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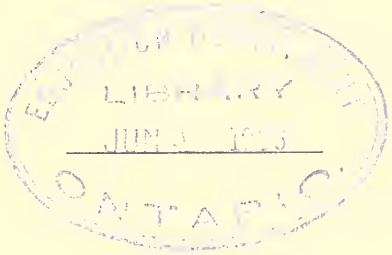

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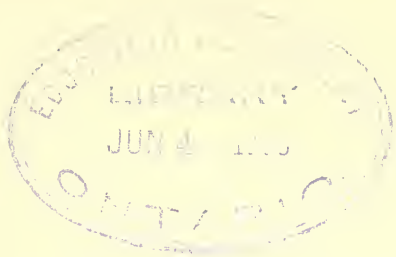

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NOTE.—"Armenia's Impending Doom," by M. M. Mangasarian, is reprinted from the *Forum* of June, 1896, by special permission.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE WAR SPIRIT IN THE UNITED STATES.*

BY FELIX ADLER.

A WAVE of war feeling, unforeseen, unexpected, has passed over the United States during the past two weeks. It has temporarily subsided, but may swell again into menacing proportions. The time, therefore, is fitting for a sober discussion of the points at issue.

The character of the American people is misread by many of our foreign critics. Professor Wagner of Berlin permits himself to use alternately the words "Judaizing" and "Americanizing" of modern society as terms of equal reproach. A modern French writer, whose work on Anti-Semitism has just appeared in an English dress, uses the same word—the "Americanizing" of modern society. He hopes, indeed he says, that his American readers will not take umbrage at the remark, for all that he intends to say is that certain characteristics of industrial and democratic society have first revealed themselves, and on the largest scale, in America. These characteristics are the ascendency of material interests, the greed of gain, the frantic race for wealth.

Now certainly the ascendency of material interests, the greed of gain, and the frantic race for wealth, are facts

* A lecture given before the Society for Ethical Culture, New York, January 5, 1896.

upon which we light at every turn. We may deplore, but we cannot deny them. At the same time, he is mistaken who believes that these are the only facts, and that the motives derived from these sources are the sole determining springs of action of our people. On the contrary, nothing is more surprising than the enormous influence of sentiment, pure sentiment, upon the actions of so practical a people as the Americans.

I hold to the belief that democratic communities are more exposed to sudden eruptions of emotional excitement, to being taken off their feet by sudden gusts of sentiment, than are the peoples subject to the discipline of monarchial rule ; and when these incalculable eruptions of sentiment do take place, even the most obvious considerations of self-interest are not sufficient to interpose a barrier or to check or to prevent the passion of the moment from having its sway.

I believe that sentiment has a good deal to do with the feverish pulse of the people with respect to the Monroe doctrine. Of course, this is no complete, no adequate explanation. The Monroe doctrine—what is it? The bare facts concerning it have been so often stated that a cursory reference to them will suffice.

In the first place, it is in a certain sense a Presidential doctrine. It marks the policy of certain administrations. The legislative branch of government has always been cautious not to commit itself to what at one time was called an abstraction, but to reserve judgment upon the measures to be taken as each case might arise. Immediately after the message of President Monroe in 1823 had reached Congress, a resolution embodying the doctrines of the message was set aside. Some time after, on

the occasion of the discussions respecting the Panama Congress, a resolution distinctly declaring that the United States should not join in any formal declaration on the lines of the policy laid down by Monroe—should not join the South American republics in such a declaration —was passed. But this does not argue that Congress or the people did not accept the idea promulgated by Monroe. On the contrary, whenever an appeal was made to the people, they responded enthusiastically in favor of the Monroe idea. The reason why a complete legislative indorsement was refused was owing to caution, not to want of agreement.

In the excited discussions which have taken place since the message of President Cleveland on December 17th—a momentous day, as it may prove in our history, when in the morning we woke up in a state of complete peace, no one dreaming of anything but peace, and in the evening the whole country was aflame with the excitement of possible war—I say in the discussions which have followed that message, the doctrine of Monroe itself has to my knowledge not been questioned. Those who most seriously doubt the wisdom of the Chief Executive in putting prominently in the foreground the contingency of possible war, do not doubt the Monroe doctrine. At the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce this week in our city, it was declared that the Monroe doctrine has the enthusiastic and unanimous support of the American people. Everybody seems to believe in the Monroe doctrine, even those who go so far as to say that it is not applicable to the present dispute in Venezuela. Why are we so sure of it? The Monroe doctrine contains two declarations, faces in two directions: it fronts against the

propagation of monarchies on this continent; it declares against the further extension of European powers on this continent, be they monarchial powers or not. And there are three elements that underlie these declarations which it will be worth while to consider separately.

The first element is sympathy on our part with the development of political institutions in the direction of freedom, and this, it goes without saying, requires no comment.

The second element is a brooding sense of the destiny of the new world, of this hemisphere. The characteristic thing about the Monroe doctrine is that it includes the hemisphere—South America as well as North America—and has from the first, as early as 1823; it was in connection with South America that this doctrine was enunciated. It is with regard to the South American dispute that the President of the United States has sent his message to Congress. The characteristic thing about the Monroe doctrine is that it includes, embraces, the southern half as well as the northern.

There is something vast in its premises, something that appeals to the imagination. It lays down principles which obtain from the frozen circle in the north down to the storm wrecks of Cape Horn in the south. It contemplates a vast space, it looks forward into vast time. Remember, it was Jefferson who compared the message of Monroe to the Declaration of Independence—Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence—in the famous words in which he said that the Declaration of Independence gave us our birth as a nation, our standing as a nation; that the message of Monroe is the compass by which we must steer through the ocean of time open-

ing on us. He looks forward as upon a vast ocean of years, centuries, an ocean where we might meet with storms which we cannot foresee, where we should come at last to shores of which now we can only dream, and on this ocean the Monroe doctrine should be our compass. So said Jefferson.

Now, though this is the decisive characteristic, this inclusiveness, we cannot help asking, What have we got to do with South America? What is the closeness of the links that bind us to these republics? Are we not much nearer to England than to South America in point of time? We go and come quickly, in a few days, to England; it takes a longer time to reach South America. We are nearer in habits of thought, in sentiment, in feeling, everything. There are no ties of ancient friendship with the South Americans as there are between ourselves and England. Is it not true that the ruling population in these republics — apart from the Indians, who constitute, indeed, the preponderating majority—belong to the Latin race, while the people of the United States belong to the Anglo-Saxon race? And, finally, would it be so great a misfortune to have English rule in South America, English rule with its accompaniments of land grabbing and constant aggression, but also with its accompaniments of order and stability?

These questions are constantly asked, and to answer them we must consider the instinct of the American democracy. There is an instinctive feeling that when these two continents, North and South America, were discovered, when they emerged out of the silence and the obscurity, a new leaf of human history was opened, a new

chance was given to the human race, a new civilization was being prepared. There is a conviction that these new-discovered continents, North and South America, belong together as one America discovered by Columbus. And Jefferson distinctly says, "the hemisphere," not the United States, not North America. It is a new leaf in human history to be written over with new letters, with new inscriptions. Upon it is to arise a new civilization. That is the instinctive feeling of the democracy.

It is quite possible that your older civilization may be better than ours. In some things our new civilization, because it is new, certainly does not compare with yours; but it is not going to be new always. It is going to be different from yours; it is going to be better than yours eventually. We of America, turning to Europe, say: "You are governed by a certain civilization, by a certain policy. We are going to work out something different; keep your hands off; let us work out our destiny."

English society and English politics and government are impregnated with aristocracy, with the elements of ancient traditions. In fact, those traditions of aristocracy constitute one of the great factors that made liberty possible for England. I am one of those who recognize the inestimable value of an aristocracy, of a gentry, such as England possesses and possessed, in securing actual liberty as distinct from nominal liberty; nevertheless we are going to try to get the same liberty and in time better liberty, without that balance-wheel of the stable dynasty of kings — a hereditary prop, social and political; we are going to rest on simple manhood for our prop. We are going to have a very hard time in working out our problem, much harder

than England has had, because we have not got that stay, that support; but we are going to work out our destiny for all that. We believe in our stars. We have faith in our people.

And, after all, England and English society are utterly saturated with hereditary ideas which cannot and ought not to prevail in this new land. Even English society, even English rule is not desired, despite the order and stability which it would bring—not desired on its own account, and because we cannot close the gates against other powers without barring out all European nations alike. Some one may say, if this is so, does it not follow that we should encourage a crusade against the actual dependencies, the colonies and the possessions of the European nations on this side of the water—against Canada and against the other foreign dependencies? The American people are inclined to enter upon no such crusade. Monroe says distinctly those colonies and dependencies which exist we shall not meddle with—we only protest against their extension—and we do not meddle because we believe in the influences of the climate. We believe, as General Grant expressed it in his second annual message in 1870, that the time is not probably far distant when the European connection with America will be severed. And though this may not be so, we believe that the connection is destined to become more and more relaxed, that English possessions in America are destined to become more and more practically independent. We believe that they will become more and more in harmony with us, that they will come to adopt the principle of freedom in the American sense: that is, all government working from

below upward, resting only upon the enlightenment and the conscience of the people for support.

I do not believe for a moment that we should accept a protectorate over the South American or any republics on this continent, if it were offered us, as it was offered us in the case of the Central American republic. We do not desire to interfere with the destiny of the American states; we do not expect that they will come into complete harmony with us; we do not wish to crush out their individuality and simply annex them and make them a part of us. We look forward to the time when we shall be in the midst of great and mighty sister nations on this continent—Canada, Mexico, Brazil and the others—each working out its destiny according to its own national genius; but all joined with us in the root idea of freedom in the American sense; and because of this union, because of this spiritual connection, we trust that we shall keep the peace on this continent.

The Monroe doctrine says that the civilization of the American continent shall be founded on liberty and on peace. It is a peace doctrine as well as a liberty doctrine. We do not want monarchies here, because this civilization is dedicated to liberty; we do not want European extension of power here, because this civilization is dedicated to peace; and that is the third point. We do not want the old-world powers to secure lodgment on this continent, because we do not wish to see the old-world views imported to this continent. England is implicated in a thousand feuds. England is threatened today — English rivalry with Russia, her relations with Germany, are constantly the subject of anxiety. England is thoroughly implicated, complicated, in the poli-

cies and diplomacies of the old world. We do not wish to be implicated in those feuds. We do not wish to have balance-of-power controversies imported upon this continent. We do not wish to see South America become another Africa to be partitioned out among those nations who are in quest of colonial extension. We do not wish to see it made the basis of possible military operations against us. We wish to be safe; we wish to be at peace; we wish to avoid the necessity of maintaining military armament and assuming the military burdens which the nations of the old world carry, and therefore we desire to see no extension of the possessions and the dominion of the European powers on this continent, north or south. The inclusion of South America is the characteristic point of the whole doctrine, and he who misses that fails to understand the Monroe doctrine.

I am thus imbued with that spirit, and the more I reflect upon it the more I am in harmony with the popular sentiment which speaks for it; and yet I find myself wholly out of accord with the war feeling that has recently arisen. Surely, we cannot challenge a proud and powerful people and feel in our hearts that the challenge will not be taken up. If we say possible war, we must mean war; and are we prepared to have it? Are we ready for it? Do we think it wise? Do we think it just? Surely, men can believe in a principle and hold it high and dear without using a club to enforce it the moment it is called in question. It was this sudden and to all unexpected putting into the foreground the contingency of possible war, this threat, this menace contained in the message of our Chief Executive that surprised and disquieted many.

But it is not entirely in the position assumed by President Monroe that war, a resort to arms, must follow when the principles which he has laid down are violated. What does he say? That certain lines of conduct, the propagation of monarchy, the extension of dominion, shall be visited by a certain consequence. And what is that consequence? Why, that they shall be regarded as the manifestation of an unfriendly spirit toward the United States. Very well: they will be regarded as the manifestation of an unfriendly spirit toward the United States; but, as Daniel Webster said in his speech in 1826 upon this question, that does not mean that we shall go to war. We may not take any action at all in the premises; we may simply scorn this manifestation of an unfriendly spirit against us, waiting for the time when the sum of these offences shall compel us to call them to account. We may resort to diplomacy. Diplomacy is rich in resources. We may resort to arbitration. In a word, we must exert every possible means, we must appeal to every other motive, have recourse to every other expedient, before we call in that red fiend of war, before we appeal to that vast and most fearful of all modern ills.

But it is not the action of the President that calls for comment; it is the action of the people. The unanimity with which the press has come to the support of the message, the unanimity of the houses of Congress, and the strong set of public opinion in its favor,—all this shows that there exists in the country—perhaps not here in the East, in the mercantile center, where the pecuniary interests are very powerful in the other direction—but that there exists in the country a war spirit of which we had

not been sufficiently aware; that there has been smouldering beneath the surface a passion of which we have taken no sufficient account; that fuel has been gathering all along to which the torch need only be applied in order to kindle it into a blaze.

Now I wish to occupy the rest of the hour at my disposal in speaking briefly of this war spirit and how to meet it; how to antagonize it for our security. I wish to speak of its causes; and among its causes I will single out three for your consideration.

It has been said, indeed, that commercial and political speculators have had much to do with this war feeling; that they have industriously for years past been feeding the flame for their own selfish ends, because they hoped to fish in the troubled waters. And we may say that it is quite possible that these piratical wreckers, political wreckers, commercial wreckers, as they have been called, may be responsible for that peculiarly harsh and strident tone which we observe in the popular hue and cry; but after all it is not these people who express the volume of the hue and cry. They may explain the sharpness of it but not the volume of it. The people themselves are not concerned with such motives. They have no piratical instincts; they do not hope to fish in the troubled waters, and yet the people seem to have this feeling. It is this breadth of feeling that we have to look out for. Now I think that one of the causes (it may seem to you a slight one; I do not think it is the most important, but it is an important one) is the teaching of history in many of our public schools the way it is taught. Perhaps the most important passage in our history is the story of the American Revolution.

In that story England figures as the ogre, as the oppressor, as the tyrant; and perhaps many of you would be surprised if you had occasion to observe, as I happen to have had, how intense a hate of England is instilled into the minds of the children of this country at a time when they are most impressionable, most ready to receive new ideas, and most tenacious of them. These impressions are deepened, of course, by the story of the war of 1812, and by the account of the most ungenerous and unfair treatment which we received at the hands of England at the time of the civil war, when our national existence was once more imperiled, and when by every motive of humanity progressive England, civilized England, ought to have been on the side of those who were fighting for the emancipation of the slaves. You may ask: If these facts awaken enmity against England which is not deserved, are we responsible? Is it our fault that the facts are so, that England has been brutal and selfish? Of course I do not think that we should disguise the facts or omit them. But I believe that we should teach all the facts, the facts that make for England as well as those which make against her; that in the earliest teachings we should emphasize what we as a people owe to England, the indebtedness which we are under to that country in which parliamentary government first originated and the first battles for representative government were fought out; and, if those battles had not been fought, surely we should not be plucking the ripe fruit of representative government; and also that debt which we all as individuals owe to England for the very language which we speak, the rich and flexible language of our country, for many of the best thoughts which we think,

for many of our worthiest impulses which we have derived from the masters of English litaterure, and from those who have exercised a formative influence upon English life—a prolonged line of English statesmen, English poets, English writers, English teachers and English reformers.

The college-bred men and women of the country do understand this; but there are only seventy thousand persons that attend college in a nation of sixty-five million, and the great mass of the children who attend our public schools never reach these institutions of learning. They know chiefly the hateful things that England has done, and not the benefits which she has conferred. Therefore I say we should, in the teaching of American history, be careful; we should remember that we are dealing with fire and playing with edged tools when we speak of facts that have occurred without mentioning the other facts that should be taken into account. We should, before we speak of the story of the Revolution, speak of what we owe to England—set off the story of the Revolution by an account of the benefits we have received at England's hands. The American child is in relation to the English very much like the Christian child in its relation to the Jew. In both cases, in the Sunday schools here, in the public schools there, the children are taught the wrongs of certain ancestors of the present generation; and they are also left to reflect the impression of the wrongs committed by dead forefathers upon the living; and in both cases the remedy is the same. Teach the whole history, all the facts, the grand part, the glorious things of the past.

I think this teaching is to a great extent responsible

for the war feeling which has always been specially pointed against England; I do not believe that our American civilization accounts for it, though it may have added to the natural resentment which is engendered by such influences as I have referred to.

The second cause of the war feeling, in my estimation, is the restlessness of democracy. This restlessness is partly the symptom of growth. We are experiencing the growing pains. We are a young nation. At the time of Monroe we counted about five or six millions; we now count over sixty millions. We are aware of vast physical resources which we have hardly as yet brought into play. Our first craving for work is beginning to be satisfied. We are beginning to feel that we can cut and ought to cut an important figure among the nations of the earth. The national consciousness is developed—the sense of national importance—and this shows itself, unfortunately, at first chiefly on the physical side. We have challenged England to races, to contests of a physical sort—boat-racing, yacht-racing and the like. There are those in this country who would like to challenge England to a more serious contest just to prove the physical equality or superiority of America. But this restlessness is also due to another cause, to a reaction against equality. There is no people who are theoretically so devoted, so attached to the doctrine of equality and who in practice are so eager to get away from equality. There is no people in the world where the individual so suffers under the sense of being steeped in a great mass, being an undistinguished unit amid a great multitude, and is so anxious to differentiate himself, to distinguish himself from his fellows, as in this country; this is

shown in the love of titles which our secret societies bestow upon their members and their officers. Where do you find so many Grand Secretaries, Grand Commanders, and what not, as in a country in which titles have been abolished? It seems that, these public means of distinction having been taken away, the people seek refuge in secret conclaves to enjoy the forbidden fruit for which they long.

It is desired, somehow, to be a little different from our neighbor—not to be Mr. So-and-So, or like Mr. So-and-So—to be something else. We suffer under equality; we want to get away from it. Then, too, you can see this in our externals, in the showy uniforms of our National Guard, for instance. The same is true of the reason why we are so fond of seeing our names in print. The same thing explains that itch for notoriety with which many persons are afflicted—even to the schoolgirls on the occasion of a graduation, when young misses must have their names in the newspapers. This desire for notoriety is due to the unwillingness to be simply merged in the multitude. Individuality tries to assert itself by these miserable external means, in these small, contemptible ways; and so war opens a chance for distinction, for titles. It is therefore fashionable. Have you observed how greedily the biographies of Napoleon are devoured in this country, the story of how a man rose from obscurity to be one of the first powers of Europe? The democratic man loves to think of himself as following a similar career; and so war, with its possible distinctions, with its possible promotion from the ranks to the highest grade of military service, is not unwelcome. War also offers a chance for excitement, and

that is another point to be remembered—we want to be relieved of the monotony of our existence. Nothing does the American pray for so much as excitement, as a sensation. In other countries, in countries of older civilization, the newspapers are not as sensational as in this country. They do not need to be: the newspapers are very largely what the public desire. We want sensation: we want that spice, that condiment, because our life of living equally on the same plane, on the same level, is so monotonous. The possibility of war promises excitement and excitement itself is grateful to the jaded nerves of democratic men.

We cannot understand a country unless we consider the sentiments which prevail in it, the psychic states that influence many people. No country goes merely on the accepted dictates of its reason. The rational element in our life is represented by our constitution and our laws, but we do not act merely or chiefly according to the principles sanctioned in our constitution and our laws. We act according to psychic impulses which are engendered in us by our condition, and, if you would understand it, you must understand the psychic atmosphere—the psychic state engendered by equality.

It is a fact, as I believe, that our conception of the object of our national existence lacks grandeur. We started out as a people with the sense of a great mission for humanity, a mission in the performance of which the nations of the world were interested. We believed ourselves to be the political Israel, the elect people who were to build up a model commonwealth which others might copy. The sublime conviction was expressed in

bombastic language. We have become ashamed of the turgid bombast of the phrases in which the conviction was expressed, and, alas for the day, we have become ashamed of the conviction itself also. We no longer believe in a humanitarian mission; we no longer believe in ourselves as destined to achieve something for all the world, for all mankind, a great good. We have learned to become meek. Our eyes have been opened. We see our faults; we see that in many things we are not the teachers of others. We ought to be only learners with others. The effete monarchies do things much better than we do in many particulars. I trust this may be a temporary recoil from a depression. I trust that we shall again remember that there is one thing we possess which others do not possess—that despite our disadvantages, which I am the first to concede, there is one thing we have which others have not: it is the principle of seeking salvation through our own efforts, through our own manhood, with no artificial help; it is the principle of self-government upon which our institutions are founded. Yes, that is what makes it so hard for us. Self-government is a far more difficult kind of government than any other kind. That is the reason why our problems are so far from the solution; that is the reason why, in many respects, we are so backward in our city government, for instance, as compared with the city government of Berlin. There they have a bureaucracy which leans against the prop of a dynasty of kings. We have it not. If we want wisdom, economy, efficiency, we must get them from the ranks, we must educate our men up to it.

Therefore, I say we should take heart. We should

feel what a grand thing, after all, it is, despite the advantages of Berlin and of Glasgow and of London, to be an American citizen, to be called upon, not to see to it that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth—not that, because it does not yet exist—but to see to it that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall exist on earth. Now, if we feel the greatness of our problem, as yet unsolved; if we realize that we have to see to our own house and put it in order that we may not be ashamed, that we have to vindicate self-government as it has not been vindicated, and show better results than any other kind of government; if we realize the sublimity of the task at all, shall we not realize that war distracts us from these problems of interior development—that there can be no greater misfortune to our republic than war on this account?

What is our problem? What is the end of democracy? The end of democracy is to make the best life possible for all the citizens, the best life in a material sense, in a mental and moral sense. The ancient states also believed in the best life, but they thought it possible only for the few. They looked upon the many as the broad pedestal upon which the statue of culture should be erected; they looked upon the multitude as a lamp from which the flame of civilization might burn. But we are very far from having approached the solution of the problem how the best life should become possible to every man according to his station; and in order to make that possible we must address ourselves to supply the condition—we must set in order our civil government. We must end, if we can, the conflict between

the social classes. We must find a way, if we can, of reconciling the conflicting interests of manufacturers and farmers, of employers and employes. We must find a way of encouraging the national genius, of unfettering the mind so that it may find expression in science, in letters and in art. It is because we are too materialistic a democracy that we are led to the assertion of superiority. We are not idealistic. War interferes with the achievement of all idealistic ends, which are so important.

A constructive democracy, a democracy bound in the direction of constructive evolution, constructive work, cannot face the possibility of the destructive agency of disintegrating war. War, they say, is necessary, because it concentrates all the energies of a people on a great purpose, because it makes people for a time forget their sordid interests and thrill through and through with the shock of patriotism. For a democracy these electric shocks are not necessary. In a democracy rightly ordered there is before us, present constantly, great ends, unselfish ends. There is a constant rebuke to the low and sordid, the material in us. We are constantly called upon to do for our country's good. We are strong enough not to need these shocks. They are good enough for people sunk in material purposes, but are not needed by a truly civilized democracy.

War, oh, the horror of it, the danger of it! For a republic war means, sooner or later, death. Wars that are carried on for conquest by republics inevitably lead to bribery and corruption. And even when not carried on for conquest, war by a republic leads to the concentration of power in the hands of rulers, and is therefore not friendly to the development of true republican liberty.

Let us not, then, open what the poet has called "The purple testament of the bleeding war"—let us not open it, in rightful dread of the legacy of misery which it will entail upon us: and here I think not only of the physical misery, of the reeking battlefield, of the blood spilled, the treasure wasted, the burning home, the desolation of the widows and the orphans—I think of the moral misery, the moral retrogression following in its train. Let us, then, use our best efforts in the interval that remains before the report of the Venezuela Committee shall be submitted, to spread peaceful sentiments among our fellow-citizens, and to encourage in them that sober second thought which in this case is wisest; and because the danger will continue, even after the present occasion shall have passed, because we now know that there is a war feeling in this country, let us do our best to supply the antidote. Let us again enkindle among the people a generous sense of huminatarian enthusiasm for America which we are losing; let us again write in clear and legible letters before their eyes the ideal end to which our national existence is dedicated; let us fill them with the sense of our mission; for it is only that, only the consciousness of a great nation, which is a nation of peace, that will insure us what will be a safeguard to us, the continued progress of peace, of liberty and of unceasing prosperity.

*THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION.

BY WILLIAM M. SALTER.

THIS is not a religious platform, nor is it a political platform, not to say a party platform. It is committed to those abstract principles of right and justice which we call ethics. If it should allow itself to be carried off its base by waves of popular feeling, it would lose its distinctive character. It should endeavor to hold the balances; it should stand for reason and light; it should espouse no cause, and identify itself with no party save as the gravity of truth and right settle that way. It may be difficult to hold to this ideal; it may be hard practically to be true to it, even when one holds it, yet one may try.

In this spirit (whether I am true to it or not is for others to judge) I venture to take up the Venezuelan question. I am not of those who say, "my country, right or wrong." I am willing to admit my country wrong, if such be the fact—and further to admit that nothing but harm can come from doing a wrong thing, however united, enthusiastic, or for the time successful,

*A Lecture before the Society for Ethical Culture of Philadelphia, in New Century Hall, Sunday, January 26th, 1896.

a people may be in doing it. There is even-handed justice, there is a moral order, in the affairs of the world, and "the whirligig of time brings in his revenges." It is for us simply to find out the truth and right of things in a case like this—to find it out regardless of whom it may favor and whom it may hurt—and then await the issue.

Never was there more occasion for the judicial spirit than in the present case. On the one hand were apparently a large body of people ready to go to war, before any justification for war existed, some even urging that a war would be a good thing in many ways, and that nothing would be so popular as a war with England. On the other hand were those who maligned the Chief Executive of the nation without taking the trouble to understand him and who allowed themselves to be worked into a sort of frenzy which effectually prevented any broad and undistorted view of things. At the time I and some of the rest of us were so disturbed by events involving a popular struggle for justice here at home* that we could give little attention to the matter; and now, though feelings are somewhat allayed and a better temper is abroad, yet as the matter is by no means settled, it cannot be amiss to pass the whole affair in calm review.

What is the contention?—that is, so far as we as a people have anything to do with it, for it is our duty and not that of Venezuelans that we are, of course, considering. In essence, it turns about a possible wrong to a sister

* The reference is to the efforts of the motormen and conductors employed by the Union Traction Company to get certain concessions from their employers.

American state. The United States has never said that an actual wrong was committed—President Cleveland has never said so, nor has he implied it. A New York journal, excellent in many ways but not always as scrupulous as it might be, charges to the contrary. It says that Mr. Cleveland, in his message to Congress of December 3d, made a "positive pronouncement on the merits of the controversy," and declared that Great Britain "was trying 'to enlarge the area of British Guiana in derogation of the rights and against the will of Venezuela.'"* But what Mr. Cleveland was doing in that message (the part of it devoted to Venezuela) was to recite the substance of a despatch addressed by his Secretary of State, Mr. Olney, to our Ambassador in London, Mr. Bayard, on the 20th of last July; he did so by saying that our Government is opposed to "a forcible increase by any European power of its territorial possessions on this continent," and is bound in consequence "to protest against the enlargement of the area of British Guiana in derogation of the rights and against the will of Venezuela." This does not mean that the enlargement was taking place, but that the United States was opposed to such a thing as the enlargement, under the circumstances mentioned. If Mr. Cleveland had used "an" instead of "the" before "enlargement," he might have made his meaning clearer; but as it is, it is clear enough for anyone who will attend to it, it was not misstated by the journal to which I have referred save apparently by an afterthought†

* *Nation*, 26 Dec., 1895, p. 458.

† The *Nation*, 5th Dec., while commenting on the message, shows no suspicion of having understood the language in this way; but in the issue of 12th Dec., it proceeds on the basis of such an understanding.

—and all question about it should have been set absolutely at rest when Secretary Olney's despatch of which the President's language was confessedly but a summary was given to the public a few days later (December 17th) and in which it was stated in so many words that it "cannot be assumed that Great Britain is in fact usurping dominion over Venezuelan territory. While Venezuela charges such usurpation, Great Britain denies it, and the United States, until the merits are authoritatively ascertained, can take sides with neither." * Accordingly, in his special message of December 17th, the President asks for a commission to ascertain the facts, saying that "due weight should be given to all available evidence, records and facts in support of the claims of both parties." † Such a commission is now sitting. There is no prejudging of the question and there never has been.

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* *Senate Document*, No. 31, p. 19. The *Nation*, continuing the gratuitous misunderstanding, even says (Jan. 2, 1896) that if the Commission of inquiry appointed by the President decides that the British line is the correct one, "the reflection on the President and Mr. Olney, and on the people who have been backing them up in this quarrel, ought to be too severe to be borne; and we trust it will be followed by a period of moral anguish such as is known only to the repentant sinner." But who the repentant sinner is or ought to be in this case, few fair-minded men will doubt. We commend the pious attention of the *Nation* to the ninth commandment. On Jan. 23d, in commenting on the request of the Commission for information from the British Government to help it in ascertaining the truth, the *Nation* says, thus "to confess to the British that we not only do not know, but have never known, whether they had wrongfully enlarged their borders or not, and that the Commission we appointed to find the true line cannot get on without their help, is right, but is something which no honest and patriotic man ought to hear of without deep and vindictive indignation. It is virtually the confession of a crime against civilization, and can the perpetrators of it think over it without bitter self-reproach?" It is a pity that so much indignant virtue should be wasted.

† *Ibid*, p. 4.

The only question is, then, whether we have any business to be concerned over a possible injury to a sister republic. There are those who appear to think not, who urge that we should mind our own affairs and let other people alone, who fail to recognize that the strong have any obligations to the weak, even if the weak are their next-door neighbor. But it is not at once evident that this is very high, or even commonplace, ethics. It is a safe general rule not to mix in the quarrels of other persons; but when on the one side is a powerful individual, and on the other a helpless one, we feel that the rule may very properly be disregarded. We love fair-play and we don't interfere ordinarily because we think ordinarily that people can take care of themselves. Moreover, all duties are limited by abilities. Therefore we commonly recognize that we have duties to those in our own neighborhood that we have not to others far away. We, in Philadelphia, for instance, let other cities take care of their own motormen and we try to take care of ours. To apply this to the matter in hand, states have some obligations to other states that are unable to defend themselves, and they have special obligations to those who are their neighbors.

The United States has in effect adopted what may be called a policy not to interfere in controversies between European nations, even in behalf of justice and right; but it leaves itself free to act in reference to controversies on this Western Continent. It has undertaken particularly to say that no European power shall act in an oppressive manner to any American state; it has assumed to make itself a guardian of liberty on this hemisphere. It was doubtless an astonishment to a large part of Europe

when President Monroe made what was virtually a proclamation to this effect in 1823 — the Allied Powers, which included about all of Europe outside of England, probably took it as an affront. It was an immense assumption then and is an immense assumption now to say that no European power shall oppress any sister state on this continent—and those who urge that we ought to mind our business now, would find it difficult to justify the fathers in the course taken seventy and more years ago. Jefferson even compared the idea embodied in Monroe's message to the Declaration of Independence. "That," he said, "made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us." He tersely summed up the idea by saying, "Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; and second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs."* There was no pretense of interfering with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power; there was no assumption of the right to dictate to any of the independent states what their form of government should be (they might have monarchist or imperial constitutions if they chose, as Mexico and Brazil had); there was only the declaration that these independent states should be free to shape their own destinies and were not to be controlled or oppressed by any European hand. If it is wrong for us to object to an oppression of Venezuela by England through an appropriation of a part of her territory, if it is no concern of ours, then it was equally beyond our province to object to the Allied Powers doing

* Jefferson to Monroe, October, 1823.

as they might like with the South American states early in the century ; and if, on the other hand, that threatened intervention was justified, so is one at the present time.

Legitimate self-interest looks in the same direction and self-interest has co-operated with more generous sentiments in leading the United States to practically adopt the policy it has pursued. The instinct of the republic in its early days was, and it still is to-day (when the sober second thought of the people asserts itself) for peace ; we do not wish to have our substance wasted in such wars as the European powers are every now and then falling into. But if European powers got an extensive foothold in this continent, if our political system became practically in that way a part of the European political system, it would seem inevitable that we should become more or less implicated in their contests. Moreover, and what is far weightier, we do not wish a powerful rival and possible enemy at our own doors. This may not seem a very high consideration, but it is a very practical one — and it may be high or low, according as are the ultimate aims of our national existence. If we do sincerely wish to benefit our own citizens and to be a blessing to mankind, then to have no powerful neighbor against whom we have to keep armed, is so much of a gain to us and all the world. Thus far we have enjoyed an immunity from the necessity of keeping up great war-like establishments—we have been free to cultivate the arts of peace. But, as Mr. Olney observes, "with the powers of Europe permanently encamped on American soil, the ideal conditions we have thus far enjoyed" could not be expected to continue. Then, as he adds, we, too, should have to be armed to the teeth ; we, too,

should be compelled to convert the flower of our male population into soldiers and sailors, and by withdrawing them from the various pursuits of peaceful industry we, too, should practically annihilate a large share of the productive energy of the nation.*

It was thus a sound political instinct which led the fathers of the republic to look with unfriendliness upon any attempt of European powers to get any additional foothold in this country, whether by conquering any existing state or by establishing new colonies. It was John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State under President Monroe, who first (so far as I know) distinctly asserted the principle that "the American Continents are no longer subjects for *any* new European colonial establishments."† This was only a few months before Monroe sent to Congress his since famous message. The second year thereafter, Mr. Clay in contending for the principle, said, "Europe would be indignant at any American attempt to plant a colony on any part of her shores, and her justice must perceive, in the rule contended for, only perfect reciprocity."‡ The feeling was that henceforth America must work out her own destiny; that while individual Europeans were welcome here and should have every right here, European *governments* or extensions of European governments were not desired. This has been the instinct and habit of our people, and, I think, it is a sound and a safe one. A great European power here might be friendly, but we think it on the whole better that European powers should have no more dominion

* *Senate Document*, No. 31, p. 17.

† *Memoirs*, Vol. vi, p. 163.

‡ *Register of Debates*, 1825–26, II, Part 2, App., p. 84.

than they already have. Strange to say, Lord Salisbury himself remarks that "any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in our hemisphere by any fresh acquisitions on the part of any European state would be a highly inexpedient change,"*—he does not admit that it would be a contravention of international law, but he does say it would be inexpedient. From our point of view, it is plainly so. England and France are friendly powers to the United States. But who can forget England's attitude to us during the bitter crisis of our civil war? And who would like to think of what England might have been tempted to do if at that time she had had large South American possessions from which to work and which she might have supposed would be benefitted in case the predominance of the United States in America were impaired by disunion? France, as we know, took the opportunity of our civil war to set up a monarchy in Mexico. I repeat, we feel it safer to have Europe own no more American soil than she already does.

Now we may call this the Monroe doctrine or we may not. The propriety of such a designation is for scholars to determine. Just how far President Monroe went, what were the limits of the doctrine as entertained and promulgated by him, is a question of history and fact. Undoubtedly the circumstances of to-day are not those of his day. There is no Holy Alliance now, and it was against the Holy Alliance (or so-called "Allied Powers") that his message was specially directed. The European political system which he did not wish to have forced on any American people was absolute monarchy—it had no

* *Senate Document*, No. 31, p. 26.

similarity with such free political institutions as England stands for to-day. History does not repeat itself and in one sense the Monroe doctrine is dead — most happily dead. But the idea that America—all America—shall be free to shape its own political destinies and that European oppression will be tolerated nowhere, is not dead; and this idea President Monroe also expressed—it is the idea lying at the root of his other and more distinctive idea, and it is merely a question of grammar and history whether we call it the Monroe doctrine or not. No refinements of scholars will do anything to disturb the deep-seated popular conviction.

Equally a matter of indifference, when we come to the realities of the case, is the question whether the substance of the doctrine I have set forth is a part of international law. All that we need to say is that it is the law we insist on in our international dealings; it is what we ourselves feel obliged, by every consideration for our honor and safety, to stand by—and if we can succeed in making others respect it, if the agreement and practice of nations conform to it, then it becomes as good international law as any that now exists. We must remember that all international law is, in the last analysis, only law in a metaphorical sense; if there is no power to enforce a law, there is no law in a legal sense—there is only an agreement.* In the sense of rules, strictly binding and enforceable, there can be no international law till there is an international state—a state, as much superior to existing states, as the United States is superior to the various commonwealths comprising

* Cf. my *Anarchy or Government? An Inquiry in Fundamental Politics*, p. 33.

it — "a parliament of man," "a federation of the world."

So much for the grounds and reasons on the basis of which it seems right and proper for us to be concerned about a possible injury to a sister American state at the hands of an European power. It is by no means taking sides with Venezuela, it is very different from espousing her claims against those of Great Britain, it is simply saying that we cannot avoid being solicitous at the thought of possible wrong to her, and that, if there is wrong, we will prevent it if we can. This does not mean that we establish a protectorate over Venezuela or undertake to be responsible for her; first in this discussion have I heard the remarkable conclusion drawn that by protecting a person from what we believe to be a wrong we make a sort of guarantee to the world that he shall always do what we believe to be right. We have no wish to control Venezuela, and will cheerfully leave her to suffer, if she does any foolish or unjust thing.

At the same time it is presupposed in the very mention of a possible wrong that Venezuela has something of a case which looks that way. It would be absurd to ask for the arbitration or even serious consideration of whatever trumped-up boundary claim a South American State might choose to make. To some this is the folly we are committed to, if we listen to Venezuela now. But this is only saying that to their mind the Venezuelan claim has no show of reason whatever. Now any one must have very little of an opinion of about four successive governmental Administrations at Washington who entertains such a view. Without ever giving assent to the Venezuelan claim, they have at least thought it

entitled to respectful consideration, and have, with increasing earnestness, expressed to the British Government the gratification it would afford the United States if Great Britain would consent to an arbitration of the differences, such as Venezuela was willing to submit to and had indeed asked for.

The circumstances are something as follows: Venezuela inherits whatever territory she has from Spain; England, or, rather, British Guiana, inherits its territory from Holland (beginning definitively with the year 1814). The disputed territory lies between the Orinoco, one of the great rivers emptying into the Atlantic Ocean on the northeast coast of South America, and the Essequibo, another river, perhaps a quarter of the way down on the coast toward the Amazon. Beyond these rivers the Spanish and the Dutch were indisputably settled—the Spanish to the north and west, the Dutch to the south and east. Venezüela, however, claims all the way down to the Essequibo, the English claim all the way up to the Orinoco. I will cite three or four alleged facts that give countenance to the Venezuelan claim. One is that a Spanish map of 1796 and an English map of 1820 agree in making the Essequibo River the boundary line claimed by Venezuela (except a small tract on the west bank of the river at its mouth). Another is that in 1827, when England had occupied territory north of the Essequibo and was remonstrated with by the old Colombian Federal Union, of which Venezuela was then a constituent member, she claimed a river as her boundary (the Pomaron), which was many hundred miles short of the Orinoco. Still another is that the British agent at the Venezuelan capi-

tal in 1836 applied to the Venezuelan Government to place a beacon on Cape Barima, on the south side of the mouth of the Orinoco, thereby presupposing that this was Venezuelan territory, though it is now claimed by Great Britain. Later still, in 1840, a British court in Demerara, one of the English provinces, declared the territory of the Moroco, far to the south and east of the Orinoco, to be Venezuelan territory. By no means do I urge these as proofs; I simply cite them as showing something of the case which Venezuela appears to have. On the other hand, Lord Salisbury, in his recent despatch to the British Minister at Washington, makes out a strong case for the English claim. The whole matter is evidently one for a disinterested tribunal to pass upon. If it should be shown that England has only claimed what was her own by inheritance from the Dutch, then, though it took away thousands of square miles which Venezeula had laid claim to, it would make no matter to us—for we have declared that with existing colonies or dependencies of European powers we have no intention of interfering. It is not British land (within the limits mentioned), but British aggression we object to.

Unhappily, however, Great Britain has been unwilling to submit her case to the decision of a court of arbitration. English subjects have been pressing further and further into the disputed territory and England has declared herself ready to arbitrate only her right to unoccupied portions of her claim beyond. Now, undoubtedly possession is nine points of the law, but possession that is continually contested (as the English possession in this instance has been, since 1840 at least) does not have this position of advantage—and if the land on which one

settles does not belong to one in the first place, no length of such contested occupancy suffices to give one a title. Indeed, the British Government has granted some mining licenses with the condition that if, in the event of a settlement of the boundary question, the land which they covered should be found to belong to Venezuela, no claim for compensation could be brought against itself. In equity, this is plainly what it should have done in the case of all settlers on disputed land, and the fact that some 40,000 of them are already there and enjoying the undoubted benefits of British rule, while it complicates the situation, does not seem to change the essential merits of the case. If the soil is English, well; but if it is not, they should either leave or else make terms with the real owners, just as persons would do who had settled on land that did not belong to them in London or in Philadelphia. Anyone who makes a mistake of this sort deserves our pity, but pity is hardly supposed to give a basis for rights—and a part of the responsibility lies with a government which allows false expectations to be bred.

Unfortunately England's enterprises in India, in Eygpt and now in Africa do not lead us to suspect that she is over-scrupulous in respecting the rights of the people whose territory borders on her own. Mr. Frederic Harrison has recently pointed out that England has on the average two wars a year in various parts of the world. "And for what?" he asks—and answers, "some gold miners, diamond hunters, or other adventurers—for the sake of those we are perpetually brought to the verge of war." The New York journal to which I referred at the outset remarks *a propos* of Jameson's

raid in the Transvaal that "neither thrones, principalities nor powers can stand up against a rush of Anglo-Saxon gold-hunters." * We have a well-known instance of British aggressiveness in this country, in Belize (or British Honduras), where an original privilege to cut logwood within narrowly restricted limits was finally extended, in spite of entirely unambiguous treaties, to complete dominion over a large area in Central America. Limits and bounds would appear to be more or less movable things, when self-interest is pushing strong. "The worst of the English," said that frank critic, Matthew Arnold, "is that on foreign politics they search so very much more for what they like and wish to be true than for what *is* true."† Lord Salisbury's strong persuasion that the original boundaryof Dutch Guiana was up on the Orinoco River is not thus absolutely conclusive —he may be right, but the United States may be excused for wishing the judgment of a disinterested tribunal before assenting to the claim, and such are its convictions as to its duty on this continent, such are its traditions and its history that under the circumstances it cannot assent to it until either an impartial tribunal gives a decision that way or it becomes satisfied by an investigation of its own. Venezuela is not in Africa, but in America—and the United States reserves to itself the right to judge as to whether aggression is being practiced against her or not. If it is true, as Edmund Burke said, that "the situation of a man is the preceptor of his duty," then has the United States not only a right, but a duty, in the matter, and the language of Mr. Bayard is not

* *Nation*, 9 Jan., 1896.

† *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 118.

overstrained when in resisting the enforcement of the Pelletier claim against Hayti a few years ago he wrote:

"The United States has proclaimed herself the protector of this western world, in which she is by far the stronger power, from the intrusion of European sovereignties. She can point with proud satisfaction to the fact that over and over again has she declared effectively that serious indeed would be the consequences if European hostile foot should, without just cause, tread those states in the new world which have emancipated themselves from European control. She has announced that she would cherish as it becomes her the territorial rights of the feeblest of those states, regarding them not merely as in the eye of the law equal to even the greatest of nationalities, but in view of her distinctive policy as entitled to be regarded by her as the objects of a peculiarly gracious care."*

There remained then nothing else for our Government to do, Great Britain having refused our friendly appeal in behalf of arbitration, but to undertake to ascertain the merits of the case for itself. If we have the right and duty to prevent aggression, we have the right to know whether aggression has been committed. As we cannot take the *ipse dixit* of Venezuela when contrasted with the strong opposite claims of England, we must institute a judicial investigation. It is charged that we are thereby asking England to acknowledge our right to trace her frontier in defiance of her own claim in territory which does not belong to us.† I am aware that this seems to put us in an odious light, but it is forgotten that the only other alternative (arbitration having unhappily been refused) is to let England trace her own frontier wherever her self-interest may dictate and regardless of the pos-

* Quoted in *Senate Document*, No. 31, p. 15.

† *Nation*, 26 Dec., 1895, p. 458, cf. 2 Jan., 1896, p. 7.

sible rights of a sister state, too weak in itself to offer effective resistance in case it is wronged. The New York journal to which I have referred and a few people besides may be willing to have this done, but the great majority of the American people are not. On this continent at least they want something like justice observed from any European hand that touches it. Our government took the only course which in honor and self respect it could take in appointing the judicial commission which has now begun its sittings in Washington. It goes without saying that if the Commission is able to find the true divisional line between British Guiana and Venezuela, we are bound to resist any appropriation or forcible occupation of territory beyond this line on the part of the British subjects.

This is the substance of the President's message of December 17th—*i. e.*, of the critical part of it. I do not see how there can be two opinions about it among those who believe that we have any duty to the sister states on this continent or who are possessed with any of the spirit of the fathers of the Republic three-quarters of a century ago. And yet I say advisedly the "substance" of the message—for I think it must be confessed that the form of it is somewhat extraordinary. It is not customary in international relations to wear one's heart on one's sleeve. It is not customary even to make the most dignified threats. Such things are for times when a rupture of friendly relations has taken place, or on the eve of such a rupture. It must be remembered that England disclaims all intention to aggress, that she does not ask for a foot of ground that she does not claim as her own and which we may not find to be her own—for at

present we know nothing about it. If our government had simply said that regretting that England declines our friendly appeal for arbitration, the United States feels obliged to satisfy its own mind on the subject, and that if England insists on taking or holding land beyond what, after careful investigation, we believe to be a true or reasonable line, grave embarrassments in the relations of the two countries would arise—it would have covered all that was necessary or becoming under the circumstances. As it is, President Cleveland has stirred the groundlings in America and in England, but has made the judicious on both sides of the water grieve. There is nothing more unreasoning and insensate than the war spirit when it is aroused. It is like men in uncontrolled anger. They see men as trees walking. It is a grave responsibility to even unwittingly cause an ebullition of sentiments which are always barbarous and are only excusable as a defense against still greater barbarism. Our Chief Magistrate might have said all that it was necessary to say without causing such an ebullition, and with the probable effect of having the greater part of England itself admit the justice of our cause. It is difficult at times to resist the feeling that we are still a very young people, with men liable now and then to come to the front who are untrained and inexperienced in the approved usages of the great world. We have yet to learn the lesson (or some of us have), which even the Romans knew, of *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.*

All this, however, does not touch the kernel of the question and is said without the slightest sympathy with the brutal attacks that have sometimes been made on

President Cleveland*—and with all honor to him and to Mr. Olney for the firm stand they have taken as to the essential rights and duties of the great American state to which we belong. If there is war, (which may a kind destiny avert!) while we by our thoughtlessness will be partly responsible for it, the burden of such a stupendous calamity will rest on the shoulders of Lord Salisbury. It is impossible for us to sit by and see the territory of a sister state stolen from it under whatever pretense.† England should have known this before, and even the rude notice of our Government may serve a purpose, if it enables her to know it beyond question now. We are determined to protect America from the forcible intrusion of European sovereignties. We have learned the lesson of insisting on what is right from our English inheritance itself. In the veins of many of us is still the blood of a race one of whose poets wrote:

> "Man needs must fight
> To make true peace his own;
> He needs must combat might with might,
> Or might would rule alone." ‡

We are citizens of the world—we are to love all mankind, we are to love even those who hate us, we are to hate only wrong; but when we cease to hate wrong, when we become tamely submissive,

* The *Nation* (26th Dec.) calls Mr. Cleveland "the greatest international anarchist of modern times."

† Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, says: "This whole thing is very simple. We cannot permit any weak power on this continent to be despoiled of its territory, or to be crowded out of its rights, by any strong power anywhere. England would not permit us to do that to Belgium or to Denmark."—*Independent*, 26th Dec., 1895.

‡ Tennyson.

when we bear wrongs rather than strive to right them, we become ignoble citizens of the world—yes, lose our citizenship in the only world worth living in, the world of those who respect one another and who respect themselves.

THE SPHERE OF WOMAN.

BY W. L. SHELDON.

It is an odd circumstance that some of the greatest problems of life are thrust upon public attention by an accident. This may oftentimes make us lose sight of the importance of the issues involved. The subject we are to consider has been seething now for half a century in the minds of a few thoughtful people. Every effort has been made to induce the rest of mankind to reflect upon it. Some advance has been made, but not much has been accomplished. The talk about a radical change in the style of dress has now brought the woman problem vividly into the foreground, although, unfortunately, with a humorous phase which detracts much from its dignity. Yet notwithstanding all the humor, the witticisms, the sarcasms about "the new woman" and her style of dress, the real problem that underlies it is a tremendously serious one. And, no matter what has called it into prominence, now that it is before us, we shall have to discuss it, because it is woman's sphere which is the vital question at issue.

A good many people do not like the phrase "emancipation of woman." They say that it has no meaning. They deny that there is an enslaved class representing all womankind. Many women themselves are seriously offended at the suggestion that there is anything like a "woman's problem." They do not even like the idea of

"women's clubs." They say, and say truly enough, that we do not talk about a "man's problem." They are opposed to the very notion of separating the sexes in that way, believing as they do that this is the fundamental cause which has really brought about whatever slavery has actually existed on the part of woman.

Unquestionably there is a point to this objection. We can sympathize with women who dislike to view the matter in this light. They do not wish to be set off as a separate class, to be pitied, worked for, or "emancipated."

Nevertheless, we shall see that there is a "woman's problem" and that there is a significance to the phrase "the emancipation of woman." Beyond any doubt invidious distinctions actually exist. They are on the statute books, and can be easily pointed out. Unfortunately, they are also rooted in custom and conventionality. There is no use of denying the fact that a line has been drawn. In legislation, in social and conventional life, women have been treated as *women*—that is, as essentially a separate class of beings. One needs only to be reminded of a single law in the statutes of Great Britain, which claims to be the most civilized land on the face of the earth. In that country a woman cannot obtain dissolution of the marriage tie unless she can prove "brutal treatment." The husband may have been utterly faithless to her, disloyal in every sense of the word, yet, unless she can prove that he has struck her, been brutal in his treatment toward her, she cannot have the tie severed. On the other hand, the man can have the relationship dissolved and secure control over the children by proving that his wife has been disloyal. No more

glaring illustration could be asked for to prove the existence of invidious distinctions. They are shocking to the moral sense; they are an outrage on the intelligence of the nineteenth century. Happily we are on a higher plane on that one point in America.

I mention this only as one out of a multitude of examples, in order to show that there is a woman problem. Wherever there has been any form of actual oppression, of unnatural distinctions, there you have the problem of emancipation, of deliverance, of freedom. Slavery can exist in many forms.

The transient phrase, the "new woman," has brought into the foreground the whole question as to woman's sphere and capacities. Women themselves have been lead to think about it in a way they never have before. They are asking why they should not do this, that or the other thing as they please. At one time this had never crossed their minds. They took everything for granted. What custom said they should do they did; what conventionality forbade they tried not to do. But there always comes a time when that breaks down. People begin to think and then conventionality is menaced. After that it becomes essential that you find a justification for conventional laws. It is this sifting process which is now going on.

This problem of the sphere of woman and all the talk connected with it, the demand for greater privileges, the attacks on the enslaved condition of woman—all this is only a part of a much wider agitation which now goes on about what is termed "the social problem." The same causes which called this question forth and have given it such importance are also in part responsible for

the discussions and turmoil connected with the "labor problem," with "trades-unionism," with "socialism." All this agitation now manifest in so many directions has developed out of the intense individualism which is characteristic of the nineteenth century. It is this which is responsible for the demand of the new woman for emancipation, for equality, for the obliteration of all distinctions between men and women. The rights of the individual are what people have been thinking about since the days of the French Revolution.

We do not speak of this for the purpose of objecting to it. But whenever you are dealing with a great problem you must see where it starts and why it gets such a hold upon a great body of people. If the cry about the emancipation of woman had started a few centuries ago, what would it have meant? Practically nothing. A few voices might have been raised in its behalf, but most people would have paid no attention to it. Now, on the other hand, it accords with the intense individualism characteristic of our century. The "complete self" is what certain men are putting forward as the ideal. Is it strange that this ambition or aspiration should also take possession of the mind of women? A woman wants to be a "complete self" just as much as a man. She says: "You place man forward as an independent, separate unit in the municipality, in the state, in the government, in the industrial system, in the world everywhere; yet you do not treat woman as an independent unit, but as a member of a family, as a part of a social organism. You tell us that civilization depends on the way we adjust ourselves to our sphere and fill the niche to which we belong, and then you go ahead and do as *you* please.

But if men will not fill a particular niche, why should we women? Have we not intellectual capacities? Why not let us express our individuality as well as you?"

We shall have difficulty in meeting this demand on the part of women. They have caught the spirit of the day; they have taken up the cry which has been raised all over Christendom. They are asking for the one thing which men have been asking for—not simply the ballot or entrance to professional life, but the right to individuality, the right of being a separate self and a separate soul, and to develop that self and that soul in one's own way.

It is for this reason that we cannot give to any special aspect of this great problem an emphatic "yes" or a decisive "no." There are two sides to the problem. Oppression has existed; woman's soul in a great many ways has been checked, held down, or stifled. When an uprising takes place it is sure to manifest the general spirit which characterizes the uprising of the age in which it occurs. It asserts itself, therefore, at the present time as aggressive individualism, with a certain defiance of conventionality, with a denial of any sort of distinction as existing between man and woman. "All we ask," they say, "is that you deal with us as you deal with yourselves."

But, it was the nature of things which made the first distinctions that separate one man from another man, one race from another race, one sex from another sex. These distinctions came into being long before men began to think philosophically about them. They were woven into the tissue of body and spirit alike. You cannot deal with all races in the same way, nor with any

two men in precisely the same manner. It would be a very easy problem if the soul of man and the soul of woman were nothing more than a sheet of white paper on which to make impressions. But when you are concerned with hereditary distinctions, with traits which have come down from bygone ages, then you cannot settle the issue offhand by any proclamation of amancipation.

As one among many eager for the advancement of the human race, I am more than glad that the new woman is developing. We welcome the demand on her part for radical changes. It is immensely encouraging that she should show a disposition to defy irrational conventionality, and I believe that changes should come, that a great advance should be made, that a new type of woman should be developed, such as has not existed in former ages.

By this I mean that the time has come when we should give woman a chance to show what she can make of herself. No one at the present day knows of the latent capacities of woman. We may surmise them and speculate about them. But until an opportunity is given to display these capacities we cannot prophesy what they may accomplish. We cannot assert that women may not become great composers of music, great writers, great inventors, great industrial leaders, great philosophers. The simple fact of the case is that speculation about it is all in the air. Woman has not really had the opportunity to show her capacities in these directions.

She should have the right to enter all the spheres of life and occupation pursued by man, providing she

really desires to do so. The first essential is that we should give woman a chance to show what she can do. We may suffer from it for awhile. But that cannot be helped. Much that is dreamed of may prove utterly unrealizable. All we can say is, give woman a chance, let her try it, if she demands the opportunity.

Nothing is more injurious to the advance of civilization than to check any human being in his rights because of some abstract theory that we may believe in. It strikes me, therefore, as the greatest possible mistake for legislation to stand in woman's way.

Yet there is another aspect to be considered. The fundamental difficulty with all the agitation pertaining to the problem of woman at the present time lies in the effort or desire to accomplish two incompatible purposes. And this is why we cannot get any positive, definite solution of the problem. She wants, on the one hand, to be independent, and to have all the rights to her individuality. Then, on the other hand, she wants a home and family, love and affection, and all that goes with the charm of a home. Do you think she can have both? I warn you to the contrary. She cannot, and the sooner she realizes it the better. Absolute independence is incompatible with the existence of the family. One wants home, family, with all its joys, with all its charms, but with none of its sorrows or restrictions. That cannot be. Try it, and as George Eliot says: "You will have bitter herbs and no sweet with them." You can make a choice, but you cannot have both.

If a woman makes the choice, if she determines that she will advance alone, assume no responsibilities save for herself, and enter the arena and compete with men

in their life work, then we say by all means give her the chance. She has the right. Let her show what she can do. Make her a free, independent individuality. But if at the same time she decides to enter the family-life, the home, that instant the privilege stops. She has made a surrender. She cannot get out of it. From that time on she has no right to a separate, independent, individuality. You tell me that means slavery? Yes, so it does—positive slavery. She has given herself up. "Does this apply only to woman?" Emphatically not. It applies just as truly to man. He, likewise, in the true sense of the term, becomes a slave; he is no longer a free person. He has surrendered the right to himself.

The moment woman enters into this other relationship as wife and mother, then the man has a right to be considered. Not only man but all human society at once is concerned. From that time on it is not a question of her personal rights only; it is also a question of the rights of the society to which she belongs, the human brotherhood of which she is a member. It is all very well to ask for freedom. You can have it. But if you assume responsibilities you have surrendered freedom. You can take your choice.

In connection with this whole subject of the "new woman" everything depends on whether we deal with her as a separate person living by herself, or to herself, or whether we deal with woman as the center of a family. It is partly because this distinction is not made that there is so much confusion about the matter.

It is impossible to conceive that the average woman should occupy both spheres. You will raise a voice of protest. You tell me that men do it, then why not

women? "Does not the man surrender himself, become the center of a home? Yet he goes out into the world, conquors a place for himself there, enters public life; why should not woman do the same thing?"

You know the reason already. It is because the care of the home is a complete occupation in itself. You know well enough what it means. The man at the end of the day can lock up his desk, shut in all the business there, walk out of the office and leave the work of the day behind him. It is not every man who does this; but it can be done. That is the normal condition. How is it with the woman? Can she ever, so to speak, lock the door and shut in the responsibilities until she goes back there and unlocks the door again? We know well enough that it cannot be done. There is no pause, no rest, no relaxation from the responsibili- of the home. Its work goes on day and night. It never stops. Mind or body will always be in requisition. Sometime there may be an eight-hour day for man's work, but never for woman's in the home—and she has been sane enough never to ask for it. The business occupation of the man is a partial life. The home occupation seems a *whole* life. That is the distinction. It is a profession by itself. One can make a choice, but I still insist that in the long run one cannot occupy both spheres.

Again I hear the protest. What of the earnest, noble, aspiring women who have had beautiful homes, and yet have gone out and done splendid work for the outside world? We all know the instances, the glorious instances of which all womankind should be proud. But I ask, what of the Goethes and of the Shakespeares?

"They are men of genius," you say. "They are exceptions." And so we would say of such women: they are rare instances of persons endowed with unusual gifts. Woe to mankind if these gifts are suppressed. Every opportunity or facility should be given to man or woman in order that *such* gifts may be utilized. But we are not speaking of the rare, unusual personality. It is the average woman, endowed with the average gifts, that we need to consider; just as we should consider the average man, endowed with the average gifts of a man. And in the long run we say that the home is bound to be an occupation sufficient to employ practically all the energies of one average human being. Therefore we assert that woman must make the choice. She cannot enter the arena and compete in the industrial world or the political world, and be the center of a family at the same time.

This does not imply that woman should do *nothing* in public life. On the contrary, there are fields where her assistance is almost indispensable. It is only the question as to the *main sphere* of woman that we are discussing.

We have still left untouched the most crucial point of the problem. The new woman is not simply asking for the privilege of entering the arena and competing with man in his sphere of work. All this we may be willing to allow or grant. But she is contending that there are no fundamental distinctions at all, that all the separate life assigned to her is arbitrary, artificial and unnatural. And yet all our finer social life, much of our intellectual or spiritual relationships, a great deal of the higher joys of existence are involved in these distinctions. The

"new woman" is disposed to deny them. She wants to be treated just as men are.

We can readily sympathize with woman in the demand for right to her individuality. The day has gone by when rational, sensible people would challenge such a claim. It makes any well developed, thoughtful person indignant to read the assumptions of the poet Milton when he makes Eve address Adam, and speak of him as her authorized disposer, and say "God is thy law, thou mine; to know no more is woman's happiest knowledge." Any woman who did not rebel against that assertion would be unworthy of being a member of the great brotherhood to which she belongs. Such a sentence is an outrage on human nature. The great declaration of Immanual Kant that every human being is an end in himself, stands unrefuted and should stand forever even unchallenged. When Milton says of man and woman that "he lives for God" and "she for God in him," it seems as if an indignity had been put upon all mankind.

We are glad that woman has rebelled against this standpoint. We regret that man himself did not denounce it centuries ago. Such a theory did mean slavery; and so long as people held to it there was significance enough in the demand for the emancipation of woman.

Precisely in the same way we can sympathize with the rebellious language of Norah in Ibsen's play of "The Doll's House." It is simply magnificent when she says: "Before all else I am a human being, just as you are, or at least I will try to become one." Any one endowed with a soul, with spiritual gifts, with self-consciousness,

should take that standpoint. We may emphatically disapprove of the last step of Norah. She had assumed responsibilities from which she could not shake herself free. But her supreme declaration that she was first of all a human being must stand undisputed. No doubt many a woman has not grasped the significance of that point. We shall be only too glad when all womankind has appreciated the import of that assertion. The regret of it is that they do not recognize it earlier in life.

It is one of the most striking features of this whole woman problem that as a problem it does not usually come home to woman until it is practically too late for her to make use of her experience in her own life. It is usually the woman passing on to middle age who is denying the generally accepted distinctions between men and women, raising the cry of rebellion and demanding new privileges. As a matter of fact it is rather exceptional when a young woman is troubled about the matter at all.

To a great many unquestionably "the slavery" is altogether unconscious. In fact they rather like it. They are happy in their chains. This is what especially angers the "progressive" woman of to-day. But what is to be done about it? You cannot arouse a spirit of rebellion unless there is misery. The people who are happy will not undertake to shake themselves free from the conditions which give them happiness. And where two people mutually surrender to each other and are happy in obeying each other, can you call it slavery?

Many a time I have read that touching cry of love and devotion which comes from Little Dorrit. It was

spoken by her, as you remember, in the cell of a debtor's prison.

"Never to part, never any more until the last! I never was rich before, I never was proud before, I never was happy before. I am rich in being taken by you, I am proud in having been resigned to you, I am happier in being with you in this prison, as I should be happy in coming back to it with you, if it should be the will of God, and comforting and serving you with all my love and truth. I am yours anywhere, everywhere! I love you dearly! I would rather pass my life here with you, and go out daily, working for our bread, than have the greatest fortune that ever was told, and be the greatest lady that ever was honored."

What shall we say about this? According to the theory of some of the "new women" those were highly reprehensible sentiments; they mean slavery. Yet if man could come to that standpoint and feel in just that same way, so that it should be mutual, would it be a bad kind of slavery? Good or bad, people would be very happy under it.

Now there is a disposition to assume that one ought to refuse to do the will of another just because it comes from another. But I see nothing grand or noble in taking such a stand. That is simply an exaggerated individualism. In the ideal relationship each one is surrendering to the will of the other, and there should be no thought of obedience or authority. Can we call that slavery? If such be the case, it would be a slavery that would give us heaven on earth right away. The more of that kind we have the better. The attitude of defiance just for the sake of defiance is harmful in the last degree. It simply means a slavery to one's self.

The unconscious slavery by which each one tries to pursue the wishes of the other is what I should call an ideal condition of freedom. It is what every true rela-

tionship should be. But always refuse to be treated singly as a thing. Slavery of that kind is sure to end in wretchedness; it can never imply happiness.

The demand on the part of any human being to do as one pleases is not necessarily a noble demand. Such a desire is rather the foundation of life in the jungle than of life in civilized human society. Against that sort of life we should all rebel, men and women alike. It is not worthy of the dignity of human nature. The grandeur of being a man, of being a soul, is that we are capable of obeying. A creature in the jungle can never obey. It only gives in because it *must*.

Now, in so far as the demand on the part of woman is for the opportunity of doing as she pleases, I have no sympathy with it. It is bad enough that men should display so much of that disposition. Woe betide the human race when it also takes possession of the soul of woman! This is the one feature I dread more than anything else in this whole agitation pertaining to the new woman. In so far as this is the attitude implied, it means a decline rather than an advance. "Defy conventionality?" Yes, in so far as its customs hamper or stifle the developing or aspiring soul. "Refuse to obey just because it is obedience?" No, emphatically not. Obedience does not necessarily imply checking or stifling the human soul. It all depends upon the spirit with which one obeys. Every human soul must be submisssive io law or else return to the condition of the brute in the jungle.

The whole point may turn on the question: Has man a right to command just because he is a man? and on that one point we hope that every woman, from one end of the world to the other, will emphatically say, No!

Now, as to the crucial question, Are there actual fundamental distinctions between man and woman which should make their spheres of life essentially different? The new woman is disposed to claim that the distinctions are arbitrary and that woman's soul has always been stifled or hampered just owing to these mistaken distinctions. Undoubtedly the tendency of the day is to deny them, partly for the reason that many of the distinctions *have* been arbitrary and unnatural. For that reason we can readily understand that the first demand of the new woman should be: "Why can I not live as man lives and do what man does?" In the long run, however, I have little dread of the influence of that claim. The two sexes will not become alike. A masculine woman is one step worse than an effeminate man.

Nevertheless, it is essential that we should study and appreciate the distinctions. The majority of the impressions on this subject are altogether mistaken. It is positively humorous to reflect upon the discussions as to the difference in size between the brain of woman and that of man.

Yet, as an actual fact, from the crown of his head to the soul of his feet, man is constructed differently from woman. The shape of the skull is not the same. The various sections of the brain are developed in unlike proportions. The pulse beat is quicker in woman than in man. There is a positive difference in the blood that circulates in the arteries. We can go on counting up these distinctions indefinitely. For the most part they are not differences which we can modify. They were fixed in the structure of the human being hundreds of thousands of years ago. Nature fixed them there.

Everything goes to show that there are like distinctions in the mental and spiritual structure of man and woman, although it requires a more subtle analysis in order to define and describe them. Woman herself, however, is well aware of them. We know very well the "new woman" denies such distinctions and is doing everything possible to disprove their existence. Yet she feels them all the time. It is taken somehow as demeaning to woman if we insist upon them. This is what most perplexes us. It is the glory of the human race that these distinctions actually exist. They are to be cultivated rather than suppressed; so that woman shall be more truly woman and man more truly man. You do not develop a person by thwarting his individuality. Then certainly you do not develop a sex by suppressing its characteristics.

To my mind this is why poetry strikes deeper than philosophy on the theme we are dealing with. Tennyson or Mrs. Browning see more clearly than Mary Wollstonecraft or John Stuart Mill. Woman stands for one thing in the spiritual world, man for another. There is no point to the questions about the "higher" or the "lower." You can no more compare them in that regard than you can determine whether poetry is a higher art than music, or painting than sculpture.

It is absolutely inconceivable that there should be all this physical difference without corresponding spiritual distinctions. The true development of any soul means its perfection along the lines to which it is adapted or for which it has peculiar gifts. The human being develops himself by discovering the true niche he has to fill in the service of the human race to which he belongs. Neither

man or woman is justified in undertaking to develop himself or herself as a wholly separate, independent being. Just as one man by his special gifts can render service to the community or human society in one way and not in another, so man as man, and woman as woman, can each render a special kind of service to the great brotherhood which constitutes humanity.

In so far as the disposition is to remove the landmarks of distinction and emphasize the points of resemblance between man and woman, I have not much sympathy with the new movement. What is really needed is that the new woman should undertake to analyze the true elements of distinction between herself and man, and then to emphasize them and make even more of them than before. It implies a sifting down of the whole subject, a destruction of many idle, mischievous illusions which have checked woman's development. It indicates that we need to find the *true basis* of difference. When that is done, half, if not all, the objections to the distinctions will disappear. The trouble has been that for the most part man has had the chief influence in pointing out the differences, and he has emphasized them to suit his own purpose or ambitions. When woman undertakes to do it in the true spirit, then everything will be otherwise.

We have only touched on the fact of these distinctions without undertaking to describe them. That would involve another chapter. It would imply a study of some of the great characters in literature. By that means more than any other way we could really analyze woman's character. The great poets and writers are often better judges than ourselves. They present the type, the picture, and it is there we can study it.

At the same time it is essential not to confuse mere tendencies with fundamental facts or laws in the nature of things. It is vital that woman should discover the points of distinction between herself and man, in so far as they are elemental and universal. But on the other hand it is equally important that she should discover those mere *tendencies* peculiar to her sex which hinder her development, but which may be partially overcome. It is to some extent owing to the neglect of this that so many women fail to realize their own ambition or aspirations. We need only to give one or two illustrations.

It is noticeable for instance that a girl's mind develops earlier in life than a boy's. She displays intellect sooner. Again and again it is manifest that the young girl will surpass the young boy in a great many ways. It is repeatedly observed that the young woman's mind is more quick and active than that of the young man. Oftentimes the woman of sixteen seems more advanced mentally than the man of twenty-five. But then comes the contrast. After they both pass about thirty years of age the man may go on developing and expanding in mind, whereas the *tendency* is for the woman's development to stop.

What stands in woman's way is this liability that the activity of the intellectual life may lessen just at the time when it might go on and accomplish the most. A certain "arrested development" takes place. And so we see how often it happens that many a woman of extraordinary promise early in life after all does not fulfil the high expectations awakened by the unusual gifts with which she may be endowed. We wonder at it and regret it, and seem unable to account for it. Now if

woman would only appreciate this mere tendency, which is characteristic of the very structure of her being, physically, mentally and spiritually, then by knowing it in advance she might be able to conquer it. One cannot get around facts or laws, but one *can* get around tendencies, if you know them beforehand.

You ask why it is that the two beings, man and woman, equally well endowed with the same active intellectual life at the outset, do not equal one another in what they accomplish later on. Again, we discern another similar tendency. Is it not mainly that the woman has not the original disposition to plod on *alone*, slowly, determinedly, energetically, for a score of years, in order to realize one purpose? This is what characterizes man more than woman. But just as soon as she realizes that tendency and feels that nature is against her, in that regard, it is possible to adjust her life so as to compel herself to overcome it. One may not be able to thwart nature altogether, but one can in part control it.

I am inclined to think that the time will come when these facts will be taught in the schools. We shall understand these distinctions so well that there will be no hesitation in emphasizing or pointing them out to the young so that they can be known in advance, and then one can undertake to defy them. A man of weak will can actually acquire a strong will by setting certain tasks for himself and planning his life in order to develop certain habits. Precisely in the same way the woman who may be subject to this tendency of arrested development, or to this reluctance to plod on alone, as the years pass by can fix certain habits that will hold her to her ambition when that tendency has begun to display itself.

The trouble is that people try to reason away these tendencies, explain them, account for them, instead of bending all their energies to the purpose of *conquering* them. Many a woman becomes indignant at the suggestion of arrested development and refuses to admit it. She explains it by the peculiarities of woman's life; and then by her disinclination to act upon the suggestion she becomes a conspicuous example of the very thing she is denying.

The "new woman" will not gain her point by being less but rather by being *more* of a woman.

I wonder sometimes whether the women, who, all over the world at the present time, are thinking over this subject, appreciate the responsibility upon themselves. One thinks of the saying of Shakespeare: "There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at its flood leads on to fortune." We apply this to individuals, but it is equally true of masses of men or masses of women. The tide in the affairs of woman is now coming to its flood. What she may be in the centuries hence depends a great deal on what takes place in the next quarter of a century. In the end it will be woman herself who decides it. The responsibility is with her, and it is a grave and solemn responsibility. The welfare of millions on millions of people in the future hangs on the course she now pursues. At this stage of the world she cannot throw the responsibility elsewhere. Now that woman has come to her self-conscius self, the choice depends upon her.

BAD WEALTH—HOW IT IS SOMETIMES GOT.

BY WILLIAM M. SALTER.

We should be students of our time. We should know what is right and wrong not only in our private lives, but in the conduct of affairs in the world about us. We should be able to put our hands on the weak spots in our body politic and say, as Matthew Arnold pictures Goethe doing of his own time,

"Thou ailest here, and here!"

We should not stop with generalities or ideals; we should apply them; we should see distinctly where society falls short of them; when we have sufficient knowledge, we should not fear to say, after the ancient prophet, "Thou art the man!"

It is in the spirit of the Ethical movement to do this. I well remember one of the things that first struck me in a discourse of its founder. In referring to the old ante-bellum days, he said that a Southern clergyman who should have taken for his text "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and should have preached the usual sermon upon it, would have been listened to with approval; but had he said, "Love thy neighbor, therefore free thy slaves," he might have caused a commotion.* General truths are apt to be dead, if we

* Cf., still earlier language of Professor Adler's: "The novelty of righteousness is not in itself but in its novel application to the particular unrighteousness of a particular age."—*Creed and Deed*, p. 164.

are not told what they mean. They become real when they are clothed in an instance. It is the high function of a public teacher of morality to shed the light of moral principles on living, actual tendencies. He should mount the watch-tower, and tell us how the battle is going, in our own country, in our own state, in our own city. His standpoint should be abstract justice and equity, but he should tell us what actions *are* just and equitable, and what are not. We should know what and whom we are to fight. We should know "where real right doth lie." It may be difficult to inform one's self, the facts may only come after investigation and study, but the public teacher of morality should inform himself,—that is a part of his task.

I speak to-day as a citizen and a patriot. My sole thought is for our country's welfare. I say things are going on among us that are dangerous to our peace and safety. We have enemies in our midst. "It is high time our bad wealth came to an end," said Emerson, and if he said it a quarter of a century or more ago, he might have repeated it with new emphasis to-day.

Wealth is a benefit to the world; to have more than the bare necessities of life is the condition of civilization. The creation of wealth, of an ample material basis for human existence, is a noble occupation. Every one who adds to the sum of useful and convenient things, whether it be by labor or by thought, is a servant of his kind.

But bad wealth belongs to a different category. By bad wealth I mean wealth in the hands of those who have not got it in honorable ways. Bad wealth means bad men—men who will trick and lie and steal and perhaps kill to the end of accumulating it, and who, because

the law is against this, will, if they can, corrupt the law and make themselves perhaps superior to the state itself. Bad wealth means congestion in the body politic, one part swollen and the rest ill-nourished; it means disease, degeneration, incipient death. It is the subtle enemy of us all, for it assails the common life of all; it makes the state, whence issue our liberties and our rights, an uncertain, troubled, thing—and justice, protection, and the public peace are less sure because of these foul hands polluting the springs of the nation's life.

But let us hasten to particulars. The facts I shall give are all to be found in a careful and detailed study of certain phases of our contemporary industrial life, Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth.** Mr. Lloyd is himself a man of means and has no prejudice against wealth. He has been an editor of one of the great Chicago dailies and is versed in affairs. He speaks whereof he knows, and the living pictures he spreads out on his pages with all the mastery of literary art are vouched for by references and foot-notes which enable every reader to go to the sources of information for himself. Fifteen years ago an article appeared from him in the *Atlantic Monthly*,† on the main subject of his book, and since then he has spared no labor and no time and no expense in continuing his investigations—examining, for instance, records of courts, proceedings of legislatures,

* This book is an uncommon one. The *Outlook* pronounces it "the most powerful book on economics that has appeared in the country since Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*." It's power lies partly in its graphic presentation of details and partly in its loftly ethical spirit. It is science, yet more than science; it is literature. And it is more than literature; it is prophecy.

† "The Story of a Great Monopoly," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1881.

reports of committees under state and national authority, findings of the Interstate Commerce Commission,—to the end of having reliable information. And—save from one critic who has been completely answered *—nowhere have his statements of fact been contested. I consider it a public duty to lay some of his facts before you.

In 1872 a blight began to fall on the oil industry that had been experiencing a rapid development in the United States, and particularly in the valleys of our Commonwealth. But while many were failing, a small group of men were rising by leaps and bounds into the possession of great wealth. Some of the methods they used were brought to light in an investigation made by the United States House of Representatives in March of that year. There had just been an increase of freight rates on oil on five of the great railroads of the country—the Pennsylvania Railroad being one of them. The business of the oil regions was paralyzed. Thousands of men were thrown out of work. The excitement was great even to the verge of violent outbreak. Then it was discovered that a secret contract existed between the railroads and the small group of men just referred to. The railroads had agreed

(1) To double freight rates,

(2) But not to charge the increase to these men,

(3) To give them the increase collected from all competitors,

(4) To make any other charges of rates necessary to guarantee their success in business,

*George Gunton in the *Social Economist*, July, 1895, on "The Integrity of Economic Literature," answered in the Boston *Herald*, October 23, 1895.

(5) To destroy their competitors by high freight rates,

(6) To spy out the details of their competitors' business.

The highest rates were, of course, to be ostensibly charged to all shippers—but to these the increase was to be paid back again—a "rebate." For instance, the rate on a barrel of petroleum carried to Cleveland—the headquarters of these men, where they carried on a refinery business—was 80 cents. When paid by themselves (they were known as the South Improvement Company) 40 cents were to go back to them; when paid by anyone else, the sum was not to be refunded, and was actually, extraordinary as it may seem, to be paid over to the South Improvement Company itself. The increase for greater distances was much more—on refined oil shipped to Boston the average increase on shipments in general would be about $1.32, so that the clever men who formed the Improvement Company were to have an income of a dollar a day on every one of the 18,000 barrels then being produced daily, whether they shipped (or received) them or not. Their struggling competitors sometimes asked the railroads why the rates were increased; the railroads gave no reason, they simply put up the rates.

This method of procedure was only an aggravation of what the men who embarked in the "improvement" enterprise had succeeded in having done before. Once a refiner in Cleveland, who did not belong to their number, went to the officials of the Erie and New York Central Railroads to ask for freight rates that would permit him to continue business. He got no satisfaction. "I am too good a friend of yours," said the representative

of the New York Central, "to advise you to have anything further to do with this oil trade." "Do you pretend that you won't carry for me at as cheap a rate as you will for anybody else?" "I am but human," the freight agent replied. Later the refiner saw the man who was then organizing the South Improvement Company. "You better sell," the man said, "you better get clear." Last of all he went to the head of the combination, since famous as the President of the Standard Oil Trust, in relation to selling out his works—for he saw it was this—either selling or dying. "He offered me fifty cents on the dollar, on the construction account," he afterwards reported, "and we sold out. He made this expression, I remember: 'I have ways of making money that you know nothing of.'"

The Improvement Company sought to shelter themselves behind the plea that "their calculation was to get all the refineries in the country into the company." The above is an instance of the way in which on occasion they proposed to go to work. As Mr. Lloyd says, one does not need to be "a business man" to see upon what footing buyer and seller would meet when the buyer had secret arrangements like these just described with the owners of the sole way to and from wells, refineries and markets. "I have ways of making money that you know nothing of." The dark saying becomes clear in the light of the contract brought out in the Congressional investigation.

I need hardly add that after the fierce indignation of the people in Pennsylvania and elsewhere these special contracts were abrogated. A lawyer from Venango county, since counsel for the oil combination itself, said

in the Constitutional convention of this Commonwealth a year later: "Had the companies not cancelled the contract which Scott and Vanderbilt and some others had entered into, I venture to say there would not have been one mile of railroad track left in the county of Venango—the people had come to that point of desperation." Yes, the South Improvement Company itself dissolved, so odious had it become. But the men who were active in this company were the same men who have since become notorious in managing the Standard Oil Company or Trust, and the methods they used then and had used before are the same they have continued to use, though not always in so aggravated a form—the railroads, or, more properly speaking, the railroad presidents or managers,* being all too willing partners in the conspiracy.

Let me pause here to make one or two discriminations. I have been speaking of the methods of what is known as a combination or trust. Now I am free to confess that I can conceive of circumstances that justify a combination. Suppose business men are blindly competing with one another; cutting prices so that they come near to ruining one another; it is legitimate and honorable of them to stop their mutual warfare and unite to keep prices at a level that will give them a fair wage for their labor. So the workingmen do in a union, so tradespeople have the right to do in a combination. Nobody

* This distinction should sometimes be sharply made. For as our Commonwealths create corporations that in certain cases become greater than themselves, so corporations sometimes give special officials power that makes them virtual masters of the corporation. Mr. Lloyd points out how time and again corporation officials act against the interest of stockholders.

wants cheapness—whether of labor or commodities—that means underpay for the producer.

Then, again, there is often no calculation of the market by competing producers. They produce wildly, each one by himself, and each anxious only to get to the market before his fellow; there is no concerted endeavor to know what the market really needs—and so every once in a while more is produced than can be disposed of. That is, after feverish activity, there comes a time when there is nothing to do. Business men find the depression hard enough; for many workingmen it may mean almost starvation. Now a combination or trust to wisely calculate the market and adjust production accordingly, and also maintain living prices, would seem to be an unobjectionable and a praiseworthy thing. Moreover, it ought, in the nature of the case, to bring economies with it, and the possibility of making lower prices to the public that should yet be good prices to the producer.

If trusts proceeded on these lines there would be nothing to say against them. And extenuating arguments of this description are generally urged in favor of the trusts and combinations of the present time. To some of these combinations they may apply. They may apply in a measure even to the oil combination. But in the main they seem to be in this case a pretense. They are like the genial claim sometimes made by our manufacturers that protection enables them to keep up wages. Perhaps it does enable them, but whether they do is another question. It is quite conceivable that oil or coal or cattle or railroad combinations should be better and should serve the country better than a host of separate, warring, blindly-competing enterprises, but the facts can

hardly be gathered by the use of the speculative method alone.

In the case of the oil combination, instead of joining all independent producers together in friendly relations and enabling them all alike to maintain living prices, as workingmen seek to maintain a living wage, it has often proceeded by ruining an independent producer, and its economies have rarely gone to the advantage of the public, save as some lingering competition has forced the result. Time and again with the destruction of competition and the saving thereby of waste, the prices of oil have risen, although the profits of the combination (and even of individual members of it) were already in the millions—just as last year our street car companies in Philadelphia signalized the economics involved in their consolidation by putting up their fares. The only gain normally belonging to a combination that I can discover in many of our trusts as actually conducted is something like a calculation of what the market is likely to be for the things produced, and so a steadier, more systematic production; they suffer less in hard times than unorganized industries do, and their workmen suffer correspondingly less, too.* But this gain to a few producers is largely offset by the high prices charged to consumers. "It is our pleasure to try to make oil cheap," the president of the Oil Trust once told Congress; but it has been the pleasure of the combination to make oil dear as often as it has had a chance to—and, by collusion with the railroads and other means, it has had many chances, and it has them still. The simple fact that things are cheaper than they were does not mean that they are cheap, as

* So Von Halle asserts, *Trusts*, pp. 129-133.

Mr. Lloyd says; it may be that they would have been cheaper anyway and that but for the combinations they would be cheaper now than they are.

But to return, the South Improvement Company (that had "improved" rather too fast for its own good) went down. The death, however, was figurative rather than real. It rose again. Substantially the same persons have gone on managing one sort of oil combination after another in the country, and they have pursued substantially the same methods. A professor in the University of Chicago says that whatever may be urged against one of the founders of the oil monopoly (who, it may be added, generously devoted somewhere from a fortnight's to a month's income,* in the shape of $600,000, to founding the University a few years ago) no one could say he had "accumulated his millions in any way that interfered with the accumulation of others." But within three years after the demise of the Improvement Company substantially the same parties made a contract with the Lake Shore Railroad to carry their products ten cents per barrel cheaper than for any other customers, and the Supreme Court of Ohio remarked on it: "The understanding was to keep the prices down for the favored customers, but up for all the others, and the inevitable tendency and effect of this contract was to enable the Standard Oil Company to establish and maintain an

* Readers must excuse the exactness of the estimate. The income in question is variously stated as from $9,000,000 up to $20,000,000 or $30,000,000. See *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, pp. 310, 409. The solicitor of the Trust (on its ostensible dissolution in 1892) stated that the majority of the stock was held by four men; the secretary of the Trust, on another occasion, put the income of one of the principal members of the Trust at $9,000,000, his own being $3,000,000.

overshadowing monopoly, *to ruin all other operators** and drive them out of the business."

Another instance may be given. Ten years later an unusually plucky man was trying to establish an independent refinery in Buffalo. The combination cut off his supply of oil, bought up the company that provided it, and destroyed its pipes. On his turning to the railroads to transport some oil for him, they put up their rates; even at the advanced rates they would not give him cars enough, and they would not let him put his own cars on the tracks. The lake steamers raised their rates against him, too. As to who instigated this remarkably united procedure there can be little doubt. No one need suppose that it was malice that was behind it; there is probably no such thing as pure malice in the world; the combination simply wanted all the money there was to be made out of oil for themselves. Sometimes they even said, as one of their agents remarked to a merchant who was persisting in selling opposition oil: "We do not wish to ruin you without giving you another chance." No ill will, but simply "business."†

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* The italics are mine.

† Instances of the unscrupulous methods of the oil combination could be multiplied indefinitely. They have always involved secrecy, generally dishonesty and frequently downright lying—now one official of the combination and now another distinguishing himself in this way. See particularly chaps. vi, vii, xi, xiv, xv-xviii (case of Rice) xxii (for once, an *unsuccessful* campaign against independent merchants, viz., in Columbus, Miss.), xxiii-xxvi (a struggle with a municipality, viz., Toledo, O.). Witnesses, says Mr. Lloyd, "have come forward all through the period between 1872 and 1892, and from every point of importance in the industry—New York, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Oil City, San Francisco, Titusville, Philadelphia, Marietta, Buffalo, Boston, Cincinnati, Louisville, Memphis, New Orleans. They have come from every province of the industry—the

But business can go to unexpected lengths sometimes. "The definite results," says Ruskin, "of all our modern haste to be rich is assuredly and constantly the murder of a certain number of persons by our hands every year." The oil combination has been willing to take risks of this sort at times. Officers of one of the subordinate companies belonging to it—a company directed at every turn by the great responsible men of the combination—were

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refineries, the oil fields, the pipe lines, railroads, the wholesale and retail markets. Bound together by no common tie of organization or partnership, they have, each and all, exactly the same story to tell. The substance of their complaint—that one selected knot of men, members of one organization, were given, unlawfully, the control of the highways, to the exclusion and ruin of the people—has been sustained by the evidence taken by every official investigation, and by the decision of every court to which the facts have been submitted.

As the counsel of the New York Chamber of Commerce before the New York legislative committee of 1879 said: "Such a power makes it possible to the freight agents of the railways to constitute themselves special partners in every line of business in the United States, contributing as their share of capital to the business the ability to crush out rivals." Men who can choose which merchants, manufacturers, producers shall go to market and which stay at home have a key that will unlock the door of every business house on the line; they know the combination of every safe" (*Wealth Against Commonwealth*, pp. 485, 486). The excuse often made by railroad managers for giving preferential rates to their favorites is that they are the "largest shippers," and, consequently, "entitled to a wholesale rate." But no principle of this sort has been followed in dealing with oil shippers. Rice, for example, who was the largest shipper at New Orleans, but whose ruin was being sought by the oil combination, was told by the railroad agent that the rates furnished him were "as low as furnished anybody else," but the Interstate Commerce Commission said: "This lacks accuracy" (*Wealth Against Commonwealth*, p. 223). These discriminations were made, as the commission afterwards stated, "on no principle. . . . Neither greater risks, greater expense, competition by water transportation, nor any other fact or circumstance brought forward in defence, nor all combined, can account for these differences" (*Trusts*, Congress, 1888, pp. 688, 689).

convicted in court of conspiring to blow up a rival's refinery, a plan accidentally failing, but not through any good intention of the conspirators. The witness and tool of the conspirators was spirited away and was paid richly for doing nothing for several years, and when the trial came off the great men of the trust were acquitted of blame (by the judge, not the jury) and the managers of the company, though convicted, got off with a fine of $250 each. At this rate crime may not actually cost so much as continuing to submit to the risk of competition.* Apparently the Whisky Trust argued in this way, not long ago, when it sought to have a bomb placed under a tank in the distillery of a powerful rival in Chicago. In this case the parties interested even succeeded in getting the suit against them dropped.† And possibly the railroads have argued in this way when they have allowed men to be slaughtered wholesale coupling cars rather than to go to the trouble and expense of devising approved appliances (it was shown in a debate in the United States Senate that the mortality from this cause was as great at one time in Chicago as it would have been if the men were in active service in war).

The power which the oil combination has developed

* The Philadelphia *Ledger* said, in commenting on the sentence: "As ridiculous as anything that could be imagined." The Erie *Dispatch:* "It can afford to blow up a rival refinery every day in the year at that price." The Springfield *Republican:* "Certain it is that no wealthy criminals convicted of such a crime ever before received from a court such a mockery of justice."

† See Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, chapter iii (the chapter is appropriately entitled "Prohibition that Prohibits") and Von Halle, *Trusts*, p. 76, n.

is simply colossal. We think the Pennsylvania Railroad a giant corporation. But the Pennsylvania Railroad once sought to go into the oil business for itself, and it did so only to be completely routed—going twice in the person of its vice-president "to Canossa," as Mr. Lloyd says (which was Cleveland), and getting peace and absolution only by selling its refineries and pipe lines and mortgaging its oil cars to the oil combination and promising never to make a similar attempt again. Dictated to, and no doubt continuously backed up by this superior power, the Pennsylvania Railroad has acted on a misinterpretation of certain language of the Interstate Commerce Commission and persisted in a certain discrimination in virtual defiance of the United States government itself. What I refer to is this: In the South (unlike the North and owing to local conditions) it was the custom to pay freight on barrels as well as on the oil contained in them. The commission, in a certain decision touching Southern traffic, referred to this fact. The decision was against "the most unjust and injurious discrimination against barrel shippers in favor of tank shippers," and the commission added: "Even then the shipper in barrels is at some disadvantage, for he must pay freight on barrels as well as oil." By "must pay," as everyone would interpret it in the connection, was meant "was paying." As the commission afterward explained, it was "rather a statement of a prevailing practice than a ruling." And it had reference only to the South. But the Pennsylvania Railroad, instigated by the combination, chose to take this passing phrase, "must pay freight on barrels," as an order. The road had carried the barrels of the independent refiners free for twenty years—just as it was

now carrying the newly contrived tank cars (owned by the combination). But from this time on it put a heavy and practically prohibitory tax on the barrels. The commission hastened to declare that the railroad misinterpreted its language. President Roberts had had the boldness to say: "The advance in rates has been forced upon us by the Interstate Commerce Commission." The commission wrote to him expostulating. It waited for more than a month for an answer, and, getting none, wrote again, saying that the statement was "misleading," "not true," and that there was nothing to show that an advance in rates was called for. All to no purpose. The railroad claimed to know the meaning of the commission's language better than the commission itself.

Not only the Pennsylvania, all the roads to the seaboard and New England, acted in this way. It was one hand, evidently, says Mr. Lloyd, that moved them all. Two years elapsed before the United States Government dared to give a positive order to a railroad to discontinue the discrimination against the independent refiners; and even then it did not give an order to the principal offender, the Pennsylvania Railroad. Two years more were taken to muster heart to face this corporation, and when it did so it was to no practical effect. Application for a reopening of the case was made by the Pennsylvania Railroad, delay after delay has since been granted, and "the end is not yet" (unless it is very recent). Meanwhile the independents have lost business, lost five years of life, and are now struggling against almost insuperable odds to get an outlet to the seaboard of their own.

Such is the sort of an irresponsible power we allow

to grow up in our midst. The oil combination has no conscience about corrupting officials, and men who are appointed in the different states to be inspectors of oil and to protect the public, it puts on its own pay roll.* Not only can it rule legislators, it is apparently able to put its counsel into chairmanships of state constitutional conventions † and to place judges in their seats,‡ and even to put men into the United States Senate § and into presidential cabinets and make them do good work for it there, as by getting subsidies for steamship lines in which it is interested or drawbacks on duties it has been obliged to pay.‖

It is well to become aware of these things. Wealth got in this way and used in this way does not make up for itself by contributing a little to a university, a church or a foreign mission. "The four most prominent men in the oil trust," says a prominent Baptist weekly, "are eminent Baptists, who honor their religious obligations and contribute without stint to the noblest Christian and philanthropic objects." But another Baptist journal (in Philadelphia, I am glad to say) quotes apropos of this remark what Macauley makes Milton say of similar pleas urged for King Charles:

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* See *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, p. 216, cf. pp. 320, 411.

† For example, the New York Constitutional Convention of 1894.

‡ For an instance, see *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, pp. 297-299.

§ See *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, chap. xxvii. Of the report of the Senate committee recommending *not* to investigate this case, Senator Hoar said: "The adoption of this majority report . . . will be the most unfortunate fact in the history of the Senate." When the vote not to investigate was announced Senator Edmunds remarked to his neighbor in the Senate: "This is a day of infamy for the Senate of the United States."

‖ *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, chap. xxviii.

"For his private virtues they are beside the question. If he oppress and extort all day, shall he be held blameless because he prayeth at night and morning?" "It will be a sorry spectacle," this paper continues, after referring to *Harper's Weekly*, "if the secular papers shall be ranged on the side of justice and the human race, while the defence of monopoly shall be left to the so-called representatives of the religious press." Perhaps the most appropriate language was used by a business journal. In commenting on the gift to the Chicago University, and taking for a text, "I hate robbery as a burnt offering," it said, "The endowment of an educational institution where the studies shall be limited to a single course, and that a primary course in commercial integrity, would be a still more advantageous outlet for superabundant capital. Such an institution would fill a crying want."

This playing as the patron of religion and education is about on a par with the recent efforts of the distinguished head of the oil combination in behalf of "good government." It seems that he wished to have a local road that cut through his princely estate in a country village in New York State closed. He magnanimously offered to meet five-sixths of the expense of thus yielding to his private wishes if the town would expend $1,000 more. The village president declined, appearing to think the offer not an advantageous one. Then, a village election impending, the oil magnate pronounced himself in favor of "good government" and put a "good government" ticket in the field, agreeing to employ the unemployed on the roads around the village and to contribute for this purpose. And so "good government"

won the day and—the public road (it may be supposed) will be closed.*

What is the lesson of all this?

The first is, I think, that it need not have been. It is not something natural and inevitable we have been contemplating. Combinations in one way may be a part of the progress of society. Orderly co-operation may be more and more the pathway of the future. Not so with combinations of this sort. They are largely criminal affairs—thriving on inequity, the worst iniquity. Had simply ordinary moral standards been regarded, they would never have taken the shape they have. They could not have arisen unless men had forgotten two tolerably old commandments—"Thou shalt not covet" and "Thou shalt not steal."

The second is the folly of treating the public highways as private property, with which owners may do as they like. Freedom for monopoly is but another name for tyranny. And if there are some things that are in the nature of the case monopolies, they never should become private property.† We have unlearned wisdom in this

* See the Chicago *Tribune* and *News* of March 18, 1896.

† Mr. Lloyd says: "New freedoms cannot be operated through the old forms of slavery. The ideals of Washington and Hamilton and Adams could not breathe under kingly rule. Idle to say they might. Under the mutual dependence of the inside and outside of things their charge has all through history always been dual. In order that the spirit that gave rebates may go to stay, the rebate itself must go. If the private use of private ownership of highways is to go, the private ownership must go. There must be no private use of public power or public property" (p. 523). Mr. Lloyd doubts the feasibility of regulation: "The possibility of regulation is a dream. As long as this control of the necessaries of life and this wealth remain private with individuals, it is they who will regulate, not we" (p. 533).

respect rather than gained it (or at least are but slowly getting it again under the pricks of fresh experience)—for as in the first English railway charters there were the minutest regulations as to freight and passenger charges, and the right of citizens to put their own cars on the tracks was securely guarded, so in America the early charters regulated the charges, limited the profits, gave citizens the right to put their private carriages on the road, and reserved to the state the right to take possession of the railroad upon proper payment. The struggle to-day, the struggle in which the United States, representing the whole people, is thus far the weaker party, is to bring to its place under the law wealth that has virtually made itself superior to law. For my part, I do not doubt which party will be the ultimate victor, but in the meantime there may be some sharp fighting. When I see the contumely poured upon our Commonwealth and upon the United States authorities by some of our great railroad corporations,* and the still greater combination that some-

* In addition to the instance already given the following facts may be stated: In 1873 the people of Pennsylvania adopted a constitution which forbade common carriers to mine or manufacture articles for transportation over their lines, or to buy land except for carrying purposes (the reason being that they discriminated in favor of themselves, against independent coal producers). The railroads have disobeyed these provisions. As a Congressional report (*Coal Combination*, 1893, p. xiii) says, they "have defiantly gone on acquiring title to hundreds of thousands of acres of coal, as well as of neighboring agricultural lands." They have been "aggressively pursuing the joint business of carrying and mining coal." So far from quitting it, they "have increased their mining operations by extracting bituminous as well as anthracite." Instead of enacting "appropriate legislation," as commanded by the new Constitution, to effectuate its prohibition, the Legislature has passed laws to nullify the Constitution by preventing forever any escheat to the state of the immense area of lands unlawfully held by the railroads. At last, the Interstate Commerce Com-

times directs them, I should like to see the fight made short and decisive.

Thirdly, the remedy is in the conscience, the organized conscience, of the community. A community of men wrapped up in their private affairs is bound to be ruled by unscrupulous wealth—as is more or less the case with Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to-day. Back of corrupt councils and legislatures are those who corrupt them. It is sometimes the very "respectability" of the community that thus fastens its masterful grip upon it. The good have got to combine as the bad do—those who love liberty as well as those who for ignoble ends are ready to destroy liberty. Republicanism and Democracy are antiquated issues.* The real power of the country is indifferently Republican or Democratic as the

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mission having been established, the independent mine owners of Pennsylvania appealed to it for justice in freight rates. Two years and a half were consumed in the proceedings. The commission decided that the rates the railroad in question charged were unjust and unreasonable, and ordered them reduced. But the decision has remained unenforced and cannot be enforced. Two years after the decision Congress, in 1893, found the rates fifty cents a ton higher than the commission had declared to be just and equitable. See *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, pp. 18, 19. Mr. Lloyd, after remarking that the Interstate Commerce Law provides for the imprisonment in the penitentiary of those guilty of the crimes it covers, says that the only conviction had under it has been of a shipper for discriminating against a railroad.

* The oil combination, for instance, owes nothing to the tariff and would thrive under a regime of complete free trade. It is independent of other issues, it may be added, that are sometimes thought to be alone of vital moment—e. q., the private ownership of land. It laid the foundations of its power and developed the greater part of its enormous wealth in a manufacturing business. Only of late has it begun to acquire and lease oil lands. As late as 1888 it produced only 200 barrels a day—about one of the 3,000 that were daily produced.

local situation requires.* What is wanted is a great united movement to make this power subject to the power of the people. All can help to this end. Women can. All of us by our thoughts are helping to determine the issue. The fate of a people lies prefigured in its thoughts.† Not dollars, nor arms, nor force of any kind can avail against thoughts.

"Mind is the spell which governs earth and heaven."

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* The president of the Sugar Trust was asked by a special committee of the United States Senate if he contributed to the state campaign funds. He said: "We always do that. . . . In the state of New York, where the Democratic majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it their way. In the state of Massachusetts, where the Republican party is doubtful, they probably have the call. . . . Wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls the local matters." *Supplemental report of Senator W. V. Allen, of the Senate special committee (ordered May 17, 1894) to investigate alleged attempts at bribery by the Sugar Trust.*

† This truth has, of course, its unhappy side. Mr. Lloyd impressively says: "We preach 'Do as you would be done by' in our churches, and 'A fair exchange no robbery' in our counting rooms, and 'All citizens are equal as citizens' in courts and Congress. Just as we are in danger of believing that to say these things is to do them and be them, there come unto us these men, practical as granite and gravitation. Taking their cue not from our lips, but from our lives, they better the instruction, and, passing easily to the high seats at every table, prove that we are liars and hypocrites. Their only secret is that they do, better than we, the things we are all trying to do, but of which in our morning and evening prayers, seen of all men, we are continually making believe to pray: Good Lord, deliver us! When the hour strikes for such leaders, they come and pass as by a law of nature to the front. All follow them. It is their fate and ours that they must work out to the end the destiny woven of their own insatiate ambition and the false ideals of us who have created them and their opportunity" (pp. 509, 510). Again, "Our tyrants are our ideals incarnating themselves in men born to command. What these men are we have made them. All governments are representative governments; none of them more so than our government of industry" (p. 513).

O, for a great mind in the American people !*

* Mr. Lloyd does not despair of the result. He says, in closing his book : "It is not a verbal accident that science is the substance of the word conscience. We must know the right before we can do the right. When it comes to know the facts the human heart can no more endure monopoly than American slavery or Roman empire. The first step to a remedy is that the people care. If they know, they will care. To help them to know and care ; to stimulate new hatred of evil, new love of the good, new sympathy for the victims of power, and, by enlarging its science, to quicken the old into a new conscience, this compilation of fact has been made. Democracy is not a lie. There live in the body of the commonalty the unexhausted virtue and the ever-refreshened strength which can rise equal to any problems of progress. In the hope of tapping some reserve of their powers of self-help this story is told to the people."

ADDRESS OF MAY 15TH, 1876.

At Standard Hall, New York.*

BY FELIX ADLER.

FOR a long time the conviction has been dimly felt in the community that, without prejudice to existing institutions, the legal day of weekly rest might be employed to advantage for purposes affecting the general good. During the past few years this conviction has steadily gained in force and urgency, until lately a number of gentlemen have been impelled to give it shape and practical effect.

Conceiving that in so laudable an enterprise they may justly hope for the sympathy and co-operation of the friends of progress, they have invited you to join in their deliberations this evening, and upon me devolves the task of stating, as frankly and plainly as may be, the end we have in view and the means by which its achievement will be attempted. At such a time, when we are about to set forth on a path hitherto untried and likely to lead our lives in a new direction, it appears eminently desirable and proper that we should, in the first place, briefly review the public and private life of the day, in order to determine whether the essential elements that make up the happiness of states and indi-

* Given at the meeting called to organize the first Society for Ethical Culture.

viduals are all duly provided, and if not, where the need lies and how it can best be supplied.

On the face of it, our age exhibits certain distinct traits in which it excels all of its predecessors. Eulogies on the nineteenth century are familiar to our ears, and orators delight to descant upon all the glorious things which it has achieved. Its railways, its printing presses, its increased comforts and refined luxuries—all these are undeniable facts, and yet it is true none the less, that great and unexpected evils have followed in the train of our successes, and that the moral improvement of nations and their individual components has not kept pace with the march of intellect and the advance of industry. Before the assaults of criticism many ancient strongholds of faith have given way, and doubt is fast spreading even into circles where its expression is forbidden. Morality, long accustomed to the watchful tutelage of faith, finds this connection loosened or severed, while no new protector has arisen to champion her rights, no new instruments been created to enforce her lessons among the people. As a consequence we behold a general laxness in regard to obligations the most sacred and dear. An anxious unrest, a fierce craving desire for gain has taken possession of the commercial world, and in instances no longer rare the most precious and permanent goods of human life have been madly sacrificed in the interests of momentary enrichment.

Far be it from me, indeed, to disparage the importance of commerce or to slight its just claims as an agent in the service of humanity. In a country of such recent civilization as ours, whose almost limitless treasures of material wealth invite the risks of capital and

the industry of labor, it is but natural that material interests should absorb the attention of the people to a degree elsewhere unknown. But all the more on this account it is necessary to provide a powerful check and counterpoise, lest the pursuit of gain be enhanced to an importance never rightfully its own, lest, in proportion as we enhance our comfort and well-being, comfort and well-being become the main objects of existence, and life's grander motives and meanings be forgotten. We have already transgressed the limit of safety, and the present disorders of our time are but precursors of other and imminent dangers. The rudder of our ship has ceased to move obedient to the helm. We are drifting on the seething tide of business, each one absorbed in holding his own in the giddy race of competition, each one engrossed in immediate cares and seldom disturbed by thoughts of larger concerns and ampler interests. Even our domestic life has lost much of its former warmth and geniality. The happy spirits of unaffected content and simple endearment are sadly leaving our low-burnt hearth-fires. Fagged and careworn the merchant returns to his home in the evening. He finds his children weary. His own mind is distracted. In these troublous times business cares not unfrequently dog him even into the seclusion of the family circle. How, then, is he to discover that tranquil leisure, that serenity of soul which he needs to be a true father to his little ones. He cannot form their characters; he cannot justly estimate their needs. Perforce he leaves their education in part to the wife—and modern wives have their own troubles and are often but little fitted to undertake so arduous a task—in part he must abandon it to strangers.

It has been said that the modern world is divided between the hot and hasty pursuit of affairs in the hours of labor, and the no less eager chase of pleasure in the hours of leisure. But even our pleasures are calculated and business like. We measure our enjoyments by the sum expended. Our salons are often little better than bazars of fashion. We wander about festive halls, chewing artificial phrases which we neither believe nor desire to be believed. We breathe a stale and insipid perfume from which the spirit of joy has fled. The brief exhilaration of the dance, the physical stimulus of wine and of food, the nervous excitement of a game of hazard, perhaps these make up the sum total of enjoyment in by far the majority of our so-called parties of pleasure. Surely, of all things melancholy in American life, American mirth is the most melancholy! And were it not for Music—that divine comforter which sometimes wins us to higher flights of emotion and speaks in its own wordless language of an ideal beauty and harmony far transcending the prosy aspirations to which we confess—our life would be utterly blank and colorless. We should be like the bees that build, they know not why, and hive honey whose sweetness they never enjoy. There is a great and crying evil in modern society. It is want of purpose It is that narrowness of vision which shuts out the wider vistas of the soul. It is the absence of those sublime emotions which, wherever they arise, do not fail to exalt and consecrate existence. True, the void and hollowness of which we speak is covered over by a fair exterior. Men distil a subtle sort of intoxication from the ceaseless flow and shifting changes of affairs, and the deeper they quaff the more

potent for awhile is the efficacy of the charm. But there comes a time of rude awakening. A great crisis sweeps over the land. The sinews of trade are relaxed, the springs of wealth are sealed. Old houses, whose foundations seemed as lasting as the hills, give way before the storm. Reverse follows reverse. The man whose energies were hitherto expended in the accumulation of wealth finds himself ruined by the wayside. His business has proved a failure. Is his life, too, therefore a failure? Is there no other object for which he can still live and labor? Nor need we turn to such seasons of unusual disaster in order to exhibit the instability and insufficiency of the common motives of life. There are accidents to which we all are alike exposed and which none, however favored by fortune, can hope to avoid. A blight comes upon our affections. The dearest objects of our solicitude are taken from us. Our home is darkened with the deep darkness of the shadow of death. In such hours, what is to keep our heart from freezing in chill despair, to keep our head high and our step firm, if it be not the deep-seated, long and carefully matured conviction, that man was set into the world to perform a great and unselfish work, independent of his comfort, independent even of his happiness, and that in its performance alone he can find his true solace, his lasting reward? To arouse such courage, to build up and buttress such a conviction, would not this be a loyal and much-needed service?

Where the roots of private virtue are diseased, the fruit of public probity cannot but be corrupt.

When on the 30th of April, 1789, General Washington was for the first time inducted into the presidential

office in this city of New York, he declared that "the national policy would be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality." And he appealed to the wisdom and integrity of those first legislators whom the country had chosen under its new constitution, as a pledge and safeguard of the Republic's future welfare. Could he return to us now in this season of jubilation, how sadly altered would he find the condition of our affairs! There is not a morning's journal that reaches us that is not besmirched with tales of theft and perjury. The very names that ought to be held up as luminaries of honor have become bywords of villany, and the foul stench of corruption fills our public offices. See how the Nation, in this the festal epoch of her marriage to Liberty, stands blackened with the crimes of her first dignitaries, and hides her head in shame before the nations! And for what have these miserable men bartered away their honor and that of the people? For the same unhallowed und unreasoning desire of rapid gain which has brought such heavy disaster upon the commercial world: to support the extravagance of their households; to deepen, perhaps, the potations of a carousal! Statesmen and philanthropists are busy suggesting remedies for the cure of these great evils. But the renovation of our Civil Service, the reform of our Primaries, and whatever other measures may be devised, they all depend in the last instance upon the fidelity of those to whom their execution must be intrusted. They will all fail unless the root of the evil be attacked, unless the conscience of men be aroused, the confusion of right and wrong checked, and the loftier purposes of our

being again brought powerfully home to the hearts of the people.

I have spoken of our private needs and of the larger claims of the public well-being. But another question now presents itself, fraught with deeper and tenderer meanings even than these. The children, the heirs of all the great future, what shall we do for them? Into this world of sinfulness and sorrow, with its thousandfold snares and sore temptations, shall we let their white souls go forth without even an effort to keep them stainless? Do you not struggle and toil and trouble, that you may leave them, when you die, some little store of earthly goods, something to make their life easier, perhaps, than yours has been—that you may turn to your long sleep, knowing that your children shall not want bread? And for that which is far more precious than bread shall we make no provision? When your bodies have long been mouldering in the grave, they will live, men and women, fighting the world's battles and bearing the world's burdens like yourselves. Would you not feel the benign assurance that they will be true men and noble women? that the fair name which you transmit to them will ever be clean in their keeping? that they will be strong even in adversity, because they believe in the destiny of mankind and in the dignity of man? And what efforts do we make to attain this end? We teach them to repeat some scattered verses of the Bible, some doctrine which at their time of life they can but half comprehend at best; and then, at thirteen or fourteen, at the very age when doubt begins to arise in the young heart, when in its inefficient gropings towards the light, youth stands most in need of friendly help and counsel

we send them out to shift for themselves. Is it with such an armor that we can equip them for the hard hand-to-hand fight of after-life? Or do you conceive a magic charm, a talismanic power to guard from evil, to reside in these empty words which you teach your children's lips to spell?

Already complaints are multiplying on every hand that that most gracious quality of all that adorns the age of childhood—the quality of reverence—is fast fading from our schools and households; that the old-time respect for father and mother is diminished, and grown rarer and more uncertain. Twenty years ago, what high prophecies did we not hear of the future of the generation then growing up! What inspiriting promises of the full bloom into which the still closed petals of their life would one day open! Have the young men of the present day fulfilled these pledges? Has the passive reverence of the child developed into the active aspiration of the man? Do you find them in the higher walks of their professions—I say take them as a whole, and set aside a few brilliant exceptions—have they illustrated the sterling qualities of the race they sprang from, the dearer virtues of our common humanity? We have sown the seeds of long neglect. We are but reaping the bitter Sodom fruit of dead hopes and fair promises turned to ashes. And now I need not appeal to your business instincts to show that any change, if it is to come—and a change must come—can be brought about only, first, by united effort; secondly, by applying that great principle which has been the secret of the enormous progress of industry and com-

merce in the past century—the salutary principle of *division of labor*.

You do not build your own houses, nor make your own garments, nor bake your own bread, simply because you know that if you were to attempt all these things they would all be more or less ill done. But you go to the builder to build your house, to the baker to bake your bread, because you know that in limitation there is power, that limitation and combination are the essentials of success. On this account you limit your own energies to some one of the many callings which society has marked out, and by combination with your fellows, are certain that in proportion as your own part is well performed, you may command the best services in every department in exchange for what you offer. What is true of material wants is also pertinent in the case of intellectual needs. If you desire information on some point of law, you are not likely to ponder over the ponderous tomes of legal writers in order to obtain the knowledge you seek, by your own unaided efforts. But you apply to some one in the profession in whose abilities you see reason to confide. The same holds good in every department of knowledge. In every case you turn to the specialist, trusting that, if from any source at all, you will obtain from him the best of what you need. Nor is it otherwise in education. For though you possess a sufficient knowledge of the branches taught in our schools, yet you are well aware that it is one thing to know, and quite another to impart knowledge. And so again you step aside in your own persons to intrust the office of training your children in the arts and sciences to an instructor, to a specialist. And if all this

be true, then it follows that, if the *moral* elevation of ourselves, the *moral* training of our children, be also an object worth achieving, ay, if it be the highest object of our life on earth, then we dare not trust for its accomplishment to the sparse and meager hours which the busy world leaves us. Then, here as elsewhere, society must set apart some who shall be specialists in this, who shall throw all the energy of temper, all the ardor of aspiration, all the force of heart and intellect, into this difficult but ever glorious work.

The past speaks to us in a thousand voices, warning and comforting, animating and stirring to action. What its great thinkers have thought and written on the deepest problems of life, shall we not hear and enjoy? The future calls upon us to prepare its way. Dare we fail to answer its solemn summons?

And now for all these purposes we propose to unite our efforts in association, and to set apart one day of the seven as a day of weekly reunion,—a day of ease, that shall come to repair the wasted energies of body and mind, and whereon, in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity, the finer relations of our being may find time to acquaint us with their sweet and friendly influences. What that day shall be it is not for us to determine. The usages of American society have long since settled that practically it is, and for the present at least can be, only the Sunday. This is the sole day of respite whereon the great machine of business pauses in its operations, and leaves you to direct your thoughts to other than immediate cares. In the ancient synagogue the Monday and Thursday, in the early church the Wednesday and Friday, were set apart for purposes of

higher instruction, over and above the stated Sabbath meetings. If the Monday, the Thursday, the Wednesday, or the Friday had in our community been eliminated from the week of labor, we should accept any one of them with the same willingness. The name of the day is immaterial. It is the opportunity it offers with which alone we are here concerned. And how others see fit to spend the day is foreign to our consideration, and whatever mischievous construction may be placed upon our work will quickly be dispelled, depend upon it, by the character and testimony of the work itself. The young men, at all events, can desist from labor upon no other day than the Sunday. Heads of firms may, if they see fit, incur the risk of taking an exceptional position in the business community ; but the young men, who depend upon others for patronage and employment, cannot in this matter select their own course, and if they attempt it will be met by innumerable and insuperable obstacles at every step. But it has been urged by some that the Sunday should be devoted to the intimate intercourse of the domestic circle, from which our merchants are so often debarred at other times. This is an honorable motive, surely, which we are bound to respect. But is it, indeed, believed that a single hour spent in serious contemplation will at all unduly infringe upon the time proper to the home circle? Rather will it give a higher tone to all our occupations, and lend a newer and fresher zest even to those enjoyments which we need and seek.

The exercises of our meetings are to be simple and devoid of all ceremonial and formalism. They are to consist of a *lecture* mainly, and, as a pleasing and grate-

ful auxiliary, of *music* to elevate the heart and give rest to the feelings. The object of the lectures shall be twofold: First, to illustrate the history of human aspirations, its monitions and its examples; to trace the origin of many of those errors of the past whose poisonous tendrils still cling to the life of the present, but also to exhibit its pure and bright examples, and so *to enrich the little sphere of our earthly existence by showing the grander connections in which it everywhere stands with the large life of the race.* For, as the taste is refined in viewing some work of ideal beauty—some statue vivid with divine suggestion, some painting glowing with the painter's genius—so in the contemplation of large thoughts do we ourselves enlarge, and the soul for a time takes on the grandeur and excellency of whatever it truly admires. Secondly, it will be the object of the lecturers to set forth a standard of duty, to discuss our practical duties in the practical present, to make clear the responsibilities which our nature as moral beings imposes upon us in view of the political and social evils of our age, and also to dwell upon those high and tender consolations which the modern view of life does not fail to offer us even in the midst of anguish and affliction. Do not fear, friends, that a priestly office after a new fashion will be thus introduced. The office of the public teacher is an unenviable and thankless one. Few are there that will leave the secure seclusion of the scholar's life, the peaceful walks of literature and learning, to stand out a target for the criticism of unkind and hostile minds. Moreover, the lecturer is but an instrument in your hands. It is not to him you listen, but to those countless others that speak to you through him in

strange tongues, of which he is no more than the humble interpreter. And what he fails to express, what no language that was ever spoken on earth can express—those nameless yearnings of the soul for something better and happier far than aught we know of—Music will give them utterance and solve and soothe them.

We propose to entirely exclude prayer and every form of ritual. Thus shall we avoid even the appearance of interfering with those to whom prayer and ritual, as a mode of expressing religious sentiment, are dear. And on the other hand we shall be just to those who have ceased to regard them as satisfactory and dispensed with them in their own persons. Freely do I own to this purpose of reconciliation, and candidly do I confess that it is my dearest object to exalt the present movement above the strife of contending sects and parties, and at once to occupy that *common ground* where we may all meet, believers and unbelievers, for purposes in themselves lofty and unquestioned by any. Surely it is time that a beginning were made in this direction. For more than three thousand years men have quarrelled concerning the formulas of their faith. The earth has been drenched with blood shed in this cause, the face of day darkened with the blackness of the crimes perpetrated in its name. There have been no direr wars than religious wars, no bitterer hates than religious hates, no fiendish cruelty like religious cruelty; no baser baseness than religious baseness. It has destroyed the peace of families, turned the father against the son, the brother against the brother. And for what? Are we any nearer to unanimity? On the contrary, diver-

sity within the churches and without has never been so widespread as at present. Sects and factions are multiplying on every hand, and every new schism is but the parent of a dozen others. And it must be so. Let us make up our minds to that.

The freedom of thought is a sacred right of every individual man, and diversity will continue to increase with the progress, refinement, and differentiation of the human intellect. But if difference be inevitable, nay, welcome in thought, there is a sphere in which unanimity and fellowship are above all things needful. Believe or disbelieve as ye list—we shall at all times respect every honest conviction. But be one with us where there is nothing to divide—in action. *Diversity in the creed, unanimity in the deed!* This is that practical religion from which none dissents. This is that platform broad enough and solid enough to receive the worshipper and the "infidel." This is that common ground where we may all grasp hands as brothers, united in mankind's common cause. The Hebrew prophets said of old, To serve Jehovah is to make your hearts pure and your hands clean from corruption, to help the suffering, to raise the oppressed. Jesus of Nazareth said that he came to comfort the weary and heavy laden. The philosopher affirms that the true service of religion is the unselfish service of the common weal. There is no difference among them all. There is no difference in the law. *But so long have they quarrelled concerning the origin of law that the law itself has fallen more and more into abeyance.* For indeed, as it is easier to say, "I do not believe," and have done with it, so also it is easier to say, "I believe," and thus to

bribe one's way into heaven, as it were, than to fulfil nobly our human duties with all the daily struggle and sacrifice which they involve. "The proposition is peace!" Peace to the warring sects and their clamors, peace also of heart and mind unto us—that peace which is the fruition of purest and highest liberty. Let religion unfurl her white flag over the battlegrounds of the past, and turn the fields she has desolated so long into sunny gardens and embowered retreats. Thither let her call the traveler from the dusty high-road of life to breathe a softer, purer air, laden with the fragrance of the flowers of wonderland, and musical with sweet and restful melody. There shall he bathe his spirit in the crystal waters of the well of truth, and thence proceed again upon his journey with fresher vigor and new elasticity.

Ah, why should there be any more the old dividing line between man and his brother-man? why should the fires of prejudice flare up anew between us? why should we not maintain this common ground which we have found at last, and hedge it round, and protect it—the stronghold of freedom and of all the humanities for the long years to come? Not since the days of the Reformation has there been a crisis so great as this through which the present age is passing. The world is dark around us and the prospect seems deepening in gloom. And yet there is light ahead. On the volume of the past in starry characters it is written—the starry legend greets us shining through the misty vistas of the future—that the great and noble shall not perish from among the sons of men, that the truth will triumph in the end, and that even the humblest of her servants may in this

become the instruments of unending good. We are aiding in laying the foundations of a mighty edifice, whose completion shall not be seen in our day, no, nor in centuries upon centuries after us. But happy are we, indeed, if we can contribute even the least towards so high a consummation. The time calls for action. Up, then, and let us do our part faithfully and well. And oh, friends, our children's children will hold our memories dearer for the work which we begin this hour.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE

OF NEW YORK,

CARNEGIE HALL, FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 15TH, 1896.*

ADDRESS BY ALFRED R. WOLFF.†

Well may the joyous strains of solemn music fill the air, well may the glorious beauty of blooming flowers greet the eye, for we are here to-night to celebrate a great occasisn. Oh, that our feeble speech could as fittingly translate the gladness of the heart!

Imbued with a love for the Society and for the principles it inculcates, we rejoice in our existence these twenty years. We rejoice in what has been accomplished in the past; we rejoice still more in the greater and better things to be accomplished in the future. We rejoice that our movement has spread and is spreading on fruitful soil here and abroad, in the new world and in the old. We rejoice that new and strong leaders have espoused our

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*The Hall was beautifully decorated with flowers, and fine classical music was rendered, before and after each address, by the Musical Art Society of New York, under the direction of Mr. Frank Damrosch.

† On behalf of the members of the Society for Ethical Culture of New York.

cause. We rejoice that our own distinguished leader, he who called this great movement into existence and who has been its fountain source, our trusted and beloved guide these many years, is with us to-day, in the prime of his power, undimmed in intellect, ripe in experience, rich in soul, his life bound up with and consecrated to the cause.

Those of us who, looking backward, remember the many prophecies of our speedy and effective dissolution, cannot but feel that the very fact of having existed twenty years counts for much, for in all this time there has been no backsliding, no change of principle, no change of heart, merely a healthy development and a vigorous growth.

We hold in grateful memory the small band of earnest men who launched the ship and helped steer it in the right course. We glory in their enthusiasm and self-sacrifice, and, kindled by their example, we resolve that henceforth our efforts will be more worthy of theirs.

We are attached to our Society. We believe in the principles it represents. We recognize that nothing should be left undone to discover the right. We favor the broadest inquiry, we court the deepest philosophy, the closest introspection, but the mere formulation of the right in the abstract does not satisfy our needs. We know that the right must be translated practically into every action of our lives. Our home life must show plain evidence of this, so must our career in business or in the professions. Our duties as citizens must be conceived in a high spirit, and the great social reforms and humanitarian problems of the world must claim our hearty co-operation and loving devotion. We may be

frail and weak and not always succeed, but we recognize the obligation, even when we score a failure.

In the existing complex and interwoven organization of society the individual is dependent on his fellowmen, and right living is difficult, not to say impossible, if there be not a congenial and responsive environment. It is this which makes association of those who would discover and act the right so important; it is the answer to those who would favor individualism in ethics and discourage societies for ethical culture. The moral hero may need no impulse from without, for him temptations may not exist, but the ordinary mortal, anxious to live his part well, requires spiritual companions, the hand of fellowship, the strength of good example, encouragement, and a sympathetic surrounding. Then, too, the social conditions are still so bad, there is so much remedial and curative work to be done, that only co-operation and the active association of many can accomplish even slight changes in the right direction. Our individualistic moral hero may lead a beautiful inspiring life passively, but to do so with equal success actively he cannot ignore the outer world, but must co-operate with other spirits whose aims are high. We, members of the Society for Ethical Culture, know we are but ordinary mortals who need the light of wisdom and inspiration which others wiser and better can give us; who need the strength which comes from high endeavor, from union in a good cause, the fellowship of congenial souls, and, therefore, we are banded together. We feel we are better fitted to do our part in the world's work because of this union.

On this, our twentieth anniversary, it is pardonable to note with gratification that we have been enabled to con-

tribute our little share to some important educational and social reforms. Our Workingman's School, in which the training of the hand, the mind, and the heart is brought into one harmonious union, in which culture in its broadest sense is the goal, is rated by educators the world over as a pioneer institution of undoubted success, a far-reaching influence for the good. The district nursing system, which has brought relief to many sufferers has proved of such value that it has become a regular institution of the leading Dispensaries. We might recall much other important work, but let us rather in this hour of joy and happiness feel that what has been done is as nothing to what has been left undone and still remains to be done. Let us rather contemplate the past in the spirit of consecration and dedication to the future, resolved that henceforth we will strive to do better, and, above all, to be better. For it is the inward peace which we must gain: so to live that we feel in touch with the divine purpose which permeates the world. To the extent we realize this, to that extent do we realize the spirit of religion, which should be the flower of an ethical inspiration, of an ethical life. The more our souls are filled with and guided by the love of the right, the more our every action and principle in life is the outgrowth and the logical result of this spirit, the greater will be our achievement, the greater our peace, and there will come to us a faith in the triumph of the right which is certainly akin to, if it be not, religion.

Because this is our belief, therefore are we members of the Society. To us the Society represents a vital issue and a vital force. It is not a club, it is not a purely secular organization; we cherish it as an aid and a necessity to our

soul-life. It represents to us a church, teaching no tenet inconsistent with the severest logic and the profoundest science, but still a church, for it recalls to us our relation to the life universal and bids us do our part fittingly, manfully, well, despite any discouragements, despite any hardships, despite any temptations. It teaches the ultimate triumph of the right, and that it is our part to be a factor and an agent to help bring about this triumph.

I have spoken as a member of the crew. The ship we sail is steering for the City of the Light. Far distant as we are from the coveted shore, our trained and faithful captains feel its magnetic influence. Inspired, they describe to us their vision and bid us follow them and work with renewed, untiring energy. We know we cannot reach the shore, but we are happy in the thought that our work may bring the ship nearer its destination. It is a noble cruise. We recall to-night that we have sailed the ship for twenty years; we have made some headway on the voyage. Privileged to be of the crew, we proclaim our eagerness to continue the voyage bound for the same goal, under the same fine guidance, our hearts full of joy that we can do our small part in the onward course of the good ship. With Longfellow we say:

> "In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
> In spite of false lights on the shore,
> Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
> Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
> Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
> Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
> Are all with thee—all with thee!"

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM M. SALTER.

Members of the Society for Ethical Culture, this is a glad day for you here. But it is my privilege to say that beyond the city of New York there are those who are rejoicing with you. This is a local anniversary, but it awakens a national, I might say, an international interest. You of this Society have started a stream of influence—and the stream may be stronger at its fountain head than anywhere else—but it is a stream that has reached other cities and other lands and has refreshed dry and thirsty hearts wherever it has gone.

Six years after you began here, a kindred society sprang up in Chicago. Two years later, a society arose in Philadelphia. In one year more the St. Louis Ethical Society was born. And the proudest testimony which these spiritual children of your leader could give to him is that so much of his vitality and vigor has passed into them that even without him they could hold a successful convention—in some respects the most successful convention the American Ethical Societies ever had—recently in St. Louis (in connection with the tenth anniversary of the local Society). A few years later yet, the West London Ethical Society formed itself under the leadership of Dr. Coit, and since then three other societies have been formed in that great city. Germany, too, has given birth to an ethical movement, and through Germany the movement has gone to Austria, Italy and Switzerland. France has an at least similar movement, though not so directly an offspring of the American movement as those in other countries. All of these

societies are rejoicing in your anniversary to-day, or would, if they knew of it.

Out of several messages that have been received I will read these two :

VIENNA, May 15, 1896.

Felix Adler, New York :

Heartiest wishes from Austrian Ethical Society.

BREZINA, *President.*

BERLIN, May 15, 1896.

Felix Adler, New York :

To to-day's celebration the German Society for Ethical Culture sends most cordial good wishes and fraternal gratitude.

As I came over on the train from Philadelphia this morning I read the address made by your leader in Standard Hall just twenty years ago. I marveled at the clear vision and the firm hand with which he portrayed the evils of the time which your Society was designed to meet, and when he said at the close : "And oh, friends, our childrens' children will hold our memories dearer for the work which we begin this hour," I wondered if he had any idea of children in the larger and less local sense, such as those to whom I have referred. Children from afar as well as those in New York, children whom you may never see, as well as those growing up under your eyes, rise up in spirit and bless you for the bold, brave stand taken by your leader twenty years ago, and for the ready and ever loyal response which you have given to his appeals. Few men, I think, have accomplished so much in twenty years as Felix Adler, particularly in so difficult a field as that of moral reform ; and after all, the work is but in its beginnings.

One actual problem now is to hold the ethical move-

ment together. It has grown so large, it is spreading so rapidly, that it is even difficult to keep track of it—not to say, hold it together in bonds of conscious fellowship. With the new day we need new institutions. We need what I might call a Home and Foreign Secretary who should keep in touch with the societies, old and new, and keep them in touch with one another. We do not wish to have the movement disintegrate and split up into mere local, self-centered, organizations, but to remain one body and to have a common spirit and a common life. There is danger of irresponsible societies arising and doing injury as well as good to our cause, unless we are alert to these needs and aggressive in meeting them.

And then how great the need of leaders! There is not a large city in our land in which an Ethical Society might not be planted, had we the right men to put at their head. And in a new movement, leaders are absolutely necessary. Interest, even enthusiasm, are not sufficient. There must be intelligent direction. What an opportunity is thus open to young men—yes, I might add, young women! The fact is our movement is growing beyond our power to wisely direct it—at once a splendid tribute to you who begot it and yet a matter for anxious concern and serious consideration.

Yes, friends of the New York Society, there is just one thing that gives me disappointment in these twenty years of your history. You and your leader have left a noble record of yourselves in the large undertakings of public utility you have set on foot in this city, in the elevated utterances from your platform, in the example and the help you have lent to sister societies elsewhere.

But you have not given us another ethical leader out of your own midst. And we need one. We need one born and bred under the influences that have only come to the rest of us in later years, and that, had they come earlier, might have made us twice the men that we are. Yes, why shall I not say it? We need another son of Israel, one of that race to whom imagination and genius and eloquent speech come like gifts of nature, who can fire the heart as perhaps we of colder blood cannot, and of whom, according to an authority revered all over the Christian world, human salvation comes. Would there were within reach of my voice to-night some one who in all humility, and yet in all confidence, might heed the call, on whom the rich mantle of your leader might fall and who might do elsewhere the great and beneficent work which he has been doing here! If I could drop a thought of this sort into fruitful ground here I should count myself happy indeed.

Society for Ethical Culture of New York, your friends and children from near and from far greet you through me now; we want more like you, we want more leaders like yours!

ADDRESS BY M. M. MANGASARIAN.

Not having received the manuscript of Mr. Mangasarian's address, we can only give a brief resume of what he said. He began by saying that he wished to congratulate the New York Society upon the great work they had achieved, and hoped that their devotion

to the cause and their example would inspire the sister societies to larger action. He wanted to see the idea of the movement more widely spread in this country and to have it stand for large affirmations, for affirmations that would in time create an ethical liturgy in which both lecturer and congregation could take part. The aim of our movement is not to rob the world of faith and hope, but to rationalize and elevate them. The message of ethics is not a message of doubt, of uncertainty, but of positive faith in the moral verities of life. Ethics is synonymous with hope, not despair; it is a religion to all who believe that the moral life is the supreme end of human endeavor.

ADDRESS BY FELIX ADLER.

It is under the stress of deep feeling that I address you to-night, at the close of the second decade of our existence. A score of years has passed since a small company of men and women—a mere handful—agreed to associate themselves together for purposes which seemed to them exceedingly, nay, incomparably, significant. The seed that was then planted has not perished. The words then spoken have had a certain resonance. We have heard this evening echoes of them from across the sea. And yet this is no occasion for self-congratulation. Truly, the legend of St. Christopher is applicable in a wider sense than its literal meaning would imply—the legend of the man who undertook to carry the Christ-

child on his shoulders across a stream. And the deeper he entered into the water the heavier became the burden which he had assumed so lightly at the start, until it pressed upon him like a mountain, and he threatened to succumb beneath its weight. Such is the experience of all who, in the sanguine days of youth, have assumed the divine burden of a reformation of any kind; and there is no salvation for them unless their strength shall increase in proportion as the load increases. This, then, is an occasion useful and needful for us, that we may renew our strength, our courage, our hope. And we can best do so by going back for a moment to the source from which we derived our original impetus, by reviewing the reasons which led to the formation of our Society, by coming face to face with those principles which were the incentives that prompted us. It is said that the mere sight of the gods is rejuvenating. So, also, is the contemplation of god-like ideals.

The motive that prompted the formation of the Society was the desire for an institution which, for its members, should take the place of a church. The church, in its broadest sense, has a social function. The function of the church is to present the ideal of society as it ought to be, in the midst of human society, imperfect as it actually is. It is also to be a fair pattern, a living embodiment, a suggestive type, of more ideal relationships than those which commonly prevail. As the ideals of society differ, so do churches differ. But the church, in the widest meaning of the word—call it by whatever name you please—is not perishable. It will last as long as the state lasts, or, rather, until it shall have absorbed the state into itself. Now the

church, it should be remembered, has a service to render to the families as well as to the individuals of which it is composed. The family life, if it is to be thoroughly wholesome and fine, requires the consecration of conscious connection with the larger social life that surrounds it. And there are a variety of points at which this connection needs to be particularly accentuated. The first point is at the inception of the family life, when the foundations of a new home are laid, when the marriage tie is knit. The state can only legalize marriages. It is in the name of the ideal society, and its exalted purposes, from which the new home receives the light that is to fill it, that marriages are solemnized. Another point of connection is to be found in the moral education of the young. If, indeed, a piece-meal morality is not deemed sufficient; if it be desirable that the fragmentary virtues which are learned by casual precept and example, be combined into a consistent scheme of conduct, then there must be offered to the minds of growing youths and maidens a distinct social ideal from which all the several duties may be derived, in which they may all be united, and which shall fill the young with a noble enthusiasm for social service. The individualist is mistaken if he believes that he can discharge this delicate pedagogical duty. An institution is needed to provide for the satisfaction of this need. And again, in the hour of bereavement, the family realizes its dependence on the larger human society by which it is enveloped. When the common fate has struck us, and we relalize in our own case the common lot, it is only the thought of the common purpose of mankind's existence on earth that can sustain us. It is Humanity, the

bearer of age-long sorrows, acquainted with nameless griefs ; humanity with its tear-stained face, with its scars and wounds, and yet also with the radiant eye that looks beyond and beyond, and its sad, wise smile of patience and resignation, that alone can hush our private griefs ! And it is this voice, through whatever mouth-piece, that should be heard in the house of mourning. To solemnize marriages, to whisper the reconciling words into the silence of death, to give point and unity to the moral life of the youg—these are some of the services to be expected from such societies as this. It is not good for families to stand alone, if they would have the best family life. Nor does the loose association of a group of friendly families, changeful, dependent, often, on mere accident, interest, or sentiment, supply the need. It is requisite that the family should not only be imbedded in the community, but organically related to it, and that through the medium of an association, which has in it an element of permanence and greatness, because it stands for what is most lasting and greatest in the interests of society at large.

But our association has a duty to perform for the individuals, as well as for the families, of which it is composed. There is a vessel of purest gold, says the Buddhist story, for which, when the Buddha saw it, he gave all that he had in exchange ; and then ran swiftly to the river's brink and plunged into the flood, risking his life in the attempt to save his treasure from those who would have robbed him of it. There is a pearl of great price, says the parable of the New Testament, for which the merchant who sought goodly pearls sold all his possessions in order that he might purchase it. There is one

thing needful—yes, for us, too—one thing needful. We want a new doctrine of life to take the place of the disintegrating creeds. We want to lay our hands upon the sovereign throne of truth, even if the figure that sits thereon be veiled. We want to come into touch with the ultimate power in things, the ultimate peace in things, which yet, in any literal sense, we know well that we cannot know. We want to be morally certain; that is, certain for moral purposes of what is beyond the reach of demonstration. Agnosticism, in the absolute sense, does not exist. The strictest constructionist of the limits of knowledge does yet plant certain stupendous affirmations in the realm of the unknowable, certain postulates—such as that of the uniformity of nature's processes—the truth of which he can never fully verify, which serve him rather as instruments for discovering truths which he can verify. So we, too, are justified in planting in the realm of the unknowable the working hypothesis of human conduct, a postulate upon which we depend in order to extend the boundaries and promote the ends of the good. And the postulate I have in mind is identical with what is commonly called moral optimism—the belief, namely, that the better side of things will come uppermost; that moral progress is not a chimera; that the course of evolution is not circular but ascending; that something worth while is developing in the world; that the labor and the anguish are not in vain; that the good and the true are rooted in the nature of things, and mingle their spurs in the subsoil of the universe. But this moral optimism, which includes the darkest facts that pessimism can oppose—includes and transcends them—how can we obtain it?

To this question the answer is given in our name—"Ethical Culture."

Of Goethe Carlyle said that "in his creations is embodied the religious wisdom which is proper to this time, which may still reveal to us glimpses of the unseen but not unreal world, that so clear knowledge may be again wedded to religion." If Goethe had uttered the religious teaching proper to this time, why have not the multitudes fed on him and satisfied themselves with his teachings? Goethe, it is true, more than any one else, inaugurated what is called the era of "culture." But he was poet and artist, and his scheme of culture is suited mainly for poets and artists like himself. The rest of mankind it is calculated to satisfy only on one side of their nature—the æsthetic side. To live earnestly, so as to produce genuine works of art; to enter into the deeper understanding of art, so as to give to actual life the formal poise and finish of a work of art; in other words, to make harmony and beauty the beginning and the end of all human endeavor—such is the gospel of culture as put forth by Goethe. It is a gospel the value of which as an element of wisdom cannot be denied; but it cannot, on the other hand, be said that it is "the religious teaching which is proper to our time." It is fitted for those who dwell on Olympian levels, not for the dust-covered fighters in the arena; for those who stand aloof from the dire struggle for existence as spectators, not for those who are subject to its stress and strain. The watchword "culture" we may indeed adopt. But there is needed the qualifying prefix "ethical" to give it a practical direction, and a still higher aim than the æsthetic one. Culture, therefore, we also

say, but Ethical Culture; and by that we mean that we must appeal, not primarily to the feelings, as Goethe did, but to the will; that we shall seek the truest development of self, not in subjective enjoyment, however subtle and refined, but in laboring for an objective good; that we shall ever be willing, if need be, to sacrifice the present harmony of our lives for the sake of a far-off universal harmony which is to be in the future, of which we can only dimly, faintly, foresee the beauty and the holiness. None the less, in weighty words, has Goethe outlined the *method* of all culture, and that method prescribes the cardinal rule which we, too, must follow. Words, he says, are incapable of articulating what is best, and where words fail, the act, the deed, clarifies. Deeds, executive efforts, are the means which put us in possession of the principles that should underlie doing. And this is also our persuasion; and hence the strenuous emphasis which we put on deeds —not, as has been superficially understood, as if we recommended what is called "the doing of good"—the feeding of the hungry, the nursing of the sick, the educoting of the ignorant—as a makeshift substitute to console us in the despair of principles; as a narcotic to allay the pain which is caused by the absence of a great central conviction—but deeds as the means of discovering principles, as a means of bringing to the birth a truer, broader, and deeper conviction.

To such deeds we are challenged by the circumstances of the age in which we live. This age is an age of pleasure for the giddy, an age of anxiety and profound concern for the thoughtful. The murmuring discontent that arises from the laboring masses, the

dangers that menace the institution of the family in every civilized country, the failure that has attended every experiment in democratic government thus far to achieve the true welfare of nations, have raised a series of terrifying problems which, sooner or later—and better soon than late—society must meet. And all these problems, as has been justly said, lead down, if we follow them far enough, to ethical foundations, and depend for their solution upon two factors: a new influx of moral power, and the evolution of a new conscience—that is, the clearer perception of those moral requirements on which, amid the altered conditions of the present, the progress of mankind depends. To aid in the evolution of this new conscience, to inject living streams of moral force into the dry veins of materialistic communities, that was our program twenty years ago when we began. That, seen in sharper outlines, is our program to-day.

To you, members of my Society, who have accepted this program; who have, during so long a period, amid manifold discouragements and against the odds of prejudice and misconstruction, sustained my own incipient efforts in this great contention, whose loyalty and trust have been to me perpetual springs of strength, I owe, on this occasion, what?—the expression of my personal sense of appreciation? No, you do not expect that, and I cannot offer it. What is best cannot articulate itself in words; and the ties that exist between us are too intimate and delicate to become matter of formal recognition. Let us, rather, to-night jointly renew our oath of allegiance to our flag. Let us consecrate ourselves, with a more earnest purpose, to the work that is waiting

to be done. And let us take heart of hope in the belief that the bells on the great watch-tower of time, as they ring out the passing years, will ring in, at last, the better day. Ring out the old and in the new! Ring out the false and in the true!

> "Ring in the valiant man and free,
> The larger heart, the kindlier hand.
> Ring out the darkness of the land,
> Ring in the light that is to be!"

ARMENIA'S IMPENDING DOOM.

BY M. M. MANGASARIAN.

As an Armenian, I have no sympathy with the sweeping denunciation of the Turks, much less with the unqualified encomium of the Christians of the Orient. Nothing is gained by giving to the facts a partisan twist, by depicting the Mohammedan as an incorrigible devil and the Armenian as an incomparable angel. Though my own immediate relations have suffered unspeakable horrors during the recent outbreaks, still no one could be more reluctant than myself to credit the charges of astounding inhumanity, nay, of bestiality, brought against the Kurds, the Turks, and the Circassians. I have not only hailed with enthusiasm the reports of fraternal devotion and hospitality, of compassion and chivalry, shown by individual Turks to their Armenian neighbors, but I believe in them implicitly. In the cities of Trebizond, Cæsarea, Gemereg, Egin, Sivas, and Aintab, not a few Moslems risked their own lives by offering an asylum to the Christians. The example of these noble Turks not only helps us to be moderate in our judgment of the Ottomans, but in a time of moral skepticism it also helps to confirm our wavering faith in human nature. Men everywhere are better than their creeds, and, in its essentials, human nature is something like the divine.

The Armenian is so well-armed in his cause that there is no reason why he should resort to a wholesale defamation of the Mohammedan in order to gain the sym-

pathy of Christian nations. Moreover, these exaggerated attacks upon the Turk are bound to produce, sooner or later, a reaction in his favor. The truth about the Turks and the Armenians is so easily within the reach of every candid investigator that there is no excuse for confusing the issues. Both have their full share of the virtues and vices of Oriental races.

In forming an estimate of the Armenian character we must not lose sight of the fact that the Turks are the masters and the Armenians the slaves. Notwithstanding this vital difference the Armenians are, to say the least, intellectually and morally the peers of the Turks, and if they cannot compare favorably with the free peoples of Europe and America, it is due to five centuries of uninterrupted oppression and persecution to which they have been subjected. Under these circumstances it would be unreasonable to expect of the Armenians all the virtues of Englishmen and Americans. By that stupendous obstinacy with which the Armenians, in spite of unparalleled hardships and misery, have refused to forsake the country they call their fatherland—a country which, from time out of mind, has been the tramping-ground and the battle-field of the devastating armies of Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, of Genghis Kahn ane Timour, of Shah Abbas and the Arabs, of the Seljuks and the Ottomans; and by that equally marvelous tenacity with which, since the close of the third century of the Christian era, they have, as a nation. clung to the faith preached to them by Gregory, surnamed "The Illuminator"—the faith in which their King Tiridates was baptized twenty-seven years before the Emperor Constantine had issued the famous Edict of Tolaration, and which they have so success-

fully defended against the fire-worshipers of Persia, the caliphs of Arabia, and the Tartar conquerors,—by all these things they have won for themselves a place in history which cannot be taken away from them. It is to be deplored that Europe and America know so little of what it has cost the Armenians to remain Armenians and Christians in a land where Islam is without a rival and where every inducement has been offered and every severity practiced to make apostates of them. But I do not despair of the civilized nations of the world, for when they study the history of this martyr-nation—to-day the only representative of civilization and Christianity in Turkey—and of the Vartanians, Levonians, and their noble brethren who died to stem the torrent of Persian and Ottaman fanaticism; and when they realize the ineffable sacrifices which the Armenians to-day are making to protect their homes and honor, they will not hesitate to do a little for the people who have done so much for humanity.

On May 29, 1453, Mohammed "The Conqueror" ascended the wonderful throne of the Bosphorus. From that day to this the crescent has mocked sun and breeze from the minarets of St. Sophia. During the five centuries following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks there has taken place a wonderful intellectual and spiritnal awakening, as well as an unparalleled industrial progress in Europe and in America. The Renaissance in Italy, the Reformation in Germany, the Revolution in France, and the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, bear dates subsequent to the fall of the Eastern Empire. But these centuries of activity and movement for the Occidental nations have been centuries of deterioration for the Mohammedan

Orient. Once the empire of the Sultan had an extent of more than 100,000 square leagues in Asia, Africa, and Europe—a magnificent territory with the finest harbors, richest islands and mines, and with a soil the most fertile in all the world. But this vast area has been gradually reduced, until to-day Sultan Abdul-Hamid II has lost his hold on Europe and is proving himself unworthy of ruling his remaining possessions in Africa and Asia. That splendid empire which the Turks inherited five hundred years ago has been reduced to a state of intellectual and industrial pauperism. The traveler in Turkey is everywhere reminded, by innumerable ruins, of those nobler and sturdier races that once called the country their own, and made it the cradle of culture and religion. The Sultan and his sluggish Turks tread on a ground under which sleep the Greek and Roman sires of modern civilization. With the exception of a few mausoleums and mosques, the Ottoman Turks have not built a single town or city, or created a single industry or institution, or in any way improved the condition of the peoples they have conquered and converted. The Ottoman Government, since Solyman "The Magnificent," has been in a comatose state.

Nor is it because the Turks are Mohammedans that vandalism has been their profession, or that government "à la Turc" has been synonymous with organized brigandage: the Saracens were Mohammedans, too, but they produced scholars, and were for four hundred years the intellectual teachers of Europe; the Seljukian sultans have left monuments to their love of art and science; the Persians have given to the world Hafiz and Sadi; but the Ottoman Turks have not produced a writer or a statesman whose name will live. The say-

ing that "wherever the Sultan's horse's hoofs tread, there the grass never grows again," has been fully corroborated by the recent reports of pillage, rapine, and murder which have reached the ears of the whole world. When the Czar, Nicholas I, called the Turk "the sick man of Europe," he not only made a correct diagnosis, but he also led the civilized world to anticipate with pleasure the speedy demise of "the sick man." And though this event has been delayed, there is every indication that the time is ripe for a European coalition, a concert of civilized nations, to drive the Turks, bag and baggage, beyond the desert and steppes of that darkest Asia which was their original home.

To those who still hesitate to accept the accumulating charges against the Ottoman rule, I suggest the present deplorable condition of Armenia. Though one of the fairest lands under the sun, and inhabited by a hardy, industrious, faithful, and frugal people, Armenia is to-day what California was under Mexican rule—the home of banditti and cut-throats. From the southern shores of the Euxine to the Ancient Ararat, and from the snow-capped mountains which feed the Euphrates and the Tigris and the Aras, to that undulating sweep toward Western Asia which the Armenian calls his native land, the besom of fanaticism has swept within the past few years more than 50,000 men, women, and children to the most agonizing death; crowded the mountain fastnesses and caves with fugitives, and left in the villages and cities only fragments of what was once a proud and independent nation. What the Turks are doing to-day to the Armenians, they did to the Greeks in 1821, when more than 40,000 were put to the sword in the island of Chios; to the Nestorians in 1843, when the rocks and

plains were covered with "the scattered bones, bleached skulls, long locks of hair, plucked from the women's heads, and torn portions of garments they had worn";* to the Syrians, when the streets of Deir-el-Kamar and Zableh "ran with human gore in which men waded ankle-deep";† to the Bulgarians, when in 1876, according to the American consul.general, Eugene Schuyler, and the English Blue Book, more than 16,000 were butchered in the first two or three days under the very eyes of Europe. Happy Bulgaria! She did not shed her blood in vain. But what was Bulgaria's salvation proved to be Armenia's danger. The Mohammedans, driven from Sofia, Varna, and Rustchuk on the Danube, crossed the Bosphorus and settled in Armenia, their swords still reeking with blood. Nor were they slow in avenging their humiliation. Just a year after the Bulgarian atrocities came the report of the total extermination by the Mohammedans of the Armenians in Bayazid. The Moslem refugees from Europe, with the memory of their defeat burning in their veins, converted Armenia into an amphitheater of plunder and murder. "These Armenians," said the government officials to the Mohammedans, "are trying to expel you from Asia, just as the Bulgarians expelled you from Europe." It is not strange that the fanaticism of the Turk and Kurd, once aroused by such a fear, has become uncontrollable.

If I were to enumerate the causes which are responsible for the anti-Christian feeling in Turkey, I would not hesitate to say that the religious animosities between Moslems and Christians are most to be blamed. The Oriental Christian, I am sorry to say, is as intolerant of

* See Layard's "Nineveh." † See Van Lennep's "Bible Lands: Their Modern Customs and Manners."

Mohammedanism as the Moslem is of Christianity. But the Moslem is in power and can give expression to his hate, while the Christian is weak and cannot strike back. It is true, however, that Christianity as a religion is more susceptible to the "Zeit-Geist" than Mohammedanism, and this fact must influence, as it certainly has done, all the nations that have professed it. Mohammed gave to his followers a sword, Christ gave to his disciples a cross. Christianity, too, has been guilty of persecution in the past, but the progress of the ages has elevated, broadened, and sweetened it, while Mohammedanism continues in spirit and in doctrine just what it was almost fourteen hundred years ago. From the mosques in Cairo and Constantinople the faithful pray to Allah to "destroy the infidels . . . . make their children orphans . . . . defile their abodes . . . . and give them and their families and their households and their women . . . . and their possessions . . . . as booty to the Moslems." Several passages in the Koran directly instigate the Mohammedans to exterminate the unbelievers:

"Verily the worst cattle in the sight of Allah are those who are obstinate infidels."

"When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them."

"Oh, prophet, wage war against the unbelievers and be severe unto them, for their dwelling shall be hell."

"Oh, true believers, wage war against such infidels as are near you; and let them find severity in you."

I gladly admit that there are passages of ravishing beauty in the Moslem scriptures, but those which I have quoted exert a greater hold upon the ignorant and fanatical rabble.

Some color is given to the statement that a "djihad" (a religious war) has been proclaimed against the Christians by the fact that during the progress of the recent wave of hate and lust which, starting in Constantinople, reached as far ås Diarbekir on the Tigris, wherever an Armenian appeared at his windows with a green or white turban on his head and announced his conversion to Islam, his life, his wife, and his goods were not only spared by the mob, but protected by the troops. It is the same old cry that is raised in Armenia to-day, "the sword or the Koran." I am assured in private letters that a multitude of Christians have been converted to Islam under conpulsion. Men young and old have been prostrated on the streets and subjected to the Moslem rite, and no mercy was shown to those who offered the faintest resistance. The Sultan may not have directly ordered the massacre, although Lord Salisbury in his last speech admitted that "among those who say it are men who have the opportunity of judging," but there is very little doubt that, as the spiritual head of the Mohammedan world, he expressed the wish to see the unbelievers converted to the true faith. Such a wish would increase his popularity with the softas, who would not hesitate to resort to any measures to realize the pious hopes of their Caliph. Moreover, to the Sultan the Islamization of the Armenians is the only practical solution of the Armenian question. If the Armenians, by remaining obdurate, are killed, their women violated, and their homes and villages looted, it is their own fault, when by embracing Islam they can not only save themselves and their homes, but they can also command the full protection of the government. What more could a gracious sovereign do for his sub-

jects? This is, without doubt, the reasoning which makes the Sultan proof against all the scruples of conscience. Thus the Armenians are killed, not because the Sultan wants them killed, but because they refuse to be converted. In a large sense, therefore, the bloodshed in the East is in the name of religion. The age of the crusaders is over, but the age of the "crescentaders" is here with all its ancient vigor and rigor.

Of course the attempt on the part of the Armenians to improve their political condition has intensified the religious hate of the Moslems. There has always been a religious element in the political, and a political element in the religious, wars of the Moslems; and it is when these two blend in equal proportions, as in the present instance, that the fury and the thirst for blood develop to an appalling degree. It must be admitted that there is a revolutionary party among the Armenians, to which belong some of the young "hot heads" who have unquestionably resorted to desperate measures, verging upon those of rank nihilism, with the hope of forcing the Great Powers to come to their rescue. These Armenians find encouragement in the example of the Greeks and the Bulgarians who, assisted by Europe, succeeded in shaking off the Turkish yoke. Besides, the traditional interest of Russia in the welfare of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire—as shown by the treaty of San Stefano, and the treaties of Paris and Berlin in which the six Powers of Europe united to extract from the Turk a promise to protect his Christian subjects against the predatory tribes—led the Armenians to count upon the intervention of Europe in the case of an uprising. While I am not of the number of those who cherish the chimerical hope that Armenia—which

is at present no more than a "geographical expression" —can speedily become an independent kingdom, I cannot find it in me to be severe upon those who, goaded to exasperation by the scorpion scourge of the tyrant whose lust the Armenian is compelled to satisfy by giving his goods and his daughters, have begun to imitate their oppressors in their acts of plunder and murder. There is a limit, even to prudence, as well as to endurance. Revolution is the shadow that accompanies despotism. It is foolish to hold the shadow responsible or to attempt to strike at it. It is only when despotism is overthrown that its shadow will disappear. Without wishing to justify the questionable acts of a few of the revolutionists, I profoundly sympathize with the heroic struggle of the educated Armenians for the past thirty-five years to ameliorate the condition of their people. The liberty-loving nations of the world should be the last to blame the Armenians for their political aspirations. Those wretched and persecuted people in their distant mountain homes have caught a strain of freedom's pæan, and are making a brave effort to snap their chains and rise to the rank of the world's free nations.

Aside from the above causes, which are of a religious and political nature, there is still another. The Turks are jealous of the Christians because of the comparative prosperity of the latter in all the principal cities of the empire. In times of peace and security the Greeks and the Armenians, who are by race and religion more European than Asiatic, easily outrun the slow-going Turk and drive him out of the markets of commerce and finance. The superior and more advanced education which the Christians receive in their schools qualifies them for important diplomatic posts from which the

Turks themselves, by reason of their unfitness, are excluded. For many centuries the Greeks and the Armenians have filled high political offices in Turkey, Persia, and Egypt. It is unreasonable to blame the Oriental Christians for their mental and moral superiority to the Turks. Merit will win, even in Turkey, and it is merit—not cunning and craft, as has been insinuated by some Turkophile newspaper correspondents—which has helped the Christians the world over to become the leaders and masters. Turkey lost Europe because it found itself unable to cope with the Christians, and for the same reason it has lost the commerce of Asia. The frequently repeated charge that the Christians of the Orient are usurers who have shorn the innocent Turk of all his possessions, is a pure invention. In the interior of Asia, the people who toil and think are the Christians ; the people who walk the streets, their hands folded on their back, and who crowd the cafés to smoke their long pipes the livelong day, are the Turks. In spite of the unfavorable conditions, the Armenians and the Greeks are to-day the civilizers of the Orient—the manufacturers, the inventors, the builders, the doctors, the lawyers, and the teachers. They are the first to adopt European manners, to build their houses after western models, to introduce English and French text-books into their schools, to translate the foreign authors, and to study the intellectual and industrial movements in Europe and in America. It is not derogatory to the Christians that the Turks cannot keep up with them.

This is but a cursory review of the principal causes which culminated a short time ago in the frightful massacres, the reports of which have startled the civilized world. The sudden outpouring of a volcano with its

heated streams of lava could not have produced a greater destruction than this violent eruption of the Turkish and Kurdish fanaticism and lust. Children and women, as well as men, have been disgraced and tortured to death. To this very day the officials lay the blame entirely upon the Christians. But, with the exception of a limited number, no one either in Europe or in America places any confidence in the official despatches of the government.

But why does Europe hesitate to stop the bloodshed, to terminate the blight of Turkish misrule in Asia? There is no doubt that the hereditary fear of Russian aggression is still the bugbear of Europe. It was the opinion of Napoleon that without a Turkish government in Constantinople, Russia would overrun Europe and Asia, and the Cossacks, by unseating the Saxons and the Celts in Europe, would become the masters of the world. The following conversation is reported to have taken place between Sultan Mahmoud, the grandfather of Abdul-Hamid, and a European ambassador:

"I am left alone to defend Europe against Russia, and Europe aids the Russians. But, after me, Europe will fall a victim to these Russians," said the Sultan.

"You are right," answered the European, "but do not despair of Europe. It will some day recognize the importance of Turkey as a bulwark against the Russians."

"God is good," replied Mahmoud, "let His will be done."

Turkey, therefore, has been regarded as the "advance guard" of the liberty and civilization of Europe, the only country that can hold Russia at bay. With the Czar at Constantinople, it is feared the Black Sea would be converted into a Russian dock whence his ironclads

would proceed to possess the earth. But the world has been changed since the days of Napoleon, and it is impossible to-day for any one power to overrun the whole earth. No one was better fitted to become a modern Cæsar than Napoleon, and no country was more popular than France at the beginning of this century. Notwithstanding, Napoleon was crushed at Waterloo, and France has become a republic.

I fear that the true secret of European sympathy for Turkey is a commercial one. England and Germany manufacture the articles which are sold in the bazaars of Constantinople. The army of the Sultan is clothed, shod, and capped by Europe. Turkey manufactures nothing, builds nothing, digs nothing out of the soil; it must import everything. It is to the interest of commercial Germany and England that there should be a Turkey where they can sell their "shoddy." With the Greeks or the Armenians in power in Constantinople, there would immediately spring up native manufactories, the mines would be in operation, railroads would be built, and the people, able to supply their own needs, would stop importing to the same extent from Europe. Turkey, therefore, is a tolerated government, owing its existence not only to the political jealousies of the Powers, but also to the commercialism of Europe.

But is the civilized world under no obligations to the Armenians? In my humble opinion, it is the duty of America and Europe to intervene for good. The doctrine of non-interference is dangerous and unworthy of our religion and civilization. The Turks do not hesitate to kill in order to propagate their faith and to maintain the rule of their prophet. It is the duty of Europe, by interfering, to check their power for further evil. But

Europe hesitates; and, while it is trying to make up its mind, reports of fresh outbreaks come from every direction. In this policy of stolid indifference and hesitation, Russia appears to me to be the greatest sinner. It is impossible for the Russians to forget that England, during the war of the Crimea, entered into an alliance with two despots, Napoleon III and the King of Sardinia, to save a third despot, the Sultan of Turkey. And now Russia is showing the same consideration for the tyrant of the Bosphorus. Moreover, the interests of Russia require that there be no independent or autonomous Armenia, for that would disturb her own Armenian subjects, and further, it has been the unerring policy of Russia to obstruct all reform measures in Turkey, lest "the sick man of Europe" should recover his health and prolong his days.

Germany and France take their cue from Russia. We have not heard of a single protest from official Germany against the Turkish atrocities. From a moral point of view, the conduct of Germany in this respect has been a great disappointment. Germany, considering her power and intellectual greatness, has done less for the cause of the oppressed and the down-trodden than any other nation in the world. Few people are more devoid of chivalry than the modern Germans. When have they made the cause of the persecuted their own? When have they hastened to the rescue of the weak and the oppressed? When have they made a sacrifice worthy of their heart and brain in the interests of justice and humanity? And France! The home of the Revolution, the most chivalrous nation of Europe, the land of Rousseau and the Girondists—she is dumb with the fear of Russia. Russia has hypnotized France, and her

ministers are to-day receiving decorations from the Sultan.

After all, England is par excellence the moral nation of the world. Behind her driving commercialism is the English conscience. Above and beyond diplomatic England are the English people, as above its fog and mist are the everlasting skies. The first appeal of the oppressed of the world has always been addressed to the conscience of the English-speaking world—a conscience the most sensitive and the most uncompromising. With all her faults, England is still the apostle of civilization. Her government's double-dealing with the Christians of the Orient deserves all the upbraiding it has received from the pen of William Watson, who has won the poet laureateship of humanity:

> "Never, O craven England, never more
> Prate thou of generous effort, righteous aim!
> Betrayer of a People, know thy shame!
> . . . What stays the thunder in your hand?
> A fear for England? Can her pillared frame
> Only on faith forsworn securely stand,
> On faith forsworn that murders babes and men?
> Are such the terms of glory's tenure? Then
> Fall her accursèd greatness, in God's name!"

These are scathing words, but in what other country has there been raised a voice so pure and sonorous, so mighty and moral? The Armenians are hopelessly doomed unless the English-speaking people hasten to their assistance.

A word to those Americans who are lending the influence of their voice and pen to the support of the Turkish Government. While I could myself repeat a thousand favorable things of the Turkish people, I find it impossible to say one good thing of the Turkish Gov-

ernment. Do the friends of the Turk know that Turkey to-day is one of the slave markets of the world? Do they know that in Turkey, where the scurvy, leprous dogs of the street are religiously cared for, women are debauched in the harems? Is it not in Turkey that Circassian, Georgian, and Armenian girls in their teens are sent as presents to the pashas and the Sultan? Has not the Turkish Government made puppets of women and tyrants of men? Do our prominent society women, bankers, and diplomats wish to be known as the friends of such an institution? Can they respect themselves when they try to discredit the accumulating charges against so villainous a government? To labor in America for the emancipation of woman, but to see no wrong in the systematic rapine of Christian women in Turkey; to defend the reform of abuses here, but to stay away from all meetings which demand justice to the sufferers in Turkey, are flagrant contradictions—something to be really afraid of. When I think how some of our best men and women maintain a studied silence and turn a deaf ear to the cry of agony from the cities and villages of Mount Ararat, a terrible sadness comes over me.

To turn our back upon this nation struggling for the simplest rights, namely, security to life, property, and honor, is to forfeit our claim to civilization. If we can wink at the Turkish atrocities, then alas for us! for no crack of the lash upon our moral epidermis will ever sting us into action; but, withdrawing from the great arena where truth and falsehood, liberty and oppression, clash and clang with "blows of death," we shall live on like a herd of swine, bent upon growing fat, and deaf to the bugle-call of humanity.

THE RECENT CONGRESS OF AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN ETHICAL SOCIETIES AT ZURICH.*

BY FELIX ADLER.

LIGHT is the symbol of life. There is ever a cheering quality in it, whether we see it in a landscape or in a room; but there are occasions when the benignity of the light comes home to us with a peculiarly satisfying completeness. One such occasion is especially present in my mind at this moment: We have been traversing the sea; we are about to emerge from the waste of waters; we approach the land; but the moment is an anxious one, for the night is dark and the coast is girt with dangerous reefs and rocks. Suddenly, as we peer into the darkness, a beacon light flashes ahead; it shows but for a moment and disappears; it waxes and then it wanes, and then as we get nearer it grows and grows until it seems to fill the eye, and through the eye the soul, with its flood of splendor. Ah, how we realize at such a moment the benignity of the light! How grateful we are for the friendliness of man! At great cost and often at the risk of life, have these watch-towers been placed on the fringes of continents to warn men of the dangers which they must avoid and to indicate the port of safety to which they must steer.

* Given at Carnegie Hall, New York, Sunday, October 18th, 1896.

So, too, in the moral world watch-towers have been erected to warn us of the dangers to be avoided and to indicate the port of safety to which we must steer. From of old Christianity and indeed all the religions of the past have been busy raising these towers; but many of them are crumbling into decay; and new rocks, new reefs, new points of danger have been discovered of which the religions of the past have never given us warning and which are now becoming the scene and the cause of frequent disaster. It is the purpose of the Ethical Movement to help to repair these crumbling towers and to place beacons on those dangerous rocks which have heretofore escaped notice. And that the importance of this purpose is being recognized not only in our own community but also abroad in foreign countries among persons who live in an environment totally different from ours, is a fact that marks a significant step in the advance of our cause. I wish to-day to report to you concerning the recent Congress of Ethical Societies at Zurich, in which this community of interest and of purpose became manifest despite great differences.

The countries represented at the Congress, besides the United States and England, were Germany, Austria, Italy and Switzerland. The conferences were preceded by courses of lectures on ethical subjects by eminent ethical professors; and at these lecture courses the French government was officially represented by two delegates, the Minister of Education having deputed them to report especially upon the degree to which the Ethical Societies have succeeded in devising a course of ethical instruction for children, a subject in which the French Republic has a notable interest.

Now Germany, of all these countries, is the one where the Ethical Movement has obtained, till now, the largest extension ; the number of societies is considerable ; they are planted in all the chief cities of the Empire. And this is all the more interesting when we remember that the entire movement in Europe is only four years old, apart from England. The fact that there are now these numerous societies in Germany, that there is at least one strong society in Vienna, and that, as I shall show you presently, the movement is spreading to Italy and Switzerland, indicates that there is something in the idea for which the Ethical Movement stands that appeals to people irrespective of nationality, irrespective of local conditions.

I should like first to say something about the preparation which existed in Germany for the reception of the idea for which this movement stands. Germany has been a very religious country. The German people have been profoundly susceptible to religious influence. The Protestant Reformation, as we all know, originated in Germany, and as late as the last century we find that the thinkers and the men of science were still on the side of positive religion. Even Kant, who shattered the traditional proofs of the existence of a Deity, nevertheless made a place in his system for the belief in a personal God. Now within a hundred years all this seems to have changed. A cold breath has swept over Germany. Intellect seems to be no longer on the side of faith. The highly educated class hold aloof. They are not actively antagonistic to religion—they are indifferent ; they no longer lend it their support. Outwardly, indeed, the churches maintain their preeminent position through

the favor of the government. The military authorities show their respect for the prevailing opinions; men who take high rank in the various sciences now and then attend divine service; but it is felt that, on the whole, the sanction of the educated elite of the country is lacking. Of course I do not mean to imply that Germany has ceased to be a religious country. The masses, for instance, are still very powerfully under the influence of religious traditions. I shall never forget a scene I witnessed four years ago at Trêve, when the so-called seamless coat of Christ, which is exhibited once every fifty years, was shown to the people. I shall never forget that scene: the eager multitudes, especially the throng of peasants that stood in the streets under the open skies day and night, waiting for a chance to approach the relic—singing, chanting, with their crosses, their banners, and their priests leading them. I could not help gathering the impression that religious fanaticism, like a hot bed of coals, is slumbering under white ashes and ready, perhaps, to start into a devouring flame at the first breath, and to become all the more misguided and dangerous because the participation of the educated classes is missing.

When a country is thus divided into two classes, when there is a gulf between the life of the educated and the ignorant masses, both will suffer. The educated come to be out of touch with the common life and the people are left to their dense and dark superstition.

But educated Germany has not been without some substitute for the religious impulse which during the last hundred years it has largely lacked. A nation whose emotional life is so profound and whose intellectual as-

pirations are so high does not easily resign itself to the loss of that elevation which comes from the pursuit of idealistic ends; and so there have been substitutes for religion. One of these substitutes has been the idealism of science. I mean by this that exaltation which is brought into the life of the person who devotes himself to the pursuit of abstract truth for truth's sake, without reference to its utilitarian applications and without any thought of pecuniary gain for himself. Of this priestly consecration to abstract truth modern Germany has offered many great examples. And if man were purely an intellectual being, if he could withdraw into his intellectual shell and ignore the emotional and moral interests, this idealism of abstract truth might answer the purpose. But man is not a purely intellectual being, and the longer you make the experiment of feeding him on a merely intellectual idealism the more will the other side of his nature, the practical and the emotional side, rebel, rise in mutiny and press its claims. And as science has very little to offer man on the emotional side, as the theories which prevail in modern science (Darwinism, for instance,) are not such as to present a reconciling view of human destiny, as after all it is but a poor outcome of the effort and labor required in penetrating the disguises of things to disover behind the scene nothing but the meaningless play of atoms; it has come to pass that the idealism of science has been divested of much of that efficacy which at one time was ascribed to it; and it is perceived by many, by the very ones who have tried to live on intellectualism, that it does not satisfy.

Then another substitute has been what in German is

called *Pflichtgefühl.* This word does not merely mean doing one's duty; it describes a peculiar species of the sentiment of duty, a kind of military promptness in answering the calls of obligation, especially when imposed by superior authority. The feeling, it seems to me, has a background of paternalism. It rests on reverence and respect for the constituted rulers of the land. It has been generated, I take it, especially in the military class and the bureaucracy and from them has spread among the people. It depends for its maintenance on confidence in the authorities, and this confidence in Germany has been considerably shaken. In place of satisfaction and the quiet spirit of obedience there is deep-seated, far-reaching political and social discontent. And now what I wish to say is that it is this political and social discontent, taken in connection with the failure of physical science or of mere intellectualism to satisfy, that has prepared the soil for the Ethical Movement in Germany.

There are some restless, impatient spirits, who seek to provide a remedy for the political and social evils of Germany by sudden and comprehensive social changes; and it is to the presence of this class of persons that the spread of Socialism and its poltical strength is due. But there are also others who realize that sudden changes cannot be permanent and who look to a renewal of moral energy in the different classes of society as the indispensable condition of achieving lasting and beneficient results, and it was this class of persons who have been most interested in the Ethical Movement and most earnest in propagating it. Thus much as to the preparation for the movement in Germany. And let

me merely add that it is a significant fact, in view of what has just been said concerning the failure of mere intellectualism ultimately to satisfy, that the leader of our movement in Germany is a man of science, a man who occupies a high position in his own department of science, but who profoundly recognizes the need of ethical clarification and inspiration. I allude of course to our honored friend Prof. Foerster. The support of such a man has been of incalculable benefit to the German Movement.

And now to speak of the results of the Congress, there are three to which I wish to call attention. First, the creation of an International Secretaryship which is intended to be a means of binding together the European societies among themselves and the European and American societies respectively. Dr. Wilhelm Foerster has been created the first International Secretary. He is the son of Prof. Foerster to whom I have just referred, and the editor of the German weekly paper, *Ethische Kultur*. He was recently arrested and condemned on the charge of *lèse-majesté* for an article which appeared in his paper, and was confined for several months in a fortress. He was liberated on the eve of the assembling of the Congress at Zurich, and was enabled to be present at our opening meeting. He intends, as I understand, to give his whole life to the propaganda of the Ethical Movement.

The very considerable proportion of university professors connected with the societies is one of the characteristic features of the foreign movement. It is undoubtedly a source of strength, but also a source of weakness; because the societies must depend upon such

time as the professors can spare from their duties, and because the university teacher, despite his most perfect intentions, is not able to come into such immediate contact with the feelings of the people, with the popular interests and sentiments, as is desirable in the leaders of Ethical Societies.

To speak, therefore, of the second result of the Congress, it is this: that it has been determined to endeavor hereafter to follow the American plan (which the German Society at first resisted, fearing that a new ethical clergy, as they said, might spring up) and to secure the services of persons who will give their whole life to the movement. In other words, the second result has been the decision to establish on neutral ground, in Switzerland, a college for the training of ethical leaders and lecturers, the modest beginning of which is to be made next summer.

Next, as to the work that has been heretofore done by the foreign societies; and this will give me an opportunity to speak of the third, and, to my mind, the most valuable and important result of the Congress. The work done by the foreign societies thus far has consisted, in the first place, in the holding of meetings for the discussion and explanation of the principles of the movement, especially the essential principle of all, viz., that morality is self-centered, self-sustained, founded on human nature, and independent of dogma, creeds, or philosophic theories. This idea is constantly being considered in all its bearings and the movement is being propagated in this fashion. But, in addition, earnest attempts have been made to testify to the ethical faith by practical philanthropy. The German Society has

identified itself especially with an effort to influence public opinion through the press. Whenever there is a case of injustice; whenever, through the prejudices of the ruling classes, the weak seem to be oppressed, seem to be at a disadvantage, especially in the courts, it is one of the aims of the Ethical Society to call attention to the fact and, if possible, to secure a remedy.

Particular interest has been taken by the societies in the establishment of free reading rooms. Perhaps we in this country do not quite realize how important it was to take such steps in a country like Germany, where adequate provision in this direction did not exist. The Ethical Society has rendered considerable service in the establishment of such public reading rooms, and their efforts have been recognized and sustained by the municipal authorities of Berlin.

In Austria courses of lectures have been delivered to parents on the proper training of children. And a very important investigation has been conducted into the conditions of female labor in the city of Vienna Reports of this investigation have found their way into the newspapers and have attracted great attention, and the results of the investigation will be published in detail this fall.

The Swiss Society is only a few months old and has not yet determined its plans, although there is promise of great activity.

The Italian Society is extremely interesting in many ways. I hold in my hands a pamphlet entitled "A Page from the History of Sociology; an Account of the Society for Ethical and Social Culture of Venice." This is the most important of the Italian Ethical Societies.

The object of the Society is to unite all who believe that the present industrial system is capable of modification in the direction of more perfect harmony between the social classes. It seeks to unite persons of different beliefs and different opinions, just as we do, and men whose views are distinctly and widely divergent have in fact given their sanction to this movement. Here, too, discussion and public meetings are one of the important instrumentalities in use. The Venetian Society was no sooner formed than it addressed itself to the task of philanthropy, and the first scheme proposed and attempted was that of founding an asylum or shelter, a place for the amusement and instruction of the children of the working people during the hours when their parents are away in the workshops and factories. This attempt to benefit the children was, however, vehemently denounced by the clergy of Venice. In consequence a number of ladies who belonged to the committee in charge resigned and the enterprise had to be abandoned.

The Society then determined to address itself to the adult working people. A college for the social and ethical culture of working people was established, the members of the Ethical Society of Venice themselves being the teachers. This attempt met with astonishing success. The school was opened with seven adult pupils; after two weeks there were two hundred enrolled, and after four weeks there were four hundred, and further admittance had to be refused owing to lack of accommodation. These classes are continued from December to May, and in the summer excursions are arranged, in which hundreds of working people take

part, for the purpose of studying the art and historic monuments in which Venice is so rich, also the economic conditions, and the public institutions, especially the public charitable institutions.

Now all this is very laudable and very interesting, but it did seem to me as if there was one thing lacking in the foreign Ethical Societies—or at least if not lacking yet not sufficiently pronounced: that is, the spiritual element. I do not mean anything mystical when I use the word spiritual. When we think of morality, if we concentrate our attention on the act, on the external part of it, then we are not spiritual; but if we care chiefly for the spirit in which the act is done, then we take the spiritual view. It seemed to me as if the spiritual side, though not wanting by any means among the leaders—in fact it was beautifully emphasized by some of the leaders—was nevertheless too much neglected; as if the drift were in an external direction, as if the feeling prevailed that the ethical society exists for the benefit of others. I have always felt that this is a wrong attitude to take. I have always felt that an ethical society should take the ground that it exists primarily for the moral benefit of its own members. It is in this way that I have distinguished in my mind between the real members and the quasi members of an ethical society. The real member of an ethical society is the person who feels that he has not yet—morally—finished his education; that he is in need of moral development, in need of help, and looks upon the society as a means of helping him in his moral development. The quasi member is the person who merely appreciates the society in so far as it is doing good for others. He is no real mem-

ber; at best only an ally, an associate. Now I felt that this sort of external feeling prevails to a considerable degree in the foreign societies as it still largely exists in our own.

I went to Zurich to stand for this view, and in the opening address to the Congress, I laid the main stress upon this idea: that permanence and solidity and depth will be lacking in the Ethical Movement, and that it will not deserve to succeed unless it creates in its midst a new spirit—unless a spirit of humility be cultivated among its own members. And the view here indicated met with the readiest response and has been expressed and embodied in the Program which the delegates adopted, as its very first paragraph, and has been made the corner-stone of the Ethical Movement, so far as the delegates who went to Zurich had the power to make it. I will read from that Program:

The Delegates of the first International Assembly of the Federated Societies recommend to the Federated Societies of the various countries represented, the following statement, subject to future expansion and revision:

The prime aim of the Ethical Societies is to be of advantage to their own members. The better moral life is not a gift which we are merely to confer upon others; it is rather a difficult prize which we are to try with unwearying and unceasing effort to secure for ourselves. The means which are to serve to this end are: first, the close contact into which our associations bring us with others having the same purpose in view; second, the moral education and instruction of the young in the ethical principles, which in their foundations are independent of all dogmatic presupposition; third, guidance for adults in the task of moral self-education.

Furthermore, the Ethical Societies should define their attitude toward the great social questions of the present day, in the solu-

tion of which the part to be played by the moral forces of society is of the highest significance.

We recognize that the efforts of the masses of the people to obtain a more humane existence, imply a moral aim of the greatest importance, and we consider it our duty to second these efforts with all possible earnestness and to the full extent of our ability. We believe, however, that the evil to be remedied is not only the material need of the poor, but that an evil hardly less serious is to be found in the moral need which exists among the wealthy, who are often deeply imperiled in their moral integrity by the discords in which the defects of the present industrial system involve them.

We regard resistance to wrong and oppression as a sacred duty, and believe that under existing circumstances conflict is still indispensable as a means of clarifying men's ideas of right and of obtaining better conditions. We demand, however, that the conflict be carried on within the limits prescribed by morality, in the interest of society as a whole and with a constant eye to the final establishment of social peace as the supreme consummation.

We expect of the organs of the Ethical Federation that they will endeavor to provide, so far as they are able, intellectual armor to serve in the social struggle—by this we mean the publication of careful scientific treatises, which shall have for their object to ascertain whether the positions of individualism and socialism are not susceptible of being united in a deeper philosophy of life; further, statistical investigations to show with the impressiveness of facts how profoundly our present conditions are in need of reform, and furthermore to see to it that the results thus obtained shall be spread far and wide so that the public conscience may be developed in the direction of a higher social justice.

We leave it to the several societies, according to the particular circumstances of the countries to which they belong, to carry out the above general purpose in particular ways; but we especially call upon all the members of the various societies, in their individual capacity, to promote the progressive social movement of the times by simplicity in the conduct of life and by the display of an active public spirit.

We recognize the institution of pure monogamic marriage as a priceless possession of mankind, indispensable for the moral development of the individual and for the permanent existence of civilization; but we demand that the monogamic idea shall express itself in the sentiments and practice of men with a degree of consistency which to a very great extent is still wanting.

We demand for woman opportunity for the fullest development of her mental and moral personality, and realizing that her personality is of equal worth with that of man, we pledge ourselves, as far as we are able, to secure the recognition of this equality in every department of life.

We regard especially the lot of female wage earners in industrial establishments and in personal service as one of the most grievous evils of the present time, and we will use such influence as we possess to restore to all classes of the population the conditions upon which a true home life depends.

We regard it as a fundamental task of modern civilization to give back to the educational system the unity which it has in a a large measure lost, and to replace the missing key-stone once supplied by dogmatic teaching in schools and universities by setting up a common ethical purpose as the aim of all culture.

We heartily appreciate the efforts now being made to bring about universal peace among the nations, and we would contribute our share towards the success of these efforts by inwardly overcoming the military spirit, by endeavoring to counteract the attraction that military glory exerts on the minds of the young, and by seeking to provide that the ethically valuable elements which the military system contains may find expression in nobler and worthier forms.

Furthermore, we would oppose that national egotism and national passion, which at the present day are just as dangerous foes of peace as are the prejudices and interests of the governing classes; and in times of excitement and of political hatred we will exert ourselves in conjunction with others who think as we do, to compel attention to the voice of reason and of conscience.

We ask our Ethical Societies not only to direct their attention toward the outward extension of the movement, but to devote their utmost energy to the building up of a new ideal of life,

which shall correspond to the demands of enlightened thinking, feeling and living, confident that such an ideal for which mankind is thirsting will in the end be of equal profit to all classes and to all nations.

We are not a Pythagorean society; we are not a band of stoics; we are not a company of recluses who stand aloof from the concerns of life. We recognize that we are to grapple with the social and political questions of the day, because only by endeavoring to lift these heavy weights will our own moral fiber become strong and firm. But, nevertheless, our moral growth is still the principal aim. We can grow morally only in so far as we take an interest in the moral concerns of the community. But, on the other hand, it is equally true and equally to be emphasized that, so far as we are concerned, we shall endeavor to solve the great social questions, the great public questions, by changes which we effect in ourselves. We are to regenerate society primarily by regenerating the one individual member of society for whom we are responsible.

This is the difference between an ethical society and the peace societies, the social reform societies, the educational societies and the others—that they chiefly lay stress upon what the government ought to do or upon what other people ought to do, or in general upon how the world is to be set aright, while the ethical society, mindful also of these demands, yet lays its chief stress upon the question, What am I to do? How shall I set the world right by setting myself right? And this note dominates the entire Statement of Principles which I have read.

For instance, it is said that the Ethical Society must

take an interest in the labor question, and immediately we are asked to co-operate in the social movement of the time by leading simple lives. The material distress of the poor is a great evil, but the unease of conscience, in view of the fact that we enjoy exceptional, undeserved advantages, is also a great evil which we must try to remedy. And we must try to remedy it, not by blunting our moral susceptibilities, but by making them still more keen.

Again the platform insists upon the institution of monogamic marriage as a priceless possession, and it goes on to tell us that the idea of monogamy is not expressed in the sentiment and practice of mankind as it should be; whereby is meant that men ought to be faithful to the ideal of women before marriage as well as in marriage, just as women, conversely, are expected to be faithful on their side.

Even where mention is made of so public a concern as international peace we are yet urged to contribute to it as individuals by trying to counteract the attraction of military glory, by overcoming that hatred of foreigners to which we are all liable, and by stopping at this source those passions which lead to national frenzy and international war.

I have come back with fresh inspiration and fresh confidence, with an exhilarating sense of a wider brotherhood, with the feeling that though oceans roll between us, and the barriers of speech and traditions and sentiment may seem to separate us, yet in the essential purpose our friends abroad and we are one. I wish I could communicate this feeling of a wider union to you. It would possibly have gratified your pride could you

have listened to the ample and generous acknowledgments which the delegates made of what they conceived to be their indebtedness to the American Ethical Societies. But I confess that a feeling very unlike that of flattered pride was uppermost in my mind as I listened to those words of recognition. It was rather a grave and heavy sense of responsibility, because our foreign friends are very glad to hear of such success as you have met with. They are also willing to learn from your example, so far as it is a worthy one,; but they are disposed to scrutinize you with a searching carefulness such as possibly you have no conception of; because this is what they say to themselves: "We look to the ethical idea with hope; we look to it as something that is to be a means of salvation in the midst of the political and social whirlwinds that are likely to sweep over society; we look to it with hope, but we want to see whether it is worthy of our confidence. And, how are we to determine? Why, we will scrutinize the lives of the members of these Ethical Societies in America. The Ethical Movement has existed in America for twenty years. In twenty years the ethical idea must have taken root and borne fruit. What are the fruits which it has borne?"

What are the ethical fruits—not how large are the revenues or the audiences? but what are the fruits that appear in the life of the Society? Are the merchants of the Ethical Society, as a rule, stricter in their views than their competitors, or are they like others—good, bad and indifferent? Are the relations between masters and men characterized by a keener sense of right and a more careful considerateness, and, when there are

faults on one side or the other, by a greater charity? Are our children educated on nobler principles and in finer ways?

Oh, my friends, let us at least try to be able to meet these questions.

WOMAN'S INFLUENCE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.*

BY MRS. LYDIA AVERY COONLEY.

I FEEL my limitations when I consider the influence of woman in public affairs. We are hedged in by slight participation in such affairs, and so lack the vistas experience gives. We judge from individual rather than from general standpoints. We are not yet accustomed to the measure of liberty we have acquired, and it is difficult for us to free great questions from personalities, and to gain the vision of a horizon wider than our individual experience gives us.

In the progress of woman, which has not always been along the best lines, she often loses sight of the fact that man and woman must stand side by side, or their best be unrealized. She is intoxicated with the wine of freedom, and frequently sets aside all barriers, rushing on to claim a supremacy to which she has no right.

Man has made the mistake of demanding precedence for sex; woman cannot afford to make the same mistake. Her character, in the great changes that the centuries have brought, has been developed along lines foreign to her true nature, and the real woman often seemed to disappear. Thus astray, sympathy between the sexes was lost, and it is now difficult to attain.

* Papers read at the St. Louis Convention of Ethical Societies held in April, 1896, by Mrs. Coonley, President of the "Woman's Club," and Mrs. Wilmarth, President of the "Fortnightly Club" of Chicago.

After long centuries of false position, woman is to-day misunderstood, and often painfully misunderstands herself. The grave, beautiful word "woman" has been a symbol for frivolity and degradation. Edward Carpenter finds "the bawling mass of mankind on a race-course or the stock exchange, though degrading enough, less painful than the sight of hundreds of women gazing intently into shop windows at various bits of colored ribbon. Perhaps nothing is more disheartening than this except the mob of women in the same streets at midnight." He considers the "lady," the household drudge, and the prostitute, the three main types of woman resulting in our modern civilization from the process of the past. It is difficult to know which is most wretched, which most wronged, and which most unlike the ideal of every true woman.

In some sense the so-called "lady" of the period which is just beginning to pass away is the most characteristic product of commercialism. Havelock Ellis calls her a cross between an angel and an idiot. The sense of private property turned woman more and more into an empty idol, until at last, as her vain splendors increased, and her usefulness diminished, she ultimated into the "lady."

The instinct of helpfulness and personal effort is so strong in woman that to be treated as a mere target for worship and service must be at heart obnoxious.

"In baronial times the household centered around the hall, where the baron sat supreme. Now it centers round the room where the 'lady' reigns. The contrast between feudal and commercial societies is represented by this domestic change. The former was rude and rough, but generous and straightforward; the latter is

polished, but full of littleness. The drawing-room, with its feeble manners and effects of curtains and embroideries, now gives its tone to our lives. We look forward to a time when this room will cease to be the center of the house, and another—perhaps the living-room—will take its place."

Because of this unequal relationship between the sexes woman has suffered, and so has man. Whatever injures one injures the other, and whatever defects are found in one must be found in the other.

Woman's life has been bound up in details that have made her sympathies with individuals keen, but have blinded her to abstract ideas of justice and truth.

The life of the rich woman is hurt by stimulation of the emotions without the background of hardiness that flows from health, while the life of the poor woman is hurt by excessive labor carried on under unhealthy conditions. In these two classes true wifehood and motherhood are almost unknown.

There are to-day women who are rising out of the so-called "lady," and a new code of manners between the sexes, founded on open and mutual helpfulness, must come in.

The over-differentiation of the labors of the sexes to-day is a cause of misunderstanding between man and woman, and of lack of interest in each other's doings.

"It has not escaped the attention of thinkers that the rise of woman into freedom and larger social life is likely to have a profound influence on the future of our race. Among most of the higher animals, and among many of the early races of mankind, the males have been selected by the females on account of their prowess, strength or beauty. This led to the development in the

males and in the race at large of a type which was the ideal of the female ; but when the property idea set in this ceased. Where formerly woman chose man, man began to select woman. She adorned herself to gratify his taste, and the types of the whole race have been correspondingly affected.

"The rise of woman will mean active participation on the part of some in political life. Most of them are fired with an ardent social enthusiasm. There is more of this among women than among men in the rich classes, while among the working classes the balance is the other way. Those who take to political life will wield an influence sufficient to free the sex from legal disabilities, and give it voice in matters which concern itself.

"The activity shown by women in Great Britain, Russia and the United States is so great and well rooted that it cannot be thought ephemeral. After centuries of misunderstanding and associations of frivolities and superficiality, it will perhaps dawn upon the world that the truth lies in an opposite direction ; that there is something as deep-lying, fundamental and primitive in the woman's nature as in the man's. Instead of being the oversensitive, hysterical creature that civilization often makes her, she is essentially of calm, large, acceptive and untroubled temperament. Already from America, Australasia, Africa, Norway and Russia come pictures of a grander type, fearless and untamed—the primal merging into the future woman, combining broad sense with sensibility, the passion for nature with the love of man, commanding the details of life, yet free from localism and convention. It is she who shall undo the bands of death encircling the present society, and open for us the doors of a new and wider life."

This line of thought springs from an effort on my part to account for some discouragements that we encounter in woman's connection with public affairs. In this study I came upon an interesting pamphlet by Edward Carpenter, and my quotations, literal and otherwise, are taken from it.

We are in the midst of a process of development, and we must be patient, and wait for Time to do his work. It is not to be expected that woman, but lately introduced to new conditions, can at once become a part of them. She will be to some extent antagonistic all through the period of learning. Her mistakes should not discourage from new effort. "The farmer does not cease to plant corn because none came from his last planting. He knows that the law is unfailing, so he proceeds to make better conditions."

Men are impatient with women; women are impatient with themselves. The immediate and often superficial results of new conditions are mistaken for their permanent effect. Impatience only hinders, and we must all learn the art of waiting.

Intentions do not count. If brains have come by centuries of perversion into certain lines of expression, no realization of their perversion can change the fact. However good the intention, the result cannot keep pace with it until time has changed the working of the brain.

Woman is still hampered more than is realized by the lack of freedom with money. She cannot assume her legitimate relation to affairs until she attains the independent use of her purse. This applies especially to the marital relation, where the man is earning, the woman having sacrificed her money-earning powers to the family life.

No other duties should be allowed to interfere with the maintaining of womanliness at its best, and that means the persistent holding of high ideals. If woman's taking part in municipal and national politics does not mean the support of statesmen as against politicians, however potent the argument for her suffrage on the ground of right, it will have little result in the line of improvement.

Women bring to public work a freshness that men have lost. Men are weary. Competition has exhausted them. But there is something deeper than competition that makes them old before their time. It is the laying in the dust of high ideals. It is the constant seeking of the temporal rather than the eternal that eats the life out and makes the heart ache when it should rejoice. It is the part of woman to restore these ideals, and so indirectly, but surely, to affect public affairs. And the place to begin is in the home: to make life simple and real—not complex and artificial. The elaboration of domestic life means toil that results only in securing apples of Sodom. We have too much food cooked, and of too many kinds. We serve it in courses that are dragged to unwholesome length. We are too exclusive. We shut ourselves away from universal sympathies. We drape our houses and our persons with dry goods that cause tribulation from the time that the bills wrinkle the forehead, through the days of trimming and hanging, to the warm spring weather, when, instead of seeking the woods for violets, we are brushing, sunning and packing in moth-proof bags, that they may be ready to wear out our lives again in the fall—a process often more rapid than the destruction of their texture.

We cannot bring simple, economical and virtuous

methods into public affairs until we bring them into our own homes. We cannot foster independent nobility in citizens at large until we foster it in our own children. We are absolutely discounting the future of our families by forgetting the rules of common sense in their training. We make our children helpless; we even button their clothes behind, so that it is almost impossible for them to dress themselves!

After we have passed our daily lives through the sieve of common sense, and shaken off a part of the chaff, we must reform the near social conditions. For example, fashionable calls are still ogres that waylay us, though they are rapidly being eliminated. Sane women will soon refuse entirely to go from door to door, clad in finery and leaving rafts of meaningless pasteboard, wasting days in exchanging inane sentences, with no result beyond the transference of the debit list from one visiting book to another.

With all our elaboration—indeed, because of it—there is little real social life. Homes are seldom opened with true informality, where friends and friends' friends can meet for rational social enjoyment and profit. Yet such privilege of informal intercourse lies at the foundation of the best living.

Having begun our reforms at home and carried them into society, we shall be ready for outside work; and there is plenty of it. Housekeeping is a province in which women excel; and public affairs invariably show the need of housekeepers. Wherever women have taken part a marked improvement in these respects has resulted.

Women show also peculiar adaptability for the management of schools, jails, hospitals, and indeed institu-

tions of all kinds. Their success in the care of streets has been proven.

Indeed, I think that questions of finance could not fare worse in their hands than they do in men's, and might fare better.

The average man is notably ignorant of public affairs, and indifferent to them. Women can at once turn their reading in the direction of political economy, and shame men into civic and national work.

A question often asked is: Have not earnest women enough to do at home? Is not home neglected when they do outside work? It is certain that each individual woman must answer to her conscience for the way in which she uses her life, as each individual man must answer. We often find a motive for these questions in the fact that women in the abstract are considered physically weak. A nervous, fretful, overworked woman should surely limit her activities, as a man in ill health must limit his. But one of the greatest of modern blessings is that woman is not, as a rule, an invalid. The conditions that developed her intellectually developed her physically and spiritually, and the typical woman of to-day is blessed with vigorous health. Much of the odium of sickness comes from the influence of the past, when she was ill from lack of a horizon.

I do not see how women can do outside work in the years when their children are small. Those are the years that need to be spent in the home; but, with a true companionship between husband and wife, the wife will not lack development in all directions during this period. Many women, however, are not blessed with the home ties which give them this important work. They have freedom to choose what they will do in the

same way that men choose. Moreover, there is a long period which covers what may be the most useful years in a woman's life—when her children no longer need her immediate care, and she is able to work for the general rather than for the personal good.

It is largely owing to the influence of clubs that women are so full of the interests of the time, that old age is receding, and that invalids are disappearing. Sickness, domestic perplexities and personalities were once their chief topics of conversation; but let them be broached to-day, and the silence that greets them is the stamp of emphatic disapproval. Women are busy with the world's work, and they have not time to court aches and pains, to gossip or to grow old.

Clubs have taken women out of themselves into a larger world; and the same rule will work in their relations to public work.

In their introduction into affairs they went at first, and to some extent go now, to extremes. Reformers are extremists; they start the pendulum of progress, and swing it far out of line; but time returns it into balance.

While we are waiting for the progress of evolution women can definitely prepare themselves for larger usefulness by an effort to realize high ideals. They are now over-sensitive; men take the relations of life more simply and on larger lines. Women must learn to be less critical of details. The habit of criticism is not helpful. Constructive methods are better than destructive. If we emphasize and encourage good, evil will take care of itself.

Women must stand for a generous attitude toward people and things, be they personal, civic or national.

Looking back, we cannot fail to see how little impression errors have made on the round whole. They are steps in growth, but they are steps that disappear. The future counts the ascent of the ladder round by round, and keeps no tally of the trippings. Nature cherishes every gain to push her evolution on; losses are uncounted. Her wisdom should be ours, and, like her, we should turn away from evil and let the pervading thought be kind.

Another important point is that we must not concentrate our efforts upon ourselves, except in preparation for general usefulness; otherwise false conditions develop as surely as miasma from stagnant pools. To-day, as of old, we need an angel to trouble the water that we may be cured of infirmities and disease.

The best knowledge, culture, experience and love are all needed in public affairs, and when they rule in private life their extension into the larger circle must be inevitable.

Let us, first, last and always, cling to our ideals, however they may be scorned or threatened. Every beautiful reality was once an ideal in a single heart. Surely, steadily, rapidly, the contagion of noble thought spreads, and the angelic multiplication of ideals begins, till, as time goes on, we find there has been a miraculous change. As in the real acorn was hidden the germ of the ideal oak, so in our unresponsive real life may be hidden our ideal. As time shows the ideal oak freed from its bondage to the acorn, so may our ideal overcome the bondage of our real and become, like the oak, the strong and beautiful real.

BY MRS. MARY J. WILMARTH.

THE announcement of the subject: "Woman's Influence in Public Affairs," presents the matter in three aspects to the mind: What has it done in the past? What is it at present? What could and should it be?

Looking into the past, certain names rise prominently into consideration: Deborah judging Israel under the palm tree of Mount Ephraim; Catherine the Second introducing a new code of laws, and improving the administration of the Russian Empire; Joan of Arc, seeing visions and leading a lost cause to victory; Elizabeth and Victoria upon the throne of England. Although these are instances too exceptional, by virtue of gifts or opportunities, to furnish formulæ for general application, too remote from the conditions of republican women in America to be valuable for us as examples or warning, still this subject, as every other which concerns human society, has its historical antecedence, racial if not personal.

In primitive conditions we find man faring forth—the forager and provider; woman remaining in the tent—the distributer, giving to each a portion in due season.

To-day the distress under which the world groans is not on the productive, but on the distributive side. It is not the earth's sterility of which complaint can be made; not insufficient or misapplied productive power; not the defective resources of society; but the unequal distribution of all good things—of wealth, opportunities, culture, leisure. The earth is fertile; food products crowd the granaries to bursting; yet Hunger

stalks unsatisfied. The busy looms of industry are sufficient to produce enough to meet all needs; yet the needy are inadequately clothed. Free libraries and art palaces increase; parks extend; their gates swing wider open since the days "when a man in a laborer's clothes was not allowed to enter St. James' Park"; yet many having these within their reach perish without participating in their benefits.

Does it not look as if in public affairs the providing capacity had outrun the distributive ability, and may it not be that there is need of reinforcement on the distributive side, which women, largely relieved in domestic affairs by modern mechanical inventions, might contribute?

The care of dependents—children, the sick, and the infirm—has always been a natural part of woman's duty in the home, and it is a part of public service notably unsatisfactory and insufficient. While children work in factories and the infirm are cared for in hospitals, woman's knowledge and skill in nursing should extend beyond the home. Statistics show that children of collegiate women are notably freer from infantile diseases, and possessed of much stronger vitality, than are those of any other class. The knowledge by which such results are effected should be a public possession.

Women have always been held arbiters in the social realm. Let them extend the sense of social obligation, and among those separated by commercial competition and international jealousies promote the social feeling and allay the hostile expression; introduce amenities into the corridors of our public buildings; recognize a social tie between the servants of the public and the public served (the postman at our door, the policeman

on our boulevards); make permanent and real the temporary and fictitious expressions of good-will of which the constituent of an office-seeker finds himself, somewhat spasmodically, the recipient; use their social graces as a moral hyphen to unite what should never have been put asunder.

The state recognizes obligation to criminals, paupers, the sick, and the infirm, but is slow to perceive that the able-bodied have social needs.

After a call on a lady who has awakened many a civic conscience among her friends, a gentleman remarked: "I never call on Miss Addams but I come away dissatisfied with myself that I accomplish nothing to bring about a better state of things in Chicago." Divine discontent!

In the same home from which this influence emanated, one evening, a few years ago, a company of Italians had gathered—representatives of their 20,000 countrymen in Chicago—strangers to our tongue as alien to our soil. Excitement was intense among the Italian population of the United States, owing to the action of the New Orleans mob in seizing upon and killing Italian prisoners, unprotected by tha officials whose charges they were. The apathetic attitude of the government toward this mob was judged to be the expression of national prejudice, and gave rise to feelings of retaliation which threatened to disturb the relations of Italy and the United States.

This company at Hull House—dark-browed, suspicious, smarting under a sense of injustice which they felt to be a national affront, inflammable to the highest degree on the patriotic side of their nature—came together, full of defiance, ready to pledge each other for

revenge, yet, sure that they were in the house of friends, listened while every motive was set before them to dissuade from meeting wrong with wrong. The *folly* of revenge, perhaps more than its unethical side, was set forth. Perhaps it meant more to them than if a man said it, because a woman said: "I am ashamed of my countrymen in this their act of violence! I shall be ashamed of you, my Italian friends, if you seek redress in unjustifiable ways!"

I cannot reproduce the impressive scene, as gradually the angry exclamations diminished, imprecations were hushed, and those who came full of defiance went away unthreatening. I never saw a more beautiful instance of social influence applied to international affairs—an influence which could not have been used for this emergency if it had not been previously established by kindliness and wisdom of behavior which had won confidence.

This home was also the center of activity for the efforts of the Municipal Voters' League in the recent spirited and wonderfully successful campaign in the interest of returning good men to the City Council. That this effort succeeded in the Nineteenth Ward in reducing a previous plurality of 2,650 to 1,000 is near enough success not to be counted quite as defeat, particularly if the general enlightment which went along with producing this result be estimated.

It was not till Victoria came to the throne of England that factory acts took cognizance of little children, so as to prohibit the employment of those under eight years of age, and more than ten hours of work for those under eighteen.

When the Legislature of Illinois appointed a com-

mittee of investigation preparatory to introducing a bill for factory inspection, the committee put itself under the direction of a woman (the present inspector) whose knowledge was the most competent guide for revealing the conditions which should be provided against. The urgency in promoting and carrying this bill was chiefly from women who felt its importance.

It has happened not infrequently that a company of women has worked long and patiently to carry certain measures to a successful demonstration before they have been adopted into the municipal system. This is notably the case with the kindergarten form of education. The Training School for Nurses, instituted to insure the proper care of the sick in the Cook County Hospital of Illinois, was inaugurated in the face of opposition from the County Commissioners long and steadily maintained. The Training School is now a recognized and adopted necessity.

The necessities of life in communities early brought men together in organization, while women were left working at the distaff and loom, each by her own hearthstone in isolated homes. Their first experience with the force of organization was under the ægis of the church ; their first organized labor applied to church extension in the direction of missions and church benevolences. The important work of the Sanitary Commission and the more universal temperance movement have still further educated in this direction, while innumerable clubs with various aims have called forth alliance in the name of all the Muses and the Virtues.

However this tendency may be criticised, all must see that the underlying principle of the club spirit is social as opposed to selfish ; that it substitutes subjects of

common interest for those of personal interest; that it teaches submission to a majority, and regard for a minority; and is just so far preparatory to an intelligent participation in public affairs.

These clubs in rural towns have in many cases projected and effected village improvements of most substantial value.

The Chicago Woman's Club succeeded in procuring the introduction of police matrons in the jails; of having detention hospitals established for the insane, who formerly remained under the jurisdiction of the police department until adjudged fit inmates for the asylum. The Glenwood School for Dependent Children, which ought to be the care of the State, is supported by these women, who have realized the necessity for such an institution.

The Civic Federation of Chicago has ten separate committees, on all but two of which—that for Ways and Means and the Political Committee—men and women work together for the civic good.

Perhaps women have a compensation for their disfranchisement in finding it easier to disregard party lines; when urging the appointment of the best men for city offices, they cannot be suspected of working for the party. What does it matter whether he who inspects our alleys believes in free trade or protection, so far as the inspection is concerned; whether the incumbent of a chair in the Board of Education has Democratic or Republican affiliations? The obstinate persistence of women in declining to recognize this reason for distinction may yet prove wholesomely communicable. To cite Victoria again: it is universally admitted that "she has freed the throne from every suspicion of connection with

party politics, and has displayed as no other sovereign has done, a capacity of adapting herself to the requirements of parliamentary government."

If women are to carry their distinctive excellences into public affairs, they must be renewedly watchful over specific weaknesses. It is *wisdom's* ways which are ways of righteousness, and wisdom is born of definite knowledge. One may not rely with too exclusive dependence upon intuitional and impulsive sources as reservoirs of wisdom. The stir of philanthropic emotion, or the keen realization of injustice, is not guide enough to indicate the remedies that shall alleviate ills or redress wrongs. Sympathy with an invalid does not enlighten for purposes of diagnosis. One should know what remedies have proved futile, and not inaugurate anew experiments proved fallacious. There is always danger that women's sympathies will obstruct their judicial fairness.

The Roman mother told her son: "Come on the shield or with the shield!" The modern priestess of the home, with as true a spirit of self-sacrifice for herself and son, may say, "Give your time to this public office; sit in committee meetings; attend ward primaries; take the post of duty, where, instead of the victor's crown, the martyr's stigmata may be worn!"

There is no danger that the opportunity for serving one's country is at an end when wars cease. One may stand sentinel over a tax-list as faithfully as at picket duty.

There is a prevalent timidity at any suggestion of women in public affairs—a distaste for any such notion among many who love best the most familiar type, and who feel loyally that any change would be loss. But if

public affairs have no need of women, the home has need that those who preside over its councils, furnish its ideals, awaken apathy, stimulate to action, direct aspirations, and guide and train the young, should have an intelligent conception of interests broader than those bounded by the nearest circle. There can be no interest touching the public good which will not affect the private good, and women have no longer any right to say concerning public affairs, "It is none of my concern;" no longer, if ever they had it, the right to cherish helpless ignorance of the conditions of society. They are reprehensible if they do not bring to the solution of the larger problems affecting the commonwealth all the results of their home training and experience; all the synthesizing power of their social functions; all that womanliness given them for "drawing heavenward;" all their native tenderness for participation in sympathy, plus the knowledge of scientific methods; all their intuitive consciousness, plus the wisdom which comes of knowing. All that the Nymph Egeria was to Numa; all that Tacitus found the German women to be to their tribe; all that Beatrice was to Dante—plus the experience of nineteen Christian centuries—the world asks of her women to-day to use in her influence on public affairs.

GOOD AND BAD SIDE OF NOVEL READING.

BY W. L. SHELDON.

I BELIEVE in the novel. It is an excellent panacea for the troubled mind and a worthy instrument for keeping us in touch with life. It is a relief sometimes to have a change of mood and a change of atmosphere. The easiest method for healing the wounds of bitterness or recovering from the effects of anxiety is to do something which will make us think about something else.

We do not mean *any* form of novel; because there is a certain kind that would emphatically put us out of touch with life and be anything but a panacea for the moods which may dominate us. If you want to escape from a certain attitude of mind then go to a book that deals with something else. Do not, under any circumstances, take the one that analyzes the mood which is natural to you, and which would lead you to philosophize about it. The surest way to become "philosophical" over an experience, may be to avoid philosophizing about it. The best way to foster melancholy is to study the anatomy of it. The best way to rid yourself of melancholy is to stop thinking about it, to stop thinking about yourself, and find means for making yourself think about what is going on in the lives of others. Often as this has been said, it is said none too often, for it is a lesson that is hard to learn.

The novel has come to stay. It is a form of literature which is going to survive, I fancy, through all times. Indeed, we cannot overcome a certain wonder that it should be such a recent form of literature. Why did they not have it in the days of Athens? Yet, as we know, the "story" has existed in one form or another through all ages, although only within the last few centuries has it taken the definite shape it now possesses. What were the fairy tales of earlier times, the stories of the animal world as they have come down to us, the myth or the allegory, the fanciful talk supposed to be going on between the denizens of the forest, — what were these but novels, save for the fact that there was a half-belief in them—because the mind of the mature man in those days resembled the mind of the child at the present time?

Even now, our real interest in a story is because of the actual amount of truth involved in it. A fanciful sketch of what might be going on in another planet would not appeal to us. There is in all of us a touch, and a beautiful touch, of the child-mind, with that happy confusion between belief and unbelief, between the real and the unreal, the true and the fanciful. When we are reading a story we know perfectly well that just such persons have never lived. Stop us at any moment and put the question: "Do you believe what you are reading?" and we smile. Yet we cannot check the mood the book awakens, as we go on reading it.

Not long ago, for instance, I was reading "The Damnation of Theron Ware," by Harold Frederic. I knew it was only a story; yet as I went on with it, somehow it made me sick at heart. I would put down

the book and try to stop the mood, saying to myself: "Why, of course this is only a story." But that did not make much difference. I could not rest, but had to go on and finish it in spite of myself. Then I wanted to have nothing more to do with it. While it was only a story, I knew only too well that it was sadly, painfully, terribly true. Somehow I wished it had never been written. Sometimes these tales affect us as more truly true than the so-called "true-story" itself.

In making a plea for the novel it is not to be assumed for a moment that we have any sympathy with the voracious novel reader. Such a person is not put in touch with real life, but rather carried into a kind of dream-land. He comes to live in a world of unreality until his actual sympathies are dulled and he can positively shed tears over a story without feeling the slightest sympathy for the suffering going on under his own eyes. When any one is ever faintly approaching that state of mind, then novel reading becomes a vice; and there is something of this vice existing in most civilized countries now-a-days. People can go on reading fancy pictures of the trials and troubles of human nature, until they are disposed to do even *less* than they would have done in order to alleviate those trials and troubles when occurring in real life. Sympathy, pity, mercy, tenderness, righteous indignation—these are natural to all of us. They are motive forces which can either affect the will, or find their satisfaction solely by being played upon through art. For this reason enthusiasm for art of any kind if carried too far may easily take the place of action, weakening the will rather than inspiring it. You can luxuriate in a sense of pity for a character in

a story and by that very means exhaust your sense of pity for the real characters before your eyes.

Yet withal, I cling to my belief in the value of novel reading. But it not only depends on the amount we do; it also depends on the kind of novels we read. Unquestionably there is a certain class of literature now-a-days which is affecting human nature very much as the extensive use of drugs is affecting the minds of men and women at the present time. I am not sure but that they both gratify the same cravings. There seems to be an instinctive fondness on the part of human nature to indulge in a semi-delirium. Oftentimes the more you have of that delirium the more you want of it. We have a way of calling such drugs "tonics,"—but half of them are poisons; and the use of nearly all of them becomes poisonous in the extent to which people are more and more becoming dependent upon them. There are persons who get this semi-delirium not from drugs but from novel reading. To that extent and in that form it is a vice. It acts like opium, weakening and destroying the will. Men can become so dependent on excitement that they cannot get along without it. They are ever demanding a "new sensation." Such a thing as intellectual or spiritual debauchery is quite within the bounds of possibility.

We carry in us the good and bad tendencies of untold preceding ages. In most of us there is a certain fascination for the abnormal. It would seem as if a vast number of people liked to read about crimes; to observe or study the brutal side of human nature. There is great deal of truth in the attack which Nordau has made upon certain characteristics of the literature at the

close of our century. We shall get over this "degenerate" tendency by and by; although, beyond doubt, there is a certain class of influential writers now playing upon this instinctive fascination for the abnormal. They are giving us what might be called "pathological studies." We read them in spite of ourselves, even though they half-sicken us. If there were such institutions as "medical schools for the soul" that is where these studies would belong. They certainly have no place in literature.

At the time I was reading "The Damnation of Theron Ware" I was reading over again the story of "Adam Bede" by George Eliot. How alike they are, and yet how contrasted! They both affect us sorrowfully; both tend to bring tears to the eyes. Both have a fascination. There is a truth—an immense amount of truth—in both of the stories. It is human nature pictured there; and yet the chords they play upon are not the same at all. In the one case, as I have said, the story half-sickened me, although I could not let it alone. It was to me, just as if I were watching a man bleeding to death—saw the blood running—although it was a soul dying and not a body. It is not the function of art to take us into a clinic or dissecting room, even if the material dealt with is spiritual rather than physical. Stories of this kind show us how a soul may go to pieces, just as a body may go to pieces, in either instance as the effects of disease.

In comparison, consider that story of "Adam Bede." This is a great, great work of art. It does not sicken us or make us shudder. It is the struggle of healthy, natural man portrayed for us there. It is the average human nature and not the abnormal "freak" that we

have delineated for us in the writings of George Eliot. Where there is sin or crime you see the effort to rise above it—to get beyond it. We come from the perusal of such literature as if from a new baptism. It makes us feel as if, in spite of the evil everywhere, it would be worth our while to rush out in the effort to conquer it, in the faith that mankind may outlive it and pass above it.

It would seem as if many of our leading writers had felt that the stock of subjects for the novel had been nearly exhausted. They are searching the length and breadth of the land for a new theme or a new situation. Hopeless of dealing once more with the universal elements of human nature, such as formed the material for Shakespeare, they look to the sporadic, the exceptional, the abnormal. They know that such themes will be inexhaustible; because while there is one average human nature there may be ten thousand abnormal, degenerate variations.

Yet this search for new themes does show a shocking want of originality. The old writers who were masters in their art were not perplexed from the lack of novelty. They were quite willing to use the same subject material over and over again. For a hundred years the dramatists of Greece worked upon the same few stories gathered out of the great epic of Homer. The great painters of the Renaissance endlessly repeated the same theme. They felt no lack of opportunity in ever trying anew at the face of the Christ-child or the Madonna. What if tnere is a wearysome monotony in the works of those masters? Have we anything in the "novelties" of the present day which can be compared with them?

Disease is not a normal subject for art, whether it be disease of the body or disease of the soul. It belongs to science—either to the science of medicine, including physiology, or else to some branch of the science of psychology. Normal, healthy human nature can always furnish subject-material for real genius or originality. Contrast, for instance, some of these "pathological studies" such as the "Heavenly Twins," "Tess" or the "Damnation of Theron Ware" with such stories as the "Rudder Grange" by Stockton or the "Lady of the Aroostook" by Howells. In that story by Stockton we have a charming picture, giving us in exquisite comedy a study of the trials and tribulations, the joys and sorrows, of early married life. I wish every man and woman on the face of the earth could read that novel. There is no pathology there. It is just a delightful story. From the day when the two young people launched out in their house-keeping experiment in a canal boat, along with their extraordinary and most original domestic, and their quaint "boarder,"—down to their final experiment in rural life on a farm, it is a masterpiece all the way through. The fact that such stories can be written shows that the subject-material is not exhausted; but that there is a transient decline in literary genius in the other tendency to reach out wildly for the grotesque, the fantastic, or the abnormal. A few such stories as "One Summer" by Blanche Willis Howard, "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" by Walter Besant, "Mrs. Lex and Mrs. Aleshine" by Stockton, "Debit and Credit" by Freitag, "The Rise of Silas Lapham" by W. D. Howells, are worth a whole library of such literature as the "Heavenly Twins," "Damnation of Theron Ware," or the nauseating tales of Zola.

It is to be remembered that art is seeking to extract a meaning out of facts or to put a meaning into them. The facts may be true and yet the interpretation altogether awry. All depends on the way the facts are placed or arranged in the picture, or in the way the artist arranges his lights and shadows. You will see what I mean, in reflecting on the writings of Zola. I have only been over a few of them and had no taste or desire to go further, so that my judgment may be amiss. It struck me that he had the vicious habit of selecting out a certain class of facts, throwing a lurid light upon them, leaving the other side of human nature in the shadow, until somehow you get the impression that what you see is the *whole*. It makes you despise and loath human nature. A novelist can devote himself to these pathological studies so long that by and by he becomes infected himself by what he is observing, and then he, too, would be a fit subject for such a "study." A man can watch or analyze the materialistic, the animalistic or the vulgar side of human nature until his own eyes and soul become vulgarized.

The New Psychology is making much of the fact which has been known from the earliest times, that when we look at a thing with the eye and undertake to describe what we see, a great deal of what we describe is not really in the image on the eye at all. The scene we have before us is partially constructed by the mind itself, rebuilt the very instant we are beholding the external object, yet rebuilt out of material that we have seen at other times. No human being on the face of the earth can see exactly in the way his *eyes* see. This is not something erratic or perverted in human

vision, but a characteristic natural to us all. We could not go on and live, unless the mind did respond instantaneously and help us to reconstruct those outside images.

Yet this characteristic of human nature explains the erratic interpretations put upon what a number of well-known novelists *think* they see. They must, in spite of themselves, reconstruct their pictures from the tendencies of their own minds. If there is something abnormal in themselves, it will be reflected in their pictures of life. What they are fond of looking at, will tend to color anything and everything which they see and which they undertake to describe to others. The difference, as it seems to me, between the novelists of to-day and a dramatist like Shakespeare of a few centuries ago, lies in the fact that while both had to reconstruct their images, yet Shakespeare had the broad, expansive, healthy vision, and the novelist of to-day for the most part has the one-sided, abnormal, unhealthy vision.

It is the breadth of view which is lacking — that breadth which would enable a man to see human nature in true perspective from all sides; so that when a one-sided picture of human nature is given, it is given, in a way, as if it were a picture of all human nature. I have read one or two of the novels of Ouida. But they affected me in the same way as those of Zola, and I did not care for more. The facts were there; but the image or interpretation seemed so utterly distorted. It is the reconstructed image that is untrue. The literary artist of to-day is self-deceived or partially color-blind, that is all. Yet a great school of popular novelists are living at the present time on this method of arranging recon-

structed pictures of abnormal human nature, gratifying about the same instinct that we see gratified by the daily papers in their endless accounts of "crimes and criminality." We may call it "art" because there is not much of anything better at hand. But by and by much of this will go into the waste-basket or be laid on the shelf. The possibilities of giving these reconstructed, perverted pictures are so great, that one writer will crowd out another writer, one class of pictures thrust aside another class. The opportunities for originality in this direction are endless. When Zola dies, his works will be forgotten, because some new Zola will step forward to take his place and give new pictures of the perverted or the abnormal. But one great work of real *art* never crowds out another work. They both survive side by side.

Much of the so-called "realism" that we are being deluged with in art or literature now-a-days, is rather a form of *perverted idealism.* It gives us actual facts or experiences, but does not show them in their true relationship to other facts or experiences, and so affects us rather with a sense of unreality. Some of the so-called idealists impress me as much more *truly* realistic in their methods, giving a more genuine picture of actual relality than the "realists" themselves. We are getting tired of art without a soul behind it or a soul at the centre of it. A novel can be a mere splash of color, just as much as a so-called painting.

The kind of idealism that I like to recognize in a story is the kind that seems always to show the author in sympathy with the characters he is describing. Not that he rewards his good characters or punishes his bad

ones; nor that he makes you like all his characters,—but you can feel that touch of sympathy on his part even where he makes you despise the people he is sketching for you. Your respect for the dignity of human nature continues just the same whether you are touched by the humor, the evil, or the pathos. This is why I prefer Howells, for instance, to Zola. The one seems in love with human nature in spite of its weaknesses or eccentricities; while the other seems to have a perveted contempt for it. Both are realists; yet how unlike they are! There is such a keen, warm, profound sympathy manifested in the writings of Howells! While he makes us pity the weaknesses of men and women, somehow he never lets us despise our common human nature. It is realism portrayed by a healthy, normal vision, which appreciated the fact that there is always a soul in "things natural." Some of his novels, for this reason, I have read many times.

There is another form of idealistic realism that may be equally impressive, although we have to be much more on our guard lest we be mislead by it. I have in mind, for example, such a work as "Les Miserables" by Victor Hugo. This might be called a romantic realism. There never were such types of men as "Javert" or "Jean Valjean." They are creations pure and simple, out of the fancy of the author — not creations in the sense in which we would apply the term to the characters of Thackeray or Hawthorne, but rather as giving us motive forces in combinations such as we should never come upon in real life. The combinations are unreal. Such persons never could have existed. But the portrayal of the workings of each motive force may

be thoroughly true. The conscience-motive, for instance, as shown in the evolution of character in "Jean Valjean" is wholly true to human nature, real and genuine to the last degree. The two types of duty, contrasted in the two characters, "Javert" and "Jean Valjean," are types such as we see around us every day. In fact they are the two eternal types. And therefore I look upon "Les Miserables" as a great work of art. It is a genuine picture of the forces at work in human nature, although, perhaps, too much disguised by *romance*. When a writer who is not a genius tries this method he becomes erratic in the extreme — until we have such a ludicrous picture as the "Count of Monte Christo" by Dumas, so popular with *boys* everywhere.

I have been speaking of the novel chiefly as a means of diversion or amusement to the mind, as if, when reading it, we were indulging in a form of play. Even if we read from this standpoint it would be legitimate and natural. Perhaps the novel of to-day, with its peculiar characteristics, has led people more and more to read from this attitude, as if solely for the sake of diversion, until many cultivated people would be rather ashamed of owning to a decided taste for this form of literature.

And yet, art is art; and if it is *true* art, then our indulgence in it will always mean something more than play. Comedy may be as profound as tragedy.

When thinking of the great masters of this type of literature I always link them with my thoughts of Shakespeare. Alas for the person who would have a lurking shame at being devoted to the writings of George Eliot! We may get as much for our higher culture, for the development of mind and heart, for the enrichment of

our whole intellectual or spiritual nature, by reading the story of "Maggie Tulliver" or "Felix Holt" as from reading Dante or Plato, Emerson or Darwin, Pascal or Goethe. I make a plea for this higher form of literature, therefore, not as a mere panacea to the mind, but as a means for the highest culture we may be capable of.

Perhaps the best means of distinguishing between what we would call the entertaining story and the work of actual genius, would be in recognizing that the genius *creates characters*, while the ordinary writer gives us interesting situations, picturesque moods or striking dialogues. Name over to yourself some of the great novelists and you will see what I mean. When you think of Thackeray, it is not the titles of his novels or certain special situations which occur to you. You may even have forgotton the titles. It is rather the names of the characters which begin to arise before you. It will be "Becky Sharp," "Major Pendenis," "Amelia," "Col. Newcomb" and any number of others. They seem to you like living men and women with whom you may have been intimately acquainted or whose characters have come before you for your closest scrutiny. You may not remember just what those persons said or did in the stories. But the people themselves—what they were—left an impression that cannot be effaced.

And so it is with most of the characters in the stories of Charles Dickens. You may have to think twice in order to recall in which one of the novels you find "Wilkins Micawber." So, too, the name of "Sam Weller" will be as immortal in literature as that of Napoleon Bonaparte in history. When you think of Hawthorne what comes to your mind? Suppose I mention to you the

"Marble Faun." Is it this, that, or the other scene which rises before you? No, I fancy what comes to your mind will be the names of "Hilda," "Donatello," "Miriam" and the others. Just so it would be with the "Scarlet Letter." You think of "Arthur Dimmesdale" and "Hester." In these great writers you have an overwhelming sense of what the persons *were*, rather than what they did or what they said.

Now consider, in contrast, the lighter class of stories —interesting, charming in their way, pleasant to read, soothing to the moods, just adapted for relaxing the mind. I mention the author of "Marcella." You will think at once what I mean. Mrs. Humphrey Ward does not create characters; she gives us striking situations, interesting pictures of the struggle going on in the industrial or religious world. "Robert Elsmere" is of less consequence as a man than in the tendencies he represents in the new phases of religious life. Take away the religious aspect from the story and little or nothing would be left there. Remove the pictures of the social or industrial struggle going on in England and what would be left to "Marcella?"

The Great Masters who could create characters are gone. Not one of them survives. But they have left us a heritage of immortal worth.

Again and again those lines have come back to me from Emerson where he says:

> "If Thought unlock her mysteries,
> If Friendship on me smile,
> I walk in marble galleries,
> I talk with kings the while."

And it is a true experience when reading over and over

again the stories of these great writers, the novelists we have mentioned. It affects us very much as it must affect the mind of the scientist when at last he unravels some of the secrets of nature and feels his whole being flooded with new light from the deeper interpretation he can put upon *reality*. In so far as our ordinary life is concerned, we never can see the truly real, because we cannot see the incidents occurring to us, in their complete relationship. We can never know a single friend through and through, as we can know the characters of Dickens or Hawthorne. There is something supremely solemn in this close insight we are getting into the secrets of human nature. When the pictures given us are in a normal perspective in the story, the whole character is before us and not just one small part of it. Sometimes, for this reason, I am inclined to put the works of George Eliot as superior even to those of Shakespeare. In her portrayal of human nature she seems at times to be unraveling the mysteries of deity. It is one characteristic of the genius in any form of literature, but especially in the novel, that the genius does not nourish our prejudices but makes us more perfectly human and sympathetic. How hard it is to detect a *prejudice* in Shakespeare! And this is true of the great coterie of novelists whom I have named. The petty writer, with his eyes fixed so close to the scene he is describing that he cannot see it in any other relationship, is full of his prejudices, and nourishes them in us at the same time. But who, for example, could make out from the writings of Hawthorne or George Eliot just what religious beliefs they held, any more than you could make out the religious theories of Shakespeare from his dramas!

The pity of it is that we do most of our novel reading when we are very young, before we are out of our teens. And then, as a rule, our attention is, more than anything else, on the love-tale or the love-motive. We do not see the book as a complete work of art. We read it and lay it aside for another and then for another until all that we have read becomes loosely fused into one general vague impression. I have wondered if we would not get more of the higher culture from novel reading if there were as limited an amount of this form of literature as there is of poetry. I have said on another occasion that in order to value the worth of a poem we must have read it over and over again. This would be almost equally true in reference to the great novels.

It would be worth our while if we could read a few of these classic works anew every few years. They would mean something quite different to us each time we read them. I remember some one telling me how he had laughed and laughed over the humor of "Don Quixote" when reading it before he was out of his teens; and then how, years later, when he came to read it, it was impossible for him to keep back the tears from his eyes. In the first reading it was merely a humorous tale. In the secoud reading it was a profound portrayal of the weaknesses of our human nature as they exist now-a-days as much as in the time of Cervantes.

How many, likewise have read "Vanity Fair" when quite young and been struck mainly by its humor, seeing it only as the story of a clever *parvenue*. Then perhaps they have read it ten or fifteen or twenty years later, and what another story it seemed! How it cut

us to the heart to feel that Thackeray was showing us the actual world we live in, and what a world of illusions it is, where we go chasing baubles or pursuing phantoms, letting that which is of most value slip out of our grasp! "Vanity Fair" is the "Don Quixote" of the Nineteenth Century, showing us the world of illusions where people cling to the notion that they can get happiness without earning it, never waking up to see their mistake, but in their failure calling everything "vanity."

If only we had time to read over such a work as "Don Quixote" or "Vanity Fair" again and again, as the Greek read his Homer! We are sacrificing the classic for the ephemeral; and in doing so making the heaviest of all sacrifices, abandoning our own spiritual culture.

No great work of art of any kind—either a sculpture, music, painting, or the novel—can exert its true influence upon us unless we have viewed it, or listened to it, or read it a number of times, and in different moods, or at different epochs in our lives. Art does not have the right sort of elevating effect upon us at the present time, because we are not able to hold our attention long enough upon any one great work of art, so that it may secure a firm and lasting hold upon us. We may be trying to cultivate twenty different sides of our nature, and in that very effort fail to cultivate any side at all. The very necessity we are under at the present time of "keeping up" with ephemeral literature is lowering the standard of literature. Our culture is becoming so diffused as almost to be no culture at all.

I am not sure but that the multiplicity of free libraries

may be doing almost as much harm as good, because of this one mistake they encourage in our methods for culture. People are getting out of the habit of *owning* books; and yet you can never get much out of a book unless you own it; unless you can have it lying about on your table, or on your mantel, where you can pick it up and read it at odd moments, or go back to it in varying moods. A small private library of books, bought volume by volume, from what we have saved through sacrificing other pleasures, may have more value to us than having access to a library of a hundred thousand volumes where those volumes do not belong to us. It is strange that we lay out so much for our houses, so much for pictures, so much for our table, for the pleasures that lose their significance the instant they are over, and so little for the library which can nourish the mind and give peace to the heart.

Any book that is worth reading twice should be owned—no matter how great the sacrifice one has to make in order to possess it. And any book that is really a work of art *is* worth reading twice or many times, and we do not get the value of it until we have done so.