them for the rest of their lives. My total abstinence friend is very sure that Jesus that Christ would be a total abstainer if he were in America; my friend who makes a moderate use of wine and beer is sure that he would not be a total abstainer if he were in America. I do not undertake to say whether he would be a total abstainer or not; but I am very sure that he would not confound total abstinence and temperance. He would not think that total abstinence from alcoholic beverages is the same as the virtue of self-control. He would not preach such a doctrine of temperance that a man who eats pie until his flesh is as soft as pastry and drinks coffee until his color is as yellow as coffee could call himself a temperance man because he did not drink beer.

The minister is continually asked to-day, "Where shall I draw the line?" And the answer of Jesus Christ, I think, would be, There are no lines. He would not teach that knocking balls around on a green lawn is right because that is croquet, and knocking balls around on a green table is wrong because that is billiards. He would not teach that cards are right if you



have historical names on them, and wrong if you have spades and hearts on them. He would not teach that it is right to have a tableau or a charade in a church sociable, and wrong to see a play given by professionals in a theater. He would not teach that it is wrong to wear precious jewels and right to wear precious flowers. He would teach this: No enjoyment is right that does not help to develop manhood and womanhood; and no enjoyment is wrong that does help to develop manhood and womanhood. What is luxury? A comfort that enervates. What is comfort? A luxury that does not enervate.

The life is more than meat; the body is more than raiment. Personality is more than things. All things are right if they are contributing to character; all things are wrong if they are not contributing to character. That was the essence of Christ's teaching concerning our relation to the material world. Temperance is the control of the body by the spirit for ministry to the spirit. Nothing less than this deserves the name of temperance.

What did Jesus Christ mean by righteousness? will be the theme of my next paper.

## THE CART DWELLERS

BY MARY HEATON VORSE

THEY stirred my imagination, I believe, from the time I was a little girl. We were stopping in Arques-à-la-Bataille, which, you remember, is in Normandy and near Dieppe. On the one hand there is a castle, and upon the other a mysterious and ancient forest. The country is a fertile and smiling one, and there are fine examples of French country houses. One, I remember, we called "the Moated Grange." There were fine and prosperous farm-houses with roomy and sunlit kitchens and yawning, capacious fireplaces where the *pot-au-feu* simmered perpetually in an iron pot hung from a crane.

One evening I slipped forth from the hotel bent on a walk by myself, the spirit of adventure burning high within me. I think the ease with which a girl may come by this high-hearted emotion has never been done justice to. For a boy to go for a walk in the early evening under the stars and see a young moon and a late twilight turn a little French street into the very image of a Cazin may move him, if he has a turn for painting, with that emotion which one must have when one sees before one, in the flesh, so to speak, the pictures he has loved, but it will hardly cause his heart to beat, nor will it give him the delightful feeling, so prized in youth,

of doing the forbidden. A lad will seek farther afield and in muddier places for this emotion, but life is so full of the sharp knots of convention for a properly brought up girl that she may taste of adventure and haply transgress the rules laid down for her at any turn of the road, and do it also without losing any of the innocence of her heart. It is one of the privileges of being a woman which has received too little praise.

I walked through my Cazin feeling myself in an enchanted picture-book. The confines of the town were marked by an ancient stone cross, and there, where no houses should have been, small lighted windows blinked at me with red eyes. A dog barked warningly as though I were trespassing on private property. I could hear the whimper of a baby within the dark bulk and closed windows. Yet that very day I had passed this place and there had been no cottage at all.

A white object moved in the shadowy hedge, and in a moment I saw it was a horse and that the cottage was on wheels. Presently from the cross a girl's voice hailed me with a courteous "*Bon soir*."

"*Bon soir*," I answered, and seated myself beside a girl of my own age.

"Do you go far?" she asked. She took me for some one returning from work.

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"You walk gravely."

"No later."

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"No," I answered, "I was taking a walk."

"You walk late," she announced, gravely.

"No later than yourself," said I.

"I," she responded with the same gravity, "I live here." She indicated the cart.

"Do you stay long?" I asked.

"No," she replied, "we circulate."

It seemed a proud and mouth-filling word to me. I would gladly have gone forth in a similar house and circulated in like manner. The need of "circulating"—it was that that had driven me to slip out unnoticed from my family—that need of the open road, a need which has been supposed to belong to young men during the *Wanderjahren*, to gypsies and others of either a predatory or do-nothing character, but which I am convinced finds its place in odd quarters; and there is many a dweller under respectable and uninteresting roofs in whose ears the road which passes the house sings as seductive a song as ever did the sea to those who like to go down to it in ships.

"It must be nice," I said, and I am sure that the girl caught the wistfulness in my tone, for her gravity brightened into a smile.

"It's always new," she agreed, "and yet one is always at home." There, if you like, was an open door for one—new scenes, new horizons, new adventure, and yet the humble and familiar things, the familiar and beloved faces, that make what we call "home." Wherever one goes one makes friends on the way; there is always some one glad to see you in a town when you come through again. This also was news. I had thought of my little acquaintance as belonging to the band of those disliked by the respectable, at whose heels dogs barked, and in whose faces doors were slammed.

"We are tinsmiths; when we finish we go forward," she informed me.

The next day I saw what she meant by making friends, for I came upon her and her father in the garden of a friend of mine, a comfortable *bonne à toute faire*, who was saying to the tinsmith:

"Well, Monsieur Janos, what luck this year?"

He was a little man, browned by the

sun, and with that pleasant and tranquil expression of face of one who lives with Pleasure in the open air.

"*Pas mal, pas mal*," he answered. He was blowing up a hot little charcoal fire which he carried with him, and was heating solder while she brought to him the pots and pans to be mended, and gossiped the while about his family. To hear him talk one would think it the most natural thing in the world to have one's house a cart on wheels, and something that would not interfere with the orderliness of one's life.

"How is Ma'am Janos's health?" she wanted to know. "And so Hélène had made her first communion? That was good."

He brought her news also of a relative some villages away, who, it seemed, was in good health; the children, however, had the whooping-cough. The talk was too tame to interest me, and I was at the time too young to grasp its significance. I was rather disappointed that my friend of the night before should be respectable enough to find favor in the eyes of my good Madame —, that she had turned out to be no gypsy at all, as my fancy had painted her, but a sturdy, blonde-haired, blue-eyed daughter of Normandy.

After this I noticed that the *carrefour* by the cross was seldom empty. Now there would put up for the night a handsome wagon with curtained windows and bright with paint, and drawn by well-fed horses, to be replaced by a poor shanty on wheels and a decrepit donkey. Often they put up for the night only, and went on their way on the broad white road bound for the market of Dieppe. There was as great a diversity of trades represented by these travelers as by the people of the town, and they seemed to enjoy as many degrees of prosperity.

Some years later, in the market of Savant in Brittany, I learned more of the cart dwellers. Three times a week the market-place blossoms with mushroom-like umbrellas and is transformed from a place cleanly and well kept to the point of bareness into an open-air department store. It was the cart people who added variety to the changing scene. There were two middle-aged, full-bosomed women, with hair smartly dressed, who



sold *fonds de boutique* from Paris—venders of cheap jewelry. Other stores on wheels there were—rolling shops that contained nothing but ribbons and laces—a vast and changing caravan, making their way from town to town and from market-place to market-place, always at home and always seeing something new. The children, neat and pinafores, played about the steps and were not to be distinguished from the children who lived in mere houses.

I thought of them as a race apart, a species of French gypsy—gypsies shorn of their charm and their rascality and having fallen to shopkeeping, retaining nothing of their former picturesque vices, unless an uneasy desire to be up and gone as soon as one reaches a place may be termed a vice. They disappointed me. Not one of them that I ever saw was a horse-trader. They would have been as incapable of reading your palm, however crossed with silver, as any fishwife from Cancale. I didn't understand them at all. What was the use of gypsying, I wanted to know, if one was to be so tame and respectable about it?

Thus does youth desire to find romance of the obvious sort. Picturesqueness must have its romance as per schedule. Haunted castles, moonlight on the lake, gypsies with flashing black eyes, wheedling tongues, and pilfering ways, are what it asks for.

It was not until years afterwards, in St.-Raphael, in the Department of Var, that I understood the humble romance of the cart dwellers. For as I returned to France I came across them again, as was inevitable, since they form a part of French life. They have to have a license to permit them to circulate, and tucked away somewhere the orderly nation of France must have records of how many of these homes on wheels travel through its Departments from the north to the south, and I think their numbers must stretch into many figures.

It was on the beach of St.-Raphael, the blue Mediterranean in front, the Hôtels Esterelles behind, that I found my cart dwellers again. As I looked out of my hotel window I saw a line of them drawn up between the soft sand beach and the hard earth of a plane-tree-bordered

square. A man dressed in a white apron and the white cap of a pastry-cook was frying a waffle-like cake. A woman seated on the steps of the cart tended her baby, and beneath the cart a little boy was playing with the dog. A line of half a dozen other carts was drawn up at intervals. One sold pins and needles and those small articles which we call "findings." The dwellers in another cart sang songs and sold them for a penny, and had a ring-toss game. Still another had a bird shop. One might buy a bird or one might raffle for it. Flimsy ways all, they seemed, of making a livelihood—more in place elsewhere than on this beach where men were pottering about their substantial, broad-beamed boats, mending nets, and carrying on the other occupations of a Mediterranean beach.

I made the acquaintance of the waffle-man with the purchase of a few cakes. He was a simple-minded soul, with a kindly, rather blank face, and saved the waffles that turned out less successfully for children who looked on him forlornly and with wistful eye; and as he felt that this mode of procedure was not one that would foster the waffle trade, he exclaimed, apologetically:

"You see, they make me think of my eldest. Before he was taken sick and died, he stood one day and looked at a man baking cakes like that."

"You haven't always made cakes?" I asked.

"No, I am not a pastry-cook. I am a wheelwright. My little boy died. We had no other children then; we had waited for him three years, and he died. He was four years old, and when he was dead the place was so empty—you wouldn't believe how empty unless you had lost your only son. We would sit there silent, *le cœur gros*; in my shop it was the same; he liked to watch me at work, and we couldn't bear it, so one day I said to her, '*Partons!*'"

"We didn't wish to see the house where he died ever again. I sold my business and bought this cart. I remembered the man with the cakes, and I thought, 'That can't be hard to learn.' I paid to be taught. So on the road we found peace again. These two were born in the cart."

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ing parents had been able to have that  
luxury of the very rich—travel and  
change—that they might forget, and find,  
as he said, peace of heart.

The bird man was a large, jovial fellow,  
a philosopher in his way, and had much  
to say in praise of the cart.

"Competition," he told me, "that's the  
curse of our modern life. For years I  
kept a bird shop in a town. Now, one  
bird shop in a town of that size is enough  
—surely one is enough, and while the love  
of birds is widespread, yet I who keep  
them must admit that a bird is a luxury.  
A town must be rich and wealthy. There  
came, Madame, to my town another bird  
man. He was richer than I; he had an  
expensive parrot which talked. He was  
new also. He chose a shop near mine.  
I considered it a lack of delicacy. He  
advertised. I wasn't one to thrust my  
birds down the throats of those who don't  
want them. If you persuade one to buy  
a bird who has not felt that need within  
him, how can you know that bird will be  
cared for? Indeed, Madame, you must  
know that it will not be, and very likely  
will perish miserably.

"With his talking cockatoo, with his  
advertising, he took my custom from me.  
I could have found other employment,  
but then I must give up my birds. I  
hesitated long. I dislike the *ennui* of  
travel, but if I remained where I was I  
must give up my birds. They were my  
life; I studied their characters; they are  
different, all of them, like human beings.  
Now with my cart I am a free man. If  
competition comes, I can now run from  
it; and do you know, Madame, I find a  
pleasure in the society of those who, like  
myself, live in a cart. Though I am not a  
man who cares to travel, it seems odd to  
you, perhaps it may be my imagination,  
but it has appeared to me that my *con-  
frères* who live on wheels are a little dif-  
ferent from those who live always in  
houses. You wouldn't think it, perhaps,  
but it takes imagination to live in a cart,  
just as it takes imagination to see your  
way out of a difficulty. The dull man lets  
difficulty seize upon him as deep mud to  
the ankles keeps a lame man from walk-  
ing. A man with imagination sees his  
way out. Had I had no imagination I

would now be sitting on a high stool keep-  
ing the books in a store. As it is, I live  
in the open air with my beloved birds.

"It is the same with my friends here.  
They are commonplace people. I saw  
you talking to the waffle-man; perhaps  
you have heard their story; he tells it to  
everybody. *Ça serre le cœur*; but since  
he had imagination he could fly from his  
grief. Who knows without that the little  
wife might have died. That would have  
been a great pity, for then there would  
have been no two little ones to help me  
feed my birds of a morning. *C'est gentils  
—les enfants*. They learn to talk of birds  
before they talk of people. The little  
song of the smallest, when she awakes, is  
like a whole nestful of birds; and when  
she is angry, I tell you, with my hand on  
my heart, I could take her scream of rage  
for that of a cockatoo.

"Perhaps Madame has noticed the  
*baraque* below where they sell pins and  
needles. There is a man who has imagi-  
nation. The wife got a sickness of the  
chest, and they told her to go south; but  
how is a poor man to go south? I ask  
you. Doctors are not practical. They say,  
'Yes, I can save you, but you must do this  
and that;' but, save for the idea of the  
cart, he might as well have ordered her to  
drink pearls dissolved. Here she gets  
well, and in a season or two who knows  
but she might return to her own *pays*?  
She is homesick, *la pauvre petite*.

"Then, perhaps, you may have a shop  
in a *ville d'eau* where the season is short.  
To make it longer you put your shop  
on wheels and sell what is left from  
market to market. That is why, Ma-  
dame, most of the shops on wheels exist.  
The greater number of the cart people  
have their own homes in which they live  
for one part of the year; their good  
season at home over, behold them on the  
road! You fill out your papers; you get  
permission to circulate through such and  
such territories, and the thing is done.

"There are different natures in this  
world, as I know, for I have observed  
birds, and observing birds teaches one  
considerable about men and women.  
There are certain natures that require  
change if they are to keep sweet-  
tempered. I may not like change and  
travel, but I do not quarrel with those



who do, for they are as God made them. I knew an old woman who must shortly have died—died, Madame, of *ennui*, nothing else—if she hadn't gone forth in her cart each year and seen the world. As the day grew short in winter, so did she go down hill. She would become very frail. You could clasp her with your two hands; and at the end of the season she would go back looking as though she had drunk at the fountain of youth. Travel rested her; old as she was, travel rested her." He paused in naïve wonder at this fact, and then continued:

"And so I say that the people who live in carts are all a little different from those who live always in houses, as to live in a cart one must have imagination."

That was it; I understood now the humble romance of the cart dwellers, the meaning of which had escaped me when I was a girl. To live in a cart one must have imagination. To so many weary people it was the open door. One left behind one the small disputes of neighbors, the small cares of the village, the tedium of a dull business season, and went

forth in one's little rolling home to the open road. And this was happening all over France. Thousands of little carts were crawling on their way—filled with people who had imagination—from the frontier of Belgium to the Mediterranean, and from the Pyrenees to the Alps—through the length and breadth of the country; and these people who possessed imagination were tasting the joys of way-side camping and earning their own living respectably at the same time—enjoying the respect and confidence of the people of the towns they passed through, and making friends on the way, sharpening their wits, escaping sorrow like my friend the waffle-man, escaping from competition and again from death itself. A happy land, I thought, where such priceless gifts may be had. I thought of the people at home—those who needed change now and then, as my friend said, to keep them sweet and contented, those who needed the rest of travel, those who needed to escape from heavier burdens—and wished that on our commons green carts might draw up in the early morning to camp for the day.

## MADAME BRESHKOVSKY IN PRISON

BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

**W**HEN Madame Breshkovsky was arrested for teaching the peasants on her estates, many years ago, she was kept two years in solitary confinement before trial, then sent to Siberia, where she was held in exile twenty-one years. At the time of her arrest she was torn from her two-year-old baby that she loved with a mother's devotion, and she saw him next only when, returning from exile, she found him a young man of twenty-five, living the easy life of the successful novelist, having no sympathy with any sort of reform. They met but once, then parted, as she thought, forever. She said she could not seek him out without endangering his life, lest he, too, might be considered a revolutionist.

Madame Breshkovsky was betrayed by the traitor Azeff in August, 1908, and thrown into the fortress of Sts. Peter and Paul, and has been lying there ever since without any trial, though it is rumored that her trial will take place early in March. The effort to have her released on bail till she should be tried was of no avail; Russia feared her too much. The petition which I was allowed to place in the hands of Mr. Stolypin asking for this favor was pigeonholed, and my entreaty to at least see her for a few minutes was refused. I was able, however, to send her, by ways considered quite safe, the sum of thirty rubles, twelve of which reached her, the rest sticking to the "safe" hands by the way. Of course I was not allowed to

send any letter, I know that I have that part of her account.

The last night of the year there were hands for arms, had been people who had been a mother in prison, tive in St. Petersburg, have that part at the time of the Russian and these letters took the time of the time in behavior, who still sit time with her officer who first time she doubt she is in Russia. who know her

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send any letter to her, and she does not know that I twice visited Russia solely on her account.

The last night that I was in St. Petersburg there came unexpectedly into my hands for an hour five letters which she had been permitted to send to her son, who had been persuaded to visit his mother in prison, as he was the only relative in St. Petersburg, and only relatives have that privilege. There was present at the time one who understood both Russian and English, and in hot haste these letters were translated *vive voce*. I took the translation in shorthand, hoping the time might come when I could use them in behalf of the dear, brave woman who still sits in the fortress biding her time with heroic courage and cheer. An officer who has seen her lately for the first time says of her that he has no doubt she is to-day the greatest woman in Russia. It is easy to convince those who know her that that is true.

In reading these letters one must remember that every word she writes is read by the police before it leaves the prison. She is allowed to write on no sort of personal affairs save her health; to ask no questions, to discuss no politics, to make no reference to the Government, to refer to no recent publications, etc. Indeed, the list of impossibilities is so long that it is a marvel how she can find anything to speak about. Who of us, under such limitations, could find it in his heart to rejoice over one single blade of grass and a little patch of sky? To quote her own words, "trifles make people joyful or they make them sad."

After the first interview :

January 22, 1909.

My Dear N. : I was very much pleased to see you, and I thank you for coming. I wish that I could always see you looking so well. That is the normal way for every one to look. I appreciate the need of unity between soul and body when one has singleness of purpose, and I know very well what a tremendously deep break is made in one's life even by a single crisis. It may alter a man's life completely. Preserve yourself, then, from every base and unwholesome thing. Let pure motives only enter into all your actions. Good motives beautify the human

being and convey to the face a beautiful expression. I wish you success, my dear child, in everything that leads to your perfection. Kiss the others for me, and tell them my joy in seeing you.

I imagine myself sitting with you in your room while you are relating to me what you have seen, what you have heard, what you have in your mind to do. At first I listen to you patiently, and then I begin to argue. Do you know something? I never could read or listen to descriptions of anything adverse to my soul, especially the horrid things which base people do to each other, even if the horrid things do not have fatal results. I have been reading Dickens for the first time, and I am obliged to miss whole pages of his writings. I cannot read them. While reading I often say to myself, "Oh, this happened a thousand years ago, and now there is nothing of the kind," but I do not deceive myself, for still I cannot read the descriptions of horrors. I am afraid that in the books which you write I shall have to skip some pages too, but I cannot help it. I will try to understand the plot without reading the horrors.

Do you know what perfectly delighted me? "Ivanhoe." That is a novel of novels! If all historical novels were written in that way, they would be marvels. Still, I missed nearly four chapters of that, concerning the violence in the land. But it is a wonderful book. I am sure it is translated into Russian, but it is not a good translation. I think it would pay very well to publish a good translation, with illustrations. It is capital reading for youth and delightful for grown-ups. Just imagine, I was always afraid of Walter Scott, because your grandmother inspired me with mistrust of him, but now I find that "Ivanhoe" is charming.

Well, I wish you good health, my dear. Protect yourself from influenza, which attacked me as the autumn fell. I embrace you and bless you.

March 2, 1909.

My Dear N. : Soon it will be two months since I saw you, and still I have no books from you. Probably the time will soon come for your going away and we shall not see each other any more. March and April are the worst months here, and it is always worth while to run away for



those months. I constantly recall our interview, and always regret that I could not see you clearly, but I remember every word of our conversation. What you said of the Lake of Geneva often comes to my memory, that its beauty has been worn out by many commonplace pictures. But only think, my dear child, how everything that is beautiful in nature is "tainted" in that way. Shall we blame the sky, the stars, the sea, the mountains, because they have been sung by so many poets and drawn by so many pencils, for so many ages? Shall we cease to love them for that? Shall we think that it is not becoming for us to look at the Milo goddess with admiration simply because there are so many photographs of her on every corner of the street? No, my friend, this is a prejudice which we are accustomed to accept without verification, and it often prevents us from taking pleasure in things which deserve to be enjoyed. If it were true, there would be nothing left on the surface of the globe for a refined taste, because the crowd has looked upon all these things, on all sides and in all sorts of places. The sense of beauty lies in ourselves, and when it is strongly developed—that is, when we are capable of noticing and appreciating the very slightest feature of beauty—then everything that excites admiration in the crowd seems to us still more beautiful and more wonderful.

It is another thing to prefer one kind of beauty to another, one manifestation of it to another. For instance, however picturesque and original Spaniards are, I never should prefer them to French people, because the creative spirit of the hidalgos and the French people stands as one to a hundred in ability to create in the spheres of science and of art. And the Frenchman shares the fruits of his researches so willingly with others that his homeland attracts to itself the hearts and the affections of all other people. Believe me, my dear, Paris is so thickly populated with foreigners, not because life there is so gay, but chiefly because one can live there so freely and so usefully. Every one feels himself at home, and he has the right to everything that has been accumulated by ages of labor, of genius, of talent. As to the spirit of aggrandizement, it can be said that Frenchmen

never ruined any other country in the world by depriving it of land to turn them into Catholics, whereas Messrs. Hidalgos gnawed whole tribes to the bones which happened to fall into their power, and turned whole countries which they found rich and prosperous into deserts. As to the Inquisition, they are capable of it even now. They are a picturesque people, there is no denying that, and they have now more inclination to the good, but they are too superficial. Their depth does not go farther than personal retaliation and personal vanity, in individuals as well as in the whole nation. They serve rather as a decorative than a useful part of the world. Their contribution to European civilization is the beauty of their wonderful picturesqueness.

I should like it very much if you would take Madame N. to the Lake of Geneva and go with her to the small village of C., near the Castle of Chillon, with the white mountains in the distance looking into the blue water at your feet—those white mountains whose summits melt into the transparent air. Oh, that mountain air, so full of health! When I saw this picture the first time I held my breath.

*Au revoir*, my dear child. Come soon again. You can get permission for two or three interviews. I embrace you and kiss your hair.

April 2.

My Dear Friend: I should very much like to know how you are. When I received your letter, I was surprised at your change of hand, but from the first word I understood what had happened. Such a healthy, vigorous man to look at to be ill in bed! One thing consoled me, that there is somebody who writes for you: it means that you are not quite alone. I could not answer at once because I can write only on certain days.

It was my good fortune to get permission to have an interview with you, and I was waiting to see you arrive, but you did not appear and I lost hope. At last they said, "Come," and I went to meet you. As I was passing the clock I saw that it was quarter before twelve, and I mentally reproached you for coming so late, and I walked briskly in order to look sooner upon you. But you looked ill. There is nothing more danger-

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5 March

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MADAME BRESHKOVSKY IN PRISON

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ous than to take cold with influenza, and I imagine you are suffering from that. My dear, you ought not to trifle with your health. It is a great blessing, and its absence spoils life. Give my thanks to the one who writes for you, and be sure that I did not forget you those fifteen days while you lay ill.

I intend in the course of the next interview to speak less and listen more. You know that I know nothing about your life. I therefore ask you to prepare beforehand a concise, and as full as possible, tale of your life, of your quarters, whether you live alone or with some one, what your surroundings are, how your time is spent, what you are writing now, what interests you very much, what are your plans. I am prepared to keep silent for the twenty minutes.

I have sent you my note-book. I wrote a petition to the commandant of the fortress, saying that I wished him to hand over the notes from "No. 55"<sup>1</sup> to my son, and I gave the destination. That was about a month ago. It must be in the Department of the Police. It will probably take a good while for them to look it over; but they may forget it altogether, therefore, if you wish to have it, I must trouble you to remind them of its existence.

Now I wish to tell you, as a lover of art, that it is quite worth while to see the picture gallery of Helsingfors. It is not large or elegant, but it is interesting, because the Finns have skill and their painting is original in execution as well as in subject. Folk-lore, the life of the people, and their traditions supply rich material for the artists, and their pictures rivet the attention of the observer. The hall of national painting and architecture is also quite original, outside as well as inside. The decorations of the rooms are unique. It is a country worthy of study.

If you wish to amuse me, my dear, find me a book of travels describing different countries and epochs, with illustrations. It would be better if it were a work unknown to me, but anything that has appeared within ten or fifteen years will do, so long as it is well written and has

<sup>1</sup> "No. 55" is the same cell which was occupied by Mr. Tchaikovsky before his release on bail. It is on the upper tier and has a tiny glimpse of the sky from the window.

plenty of pictures, but it must be without intrigues and without cruelties.

What Englishmen are writing now? What are they giving the public? You make me laugh with the question whether I "follow the news"! My dear, I am entirely in the position of those fabulous creatures that have been stolen away and are kept living in such places that even the ravens and the wolves cannot peep in. Besides my four walls I see nothing, and hear nothing besides the ringing of church bells. You must know that my past was hedged in with all sorts of limitations, but such limitation as this I never experienced before. It is well that this happened towards my old age, when a large store of impressions and observations has been laid away in my memory. My whole past life appears before me as a tremendous school in which I pass from class to class. How many classes are still left God only knows! Life is a great teacher for all who wish to learn, and he is fortunate who gets on to the proper road to learning, otherwise one may go through life without learning anything or thinking anything. The majority live in that way, and, alas! no one helps them. But he who knows how interesting and how blessed it is to *know* is bound to teach others. Ah, my dear, I begin to preach!

I embrace you warmly. Give my greetings to all relatives and friends.

April 27.

My Dear N.: You told me that in about a fortnight you would come again. I should wait for you quite patiently if I had confidence that you are well. The weather is wretched, and I know you ought not to expose yourself. Health is a great boon, and one ought to preserve it. I confess I am uneasy about you.

I want to ask you, my dear, if you have ever read what Lessing has written about the Laocoön? Having examined the history of this work of art, Lessing has devoted a great deal of time and study to it. The article is full of artistic taste and a deep understanding of the meaning of art. Most likely it has been translated into Russian; certainly into French. I read it not so long ago, and it is deeply interesting in showing the relation between art and reality. It contains a good many sane thoughts, and every *writer* ought to



read it carefully. It warns people about ascribing too much importance to the creative side of art, for, however correct it may be, it always remains an imperfect imitation of the natural beauty. The world of our conception is very meager, especially if we place human productions above the spirit which produces them.

Write me about N. I take an interest in every bit of domestic life—for instance, whom her chambermaid married, and is she content, and do they live together happily; and are they in the old house—the large one—or in the small one? etc. From the small things in life you can judge of the large ones. I think I owe my knowledge of life to that principle, or that peculiarity of my mind, that the minor things do not escape me. I notice them side by side with types of character and modes of life.

You speak of M. and P. Their life is that of the provincial town. There is much good in it when it is enlightened by the spirit of knowledge and love. The smaller children may introduce both. My dear, try to appreciate all that is good and honest in people. Do not expect perfection from them, and do not try to fit every one to one shape—even a healthful shape—so long as he is sincere. The human mind is growing and forming itself, and it is still shaking off the remnants of the old dust and dirt; and blessed are those who are already accustomed to hate that dirt in themselves and in others. It is the business of those who understand more to give their help to those who are climbing up out of the cerements of the past. You have a good heart, I know it. Answer me soon, and receive my blessing and my warm and loving kiss.

YOUR MOTHER.

April 29.

My dear Kolinka: I have seen neither you nor the book. Although I am accustomed to wait patiently, still I wish to know as soon as possible what is going on with those who interest me. Your foster father and mother probably think I do not take any interest in small every-day affairs. It is not true. I know beforehand most of the events that happen in their lives. They are trifles, but these trifles make people joyful or they may make them sad.

Tell your foster mamma that I wish she would describe to me her household and her friends. And will you ask one of your friends to buy me a crocheted shawl, soft and elastic, that I can wrap round my head, something costing about three rubles. I have still another request. I have received twelve rubles from my friend Isabel Barrows.<sup>1</sup> It is natural that this is very dear to me, this attention of my transatlantic friends, and I sincerely thank them for it, but I have no way to express these thanks myself. Letters addressed to any one but relatives are returned. Therefore I ask you, dear, to help me to tell Mrs. Barrows and all her family and all the friends that I heartily greet them. So sure am I of their great-heartedness that I would not have been surprised if some of them had been here! Blessed are those who cultivate in themselves a love for their neighbors, and who respect before everything the dignity of the human being.

Yesterday I saw one blade of grass climbing from under a stone, on the sunny side. It presented a very sad contrast with the rest of the surroundings, the bare trees and granite walls. A small patch of sky also looked upon me.

My greetings to everybody and my best wishes. I embrace you, my dear.

May 18, 1909.

My Dear: After each interview I write you, for I feel that in the course of it almost nothing has been said. The shawl was received, but it is so good that I cannot find a proper place for it, and I have finally decided to keep it in the paper package, for I cannot make up my mind to put it on. It was too elegant for me, but I thank you for it. . . . *Au revoir*, my dear. My greetings and respects to all my old friends. I remember all, absolutely all, and love them, with all their children and grandchildren. For three days now I have seen the sun as I take my exercise walk, and I warm myself in his rays. I embrace you and wish you well. Your mother.

<sup>1</sup> One may imagine my astonishment, as well as my joy, at hearing my own name read out from this letter. I was sorry that my modest offering had so shrunk in size, but had it been a milliard of rubles it could not have given to her the pleasure that her loving greeting will give to us, her friends on this side of the sea.

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## THE NEW BOOKS

Mr. Francis L. Wellman tells his readers that a "Day in Court" is not a law book. But it is an excellent book for young lawyers to read; and by young lawyers we mean any who are not too old to learn. His suggestion that it would be well for the law instructor to take his class in a body to the court-house to witness a trial is an excellent one. In the absence of that practice, or as a preparation for it, the law student will find this book excellent reading. And the layman will find it entertaining reading. It abounds in interesting anecdotes, some of them intellectually and professionally suggestive. We do not recall in literature any more delightful illustration of absent-minded absorption in business than the story told on page 40 of Mr. Sergeant Hill, who forgot, first, that he was to be married and had to be sent for to come to the church from his chambers, and then forgot that he had been married and had to be sent for to come home to dinner. (The Macmillan Company, New York. \$2.)

Mrs. Gertrude Atherton has evidently put serious work into her novel "Tower of Ivory." It has been called an international story because its scene shifts from Munich to London, and, in retrospect, to New York, while diplomatic circles, English country life, German musical enthusiasm, and the court of the mad King of Bavaria are among the things described. But the external aspects of the book, varied and interesting as they are, really only make a setting for the development of fundamental problems of temperament and passion. In the great singer who merges herself into Wagner's wonderful and heroic women there is something large and tragic of the Wagnerian type. She has by sheer force of will and instinctive love of art fought her way from a sordid and horrible past up to pre-eminence as an artist. Her personality and that of the young English diplomat whose fate becomes interwoven with her own are carefully studied and take strong hold of the imagination. No one can deny power to this book, although it may well be criticised both in regard to some repellent aspects of its theme and its literary workmanship, which is marred by grandiloquent diction and sometimes obscure and odd construction of sentences. (The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.50.)

Most of our readers will remember the graphic, timely, and extremely well-informed article about "Zelaya and Nicaragua" published in *The Outlook* at the time of Zelaya's downfall. The author was Frederick Palmer, one of the very best of American newspaper correspondents and magazine writers. His new book, "Central America and its Problems," is not only the most recent work on its subject; it is practically the only book that is of value as dealing with present-day conditions. The newspaper articles which form its basis have been revised so that the

book has unity, and in liveliness of narrative and incident it is admirable. The contrast between Mexico, described in the first four chapters, and the five nations southward, is notable. In the latter Mr. Palmer found this state of affairs: "Rich territories, capable of vast development, are less widely cultivated and more sparsely populated than they were three hundred years ago, and worse governed than they ever were under Spanish captains-general. People a day's sail from the United States degenerate for want of opportunities for education and religious training, while our missionaries spread light in Darkest Africa and the interior of China. Cultured families have been decimated by political assassination and their estates confiscated. Barbarities worse than those which have excited our indignation in Russia and Turkey exist; and for these the United States is responsible." For the future the author finds hope only in a radical action by this country, founded on a policy of education and development rather than sporadic interference after an outrage on American citizens or property. He says: "Every reason which called Christian Europe to the relief of the people of the Balkan provinces calls us to the relief of Central America from men of the Zelaya stamp, whose rule makes the Weyerism which roused our indignation in 1898 mild in comparison. We cannot shift the blame on to Spain's shoulders in this instance; it is ours. For the last five years occupation has been warranted in at least two of the republics. It is the one sure cure. Can we afford to miss any opportunity of effecting it whenever, in the name of the restoration of order, we can take charge without firing a shot? Shall we hesitate to do in Central America what we have done in Cuba; to give these people a chance for a fair start, which they have never had? Shall we accept the responsibility?" (Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. \$2.50.)

The question discussed by Professor B. W. Bacon in "The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate" (Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, \$4) is this: Is it the work of an eye-witness and disciple of Jesus, or of an unknown writer about the middle of the second century? The latter is Professor Bacon's conclusion, attributing no historical value to the work, but accepting it as the ultimate development of Christian reflection in the line of Paul's effort to know Jesus, "not after the flesh, but after the spirit." Even in that view of it, it attests the immense impression of Jesus upon the religious thought of his time. No consensus of equally competent scholars has been reached concerning its authorship, but even conservative opinion admits that the product of pious reflection is fused with historical narrative. Professor Bacon's argument that



the work in entirety is such a product, and unhistorical throughout, is too large in compass and detail for more than a few brief comments to be admissible here. In any critical work the personal equation must be allowed for, and in this work it seems to count exorbitantly. For instance, we read of "the new rite of foot-washing, which Jesus institutes in perpetuity, as his own complement to the rite of baptism." Here Dr. Bacon seems to hold that only such eccentric sects as the Dunkers have understood Jesus' meaning rightly. Again, as a clear case of the unhistorical, "Judas appears at the scene of the betrayal accompanied not by a paltry posse of slaves from the high priest's house, but by the entire Roman garrison of Jerusalem." To call out six hundred armed men to effect a night arrest in a garden seems preposterous. But the crucial word (*speira*) appears in the lexicons with a range of meanings from which Dr. Bacon arbitrarily selects the largest. Historical values seem to be quite too arbitrarily expunged. For instance: "What significance can the scene of Jesus' mother at the cross have had to an evangelist bent on 'spiritual' meanings, save to symbolize that element of his 'kindred after the flesh' which, however blindly, had yet loyally clung to him?" The story of Jesus' interview with the Samaritan woman is likewise transferred from history to symbolism, and pronounced "anachronistic and impossible," for no given reason but that "the general topic here is completely foreign to the capacity of the supposed character." One who is hesitating between the conflicting theories of authorship here suspects cocksureness. Dr. Bacon frankly acknowledges that his view of the Fourth Gospel "involves a great challenge and a great responsibility." He does not minimize its revolutionary character, but believes its destructive as compared with its constructive effects to be evanescent and relatively trifling. His faith is unshaken that Jesus in his personality is a supreme "phenomenon of the life of God in man, of the life of man in God, having permanent significance for the race." A needed corrective of Dr. Bacon's view of this Gospel is found in the deeper insight of Edward Caird's chapter on "The Divine Humanity." See his "Evolution of Religion," Vol. II, pp. 229-30.

Familiar Italy has been described over and over. Unfamiliar Italy needs describing. Not only is many a picturesque town unfamiliar; whole provinces are. Take the country of the Abruzzi, for instance. That is the subject-matter of Anne Macdonell's "In the Abruzzi" (F. A. Stokes Company, New York, \$2), a capital account of the wild land and its people. Compared with Tuscany, or indeed almost any other part of Italy, the Abruzzi land seems primitive, uncouth, chilling, rough, bare. Especially is this the impression, together with the sharp contrast felt, as one enters the province from civilized, hospitable, gracious Rome. On a clear day

one can see the peaks of the Abruzzi mountains from the Roman housetops. Who escapes the sensation of an elemental wildness of nature and man, persistently unconquerable even alongside the Eternal City! The strange country does not seem the less a "misfit" in Italy after reading the interesting and informative pages of the present volume. But what unexpected products have come from the province! To students of literature the chapter on its "Singers and Improvisatori," for example. In the chapter thus entitled one will find accounts of the Anglicized Abruzzesi, Gabriele Rossetti, Dante Gabriele Rossetti, and Christina Rossetti, and of the living poet of the province, Gabriele d'Annunzio. As to unfamiliar Italian towns, their name is legion. Sojourners in Naples may be glad to have their attention drawn by Mary B. Arms in her "Italian Vignettes" (M. Kennerley, New York, \$1.25) to the near-by Marigliano. The book, however, has to do mostly with familiar Italy, and the author writes with well-nigh the facility of speech of the people she describes. The text is sympathetic; indeed, many a reader will be apt to say, "Just the way I felt when I was there!" But "Unfamiliar Italy" need not be a whole province like the Abruzzi, or a whole town like Marigliano; it can also be an unfamiliar part of a town, and this unfamiliar part forms not the least valuable feature of Mr. Edward Hutton's latest book, "Rome" (The Macmillan Company, New York, \$2). As one reads the chapter headings, "The Capitol," "The Forum," "The Palatine Hill," "The Colosseum," etc., the sights seen by every traveler are recalled. It is well to have a review of these main attractions. But Mr. Hutton's book is more notable, so it seems to us, for its descriptions of that unfamiliar Rome indicated by the chapter headings "San Clemente," "Santa Pudenziana" (why does he not use the colloquial "Pudenziana"?), "Santi Cosma e Damiano," "Santa Maria Antiqua," "Santa Maria in Cosmedin," and "Santa Prassede." Mr. Hutton is probably the first popular guide to Rome to give a chapter apiece to these lesser churches. Indeed, in this volume ecclesiastical Rome occupies more space than does the Rome of antiquity. This proportion does not surprise us, for all of Mr. Hutton's books on Italy are noticeable for their emphasis on the Church. Nowhere does the observer realize the Church's power and strength more than in an unfamiliar province, an unfamiliar town, or in the little old churches of the Eternal City.

The series of papers by Dr. Percy Gardner, the first of which, on "Modernity and the Churches," gives its title to the volume containing them, are all in the interest of reconstructing Christian theology in adjustment to modern learning. Speaking as an Anglican Churchman of the liberal school, he holds this to be highly needful. He tells his brethren that "perhaps there is no Church

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in Christendom which feels the dead hand more heavy than the Anglican." The need his thoughtful papers exhibit and serve is a pressing need in all churches. His standpoint is given by the ground he takes on the central question—What of Jesus? "If Jesus Christ be not in some sense divine, then we live in a universe which has nothing divine in it. . . . Unless Jesus was a man with limited knowledge, with human attributes, passions, and temptations, his life can be to us no true model, but only a mirage." Enough to add here that this candid and luminous thinker finds the chief reconstructive factors in religious thought to be historical criticism and psychology, especially in the pragmatist view of life, which emphasizes action rather than speculation. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. \$1.50.)

The object of Valerian Paget's edition of "Bradford's History of the Plymouth Settlement, 1608-1650" is thus stated by himself: "To many the reading of the mediæval English of the original, to which all preceding editions have adhered, would be so laborious as to preclude them from becoming acquainted with it. I have endeavored to preserve, as far as possible, the atmosphere of the time while accurately rendering the thought in current language." This book will find its place alongside of Edward Arber's "Story of the Pilgrim Fathers as told by Themselves, their Friends, and their

Enemies." It might be compared for early New England history to Froissart's Chronicles for early European history, or to the Four Gospels for the history of the beginnings of Christianity. He who would understand the spirit of the Pilgrims as interpreted by themselves will find it in these two volumes. (The John McBride Company, New York. \$1.50.)

Of more than common merit in sermonic literature is the volume "Soul and Body," containing ten discourses by Dr. Frank Oliver Hall, minister of the Church of the Divine Paternity in New York. God in nature, God in man, and the interaction of the natural and the spiritual for the development of normal humanity in that sonship to God of which Jesus is the pattern, are presented as the structural ideas of rational religion. Ample illustration, ethical earnestness, and common sense characterize the whole. One who begins to read it is likely to read it through. (Universalist Publishing House, Boston. \$1.)

We do not remember to have seen before this Pierre Loti's "Egypt" ("La Mort de Philæ" is the French title) in English dress. It has been translated by Mr. W. P. Baines, and has the attraction of eight color plates by Mr. A. Lamplough. The charm of style and literary color effect have been rather remarkably preserved in the English version. (Duffield & Co., New York. \$2.50.)

## LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

### A NOTE FROM DR. SIDIS

There has been recently so much annoying newspaper notoriety about my boy, William James Sidis, and my system of education that I am forced to make a public statement in the interest of the much-offended truth. The articles in the papers, especially the popular "instructive," "scientific" articles of the Sunday magazine variety, are highly misleading. In fact, some newspapers of the sensational type did not hesitate to invent interviews, write up articles with my name tacked on to them, and compose mathematical lectures supposed to have been delivered by William James Sidis. I wish to state that I have not given any interviews to any of the papers, nor have I written a line for them, nor do I intend to give interviews, nor have I as yet published anything on the subject of education. BORIS SIDIS, M.D.

Brookline, Massachusetts.

### ANIMAL FOODS AND THE COST OF LIVING

[Mr. Herbert D. Miles is singularly well fitted to speak on the subject of "Animal Foods and the Cost of Living." For twenty-three years he has been connected with the

executive control of a great provision company, and has had intimate experience in dealing at first hand with the question of the variation of prices.—THE EDITORS.]

The experience of no man and the scope of no single article can cover the actual and basic causes for the present era of high prices in foodstuffs, wearing apparel, etc., to an extent that will leave absolutely no room for individual contradictions. But let us consider a chain of uncontradicted facts that have nothing to do with politics, the tariff, or gold production. This analysis is based upon an experience, not academic, but practical, in connection with the administration of one of the largest meat-packing and grain businesses in the world. The fact that this business extends largely into the products of wool and leather, as well as numerous less important by-products, is illustration enough, and confirmation enough, surely, as to the widespread influence upon other trades of the great merchants engaged in marketing what are the main products of the soil. If we agree, then, that such great conservers and distributors constitute the heart of the commercial body, and that the products that they handle constitute the



active properties of its blood, let us go a step further and inquire what has happened to cause a sluggish circulation in the face of a good average supply of blood. It is fair to say that high prices of steel, coal, and other great commodities not directly allied with the farm are contributory rather than fundamental as affecting the present situation. But first we must allow that there is, to an alarming extent, a genuine and general scarcity of porcine products at present, caused through the farmer having been able to market his corn to better advantage in the past year or two as a grain than by condensing it, through feeding, to that other marketable product known as the hog. And it will be borne in mind also that the large cattle ranges are rapidly being cut up into small farms. The tendency of the farmers in the new districts who take up such land is at first to raise but few cattle for market. Meanwhile the urban population is growing.

There is a great business as to which the public in general has perhaps rather hazy conceptions—"cold storage." The men at the fountain-head of the great storage and meat-packing corporations would not be disingenuous enough to affirm that they did not originally start immense cold storage plants for meats, butter, eggs, and poultry with a view to making a tempting return—perhaps only fair in view of the risks incurred as to future supplies—through this extension of their activities. By cold storage plants is meant, not facilities for ordinary refrigeration of perishable products, but what are known as "freezers," or plants where the temperature is kept at anywhere from twenty above zero down to below zero registers all the year round. In these freezers meats become as hard as cord-wood and risk of deterioration is practically eliminated. The administrators of the large companies engaged in removing from the market all surplus of eggs, beef cuts, pork cuts, butter, and poultry as such surpluses arise have not, in a general way, made more than a reasonable percentage of profit on their investment. But here is the "milk in the cocoanut." They have innocently been engaged for the past ten years, with few interruptions, in steadily bidding up upon themselves the products entering into their freezers, the net result of which was wholly for the benefit of the producer, who is, of course, the farmer. When we read, therefore, that there is any mystery "as to where all the money has gone," we find the situation unnecessarily beclouded. The money has gone straight into the farmer's pocket. A good concrete illustration of this may be found in the history of the mail order business known as Sears, Roebuck & Co., of Chicago, which distributes merchandise to farmers almost exclusively. This concern commenced business about ten years ago in an extremely small way. In 1906 the present company was incorporated with an issue of ten million dollars preferred stock and thirty million dollars of common. Part of

this enormous issue of common stock was given as a bonus to subscribers for the preferred. The balance went to the promoters, or owners. This thirty million dollars of common stock is now selling at over one hundred and fifty dollars per share and paying seven per cent present annual dividend rate, with a pretty well assured promise of greater things to come. It goes without saying that only the unexampled amounts of money in the hands of the farming community has made such a condition possible.

Now let us consider the main relation of the meat packers themselves to the conditions we are discussing. The administrators of such a business as that of the National Packing Company (which is a heterogeneous combination of beef and pork packing houses of the secondary grades situated at different strategic points throughout the country) would hardly contend that their principals, who own that corporation, and who are large packers themselves, were actuated in its formation by any other motive than that of adding to their net income by the removal of highly injurious competition. But in the same way the net result has been to fill the pockets of the farmer. The owners have steadily bid up upon themselves the price of live stock, with each small advance of price in commodities made with a view to a reasonable net return upon their investment.

Briefly, the way it works out in both cases is this: In the case of the buyer of product for the putting away of the surplus stock in freezers, he finds each year that, judging from the experiences of the year before (taking average normal conditions), he can afford to pay a little more, and still make a fair profit on his investment. He would be glad to pay less, but there are plenty of others willing to take this surplus and put their capital into freezing plants. The result is that year after year these buyers bid up the price upon themselves at the times when the producer has his greatest surplus of eggs, butter, poultry, pork, etc.; and so the farmer knows no more glutted markets nor low prices.

In the case of the buying of live stock, the fact has been quickly appreciated by hundreds of smaller pork and beef packers that the establishment of the National Packing Company, and other causes, have made it possible for them to hold out for, and secure, a higher price for their meats each year. The inevitable result of this is that when this large aggregate buying power goes daily into the great live-stock markets to bid for their stock, the buyers figure that they can afford to pay accordingly; and so year after year the margin of profit to them remains about the same; and, similarly, the great meat packers' profits vary but little, but the amount of money going into the pockets of the farmer for his live stock is greatly, and to him most gratifyingly, multiplied.

The hides of these cows and steers make our shoes and line our automobiles; the

wool of the sheep into, our clothing products has to material correspond advance in meats products, whatever seller of labor, has for their merchant ends meet. Is stand why there of high prices?"

As to the real high prices are of live stock, the silently under w ducement now ex his production, s to a maximum. that when this immediately foll duction which is down. And as former great catt scientifically, and and the older far larger crops to t be accomplished North and South to give more a cattle.

The remedy f part of the admi to bid up the ma more difficult to us hope that, as cently and grad larger gain of th server and distri by the sharp les the initial cost o

Chicago, Illinois.

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Apropos of y Reform" in Th the late assistan office said to m offices of postm and superintend into one, the res about enough w He had held th master for twel longer, and told agreement with pointment that and have no re cause the work done with divi postmaster cam for a friendly division of du officers as bro purpose of sup political appoin his office is, of of similar size, a larger. It is deficit could be



wool of the sheep makes, or largely enters into, our clothing; the manufacturer of these products has to pay a price for this raw material corresponding in general to the advance in meats; the manufacturer of other products, whatever they may be, and each seller of labor, have to get an increased price for their merchandise in order to make both ends meet. Is it not easy, then, to understand why there is spread broadcast an "era of high prices"?

As to the remedy. To the extent that high prices are caused by short production of live stock, the remedy is probably already silently under way, in the fact that the inducement now exists to the farmer to increase his production, so far as hogs are concerned, to a maximum. It is a matter of history that when this inducement exists, the result immediately following is an amount of production which is sufficient to bring prices down. And as new farms, made from the former great cattle ranges, shall become more scientifically and more carefully managed, and the older farms shall be made to raise larger crops to the acre (which can readily be accomplished in the newer sections, both North and South), there will be a tendency to give more attention to the raising of cattle.

The remedy for the tendency upon the part of the administrators of freezing plants to bid up the market upon themselves it is more difficult to prescribe or forecast, but let us hope that, as the effect has been innocently and gradually brought about, to the larger gain of the producer only, the conserver and distributor will find a way, if only by the sharp lessons of adversity, to modify the initial cost of stored produce.

Chicago, Illinois. HERBERT D. MILES.

#### POSTAL REFORM

Apropos of your editorial on "Post-Office Reform" in *The Outlook* for February 5, the late assistant postmaster in a Kansas office said to me a year ago that if the offices of postmaster, assistant postmaster, and superintendent of carriers were rolled into one, the resulting job would require but about enough work to keep one man busy. He had held the office of assistant postmaster for twelve or fifteen years, perhaps longer, and told me that he always had an agreement with the postmaster on his appointment that the latter was to do no work and have no responsibility in the office, because the work could not be successfully done with divided responsibility. If the postmaster came around at all, it was only for a friendly call. He characterized the division of duties between these three officers as brought about solely for the purpose of supplying highly paid jobs for political appointees. What was true of his office is, of course, true of all offices of similar size, and probably of those much larger. It is plain that the Post-Office deficit could be considerably reduced by

dropping from the pay-roll men who are not earning their salaries.

Your contention regarding the additional income which the rural delivery system could be made to produce I know to be true. Express companies are not alone to blame, although they must bear their share, for failure to establish the parcels post. Local merchants in country towns have opposed the proposition through fear of competition of mail-order houses, and this opposition has had great weight with Congressmen from country districts, since it is an organized opposition—another case of our legislation being decided by special interest.

W. H. S.

[It is true that not only the express companies but many merchants in towns, villages, and small cities are opposed to a parcels post from fear of the competition by mail of the great department stores. We think this is a mistaken fear; an increase of supply creates an increase of demand; the development of the habit of shopping by mail will develop the habit of shopping by personal call; the introduction of railways in England by Stephenson, bitterly opposed by dealers in and owners of horses in the fear that their business would be destroyed, greatly increased the business of horse-owners. A parcels post, in our judgment, would feed the business of local merchants by increasing the buying class. Moreover, the country merchant may himself use the parcels post advantageously.—THE EDITORS.]

#### NOT A RIGHT COMPARISON

You report as the most stirring address at a recent philanthropic meeting one by the pastor of a church in New York City, who gave as one of the three chief reasons to justify his denunciation of what he terms the lack of interest of some churches in philanthropic matters their interest in Foreign Missions. One is surprised that any intelligent Christian should continue to use this utterly threadbare and untrue argument. The immediate experience of that particular minister ought to convince him, as it long since has the public, that those churches and denominations which are doing the most for Home Missions, not in talk only, but in their consecration of their men and women and money to the service of their fellow-men at home in every line of need, are those who at the same time are giving most largely in all three directions to Foreign Missions. The denominations, and there are such, which have not a single foreign missionary are doing next to nothing in direct home missionary work, and their contributions as churches in men or money to the active service of their fellows at home are so small as to be really a negligible quantity, except possibly in talk. Surely there is work enough for all in both directions, and need enough for united and generous support, without resorting to such comparisons. When such remarks are made in



public, however, they must be challenged, because so many unthinking people are influenced by them. HENRY A. STIMSON.  
New York City.

#### PRISON LABOR

It is with great regret that we note that Mr. Stowe, in the article "Prisons and Progress," countenances the calumny that the labor unions enforce idleness in prisons. The attitude of organized labor is stated by Mr. Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, as follows: "What we object to in prison labor is the State letting it out to private contractors—that is, selling the prisoners to contractors at so much per head per day or at so much per dozen turned out—and then the products of this convict labor being sold in the open market, not only in competition with free labor, but also in competition with the business men who employ free labor and who cannot hope to get a fair market price for their merchandise when they have to meet the prison contractor's price based upon the ridiculously low price per day or per dozen paid for convict labor under the prison contracts. The objection to the contract convict labor system is in the interest of the State, of labor, of the business man, of the convicts themselves, and of common humanity. Misery, brutality, demoralization, cupidity, and graft characterize the contract system." The convict must work, but why should he work for anybody but the State and himself?

THE NATIONAL FREE LABOR ASSOCIATION,  
By WILLIAM PHILLIP, Sec'y.  
832 Broadway, New York City.

In reply to this letter, Mr. Lyman Beecher Stowe, the author of the article referred to, writes us: "I agree absolutely with Mr. Gompers's statement regarding prison labor as quoted by Mr. Phillip. The statements and comments in my article 'Prisons and Progress' apply exclusively to the law in Pennsylvania, which provides that only thirty-five per cent of the population of any prison within the State may be productively employed—that is, in producing for the market. Now, it stands to reason that the remaining sixty-five per cent cannot all be continuously employed on prison duties. As I state in the article, about one-quarter of the prisoners in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania were idle at the time of my visit last fall, in spite of the fact that the new warden was carrying on extensive work of renovation in which many prisoners were employed who under ordinary conditions must have been idle. Now, I was told positively by the man who was warden at the time this law was passed that its enactment was secured at the instance of and under the pressure of the labor unions of the State. This statement was confirmed by the present warden and by various other reliable men with whom I talked. It was certainly very far from my intention or desire to im-

ply that labor unions in general were either unjust or unreasonable in their attitude on the regulation of prison labor. In this connection I say, 'That labor unions should wish in some manner to regulate convict labor is certainly natural and probably just.' That the motives actuating the labor unions, who, as I believe, secured the passage of the Pennsylvania law, were bad I have neither stated nor implied, but that the law has been vicious in its effect I have stated and do believe."

#### THE TAXATION OF PRIVILEGE

Mr. Fillebrown's article on this subject seems to me to be based in part upon insufficient knowledge of facts. I cannot speak of Boston taxes from personal knowledge. But in New York City I know that the taxation is already at a much higher rate than twenty per cent of the gross ground rent. It is about thirty-three and one-third per cent, and often more. Take, for example, the Columbia College or the Clement C. Moore leaseholds: The ground rent of these is in some cases four and in some five per cent upon the value of the land, exclusive of buildings. The city tax is one and six-tenths per cent upon the value of both land and buildings. It often amounts to more than the gross ground rent.

Another fact that Mr. Fillebrown fails to appreciate is that a great deal of land in city and country owes its value mainly to the labor of the owner, past or present. New York City north of Twenty-third Street a century ago was mostly an unproductive mass of rocky ground. It has been graded and improved at the expense of the owners, and not at the expense of the general public. Surely they and their successors are entitled to profit by values which they have created.

Again, he fails to appreciate the fact that practically the whole burden of taxation in New York and in most of the United States now rests upon real estate. The personal tax is insignificant. And a tax is now levied upon the unearned increment. Take, for example, a house and lot that remain intrinsically as they were thirty years ago. The growth of the city and the current of fashion or business have trebled the selling value. The tax has trebled also. The value for the use of the occupant, however, has not changed.

Mr. Fillebrown's argument is applicable to the mines, quarries, and forests that have come into individual ownership. The owners are enabled by our tariff on lumber, steel, and the rest to realize great profits. It is important, as The Outlook has often urged, that the Government should in the future lease the natural deposits that it still retains, reserving a royalty. But the tax proposed by Mr. Fillebrown makes no discrimination between land values created by nature and those created by industry and skill. It would therefore be unjust, and in many cases would amount to confiscation.

New York City. EVERETT P. WHEELER.



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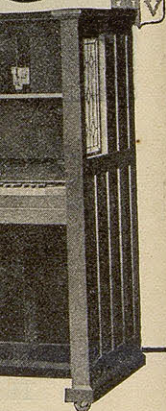
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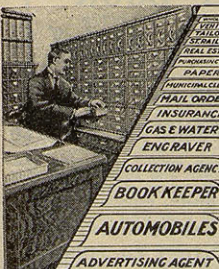
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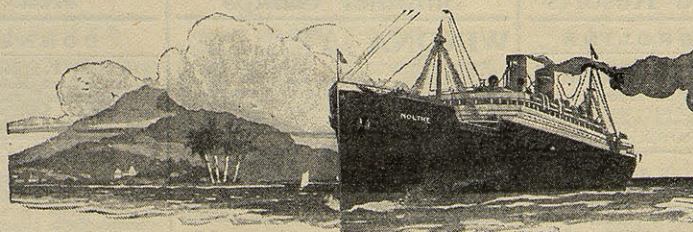
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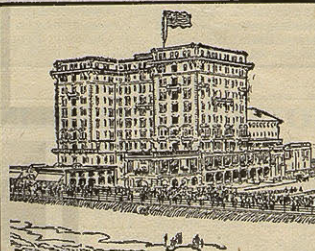
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I regard medicine as a temporary result. I build up the strength, reducing, or developing. This is practical sense.

Think it over, write me today for particulars.

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## No Real Estate Advertiser should fail to be represented in the big Illustrated Real Estate Edition of The Outlook for March 26th

This number will be consulted by many in making their plans for the coming season.

Orders for this issue, with remittance, must be received before March 16th to receive proper attention. Send for illustrated circular, rates, etc.

Department of Classified Advertising  
The Outlook, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York

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Our

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## I Will Help You To Health-Good Figure-Rested Nerves

By Assisting Nature in a Scientific Manner

After my university course, I concluded I could be of greater help to my sex by assisting Nature to *regain and retain* the strength of every vital organ, by bringing to it a good circulation of pure blood; by strengthening the nerves, and by teaching deep breathing, than I could by correcting bodily ailments with medicine. It is to my thorough knowledge of anatomy, physiology and health principles that I attribute my marvelous success. I have helped over 44,000 women. I can help you to

### Arise To Your Best

I have given to each woman that *satisfaction with self* which comes through the knowledge that she is developing that sweet, personal loveliness which health and a wholesome, graceful body gives—a cultured, self-reliant woman with a definite purpose, which makes her the greatest help to family and friends. She is a **Better Wife, a Rested Mother, a Sweeter Sweetheart.** She adds to the beauty of the world, thus contributing to its refinement, cultivation and education. I can help you to make every vital organ and nerve do efficient work, thus clearing the complexion and correcting such ailments as

Constipation	Irritability	Indigestion
Weak Nerves	Colds	Dullness
Rheumatism	Nervousness	Weakness
Sleeplessness	Torpid Liver	Catarrh

This work is done by following simple directions a few minutes each day in the privacy of your own room. In delicate cases I co-operate with the physician.

I regard medicine for reduction as dangerous, and bandages and reducing appliances do not remove the cause, hence only give temporary results. In correcting faulty habits of digestion and assimilation, I build up the strength while I am reducing, or developing you.

This is **practical common sense.**

Think it over and write me today for particulars.

**Too Flechy  
or  
Too Thin**

When every organ of the body is doing efficient work, there will be no superfluous flesh and no bony, angular bodies. I have reduced thousands of women 80 lbs., and have built up thousands of others 25 lbs. What I have done for others I can do for you. It would do your heart good to read the daily reports from my pupils. Here are some of them:

"My weight has increased 30 pounds."  
"My eyes are much stronger and I have taken off my glasses."  
"I have not had a sign of indigestion or gall stones since I began with you."  
"I weigh 83 lbs. less, and have gained wonderfully in strength. I never get out of breath, the rheumatic twinges have all gone, and I look and feel 15 years younger."  
"I am delighted with the effect upon my catarrh."  
"Just think of it! To be relieved from constipation. Entirely free after having it for 30 years!"  
"Have grown from a nervous wreck into a state of steady, quiet nerves."  
"The relief from backache alone is worth many times the money, and I haven't had a cold since I began with you."

Write me today, telling your faults of health and figure. If I cannot help you, I will tell you so. I study your case just as a physician, giving you the individual treatment which your case demands. I never violate a pupil's confidence. I will send you an instructive booklet, showing correct lines of a woman's figure in standing and walking, free.

**SUSANNA COCROFT, Dept. 8**

**246 Michigan Ave., CHICAGO**

Author of "Self Sufficiency," "The Vital Organs, Their Use and Abuse," Etc.

Miss Cocroft's name stands for progress in the scientific care of the health and figure of woman.

**A  
Good  
Figure  
is  
Economy  
and  
Means More Than a  
Pretty Face**

I have corrected thousands of figures as illustrated below. Style is in the figure and poise and not in the gown. The gown in Fig. 1 cost \$250; the one in Fig. 2 cost \$6.00. Fig. 2 is the same woman as

Fig. 1, developed and in correct poise.

Figs. 3, 4, 5 and 6 show actual photographs of pupils before taking up my work. (They have given me permission to use them). They all stand, now, as correctly and appear as well as Fig. 2.



## K-C Kent-Costikyan Oriental Rugs

Our new Warerooms are at  
**8 West 38th Street**

**Murray Hill Bldg.  
NEW YORK**

**75,000,000 WASHBURN'S PAT.**

**"O. K." PAPER FASTENERS**

SOLD the past YEAR should convince YOU of their SUPERIORITY



There is genuine pleasure in their use as well as Perfect Security. Easily put on or taken off with the thumb and finger. Can be used repeatedly and "they always work." Made of brass in 3 sizes. Put up in brass boxes of 100 Fasteners each.

**HANDSOME COMPACT STRONG No Shipping, NEVER!**  
Note our trademark "O. K." stamped on every fastener.  
All stationers. Send 10c for sample box of 50, assorted. Illustrated booklet free. Liberal discount to the trade.  
**The O. K. Mfg. Co., Syracuse, N. Y., U. S. A. N91B**



## Nature's Best in HEINZ Ketchup



Contains  
No Benzoate  
of Soda  
or Other Drugs

Protect Yourself  
by Reading  
All Food Labels  
Carefully



*Picking Tomatoes on one of the Heinz Farms.*

# HEINZ

## Tomato Ketchup

Fresh material and clean preparation make drugs of any kind unnecessary in prepared foods.

Heinz Ketchup keeps because of its pure quality. This quality begins with especially-grown tomatoes. Fresh from the fields, they are prepared and blended with Heinz pure spices, refined granulated sugar, superior table vinegar of Heinz make, the usual condimental seasoning and *nothing else.*

All prepared in clean kitchens, by clean people, with clean equipment—

### Every One of Heinz 57 Varieties is Pure

Thousands of visitors annually witness their preparation in Heinz Model Kitchens.

*Other Heinz good things are Mince Meat, Cranberry Sauce, Fruit Preserves, Apple Butter, Euchred Pickles, Sweet Pickles.*

**H. J. HEINZ COMPANY, New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, London**

Member American Association for the Promotion of Purity in Food Products.



A black and white illustration of a baby's face, looking up and to the right. The baby is holding a small plate with a candle on it. The candle is lit, and its flame is visible. In the background, there is a faint illustration of a baby in a bathtub.

**That Baby  
of Yours**

will have a tender, burning, irritated skin unless you exercise care in choosing the soap to be used for his daily bath. Soaps containing strong alkali, coloring matter and adulterants, will dry and irritate the skin and destroy its softness.

Fairy Soap—the pure, white, floating, oval cake—is baby's friend. It is made from edible products, and is just as pure and good as it looks. Price but 5c.

THE N. K. FAIRBANK COMPANY,  
CHICAGO.

**“Have You a Little Fairy in Your Home?”**





# CHENEY SILKS

With silks of all kinds in greater vogue than ever, it is to every woman's self interest to use discretion in the silk she buys.

Women as a rule are good judges of silk quality — that is one reason why Cheney Silks have enjoyed nearly seven score years of unrivaled popularity among those who know and insist on having the best.

While all kinds of smooth and rough silks will be worn this season, the silks that Fashion has chosen as her Summer favorite are the well-known Cheney

## *“Shower-Proof”*

*Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.*

## *Foulards*

These exquisite fabrics are shown by the leading stores in a wide profusion of colors, exclusive designs, the latest French effects, stripes, patterns and the familiar polka-dot in its many variations.

“Shower-Proof” Foulards are peculiarly adapted to current styles. They drape gracefully and accentuate the lines of the figure.

Ask for “Shower-Proof” Foulards by name and see that “Cheney Silks” appears on the label and stamped in the end of the piece.

*Cheney Silks include Foulards, “Shower-Proof” Foulards, Florentines, Decorative and Upholstery Silks, Yarn and Piece Dyed Dress Goods, Velvets, Linings, Velours, Silk Ribbons, Velvet Ribbons, Cravats, Spun Silks, Reeled Silks, etc.*

CHENEY BROTHERS

Silk Manufacturers



SAMPLE COPY

# PLAIN TALK

BY

W. S. Noble.

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He that provideth not for his own house  
hath denied the faith.—I Tim. 5,8.

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25 Cents per Copy.



### TO MY COMRADE, THE READER.

I offer no excuse for addressing to you this book for your consideration; neither do I make any pretensions to learning, nor to special gifts as a writer.

Now, a few words about myself: Having had the misfortune to be left without one when very young, I know not what it is to have a mother. How many times in life have I longed for a mother to share my joys and help me bear my woes, upon whose loving breast I could pillow my head, and to whom I might pour out my soul. Mother, if you are permitted to look down upon this sin-cursed earth, know of a surety that your boy is striving to be worthy of the one who gave her life for him. Reader, if you have a mother, give her all that is good in you; try never to cause a moment's pain to the one that would give her very life for your comfort.

When I was aged nine years, my father was also called to the land from whence no traveler returns. Not from that day, until, at the age of twenty-four, I married, did I have a home. True, I lived until my sixteenth year with relatives, who were kind in a way. But, outside of one brother, who never, during my checkered career, deserted me, or failed to do more than a brother's part by me, and a sister, from whom, however, I have been separated the most of my life, had there been one who seemed to care for or understand me. May God reward them for their many deeds of love, if I never can. I also want to gratefully mention an uncle who did a great deal for me, and to whom I owe what little education I have. Although an old bachelor, knowing nothing about children, yet he helped me many times, and a just God will reward him, though I should not. To any one else that has helped me—I thank you. To you who took advantage of my helpless condition to persecute me and exploit my frail body—God judge you; I can't.

Dear reader, I want you to know that I have suffered. The fruits I would have gathered, I have seen plucked by more fortunate hands. I have felt the pangs of hunger, and know what it is to ask for work and be refused. Oh, the horror of begging for the privilege of earning bread for your starving body and being turned away! May an All-wise God forbid that there shall ever another suffer as I did. Yea, He has, but man will not obey Him.



I know what it is to work from one year's end to the other and surrender every dollar I made, while myself and family denied ourselves every luxury, living on the barest necessities, only to receive as a reward for my sacrifices the stigma of dishonesty. Those that violated the law by charging me unjust prices and usurious interest I will also leave to God; but I am going to do all in my power to wrest from your grasp, ye masters, the power to thus rob, exploit and punish others as you have me. I remember, in those dark days of want, of telling a banker who had mercilessly plundered me, on paying off my last note: "There," said I, "is your money, every dollar I borrowed, with ten per cent. interest and \$150 of usurious interest which you forced from me in violation of law—take it, and if you can stand to go to hell with it, I'll try to go to heaven without it." I went over my notes covering the period of twelve years that I was in the power of my creditors and found that I had paid enough usurious interest to buy a home.

Now, my dear reader, millions of people are in the same condition in which I was, who, if they had received justice, would have had plenty now. My mission is to try to prevent the oppression of the defenseless by the strong and to establish a system of justice for all mankind. Will you help? It can only be done by the united effort of a majority of the people. In my feeble way I am trying to show the cause of injustice and to call attention to a remedy that will give to everyone that works the full social value of his or her labor. Nothing short of that would be justice.

If you will agree to help do that, and to read every word herein written, will you, in the presence of Almighty God and this comrade, sign your name here:

Now, comrade, read well each page and reflect deeply on what is written, and if I am able to show you the light and secure your assistance in freeing my children from a life of toil, I will be a million times paid for my efforts. If you find any objections will you kindly write me a letter at Eastland, Texas, plainly stating same, and I promise that they shall be answered.

Yours, for the establishment of a system of equal opportunities for all,

W. S. NOBLE.

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## THE PROBLEMS OF TODAY.

In no period of the world's history has mankind been called upon to settle and speedily settle the problem of the distribution of the products of labor; until now. In spite of all our boasted advance in the science of production; in spite of all efforts to increase our foreign markets in order to keep turning the wheels of our great industries, so that the millions who do the work of manufacturing and distributing the farmers' products, as well as the farmers themselves, might be given work and pay enough to secure food, clothes and shelter for themselves and their families; in the face of all this there ever before our eyes stands the mute spectre of want.

In today's New York Evening Call (Dec. 30, 1908) I read the startling information that 1,248,000 children in the public schools of the nation are suffering the pangs of hunger. Almost daily we see accounts of thousands standing in the "bread-lines" in our larger cities. In New York alone, 125,000 families were thrown on the streets for being unable to pay for the miserable hovels in which they had lived. Fifty thousand girls—some one's sister, some one's daughter, some mother's darling—are in the slums of New York selling their bodies for bread. According to Hon. Edwin Sims, United States district attorney of Chicago, thousands of workingmen's pretty daughters are induced by promises of employment to come to our cities and forced into a life of shame. Again, I see a ruling from Judge Warren W. Foster (on December 19, 1908) to the effect that a man cannot support a wife on \$6 per week without stealing. Yet I see in the Buffalo Courier that the government sent out troops and had workingmen shot for using the only power they had to secure a higher wage than that—the strike.

Oh, what an awful indictment against those that have had the welfare of the people intrusted to their keeping! All this, mind you, in a country where, according to capitalistic information, we are "enjoying noteworthy prosperity." Yet we are continually reminded that we must build an immense navy and keep up a tremendous army in order to hold and gain foreign markets for the very things the people at home need and cannot buy. On account of our great advance in the methods of production, it has been figured that if every man between the ages



of 20 and 40 should work just five hours per day for 300 days they could produce as much of every comfort of life as 170,000,000 people could use in twelve months. By working two and one-half hours per day they could produce enough for our present population of 85,000,000 to enjoy every material blessing that labor creates. In all healthy states of society, where civilization is free to develop, advance in one direction is the forerunner of corresponding changes in other directions. Now, there are many reasons for thinking that development has been extremely one-sided in the last century. Pure and applied science has indeed developed to a wonderful extent, but the trouble lies in the fact that man's attention has been taken up in solving the problems of production, while his social life, that is to say, the social institutions under which he lives, ideas of government, the distribution of the wealth created by labor, is still dominated by the learning of the past. As an experienced navigator can detect signs of land long before it is in sight, so can those who watch the present course of events and compare them with history detect the signs of approaching change which threaten to revolutionize existing conditions. Our whole industrial system is threatened and there is a decided tendency to re-examine the theory of government of private property, especially that of land and the means of completing production, also the distribution of wealth created by the workers. Such a state of affairs certainly exists, and the danger ahead of our people is that, if investigation is not undertaken in earnest and the right or wrong of the views that are finding expression and demanding investigation by over a half million voters receive attention, and the correctness acknowledged or the error proved, the impulsive people may conclude that they can only be solved one way, and conclude to carry it out. Note the recent outbreak of the night riders of Tennessee, who undoubtedly believed there was no other way of getting revenge for a real or fancied wrong. There is no doubt in my mind that the rich rulers of the nation would like to goad the working class into committing violence, as thereby the former would be given the opportunity, first, of turning public sympathy against the workers, and then, of turning upon them the rifles and machine guns of a well-drilled soldiery, thus for a long time and at one stroke crushing out all resistance to the rule of capitalism. To show how capitalists seek to incite the workers to lawlessness, I will reproduce one of the many of like insin-

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This one appeared in the Fort Worth Telegram of December 20, 1908, which, after telling the farmers of Texas that if they could have received as much for their cotton this year as in 1907, there would have been \$60,000,000 more money in Texas, quotes the following: "Says Sam Lazarus, capitalist, representative of J. P. Morgan in the West, and an all round good fellow, who was in Fort Worth Saturday from his headquarters in St. Louis: 'No, I don't endorse the methods of the night riders of Kentucky, not for publication, anyhow, but if you will study the situation you will find that the tobacco trust came to faw nicely about the price of tobacco.'"

He that fails to see the traps that are being set for the ignorant and overworked workers is blind indeed. Brother workingman, there is no hope in lawlessness, but a careful study of the present unequal distribution of wealth and of the remedy therefor, once understood and applied, will result in correcting and settling the present needs of society. You must understand that our present civilization has resulted from attempts of man to satisfy his wants, which happily increase quite as fast as the means of satisfying them are found. One conquest gained simply brings forward other problems; thus, the wiser we become the more we see to learn, and with advancing knowledge man becomes ambitious. Having accomplished so much, we entertain no doubt as to further progress. The mere fact that there is danger ahead is by no means alarming. The individual who has every want satisfied will amount to but little. The same is true of a nation or society. Perfection will never be attained. Yet he who will not strive to come as near it as possible is an enemy to good government, and has neither claim to Christianity nor honor. When a nation reaches the place where no change is desired or looked for, then it becomes stagnant. Changelessness is an attribute of death, not of life. The dangers bravely met, the necessary changes made, civilization will enter on a higher plane. Each stage of culture brings with it dangers peculiar to itself. Hence those who think Socialism (while a long step in advance) will everlastingly settle all things, will find, as ancient Greece did when it changed from tribal society to political, confronted with new dangers never known before. Since Socialism will change the incentive from personal aggrandizement to striving to excel in the good each one renders to society as a whole, I see in the future of my country under



such incentive an opportunity to reach a stage which mankind now can only imagine, and man cannot hope to explain.

But back to the subject. We see the people of our country today divided into two great classes. The propertied class on one hand, and the propertyless class on the other. The relation between these two classes tends to become more strained every day. All such influences have an effect far beyond what we first allow them. We know our government is an organism, and as such it can no more be healthy, when such a class division exists, than an individual can be healthy when his digestive system is out of order. The whole body in one case as well as the whole nation in the other is speedily involved. To carry out the comparison, I might refer to the fact that we have without any well defined reason recurrent seasons of hard times, or so-called panics, throwing the whole nation into alternate fever and chills. No longer than 1907 the whole country was thrown into a terrible condition. Millions of people were thrown out of work and thousands (according to the Dallas-Galveston News of August 25, 1908) deserted their families. Infant mortality was increased to such an extent that 394 babies died in the tenement districts of New York in a single week, and at least five per cent. of the children born to the poor perish. According to the Mail-Telegram, of Fort Worth, Texas (August 8, 1908), "many mothers had been deserted by their husbands, who could not find work, and, already broken down by starvation and overwork, were forced to surrender their children to Rev. Morris to bind out. Rev. Morris, commenting on this, says it broke their hearts, but it must be done." When, oh, when, will you awake?

#### *What Will the End Be?*

What now is the inevitable end to which our present system is tending? It is the old, old story: "To him that hath, to him shall be given, but to him that hath not, from him shall be taken away even the little that he hath." Society has divided, as I said previously, into two great classes, the small propertied class on one side, and the great propertyless class on the other—the moneyed and moneyless. Progress is accompanied by poverty. For one magnate rolling by in his automobile, a hundred tramps, brutalized by hunger and want, stare sullenly as they plod along through sleet and frost, searching

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for an opportunity to earn bread for themselves and their families. For one great dinner given by a successful manufacturer, tables in mid-winter banked with costly flowers, wines and rare viands from distant countries, thousands of toilers return home after twelve long, weary hours of labor to eat the barest necessities of life, or wait with the patience of oxen for the factory to reopen, while their wives and children starve or beg. For every costly mansion with every apartment filled with all that luxury and skill can provide, stand a thousand miserable tenements, where discouraged and overworked fathers and mothers care as best they can for their stunted and diseased children, who either already have entered, or soon will enter, the great army of workers to create wealth for the masters and premature graves for themselves. It is not enough to say that in all times we have had substantially the same class division; that in all ages there have been the poor and the rich. It is not enough to quote the old saying: "Ye have the poor with you always." There is no command to not try to alleviate their lot. We have sickness in the world always, but this does not prevent us trying to prescribe remedies. One who thus cowardly tries to dispose of the matter by quoting, "The poor ye have always," is a coward and an inhumane monster, who should be chained in the midst of hell, where the cries of lost souls would ring in his ears throughout the countless ages of eternity. Oh, I am aware you squirm. I care not who you are, reader, but the man who knows that the present system is robbing the workers of most of their earnings (and nothing but willful ignorance can prevent him from knowing), and refuses to condemn it, and votes to perpetuate it, will stand before God, who, I believe, will banish him from His presence eternally. Reader, you are as responsible for your vote as for your other acts.

Said the Savior, as He looked down from Heaven,

On the place where man doth dwell:

"Ye seek the Kingdom of Heaven,

But have built the Kingdom of Hell."

### *Have We Advanced?*

The serf of old had to work two days of each week for his master. This was a settled fact; but he was in no danger of being driven off the land; his lord could not do that. Also, his master had to see that he did not suffer for food or medicine. Today the tenant works two days of the week for the



landowner, about two days for the merchant and manufacturer, one for the banker and railroad, and a few hours of the remaining day for the government to pay tax; the rest for his family. Proof: The amount produced for every family in the United States is \$6,000 (according to the 18th Annual United States Labor Report); amount received is \$827.19, or a little less than one-sixth of the amount created. Then, when he has created more than the masters can dispose of, they turn him out to starve until they need him again. It is all very well to point out how the great advance in production has redounded to the benefit of the poor as well as the rich. It is true that the poor man is now in possession of a great many comforts which the rich could not have procured a century ago. The trouble is not that the laborer is not advancing at all, but that the other class is advancing so much faster and creating conditions which make it harder for the laborer to advance at all. In the meantime, the luxuries of today become necessities of tomorrow. People lived without chimneys, and left a hole in the roof for the smoke to escape. If they insist on having chimneys that is not a sign of extravagance. Mankind once got along with sheltered nooks and caves, but that is no excuse for the thousands that are homeless today. Mankind was once clothed in skins of animals, but that is no reason that they should not have enough of the clothes, shoes and hats they make, to look respectable. It is not enough to point out the many things that can be bought for a trifle, that wealth could not command a few years ago. Listening to a phonograph or talking over a telephone does not fill an empty stomach. Having free libraries and colleges does not provide you with the cash to educate your children.

Now, everyone who cares to investigate knows there is a great amount of abject misery and suffering among the so-called submerged class. Their lives are one ceaseless round of toil with barely enough wages to keep them alive. When work is obtainable, they live destitute of all that makes life enjoyable, while their employers declare dividends of millions. These conditions exist in all large cities of this country and Europe. Of course, many of these unfortunates, perhaps a majority of them, are, in one sense of the word, to blame. They may have given away to temptation; they may have wasted their opportunities; they may have given away to drink: but did it ever occur to you that as a man is driven to tax the physical body

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beyond endurance he weakens the will power. Let that be as it may, however. There are millions of helpless women and children living miserable lives of want and degradation through no fault of their own. Are they, these helpless children, worth saving, or are you going to the ballot box and damn these helpless children to a life of perpetual slavery and ignorance and crime? Damn a system that will damn a helpless child, and doubly damn a man that will knowingly support such a system! Under this system it has simply come to this: Human life, the most precious thing on earth, becomes one dreary round of toil; strive as he might, the laborer can only hope to make a living when those who own the jobs will give him a chance to work, and is confronted at all times with the dread that some new machine may be invented that will take his job from him. What a pitiful prospect for him! How much longer, Lord, how long will the people go to the ballot box and vote for the private ownership of the machinery of production, thereby placing the very lives of these people into the hands of a set of monsters like J. P. Morgan, who, according to the Associated Press, said, in an interview: "We have closed our factories, and don't care to begin work now; they will learn they must submit or starve." What do you think of your masters, you slaves? You have placed the power in their hands to bring to starvation thousands of people, whenever it best serves their interest to do so. The many are at the mercy of the few, and these few are able to force the many to vote as they say, by posting notices like this:

*If Taft is elected these factories will open. If defeated they will remain closed.*

For God's sake, if you have a spark of American manhood in your shriveled souls, don't say we have a free government, but gloat your morbid souls on the fact that the Socialists failed to cast their million votes. Beware of a victory won by the suffering that you caused, ye masters; it will recoil on your heads. No wonder Mr. Taft already prophesies your defeat.

#### *The Plight of the Farmer.*

So far, I have dealt principally with manual labor, but the condition of one class in society reacts on that of the other. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. Responding most readily to this influence, we find our great agricultural interests suffering. Farmers and farm laborers do not suffer for lack of



food or clothes, though not always of the best. Yet something like the Iron Law of Wages is at work in the farmer's case, as well as in that of the laborer. He works very hard from one year's end to the next, yet is it not true that the rewards for his labor tend to balance just about the point where they yield him a bare living? If he is not in debt, and owns his farm, he may, by hard work and thrifty management, lay by a little for old age; but if he is in debt, as a majority of them are, it is almost impossible to clear off the mortgage. I know men today who boast of the opportunities, and of what a prosperous country we have, who, if their creditors were to demand their money and refuse to extend credit, would have to go to the poorhouse if sickness should befall them. Of course, you, my dear reader, have by your hard labor and good management accumulated enough so that should disease lay its palsied hand on you or yours, you would not be an object of charity. Also, I suppose that your children do not have to work in the field, but are in the school room; your oldest son in college; your wife has a nice home, with carpets, pictures and a piano in the parlor; your daughter is taking music, etc., etc. Why do I make these assumptions? Your masters live that way, and none but an ignoramus would support a system that gives only a life of toil to the workers, and all of the good things of life to the shirkers.

The fact with a majority is that, strive as they may, the value of the products of their labor approaches nearer and nearer the cost of production. When it is thought advisable to advance the price of farm products, to keep the farmer contented, they do so, and raise the price of living and operating the farm accordingly. Then, perhaps, in a year of prosperity, Mr. Farmer, you may manage to make a payment on a little home; then comes a crop failure, and they lower the price of your farm products, and you lose your savings. When the masters—I mean those who own the means of manufacturing and distributing your products—want you to be prosperous, you are so, but when they get ready to *shear the lambs* (as they call it), they do so. It seems to us quite evident that we must find some way to overthrow the "iron law of wages," and introduce another principle instead. It really ought to take no argument to show this. Look at the census report of 1900: 14 per cent. of the land is all that is owned free. But again, look at



the 18th Annual Labor Report of 1903: 10 per cent. is all that is left. When will you awake? Something is surely wrong. If, with all the resources of science at our command, and the improved labor saving machinery, trebling man's producing capacity, we cannot contrive some plan by which the appalling mass of abject misery and perpetual toil of the great mass of people be reduced, something is surely wrong. If the lives of our fellow men are to be one weary round of toil, unenlightened by hope, overhung by the darkness of a nameless fear that something will happen to deprive them of their present pittance, I believe that something can and must be done. The difficulties are indeed many, but this is not the first time in the history of man that he has had to arouse himself and introduce far-reaching changes. I do not think there is a royal road to happiness, any more than there is to learning. There never will be an era when it will not be necessary for men to strive to enter in at the narrow gate. Neither will there be a time when labor will not be the price of success. Still, much more can be done by society at large to help its members than has been done in the last century. Let us get this one thought in our mind, that society is a living, growing organism; that it has passed through changes in the past, and nothing but ignorance can prevent a change when it is to the interest of civilization to demand a change. Such change occurs to me to be the most expedient I can offer for your consideration.

#### THE TENDENCY OF CAPITAL.

At the close of the Revolution, the people awoke to the fact that they possessed a country of almost unlimited resources, but on account of having to depend upon foreign countries for the manufacturing of their commodities, and realizing that the owners of the factories could exploit them at their pleasure, they determined to protect and encourage those who had capital to build and develop home factories. Believing that their economic freedom depended on this, they saw that political freedom without economic freedom amounted to but little. Little did they dream when they were undergoing the privations of paying high tariff for the protection of infant industries that it would prove a veritable boomerang, rebounding upon the defenseless head of their posterity; but such is nevertheless true.

Although labor has conceived and fashioned every one of our



great machines, instead of freeing the workers from their heavy load of toil, they, passing into private hands, have enslaved his wife and children and made a tramp of him. Why so? Because the owners thereof have only one incentive, and that is to make profits out of the machines, and as the machines have been brought by the skill of the workers to such a stage of perfection that a child can do the work of a hundred men, so one child is enslaved, and a hundred men must seek employment elsewhere. Hence the great number of homeless wanderers seeking employment.

In the period of hand-tool production, the worker was independent. If the factory owner would not pay him fair wages he simply put up a factory of his own. Today the machine method of production is such that a man must own the latest improved machine (if this were possible), and produce as cheaply as his competitor, or stay out of business. So one inhuman monster, whose only god is gold, sets the standard; the rest must follow suit. He may work children twelve hours for a crust, he may goad his workers to long hours at killing speed, and the others must follow, for fear of being undersold. So you see they are powerless to remedy these conditions. I said he must own the latest improved machine, "if possible." That, in a great measure, is impossible. Today we are all familiar with the trusts that have experts whose sole business it is to note all new inventions, the best of which are acquired and could not be bought at any price by a competitor. So, under the present system, there is no alternative for the people, especially the laborers, but to march up and sell their labor at the price set by the owners of the machines—at any price and terms they see fit to establish. This they must do or starve.

The laborer is in the same condition as a merchant who must raise money on his stock or fail. He is ready to offer bargains, and if he can't get his price he is willing to take yours. Finally, his case becomes more desperate; he must sell or ruin will come. He secures an auctioneer and ceases to have any voice in the matter; just takes what he can get. So it is with you, Mr. Workingman. You are your own auctioneer, and await a bid for your labor, with no more voice than the slave had as to who would be his master. A recent writer sums up the situation in the following language, which contains so much truth that I give it with but few changes:



"Here is the laboring class face to face with the owners of his job, who hold in their grip the means of subsistence. He must reach these means or starve. The terms laid down for his acceptance are clear and decisive: We will place in your hands the means of an existence if you will produce sufficient to satisfy our most selfish desires, and if you will consent that the whole of your product over that which is sufficient to barely feed and clothe you, be turned over to us; if you are very thrifty, very self-denying and very lucky you may be able to save enough to tide you over the dull season and send your children to school just a little. If not, you should be content, because we have charitable institutions to look after you, and we will see that you are buried by the county, and your children will have the same great opportunity that you have, provided you don't listen to these Socialists and do listen to what our preachers say about being contented in the position Providence has placed you, and not envy or covet any of the wealth we have forced from you, nor envy those who are born to a higher lot."

Is the above not a plain, commonplace fact? We Socialists believe that these machines vitally concern every man, woman and child, and their welfare is in the hands of the owners thereof, yea even the very lives of millions of our people are in their keeping. All men are more or less selfish, and no man is good enough to own his fellow man. A man who owns the means whereby another lives owns him; therefore, we declare that the private ownership of all public necessities must cease, and that public utilities be publicly owned and democratically managed, and that each worker shall receive the full social value of the wealth created by his own special endeavor—in other words, to make it plainer, the nationalization of our public industries.

"But," asks one, "how are you going to do it?" That is not what we are asking you to vote on now; but first vote to *do it*. Then we shall submit the plans, and then whichever plan the majority adopts will be the Socialist plan. Will you do it? Or are you afraid to live under a government ruled by a majority vote of the people?

#### INTENSITY OF LABOR.

We have as yet considered only one of the two principles which capital must take in creating surplus value, that is, the necessity of getting labor as cheap as possible, and I have shown



what necessarily follows from such. Now, let us look at the next phase, which is that labor must be made as productive as possible, or, in other words, labor must be made to produce as much surplus value as possible. If you can manage to make one laborer do the work of two, while paying the wage of only one, you certainly have effected a wonderful saving in wages. Or, if a child can be made to do the work of a man at half the wage, so much better. Or, if the hours can be lengthened, a greater amount of work is done. In this we will find so potent an instrument of oppression, which results in the degradation of man, that we hope to again prove the imperative necessity of taking from private individuals their power to thus exploit the people.

Let us first consider the length of the working day under the feudal system. The serf had to work a certain number of days each week, besides extra work at certain seasons of year. There was no attempt to hide the fact at that age. He knew he must do this for his master and receive no pay for it. Wherein is so great a change? When capital got complete control of the government and the means whereby the people live, nominally, the change from feudalism was very great. The worker can now come and go as he pleases? Not much! If he wants a day off he must get permission of his employer, which is as often refused as granted. About the only difference I see is that he is not tied to any piece of property. He does not have to ask his master whether his daughter or son shall marry or not. He is allowed a little personal property. He can sell or trade without his master's will. But, in reality, not owning the means of producing the things on which he lives, he must submit to the terms of the owners thereof in order to live. The wages or price he receives for his labor or commodity are such as the capitalist pleases to give, and all the privilege he has is what particular capitalist he will sell to.

These are rather questionable conditions for a free people. Yet they are powerless to resist. They must give up the right of organization; they must make no united efforts to better their conditions. In how many cases in late years have the masters called upon the courts to crush labor, and it always responded with injunctions, etc.? We all know of such instances. Says William Jennings Bryan, in his Commoner: "When did the Supreme Court by a vote of four to five or any other vote fail



microscope and crucible, have vastly enlarged and improved our religious faith. And the clearing away of so many clouds of superstition, which were the inevitable results of the natural ignorance of earlier times, has not only given us a far more glorious view of the universe and of eternity, but has enabled us to see more clearly our opportunity and our duty on earth during our present life.

We desire to point out the striking facts that *true religion from its very nature leads to proletarian revolution, that our greatest religions began as social upheavals by and in behalf of the poor and oppressed*, and that if the modern churches are to have any worthy part in the salvation of mankind they must desert the side of capitalism—Mammon—and wholly commit themselves to the cause of the enslaved, robbed and impoverished working classes—which is and ever has been the cause of God.

#### I. THE MOSAIC EXODUS.

Our idea is not new. The Bible story of the Exodus affords a startling illustration of its truth. A people ground down by tyranny and want, until their condition was unbearable, a rich and arrogant master-class feasting on the sweat, blood and souls of the workers, and building by slave-labor magnificent temples, palaces and tombs. But the Heart of the Universe was not indifferent. He was not "asleep, nor gone on a journey," and *when their suffering had melted and molded the slave-class into the necessary unity of heart and mind*, He said:

*"I have surely seen the afflictions of my people—I know their sorrows—I have heard their cry—and I am come to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians and to bring them into a large land, into a land flowing with milk and honey."* (Exodus 3, 7-8.)

So spoke the Voice of God out of the Flame into the trembling soul of Moses thirty-five hundred years ago.

1. Notice, first, that there was no condemnation of the outraged, down-trodden people. They were ignorant, debased, idolatrous, wicked—but it was only their *misery* that moved Infinite Love. (Perhaps He saw that their unfortunate condition made virtue, refinement and learning impossible!)

*He saw their afflictions—He knew their sorrows—He heard their cry. He came swift and terrible to avenge them—and the glory of Pharaoh's dynasty is but a half-lost name upon a broken tomb. He came to deliver His people gloriously—and after splendid achievements the Hebrew race, yet afflicted for continuing to worship the golden calf, remains amidst all tumult, destruction and change, the wonder of ethnologists and the living monument of Divine power and patience. It has led in the two most notable proletarian revolutions of the past, and is now at the front in the third, the greatest and the last. Its mission will not be fulfilled until the work of Moses, Jesus and Marx is completed in the everlasting destruction of human slavery, want and misery. While it cherishes a lower ideal it must suffer. Its preservation through age-long sorrow and dispersion is the seal of God's call to world-wide service.*

2. Please mark, second, that the "deliverance" promised the enslaved Hebrews was temporal, not "spiritual," not "eternal." It was for life on earth.



It is exceedingly interesting and suggestive that Moses, though "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," including their doctrine of personal immortality, never gave the Hebrews a single promise of "deliverance after death." Perhaps he had seen with horror and loathing how the working people of his time were kept quiet under the yoke by the preaching of a false content for earth and a "bright hope beyond," while hypocritical priests, princes and business men—not willing to wait for *their* pleasures until after death—fatted off of popular ignorance and made sure of present plenty by robbing the too patient people. There is a time when patience ceases to be a virtue, and becomes a monstrous crime against one's kind.

*The people were promised immediate deliverance from slavery, they were to have a country of their very own, where all would have abundance—"a land flowing with milk and honey."*

The Mosaic Exodus was Truly a Proletarian Insurrection, an Industrial Revolution, a Gigantic Labor Trouble, the First and Greatest Workmen's Strike and Walkout of all History.

Therefore, it was supremely religious; for no religion is worthy of the name which does not demand justice, freedom, plenty and peace for those who do the useful work of the world. "The worship of God" is hypocrisy, mockery, blasphemy on the part of those who live, not by useful labor, but by robbing other people.

And in the face of the black hypocrisy of the Egyptian theology, whereby "religion" was made an excuse for crime—as it is to an alarming extent in every "Christian" land today—the God of Moses became such a rank "materialist" that he seemed to forget all about saving the souls of the people, and promised only to save their bodies. Having placed the soul in the body for development, perhaps He thought there was little use bothering about the superstructure while the foundation was being destroyed.

Verily, the "heresy" of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob and of Moses, as revealed in the Old Testament, would cause His expulsion from almost any modern church! (Ah! some of them have already expelled Him by their tainted money and glaring sham. Over many a church door is already written the sure warning of their doom. "The Glory is Departed!")

*Unless religious people are willing to do the square thing on earth, no honest man will want their society after death. And how can any sane man expect to reap heaven above by practicing the hellish principles of brutal competition below? Let the will of God be done on earth—then we will stand some chance of landing in heaven at last.*

## II. THE CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION.

"A prophet shall the Lord thy God raise up unto you \* \* \* \* \* like unto me—Him shall ye hear," said Moses.

As Moses came to rescue a race of slaves from Egypt and lead them to a land of peace and plenty, Jesus came to overthrow oppression, save the poor and establish the Kingdom of God on earth in place of the Kingdom of Mammon. In Luke 4, 18, applying to himself the thrilling prophecy of Isaiah 61, 1-2, he says:



*"The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me,  
Because He hath anointed me to preach the  
Good News to the poor;*

*"He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted,*

*"To preach deliverance to the captive,*

*"And recovering of sight to the blind,*

*"To set at liberty them that are bruised,*

*"To preach the acceptable year of the Lord."*

Isaiah had added: *"And the Day of the Vengeance of our God."*

Not a word about their souls in this impressive declaration of his mission. Yet later he taught immortality clearly, gloriously. But the "Kingdom" was for the earth.

Jesus was a genuine proletarian agitator. He constantly proclaimed blessing to the poor and woe to the rich. And "The common people heard him gladly," while the rich hated and persecuted him unto death under the charge of sedition.

*"Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the Kingdom of God.*

*"Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled.*

*"Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh.*

*"But woe unto ye that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.*

*"Woe unto you that are filled! for ye shall hunger.*

*"Woe unto you that laugh! for ye shall mourn and weep." (Luke 6, 20-26.)*

Oh, what depth of love, what measureless pity in his words:

*"Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*

*"Take my yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart (not selfish, ambitious, proud and arrogant) and ye shall find rest for your souls.*

*"For my yoke is easy and my burden is light." (Matt. 11, 28-30.)*

A yoke is a method of making life's burden easier and a method of co-operation.

And on the contrary he said: *"How hardly shall they that have riches inherit the Kingdom of God.*

*"For verily, verily, I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." (Luke 18, 24-25. Matth. 19, 23-24. Mark 10, 23-25.)*

The Revolutionary character of Christ's mission was fully recognized by the early Church. The Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Revelations, the writings of the Fathers, the early canons of the Church, the hymns, etc., all testify to the revolution. The Catholic Church sings yet:

*"The Son of God goes forth to War*

*A Kingly crown to gain;*

*His blood-red banner streams afar—*

*Who follows in His train?"*

In every Catholic Church of the world is still sung every day the words of the "incendiary" Magnificat:

*"He hath put down the mighty from their seats and exalted them*



of low degree.

"He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich hath He sent empty away." (Luke 1, 52-53.)

And James, the brother of Jesus, said:

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you.

"Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten.

"Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire.

"Ye have heaped treasures together for the last days.

"Behold! the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them that reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord God of Vengeance." (James 5, 1-5.)

Robbery by force or fraud is the secret of riches under the competitive system in every age and land. If the working people received the full product of their labor and had free access to the resources of nature, all would have plenty, but all would have to work honestly for it. Under the competitive system the productive workers get less than one-fifth of the product of their labor, therefore they could not get rich if they saved all their wages and spent nothing for food, clothes, shelter or education. The only way one can get rich is by exploiting the labors of others. Every private fortune is made up of other people's wealth wrongfully obtained. Therefore, Jesus said (Matth. 6, 19):

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth." A command as positive and as reasonable as "Thou shalt not steal," or "Thou shalt not kill." Indeed, it is but these two commands in other words.

"Seek ye first the Kingdom (government) of God and His righteousness," said Jesus, "and all these things (food, clothes, etc.,) shall be added unto you."

The Apostles understood Jesus to mean that the Kingdom must be temporal as well as spiritual, and they founded the Church as a divine brotherhood, an industrial communism, where all pooled their wealth and the product of their toil, and all shared equitably as real brothers and sisters in the family of God. (Acts 2, 44-45; Acts 4, 32-35.)

Rome did not persecute the Christians because they believed that Jesus was God, or the Son of God. It was the time-honored custom of Rome to grant religious freedom to her subject peoples. When she conquered that country, instead of destroying the temples of that country, she brought samples of them to the Pantheon at Rome to show her impartiality and cosmopolitan character. Rome had 30,000 gods—why should she worry about another one more or less?

Rome persecuted the Christians because they were preaching the practical brotherhood of man, the equality of all before God and nature, the social reconstruction, the proletarian revolution.

"They that are turning the world upside down have come hither!" declared one of their judges in alarm.

And the early Church did not give up its proletarian revolutionary character, its attempt to free the slaves and poor, until it had lost several millions of its members in martyrdom.



*The Kingdom of Heaven is both spiritual and temporal, both a life within and a reconstructed social state to express that inner life.*

*As well try to develop souls without bodies as to save souls without saving society.* The Kingdom of Heaven within will never amount to much until it is also established without. Two thousand years of so-called Christianity proves what a ghastly failure has been made by Christianity seeking individual without social salvation. Let us reconsider the methods of Moses, Jesus and the Apostles, and *revolutionize society* according to the ideals they gave us.

### III. THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

And now "in the fullness of time" another great proletarian revolution has begun. It seems to be coming on of itself like a resistless tide-wave—but the tide-wave is drawn by forces not its own. Three great powers are necessary to establish the brotherhood of man—the ideal, the ballot and the power machine. Having only the one, the early Christian revolution failed. Having all three the Socialist movement will succeed.

Karl Marx was born of Christian-Hebrew parents at Treves, in 1818. Having advantage of the German universities he became one of the most brilliant scholars of his generation, and might have obtained wealth and honor had he been selfishly ambitious. But he early devoted himself to the study of practical means for relieving the misery of mankind, which oppressed him like a nightmare. He became an Utopian Socialist by reading the writings of Saint-Simon and other Christian Socialists, but soon saw that ideals alone were not sufficient, that some fundamental natural principle, some resistless economic necessity, must compel mankind to adopt Socialism. With this idea in mind he reviewed the history of life on earth, and discovered that *the prevailing mode of making a living is the dominant factor which shapes human institutions, that riches and poverty result from the exploitation of the producers by the non-producers, and that class-interest decides as a rule the conduct of society.*

And, like Moses and Jesus, under different conditions, he abandoned himself to the service of mankind. Exiled from his native land on account of his revolutionary teachings, he took refuge in London, where he lived with his family in a garret on \$5.00 per week, while he studied the English industrial conditions, taught some younger Socialists and wrote the world-famous book, *Das Kapital*.

So great was his poverty that one of his children is said to have died for lack of proper food, clothes and air, his wife (a sweet Christian woman) died before her time on account of toil, poverty and care, and Marx himself, unable to live without that dear comrade of his love and struggles, soon followed his wife to the grave at the age of sixty-five years.

At first, scientific Socialism made slow progress. Marx battled hard and long to put it on a clear and solid basis. He was much maligned and hated by other revolutionists, as well as by the powers that prey; but at last his main principles were accepted by able men in every European country, and by and by a great international Socialist movement was under way, having Socialist parties in every



civilized land. It now has members of parliament in nearly every country of consequence, and Socialism in some form is recognized as the paramount issue in every great nation.

Socialism stands squarely on the demands of Moses and Jesus for the deliverance of the imprisoned, the enslaved, the bruised, the poor—for turning the world upside down. It is unqualifiedly for the mass which does productive labor against the class which obtains wealth by exploitation. It demands conditions of equality of opportunity wherein true brotherhood may be practiced in fundamental, elemental affairs. It proposes to end tyranny, robbery, graft and prostitution by establishing political and industrial democracy.

Some Socialists do not believe in God and immortality and some do, but all true Socialists, like Moses, would choose the salvation of mankind rather than the personal favor of God and personal immortality. Moses loved the people more than he loved God or his own soul—which was the supreme proof that God was in him. (Exodus 32, 31-32.)

*The sole object of Moses, the sole object of Jesus and the sole object of Socialism is to save the people.*

Some Church workers nowadays are "really beginning to get quite interested in the laboring classes because," they say, "if the Church does not do something for the working people the wicked Socialists will get them—and then what would become of the Church!"

Oh, Lord, how long!

We see costly temples erected in the name of God, but what cares He for stone, mortar, carving and paint, while millions of people shiver and starve and grope in the blackness of a living death in sight of their stately towers? Can the sweet, solemn tones of the great organ in a half-empty church ease the unspeakable misery of the multitudes who fester and die in the crowded tenements? When the people ask for bread, is it enough that we give them a magnificent stone church to look at?

God cannot be truly glorified by any one who loves not suffering humanity more than his own life—or any institution—yea, more than his own soul.

*The divinity of Socialism is demonstrated by its fearless and unqualified abandonment to the welfare of humanity.*

When Germany and France were on the verge of war, who called the peace demonstration in Berlin that forced the Kaiser to arbitrate at Algeiras and swallow the bitter decision? When Norway and Sweden were at swords' points over the separation, who called the international convention that said: "Peace, or a universal strike!" When free speech is trampled down in any land, who goes to jail for the freedom of others? When the officials of a great labor union are kidnaped and hurried toward the gallows without form of law, who toils unceasingly and spends hundreds of thousands of dollars for public demonstrations to arouse a nation? When the sacred right of political asylum in America is about to be throttled by the bloody hands of Russian despotism, who shrieks the defiance of the true American spirit and stirs the people to white-hot enthusiasm for our blood-bought ideals? In brief, who, in every civilized land, is pushing the cause of the people always to the front and suffering



slander, poverty and imprisonment (and in some countries death) for justice and brotherhood? Who bears the Cross today?

The Socialist movement bears on its body the marks of the Lord Jesus—the marks of martyrdom for humanity. It is the one earnest, fearless, confident effort to save mankind from its woes today. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

And the forces of true religion must line up with this world-wide struggle to save humanity—*yea, the forces of true religion surely will. Socialism is true religion.*

A religion which sides with oppressors and exploiters is a rank hypocrisy, a delusion and a snare. And a religion that fails to see the injustice and misery of the competitive system is stone blind. The proletarian revolutionists are justified in despising those priests, preachers and churches that oppose industrial emancipation and the practical brotherhood of man.

*Who has faith in the social ideals of Moses and Jesus today? The Church, or Socialism?*

And the Socialist Movement comes not to destroy, but to fulfill.

Unless Socialism can be realized, the dream of Moses, of Jesus, of the apostles and of the early Church must fade away. The blessed precepts of these sons and prophets of God can never be practiced in competitive strife for the means of life. The modern Church must side with the proletariat in its struggle for justice or perish. Yea, she must lead in this struggle, as the ancient Church did, or God will quickly raise up new religious institutions to do His will. She must give herself and all she has, holding back nothing.

The atheist Socialists are nearer the truth and the will of God than the Theistic opposers of Socialism—for *God can do without worship, but His people must be delivered.* It is vain for the modern Church to say it loves God while it so largely ignores the sufferings of humanity. *It is the will of God to free mankind from bondage and want* and if the so-called "believers" will not do it He must depend upon the "atheists."

But let us hold steady, lest our impatience to see the Church more forward in this matter blind our eyes to the fact that *Religion has carried on the two great proletarian movements of the past, that it inspired the teachers of the father of modern Socialism, that many Christians have been prominent in the movement and that multitudes of religious people in every country are now joining the ranks.*

Nearly two hundred ministers of twenty-four different denominations in America, and as many in England, have declared their Socialism in the public press, and thousands of churches are open to occasional Socialist lectures. The members of the churches are becoming aroused, and soon the New Pentecost of individual and social salvation will sweep over the world.

This is the hope of humanity—and of religion as well.

If you love God, if you love Christ, if you love the Church, if you love humanity—*"and the last shall be first"*—throw yourself into this divine Socialist movement and glorify your life by giving it wholly for the salvation of outraged humanity.



## BRAVE PREACHERS WHO GIVE THEIR NAMES FOR PUBLICATION AS OUT AND OUT SOCIALISTS.

I would also like for you to read the following manifesto which was published by the Associated Press in October, 1908:

The ministers whose names and addresses are given below have signed the manifesto with the understanding that their names were to be printed for the encouragement of the cause of Socialism. Many of them are dues-paying members of the Socialist party. Hundreds of others express sympathy and many vote the Socialist ticket, but are yet reluctant to have their names publicly used. The list below will be referred to by future generations with unmeasured honor and reverence.

The list numbers one hundred and sixty names, from thirty-five states and territories and four provinces of Canada, representing twenty-four different denominations.

### THE MANIFESTO.

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

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

1. To permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions with the Social Message of the Bible; to show that Socialism is the Economic Expression of the Religious Life; to end the Class Struggle by establishing Industrial Democracy, and to hasten the reign of Justice and Brotherhood upon earth.

2. We believe that the Economic Teaching of the Scriptures would find its fulfillment in the Co-operative Commonwealth of Modern Socialism.

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

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

(This list has been obtained by Rev. John D. Long, D. D., General Secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship.)

### The Preacher Comrades.

ALABAMA—The Very Rev. Gardiner C. Tucker, St. John's Church, P. E., Mobile.

ARKANSAS—Rev. L. E. Thornton, Mt. Olivet, Presbyterian, Mammoth Springs.