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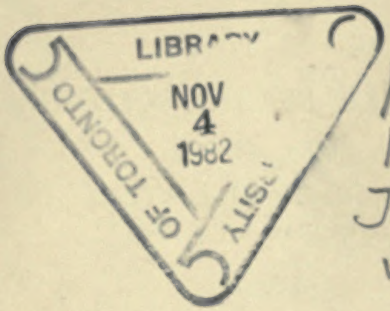

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OF THE

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

HELD AT

THE HOTEL ASTOR

NEW YORK CITY

APRIL 21ST, 1916

OPENING ADDRESS

BY EMORY R. JOHNSON, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMERCE, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The prolonged illness of Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie, the honored president of this Institute, prevents his attendance to-day and accounts for the appearance of a substitute chairman.

In 1912 a department of the American Social Science Association became The National Institute of Social Sciences. The purposes sought to be attained by the public-spirited men who brought about the establishment of the National Institute were admirably stated by President Mabie in his address at the opening of the annual meeting a year ago. Dr. Mabie said:

"The Institute aims not merely to recognize those who conspicuously render services to humanity, but to bring into organized fellowship all who honor this ideal of devotion to the public welfare in quiet or public ways in all parts of the country; to create a body whose opinion shall have weight and influence in forming public opinion; to give to those who are working in remote places, in an alien atmosphere, in loneliness and isolation, a sustaining sense of companionship; to publish a Journal which shall keep its widely scattered members in touch with one another by gathering up and reporting the movements, endeavors and enterprises which express the abounding life of the nation and record its progress in civilization, and by printing significant papers or discussions by its members."

The end sought by the Institute, as conceived by its far-sighted president, is to strengthen the patriotic and humanitarian impulses, to stimulate a "passion of devotion to country and humanity." The accomplishment of such a mission is worthy of our best collective and individual efforts. The steady progress of the nation, the continuous improvement of government as the expression of national ideals and as the agency of the nation's purpose, the betterment of human relations in the world at large all depend upon the sustained

zeal, the strengthened impulse and the abiding faith of the men and women of thought and action upon whom rest the responsibilities of leadership.

The fact cannot be overlooked that the fires of enthusiasm, even in the breast of those who start their active life with an earnest desire to do and dare for the public weal, may gradually burn lower and lower in an atmosphere of public indifference and neglect. The appreciation of mankind and a widening opportunity for service are the fuel and the oxygen that keep aflame the souls of those who labor to spread the bounds of knowledge, to brighten the lives of their fellow-men, or to raise the ideals and actions of their nation to higher levels.

The present problem before the National Institute of Social Sciences is to organize its activities so as most effectively to further the aims it was founded to promote. The Institute has, as yet, but started on its course. At each recurring annual meeting, some progress in organization and activity will doubtless be reported. During the past year Volume One, of the Journal of the National Institute has appeared, and thus has been begun one permanent activity the Institute was founded to perform. The officers hope to be able to build up the Institute block by block as architects and masons of former days have erected the enduring fabrics that epitomize past achievement and give inspiration for future effort; but the success of the architects and builders of the Institute, whoever they may be will depend, in the long run, upon the enthusiasm of the membership, as a whole, and upon the participation of individual members in the development and execution of plans.

PROFESSOR JOHNSON'S INTRODUCTION OF NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, LL.D.

Few men have enriched public education and the political life of the United States in so many ways and so greatly as has the scholarly and versatile President of Columbia University. Indeed, scarcely a week passes that one does not read of some new labor, some added accomplishment, by this man of manifold activities. It is a special pleasure to be privileged to present to you Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler.

A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, LL.D., PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

When, in 1807, the philosopher Hegel published his "Phänomenologie des Geistes"— a work which seems to me one of the most noteworthy in all the literature of philosophy —he referred to it as a "voyage of discovery." He gave the work this inviting name because in it he undertook to trace the history of consciousness in its growth from the first stages of culture up to those theoretical and practical convictions which underlie modern civilization and constitute its basis and foundation. I am using the term in an analogous but far less ambitious sense. What I have in mind is to state as simply and as directly as I can, and as correctly as may be possible after the passage of thirty years, the impressions and reflections of a young American, who, like so many others of his day, took ship a generation ago to seek instruction and inspiration at the universities of a foreign land.

So rapidly have our American universities progressed during the past generation that it is only with some effort that we can think ourselves back and reconstruct the academic life, organization, and methods of thirty years ago. At that time a visiting European would have been able to discover no universities whatever in the United States. He would have found Mr. Eliot in the midst of his severe task at Cambridge, reorganizing Harvard College and its attendant professional schools, giving new ideas to their governing boards, leading in the reconstruction of their programmes of study, and exerting a wide influence on the thought and policies of academic teachers in all parts of the United States. He would have found Doctor McCosh growing old at Princeton, but full of zeal and abounding in vision, and so stirring the imagination and appealing to the ambition of a group of young students that he created by his own efforts an exceptionally talented company of productive scholars, though

few in number. He would have found a small Columbia College in the City of New York, with President Barnard calling aloud for the means with which to make progress and to seize the opportunity that he saw so clearly, while here and there a younger scholar was planning plans and dreaming dreams of what might some day be brought about on that ancient foundation. He would have seen vigorous intellectual life at Philadelphia, at New Haven, at Ithaca, at Ann Arbor, at Madison, at Berkeley, and at Charlottesville, but at no one of them would he have found a university. On reaching Baltimore he would have opened his eyes a little wider. For here, still young and still taking on form, was the promise of a real university. Here had been brought together by the genius of President Gilman a company of really advanced scholars and a small group of really inspiring and productive university teachers. Everything was being subordinated to the university ideals of inquiry, of productive scholarship, and of publication. The beginnings were yet small but they were highly promising.

The fact that these were the conditions then existing in the United States was one of the reasons why the more ambitious and energetic of those American college graduates of that day who looked forward to scholarship as a career, hastened across the Atlantic as soon as means could be found, to Oxford and to Paris, to Berlin and to Vienna, to Leipzig and to Göttingen. To come under the influence of a European university, particularly of a German university, was then the height of academic ambition.

For half a century the German universities had been drawing to their libraries, lecture-rooms, and laboratories an increasing number of American youth. These had been received with great hospitality, and they had repaid the welcome tendered to them by assiduous study and by grateful recollection and appreciation of one, two, or three years of scholarly companionship, intellectual stimulus, and careful discipline. As the young American of the scholarly type reached the close of his college course, or perhaps after he had passed a year or two in so-called graduate studies at his alma mater, he possessed himself of a *Universitats-Kalender*, and began to inform himself regarding the leading

German scholars, the lectures that were to be given during the following semester, and conditions and cost of life in a German university town. Every scrap that had been printed on any of these subjects was read with avidity, and questions, definite and precise, were asked right and left of those older scholars who had already been enrolled at a German university. The processes and ceremonies attendant upon reporting to the local police, upon matriculating at the university, upon securing the signature of the proper professors to the student's *Anmeldungs-Buch* were inquired into, and suggestions as to procuring suitable lodgings were eagerly sought. It must be confessed that when all these questions, necessary and unnecessary, were answered the undertaking still seemed to be a venturesome journey into a strange and quite unknown land. The little German and French that were then taught in college would not bear the weight of the necessities of daily conversation and must be quickly supplemented by practical instruction in both languages. Financial arrangements had to be made, and the cost carefully counted. Finally, the plunge was taken and the shores of America faded from sight for the first time.

One can never be young but once, and one can never make the first trip to Europe a second time. There is something quite unique in the anticipation with which one first approaches the Old World in the endeavor to make its acquaintance. From history and from literature in both prose and verse, as well as from anecdote and books of travel, the whole scene is intellectually familiar, or at least it seems to be so. Contact with it, however, dispels this illusion and reveals for the first time real Europe, whose heart is beating underneath the surface with the blood-flow of centuries in a way that cannot be recorded and described on the printed page. Then, as now, too many Americans went abroad without ever getting to Europe at all. They got to hotels where only Americans went; they got to banking-houses where only American newspapers were on file; they got to summer resorts where Americans predominated; but too rarely did they get beneath the surface of Europe to come in contact with the rich, fine, cultivated life of the people. The student bent upon getting the best that a

European university had to give was more fortunate. He was literally forced beneath the surface of Europe, and was compelled to enter into the familiar and institutional life of England, of Germany, or of France, just as an Englishman, a German, or a Frenchman would do. In Germany, to be sure, he was apt to want to live on a little higher plane than the usual German student. He wished for somewhat better food and was satisfied with somewhat less beer. He liked a better-warmed room during the cold days and nights of a north European winter and he could not subsist without some measure of that ventilation which the European regards as one of the most mischievous manifestations of the Evil One.

Nevertheless, the American student, particularly in Germany, was able in those days to come very close to the life of the people, to enter into their joys and their anxieties, to read their newspapers and their books, to go to their concerts and their theatres, and to hear their reflections upon the world at large, and particularly upon that new world from which the student himself had come. At that time there was more migration from Germany to America than is now the case, and there were somewhat more and stronger immediate personal ties between households in the Fatherland and households on this side of the Atlantic. Nevertheless, the lack of understanding of America was complete. The fact that some persons had been lynched in New York during the draft riots of 1863 had developed into a conviction that lynching was a favorite New York pastime, and that delicate women were exposed to the disagreeable sight of victims of the lynchers hanging from an occasional lamp-post. Any public disorder or dereliction, or any unusual or discreditable occurrence which the newspapers had made much of, was magnified into a habit or an institution. There were no American institutions of higher learning; there was no American literature; American art was not existent; and American science was a negligible quantity.

All this was a great shock for the young voyager, who had set out with a quite different impression of his own country's importance and achievements. He found now that it was regarded, good-naturedly enough, as an overgrown and irresponsible child, rich no doubt, and likely to grow

richer, but not able to make any contribution to the higher life of the world. Argument on any one of these points was of little avail. The minds of men and women, even those of more than usual intelligence and wide reading, were closed. The result was frequently vexation of spirit and loss of temper, but the discipline was useful. This sort of reception was well suited to reduce the bumptiousness of the young American, and to make him understand for perhaps the first time how old and how large the world was and how set were its ways of thinking and of appreciating the newer peoples.

The winter of 1884-5 was a particularly interesting time to be in Berlin owing to the Socialist agitation then in active progress. The city was in what was technically termed a minor state of siege. This was a rather toplofty term to describe a situation in which police regulations as to domicile, public meetings, processions and the like were particularly stringent. At that time Berlin was much less than half its present size. The population was probably 1,200,000, and as there were some 20,000 soldiers stationed in and about Berlin, one who had never seen a military officer in his life, except in a parade of the militia on Decoration Day, met these gayly uniformed gentlemen at every turn, in the streets, in the cafés, and in all places of public resort, with no little surprise. This experience of itself induced reflection. What were all these officers and soldiers doing? Why were they withdrawn from productive industry? Why were they so quickly deferred to by the civilian population? Such questions as these the young American asked, and he received replies that revealed to him, again for the first time, a different view of the state and of government to any that he had come in contact with at home.

New and interesting experiences awaited him at every turn. Emperor William I, *der alte Kaiser*, as he was affectionately called by the populace, was to be seen every morning in the window of his working-room at the palace, at the corner of what was then called the Opern Platz. It was the custom of his Majesty to return by a gracious gesture every greeting from one who might pass his window, and to rise in his place and formally salute whenever a body of troops, however small, passed by. The Crown Prince, who was,

after nearly a decade, to come to the throne for a few short weeks as Emperor Friedrich III, was the very ideal of manly dignity and beauty, and seemed to incarnate in his own person the attributes and traditions of royalty. His eldest son, now and for more than a quarter of a century past the German Emperor, was an officer of the garrison. He was frequently seen driving or riding about the city, and came into familiar converse with a considerable group of young men, among whom occasionally an American student was included. The daily sight of royalty and of the imperial trappings and ceremonies gave to the institution a reality that it had never before had in the American's mind. To him Emperors and Kings had always seemed far-away personalities, recorded in history and worthy of a place beside the demigods and heroes of the ancient mythology. Now he was to find that these royal personages were very real, terribly human, quite visible to the naked eye, and ready to enjoy and to enter into all the pleasures and satisfactions of life.

Naturally the university itself was the first place to be sought out after the great Friedrich Strasse Bahnhof had been left behind and lodgings chosen and occupied. So this was the great University of Berlin! On either side of the court sat in marble state the two Humboldts, Alexander and Wilhelm. The low, well-porportioned building, built of brick and covered with stucco, had a curious attraction. In and out of its doors and across this court had walked for seventy-five years some of the great men of the world. What would one not have given to see Hegel cross the garden behind the university building, making his way toward the Platz which now bears his name and which contains his effigy; or to see Schleiermacher turn his steps toward home at the end of one of his great lectures on religious feeling to the students of theology. Imagination could even see the magnetic personality of Fichte himself moving about in these halls and streets. Trendelenburg, Harms, and Droysen had recently died, but von Ranke was still there as a link with the past, although he was nearly ninety years of age, and opposite his name in the announcement for the semester were printed the significant words *liest nicht*. It was a great occasion for the young

American when he first put his foot inside that academic building. Every hallway and every lecture-room seemed to echo with the footsteps and with the voices of great scholars who had shaken or moulded the world of thought. The bulletin-boards were covered with curiously written notices of one sort or another. Every notice was eagerly spelled out in order to gain some information of student customs and of academic life. Then the offices of dean and of questor were hunted up, in order that when the time came for the formal ceremony of matriculation one might know where to go.

The next step was to buckle down to a better mastery of the German language. Hours each day were devoted to poring over German grammars and reading-books; to conversation in lodgings, on the streets, and in the Thiergarten with companions who were chosen for the purpose; in reading the daily newspapers and in attending the theatre. Of all these devices perhaps the two most useful were the daily conversations on the streets and in the Thiergarten with chosen companions and the nightly visit to the theatre, where precise enunciation and correct pronunciation seemed to make German so easy to understand.

A letter from Professor Chandler to Hofmann, the great Berlin chemist, was the occasion of some concern, for it proved that Hofmann was at the moment rector magnificus of the University of Berlin, and how to approach so exalted a personage required both preparation and advice. The preparation took the form of a solemn suit of black and a silk hat. Advice took the form of pointing out the hour of the day when the eminent personage should be sought at his own home. This proved to be a simple little house on Dorotheen Strasse, not far from the university building; but the formal preparations seemed to have been made in vain, when the rector magnificus opened the door himself and took his frightened and awed visitor by the hand for a most friendly and kindly conversation. This visit broke the ice. If the rector magnificus was so easy to approach, then the professors, both ordinary and extraordinary, to say nothing of the Privat-Docenten, must be a very simple matter indeed. So in most cases it proved.

As the particular subject of study in this case was to be philosophy and educational theory, the steps of the newcomer were naturally directed first to the apartment of Eduard Zeller. This apartment would be as easy to find to-day as it was thirty years ago. Professor Zeller and his charming wife, the daughter of Ferdinand Christian Baur, the founder of the so-called Tübingen School of Theology, lived at 4 Magdeburger Strasse, III Treppen, and thither the young inquirer climbed. Zeller's personality is not likely ever to be forgotten. He was then seventy years of age, slight and spare of build and frame, with a massive forehead and the keenest of keen black eyes. While at work in his study he usually wore a long dressing-gown fastened at the waist by a cord, and he stood at a high desk like a bookkeeper, with his notes and books of reference spread about him in orderly fashion. Here was the greatest living authority on Greek philosophy, and the man whose patient industry had brought to a conclusion the "Philosophie der Griechen," an almost final authority in its field. Never was a great scholar kinder to the youngest and most callow of apprentices, and never were more pains taken to give a youth an insight into the life and thought of the Greeks and their meaning for all time. Moreover, Professor Zeller saw to it that his pupil had opportunity on Sunday evenings to meet, under his roof, some of the most charming and cultivated men and women who then adorned and represented the intellectual life of Berlin. After all these years one can see now the quick-moving figure of du Bois-Reymond, the physiologist, whose pamphlet, entitled "Die sieben Welträthsel," was then being widely discussed and attacked; or the graceful gentleness of Goldschmidt, who had no superior as a master of commercial law, and whose conversation moved easily over both legal and practical topics. On these Sunday evenings, too, there occasionally came Gneist, who was particularly interesting as the chief authority on English public law; Vahlen, whose spoken Latin in his seminar on Lucretius was as delightful as it was novel to hear; and Ernst Curtius, who can still be seen in the eye of memory sitting at the base of a statue in the Neues Museum, placidly describing to a group of students, note-book in hand, the characteristics and significance

of the works of ancient art by which they were surrounded. Those were noteworthy evenings, and on looking back it would seem as if they were perhaps of more and more lasting educational value than the laboriously attended lectures that extended over so many months.

One's first experience in a German university lecture-room is interesting in the extreme. At that time there was nothing like it in America. In order to be officially permitted to attend a course of lectures it was necessary to seek out the given professor in his private consultation-room and to secure his signature in the *Anmeldungs-Buch*. On request he would assign a specific seat in the lecture-hall, particularly if the student were a foreigner and anxious to be placed where he could hear clearly. In one particular *Anmeldungs-Buch* it is still possible to spell out the signatures of Zeller, for his course on the general history of philosophy; of Paulsen, for his courses on the introduction to philosophy and on educational theory, as well as for his seminar on Kant's "Kritik der reinen Vernunft"; of Dilthey, for his course on logic and theory of knowledge; of Rehmke, now professor in Greifswald, for his practical exercises on Kant's "Prolegomena"; and of Doctor Lasson—who is still living and nearly eighty-five years of age—for his course on fundamental philosophical problems.

The great scholars differed widely in their method of presenting their several subjects. On Zeller's own recommendation very few notes were taken of his lectures. The young American having possessed himself of a copy of the professor's "Grundriss der Geshichte der Griechischen Philosophie," followed closely his exposition, book open in hand, and wrote out his impressions of what had been said on returning to his lodgings. Dilthey, on the other hand, was very insistent that precise notes should be taken. To this end he divided his daily lecture into two parts. It was his custom to speak for about twenty-five minutes in a general way in exposition of the subject under immediate consideration, and then for twenty minutes to dictate, with painstaking accuracy and reiteration, precisely what he wished the student to put down. It would have been so easy for Professor Dilthey to print this material in a pamphlet that

his practise was always resented as more or less of a reflection on the art of printing.

Few lecturers were more persuasive, illuminating, and delightful than Friedrich Paulsen. This extraordinary man was then just coming into his fame and reputation. While his class-rooms were crowded and his influence very great indeed, he was still but a *professor extraordinarius*. The reason popularly assigned for this in the university was that Paulsen was somewhat too progressive and radical in his views to command the full approval of his ruling powers at the Cultus Ministerium. He was thirty-nine years of age, and his swarthy complexion, flashing eye, and eloquent voice made an impression that no lapse of time will ever weaken or destroy. In his lectures on educational theory he opened up what was to the young American a wholly new and unknown field of inquiry. The notion that the great activity and human interest called education might be subjected to scientific examination and analysis and might be shown to rest upon definite philosophical principles, was nothing short of a revelation. In America education had always seemed to be—well, just education! In Paulsen's crowded lecture-room, on the other hand, it was a most fascinating subject of study. In his seminar on Kant, Paulsen came in very close touch with the fundamentals of his subject and with the select company of students who were admitted to his companionship, there to receive the severest and most searching criticism both of the methods and of the results of their work. Twenty years afterward, when Paulsen had come fully to his own and when his influence not only in Germany but outside of it was literally enormous, and when the years had turned his coal-black hair into a most becoming iron-gray, he, seated either in his study or in the garden of his home at Steglitz, used to laugh over the experiences of long ago and to recall with that American student, who remained to the end his close and intimate friend and correspondent, much that had happened in the interval both in Europe and across the Atlantic. Paulsen was much touched by the appreciation accorded him in America, and when Professor Frank Thilly, then of the University of Missouri,

translated his more important books into English he was as much pleased as a young girl on going to her first ball.

There are other impressions and memories, too, no less vivid and no less inspiring. There were the evening popular lectures of du Bois-Reymond, who reflected the curiously divergent influences of Johannes Müller and of Neander, in which he expounded and interpreted in masterly fashion the developing progress of modern science and the significance of its controlling principles and its most far-reaching results. There were also the early lectures in what soon proved to be a far too technical course to follow, by von Helmholtz on *die Wellentheorie*, in which he connected together by a single formula, and brought under the dominance of a single law, wave-motion of every sort, whether manifested in the realm of matter, in that of mind, or in that of social organization. Then there were the Monday evening popular discourses by von Treitschke, who was at the very height of his influence and power. To listen to these discourses was, for the first few moments, distinctly disagreeable, since von Treitschke's deafness left him without any power to control his voice. In consequence it was frequently almost painful to listen to his utterance. It was not long, however, before one forgot the utterance in the vividness and vigor of what the man was saying. That at the end of a generation his social and political philosophy was to shake the whole world with the evidences of its power was little dreamed of in those days. True von Treitschke's attacks on England, and on America as well, seemed even then to be very bitter and very frequent. But they proceeded so plainly from a complete misconception of the Anglo-Saxon character and temperament that they did not seem likely to be practically influential. Treitschke's favorite complaint against both Englishmen and Americans was that they were hypocrites and nations of mere shopkeepers making pretense to the possession of cultivation. More than once he said, with the most astonishing emphasis that England and Englishmen were lost to all idealism and that they possessed no national vigor. Interesting as this was, it was not long before the basis on which it rested made itself plain. Treitschke could not understand how any nation or people could prefer com-

mon sense to logical perfection, and so, when the Anglo-Saxons, deterred by common sense, failed to carry out to their logical conclusions certain professed principles of conduct, he accused them of hypocrisy.

Then there was Pfleiderer, who represented what was left of Hegelian influence in the faculty of theology. There was Kirchhoff the Hellenist and Kirchhoff the physicist. Brunner, who is still living, was teaching German legal history, and Dernburg was painfully expounding the Pandects to students of law. Bernhard Weiss now in retirement and almost ninety years of age, had classes of considerable size in the theology of the New Testament and the life of Christ, while Dillmann lectured on Old Testament theology. Waldeyer, the great anatomist, whose name still heads the list of the medical faculty, was leading the world in his particular branch of knowledge, as was Virchow in his, although he found time to engage in politics and to stand as a candidate for the Reichstag. Robert Koch was a member of the medical faculty, but his greatest fame was yet to come. Mommsen was nearly seventy years of age and quite the most picturesque figure in the whole university group. His spare, keen face, with long, white hair and sharp black eyes and bent shoulders, were so familiar to the people of Berlin that as he passed through the streets hats were lifted as to royalty, for every Berliner understood that in Mommsen Berlin and Germany had one of their chiefest treasures. That young American well remembers having heard Mommsen say, at one of Zeller's Sunday evening gatherings, that the reason why he had never continued his "History of Rome" through the imperial period was that he had never been able to make up his mind as to what it was that brought about the collapse of the Roman Empire and the downfall of Roman civilization.

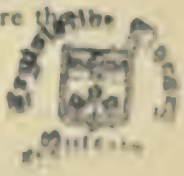
The list of those whose lectures might then be heard, and whom this young American did hear at least once, usually out of sheer curiosity, is too long to be recounted. There were those of Weierstrass, in mathematics; of Schmoller and Wagner, in economics, both still living and Wagner still lecturing; of Weber, in Sanskirt and Indian lore; of Kiepert the geographer; of Förster, whose charm of

personality gave him much greater influence than would naturally attach to a professor of a subject so little followed as astronomy; of Delbrück, who was already teaching history; and of Diels, who though only a *professor extraordinarius* in those days, was already marked out for the unusual distinction that he gained later on. In ethics there was the exceptionally interesting personality of von Gizycki, who was but thirty-four years of age and destined to a life all too short.

The freedom which made it possible to hear and to meet all these men was gained by following the advice of Professor Archibald Alexander. He had enjoined fulfilling all the conditions for the degree of doctor of philosophy and taking that degree before leaving America. This left the young American with no technical and time-consuming requirements to meet in Berlin, but set him free to get all that he could, and as he could, from the great scholars there assembled.

Of the men who are now the chief representatives of the University of Berlin, many were at that time still winning there spurs elsewhere. Harnack, who has so long been the chief ornament of the theological faculty, was then but thirty-three years of age and a professor at Giessen. The great Hellenist, von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, son-in-law of Mommsen was less than forty years of age and a professor at Göttingen. Emil Fischer, the chemist, was but little more than thirty and had a chair at Erlangen. Beno Erdmann was about the same age and a member of the faculty of philosophy at Breslau. Eduard Meyer was at the same university, while Delitzsch was at Leipzig. Schiemann had at that time no university connection.

Important as the German universities, particularly Berlin, are to-day, it is probable that they occupied a higher relative rank from 1830 to about 1890 than they have since enjoyed. Truly there were academic giants in Berlin thirty years ago, and each one of them had his share in making over and in building up the intellectual fabric of that young American student. Zeller and Paulsen were naturally by far the most influential, for association with them was constant and intimate, and the subjects of which they were masters were the



young student's chosen field of study. But each great scholar whose lecture-room was entered, if it were only for a single visit, left an ineffaceable impression of what scholarship meant, of what a university was, and of what a long road higher education in America had to travel before it could hope to reach a plane of equal elevation. From Zeller was learned the true meaning of the Greek spirit and the real significance of the embryology of Western thought as contained in the noble records of the Greek philosophers. It was Zeller who made real beyond peradventure the truth afterward expressed so compactly by Sir Henry Maine, that everything that lives and moves in the Western world, save only the blind forces of nature is Greek in its orign. When it came time to leave Berlin the old teacher gave to his young American pupil a copy of the latest edition of his "Grundriss," in which he inscribed as a farewell message of friendship and of counsel the well-known saying of Solon. Γηράσκω δ'ἀιεί πολλὰ διδασκόμενος What Solon said of himself was equally true of Zeller, and must always remain true of those whom Zeller influenced. All alike grow old constantly learning many new things.

From Paulsen was learned the lesson that Kant came to teach, namely, that without a critical examination of the process of knowing it is quite useless to attempt to discuss knowledge. Paulsen's exposition of Kant's critical method and his discipline in its applications made it impossible ever again to fall a victim to any of the varied forms of sheer assumption in which uncritical and dogmatical philosophy presents itself. From Paulsen there was learned, too, the lesson that the process of education rests primarily on the training of the will, the building of character, and that it should give to conduct a social aim or purpose. If ever two great teachers produced a lasting influence on the mind and thought of a pupil, Zeller and Paulsen produced that influence on the mind and the thought of their young American student.

In Berlin every hour of the day and of the evening was an educational influence. Not only lecture-rooms, but personal visits, the theatre, concerts, the opera, the many delightful opportunities for social intercourse, all combined to

give an atmosphere and to provide a stimulus. This was really education. This was really contact with great personalities and with sources and standards of power—intellectual, moral, æsthetic. Where else in the world could the narrow means of a student have admitted him for a mark to hear rendered one of the great operas—German, Italian, or French—or on any Wednesday evening for half a mark to the Bilse Koncert-Halle, on Leipziger Strasse, to listen to a complete symphony by Beethoven, by Mozart, by Brahms, or by Raff, superbly rendered by one of the best orchestras in the world? Where else could one have had opportunity for a mere trifle to hear Shakespeare superbly acted or to see the classic German drama put upon the stage with every possible aid to its complete understanding and appreciation?

Opportunities to study the political life of the new and rapidly developing German Empire were not lacking. There were vigorous debates in the Reichstag just then, and a kindly word from a university professor gained for the young American opportunity to hear, under the best auspices, a stirring debate between Bismarck and Liebknecht, the forceful leader of the Social Democrats. A fascinating figure in the Reichstag was Doctor Windthorst, known familiarly as *die kleine Excellenz*, who was exerting enormous influence as parliamentary leader of the Centre, or Catholic, party. His fellow Hanoverian, Benningsen, was the spokesman of the National Liberals. In addition to this striking group of parliamentary leaders, there was the spare and grim form of Moltke himself, who occasionally had a very brief word to say on matters of military organization and policy.

Surely this was a real voyage of discovery, and the discoverer often staggered under the load that he was called upon to carry. Indeed, it has taken the better part of a subsequent generation to enable him to digest and to assimilate it all.

After Berlin came Paris, and the American student who has missed that sequence has lost one of the greatest opportunities of the intellectual life.

In 1885 the Third Republic was still regarded as frankly experimental, and every type of republicanism and of radicalism was contending for the mastery in its public life. Royalists of one type or another were as plentiful as strawberries, and it was not at all unusual to hear a discussion after dinner as to which of the various claimants of the overturned throne of France was the most likely to gain possession of it. Sainte-Beuve, Baudelaire, and Flaubert had, indeed, been dead for some years, but they were still the oracles of the more cultivated youth of France, and it was their names that came oftenest to the lips of the student of literature or of the ambitious aspirant for literary fame. Edmond Scherer was writing in the columns of *Le Temps*, and Jules Simon, well on in years but vigorous, was doing the same in *Le Matin*. Daudet, who gained almost everything that he wanted except election to the Academy, was to be met not infrequently, as was Zola, who, although not so famous as he became later, was writing at a great rate. Brunetière was then only sub-editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and his principal work remained to be done; but, nevertheless, he was decidedly a person of weight and intellectual circumstance. At the Sorbonne, Gréard was ruling with benignant capacity and assiduity. The first climb up the slow slope of what remained of Mont St. Geneviève called up in imagination the days of Abelard and William of Champeaux and the great philosophical discussions which then divided the intellectual world of Europe.

Then there were the scholars whom it was a joy and a privilege to meet. There was Gaston Boissier, who made Horace and Cicero, Vergil and Tacitus seem like old friends, and who brought before the mind's eye with the utmost vividness the life of Pompeii and of Rome and the happenings in Roman Africa. There was Gaston Paris, the mediævalist, without an equal. There was Fustel de Coulanges, whose "Cité Antique" had already exercised its strange fascination on this particular American. There was Henri Poincaré, who, though often suffering in body, had one of the most penetrating of modern minds. Naturally a central object of interest and almost of pilgrimage was Louis Pasteur. Renouvier one might know from his books, but

the man himself lived too much withdrawn from other men to make possible a meeting in the flesh. Paul Janet, who, while neither original nor constructive, was one of the most agreeable and lucid of philosophical lecturers, was at his best.

Almost every stone in Paris seemed to cry out with the voice of a great man. Here both history and literature seemed to have been made. Over yonder was the tower from out whose bells rang the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Not far away was the place where stood the Bastile, symbol and token of an old and dead order. Beyond, at the edge of what was now the Place de la Concorde, stood the guillotine, under whose knife were beheaded good and bad alike. One wandered about the bewitching streets of the Quartier Latin as in a trance, expecting to meet at every turn a figure walking out of the pages of Balzac or of Dumas or of Eugène Sue. It was not easy in tracing out the lines of the Paris of history, of the Paris of the Revolution, and the Paris of that day to keep back the manifest evidences of emotion and excitement that sought to find expression. For the first time the Latin spirit came to have definite meaning and reality. It was so different from the Anglo-Saxon spirit as revealed in America and so different from the Teutonic spirit as revealed in Berlin. Somehow it seemed subtler and more refined, more delicate and more highly civilized than either. As the young student moved about in the social and intellectual life of Paris and breathed the spirit of the place, he began to feel himself in companionship with the Greeks of modern times, the one truly civilized people in the world. It became so much more easy than it ever had been to understand the impatience of the French with other and less favored peoples than themselves. They knew and had passed through so much that others had still to learn and to come to know. Of all Europe, France alone had passed through the baptism of a revolution. Quasi-revolutions and attempts at revolution had marked the history of other lands, but France, and France alone, had passed out from under the old rule, tried as if by fire, and had preserved in the fulness of the modern spirit, and with the richness of an age-long cultivation, the

true and high standards of judgment in things of the mind. Evidence of this multiplied day by day as the young American made his daily pilgrimage all the way from modest lodgings in the Rue de la Boëtie to the Sorbonne. Sometimes his steps would follow one course and sometimes another, but always and everywhere the evidences of cultivation and of civilization abounded. Paris revealed itself as the only place in the world where conversation is a fine art and where the publication of a new book by a writer of note is hailed as an event of social importance.

And so it went. On every side and at every hour the young student found impressions, ideas, judgments, opinions, experiences pouring in upon him with a richness that was truly overwhelming. He began to see that Paris was the one place to which to go to file down and to polish a student's mind that had been forged and hewn out in the rough in Germany. The two civilizations, the two national and racial spirits, the two universities seemed in no sense antagonistic but rather to be highly and wonderfully complementary. This again was real education. Men of light and leading, men who knew what standards were and who insisted on applying them, were close companions, instructors, and guides. What young student from across the Atlantic would not find his mind enriched and inspired by experience such as that?

The French political life was even more interesting than that of Germany, for it seemed to be in closer touch with the realities of politics. Gambetta had been dead for three years, but his spirit and his influence were very much alive. Jules Ferry fell from power on a dismal March day in 1885 with a roar that shook even the quiet precincts of the Sorbonne. Of radical and of socialist oratory there was an abundance to hear, and the semi-comic, semi-tragic figure of General Boulanger was still troubling the political waters.

The American student who has never been to the University of Paris has missed something which no German university could ever give him. But he should come to Paris after having studied at Berlin, or Leipzig, or Munich. The reason is that the highly artistic and very subtle method of the French savant is a perfect complement to the patient

and plodding meticulousness of the German *Gelehrter*. The artistry of the French was manifested in their exposition of every subject. Whether one was listening to Renan on the history of the Semitic peoples, or to Taine on the philosophy of art, or to Caro on Goethe, he could not fail to see the national and racial characteristics manifesting themselves in splendid and compelling fashion. To end an intellectual voyage of discovery at the University of Paris is to put a frame on a picture that would be imperfect without it. The drill, the discipline, and the training in patient thoroughness one got in those days in Germany as he could not get it in America, in England, or in France. But a point of view, a sense of proportion, the meaning of the intellectual life and standards of taste in judgment and appreciation were taught at the Sorbonne and in Paris as nowhere else in the world.

(This article has been published in *Scribner's Magazine*, June, 1916.)

THE AWARDING OF MEDALS

GOLD MEDALS

Gold medals were awarded to Mrs. Helen Hartley Jenkins, The Honorable Adolph Lewisohn and The Honorable Robert Bacon.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, presenting the medal to Mrs. Jenkins, said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is a special and peculiar pleasure for me to be chosen on behalf of the Institute to make this particular presentation. The recipient of this medal has been my friend from her girlhood, and no one has watched her career with more affectionate interest and with more approval than he who has been asked to make this presentation. She bears a distinguished name. The name of Marcellus Hartley stands high on the roll of honor of the men of affairs in the city of New York, and his daughter has borne and is bearing his name as he would have liked to have her bear it.

In philanthropic work of large vision and severe practicality, in aiding institutions of learning that have touched her imagination and appealed both to her head and to her heart, in relieving immigrants from Serbia, and in offering a generous and helping hand to the Serbian people in their hour of distress and of need, Helen Hartley Jenkins has distinguished herself as a woman of high purpose, keen intelligence and generous human sympathy. For these traits and for their abundant manifestation she has been selected to receive the gold medal of the Institute, the highest honor which the Institute confers. It is with the greatest possible pleasure that I place this medal in her hand.

MRS. JENKINS' REPLY

In thanking you, President Butler, for your gracious speech, and the Institute of Social Sciences for the great and

overwhelming honor it has conferred upon me, there is just a word or two I would like to add to those of my profound appreciation.

This beautiful gold medal was really won for me—not by my own deeds, but by those of my grandfather and my father.

My grandfather's insight, fifty years ago, in planning that work which the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor has carried out so successfully, has shown that his ideas were correct. He saw that New York would need relief work, and that the people should be taught to care for themselves. And those ideas were given over to my father, who in becoming one of the pioneers of settlement work created Hartley House. His father then had given over to him, just as my father has given over to me and the next generation, the obligation to do for others and to try at least to live unselfish lives.

The credit, therefore, for those deeds with which you honor me is not mine—it is my father's in every sense of the word; it belongs to his children, and I hope to his grandchildren, who were taught and have been taught that the possession of wealth was a trust, just like any other gift which God bestows—one to be used for the general good.

Professor Talcott Williams, presenting the medal to The Honorable Adolph Lewisohn referred to the many public services which Mr. Lewisohn had rendered to the municipality and the state, and to his great benefactions, modestly bestowed, to the cause of education, without any insistence upon the mention of his name. Mr. Williams dwelt long upon the beauty and value of the Stadium, a gift from Mr. Lewisohn to the College of the City of New York.

MR. LEWISOHN'S REPLY

I greatly appreciate the honor bestowed upon me, and hope to continue to deserve it. I have been particularly interested in educative and constructive work, which I hope will help the fellow-man and the entire community. I thank you.

Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis, presenting the Gold Medal to The Honorable Robert Bacon, referred to his extraordinary service in field and ambulance work in France since the beginning of the war, and his many other philanthropies.

MR. BACON'S LETTER

January 19th, 1916.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

I cannot tell you how pleased and touched I am by your letter of January the 12th, informing me that the National Institute has honored me by the award of its gold medal. I regret very much, My Dear Dr. Curtis, that I must be away for several days in Washington, and I therefore am unable to be present on Friday to receive this evidence of your good opinion and kindly consideration, which I appreciate most highly.

Please express my grateful appreciation of the signal honor which the Institute has conferred upon me.

Believe me, very sincerely yours,

ROBERT BACON.

Mr. Henry P. Davison received the medal for Mr. Bacon.

PRESENTATION MEDALS

Presentation medals were awarded to Henry M. Leipziger, LL.D., John Seely Ward, Esq., Peter Cooper Hewitt, Esq., Samuel Mather, Esq., and Madame Marcella Sembrich.

Mrs. Frederick Nathan, presenting the medal to Dr. Leipziger, said:

A great educator, Herbert Spencer, has said that education is to teach us how to live. Dr. Leipziger has always considered that a teacher is the highest title that can be bestowed upon a man. He studied for the law, but renounced that calling (after having been admitted to the bar) because he felt particularly fitted to carry out his ideals as a teacher.

After leaving college he taught for eight years in the public schools of our city and then, because of ill-health, he resigned and spent some years in study, chiefly along the line of industrial education. It was then that he became impressed with the fact that the hand and the eye were both neglected in the old-fashioned methods of education, which

was an education confined largely to words. Dr. Leipziger then became an apostle of the cause of manual training both as an aid to better efficiency and for preparation for people to earn a living. He organized one of the most successful technical schools in the country.

Seven years later he was elected Assistant Superintendent of Schools of the city of New York. During all this time he was practically the executive head of the four branches of the Aguilar Free Library—for he regards public libraries as potent factors in democratic education.

In 1890 he was called to the organization of the Public Lecture movement, which has developed so amazingly from a few isolated lectures to series of lectures on all subjects that interest men and women in 175 centres and other halls in our city, constituting a great university, attended by adults and fostering habits of study, reading and general culture. Literature, art, music, science, all are brought home through the medium of this "university without walls" to the people, and the immigrant and the college graduate alike are found with those who come within its influence. For the immigrant, lectures in Italian and Yiddish are provided on subjects which tend to make them understand better our institutions; for the college graduate, courses which supplement his training are furnished.

The wider use of the school, which is now becoming a creed with every Board of Education throughout the land, is the result of this pioneer movement of the Public Lecture System of New York City. When it started adults never dreamt of going to school—now public forums and public lectures and parents' meetings for the discussion of questions that bear upon the education of the children are part and parcel of the school's use. A new type of schoolhouse is being built which makes provision for recreational and social activities, and the community centre idea now springing into being comes as a natural consequence from the gathering of people for the last twenty-five years for the purpose of continuing their education. More than all this, the new schoolhouse is to be open all day and every day, winter and summer, as a place not only for the instruction of

children but for the socialization of the adolescent and for the continuous education of the adult.

Summarizing, then, the results of the forty years of service that have been rendered, we find that Dr. Leipziger's creed has been, that education must saturate all the people; that the sums of money now spent are small compared with what should be spent for this noble purpose; that education must be unending; that education should be both practical and ideal; should prepare for a livelihood that should also prepare for life; that the head, the hand and the heart should be trained; that the chief instrument in the regeneration of mankind must be education, and the chief agent in the process of education must be the schoolhouse, which should be as broadly and widely interpreted as possible, and that all the treasures of the university should be so popularly presented as to come within reach of all the people.

Because Dr. Leipziger was a pioneer in the cause of the wider use of the schoolhouse and the formation of the community centre, because he is an apostle of the broadest educational opportunity to all men and all women, because he is an adherent of the doctrine that democratic education furnished by the state must continue from the cradle to the grave, because of his great contribution towards the enlightenment of our city, I have been requested, on behalf of the National Institute of Social Sciences, to present to him this medal as a mark of appreciation for the services he has rendered as a citizen, a scholar and a gentleman.

DR. LEIPZIGER'S REPLY

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The words which Mrs. Nathan has so kindly spoken in handing me the medal which is a mark of appreciation by the Institute of my endeavors in the cause of social service praise me more than I deserve. It was said of Lincoln that he dreaded praise and not blame, and I feel that I would like to be in the company of Cato who, when asked why his portrait was not in the gallery of the Roman worthies, replied: "I would rather be asked why my portrait is not there than why it is."

In the forty years that it has been my privilege to work in the field of education I have tried to aid in making the school

curriculum more flexible and adapted to the social and industrial needs of our time; to afford educational opportunity to every human being and to open wider the door of the schoolhouse so as to make it not alone a place of instruction for children but a resort for youth and a place for the continuation of education for those who are growing old. The past forty years have seen a revolution in the field of education. Training of the hand and the eye has become an integral part of the common school curriculum. We now endeavor to discover the aptitudes of each pupil and believe that schools should fit the pupils for life and not merely for examinations. The things which a generation ago were regarded as fads are now looked upon as necessities, and education freed from the shackles of mediævalism is interpreted in terms of its application to life. The compulsory school age has been greatly extended. The schools are now used to the widest extent, winter and summer, day and night and not excluding Sundays, for vacation schools, recreation centers, and evening schools. More and more it is being recognized that as the safety of our Republic depends upon the intelligence of its voters education must be continuous and reach those who have passed the elementary school age. Only three per cent. of our population go to high schools and colleges, and therefore provision must be made to keep all in touch with the progressive movements in science, art, literature, hygiene and economics. Therefore the adult must continue to go to school and the schoolhouse thus becomes the chief factor in the civic and cultural life of our community. In the schoolhouse people come to broaden their knowledge of history and hygiene, and to discuss the welfare of the neighborhood or the policy of the nation. It is in the schoolhouse that public opinion is being formed, for forums are held for the discussion of the current questions of the hour, and political meetings too are held, for what are the subjects that underlie our political discussions but questions of economics or history which in their last analysis are educational? To what better use can the schoolhouse be put than for the discussion of such questions in a non-partisan manner? The schoolhouse is used as a polling place as well as a temple of learning.

The word "school" is from the Greek "scola," which means leisure. The school is a place in which to spend one's leisure, not "to creep like snail unwillingly to school" but to go to the schoolhouse as a palace of delight, for recreation as well as for instruction. Therefore, our new schoolhouses are adapted to the new social functions which the school encourages. This new interpretation of the schoolhouse must modify the character and equipment of those engaged in the sacred and difficult profession of teaching. To be a teacher one should possess culture, intelligence and social gifts of a high order, and public opinion should be constantly directed towards an appreciation of the dignity and importance of the teacher's work. How important it is for us to remember the words of Luther that "One right former is worth a dozen reformers," and the men and women helping to guide the intellect and form the character of our citizens are the chief servants in the development of true democracy. At this moment we are witnessing the greatest struggle that has taken place in the history of mankind. It is almost unbelievable that nations called cultured and civilized are really engaged in the brutal contest that is now being waged by our kin across the sea. How can we lead man to faith in peace? How can we prove to all men the horror of war? There seems but one way and that through the constant force of broader education. If in every schoolhouse in every land of the world a campaign for peace were waged, if there we would begin to put into practice our belief in the theory that whatever we wish to put into a nation's life we must put into its schools, we could in a generation create a world public opinion showing that peace hath her victories no less renowned than war, and in this day and generation it is public opinion which rules the world.

The American schoolhouse is the meeting place of all those varied elements which combine to make our population. Here is a common meeting ground where fraternity and culture are illustrated. Here is being given the instruction in the true preparedness, not preparedness for war, but preparedness for peace.

Has preparation for peace ever truly been tried? If the same vision which can create an aeroplane for military pur-

poses, if the same inventive genius which develops the high-powered gun, if that same effort in the creation of engines of destruction were devoted to the cause of constructive work, for the removal of prejudice and the shackles of superstition from men, then indeed could we say that we are preparing for peace. The education that man must receive before we can say that we are truly civilized, the education that is going to produce character of the type illustrated by Sir Philip Sidney, that is the education that is to bring about peace.

I know of no better expression of the idea of the vision without which a nation shall perish than that formulated by our beloved poet Longfellow:

"Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts."

Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis, presenting the medal to Mr. John Seely Ward, said:

I want you to know that Mr. John Seely Ward has spent the best fifteen years of his life for the benefit of the institutions with which he is connected. He has raised more than ten million dollars in New York City. Mr. Ward began his social work by living alone at 130 Stanton Street, in 1890. He opened an office there, listening to complaints. After that he made nine trips abroad; and was appointed to investigate institutions in France, Germany and England for care of dependent and delinquent children. This led to the removal of the New York Juvenile Asylum from the city to the country, and changes in the methods of administration. He also made investigations of the hospitals in France for the care of children suffering from non-pulmonary tuberculosis, in order to bring about the establishment of similar hospitals in the United States. The result was the opening of a Sea Breeze Hospital by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. This was the first hospital of its kind in our country.

Dr. Curtis then read Mr. Ward's reply.

MR. WARD'S LETTER

December 30th, 1915.

My Dear Dr. Curtis:

Your letter of the 23rd inst., informing me that the National Institute of Social Sciences intends to confer upon me the Presentation medal of the Institute, has just reached me.

In reply, I beg to state that the action not only naturally meets with my approval, but that I am deeply moved that I should have been selected by the Institute as one worthy of an honor so great.

Believe me,

John Seely Ward.

Dr. Curtis presented the medal to Mr. Peter Cooper Hewitt.

MR. HEWITT'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Mr. Hewitt is best known to the public through his work in electricity, to which he began to devote his serious attention in 1898. On April 12, 1901, he announced the laws governing the electrical conductivity of gases, and demonstrated the requirements necessary to obtain a gas or vapor as a conductor having definite resistance characteristics and called attention to many associated phenomena. He invented the Cooper Hewitt lamp, which creates light by causing a gas or vapor to conduct the electric current. It is the most efficient and cheapest commercial electric light and is the nearest approach to cold light. The light of the Cooper Hewitt lamp is soft and diffused with a peculiar bluish-green color, due to the absence of red rays. While it is not suited for some lighting purposes, it is used for producing large quantities of light in open spaces, for lighting large shops and factories, and is particularly useful where work requires more or less continual strain on the eyes, and is especially adopted for work in black and white, and for taking and printing photographs. He showed that his lamp promoted plant growth and stimulated the absorption of water by growing plants. The invention is utilized by means of a specially constructed lamp made of blown quartz, to provide a powerful source of ultra violet rays for therapeutical use, sterilization and for promoting chemical reactions. Mr. Hewitt invented a light transformer. The light transformer

receives light waves of one wave length or color, transforms the energy so received, and radiates it as light waves of another color. It is used as a reflector in connection with the Cooper Hewitt lamp, to generate the red rays in which the light is deficient.

Another important invention is a device called by Lord Klevin "Static Converter," but more popularly known among engineers as the "Cooper Hewitt Converter." It is used to transform alternating currents into direct currents. It operates for the electric current, to use Mr. Hewitt's own words, like a check valve in a water pipe, permitting the current of electricity to flow freely in one direction, and entirely preventing the flow in the opposite direction. This fundamental invention, which is of great importance in the electrical world, has created an entirely new field of electrical development, and has led to the development of many subordinate inventions of methods and devices adapting the converter to a multiplicity of uses. He invented an electrical interrupter for rapidly turning off powerful high tension currents, and a vacuum, gas or vapor device, for automatically making and breaking an electric circuit, and used it for producing alternating currents from a direct current source and for producing high frequency impulses and alternating currents such as are used in wireless telephony and telegraphy. It is silent and uniform in operation, and may be accurately adjusted so as to permit and interrupt current flow at desired voltages and with the desired frequency, and capable of most delicate control. It is the most efficient form of high frequency generator, and when used to generate impulse currents is called the "Cooper Hewitt Pulsator." In this group should be mentioned his vacuum, gas or vapor wireless telegraph receiver, a device consisting of an exhausted vessel having a sensitive electrode for detecting wireless telegraph signals. In sensitiveness it is superior to any known receiver, and even when adjusted for the greatest sensitiveness may be constructed so as to be capable of receiving without injury an amount of energy that would burn out and completely destroy other known forms of receivers.

He has utilized this series of inventions in connection with other inventions for wireless telephony. Mr. Hewitt

has made great advances in the relaying of telephone messages by his electric wave amplifier, which, by means of an exhausted vessel, transforms the feeble telephone currents into stronger wave impulses, thus making it possible to telephone any distance.

These six fundamental inventions in the electrical field, the Cooper Hewitt lamp, the Cooper Hewitt converter, the interrupter, the Cooper Hewitt pulsator, the electric wave amplifier, the telephone relay and the wireless receiver, were all developed by Mr. Hewitt as the result of years of experimental study of the phenomena attendant upon the flow of an electric current through a vacuum, gas or vapor.

Another of his inventions, having a special utility in the electrical field, is a light diffuser which, when applied to the bulb of an incandescent lamp, not only softens the local intensity of the light but directs the rays in the desired directions. Mr. Hewitt constructed in 1907 one of the first hydroplane motor boats. It weighed 2,000 pounds and had four sets of gliding planes, each set consisting of several planes in tiers. In operation the hull of the boat is lifted entirely above the surface of the water, the whole weight being supported by the dynamic reaction of the water against the inclined surfaces of the planes the uppermost of which were lifted out of the water successively as the speed increased, thereby relieving the boat of their frictional resistance. The boat, which was tested on Long Island Sound in 1907, attained a speed of over thirty-five miles an hour, thus verifying the correctness of the results of his theoretical calculations. He has also devoted considerable time to the subject of aeroplanes and dirigible baloons, and obtained patents thereon.

MR. HEWITT'S LETTER

January 18th, 1916.

DEAR DR. CURTIS:

I regret exceedingly that I will not be able to be present at the meeting of the National Institute of Social Sciences, to be held at the Hotel Astor on January 21st, 1916, to receive the Presentation medal awarded me by the Institute.

I have been confined to my bed for the past week, and there is not a chance of my being well enough to attend.

Kindly express my appreciation of the great honor conferred upon me by the National Institute of Social Sciences and also my deep feeling of regret at not being able to be present.

Most respectfully yours,

PETER COOPER HEWITT.

Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis, presenting the medal to Mr. Samuel Mather, said:

I think Mr. Mather's chief and probably most important works are those of the Lakeside Hospital and the Western Reserve University. This hospital ranks, I believe, among those at the very top, as a first-class institution. Its staff, both medical and surgical ranks equally high; its Dispensary is one of the models of the country; and it was the pioneer, at least in this part of the country, in carrying out Social Service Work in connection with the Dispensary. Few patients, either in the free wards or Dispensary, now come there who are not followed up after they leave the Hospital.

The Western Reserve Medical School, part of the University, and which works in connection with the Hospital, is of equal rank and character, and I believe all who know of the work that is being carried on at these institutions, give full credit to Mr. Mather for what has been accomplished.

Mr. Mather was also one of the founders of the American National Red Cross; introduced the work in Cleveland, and was President of its Chapter here for many years, and he still retains an active interest in it, and helps with his advice and means.

He also was very much interested in and supported the work of the Museum of Safety Appliances, covering the work of introducing safety devices in industrial occupations, and he is always very much interested in and takes pains to see that in our own industrial enterprises we are always alert in the introduction of safety appliances, and the establishment of means in caring for the welfare and better living conditions of our employees.

Another commendable trait, and one that I fear most of us lack, is that while he is always ready and willing to give his money to all worthy objects, he is also ready and

willing to give his personal efforts and time to these causes. Most people, especially men of large affairs, put the work of charity and philanthropy in second place, but Mr. Mather never. It is always first with him.

MR. MATHER'S LETTER

January 11th, 1916.

My Dear Dr. Curtis:

Upon my return from an absence I find your letter of January 4th, advising me of the quite unexpected and, I fear, undeserved honor of the Presentation medal that the Institute decided to confer upon me at the annual meeting of the Institute on January 21st, 1916.

Will you kindly express to the Board my very high appreciation of this honor, and my sincere regret that I shall be unable to be present at the annual dinner, January 21st, inasmuch as I am leaving to-day, with members of my family, for the South, to be absent some time.

Very sincerely yours,

Samuel Mather.

Professor Emory R. Johnson, presenting the medal to Madame Marcella Sembrich, said:

The action of the Institute in this case will meet with your approval. The recipient of the medal is Madame Marcella Sembrich, who is in Florida. The Secretary has a letter from her.

MADAME SEMBRICH'S LETTER

I beg to make acknowledgment to the Institute of Social Sciences of receipt, through the kind hands of Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis, your Secretary, of the beautiful medal awarded me by the Institute. It came to me in a time of sickness and suffering, which makes it doubly dear, since, in addition to the great honor which it confers, it brought me a large measure of comfort and cheer. The recognition of your Institute is an honor which awakens in me a particularly keen feeling of gratitude and pride.

Please convey to the Institute and its medal committee a sincere and warm expression of my thanks.

Very sincerely yours,

Marcella Sembrich.

REMARKS BY DR. CURTIS

This medal was presented to Madame Sembrich for her notable achievements in opera, for restoring the instruments lost in the San Francisco earthquake by the Metropolitan orchestra, and taking care of the families of many destitute singers; for the international work she has done for the benefit of the sufferers abroad in behalf of the Allies, as a result of which she has been in a dangerous condition from pneumonia for the past six weeks.

PRESENTATION OF LOVING CUP TO DR. H. HOLBROOK CURTIS

President Nicholas Murray Butler, presenting the cup to Dr. Curtis, said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: Over the larger portion of the world Christmas comes on December 25. In those countries that are still following the Greek calendar Christmas comes eleven days later. In the National Institute of Social Sciences Christmas 1916 comes on January 21.

I have here a beautiful silver loving cup, which is to be presented without previous notice and as a surprise to the distinguished citizen to whose devotion and whose vision the successful organization and conduct of the Institute are due.

Dr. Curtis, this loving cup has been provided by a Santa Claus having some twenty constituent members. This score or more of appreciative human units have thought that, in addition to the gold medals of the Institute and in addition to the medals of presentation, there should go to you personally some slight material token of the affection, devotion and esteem in which you are held not only by your fellow-members of the Institute but by your fellow-citizens generally. The President of the Institute, Dr. Mabie, ardently wished to present this loving cup in person. Illness has detained him from this meeting, but illness has not prevented him from sending a personal message, which message I shall now read, for it embodies the formula through which and by means of which this cup is to be presented to you.

DR. MABIE'S TRIBUTE TO DR. CURTIS

January 20th, 1916.

Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis was the founder of the National Institute of Social Sciences. Without his foresight, faith and energy it would not have come into existence. Lacking these qualities in him, it would not have gone as far as it has on the road towards permanency. Its characteristic notes are public service and personal distinction; both characteristics of Dr. Curtis. He foresaw its possibilities of development and the aid which it could render by stimulation and fellowship to the best Americans. Its work was never more important than to-day, when public opinion is so inchoate and disorganized and the lack of unity in spirit and vision so painfully apparent. To help create a distinctive America, broad and generous in sentiment but with perfectly defined aims and an unbroken and undivided allegiance to its own ideals, and a willingness to serve these ideals at any personal sacrifice, will be the great service which the Institute can render the country.

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

DR. CURTIS' REPLY

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES: This entirely unexpected gift from some of the members of the Institute moves me to tears. The beautiful loving cup which Dr. Butler has just given me, with the touching letter from Dr. Mabie and his own gracious remarks, are likely to transform the cup into a tear vase.

I wish I had the strength to continue the work as Secretary of the Institute, but I feel that it will be in better hands.

Let me ask you all to lend your encouragement to this work which stands for the betterment of mankind, and to which Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie has devoted himself with all his earnestness and loveliness of character. For us, our Institute embodies the highest ideals, and we feel that it must become a worthy successor to the American Social Science Association, which created it.

Thirty years ago, I went to Saratoga to read a paper before that body and was elected a Vice-President. For years I made an annual pilgrimage to the Springs and there made the friends who have become the closest companions of my life.

In our profession one is never entirely separated from the jealous rivalries of the individual, but in the great striving to do good, we cement effort with affection, and no closer bond can be forged than between those who are trying to elevate their fellows. I can see the commanding figure of Frank Sanborn, presiding over the evening sessions of the social scientists on the veranda of the United States Hotel in the eighties, surrounded by such men as the Waylands, Professor Jenks, Frederick J. Kingsbury, Oscar Straus, St. Clair McKelway, President Angell, Andrew D. White, Simeon E. Baldwin, Daniel C. Gilman and many others, all in animated discussion of the social and political needs of the times.

I trust that the future debates of our Institute may be as interesting and instructive.

Let me thank you sincerely for affording me the greatest honor ever accorded to me in my life. I shall treasure this cup as one of my most valued possessions.

The Institute then went into executive session, and proceeded to the regular order of business. The Secretary read the minutes of the 1915 annual meeting.

Henry P. Davison read the Treasurer's report, showing a balance of $6,218.76 in the Treasury.

The Secretary read the report of the Nominating Committee. It was moved and seconded that the Secretary of the Institute be asked to cast the ballot for the names read.

OFFICERS ELECTED

President—Nicholas Murray Butler, LL.D.

Honorary President—William H. Taft.

Vice-Presidents—Miss Jane Addams, Joseph Anderson, D.D., James B. Angell, LL.D., Hon. Robert Bacon, Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, Miss Mabel T. Boardman, Hon. Joseph H. Choate, Hon. William H. Crocker, H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D., Mrs. Henry P. Davison, Mrs. Henry F. Dimock, Charles W. Eliot, LL.D., John H. Finley, LL.D., Hon. John W. Foster, Harry A. Garfield, LL.D., Hon. Charles S. Hamlin, Mrs. E. H. Harriman, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Mrs. Ripley Hitchcock, Archer M. Huntington, Esq., Mrs. H. Hartley Jenkins, Prof. Emory R. Johnson, Hon. Seth Low, Hamilton W. Mabie, LL.D., Dr. A. L. Metz, Harris P. Mosher, M.D., Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Francis, G. Peabody, D.D., William M. Polk, M.D., Major-Gen. Charles F. Roe, Hon. Elihu Root, Leo S. Rowe, LL.D., Herbert L. Satterlee, Ph.D., William Jay Schieffelin, Esq., Albert Shaw, LL.D., Mrs. James Speyer, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Miss Lillian D. Wald, John Seely Ward, Esq., Prof. Talcott Williams.

Treasurer—Henry P. Davison, Esq.

Secretary and Editor of Journal—Miss Lillie Hamilton French.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler took the chair.

Major-General Charles F. Roe offered a resolution that Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis be made Honorary Secretary of the Institute. Seconded by Professor Emory R. Johnson, and adopted.

REPORT

OF THE

ANNUAL DINNER

HELD AT

THE HOTEL ASTOR

NEW YORK CITY

JANUARY 21ST, 1916

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN

PROF. EMORY R. JOHNSON, PH.D.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This occasion marks our second meeting in this place for our annual dinner. It is only by dining together that acquaintance become companions in any cause; indeed, the word "company" means "brought together." I notice that the menu has a statement of the reason why we have come together and, incidentally, it states what kind of people we are. You have doubtless read the quotation on the first page:

"The purpose of the Institute is to bring together men and women who represent the highest aims and standards of American life, and who have served in some substantial way the larger interests of the country."

I think we will not be disposed to dispute the accuracy of that statement. The National Institute of Social Sciences is a body of companions in a worthy cause—a body of men and women who sincerely wish to enrich the lives of others and who wish to give encouragement to those who have labored with special zeal in the fields of science, philosophy and government.

The speakers we shall have the privilege of hearing tonight personify the ideals of the Institute—altruistic devotion to the public and to humanity. New York City has had many noted journalists, and the age of strong men is not yet past. A broad training in journalism, knowledge of the law, and inborn interest in men, a zest for the public service, give to their fortunate possessor an invaluable equipment. The useful work of Mr. McAneny, the work he has done and is doing, have attracted wide attention. Whether he will resent the characterization or not, I cannot but make it. I am inclined to think of him as a combination of the politician and the reformer When these two classes of men, the reformer and the politician, can be perfectly blended, I am sure that every political day will have a rosy dawn and a glorious sunset.

Mr. McAneny will tell us what his theme is to be. It is my privilege and my pleasure to present Mr. McAneny.

WHAT THE CITY GOVERNMENT IS DOING

BY GEORGE McANENY, LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: From the very general charter your kindly introduction has given me I shall take but one thing, and that is, what city government—as we know it in New York—is doing to advance, through public means, the ideas that your association was incorporated to advance through private means. I have rejoiced that you have taken your place among the national bodies devoted to one progressive thought or another—a place unoccupied, I should say, and undeveloped, until your association did take it. I have been rather proud of the distinction of being one of your charter members and, through a chance, fortunate for me, of having had some part in carrying forward upon the advance—or shall I say the firing line?—the work that I believe you are bound to carry to conclusion.

There are many things that belong to city government that are of a fixed and routine nature, and to which the city authorities naturally give attention—things which the people have asked of government for generations, and things which, for generations, they have been willing to pay for as a matter of common expense. There are some other things, however, that we have had to put forward, often against the objection of the very people who ultimately, will be best served through them; though sometimes with public approval, or even with applause. These things have not cost a great deal as dollars and cents go in the making of a municipal budget; but they have, in my judgment, moved mightily for the betterment of conditions of the future at a minimum of cost to the present generation. I have believed, for instance, as have many of my associates in the present city administration, as well as in the administration preceding it, that the city should use its opportunity as a social agency to do, on a broader scale, some of the things that the individual cannot do for himself, but that, in the long run, make for the

common good, and that only through collective action can be made to make for the common good.

I am going to attempt, in a very few minutes, to give you a brief review of what has been done in six years, to show not only what six years can effect in the way of progress, but what encouragement may be gained from them as we face the problems of the years to come.

We have had, for instance, a lot of up-to-date legislation dealing with housing conditions. But laws placed upon the statute books sometimes, as Mr. Jerome once put it, are often mere "expressions of moral yearning," and not always enforceable law. The temper of the community has a good deal to do with the methods through which enforcement is effected. When Mr. DeForest, and my good friend who is gone, Richard Watson Gilder, united in our first really productive movement in housing reform they were laughed at, scoffed at, and vigorously opposed by those who believed that particular investments in real estate might be prejudiced. But against almost constant opposition of that sort, there have grown up, through the efforts of the Tenement House Department and its allies, regulations that are giving us modern dwellings in every part of the city, that are giving the mothers and children, who spend their time within them, decent places in which to live, and that are serving as a basis of sanitary improvement of every description. This now is done in the name of the state and of the city—and, believe me, ladies and gentlemen, it is well done. Though there may be unnecessary hardship, from time to time and here and there, the tenement laws are, as a rule, properly enforced; and gradually the real estate owners of the community have accepted them as beneficial to themselves as well as to their tenants. What this means in better living conditions and better working conditions can hardly be told. Spelled in terms of statistics of the death rate, and of statistics of disease, it becomes a record of wonwerful progress, moral as well as physical; and the state and the city are to be credited with this result.

When we turn to another question—the feeding of the people—we find that it has become the proper function of the state and the city to see to it that all food brought, and sold,

or consumed within the city boundaries is in fit condition; that the consumer is not deceived as to its quality, and that it will not breed disease. Under the system the state and the city have developed, practically every morsel of food is now inspected by those who know the good from the bad, and who promptly condemn the unfit. Inspectors of the city go into every dairy farm within the State of New York, and out into New Jersey, and upward to Connecticut, and carefully inspect each stable—each cow, I might literally say—every utensil that is used, and every means of carriage from the farm to the city. When we pass from milk, and come to the vegetable, the fish and the meat supply, it is the same story—thousands of tons of condemned food reach the great garbage receptacles at Barren Island because official authority has said that is the only proper place for it.

In the protection of the general health, we must surely admit that the state and city are called on to do things with which the individual cannot possibly deal. A seamstress who works within the richest home may carry from an infected district the contagion that will destroy the children of the rich. There is risk of infection, for that matter, when any one member of the community of five millions and a half is near another; and nothing short of the prevention of the conditions that breed contagion will serve to give the protection to which all are equally entitled.

We are giving a constantly greater degree of attention to the preventive side which, I am thankful to say, is now much more in favor than the old curative program. Indeed, as I have frequently protested, if twenty years ago we had spent a tithe of the money we are spending to-day upon the preventive side of our health work, we should now be spending millions less upon our hospitals and sanatoria, our alms houses and prisons—upon everything "institutional," in fact, where either the dependent or the delinquent is cared for at public expense. Moreover, our preventive health work does not rest with the mere inspection of factories and tenements, or with responsibility for the isolation of contagious cases of illness. In getting ahead of the causes that breed disease or physicial insufficiency, we start with the children. The public schools have themselves become a great preventive

health field, with a system at work within them, controlled by the Health Department, upon which the city is spending several hundred thousand dollars a year. Every class and every child is inspected periodically. Where contagion is found to exist in incipient form it is caught and checked in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases. If the pupil is unclean, or otherwise objectionable, that fact is promptly found out and the child sent to its parents, or to dispensary physicians, with a set of instructions that call for the proper curative methods. There are doctors and nurses and dentists, too, in the excellent organization that is doing these things. The vastly improved plant of recreation varying the old-fashioned academic work aids them all.

Another work that has had a peculiar interest for me, and in the progress of which I take great personal satisfaction, is that done among the infant children of the city through the milk stations, either established by the city, or taken over from private philanthropy, and now a recognized part of the preventive machinery. These stations were designed primarily for the pasteurization of the milk supply of the babies of the poor. They have been placed here and there throughout the congested districts, with doctors and nurses and attendants, and to them come mothers with their babies—usually those under a year of age—to get the milk at the cost of its preparation, or to get it for nothing, through private aid, where that seems warranted. The mothers are taught not only how to prepare the milk at home in the proper way, but are taught to take care of their babies in other respects, and what to avoid. May I repeat here an illustration of the results of this work, which some of this gathering possibly no doubt have heard? During the first summer in which the city participated the plan was tested out on a district system. A city appropriation had been made for fifteen stations. Those who had been promoting the plan on the outside wanted sixty. When the money for this number was denied by the Board of Estimate, they agreed to raise the necessary margin through private subscription on the condition that, if the operation of the sixty stations proved that the death rate was appreciably cut, the city would appropriate more for the summer to follow. In

order to do this, the districts to be served were divided on a sort of checker-board plan. In one of these square blocks two stations were put, in the next none, in the next two, and so on. At the end of that cruelly hot summer of 1911 they brought us a great white chart marked in squares to represent the district division. In each of these were black dots, one representing each baby that had died. Compared with the summer before, in those districts where no stations had been placed, the dots filled the squares, in some of them running over. At the top of the squares of the station districts there were, however, great bands of the saving grace of white—and this without exception, from one end of the chart to the other. I do not think that I have ever seen, in so-salled "black and white," a more remarkable or convincing demonstration. Interpreted through the figures of the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the Health Department, it meant that, through this limited number of stations, established in a few of the congested areas of the city, nearly two thousand baby lives had been saved, to say nothing of those that would have gone down in their second, third and fourth years if they had not had the advantage of the right sort of a start. All of this, then, cost less than $150,000. When the next city budget was made up, the appropriations asking for the full quota of stations were cheerfully given, and more is being spent each year in establishing others. The city still works in conjunction with the private agencies who discovered the "milk station"—Mr. Straus, Mrs. Harriman's Committee, and with Mrs. Villard through her diet kitchen work. But the best part of it is that it is permanently enlisted itself, and the infant mortality figures of each passing year will keep going down.

The last thing I mean to mention is the growing attention given by the city to public recreation. Here again is something that the individual citizen cannot secure adequately for himself, or for his children, through any use of individual means. There must, of course, be public places of recreation, whether they be our parks, our waterfronts, our beaches, our recreation piers, our public baths with gymnasia within them, or whether the advanced recreation scheme gradually developing as part of the school system.

There is opportunity in all of these for providing increased recreation facilities for the myriad children of the town, as well as for their elders, who need them, in their way, quite as much. The city is promoting the use of its recreational facilities, teaching the children how to play, it might be said, and promoting better health conditions in everything of the sort that it does.

There are really none of these things in which the city has a hand where it will not continue to need the co-operation of private citizens and of private philanthropy. It will be a long time, if ever, before there is any complete exchange. The one interest and the other must work in conjunction and side by side.

Whether it be part of a selfish presentation or not, I offer you some of the things that have been done within the city government during the past few years as proof that when the city authorities and those on the outside are properly responsive, the best results are found to flow. There is, again, the Department of Public Charities—a term that I trust will some day pass out of the terminology of the city government, for it is not charity that we give these less fortunate members of the community—a department that, though still legally termed the Department of Charities, is officered by men whose whole life has been lived and breathed in an atmosphere of social service, and who are so changing the old "institutional" establishments that they are really beginning to throb with heart themselves. There is the Department of Correction, which has been under the guidance of a nobly inclined woman, who has developed there perhaps more of soul and sympathetic touch than grim prison walls have ever known before; who, in short, in her field within the city, has given to our prison system the same saving, humanitarian touch that Mr. Osborne has applied at Sing Sing—Commissioner Katharine Bement Davis. In the further development of the city's system of dealing with its delinquents, Dr. Davis is now serving as Chairman of the Board of Parole, a board designed to carry out in practice ideas that have been well tested elsewhere, the first and greatest of which is that these classes of the unfortunate are not to be treated as lost souls —or as offenders who, through the old-time prison practices,

are to be hardened for things worse to come—but as men and women who may, quite literally, be reclaimed and brought back to decent and self-respecting standing in the community.

In our public school system which, of course, covers a multitude of things, the development not only of recreation but of vocational training is now considered as important as the three Rs; and, as a natural consequence, our children are being better fitted for dealing with the practical experiences of life and for the earning of a comfortable living.

These are a few stray things that I have offered, as I put it before, by way of encouragement to those who believe that better social conditions must be secured in large part by the community itself, and through use of the machinery of government. There must still be a great deal of discussion and argument to prove to some of the taxpayers of the cities that things like these really do pay, not only in longer years of life and the development of greater economic capacity, but in dollars and cents. But we are working, I think we may well claim, in the right direction, and I welcome once more the spirit with which your association has undertaken to do its part. I congratulate you upon the progress you have yourselves made. I congratulate you, too, upon the wisdom with which you have selected, for appropriate honor, at your earlier session, men and women who have been serving various social causes conspicuously well. I may almost say, although I am to be part of the city government for only a few days longer, that I feel that I may still pledge to you the cordial support of the city government, and in its name to wish you Godspeed in all that you may do.

PROFESSOR JOHNSON'S INTRODUCTION OF MR. OSBORNE

Mr. McAneny's encouraging account of the progress being made by the city will, I am sure, point the way not only to the future development of the city government in New York, but in other parts of the United States where members of the National Institute reside.

In spite of all the city and state have done and are doing, a certain number of unfortunate people will fall from

the path, or deviate from the path of rectitude, and correctional institutions are necessary. I suppose nothing has been a source of greater anxiety to those who wish to see the world really advance than the management of our prisons in the past.

The great work which Mr. Osborne is doing gives us courage to hope that prison reform is no longer an academic question, but is becoming an accomplished fact. I need not say anything of Mr. Osborne other than that he has consented to speak for twenty minutes on "Some Neglected Problems of Prison Management."

SOME NEGLECTED PROBLEMS OF PRISON MANAGEMENT

BY THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE, A.B., L.H.D.,
WARDEN OF SING SING PRISON

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I shall not even affect to misunderstand the kindness of your welcome. I assure you I appreciate it from the bottom of my heart.

Time was when I used to speak in public about municipal problems. In those far-off days, so quiet as I look back at them now—especially when I look back upon the speeches when I was Public Service Commissioner—those balmy, pastoral days—it makes me almost long for the quiet that used to prevail in the Albany Capitol. It may be that the ructions of the present make me look back on those farmost days as almost too soporific.

Nowadays I presume I am expected to talk of nothing but prisons. Well, I am not sure I want to talk about anything but prisons. Surely I could have nothing better to talk about. Some friends intimate of late that I have been talking too much; very possibly. I have often felt so, too. But I have talked in public for two reasons: first, because I really felt that it was highly desirable that those of us interested in the problem should meet and reason together, so that we might find the best answers to some rather perplexing questions; and, secondly, because I felt I must convince the public of certain fundamental principles. Before I came down here, a little over a year ago, I felt that, sooner or later, a storm would be brewing, and I wanted, as soon as possible, to prepare a proper refuge from the storm. The storm came rather more vigorously than I expected; and I think perhaps most of the talking that I did last year was worth while, after all.

I searched my mind as to what I could tell you that might be new and interesting, and I have brought with me some figures recently put together in regard to the so-called "Honor Camp," of which I had the privilege of being a member

a year ago last summer. I had not previously looked closely into the records of my companions at that camp; and I have been very much interested in doing so, and think you will all be interested. The following sentences were written in connection with an address that I am to make before very long before one of the universities, and they are apropos of the proposition that the criminal—the man in prison—is very much like ourselves—that he is a natural, human being; but, as I have frequently explained, when I say natural I do not mean normal. We have the word of no less a person than George Bernard Shaw that there is only one normal man—himself; and because he is normal is the reason why he is so frequently misunderstood. I would not for the world disturb Mr. Shaw's niche of fame.

These men in prison, for the most part, are perfectly natural men. One appreciates that when he lives among them. I presume there are not many here who have had that privilege. I have had; and perhaps the most enriching experience which I have had in that connection was my experience in the so-called "Honor Camp" in the year 1914.

In the year 1913 a number of road building camps were sent out from Auburn, Dannemora and Sing Sing Prisons. The men were selected partly by reason of good conduct, but principally by reason of the fact that their terms were about to expire; so that a man who had less than a year to stay in prison would not be likely to escape. "The game would not be worth the candle." In the following year, 1914, one of the members of the Mutual Welfare League at Auburn Prison made the suggestion that there be one camp in which the members should be chosen by their fellow-prisoners. Due permission was given, and twenty men were selected by their fellow-prisoners. These twenty men were not those who had good records, according to the rather artificial standards of the authorities, nor were they selected because they had only short terms still to go. In fact, most of them were selected because they had long terms to go, and their fellow-prisoners felt that they needed a little variety.

This is the statement written about the "Honor Camp": I was a member in good standing, and worked there for two weeks at different times. I went out the first week, and went

home the second week and went away for a fortnight's vacation, although I kept in touch with the camp. Later I went out for another week in the camp, and for the balance of three months kept in close touch—going out frequently to spend a night or a day, and keeping up my friendly relation with its members.

I was making a most interesting study of the criminal under remarkably free and natural conditions. The camp was situated near the small village of Meridian, about eighteen miles from Auburn Prison. There were twenty prisoners, besides myself, sentenced for all sorts of crimes. Four had been convicted of grand larceny, three for robbery, three for burglary, one for receiving stolen property, one for rape, one for sodomy, one for carrying a pistol, one for assault, one for manslaughter, three for murder in the second degree and one for murder in the first degree.

Three of my camp-mates were serving their first term in a penal institution, six their second, three their third, five their fourth, one his fifth, one his sixth and one his seventh.

Only one of these men had less than one year still to serve; seven had between one and two years; two had between two and three years; four between three and five; two between five and ten; two between ten and fifteen; one had still seventeen years to go and one was condemned to prison for his "natural life"!

Counting the "life term" as thirty years, these twenty men had received sentences amounting to two hundred and twenty-one years and seven months, or an average of eleven years and one month a piece.

I think it will be admitted, on the face of it, that this group would not be considered as one selected on account of any superior social virtues in its members; yet they were three months in camp with but one guard (and after a week even that one was withdrawn and the camp left in charge of its members); they worked in groups scattered over a considerable area, several miles from camp, and could easily have escaped any hour, day or night. They were restrained by a fine sense of honor and loyalty toward their fellow-prisoners, by whom they had been chosen as members of the "Honor Camp."

I came to know every member of the group well. In fact, there are few among my friends with whom I feel on such confidential and intimate terms. (Right here let me interpolate a little incident which occurred this afternoon. I went up to Sing Sing with a friend; and I noticed that my companion was somewhat surprised at what took place when I approached the second prisoner. As we got out of the taxicab the first man came up and we shook hands, and then a young fellow, twenty-two years old, rushed up and put his hand on my shoulder and said: "Hello, Tom, I'm glad to see you back!" This naturally seemed undignified for a Warden, but this young friend was a member of the "Honor Camp," so he forgot the prison relation of Warden and inmate, and thought only of his "pal" of the "Honor Camp").

As I said, I came to know every member of the group well; but if I were called upon to classify them for equitable punishment as criminals I should find it an impossible task. After patient study of these men day by day as they really are—not under the unnatural strain of the courtroom or the nervous tension of the old prison routine, but in the freedom of an outdoor camp, working, playing, eating, sleeping, waking—I find that any attempt on my part to group them penologically would be quite ridiculous. They remain obstinately in my mind as twenty entirely distinct individualities, as entirely unlike each other as any twenty of my friends outside the prison. No two men sent for similar crimes, or for similar sentences, are in the least alike. They obstinately refuse, in my thoughts, to be merged into a group of "criminals."

I shall not soon forget the mental shock I had one evening, about four weeks after they had been living this free outdoor life. A meeting was being held for the purpose of discussing certain matters connected with the camp—in fact, concerning the proper attitude to be adopted toward the village people whose first terror-stricken panic had been succeeded by an almost embarrassing hospitality. Invitations had been tendered for certain men to call at certain houses, and we were coming to the decision that none such should be accepted unless all members of the camp went in a body. One prisoner, commenting upon the attitude of the com-

munity, remarked confidentially to me, "Tom, you know there are some women who will run after a uniform, even if it's a prison uniform!"—a piece of worldly wisdom the truth of which I was subsequently forced to admit. Then came the shock. In the heat of the discussion one prisoner arose—a clean-cut, fine-looking young man in his early twenties. "Say, fellows, let me tell you this," he began, "I've been a thief all my life, and I don't pretend to be better than anybody else, but I want to say right here——" and then the speaker went on to give his views on certain ethical considerations, ending with the usual plea to "remember those fourteen hundred other fellows back in prison there, and not do anything to bring discredit on them or on the 'Honor Camp.'"

"I've been a thief all my life!" The words seemed to strike me a curious, tingling blow between the eyes. I looked about me, and there I sat in a group of thieves, burglars, murderers—all kinds of dangerous criminals. I was the only man present who had not been condemned by society and sent to prison for serious crime. Yet not since my college days had I enjoyed such a delightful sense of natural, free, unrestrained comradeship.

What is the moral of that? The moral is that here were men who, despite their bad records, despite the evil-doing that had sent each man to prison, each one of these men had a goodness about him, what one might call a genius for friendship, which had caused him to be singled out by his comrades as worthy of being sent out to the "Honor Camp." I remember hearing one of them describe his sensation on the day he came back from the camp to prison. It was my friend, Jack Murphy, who was sergeant-at-arms of the camp chosen by his fellow-prisoners. The officer went back to prison with seventeen of the men, and Jack was left with two other men to close up camp, and then to walk three miles to the railway station, where he was to pay for the freight, and buy the tickets for himself and companions to go back to Auburn—to prison. Jack said, when he stood on the platform realizing that the tracks to the right led to Canada and freedom, and the tracks to the left led to prison—seventeen years more of imprisonment for him—and with money in his

pocket sufficient to get to Canada—well, he said he never was so tempted in all his life. I think any one of us, considering such a situation, will feel that we might have been sorely tempted in his place. But he used the money to buy the tickets for the other prisoners and himself to go back, and the three turned up at the prison on time.

The old prison system absolutely ignored, and, in fact, tended to destroy such fine loyalty and splendid capacity to rise to a situation and to resist temptation, that these men showed every day they were out in camp. What folly for society to neglect such splendid qualities, and let them be ignored or destroyed. Those are the very qualities that we needed out in the world! Why throw them away? Those are the very men from whom we most need a display of such qualities, because if they go back home to the worst sections of our big cities and put in force those qualities, it will tend to clean up society from the bottom in a way that we cannot possibly do it working from the top. So that these men, coming out of Sing Sing and Auburn Prisons to-day, are going to be your most efficient helpers in working out the regeneration of society. They are going to do missionary work we cannot possibly do. They will reach men you cannot possibly reach; and who knows what the end will be?

Some of you read in the newspapers, not long ago, of Tony Marino, his escape from Sing Sing and his return. You don't know all the story, probably you never will, but there is one picture that remains in my mind and that I want you to have; and that is Tony in the centre of a group of perhaps fifteen to twenty ex-convicts, some of them men who had never been in prison under the new sytem—one of them a man who had been in Sing Sing seven years ago and is still leading the life of a crook and a thief. He it was who had collected $150 for Tony, and got the automobile for him, and did everything in his power to aid Tony's escape. For a long time these ex-convicts sat and argued together as to the right and wrong of Tony Marino's going back to prison. Think of it! Going back to a possible eight years more of prison—possibly to heavy punishment, for his name was on that list which was sent down to Sing Sing Prison of men to be transferred to Dannemora. And Tony knew

what might be in front of him; and there they sat and argued——! Surely one of the most extraordinary incidents that has ever taken place in this city in your life or mine! Then think how, finally, after all was told, the thief who had left Sing Sing seven years ago turned to his friend Tony and said: "Tony, the boss wants you to go back. You ought to go back." And those were the words that finally decided Tony that he would go back to prison. Now, do you see how from the prisons, from the ex-convicts who are returning from the prisons, there is coming about already in the underworld of this great city a new spirit—something entirely unknown before.

One of the prisoners, not long after his release two years ago, was lunching with Dr. Whiten. It was my friend Jim, and in the middle of the lunch Jim looked up and said: "Say, Doc, I know Tom's all right; we know he's on the level; and I think you are. Say, are there any more?" And Dr. Whiten said: "A great many more; hundreds of thousands, who are interested in you and want you to be straight, and will be on the level with you." And Jim took a long breath, thought for a moment, and said: "Well, I'll be damned!" He had not thought it possible there were so many honest men in society. Do you see what that points to? They have misjudged us just as much as we have misjudged them. They think we are nothing but successful and hypocritical crooks, and we have thought of them as nothing but wild animals to be caged. Thank God, we were both wrong!

Jim was in my room lately with his brother Paddy, who has been a crook for seventeen years, ever since he was fourteen, and now by dint of Jim's pressure Paddy is determined to go straight. All he wants is a chance, and I bank on Paddy. Jim tells me it is no longer a subject of ridicule in the underworld when a fellow announces that he is going straight. He says: "Nobody dared to say that before because we would be laughed at, but now fellows come up to me—fellows who are not on the level—and say they're glad that I am going straight. They did not know but that possibly, if they could get a job, they might go straight." We cannot have one man reformed without opening endless possibilities of reform. I heard of one young fellow who grad-

uated from Sing Sing last summer; I heard nothing about him since until the other day in Brooklyn, when I learned that he was running a club in the evenings after work, into which he had enticed a large number of young boys, where they sang and had pleasant, good, healthy, wholesome fun. This young fellow sings and plays the piano and does all sorts of stunts. He is the kind of a fellow boys naturally follow, and he is doing that to keep them out of the streets—to keep them out of following in his footsteps to State's Prison! There is a quiet missionary doing social service—a missionary from State's Prison to the underworld.

Now, just one final word about the League. In all the matter that has been written about the prison reform I find a great lack of understanding, or at least lack of attention, paid to the essence of the new system at Sing Sing; and, in fact, when they have done us the honor of copying, or trying to copy the work we are doing there in some other place, they have failed to catch the really important point. Many people suppose that the granting of privileges is all that is important; that if the men get something they like that it is an advantage to give it to them. That is not true necessarily. Neither is it true that if men are treated with entire kindness in prison that they will go straight when they come out. The falseness of that has been shown in the disappointment in some of the records of the graduates of prisons where the so-called "Honor System" has been in force. Now the matter at Sing Sing is far more subtle and important than the system in an "Honor Prison." The "Honor System" in a prison is where a kindly Warden, in place of a brutal Warden, says to a man: "Now I am going to trust you, and I expect you to behave yourself; you will owe it to me. I am going to give you a stick of candy if you will be good." Naturally, the man is good, under the circumstances, as long as the candy holds out. How does he react when he gets back to society, having learned nothing except that a kindly Warden is better than a brutal Warden? Possibly he has learned to some extent the pleasantness of kindness; and he cannot, of course, remain true to his obligation even to an individual without absorbing something that is good. But the essence of the work we are doing at Auburn and Sing Sing lies in

the formation of the Mutual Welfare League. You must remember that what these men get from their League is loyalty to a civic ideal. Most of us are educated enough and have had experience enough to realize the value of a high ideal in civic matters—in state and national matters. But these men have not been trained as we have been trained for that ideal; and so as they offend against the law we put them in prison. There is nothing in the way of an ideal at the prison! Why should they be loyal to the prison? Why should they be loyal to a Warden? How can the jailbird be loyal to the jailer, as such?

But now, what has happened? There had arisen between the authorities and the prisoner something new in their experience—an organization for which they can rightly feel the utmost love and loyalty. It is their own—started by prisoners, the rules formulated by prisoners, named by prisoners, and even the motto given by a prisoner, "Do good—Make good." Could anything be more inspiring than such an association carried on by prisoners? It gives them the first breath of freedom they have had; because all the privileges are given not to the individuals, but to the League as a body. The League brings to the individual prisoner every privilege that he now has, as contrasted with the old system, and so arouses loyalty to the organization—to a social abstraction which they have never known before.

One boy of twenty-two, who had been condemned to prison with a life sentence of twenty years, had been guilty of serious misconduct in prison, and at his trial before the Warden's Court something was said about his lack of loyalty to the League. He started up, and the tears came into his eyes as he said: "Why, Warden, I would die for the League!" And he would without any question, as would many other men. Now, when we get something that these men will live for and die for we are really getting somewhere. These men feel that a sense of the community in prison; and that is something that they have never realized before; they feel the greatness of an ideal, and they come out of prison with a spirit entirely different from that with which men came out of a prison before; all because there stands the Mutual Welfare League, their own creation, which

the authorities trust and to which the men have given allegiance and devotion.

The League, as I said, was the suggestion of a prisoner; it is their own organization, one link in the great chain of democratic self-government. For many years I had believed in self-government among prisoners, but it was not until Jack Murphy and I were talking together about prison matters during the week I lived as a prisoner at Auburn that the suggestion came from Jack. When it came I said: "There, that's the thing I have been waiting for." I was too stupid to see it until it was suggested by a convict.

That is what I want you and every other friend of the prison to understand. When you hear this talk of prisoners' privileges at Auburn and Sing Sing you must remember that there is not a single privilege given to a prisoner. They are all given to the League. The League holds itself responsible for the good conduct of its members, and in so doing we bring about a condition where the individual man learns his civic responsibility, the very lack of which has sent him to prison. And so it comes about that, whereas the old prison was like the system of training for a race by lying in bed, so that every muscle became atrophied for lack of use, the new system is absolutely the reverse. The man is being trained for civic responsibility by being a member of a self-governing community. It was Gladstone who said many years ago in a letter about Ireland to John Morley: "It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty."

PROFESSOR JOHNSON'S INTRODUCTION OF MRS. CHARLES RANN KENNEDY

We have heard two men speak and what they have said has moved us deeply, because they have dealt with the realities of life. We are now to have the good fortune to hear a lady read—a lady whose dramatic art, coupled with her natural gifts, has enabled her to do great work.

I have great pleasure in presenting to you Mrs. Charles Rann Kennedy.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When Dr. Mabie invited me to speak he gave me the alternative of a touch of my profession, so I am going to just give you two things that I think express in much more appropriate words than would any of mine own, something of the spirit that is here tonight. The first is a poem by John Masefield. It is called.

A CONSECRATION

From the Salt Water Ballads

NOT of the princes and prelates with periwigged charioteers
Riding triumphantly laurelled to lap the fat of the years,—
Rather the scorned—the rejected—the men hemmed in with the spears;

The men of the tattered battalion which fights till it dies,
Dazed with the dust of the battle, the din and the cries,
The men with the broken heads and the blood running into their eyes.

Not the be-medalled Commander, beloved of the throne,
Riding cock-horse to parade when the bugles are blown,
But the lads who carried the koppie and cannot be known.

Not the ruler for me, but the ranker, the tramp of the road,
The slave with the sack on his shoulders pricked on with the goad,
The man with too weighty a burden, too weary a load.

The sailor, the stoker of steamers, the man with the clout,
The chantryman bent at the halliards putting a tune to the shout,
The drowsy man at the wheel and the tired look-out.

Others may sing of the wine and the wealth and the mirth,
The portly presence of potentates goodly in girth;—
Mine be the dirt and the dross, the dust and scum of the earth!

THEIRS be the music, the colour, the glory, the gold:
Mine be a handful of ashes, a mouthful of mould.
Of the maimed, of the halt and the blind in the rain and the cold—
Of these shall my songs be fashioned, my tales be told. AMEN.

—JOHN MASEFIELD

Manson's speech about the Church from

THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE

I am afraid you may not consider it an altogether substantial concern. It has to be seen in a certain way, under certain conditions. Some people never *see* it at all. You must understand, this is no dead pile of stones and unmeaning timber. It is a living thing.

When you enter it you hear a sound—a sound as of some mighty poem chanted. Listen long enough, and you will learn that it is made up of the beating of human hearts, of the nameless music of men's souls—that is, if you have ears. If you have eyes, you will presently see the church itself—a looming mystery of many shapes and shadows, leaping sheer from floor to dome. The work of no ordinary builder!

The pillars of it go up like the brawny trunks of heroes: the sweet human flesh of men and women is moulded about its bulwarks, strong, impregnable: the faces of little children laugh out from every corner-stone: the terrible spans and arches of it are the joined hands of comrades; and up in the heights and spaces there are inscribed the numberless musings of all the dreamers of the world. It is yet building—building and built upon. Sometimes the work goes forward in deep darkness: sometimes in blinding light: now beneath the burden of unutterable anguish: now to the tune of a great laughter and heroic shoutings like the cry of thunder. Sometimes, in the silence of the night-time, one may hear the tiny hammerings of the comrades at work up in the dome—the comrades that have climbed ahead.

CHARLES RANN KENNEDY.

ODE

We are the music-makers,
  And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea-breakers
  And sitting by desolate streams;
World-losers and world-forsakers,
  On whom the pale moon gleams:
Yet we are the movers and shakers
  Of the world for ever, it seems.

With wonderful deathless ditties
We build up the world's great cities,
  And out of a fabulous story
  We fashion an empire's glory:
One man with a dream at pleasure,
  Shall go forth and conquer a crown;
And three with a new song's measure
  Can trample an empire down.

We, in the ages lying
In the buried past of the earth,
Built Nineveh with out sighing,
And Babel itself with our mirth;
And o'erthrew them with prophesying
To the old of the new world's worth;
For each age is a dream that is dying,
Or one that is coming to birth.

—Arthur William Edgar O'Shaughnessy.

PROFESSOR JOHNSON'S INTRODUCTION OF MR. PATRICK FRANCIS MURPHY

It seems to be quite certain that it would be inappropriate to close this dinner without hearing from Mr. Murphy. He has had no warning of the latent purpose in my mind, and I do not know how he may feel about our plotting against him. I sincerely hope, however, that he will be kind enough to address us at the present time.

MR. MURPHY'S RESPONSE

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: As the prisoner said in the dock, "It is words that brought me here, and," he continued, "it is words that cause all the trouble in this world." And the court evidently agreed with him and as a practical illustration the judge, put a few words together and formed a "sentence." When I listened to the Chairman to-night putting those few words together, coupled with my name, I felt in a similar position.

After listening to Mr. McAneny, who is so well informed about all the departments of city life, and who seems to be the encyclopedia for all the virtues that the New York government has given to the people of its city, I feel compelled to commiserate with every virtue that he has omitted from his list. There is no one better qualified to speak, and no one happier than he to be released from office. You know there are two periods in a political career which every man regrets. The first is that most of his life is spent in finding out that he is too young to attain to any prominent position, and in the next period of his life he finds that he is too old to be of service to any. That, fortunately, has not happened

to Mr. McAneny. He retires to-night, or will in a few days, loaded with honors and with the gratitude of the people of the city of New York for what he has contributed towards their welfare. He spoke of it in a modest way himself. If you will notice modesty is an old-fashioned virtue, and a very good one, but people in New York seem to get along very well without it.

Thomas Mott Osborne, too, has electrified us to-night, and I must say it was with thrills of wonder and astonishment that I listened to the new ideas which he has illustrated. You know there are men who aim at impossible things, and by aiming at impossible things they attain possible things which they never would have otherwise accomplished. There is no doubt but that Mr. Osborne has within his view something high, and like the horizon, even if he never attains it, it forever lures him on and forever points to something above to be accomplished. And, listening to him to-night I was reminded of what was said of an eminent man in the British Parliament who uttered honest words as he has done this evening, and it was said of him that "there was something finer in the man than in anything that he uttered."

And of the lady—I wonder why George Bernard Shaw said that Forbes-Robertson was the beau ideal of English articulation. He could not have heard Mrs. Kennedy as she spoke to-night. Without any sacrilegious attempt, after that perfect pronunciation of hers, I would feel tempted to call her "The Angel of the Enunciation."

And now, having talked on every subject myself but the social sciences, I want to congratulate you, and myself included (for I feel my vanity struggling to get loose, but I will repress it according to the New York Idea), for the opportunity of listening to that lady to-night. I come from a city called Boston, and as a lady there once said, "You could burn every building in this vicinity, and you could raze that gilded dome which looks forth from the top of the State House and you could put it into powder, and you could obliterate every edifice in this place, and Boston would still remain, for Boston is a state of mind." And, having come from that city which is supposed to be the centre of culture, and in which even the conductors on the cars speak with an

educated mispronunciation, I felt as I listened to that lady to-night that I was back again in the home of culture.

I remember one incident that happened which illustrates very well how we use English in Boston. Outside of a little restaurant one day a slate was hung with the Carte du Jour marked thereon, which was "Beefsteak—10c." An Englishman passing by had the courage to enter. A girl with a black skirt and a white apron came forward and he said: "I will have some steak." She, being Bostonian, said: "Steak is all over." He, being English, said: "All over what?" and she, being Bostonian, said: "All over with."

PROFESSOR JOHNSON'S CLOSING REMARKS

Mr. Murphy has summed up the events of the evening in such an admirable way that we will adjourn with his summary.

REPORT

OF THE

SPRING MEETING

HELD AT

THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF MEDICINE

APRIL 28TH, 1916

OPENING REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, LL.D.

In response to the express desire of members of the Institute that a Spring meeting be held for the consideration and discussion of some question of large public concern, the meeting of this afternoon has been arranged. We have all come to the point where we are now speaking less of the causes of the present European war, and are dwelling more on its possible results. We are laying less emphasis upon what preceded it, and are beginning to attempt to forecast what is likely to follow it.

It has seemed to the Council of the Institute most appropriate that this body should attempt to give some guidance to public opinion in this wide field, and that it should undertake to inaugurate, under the best possible auspices, a discussion of the conditions that are likely to follow, or that may be brought about, at the conclusion of hostilities in Europe. Any such view of the future presents itself primarily under two chief aspects. The first is that aspect which is in the large sense of the word political, social and legal. What is likely to be the readjustment in the forms of government, in the relations of governments to each other, and in the common problem of all governments, namely, the relation of governments to their own citizens or subjects? Then, complementary to that, there is that aspect which is financial and economic. What is likely to follow from the great upheaval of credit which has occurred, from the enormous and highly concentrated expenditure and the wasting of capital, from the new trade relations that are being set up and must be still more widely developed in the years to come?

We are very fortunate in being able to present to members of the Institute two gentlemen who speak on these two aspects of this subject with high authority.

DR. BUTLER'S INTRODUCTION OF MR. OSCAR S. STRAUS

I have pleasure in presenting first our colleague and friend, a Vice-President of the Institute, who is the very exemplar of good citizenship. He will speak to us on the legal and political aspects of this coming reconstruction.. I present Mr. Oscar S. Straus, formerly Secretary of Commerce, and three times diplomatic representative of this country at Constantinople.

INTERNATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION—

ITS LEGAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

BY THE HONORABLE OSCAR S. STRAUS
MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION AT THE HAGUE, FORMER AMBASSADOR, ETC.

We are in the habit of thinking and speaking about this war chiefly in relation to its colossal magnitude, its unspeakable horrors, sacrifices, sufferings and losses. There is another aspect of much deeper significance, and which is destined to have even a more lasting effect upon civilization and upon the relations of nations, one to the other, than these unparalleled physical results; namely, the influences growing out of the dominance of conflicting moral standards this war involves.

This conflict made itself apparent at the close of the middle ages and with the rise of independent political communities following the reformation. In 1513 Machiavelli set forth in "The Prince" the doctrine that in matters of state, ordinary moral rules did not apply, and his work soon became the political manual of the rulers of states. There were many writers and statesmen who took the opposite view and, fortunately for humanity and human progress, this principle of lawlessness in international relations was strongly combated by Grotius in 1625. In his book, "De Jure Belli ac Pacis," moral ideas which had been in European thought for a century or more were therein clearly stated, systematically arranged and logically applied to what should be the regulation of dealings between states. Following this, international law was developed and began more and more to take the place of the system of dominant sovereignty which had existed in the middle ages. No set of principles more clearly marked the progress of civilization than the progress of the substitution of moral principles in the relationship of states for the so-called right resting upon the might of the strongest.

Within a period of a little over six years—from 1864 to 1870—Prussia, following the teachings of the Machiavellian school, carried to a successful issue three wars of aggression. Under the dominating genius of Bismarck she took Schleswig-Holstein, supplanted Austria in the leadership of the Teutonic peoples, and wrested the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine from France. When at Versailles, in the Hall of Mirrors, King William received from the hands of the rulers of Germany the Imperial crown, Prussia's dream of centuries became a reality. It may well be asked, Has that vision exercised an influence upon the causes and brought about the present war in the desire of the Prussian militarist to extend the German dominion over Europe and the world? The teachings of this school have been restated by some of the foremost of the leaders of German thought; by her national historian, Treitschke, whose lectures on politics have had as commanding an influence upon the ruling powers in Prussia as Machiavelli had upon the rulers of his day.

Treitschke holds that every treaty or promise made by a state is understood to be limited by the necessities of that state; that "a state can not blind its will for the future over against other states"; that international treaties are no absolute limitation but a voluntary self-limitation of the state and only for such time as the state may find it to be convenient and consistent with its interests. As another illustration of his views he states: "It is ridiculous to advise a state which is in competition with other states to start by taking the catechism into its hands." All of these ideas were adopted and expanded by Bernhardi, the faithful disciple of Treitschke, whose Berlin lectures in the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century were listened to and appear to have had a marked influence upon the leading officers and officials of Germany.

The German Chancellor in his speech to the Reichstag on August 4, 1914, adopted the doctrine of necessity as a justification for the invasion of Belgium, notwithstanding the treaty which guaranteed her neutrality. He said: "We are now in a state of necessity and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are already

on Belgian soil. Gentleman, that is contrary to the dictates of international law."

The German designations for these two conflicting schools of thought are, (1) the *Realpolitiker* who hold that in the relation of nations there is no room for moral considerations; in other words, that might makes right, and (2) the *Idealpolitiker* who maintain that the relationship of nations should rest upon moral principles. The one doctrine is predicated upon state absolutism, that each state is primarily and ultimately concerned for itself and itself alone, that its interests are not only paramount to, but override even, its obligations, that when in its judgment its necessities demand, treaties, however specific and solemnly made, shall not be binding. The other school maintains that while nations are not yet as fully amenable to moral considerations as each state must uphold within its boundaries, yet states in their relations with one another must observe their international obligations and observe the principles of international law long recognized by civilized people and that have been developed in the progress of civilization.

Sir Edward Grey in refusing to consent to the invasion of Belgium instructed the British Ambassador to ask for his passports, and stated that Great Britain would feel bound to take every step in its power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of the treaty to which Germany, as well as Great Britain, were parties. The issue thus made brought in direct conflict, as no other war in history has ever done, the two standards of international morals to which I have referred.

Underlying the issues just stated is yet another, and that is the conflict between absolutism and democracy or constitutionalism. If the doctrine of international or external absolutism prevails, then it will necessarily strengthen the forces of absolutism within the victorious nations and to that extent will weaken, if not obliterate, democracy and fortify the Bismarckian policy of "blood and iron" and the triumphs of militarism with all it may signify.

How long nations which are dedicated to justice and liberty under constitutionalism or democracy can withstand this spirit of militarism, or, as Spencer terms it, of rebarbar-

ization, is a subject which should give us in America great concern.

When President Monroe in 1823 announced our Continental policy it was predicated upon the fact that America had a set of interests entirely apart from those of Europe and that Europe had interests entirely apart from us. That was true then, but in a far less extent is that true now since the invention and application of steam and electricity to the peaceful and warlike arts. Distance no longer separates nor protects the nations of one continent or hemisphere from the other. Armies can be transported across oceans with greater rapidity and facility than on land, and submarines can unseen traverse and spread havoc over all the seas. We can no longer rely on our isolation, for we are no longer isolated in the physical sense as we were in 1823, and certainly not in relation to our commercial interests. The latter is true of all nations. Whether we will or not, we are a much nearer and a more intimate member of the family of nations, and must take our share of the responsibilities this more intimate relationship involves. Should the spirit that will dominate the victor nations after the war be one of international absolutism, it can not fail to come in conflict with first, our international, and second, our national ideals and principles.

The reconstruction of the world after this war will be our concern as much as it will be the concern of the belligerent nations. But it will be urged that the Monroe Doctrine forbids us to take part in European concerns. The answer is: The framers of our continental policy nearly one hundred years ago could not and did not foresee the veritable miracles that have transformed, as it were, oceans into lakes and shortened the distance between America and Europe from thirty days to less than five days, and the time of communication to a few seconds. Reading, as we should, Monroe's Doctrine in the light of these changed conditions, we find there a warrant, if not a duty, even in its language, for our country's participation in the world's reconstruction.

The language is: "In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is

only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense." Is it not clear that if the doctrine of might should prevail and the policy of militarism triumph that the power of defense would be the only protection that nations would have against one another, and that the Machiavellian doctrine of the necessity of states would be the final arbiter of the rights of states? If this be true, does it not clearly become our duty, not only primarily in our own interests, but secondarily in the interests of the world, to insist upon taking part in re-establishing upon a firmer basis the safeguards of international law, without which treaties can have no value?

In the days of slow wars an interval separated a state of peace from a state of war. Nations could more readily postpone their preparations for war until the war clouds threatened, and could postpone the raising of armies until the time approached for using them, but all this is changed. The present war began after an ultimatum of only a few days, and immediately thereafter the armies of Germany were on the march through Belgium.

At three different periods during the last twenty-eight years I saw at close range at Constantinople the play of the diplomacy of the great European powers. With rare exception, in important and vital issues, the diplomacy of the stronger nations won out and that of the weaker nations correspondingly failed.

It is a mistake to believe that armies and navies lie useless when not engaged in war. As a matter of fact, armies and navies are the potential forces behind diplomacy when vital interests are at stake and their potentiality is in the background and is often the controlling factor in obviating the development of conditions that lead to war or that project nations into war, even at times against their own will.

Let us not deceive ourselves by failing to see that this war has let loose throughout the world the spirit of conquest, the hunger for territory and the rivalry for domination on land and sea. Even our efforts to maintain our neutrality instead of making for us friends have made us envied, distrusted, and by some nations hated. But entirely apart from the menace of foreign attack, if we are to be all

effective influence either now or hereafter in the promotion or maintenance of the peace of the world, the measure of our influence will certainly not be in proportion to our weakness, but in proportion to our available strength. It is said by some, that to enlarge our naval and military forces will of itself be a provocative of war in that it will prompt the spirit of militarism. This is true where armaments are piled up for the sake of domination or of conquest, but armaments for defense, subordinated, as they always must be under our form of government, to the civil power, are not the promoters of militarism, but a bulwark for the maintenance of the reign of law and of justice and for the security of all those ideals which constitute the elements of enlightened and progressive civilization.

A war such as this could never have engulfed the nations had their international relationship and foundations been rightfully constructed. For many years past, and especially since the Franco-Prussian War, historians, statesmen and publicists foresaw and foretold that a condition of armed peace, with its ever-increasing burden of competitive armaments, would inevitably lead to war unless a reconstruction could be effected by the embattled nations of Europe upon the basis of peace.

Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador at the court of Berlin at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, in his "Studies in Diplomacy" distinctly stated at the time that the Triple Alliance of 1879 between Germany and Austria, to which Italy was joined in 1882, would necessarily be a portent of war, or, to use his words: "It is, in fact, armed peace that the three powers have organized, and can peace under arms be lasting?" The Marquis of Salisbury in 1897 made the statement that: "The federation of the European nations is the germ of the only possible mutual relation of these States which can protect civilization from the frightful effects of war." The German Chancellor in his speech in the Reichstag on August 19, 1915, said: "An unassailable Germany would give us a new Europe," and then adds: "An England able to dictate its will to the world is inconsistent with the peace of the world." He was right in his diagnosis when applied to his enemy, but wrong when ap-

plied to his own country. His statement is an additional proof that dominance of power is not safe in the hands of any one nation, and can only be entrusted for the security of each nation in the hands of the united nations.

It is quite the vogue now to refer with ridicule to the two Hague conferences and to the efforts made to avert the catastrophe toward which Europe was so rapidly drifting. The tendencies were in two diametrically opposite directions, which have been graphically described as Utopia and Hell. If the pacifists, who animated and encouraged their governments to participate in the peace conferences at the Hague in 1899 and 1907 looked with hopefulness upon the results that would follow, have met with disappointment, certainly they have not fallen further away from the realization of their ideals than have the militarists in the condition of hopelessness and remoteness of results they aimed speedily to achieve by the war which now engulfs the world. In other words, the failure of the militarists has certainly been as decisive and infinitely more appalling than has been the failure of the peace advocates in achieving their end.

The deduction to be drawn from the failure of both sides makes it clear that there must be an international reconstruction upon an entirely different basis from that which has brought about the awful cataclysm of European civilization. All the nations that are now arrayed against one another in their death dealing trenches want peace, yet each of them at the present time regards with hostility every effort and desire of neutral nations to bring about peace, because no one of them is willing to make concessions which will insure the peace of justice as distinguished from the pride and obsession for victory. The same considerations that apply at the present time will apply with equal force and with even more emphasis to the relationship of nations for the maintenance of peace after this war is over. This world war is a distinct proof that neither pacifism without might nor might unless dominated by right can be effectual in securing a permanent peace.

As we survey the history of nations we find three distinct methods of world organization which were developed, tried

and found wanting. The first of these was the dominance of nations by great world powers, such as Greece under Alexander, whose invincible phalanxes dominated Europe, Asia and Africa. The disciplined power of Rome which supplanted that of Greece was another example. But as Greece was supplanted by Rome, so Rome in turn was overthrown by the onrush of the northern barbarians. Following the Napoleonic wars there was developed a second method of keeping the peace—the system of the Balance of Power and of the Concert of Europe, under which, instead of one dominant nation several nations united in offensive and defensive alliances. This plan developed in our day into a third arrangement, by which it was hoped that peace and order would be maintained among the nations through group alliances; namely, the Triple Alliance on the one side and the Triple Entente on the other. This dual arrangement, dividing Europe into two vast and powerful camps, it was hoped would have the effect which is epitomized in the expression that "one sword will keep the other in its scabbard." But this war proves that it has had a contrary effect; it has multiplied the swords on both sides; it has developed militarism as never before, and has piled up those crushing armaments that are to-day clashing against one another in the most frightful and bloody war in all history.

These several methods and plans from Alexander the Great to William II. each in turn collapsed with increasing frightfulness. They were built upon false foundations; they were built as strongholds for war and not as strongholds for peace. It follows by the light of the logic of history that for the future the world must seek other methods than such as have failed so woefully to maintain righteous peace. It must be a righteous peace, for peace to be lasting must be founded on justice and respect for law.

Any future plan to be lasting must take into consideration the two antagonistic schools regarding the application of moral principles to international affairs to which I have referred, and in so doing reconstruct international relationship, not as heretofore exclusively on the basis of war, but dominantly on the basis of peace. This can not be done by the dominance of a single power. That method, as I have

pointed out, has been tried and has failed. It can not be done by a division of power. That also has proven a failure. It must be done by a unity of power; by placing the might of the united nations as guardians of the rights of each nation, on the same principle as we constitute the joint power of the forty-eight states of our Union as the guardian of the right of each state.

While "righteousness exalteth a nation," the present war gives incontrovertible proof that righteousness will not protect a nation unless all other nations are likewise exalted by righteousness. When that time arrives we shall have reached the millennium, which from present indications is sufficiently remote to justify a search for ways and means that will serve the purpose of the world in the intervening time. It is a fact, which we would deceive ourselves in failing to recognize, that fundamental changes in the progress of mankind have rarely, if ever, been possible save by war or as a sequel to war. The history of the nations from the Armageddon to the invasion of Belgium teaches that war will not be banished until the leading and more powerful nations become civilized enough to create an organization that will not only induce but will force resort to other means than war, and that will be able to impose necessary and fundamental changes without war.

The greatest curse of war is that it settles international differences by the force of might and not by the arbitrament of right, and when so settled it will continue in the future as in the past to breed war. National weakness does not make for peace. On the contrary, as the world is at present constituted, it invites a disregard for fundamental right; it invites aggression and war. Power and preparedness within limitation have a restraining influence, and are most helpful in leading controversies to settlement by peaceful negotiations. A nation without power is compelled to submit either to conquest or to humiliating conditions. When vital interests arise between strong and weak nations they are more likely to lead to war than when they arise between two strong nations. We need not look far for illustrations of this unfortunate condition. The present war in its origin affords a striking instance.

Many plans have been devised, but no one in my judgment has laid a better foundation for international peace than the one that has been adopted by the League to Enforce Peace. That plan, briefly stated, consists of three provisions. First, all justiciable questions shall be subject to an international court. Second, all questions that are not subject to judicial determination shall be submitted to a Council of Conciliation for hearing, consideration and recommendation. Thirdly, the powers shall use their joint forces, economic and military, against any one of their number who goes to war before submitting its differences as provided in the foregoing provisions.

Some such plan was recommended by Sir Edward Grey and proposed by him to Germany as a safeguard against aggression on the part of the Triple Entente on July 30, 1914, This proposal was embodied in a telegram to the British Ambassador at Berlin. He said: "If the peace of Europe can be preserved and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavor will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia and ourselves, jointly or separately. I have desired this, and worked for it as far as I could through the last Balkan crisis, and Germany having a corresponding object, our relations sensibly improved. The idea has hitherto been too Utopian to form the subject of definite proposals, but if this present crisis, so much more acute than any that Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed, I am hopeful that the relief and reaction which will follow may make possible some more definite approachment between the powers than has been possible hitherto."

Unfortunately, this proposal was only put forward at the eleventh hour, when misrepresentation, irritation and suspicion had poisoned the air, all of which emphasizes the necessity that arrangements for peace must be made in advance not only of mobilization but of the irritations which produce war, and that such arrangements must be made with the same precautions that the nations have hitherto given to preparations for war. In other words, the methods must

be reversed, and instead of internationalizing war the nations must internationalize peace.

It is to be hoped that out of the extreme suffering and sacrifices that this war imposes there may arise supreme wisdom among the nations. Either there will be a new day or a darker night; all depends upon how this war will end and what bulwarks the nations will erect against future cataclysms such as we are now witnessing. In conclusion, let me repeat, America, though not a belligerent, is as much concerned in the world's peace as the nations at war. We must take a part in the reconstruction. Norman Angel significantly says that "if we do not mix in European affairs Europe will mix in our affairs." We owe it to ourselves, to humanity and to the world to lend our best efforts and to make our fullest contribution to that reconstruction which must come.

Civilization has been undermined. The temples of the false gods have tumbled into ruin. This most barbaric and colossal war has not put God, but man, on trial. It has put existing international relationship on trial; it has put expediency and the doctrine of might on trial. It has revealed the fact that we can not have one standard of morals within a nation and a different and lower standard as between nations.

All the machinery that has been devised in the past for the maintenance of peace has been left to volunteer effort. The resort to treaties of arbitration, to the Hague Tribunal, to the Commissions of Inquiry, was voluntary. We must at least put forth as much compelling force for the preservation of peace as has heretofore been put forth for the preparations for war. Let us hope that out of the bloody trenches will arise a new international conscience, which will put no geographical limitations upon right and justice. To unlock the portals of the future peace and happiness of the nations we must use other instruments than the "blood rusted keys" of the past.

Instead of a general staff in each nation preparing for war, there should be a general staff of the united nations preparing for peace. Bluntchli was perhaps right in his opinion that the federation of Europe would be easier to

bring about than was that of the German Empire. Federation gives cause for hope—hope that out of the agonies and appalling sacrifices of this war may arise a higher sense of international justice and a nobler humanity under the protecting shield of the united powers of the united nations.

DR. BUTLER'S INTRODUCTION OF MR. GEORGE E. ROBERTS

After this illuminating and inspiring presentation of the political aspect of the subject, let us turn now to the financial and more strictly economic side, under the leadership of a chief American authority, for a long time Director of the United States Mint, and now associated in the direction of the National City Bank, Mr. George E. Roberts.

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY AFTER THE WAR

BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE E. ROBERTS

The state of finance and industry, and the general condition of business, after the war is naturally of very great interest, not only in the warring countries but in neutral countries, for the whole world is involved. The war is such a stupendous calamity, the figures for expenditures and loans and estimates of losses are so colossal, that the effect is overwhelming, and I think we have been exaggerating the economic results, strange as that may seem. It is natural to think that the stock of wealth is being very much diminished, that industry after the war must be seriously crippled and that the new indebtedness will be a great burden. People talk as though a great part of the accumulations of the past were being swept away, and we hear it said that the world will be set back for a hundred years. I think, however, that this is a very great exaggeration of the probable results.

If we want to have any practical idea about conditions after the war we had best get away from these figures of expenditures and debts, and come down to concrete things—to the tangible forms of wealth that are being destroyed.

The productive wealth of the world is in the land, the mines, the forests, the water powers and other resources of Nature, and in the physical plant of buildings, equipment and facilities of every kind that have been gradually built up for working those resources, for converting them into the commodities of trade, and for transporting and distributing the goods in the exchanges. The physical wealth of the world is in these things, and besides these the gains that have been made are in the stock of knowledge, the progress that has been made in the arts and sciences and in command over the resources of Nature, and in the organization that has been developed for carrying on the business of the world.

Now the general position which society has reached will not be lost. Knowledge of the arts and industries is too

widely diffused for that, and, as we have seen, the gains of the past are not so much in what has been accumulated as in how to produce it. The loss of the ship "Lusitania" was a serious one because she was the highest example of the shipbuilder's art, but the shops that built the "Lusitania" remain, and even if they were destroyed the knowledge of how to rebuild both shops and ship would remain.

Now although there has been a considerable destruction of property in the regions occupied by the armies, the total as compared with all the property, even in the countries at war, is small. The two most important industrial countries, Great Britain and Germany, are practically untouched. We may suppose that the class of productive property which has suffered most has been shipping, but the world is building ships almost if not quite as fast as they are destroyed. Some kinds of property are being used up rapidly in the warring countries, and perhaps some kinds are being allowed to deteriorate, but on the other hand the industries that have to do with the war, particularly the steel industry, have been enlarged, and certainly if we include the United States and other neutral countries, we may expect the productive capacity of the world to be as great after the war as it was before.

It is true that the economic loss by the death of skilled and capable men and the disabling of others will be very serious, but, on the other hand, there is a general introduction of women into industry and business, and an undoubted increase in the efficiency of the population. Lloyd-George expresses the opinion that the improvement in industrial methods, and the more effective control of the liquor traffic, resulting from the war, will compensate for all the economic losses. These are among the possible effects of the war upon the people themselves. The greatest forces of the world are the invisible ones, and the influence of the war upon the inner resources of the people is something that cannot be calculated, but may be very great.

The cost of the war is mainly in the extraordinary consumption of the goods of current production, and that cost is falling upon the people of neutral countries as well as upon the belligerents. Everybody who finds his current

outgo increasing faster than his income is paying a share of the economic cost of the war.

But what about the debts? Is it true that these countries are drawing upon the future, expending the capital of the future before it is created, and heaping burdens upon generations yet unborn? I do not think it is. If you ask me if the war is wasting capital which should be passed down to the future, and is retarding the progress of the world, I will assent, but that is a different proposition.

In the first place, there is no such thing as expending capital before it is created. Here, again, it will be helpful to fix our attention upon tangible things. There are no economic losses except in tangible things. The war is not being carried on with figures and abstractions. It is being carried on with guns and munitions and supplies, and these must be furnished now, not next year. The armies are not being fed this year from next year's crops, nor are they using supplies now of next year's make. Whatever else may be obscure about the incidence or the effects of this body of indebtedness, one thing is clear, viz: that all of the production of the future will belong to the future, and none of it will belong to the past. The yield of the fields and the output of the factories will all be for distribution as in the past, and, as we have seen, we do not expect the aggregate production to be less.

In discussing the indebtedness the fact is commonly overlooked that payments upon indebtedness do not extinguish the capital transferred, or involve an economic loss. If we could conceive of the quarterly or semi-annual payments upon this indebtedness as being required to be somehow made to the inhabitants of another planet, with whom there could be no other intercourse; or of the country's products to the value of these payments were to be regularly heaped up and burned, we would have the idea which is usually held about the burden of this indebtedness. But nothing of this kind will occur. All of the capital, raised by taxation and paid upon the debts, will remain in existence, and will flow out again into industry and trade, offsetting the effect of its withdrawal from these channels. It will flow from the public into the Treasury, and from the

Treasury back to the public, practically undiminished; in this respect unlike the current collections for the government's support.

This proposition should not be confused with the fallacious excuse that is often given for wasteful extravagance, to wit: that it gives employment to wage-people and puts money in circulation. In the latter case the entire expenditure represents an economic loss. The war indebtedness also represents an economic loss, but the loss occurred when the proceeds of the loans were expended, and does not occur again when the loans are paid off.

This indebtedness does, however, present the problem of levying taxation in such a manner that it will not fall unfairly upon any portion of the community, but that all will be speedily reimbursed by the return flow. The portion of the public which participates in the loans will receive the return flow direct, but if all payments upon the loans are considered to be new capital, which did not exist before the war, then the payments will represent capital accumulations, and their investment in productive industries is bound to react favorably upon all classes, so that a moderate degree of taxation can be paid by all without being worse off than before the war.

It is evident, however, that a great deal of mischief may be worked by an unwise system of taxation. The subject is one peculiarly open to excited controversy, and its treatment is liable to give rise to social agitation and economic disturbances that might be serious. But with a fairly acceptable system of taxation, I have confidence that the compensations and adjustments which natural law always provides will soon equalize the burden so that it will not be appreciably felt.

We have more information about the financial situation of Great Britain than of the other belligerents, and the recent speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in presenting the Budget for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1917, gives a definite basis for calculation. If the war goes on to that date the Chancellor estimates that the total British debt will be £3,440,000,000, or about $17,000,000,000. Of this, however, £800,000,000, or $4,000,000,000, will be for account

of the Allies and colonies, and reimbursible. The net debt will be about $13,000,000,000, and at 5 per cent. the interest charge will be $650,000,000 per year. The new taxes which have been imposed from time to time since the war began, and others proposed now, will meet this interest charge, provide $100,000,000 for pensions, and 1 per cent. for a sinking fund, which if maintained will pay off the entire debt in 37 years. Indeed, the Chancellor estimates that the income will do this after allowing for the remission of certain taxes essentially temporary in character, such as the excess profits tax.

According to this statement, we have the measure of the taxation in Great Britain if the war ends by the spring of 1917. This taxation can hardly be called oppressive, in the sense of bearing heavily upon the necessaries of life. There is a tax of 4d., or 8 cents, on 1,000 matches. The most serious tax is upon sugar, about 3¼ cents per pound. There is no tax upon bread or meat, or fuel, or the materials that enter into clothing, or house building materials. The bulk of the revenue will be derived from direct taxation, upon incomes, customs' duties upon articles that are not necessities, and from the excise taxes upon beer, spirits, tobacco and theatres. The class of people who pay income taxes will be subscribers to the loans, as a class, if not in all individual instances, and will have the income from their bonds to offset their taxes. I do not see why this class will not have practically as much income available for investment after the war as it had before, and if this is so, I do not see why after the first confusion is over and the situation becomes understood, enterprise, development and progress should not go on as in the past.

It may be that a considerable volume of indebtedness will accumulate in the banks during the war, for the account of people who wish to use their credit to help absorb the war loans, but as yet the British banks are not seriously encumbered. However that may be, the governments and the banks in all countries will undoubtedly co-operate to provide credit for the resumption of industry and trade.

It is also evident that there will be a critical period at the close of the war, when the millions of men who have been

in the armies must find their places in civil life. The problem will be to integrate the industries and get them again on a mutually supporting basis. Here again leadership will be required, and in so great an emergency we may assume that the necessary steps will be taken by the governments, the financiers and industrial leaders to re-establish the normal order of things.

In conclusion, I will briefly review the general theory I have advanced, in order to emphasize the salient features. The essence of the proposition is that the war is necessarily carried on with materials and supplies of current production, and hence does not draw upon the future in the sense that is commonly accepted. The war loans do not represent a conversion of fixed property or previous accumulations to war purposes; they represent in the main a conversion of income, and to that extent whatever is paid upon them by way of interest or principal will constitute a gain in the stock of wealth existing at the outbreak of the war. The losses of the war consist in failure to make normal progress while it is going on, rather than in a backward movement from the position held at the outbreak of the war.

The progress of society has been very rapid in recent years, with the improvement of the productive equipment, and unquestionably a very serious loss results from this diversion of energy from constructive and permanent work to the prosecution of war, but it is a loss of what might have been achieved and accumulated if there had been no war, and not of what had been achieved and accumulated prior to the war.

We do not realize in time of peace how large a share of the work going on is for construction and betterments. The world has been moving forward rapidly in recent years, adopting new ideas, discarding old equipment, pulling down making over and rebuilding its plant. Sir George Paish, the distinguished English economist, was in this country in 1913, and at that time, in discussing social and industrial changes, expressed the opinion that, to quote his language, "if we do not have war"—a dread possibility that had hung over Europe for years—"we will double the wage-rate in England in the next twenty-five or thirty years." He was

not expecting this to be accomplished by any arbitrary or revolutionary changes in the industrial order, but as the result of natural progress, from the rapid accumulation of capital and its investment for the improvement of industrial methods, and from the increasing efficiency of the population.

The debt of Great Britain at the end of the wars with Napoleon was greater in proportion to the wealth and income of the country than the debt at the end of this war is likely to be, and that debt never was paid off, but by the improvements in steam-driven machinery, which began about that time, the productive power of the British people was so much increased that the annual interest payments became of small importance. And not only were the productive powers of the British people increased, but by the investment of British capital in new countries, like the United States, for the construction of railways and in other enterprises, the British people obtained access to new and cheaper supplies of food and raw materials, and the ability of these new countries to buy British goods was so increased that the British people became more prosperous than ever before.

And so now these new debts will be cared for, not by oppressive taxation and stifling economies—although real thrift and economy is always to be commended—but by developing and expanding the productive powers of the people, for which there is practically limitless opportunity.

DR. BUTLER'S INTRODUCTION OF MR. SAMUEL L. PARRISH

We have now before us two strongly suggestive and valuable papers which I trust it will be the will of the Institute later on to print for distribution among the membership of the entire Institute in order that they may be studied with the care which their contents deserve.

We do not wish to leave these two papers without some word of comment or continuing discussion and therefore, before the Institute adjourns, we are privileged to hear from one of our members his contribution to whatever phase of this subject,—on either the legal and political or financial and economic side—he may be moved to make. I take pleasure in presenting Mr. Samuel L. Parrish of New York.

THE VALUE OF TELEGRAMS

BY SAMUEL L. PARRISH

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: If we went away at once I think we would all go away happy, because with the prospect of universal peace on the one hand and of universal prosperity on the other we ought to be sufficiently content.

I asked the President before we came in if we could speak "straight from the shoulder"—speak our convictions—and he told me we could, and therefore, without anger, without prejudice, I am going to make a suggestion here to-day which, I trust, may meet with your approval.

Mr. Straus has told us that we are in the world, or part of the world, and cannot get away from it. That certainly is a fact. He has also spoken of the "real politik" and the "ideal politik." Now I am not entirely a "real" nor "ideal" politiker, but I am rather between the two; in other words, I may say that I am a cross between Machiavelli and Henry Ford. But, inasmuch as we are in the world, we have to take the world as it is, and the "real politik" presents a view which we are forced to consider.

I take it, for instance, that if there ever was a war in which the "real politik" was in evidence it was in our Mexican War. I don't think that even Mr. Straus could see any "ideal politik" in that.

War is a thing with which undoubtedly we all have to reckon sooner or later, for the millennium has not yet arrived.

Now, in the Mexican War we practically said "surrender?" For we coveted our neighbor's lands and took them. The only claim we can make in extenuation is to the effect that if we had not taken that vast and fertile domain from the worse than nerveless hands of Mexico the world to-day would be so much the poorer, and civilization would have suffered. So you see that the "real politik" sometimes serves a useful purpose.

May I just here say a word about what I conceive to be one of the important influences in the government of this

country, namely, government by telegram? When I make that statement I do not refer to the telegrams gotten out by the thousand on regular forms and emanating from a single source, such as we have lately seen attempted as a means of affecting public opinion, but telegrams which come from the people individually and go to their representatives, even to their highest executive.

From time to time I, too, have indulged in telegrams even to the President, and the telegram which I am about to read to you is one I sent a year ago right after the "Lusitania" tragedy. You may remember that the "Lusitania" was torpedoed on Friday afternoon, May 7th, and the President said nothing on Saturday, nor on Sunday. He said nothing on Monday until Monday night, and then he made that unfortunate epigram about there being such a thing as "a nation too proud to fight." Now I have heard, without going into particulars, from what seemed to be an authoritative source, that when the President arrived in Washington, the next morning after the speech which he had made on Monday night, that he found his desk piled with telegrams (I heard there were about ten thousand) of protest against that "too proud to fight" attitude, and he realized that he had struck a false note—thus inducing him to give his note to Germany a certain drastic tone which it otherwise would evidently have lacked had the "too proud to fight" sentiment been still dominant in his mind, as it apparently would have been but for the telegrams. Among the ten thousand, or whatever number it may have been, was one from me, which read:

"Southampton, New York, May 12th, 1915.

"To the President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

"I respectfully submit that, in the interest of the future peaceful development of our own country and of the world at large, it is the paramount duty of the United States to immediately assist the Allies, by every means in our power, to crush the military spirit of Germany as manifest in the crimes of Belgium and of the 'Lusitania.' If war be wise and necessary to obtain that end let us have war, to be undertaken, however, only as the result of a deliberate and far-reaching permanent policy, and not in a spirit of passion or revenge."

Mr. Straus has told us here, in his very illuminating paper, that we must have a League to Enforce Peace. Well, I agree with him; but where are you going to begin? You have got to have some nation or nations take an initial step, and my point is that in order to take that initial step in a way that would be satisfactory to us as Americans you must have those nations take the initiative which represent what we as a nation represent, namely, the democratic idea.

Now, with your permission, I am going to read you another telegram. Mr. Wilson, in his recent speech before the Gridiron Club at Washington, which was afterward published, made the remark that he would rather hear from the firesides of America than listen to the cloakroom eloquence of Congress. Just after the torpedoing of the "Sussex" I sent him, therefore, the following fireside telegram, dated April 8, 1916:

"To the President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

"Looking forward to the conclusion of a durable peace on a basis required by our own interest, I respectfully submit that broad statesmanship, no less than national self-respect, demands our entry into the European war upon the first favorable opportunity as an open and permanent offensive and defensive ally of Great Britain. Procrastination has thus far menaced but not yet destroyed our chance thus to be of service to ourselves as well as to the world at large."

This telegram was signed "An American Citizen living in America under the Protection of the British Fleet."

This. I take it, Mr. Straus, is what we ought to do, because the ideals represented by the United States and Great Britain seem to me the best the world now has to offer. In order, therefore, to create this League for the enforcement of peace, I submit that the best thing we can do, while we are still in a position to do it, is to make an alliance with Great Britain for the purpose of being justly enabled after this war is over to make our voice felt in leading a movement for the creation of this League to Enforce Peace.

Here is a communication which I wrote the other day. I might say for the benefit of those who may be inclined to be on the side of the Central Powers (and, mind you, I am

not speaking against the Central Powers) that I signed the letter, "A Well Wisher of the German People as distinguished from the Prussian military autocracy which holds their unfortunate country in its hypnotic grip of death," but this proved too much for the editor, so he signed the letter "A. W. W." You will, of course, recognize these three letters as the initials of "A Well Wisher." This letter appeared in the *Tribune* of April 17th, 1916, and was as follows:

"To the Editor of the 'Tribune.'

"SIR: In view of the fact that for nearly a year past there have been innumerable 'crises' between Germany and the United States, there seems to have been very little public discussion and analysis of just what war would mean for the countries involved.

"I would suggest the following order of events as a possible sequence. In the first place, there would be a necessary rearrangement for the care of the diplomatic and other interests of the United States and Germany, respectively, both as between themselves and in the other belligerent countries. In the second place, there would presumably come the confiscation of all German ships now interned in American waters, and the immediate use by us of such ships, so far as necessary, for the purposes of war or commerce. In the third place, the United States, instead of seeking to embarrass Great Britain and her allies in enforcing their blockade against Germany, would employ every means in its power to assist the Allies in making that blockade effective. Holland, Sweden, and all the other neutral countries, recognizing the far-reaching character of our intervention in the war, would at once swing into line and take such action as would compel an early peace.

"Undoubtedly the most important service that America could render to itself, the Allies and the world at large, including ultimately the Central Powers themselves, would be represented by the ranging of our vast economic and financial resources on the side of the Allies, and that, too, in the form of a contribution by the American people through their government, and not simply by a banker's private loan. As our fleet would be superfluous and we have no army, this would seem to be about the only important thing we could just now do, and it might well be a factor of controlling importance.

"Such action on our part could not fail to convince Germany of the hopelessness of her struggle, and thus put an end to the present worse than useless international exhaustion

(ultimately including ourselves) now devastating the whole world, to its untold detriment for generations to come.

"Now, on the other hand, it would seem that, inasmuch as we are securely protected by the British fleet, supplemented by our own, from the danger of an invasion of our country by Germany, the sole offensive move by that country against us would be represented by the torpedoing of a certain number of our merchant ships engaged in the transatlantic trade. Inasmuch as this form of attack would presumably be of short duration, and might well include the destruction of some of the German ships now interned in our harbors, it would seem but an insignificant price to pay for the return of peace.

"I respectfully submit to the consideration of our fellow-citizens of German blood and sympathy, no less than to the German people themselves, one possible factor of transcendent importance to Germany should we now enter the war on behalf of the Allies, and it is this: When the hour comes for fixing the terms of the inevitable peace that must follow this war the United States, sitting in a position of authority around the council board of the nations, might well play the part of Germany's best friend in saving her, both now and after the war, from the financial and economic ruin that stares her in the face. "A. W. W.

"Augusta, Ga., April 11th, 1916."

Mr. Straus' way out of it is that we should have a League to Enforce Peace. Excellent. But as a beginning let us ally ourselves with Great Britain, and thus, without question, control the sea, that all-important element in modern warfare. Thus, and thus only, can we make our influence felt as it should be felt when the time comes for the powers at war to settle upon the terms of a durable peace. Time alone can show whether it would be wise for us to extend such an alliance still further among the nations now at war, after the present war is over, for the purpose of creating a world-wide League of Peace.

DR. BUTLER'S CLOSING REMARKS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The time allotted for our meeting has expired and extending, as I think I may fairly do to those who have given us this interesting afternoon, the thanks of the Institute, I should like also to express the hope that this may be but one of many such public conferences on great matters of concern. The meeting is adjourned.

PAPERS BY MEMBERS

THE POLITICAL GAME

BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE R. COLTON

Letter Addressed to the Secretary of the National Institute of Social Sciences, by the Late Colonel Colton, Governor of Porto Rico, 1909-1913; Organizer of Customs Service at Manilla in 1905, and in Santo Domingo, 1907-1909. Drafted and presented the Tariff for the Philippines, enacted by Special Session of Congress, 1909.

Government is a controlling influence upon humanity, second only to climate, hence, if we can improve the government under which we live we shall have accomplished the greatest good capable of being produced by human action. It is within the scope of "Social Sciences." That being true, let us, while encouraging those who need smaller activities to keep them interested, not lose sight of the great purpose for which the Institute is especially adapted to pursue.

Suppose we contemplate the following as an example of the distinction between controlling and ordinary philanthropical influences: If we should look down into a tropical Republic, Santo Domingo, for instance, and see (1) its people living in a climate so continuously warm that natural foods grow wild, and life is, therefore, maintainable substantially without exertion, which produces inertia and immorality in such degrees that it would be impossible to develop the moral standards essential to unaided, efficient self-control and government; (2) the oppressed citizens of that country living in degradation—due of course, first, to climate, but second, to the corrupt, arbitrary government that such a climate and people produce when the latter are not aided by outside influences to get a better government—and being continuously robbed and so disturbed by the operations of that government that sustained industry, the accumulation of property and individual liberty had no chances whatever of existence; and (3) a philanthropical work being carried on through outside influences, in the various towns of the Republic, in itself excellent, but only reaching a small proportion of the population

as is usually the case with such betterment work. It seems clear that of these three observations we should at once decide that the first two reflect controlling influences, and that the third, while excellent, is but transient and local as compared with the other two. So if we wished to accomplish the greatest good for the people of Santo Domingo our thoughts about them in preparing plans to alleviate their condition would go first to climate. Climate we could not alter; it is beyond us. But we could, and would, take advantage of our knowledge of its effects upon mankind in proceeding to improve the second most important and controlling influence, that of government. And if we should be able—as we partially did when we put a check on the political "Game" as played in that country by removing the cause of revolution —(in our native land the cause of selfish political activity), to remove the opportunities for the converson of public property and power to private use, we should have accomplished the greatest good that could have been done those people through human effort; because we should thus have produced a state of national stability which would have enabled the people to develop the best qualities within them to the highest standard possible in that climate, and in doing this by pacifying the country, we should have invited foreign capital and industry to their further aid. This, while a partially worked out practical example, clearly before us as a matter of history, is, of course, a more than ordinarily conspicuous one, of what may be accomplished through improvement in government by diverting therefrom the evil influences which,—arising from the imperfections of human nature,—constantly attack and, if unresisted, destroy it.

It requires but an ordinary understanding of human nature to realize the fundamental importance of motive for correct conduct and the pursuit of high ideals by the representatives of the body politic in government. This, in my opinion, is of but secondary importance to providing in our system the restrictions necessary to prevent actual criminality in public service, and to remove the opportunities now existing, and which are so generally taken advantage of, to convert the powers of public office to selfish ends. Of these two requirements the former is by far the most difficult to fulfill, and

its substantial fulfillment cannot reasonably be expected until the latter has been supplied. This latter requirement will be comparatively easy to satisfy if we can but eliminate the mysticism which seems so frequently to attach itself to considerations respecting government, and think of them as we would about any ordinary business proposition analagous thereto—for example, the efficient regulation of a corporation.

One whose experience includes business and practical politics upon the Continent, and the construction of scientific government free from partisan influence in the Insular Possessions—as that work in those Possessions was prior to 1913—who industriously studies our political situation in search of the exact truth and basic facts thereof, and carefully analyzes it in the light of history, must always come back to the same conclusion, no matter from what angle he views it—that our fundamental failing lies in the fact that the political "Game" through which our governments are produced is played in accordance with rules which make of it such a disgraceful activity that it is practically abandoned to individuals who would be unable to find responsible employment in any honest business, and that, as a consequence of this, all of us are being governed by a few of the worst of us, with the invariable result where such a condition has existed—corrupt, irresponsible government. No man in recent years has entered upon that "Game" and successfully followed it without losing something of his self-respect and in a degree the respect of his friends. The influence of this "Game" pursues the successful politician even to the top, for, as Emerson says, "the President has paid dear for his White House. It has commonly cost him all his peace and the best of his manly attributes. To preserve for a short time so conspicuous an appearance before the world he is content to eat dust before the real masters, who stand erect behind the throne."

The incompleteness of our system permits the "Game" to be what it is—hypocritical and dishonest—and every present motive, including the possibility of practical success, which appeals to the average man of normal mind who enters and continues in the politics of the country impels him, usually, perhaps against his desire, but nevertheless impels him to

comply with the rules of the "Game," which debase all who do so, and which make our governments inefficient, extravagant, hypocritical and unresponsive to public opinion.

There is nothing new in this statement, at least so far as results are concerned. The resultant facts are proclaimed by substantially every writer on the subject of our government. But when it comes to suggesting a specific remedy there appears to be a paucity of practical ideas. Nearly if not quite all writers who discuss means of rectifying the situation fall back on the general statement, worded differently by different writers, of course, that "it is simply and solely a matter of individual self-betterment."

With the desirability and efficacy of "individual self-betterment" as a general proposition I heartily agree, but emphatically deny that in our present situation a campaign to that exclusive end, no matter how successful, would provide the immediate remedy needed. It is nevertheless clear that if we do not soon correct the system through which the nation is being demoralized the time will come, and before a great while as computed in history, when individual betterment will need to be of first consideration. Therefore, just now the important thing to do is to correct the system which is deteriorating individual character more rapidly than any detached scheme for the general improvement of morals can counteract. And by doing this we shall contribute in the most efficient way to individual and social betterment, because by thus attaining morality in government (our immediate objective) we shall bring into play the strongest influence in the world upon mankind, except climate, in the cause of morality. If pocket-picking were conspicuously frequent in New York, perhaps some decrease in that crime might eventually be effected by a campaign for the improvement of morals, but the public would hardly be satisfied to await such an issue, and the more practical remedy of perfecting the police regulations and control in that respect would probably be adopted.

A fact, the comprehension of which is absolutely essential to an understanding of our political situation, and the remedy needed for its rectification and which students seem invariably to overlook, is that the American people are collectively

honest and ethically upright in respect to all public questions which do not affect them directly and materially. If we should go into almost any town we may think of in the United States and put to the citizens thereof any public question involving ethical consideration, and which in no way would affect their material interests, we know that at least 90 per cent. of them would vote for the side of the question that was right, and if the vote were taken viva voce the others would vote the same way or remain quiet. But if we should go into the same town and put to its citizens the question as to whether or not an unnecessarily expensive or even foolishly extravagant building should be erected in that town, to be paid for out of the National Treasury from taxes, the proceeds of which had been collected from the whole people who have a right to expect the economic and efficient use thereof, we know that in all probability as great a percentage of those citizens would vote on the wrong side of the question as would in the other case have voted for the right. If all the people were called upon to vote, Yes or No, as to separate public expenditures proposed for various localities, probably such a balance would occur that the Federal Government would be conducted with great economy in that respect, but through the process actually followed the representatives of the various districts of the United States who assemble in Washington either take with them or acquire after arrival and acquaintance with the methods followed an ardent desire to get out of the Treasury for themselves, the particular interests they represent and for their districts, perhaps in the order named, all of the money they can, to be used not even as a rule to fulfill the needs of the people but for selfish ends, principally political; and this is one activity in which the representatives of the people are exceedingly considerate of each other. "The pork barrel" results. All this is characteristic of human nature in its most advanced state, and therefore a fundamental truth to be considered in the establishment of regulations intended to produce just government through representation.

The American people are not only collectively honest, as described, but even more practically honest than that description indicates, for it would perhaps be too much to ex-

pect of human nature that the citizens of any particular town in the United States should vote to reject an extravagant improvement to be paid for by all the people when they know that very many other towns in the United States are striving to get, and many of them getting, the same kind of improvements paid for from the same source. Which gives the assurance that if the whole people were given the opportunity to vote for or against the adoption of short, practical, general-termed regulations which would insure economy, efficiency and faithful representation in government, in harmony with the spirit of the Constitution to which they should be added as an amendment, the result would be an overwhelming majority for the right.

William Graham Sumner, in his little book, "What Social Classes Owe to Each Other" (Harper Bros., 1883), perhaps comes nearer to suggesting a remedy for our situation than any other writer on the subject. After stating the usual round from autocracy through oligarchy, aristocracy, democracy and ochlocracy, back to autocracy, he asks: "Where in all this is liberty?" and answers:

"There has been no liberty at all, save where a state has known how to break out, once for all, from this delusive round: to set barriers to selfishness, cupidity, envy, and lust in all classes, from highest to lowest, by laws and institutions; and to create great organs of civil life which can eliminate, as far as possible, arbitrary and personal elements from the adjustment of interests and the definition of rights. Liberty is an affair of laws and institutions which bring rights and duties into equilibrium. It is not at all an affair of selecting the proper class to rule."

The thought which I formulate from this paragraph, and which suggests the only possible remedy for our political decadence is, that in order to place our political activities upon a plane that will induce reputable citizens to participate therein, thus replacing mediocrity, selfishness and criminality with dignity, decency and good faith, we must so complete our "By-Laws" as to set the necessary barriers against the action in government and the activities which produce it, of the perversities of man. We do this constantly in business by the adoption of practical methods which injure no honest man

and prevent the rascal from robbing us. Our public business is of higher importance still. Why, then, do we not safeguard it as efficiently?

We do not attain, nor do we expect to attain, such perfection in business methods as to prevent all dishonesty on the part of its operatives, but we do attain such a degree of efficiency in the control of those who conduct business as to make it generally accomplish its purposes and with satisfaction to those concerned. Neither can we expect to attain perfection in government, but we can do in government what we do in business if we treat it in the same practical way; i. e., regulate the "By-Laws" which control it and the activities which produce it, so as to make it accomplish its purposes with reasonable efficiency and to the satisfaction and contentment of the body politic.

These activities have most aptly been styled the "Game," that term being used in its worst sense, for it is controlled by selfishness and hypocrisy which follow its mediocre and criminal products into government. Every undertaking is hampered by it. By reason of it no one knows what new and insensate policy will be sprung to-morrow. Socialistic propaganda springs therefrom. The development of foreign trade is handicapped by the obstacles that "Game" places in its way. Internal industry is checked in consequence thereof. People are afraid to invest their capital abroad for fear that some meaningless, partisan cry like "Dollar Diplomacy" will deprive them of protection. No sound measure constructed solely with reference to the public welfare can be enacted. (Witness the surrender to prejudice in the political construction of the Federal Reserve Act, which, unless administered contrary to its spirit as written, must fail to accomplish the principal purpose for which it was enacted, that of mobilizing our fluid capital in support of national enterprise at home and abroad). Millions of money are annually wasted in dredging unimportant creeks, maintaining and improving useless navy yards, erecting unrequired forts and public buildings, paying absurd pensions and doing various other unnecessary things which are culpably wasteful of the people's money, for selfish and political ends; all because of our stupid submission to control by this "Game"—the same old "Game"

which has destroyed governments, demoralized society and impeded civilization since civil government was first organized, played in different ways, but always to the same end, which in the last analysis is simply the criminal misappropriation of public power and property to private use.

Every intelligent business man of the United States knows that the public business is conducted by methods that would ruin him if applied in his private pursuits. They know that no business can successfully be run unless its expenditures are harmonized with its receipts. They know, when they stop to think about it, that no government can be conducted justly to its citizens or long remain solvent, the finances of which are not handled on that basis, and for that reason they know that a "Budget System" should be adopted. But that system would interfere with the "Game," so rather than adopt it we increase taxation.

For obvious reasons substantially all business men except the few who through their connection with the "Game" are temporarily advantaged by hazardous special privileges want a non-partisan tariff commission, and they know, when they consider the question, that tariffs ought to be constructed on the basis of exact knowledge and fixed policy in harmony with our standards of labor, one schedule at a time and not log-rolled as at present. But here again appears our profound consideration for the "Game," and as the scientific instead of political construction of tariffs would destroy some of the arbitrary power through which "machine politics" are operated and the "Game" played, we submit to the equivalent of highway robbery.

We all know that prize fighters and their trainers are not apt to be well qualified to occupy diplomatic positions; (note recent experiments of this character in Santo Domingo and elsewhere) that the people of the United States are entitled to full value for every dollar of their money expended, and that to place men in public office to be paid by the people who are not only unfit to render the services for which they are employed, but who are in many cases a disgrace to the nation and a positive danger to the peace and welfare of the country, is a crime for which, unfortunately, no statutory penalty is provided.

It is perfectly plain that every non-elective officer and employee of government in the public service, except members of the Cabinet and Supreme Court and private secretaries, ought to be appointed under Civil Service rules without reference to their politics or religion. That the number of such employees originally admitted to the federal service should be apportioned to the various states and districts of the Union according to population, and therein selected as the result of competitive examinations. That a personnel so selected, under a suitable Civil Service Commission composed of eminent citizens representing the best thought concerning education, law, health, agriculture, diplomacy, commerce, industry and labor, would not only provide an efficient and eventually highly expert public service, which would be a strong support to the industrial and commercial activities of the nation at home and abroad, but also the stabilizing element our government so sadly needs—a continuity of service that would gradually interpret and fix upon the basis of exact knowledge the fundamental policies of the nation.

It requires no stretch of imagination to see that such a service, continually recruited from the brightest youth of the nation, placed through merit in life careers in which their success would depend solely upon their own efforts, and coming from every section of the Union, would develop the interest in and knowledge of government among the people which is essential to the successful operation of democracy. In other words, we might hope, at least, that this would supply the connecting link through which permanent success might be attained with a form of government in which, as at present constituted, no one is or can be held responsible, or feels himself responsible, for everything or, in fact, for anything in particular. Through the plan of organization suggested, that continuous motive which mankind requires as an incentive to faithful service and earnest effort would for the first time be introduced into our government. And perhaps it may occur to those who, like the writer, are believers in the soundness of Alexander Hamilton's theories of republican government, that the addition to our system of government of such an eminent non-partisan Civil Service Commission as the one proposed would produce a permanent and moral in-

fluence that would naturally extend itself until, through the confidence it would justly inspire among the people, it would eventually become an institution of broad effect in preserving and developing the principles upon which the nation is founded—liberty under law, public morality and justice—for such a commission cannot fail in time to acquire as its principal purpose the study and understanding of, and the dissemination of knowledge concerning, the basic reasons for the existence of government, and how best to adapt it to the needs and propensities of mankind.

Compare that kind of a public service with the one we now have in which any man who performs his duties sufficiently well to gain promotion to a responsible position, under an occasional administration the head of which happens to be just toward its subordinates, is certain to be removed by a succeeding administration bent upon rewarding its political supporters. A service into every responsible position of which, at frequent intervals, steps a new, inexperienced but arbitrary and generally incompetent political appointee to play at running the department to which he is assigned, but which is in reality run by his secretary, usually upon the advice of the "good fellows"—the most inefficient employees therein. Under such conditions it is but natural that the public service to-day is, as a whole, as indifferent, useless and inefficient as it could well be made. Instead of having in the great body of men employed and paid by the people to conduct their business in a way most efficiently to serve their interests we have a huge number, probably at least a third larger than is necessary, of employees, imperfectly organized, who, through force of circumstances, are merely "time servers and salary consumers." To realize the ridiculousness and iniquity of this system of organization one has but to imagine the results of its application to private business; and, having done this, one may ask, how it happens that we, a business nation, should tolerate it in the public business for which we are all responsible.

The conduct of this feature of our government merely serves to exhibit one phase of the subordination of the public to private interests which characterizes the political "Game" responsible therefor. The effects which appointments by

favor in government have produced upon our political activities are those recorded in history as follows. (Lord on Andrew Jackson):

"Again, Jackson's system of appointments to office—the removal of men already satisfactorily doing the work of the government in order to make places for his personal and political supporters—was a great innovation, against all the experience of governments, whether despotic or constitutional. It led to the reign of demagogues and gave rewards, not to those who deserved promotion from their able and conscientious discharge of duty in public trusts, but to those who most unscrupulously and zealously advocated or advanced the interests of the party in power. It led to perpetual rotations in office without reasonable cause, and made the election of party chiefs of more importance than the support of right principles. The imperfect civil service reforms which have been secured during the last few years with so much difficulty show the political mischief for which Jackson is responsible, and which has disgraced every succeeding administration—an evil so gigantic that no president has been strong enough to overcome it; not only injurious to the welfare of the nation by depriving it of the services of experienced men, but inflicting an onerous load on the President himself which he finds it impossible to shake off—the great obstacle to the proper discharge of his own public duties and the bar to all private enjoyment. * * * This 'spoils system' which Jackson inaugurated has proved fatal to all dignity of office and all honesty in elections. It has divested politics of all attraction to superior men, and put government largely into the hands of the most venal and unblushing of demagogues. * * * a policy certain to produce an inferior class of public servants, and take away from political life all that is lofty and ennobling."

But of most immediate importance, the placing of the public service on a non-partisan basis, operated in accordance with the merit system, would eliminate from our government the tyrannical curse of appointments by favor, which have no place in a republic, are completely out of harmony with the principles of democrary, and which pervert the political rights of the people into arbitrary power used for selfish ends. Arbitrary power destroys liberty. Our government was established to develop and maintain liberty. The principal concern of those who established our government was to prevent

anything savoring of autocracy (arbitrary power) from entering into it.

Appointment to public office by favor is the arbitrary and kingly power through which peoples subjected to it are usually held in some degree of slavery. It is a dangerous power in a monarchy, but in that state of society it may be exercised in the interests of efficiency, because the monarch may be intelligent and well-intentioned. But in a democracy, where it can only be used to establish and develop selfish interests, it is the seed of destruction, and therefore a crime against humanity. Why, then, should we, understanding the propensities of human nature, voluntarily permit this or any other kingly attribute described as patronage to be used by the so-called representatives of the people with which to develop arbitrary power separate from the people they were elected to serve, and who are entitled to their full and faithful services without other emolument than the salaries which pertain to their respective offices? No one who thinks consecutively upon this subject can fail to comprehend that it is with this arbitrary power, acquired through the incompleteness of our system for which we ourselves are responsible, that "machine politics" are operated, or the "Game" played, as we choose to call it.

It cannot be assumed that our thinkers do not understand the destructiveness to responsible representative government which this incongruity in our political system produces. Hence the only reason for its toleration and continuance to the increasing demoralization of our national life is the failure of those of us who do understand, to co-operate in so cleaning up the national "Game" that it shall deserve the name of politics in its true sense. We can do this only by so perfecting our "By-Laws" as to eliminate patronage (the use by public officials of public property and power for private purposes) from our governmental system, and thus change the basis of our political activities from the expediency and hypocrisy dictated by selfish interests to ethically correct business principles. The difference between these procedures is the difference between morality and immorality in government. Experience has demonstrated that the former produces prosperity and happiness, and the latter misery and ruin.

We are to-day floundering and unable to progress because of our fundamental failing—insincerity of purpose in politics—that activity being based on partisan and personal considerations instead of the public interests. Therefore, we must begin at the bottom and correct this vital failing before we can hope to produce the responsible, responsive and efficient government needed to develop the best there is in us.

We can make no progress with bad legislators, but as moral force and political virtue do exist in our social body we can, by co-operation, call them forth and utilize them in such manner as to produce a good legislature which will pass good laws to prevent bad legislators from passing bad laws, and by performing the functions necessary to the perfection of our system, so change the rules of the "Game" that the latter, having become respectable politics, will continue to produce good legislatures. This is the fundamental task before us, to which our efforts must be directed until it is accomplished, for upon it depends all else, even to the life of the Republic. We cannot stand still, we must either go ahead or back, rise or fall. We have fooled ourselves as long as it is safe to do so. The times are serious. Individualism and collectivism are being conspicuously compared. Democracy and "liberty under law" are being tested. No one can foresee how soon that test will be applied to us by physical as it is now being applied by political processes. It is time that we should act and arouse the people of the United States to a realization of the fact that democracy cannot subsist upon hypocrisy and indifference, and that our fundamental laws must be made to include the barriers necessary to prevent the operation in government of that selfishness and ignorance already destroying the institutions which the Constitution was framed to establish and protect.

There are, of course, other measures than those mentioned of importance to the abilities and successes of the nation which ought to be adopted, but we shall never get any of them efficiently in operation until we first procure a responsible and responsive Congress through the perfecting of our system in such manner as to enable the accomplishment of that result. This will require a national campaign of education, backed by

the thinkers of the country in whom the public has confidence. In this behalf, in "Freedom and Responsibility," Dr. Hadley says:

"It is for us to see that this present counter-current in the stream of our progress, which leads some to claim the privileges of freedom without assuming its responsibilities, be only momentary and to insist on the duty of American citizens to accept the lessons of history and the responsibilities of freedom."

And again:

"There are fashions in reasoning as well as in everything else; and those who can take the lead are given the lead. If they neglect this opportunity to give the right direction to thought theirs will be the responsibility for the succession of political failures which must ensue."

There is no more impressive lesson of history than that the destinies of nations are fixed by the eminent thinkers among them. Of this significent truth we are furnished the most conspicuous example in modern civilization by that nation which is to-day startling the world with a collective efficiency and precision of action beyond anything heretofore attained, and which is purely the result of a governmental and educational system preconceived and developed for the purposes of aggrandizement by the thinkers of that nation, Frederick William I, Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, von Humboldt, Bismarck, von Moltke and William II.

Unfortunately for the nations affected, the systems of thought developed by their thinkers have frequently been produced too late to save those nations from destruction, because such systems were evolved from the very experiences which caused their downfall. If Aristotle had lived a century earlier the subsequent history of Greece would have been much more satisfactory to that nation. Which goes to show that practical foresight on the part of statesmen is the quality needed to insure the safety and progress of the nations to which they belong. And this is the essence of conservatism—prudence.

THE OUTLOOK FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW

BY THE HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT, LL.D.

Opening Address as President of the American Society of International Law at the Ninth Annual Meeting in Washington, December 28, 1915.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY: The incidents of the great war now raging affect so seriously the very foundations of international law that there is for the moment but little satisfaction to the student of that science in discussing specific rules. Whether or not Sir Edward Carson went too far in his recent assertion that the law of nations has been destroyed, it is manifest that the structure has been rudely shaken. The barriers that statesmen and jurists have been constructing laboriously for three centuries to limit and direct the conduct of nations toward each other, in conformity to the standards of modern civilization, have proved too weak to confine the tremendous forces liberated by a conflict which involves almost the whole military power of the world and in which the destinies of nearly every civilized state outside the American continents are directly at stake.

The war began by a denial on the part of a very great power that treaties are obligatory when it is no longer for the interest of either of the parties to observe them. The denial was followed by action supported by approximately one-half the military power of Europe and is apparently approved by a great number of learned students and teachers of international law, citizens of the countries supporting the view. This position is not an application of the doctrine *sic stantibus rebus* which justifies the termination of a treaty under circumstances not contemplated when the treaty was made so that it is no longer justly applicable to existing conditions. It is that under the very circumstances contemplated by the treaty and under the conditions for which the treaty was intended to provide the treaty is not obligatory as against the interest of the contracting party.

This situation naturally raises the question whether executory treaties will continue to be made if they are not to be binding, and requires consideration of a system of law under which no conventional obligations are recognized. The particular treaty which was thus set aside was declaratory of the general rule of international law respecting the inviolability of neutral territory; and the action which ignored the treaty also avowedly violated the rule of law; and the defense is that for such a violation of the law the present interest of a sovereign state is justification. It is plain that the application of such a principle to a matter of major importance at the beginning of a long conflict must inevitably be followed by the setting aside of other rules as they are found to interfere with interest or convenience; and that has been the case during the present war. Many of the rules of law which the world has regarded as most firmly established have been completely and continuously disregarded, in the conduct of war, in dealing with the property and lives of civilian non-combatants on land and sea and in the treatment of neutrals. Alleged violations by one belligerent have been asserted to justify other violations by other belligerents. The art of war has been developed through the invention of new instruments of destruction and it is asserted that the changes of conditions thus produced make the old rules obsolete. It is not my purpose at this time to discuss the right or wrong of these declarations and actions. Such a discussion would be quite inadmissible on the part of the presiding officer of this meeting. I am stating things which whether right or wrong have unquestionably happened, as bearing upon the branch of jurisprudence to which this Society is devoted. It seems that if the violation of law justifies other violations, then the law is destroyed and there is no law; that if the discovery of new ways of doing a thing prohibited justifies the doing of it, then there is no law to prohibit. The basis of such assertions really is the view that if a substantial belligerent interest for the injury of the enemy come in conflict with a rule of law, the rule must stand aside and the interest must prevail. If that be so it is not difficult to reach the conclusion that for the present at all events in all matters which affect the existing struggle, in-

ternational law is greatly impaired. Nor can we find much encouragement to believe in the binding force of any rules upon nations which observe other rules only so far as their interest at the time prompts them. Conditions are always changing and a system of rules which cease to bind whenever conditions change should hardly be considered a system of law. It does not follow that nations can no longer discuss questions of right in their diplomatic intercourse, but upon such a basis it seems quite useless to appeal to the authority of rules already agreed upon as just and right and their compelling effect because they have already been agreed upon.

When we recall Mansfield's familiar description of international law as "founded upon justice, equity, convenience, the reason of the thing, and confirmed by long usage," we may well ask ourselves whether that general acceptance which is necessary to the establishment of a rule of international law may be withdrawn by one or several nations and the rule be destroyed by that withdrawal so that the usage ceases and the whole subject to which it relates goes back to its original status as matter for new discussion as to what is just, equitable, convenient and reasonable.

When this war is ended, as it must be some time, and the foreign offices and judicial tribunals and publicists of the world resume the peaceable discussion of international rights and duties, they will certainly have to consider not merely what there is left of certain specific rules, but also the fundamental basis of obligation upon which all rules depend. The civilized world will have to determine whether what we call international law is to be continued as a mere code of etiquette or is to be a real body of laws imposing obligations much more definite and inevitable than they have been heretofore. It must be one thing or the other. Although foreign offices can still discuss what is fair and just and what is expedient and wise, they can not appeal to law for the decision of disputed questions unless the appeal rests upon an obligation to obey the law. What course will the nations follow?

Vague and uncertain as the future must be, there is some reason to think that after the terrible experience through

which civilization is passing there will be a tendency to strengthen rather than abandon the law of nations. Whatever the result may be, the world will have received a dreadful lesson of the evils of war. The sacrifice of millions of lives, millions homeless and in poverty, industry and commerce destroyed, overwhelming national debts,—all will naturally produce a strong desire to do something that will prevent the same thing happening again.

While the war has exhibited the inadequacy of international law so far as it has yet developed, to curb those governmental policies which aim to extend power at all costs, it has shown even more clearly that little reliance can be placed upon unrestrained human nature, subject to specific temptation, to commit forcible aggression in the pursuit of power and wealth. It has shown that where questions of conduct are to be determined under no constraint except the circumstances of the particular case the acquired habits of civilization are weak as against the powerful, innate tendencies which survive from the countless centuries of man's struggle for existence against brutes and savage foes. The only means yet discovered by man to limit those tendencies consist in the establishment of law, the setting up of principles of action and definite rules of conduct which can not be violated by the individual without injury to himself. That is the method by which the wrongs naturally flowing from individual impulse within the state have been confined to narrow limits. That analogy, difficult as it is to maintain in view of the differences between the individual who is subject to sovereignty and the nation which is itself sovereign, indicates the only method to which human experience points to avoid repeating the present experience of these years of war consistently with the independence of nations and the liberty of individuals. The Pax Romana was effective only because the world was subject to Rome. The Christian Church has been urging peace and good-will among men for nineteen centuries, and still there is this war. Concerts of Europe and alliances and ententes and skilful balances of power all lead ultimately to war. Conciliation, good-will, love of peace, human sympathy, are ineffective without institutions through which they can act. Only the possibility

of establishing real restraint by law seems to remain to give effect to the undoubted will of the vast majority of mankind.

In the effort to arrange the affairs of the world so that they will not lead to another great catastrophe men will therefore turn naturally towards the re-establishment and strengthening of the law of nations. How can that be done? How can the restraints of law be made more effective upon nations?

It is not difficult to suggest some things which will tend in that direction.

Laws to be obeyed must have sanctions behind them; that is to say, violations of them must be followed by punishment. That punishment must be caused by power superior to the law breaker; it can not consist merely in the possibility of being defeated in a conflict with an enemy; otherwise there would be no law as between the strong and the weak. Many states have grown so great that there is no power capable of imposing punishment upon them except the power of collective civilization outside of the offending state. Any exercise of that power must be based upon public opinion. It can not rest merely upon written agreements or upon the accidental dictates of particular interests. It must proceed from general, concurrent judgment and condemnation. When that exists punishment may be inflicted either by the direct action of governments, forcible or otherwise, or by the terrible consequences which come upon a nation that finds itself without respect or honor in the world and deprived of the confidence and good-will necessary to the maintenance of intercourse. Without such an opinion behind it no punishment of any kind can be imposed for the violation of international law.

For the formation of such a general opinion, however, questions of national conduct must be reduced to simple and definite form. Occasionally there is an act the character of which is so clear that mankind forms a judgment upon it readily and promptly, but in most cases it is easy for the wrongdoer to becloud the issue by assertion and argument and to raise a complicated and obscure controversy which confuses the judgment of the world. There is but one way to make general judgment possible in such cases. That is by bringing them to the decision of a competent court

which will strip away the irrelevant, reject the false, and declare what the law requires or prohibits in the particular case. Such a court of international justice with a general obligation to submit all justiciable questions to its jurisdiction and to abide by its judgment is a primary requisite to any real restraint of law.

When we come to consider the working of an international court, however, we are forced to realize that the law itself is in many respects imperfect and uncertain. There is no legislature to make laws for nations. There is no body of judicial decisions having the effect of precedent to declare what international laws are. The process of making international law by usage and general acceptance has been necessarily so slow that it has not kept pace with the multiplying questions arising in the increasing intercourse of nations. In many fields of most fruitful controversy different nations hold tenaciously to different rules, as, for recent example, upon the right of expatriation, upon the doctrine of continuous voyages, upon the right to transfer merchant vessels after the outbreak of a war. Yet any attempt to maintain a court of international justice must fail unless there are laws for the court to administer. Without them the so-called court would be merely a group of men seeking to impose their personal opinions upon the states coming before them. The lack of an adequate system of law to be applied has been the chief obstacle to the development of a system of judicial settlement of international disputes. This is well illustrated by the history of the Second Hague Conference treaty for an international prize court. The Conference agreed to establish such a court and provide in Article 7 of the treaty that in the absence of special treaty provisions governing the case presented "the Court shall apply the rules of international law. If no generally recognized rule exists the Court shall give judgment in accordance with the general principles of justice and equity." When the question of ratifying this treaty was presented to the powers whose delegates had signed it some of them awoke to the fact that upon many subjects most certain to call for the action of a court there was no general agreement as to what the rules of international law were, and that

different nations had different ideas as to what justice and equity would require and that each judge would naturally follow the views of his own country. Accordingly the Conference of London was called, and met in December, 1908. In that Conference the delegates of the principal maritime powers came to agreement upon a series of questions and they embodied their agreement in the 71 articles of the Declaration of London. If that Declaration had been ratified by all the Powers in the Conference it would doubtless have been accepted as a statement of the international law upon the subjects covered. But it was not ratified, and so the Prize Court treaty remains ineffective because the necessary basis for the action of the Court is wanting. It is plain that in order to have real courts by which the legal rights of nations can be determined and the conduct of nations can be subjected to definite tests there must be a settlement by agreement of old disputes as to what the law ought to be and provision for extending the law over fields which it does not now cover. One thing especially should be done in this direction. Law can not control national policy, and it is through the working of long continued and persistent national policies that the present war has come. Against such policies all attempts at conciliation and good understanding and good-will among the nations of Europe have been powerless. But law, if enforced, can control the external steps by which a nation seeks to follow a policy and rules may be so framed that a policy of aggression can not be worked out except through open violations of law which will meet the protest and condemnation of the world at large, backed by whatever means shall have been devised for law enforcement.

There is another weakness of international law as a binding force which it appears to me can be avoided only by a radical change in the attitude of nations towards violations of the law.

We are all familiar with the distinction in the municipal law of all civilized countries between private and public rights and the remedies for the protection or enforcement of them. Ordinary injuries and breaches of contract are redressed only at the instance of the injured person, and other persons are not deemed entitled to interfere. It is no concern of

theirs. On the other hand, certain flagrant wrongs the prevalence of which would threaten the order and security of the community are deemed to be everybody's business. If, for example, a man be robbed or assaulted the injury is deemed not to be done to him alone but to every member of the state by the breaking of the law against robbery or against violence. Every citizen is deemed to be injured by the breach of the law because the law is his protection, and if the law be violated with impunity his protection will disappear. Accordingly, the government, which represents all its citizens, undertakes to punish such action, even though the particular person against whom the injury was done may be content to go without redress. Up to this time breaches of international law have been treated as we treat wrongs under civil procedure, as if they concerned nobody except the particular nation upon which the injury was inflicted and the nation inflicting it. There has been no general recognition of the right of other nations to object. There has been much international discussion of what the rules of law ought to be and the importance of observing them in the abstract, and there have been frequent interferences by third parties as a matter of policy upon the ground that specific, consequential injury to them might result from the breach, but, in general, states not directly affected by the particular injury complained of have not been deemed to have any right to be heard about it. It is only as disinterested mediators in the quarrels of others or as rendering good offices to others that they have been accustomed to speak if at all. Until the First Hague Conference that form of interference was upon sufferance. In the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, concluded at that Conference, it was agreed that in case of serious trouble or conflict before an appeal to arms the signatory powers should have recourse to the good offices or mediation of foreign powers, and Article 3 also provided: "Independent of this recourse the signatory powers recommend that one or more powers strangers to the dispute should on their own initiative, and as far as circumstances may allow, offer their good offices or mediation to the states at variance. Powers strangers to the dispute have a right to offer good offices or mediation

even during the course of hostilities. The exercise of this right can never be regarded by one or other of the parties in conflict as an unfriendly act." These provisions are a considerable step towards a change in the theory of the relation of third powers to an international controversy. They recognize such an independent interest in the prevention of conflict as to be the basis of a right of initiative of other powers in an effort to bring about a settlement. It still remains under these provisions, however, that the other powers assert no substantive right of their own. They are simply authorized to propose an interference in the quarrels of others to which they are deemed to be strangers. The enforcement of the rules of international law is thus left to the private initiative of the country appealing to those rules for protection and the rest of the world has in theory and in practice no concern with the enforcement or non-enforcement of the rules.

If the law of nations is to be binding, if the decisions of tribunals charged with the application of that law to international controversies are to be respected, there must be a change in theory, and violations of the law of such a character as to threaten the peace and order of the community of nations must be deemed to be a violation of the right of every civilized nation to have the law maintained and a legal injury to every nation. When a controversy arises between two nations other nations are indeed strangers to the dispute as to what the law requires in that controversy, but they can not really be strangers to a dispute as to whether the law which is applicable to the circumstances shall be observed or violated. Next to the preservation of national character the most valuable possession of all peaceable nations great and small is the protection of those laws which constrain other nations to conduct based upon principles of justice and humanity. Without that protection there is no safety for the small state except in the shifting currents of policy among its great neighbors, and none for a great state, however peaceable and just may be its disposition, except in readiness for war. International laws violated with impunity must soon cease to exist and every state has a direct interest in preventing those violations which if permitted to continue

would destroy the law. Wherever in the world the laws which should protect the independence of nations, the inviolability of their territory, the lives and property of their citizens, are violated, all other nations have a right to protest against the breaking down of the law. Such a protest would not be an interference in the quarrels of others. It would be an assertion of the protesting nation's own right against the injury done to it by the destruction of the law upon which it relies for its peace and security. What would follow such a protest must in each case depend upon the protesting nation's own judgment as to policy, upon the feeling of its people and the wisdom of its governing body. Whatever it does, if it does anything, will be done not as a stranger to a dispute or as an intermediary in the affairs of others, but in its own right for the protection of its own interest. Upon no other theory than this can the decisions of any court for the application of the law of nations be respected, or any league or concert or agreement among nations for the enforcement of peace by arms or otherwise be established, or any general opinion of mankind for the maintenance of law be effective.

Can any of these things be done? Can the law be strengthened and made effective? Imperfect and conflicting as is the information upon which conjecture must be based, I think there is ground for hope that from the horrors of violated law a stronger law may come. It was during the appalling crimes of the Thirty Years War that Grotius wrote his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* and the science of international law first took form and authority. The moral standards of the Thirty Years War have returned again to Europe with the same dreadful and intolerable consequences. We may hope that there will be again a great new departure to escape destruction by subjecting the nations to the rule of law. The development and extension of international law has been obstructed by a multitude of jealousies and supposed interests of nations each refusing to consent to any rule unless it be made most favorable to itself in all possible future contingencies. The desire to have a law has not been strong enough to overcome the determination of each nation to have the law suited to its own special circumstances; but

when this war is over the desire to have some law in order to prevent so far as possible a recurrence of the same dreadful experience may sweep away all these reluctances and schemes for advantage and lead to agreement where agreement has never yet been possible. It often happens that small differences and petty controversies are swept away by a great disaster, deep feeling and a sense of common danger. If this be so we can have an adequate law and a real court which will apply its principles to serious as well as petty controversies, and a real public opinion of the world responding to the duty of preserving the law inviolate. If there be such an opinion it will be enforced. I shall not now inquire into the specific means of enforcement, but the means can be found. It is only when opinion is uncertain and divided or when it is sluggish and indifferent and acts too late that it fails of effect. During all the desperate struggles and emergencies of the great war the conflicting nations from the beginning have been competing for the favorable judgment of the rest of the world with a solicitude which shows what a mighty power even now that opinion is.

Nor can we doubt that this will be a different world when peace comes. Universal mourning for the untimely dead, suffering and sacrifice, the triumph of patriotism over selfishness, the long dominance of deep and serious feeling, the purifying influences of self-devotion, will surely have changed the hearts of the nations, and much that is wise and noble and for the good of humanity may be possible that never was possible before.

Some of us believe that the hope of the world's progress lies in the spread and perfection of democratic self-government. It may be that out of the rack and welter of the great conflict may arise a general consciousness that it is the people who are to be considered, their rights and liberties to govern and be governed for themselves rather than rulers' ambitions and politics of aggrandisement. If that be so our hopes will be realized, for autocracy can protect itself by arbitrary power, but the people can protect themselves only by the rule of law.

DEMOCRACY vs. SOVEREIGNTY.

BY DARWIN P. KINGSLEY, A.B., LL.D.

Speech Delivered at the One Hundred and Forty-seventh Annual Banquet of the Chamber of Commerce, of the State of New York.

Into the terror and chaos which to-day misrule the greater part of the world certain questions are increasingly thrusting themselves:

1st. What was the fundamental error in the civilization of the world on August 1, 1914?

2nd. What fundamental change must be made in order to correct that error?

Of written and spoken answers to the first question there is no end. Answers to the second question are naturally fewer, because the facts necessary to coherent thinking cannot be arrived at until the first question has been answered.

All the peoples of all the warring countries believe their cause is just, that they are fighting defensively for their existence. And the paradox of it is that all these beliefs are true. They are all fighting for existence and for fatherland.

I heard Dr. Bernhard Dernburg say in the early days of the conflict, defending Germany for her invasion of Belgium, that the act was a necessity, that a nation could not be expected to consent to its own destruction.

Commenting on our last and formal protest to Great Britain, against what we deem her violation of international law, and her disregard of the rights of neutrals, one of the great London dailies, justifying England's determination to retain control of the seas at all hazards, said: "A nation cannot be expected to commit suicide."

These expressions from either side, almost identical in phraseology and absolutely identical in philosophy, reflect the existence of a cause of war not often referred to, under the compulsion of which however the whole world rests to-day.

The flames which burst into a world conflagration fifteen months ago were not only already burning under cover fiercely everywhere in Europe, but unquestionably were lighted, unquenchably lighted, when world civilization based on the doctrine of sovereignty began to take form centuries ago.

The civilization of 1914 rested on that doctrine. And what is sovereignty? Sovereignty is final authority, the thing greater than the law, that indeed protects the law. Sovereignty is the highest expression of authority in a civilized state, not inferior however to the authority of any other sovereignty, be that sovereignty physically greater or smaller, and not qualified in its completeness by any other power.

This is the language of sheer authority, and sovereignty is the doctrine of authority. Democracy can no more live in its atmosphere than Jefferson's theory of inalienable rights can live in a world ruled by 42-centimetre guns and superdreadnoughts. Its demands are such that peace is now only a period of preparation for war. If any branch of human endeavor is anywhere developed along purely commercial lines, it is almost certain ultimately to be held an error. Highways should be built for military purposes; railroads should primarily be planned to transport armies; ships of commerce should be so constructed that they can be converted quickly into cruisers or transports. In obedience to the demands of sovereignty, the shadow of war rests over us at all times.

At the very outset sovereignty assumes that it must ultimately fight, that war is its true explanation, and, therefore, it reserves the right to take the last dollar of its citizens or subjects, and, if necessary, to demand the sacrifice of their lives as well. The favorite phrase of sovereignty runs this wise: "In defense of our liberties and our soil we will fight to the last man."

Whatever the form of government, the sentiment is the same. Behind that sentiment and in obedience to its necessities the prejudices, the provincialisms, the misconceptions, the hates, the fears, and the ambitions that so bitterly divide nations, were born. On the first of August, 1914, they had grown to uncontrollable proportions.

Add to these conditions the fact that we were living in the age of electricity, when the impalpable and imponderable

ether had become not a dead wall but a shining highway through infinite space, when the spoken word was seized by a messenger whose speed and orbit far outreached the imagination of the people who kept and guarded for uncounted centuries that glorious word picture finally expressed in the first chapter of Genesis, and the conclusion is inevitable—in such an age, and in a world so small a civilization based on eight great aggressive unyielding unconditioned sovereignties was no more possible without war than that two solid bodies should occupy the same space at the same time under the law of physics.

Unconditioned sovereignty was the fundamental error in the civilization of 1914.

A striking feature of this war is that its divisions do not follow the usual lines of cleavage. Neither race nor color nor religion are primarily responsible for the conditions in Europe, nor for the cataclysm which has occurred. Christians are fighting Christians; Jews are killing Jews; Moslems are against Moslems; whites are murdering whites; men of color are fighting their kind. Saxons are fighting their own breed; Slavs are against Slavs. The special favor of the God of the Christians is blasphemously claimed by both sides.

The ordinary causes of war had unquestionably decreased on August 1, 1914, but the hope which that fact held out to many of us proved finally to be a false hope. In the impact of unyielding sovereignties, in the fear which created a race in armaments, in the belief that national preservation was the supreme duty and sovereignty the supreme good, there was abundant fuel for the fires already lighted. The conflagration was certain. Every new invention by which time and space were annihilated, presumably bringing humanity increased comfort and safety and happiness and efficiency, served even more markedly to increase international friction. Sovereignties were jammed together; they met everywhere; they jostled each other on every sea; they crowded each other even in desert places. They had no law by which they could live together. They could have none. Each was itself the law. When, therefore, through the elimination of individual prejudices and provincialisms on the one hand, and the conquest of time and distance on the other, the world had reached a point where human brotherhood was conceivably attainable,

humanity found itself in the clutch of this monster called sovereignty. Then came the tragedy! Not alone in squandered life and property, but in missing the great moment prepared through centuries of human fidelity and suffering, the moment when humanity was prepared to see itself through eyes suffused with sympathy and understanding rather than as now through eyes blinded by hate and blood-lust.

The people of the various great powers of the world in 1914 in fundamentals were not dissimilar. Never in the story of man's evolution had he been so nearly homogeneous. Everywhere he had approached common standards. His dress was much the same over most of the Christian world, and this uniformity had even made headway against the ancient prejudices of the Orient. He thought much the same everywhere. His standards of justice were strikingly alike. He was kindly and merciful. His vision reached far beyond the borders of his own land, and he was beginning to understand that all men are brave and should be brothers. The various instrumentalities that brought all peoples severally face to face, that promised still further to increase understanding and sympathy and therefore the prospect of peace, unhappily and finally had just the opposite effect. Men grew in international sympathy; sovereignties did not. Men dropped their prejudices; governments did not. The rigid barriers which geographically delimit nations became more rigid and more unyielding as individual knowledge grew and common sympathy spread. The light that penetrated to the individual and banished his bigotry could not penetrate national barriers as such. Its effect, indeed, was not to banish the darkness, but to cast deeper shadows. The condition that made men gentle made nations harsh; the impulse that drew the peoples of the world together drove sovereignties apart. The movement which foreshadowed a democratic world, the brotherhood of man, meant the end of the existing international order, and sovereignty instinctively knew and feared that.

So far as governments would permit, men made world-wide rules of action. They traded together internationally when tariffs allowed. They joined in great co-operative movements where race and creed and all the usual distinctions that separate men were ignored—ignored because men found

when they came face to face that the old hates and prejudices were based on lies. The units of humanity became homogeneous; the units of civilization, the great sovereignties, did not. Here were two irreconcilable conditions. Sovereignties were in desperate straits. Each, menaced by every other, assumed that its integrity must be preserved at any cost. None was able to change its point of view; none was permitted to qualify its attitude toward other sovereignties, because each feared, as Shakespeare puts it, that

"To show less sovereignty than they, must need
Appear less King-like."

No sovereignty except that of Germany saw, fully, what this meant. Germany saw it long ago. Sovereignty from the beginning meant ultimate world-dominion by some nation. It could mean nothing less.

This explains why the splendidly efficient machines of modern civilization, moving, from the standpoint of the individual, co-operatively, happily and helpfully under the guidance of powerfully advancing human sympathy, were on the first of August, 1914, suddenly swerved by the savagery of unregulated internationality and sent crashing into each other. How complete the ruin of that collision no one can yet tell! What was destroyed, or is to be destroyed, is not yet clear. Was it democracy? Or was it sovereignty? The ultimate destruction of one or the other is probable. World peace is possible under either, but not under both.

Out of this hideous ruin will sovereignty ultimately arise rehabilitated and increasingly aggressive? Will a group of Powers finally emerge substantially victorious and will the controlling power of that group by perfectly logical processes gradually make its civilization dominant over the whole world? That is the only process by which sovereignty can ever bring permanent peace. So long as there are even two great unconditioned sovereignties in the world, there can be no lasting peace.

Or is it possible that out of the ruin will come the revolt of humanity? Will a real Demos appear? A Democracy that has no frontiers, the Democracy of Humanity? Remembering not only the slaughter of 1914 and 1915, but the program

of slaughter followed all through the Christian era, will the people say with young Clifford in Henry VI:

"Oh War, thou Son of Hell."

It is conceivable that they may say to sovereignty—

"You have in some things served us well in ages passed. You have awakened in us heroic aspirations and led us to noble achievements; but now, alas! your hands drip with innocent blood, you are guilty of deeds which the beasts of the jungle would not commit—deeds that show you to be inherently and necessarily, in the present condition of the world, the arch enemy of the human race, and therefore we must now fundamentally modify your demands."

Milton, in the Sixth Book of Paradise Lost, tells how Satan, rebellious, and all his hosts, after a terrific struggle, threw themselves headlong

"Down from the verge of Heaven."

He tells us, too, how the Almighty stayed his own hand because

"********** he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven."

Flanders and Poland tell a tale of horror, record the use of machines and instruments of destruction, register a story of cruelty and hate, such as even the Miltonic imagination did not compass. The Satanic crew now busy in Europe, whether their blood guilt is the result of dynastic and race ambitions or, as I believe, the product of forces beyond their control, must in like fashion be cast out if we are ever to have peace in this world.

That process will raise profound issues here. The Trans-Atlantic problem includes more than lies on the surface. What indeed of democracy? Will it again be strangled as it was at the Congress of Vienna a century ago, under the leadership of Austria and Prince Metternich? We are involved because if democracy has a future in Europe, it will largely be the result of its triumph here—a condition that Metternich and his fellow reactionaries did not have to face.

For a hundred and thirty-five years of organized life, and indeed through all the years since the settlement of Jamestown and the landing at Plymouth, America has been

the beneficiary of the human race. Wrapped in her all but impenetrable isolation, beyond the reach of dynastic ambition, and until recently substantially beyond the impact of other sovereignties, and therefore measurably unaffected by internationality and its savagery, she has taken to her bosom the restless, the wronged, the adventurous, the bold, the brave —of all lands, indeed she has gathered into her fertile soil seed sifted from all the world.

Our country has not been unworthy of the opportunity. With all her blundering, she has done well; and whether she is now to be branded as selfish after all depends on what she clearly stands for when this war closes. One great thing she has done—perhaps the greatest democratic thing that men have ever done. She has shown how so-called sovereign states can be merged into a larger state without losing their individuality and without parting with democratic principles. She has shown how local citizenships can coalesce into a master citizenship and yet remain vital. But, unless we misread the signs of Fate, she is now nearing the period when she must do more than that, or prove herself recreant, show herself an unworthy beneficiary.

Before considering what we should do in the interest of humanity, what we should do to discharge our obligation and our duty, let us consider what we should do at once, not as a measure of philanthropy but as a measure of safety.

First, we should arm, and arm adequately; not because we believe in that theory of government, we do not, we hate it; nor because we believe in that method of settling international difficulties, but because we must at all hazards protect this home of democracy from the Satanic brood which, driven from Heaven, apparently fell in Flanders and Poland.

Second, we must at the same time try at least to show that we are as great as Fate has decreed that we may be.

"But specifically," you ask, "what should we do"?

We should signify our willingness to meet representatives of all the considerable powers of the world in an International Congress, the purpose of which shall be similar to that of the Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1787. That Convention met in the historic mansion where the Declaration of Independence was signed. Those two great assemblages,

the second no less than the first, have made the words "Independence Hall," in the imagination of the plain people of all the world, to shine like the Divine Presence over the Mercy Seat.

We should in that Congress stand for the civilizing and humanizing of international relations by whatever steps may be necessary. If to do that the present doctrine of unconditioned sovereignity must be abandoned, if as a nation we must surrender what each Colony seemed to surrender in 1789, we should stand for that. We should find when the time came—as our fathers did—that we had actually surrendered only a little false pride, a little hate, a little prejudice and a little fear, and had entered, as the Colonies did upon the only Order that leads to peace and true greatness.

If such a program were presented to the stricken people of Europe at this war's close, it probably would not raise any larger problem than Washington and Franklin and Madison and Hamilton faced in 1787. The whole civilized world is no larger nor more obsessed by prejudice than the Colonies were then. You remember how bitterly they hated each other. Perhaps you recall what Mr. James Bryce says in his "American Commonwealth," viz: that if the people of the Colonies had voted directly on the adoption or rejection of the Federal Constitution, it would not have been adopted.

You certainly recall that New York State was against it, and the Convention called to vote on it was hostile until Alexander Hamilton compelled acceptance by the force of his logic and eloquence. We narrowly missed reverting to political chaos.

John Fiske calls the years between the Peace of Paris and the adoption of the Federal Constitution the critical period of American history. So indeed it was. During that period prejudice was put aside, jealousies were overcome, hatreds were forgotten, and the common aims of the people, their natural sympathy, their homogeneity, were gathered up into a triumphant democracy.

No exact figures are available, but the population of the European states now at war—excluding Japan, Turkey, Asiatic Russia, and the Balkans—was at the beginning of the nineteenth century approximately the same as the population

of the United States now. Our territory, geographically, is about equal to that of the countries I have included.

At the close of the Napoleonic Wars the people of Europe expected a new order and the end of war. They looked for the United States of Europe. Metternich and his associates denied that hope and so readjusted continental Europe as to strangle democracy. But the dream of the people was borne over seas and the United States of America in 1915 is the colossal fact which damns the continental sovereignties of 1815, and points the way to a regenerated Europe.

Emerging from this hopeless, senseless, and desperate struggle, the people of Europe will desire democracy as never before. They first brought democracy to us. Shall we now take it back to them?

We shall not, of course, reach the ultimate goal at one bound. A world state modelled after our Federal Constitution may be a long way off, but a real beginning would be a transcendent achievement. Ex-President Taft's League to Enforce Peace, with its modest suggestion of a modified sovereignty, if achieved would be worth centuries of European diplomacy.

We did not ourselves achieve peace immediately after 1789, nor a national citizenship, but after our feet were once fairly set in the way of the Constitution, the people would not be denied. Once the people of Europe feel their feet firmly set upon a road that leads away from the savagery which now commands them, away from the slaughter which periodically claims their sons, from the shame that claims their daughters, no dynastic or demogogic ambition can indefinitely deny them the achievement of the civic brotherhood which is the glory of America.

The people of Europe are not essentially different from us. They are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. The difference lies in this: We have been the darlings of fortune. We have realized the noble vision of democracy which Europe glimpsed and lost a century ago. After a hundred years of agony, the Fates bring again to those stricken peoples conditions not dissimilar to those of 1815.

If now we arm—as we should—and do only that we shall show ourselves a nation of ingrates. If we arm and say to

Europe that we are ready at any time to disarm, ready with them to create an international state, a state in which the central authority shall act directly on the people as our Federal Government does—a state democratically controlled as our Union is—a state in which international questions shall be settled as our interstate questions are—a state in which war would ultimately become as impossible, as unthinkable as it now is between Massachusetts and New York—if we do that, aye, if we try to do that—we shall show ourselves morally at least to be worthy descendants of the intrepid men who signed the Declaration of 1776, worthy successors of the great democrats who fashioned the charter of our liberties in 1787.

MUNICIPAL TERMINAL MARKETS.

BY THE HONORABLE CYRUS C. MILLER, FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE BOROUGH OF THE BRONX, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE MAYOR'S MARKET COMMISSION OF NEW YORK CITY

Address delivered before the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington, December 27th, 1915 to January 8th, 1916.

Individualistic spirit in America still prevails. While we do many things in the co-operative way, we still have much to learn in co-ordination. Man has not achieved, in this country at least, a position where he can earn sufficient to support himself and his family by working only part of his waking hours. This is because of much waste of effort. A co-ordination of our food-producing and distributing forces would lessen the amount of labor necessary for them and release the laborer for other activities. Every dollar's worh of waste in the process of feeding the people compels a dollar's worth of unproductive and useless labor.

Engel's Law, made from data furnished in a Belgian investigation in 1853, held that, as income increases:

1. The proportion of income expended for food increases.
2. The proportion expended for rent, fuel and light remains constant.
3. The proportion expended for clothing remains constant.
4. The proportion expended for sundries increases.

This law has been confirmed in this country by the United States Commissioner of Labor. If the money in hand is increased by the saving on food expenditures, the family, to the amount of the saving, can live in better quarters, and have more money for the desirable things of life, beyond those necessary for mere existence. For the great mass of our citizens an increase in the cost of food means a lowering of the standard of living. For the city to be contented and efficient economically an abundance of cheap food is necessary.

The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in its report for the year 1912-13, has prepared

statistics showing the cost of maintaining a decent home for an average family of five persons in the city of New York to be $1,082.25, of which 48.4 per cent. was expended for food. The average cost of twenty articles of food used by the workingman's family in 1890 was $1, while in 1914 it was $1.45.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show a rapid increase in the retail prices of foods used in the average workingman's family between the years 1890 and 1912.

The figures for recent years are as follows: 1905, $115; 1906, $119.1; 1907, $125.9; 1908, $126.5; 1909, $131.2; 1910, $135.2; 1911, $134.9; 1912, $143.7.

The Census Report further states that if the 75,000,000 inhabitants in 1900 had purchased all of the principal crops raised in that year at the values reported by the farmers they would have paid $35.42 each; that if the 91,000,000 inhabitants of 1910 had bought the output of the same crops in that year and had paid for them on the basis of the prices that prevailed ten years before they would have paid $32.21 each; but that, by reason of the advance in prices, they would actually have paid $53.59 each, an additional cost of $21.38 per capita, resulting from the increase of 66.4 per cent. in prices.

In the meantime, wages have not increased in the same proportion, so that the increased price bears most heavily on the poor, who must spend so large a part of their income for food.

In the marketing of the products of agriculture—the necessities of life—we are confronted with conditions new in the history of the world. The last few decades have seen wrought the most stupendous changes in the means of transportation and communication. The development of manufacturing and industries has changed the character of whole peoples and made nations of city-dwellers of people whose ancestors lived close to the soil and themselves cultivated the things that gave them sustenance. We are past the time when life could afford to be organized loosely, and the interdependence of people was not great—when each family could produce and manufacture almost enough for its entire needs, and whether we regret it or not, we have new conditions before us, and our methods must be brought up to the times.

A railroad official states that the first shipment of early vegetables for the northern market was made by boat from

Norfolk in 1855; that in 1912 the Pennsylvania Railroad alone hauled nearly 100,000 cars of truck products from the South; and that in 1913, it carried more than double the quantity of perishable freight from the South than it carried in 1901.* Such comparisons bring forcibly before us the nature of the change that has taken place, and indicate too, the nature of the adaptions to present day conditions that must be made.

The United States Census Report for 1910 states that the quantity of the principal crops produced in this country increased about 10 per cent. between 1900 and 1910; that in the same period, the total population increased 21 per cent. and the urban population increased 34.8 per cent. The last figure given is most significant for us, because it indicates the increase in the number of people who are not food-producers, and who must be supplied by the others. In all but two states in the Union, urban population increased more rapidly than rural. The same report also states that during the period mentioned, the export of foodstuffs from the country materially decreased, the decrease in the amount of breadstuffs exported amounting to 49 per cent. There is no lack of food supply yet to support our population, but it is plain that we are approaching nearer to the point when we shall not only consume all we produce, but be forced to import foodstuffs, unless measures be taken that will result in increased production and better distribution of the products of our farms. The less the surplus, the greater the necessity of economical distribution if we are to prevent a sharp rise in prices.

The increase in shipments of California citrus fruits from 1890 to 1915 as compared with the population was as follows:

	ORANGES		LEMONS		POPULATION	
	Cars	Per cent. Increase	Cars	Per cent Increase	No. of People	Per cent. Increase
1890	3,476		34		62,947,714	
1900	16,362	371	1,447	4,156	95,994,575	20.7
1910	28,252	72.7	4,891	258	91,972,266	21.0
1915	39,617	40.3	7,068	44½	99,961,111	8.7

It is evident that the volume of the staple crops shows a decreasing ratio per capita as compared with the population, and a consequent increase of price, while certain perishable

*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1913, p. 14.

crops, as citrus fruits, show an increased volume per capita, which made it necessary for the producers of citrus fruits to find new markets for their produce. This they have done by a marvelous system of co-operation which only lack of space here forbids setting out in detail. The California Fruit Growers Exchange has shown to farmers of this country how they may combine to sell their goods.

In 1906-7 they sold in 386 car lot markets at private sale; in 1909-10 they sold in 504 car lot markets and in 1914-15 in 628 car lot markets. In addition to these private sale points the Exchange sells at auction in New York, Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Cleveland, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and St. Louis. By careful and uniform methods of growing, picking, grading and packing their produce, and buying transportation in car load and even train load lots, and establishing what are practically wholesale terminal markets for their produce wherever practicable, they have succeeded in selling their produce at a profit, in markets averaging 2,500 miles distant from their orchards. It is a fair presumption that if they had wholesale terminal markets in the large cities where other products were sold and the maximum of buyers congregated, instead of those who were interested in citrus fruits only, they could sell more goods, eliminate many trucking charges and insure a lower price to the consumer.

From different causes therefore it is necessary to improve our methods of distributing both staple and perishable food crops.

Three years ago a witness before the Mayor's Market Commission of New York City, testified that there were enough peach trees in the orchards of western New York to produce a crop of 10,000 carloads of peaches in five or six years, and that unless facilities were improved for distributing them great loss would result. This prediction was proven true this year when quantities of peaches in Northern New York State were left to rot on the ground. Fifteen years ago Delaware shipped out 9,000 cars of peaches in one year and a few years ago Georgia shipped out 7,200 carloads. A recently published newspaper article stated that the apple crop in the Northwest for 1913 was approximately 10,000 cars of fruit; by 1916 it was estimated that the output will be at least

30,000 cars, and by 1920, a total of 60,000 cars. At present prices this will mean finding a market for $51,000,000 worth of fruit. Other districts throughout the country during the past ten years have been planted in large areas with fruit and other food products which must be distributed among the cities and towns. The population of the cities has grown apace in the same period, but their markets have not kept pace either with the increase in production nor the potential increase in consumption. Producers' associations, railroads and middlemen are effecting the best distribution of crops possible with the means at their command, but in the cities the best means available to-day are the makeshifts that survive a simpler system. There is a great necessity for modern terminal markets if the distribution of food products in the cities is to be helped. What is the use of raising vast quantities of foodstuffs if they cannot be distributed? Bankruptcy confronts owner and consumer alike unless our distributing facilities keep pace with our production. The farmer, the banker, the railroad man, are engaged in the first part of the problem,—namely, getting the food to the cities; the city man is engaged in bringing the food into and distributing it within the city. Neither group can prosper unless the consumer can buy the produce at a fair price.

The first question that presents itself is,—what are the causes of these increased prices and why are they increasing? This question has been discussed and analyzed so admirably in recent publications that it seems hardly necessary for me to do more than briefly indicate the chief points involved, in order to lead up to what I wish to say on the subject of Municipal Terminal Markets.

The difficulty is not in any shortage in the food supply, but it is in the fact that there is, under present conditions, necessarily and increasingly, an element of service which adds to the cost,—service in distribution. Our people in increasing proportion live in cities and cease to produce their own food. In 1910, of the 92,000,000 people in the country, one out of every ten lived in either New York, Chicago, or Philadelphia. These non-producers must therefore pay not only for the food and the labor of others in producing it, but also for transportation, for handling, for storage, for two or three

sellings and for all the processes of distribution through which foodstuffs must pass; and they must pay an increase in high prices when the influx of goods to a given center, which would tend to bring prices down, is retarded. The cost of living will be relatively high or low, according as these processes of distribution are efficiently managed or not, and according as the channels of trade are kept open or constricted. Elaborate analyses of food costs have shown that it is not the producer who is responsible for the high cost of living—it is not he who waxes fat on exorbitant prices,—he often receives less for the product of his labor than the total cost of distributing it to consumers. Nor is it the railroads or the storage warehouses. Prof King states* that 700 to 800 public warehouses in the United States store annually about 1,320,000 carloads of perishable goods, and that the charges are not excessive.

In fact, one object of the effort to establish better distribution, is to help the producer by insuring better returns to him for the products of his labor. There is far more fluctuation in prices paid producers than in retail prices paid by consumers, because the latter, in any given season, tend to keep to an established level, being less subject to the influences of supply and demand that affect the wholesale market. If people are in the habit of paying a certain price for a certain product, it is by no means unusual for them to suspect the quality of goods selling for less. The retailer of course takes advantage of this psychological process, and when he can buy cheaper, is apt to take the added profit and leave his selling price at the usual figure.

In reports of price accumulation made to a committee of the National Municipal League, by growers and others, the statement is made that "the difference in price between what the consumer pays and what the producer gets ranges from 100 to 300 per cent."† An investigation in the city of Philadelphia showed an excess of prices paid by consumers over those received by producers ranging from 67 per cent. to 266 per cent., with an average increase of 136 per cent.‡

*"Lower Living Costs in Cities," C. L. King.

†"The Relation of the City to Its Food Supply," report of a Committee of the National Municipal League, November, 1914.

‡"Lower Living Costs in Cities," C. L. King.

This indicates one great problem that faces us and that hitherto we have done little more than analyze. What can we as a people, through our city, county, state or federal organs of expression and action, do to facilitate the distribution of food products and lessen the enormous amount which it is now costing, both in actual money and in loss through bad methods?

We find that great strides have been made in the matter of transportation. The fast freight, refrigerator car service, is now highly organized and has been developed by private capital to a high state of efficiency. It has been stated that it has made it possible for New York to get its food on an average of 1,000 miles inland, on a four-day haul by fast freight—that the middle West now produces two-thirds of our food supply.*

Very efficient work is also being done in the marketing of certain crops, through the organization of producers, standardizing grades and packages and co-operative methods of selling.

But after these efficiently graded, packed and transported products reach the city, what is the situation? System and efficiency seem suddenly to come to an end and guidance and direction to be absent. Wholesaling, jobbing and retailing costs pile up, trucking, handling, gluts and scarcity, loss through waste, and other by-products of the lack of organization bring the cost of food up to the point that arouses public clamor.

In many cities of the country we find public retail markets, some, survivals of an older order, and some newly planned and built with all modern improvements, and the interest in them that has been stimulated in the last few years has undoubtedly had a salutary effect upon prices in their vicinity, and has made the people feel more individual responsibility in the matter of their living costs and the effect of their choice of marketing places and their active interest in the subject. But these are not enough. The way is not yet open for the food products to get into the cities in the first place, and when there, to find a ready sale. There has as yet been no adequate development of markets at the terminals where the

*"Lower Living Costs in Cities," C. L. King.

food products come in. There are only, in most cases, the makeshift, minimum facilities which the transportation companies and the wholesale dealers provide.

This is growing to be a pressing problem because there is probably not a city of size in the country that receives the bulk, or even any great part of its foodstuffs from the surrounding country. Our city markets are supplied with vegetables from the South, citrus fruits from California and Florida, apples from Oregon or Arkansas or New York, potatoes from Maine or Long Island or Texas, and so on, the source of supply depending on the seasons and crops. The development of transportation facilities has made it possible to lengthen the season for fresh produce of all kinds in the centers which are large enough to take the articles in large lots. The unprecedented growth of our cities brings about a yearly increase in the number of car lot points.

There are many reasons why this should be so. The carload is the convenient and natural unit for rail shipments. Where goods are carried by water, there is no such convenient unit for handling, and the freight rates on small lots are often but little higher proportionally, than those on large lots. With rail shipments, however, the case is different. It is easier to divert a car in transit to any point desired than to unload and reload a small consignment, and in the matter of refrigeration, the car lot shipment is easier to manage than the small lot. These considerations have caused the railroads to make lower rates on car lots so that such shipments are more profitable to the shippers. This has caused throughout the country, a greater specialization of crops than heretofore existed, the growers desiring to be able to ship in large quantities and get the benefit of the low rates. An example of the difference in existing freight rates on large and small lots is given by Frank Andrews* of the U. S. Bureau of Agriculture, as follows:

"The rate on peaches from Fayetteville, Ark., to Omaha, Neb., in November 1912, was 51 cents per 100 pounds, while on less than carload lots, the rate was 99 cents per 100 pounds."

*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. "Reducing the Cost of Food Distribution." November, 1913.

The advantage of shipping in carload lots thus has a tendency to keep prices down because it encourages specialization in the growing of certain products in the localities where they can be produced most cheaply.

For these reasons the increase of the practice of shipping in car lots has been rapid, as has also been the increase of the number of cities of the country which can take car lot shipments. Mr. Andrews states that figures based upon reports from forty-two cities indicated an average increase of 40 per cent. from 1900 to 1910 in the number of car lot markets for perishable produce, and that according to the report of one of the large merchant shippers of Jacksonville, Fla., in 1912, car lot shipments of Florida produce were made to 210 different cities located in forty-six states. It would be interesting to know what the marketing facilities in those 210 cities were. He further states that on a day in 1912, cantaloupes were quoted in New York from California, Virginia and Georgia, while Colorado, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland were also among the states sending cantaloupes to this market during the same year; and that Kansas City's lettuce supply in 1912 was taken from nearby fields, and also from California, Florida, New York, Louisiana, Colorado, Texas and Arkansas, and no doubt from other states not mentioned in the price quotations.

It is quite evident therefore that a wholesale terminal market must have space and facilities for handling large quantities of produce brought to it by ship and rail.

In order for a town or city to have a wholesale terminal market, the territory which it serves must be large enough and populous enough to support it. Some of the largest cities might support more than one wholesale market, but it is evident that a city must be of considerable size to support even one. This inability of the small city to absorb wholesale quantities and to attract direct shipments of produce from many distant places, shows one reason why food prices are as high in the small cities as they are in the large cities where their distribution is more complicated and expensive.

By municipal terminal market we mean two things, the physical equipment and the departmental control of it. The physical form of a terminal market, important as it is, is not

so important as the system by which the distribution is governed.

There are two theories of distribution in a large city by terminal markets—the centralized and the decentralized. The first, as its name signifies, calls for one large terminal market in a large city or a considerable subdivision of a large city. The other calls for several distributing terminal markets in different parts of the city.

At first glance it might seem that many savings might be made by having many terminal markets near the places of consumption, and having the produce brought to them by rail or water in carload or boat load lots. Probably this would effect a saving in trucking charges in some instances, and if this were the only item of cost involved the weight of favor would be for decentralized markets, but the main objection to such a plan is that such markets would not attract either the maximum of supplies or buyers and fluctuations of prices would prevail. The decentralized system might be good for deliveries but not for sales.

It must not be forgotten that the distribution of food products differs from the distribution of other freight, because of the necessity of exposure for sale. Local freight stations will serve to deliver freight to a consignee, but food produce needs space and appliances for the conduct of sales. Hence markets are necessary.

A wholesale terminal market under control of a market department could be the centre of market news of the greatest value to both producer and consumer. The market department should furnish daily market reports, giving the quantities of produce in the market and their prices, and also the probable quantities within the next week or ten days. The information on the day's market and its prices would be useful to buyers in the city as a check on retail prices and to distant shippers for comparison with the prices their goods brought. Of course, such data would not be of much value unless the produce was graded and packed in standard containers. Uniform rules as to grades and containers could be adopted by the department and published for the information of shippers.

Facts upon which prediction of the probable future supplies in the market is made could be gathered by local agents throughout the country while the crops are growing, and by telegraphic despatches from the principal points of shipment. Such information of a few crops and of the state of the market for such crops is obtained now by private concerns at great outlay. One organization is reported to spend $75,000 annually for telegrams for this purpose and another $25,000. It is evident that a market news agency of this kind could be operated best by a bureau of the Federal Department of Agriculture or by a corporation under a federal charter, but in default of such a bureau under federal auspices a municipal market department could do the work.

In order to prevent the many disputes which now make trouble between shipper and consignee the market department should provide for the inspection of any consignment on request, and an official certificate of condition of the goods on arrival.

A wholesale terminal market forms but a link in the chain of co-ordinated forces necessary for an abundant and cheap supply of food from the planting of the crops, to the sale to the consumer; but it is the most important link, because of its influence on both producer and consumer, giving the producer information of the kind and quality of crops to plant, the best methods of packing, grading and transporting, the kinds and sizes of containers, the supply in the market; while it would be of the greatest help to the consumer, giving him information of the supplies on hand, and influencing the retail trade by advising better methods of buying, storing and selling.

It stands midway between producer and consumer, and for that reason is the best point of beginning in the general reform of marketing methods.

Is it not to the interest of all the people of the cities, and therefore a function of the city governments, to see that the way is made clear for these supplies to reach the people without delay, and with as little handling and reselling as possible? No private individual or company has the breadth of power or interest to unify the various conflicting forces for the general public good, as has the agency representing all the people of the community.

I would therefore urge upon those concerned in our city governments to take up this subject in the light of modern conditions, study your sources of supply, both near at hand and distant, and the agencies of transportation that reach your gates, and see if a way cannot be devised to have the products which your people must have, placed on sale as soon as they reach you, and safeguards incorporated in the system that will make producers confident of fair returns on goods sent to you. Many of the cities of Europe have set us excellent examples, and have planned the distribution of their food supply as carefully as we construct aqueducts for our water supply. Berlin, Munich, Frankfort and London all have markets at the transportation terminals so that foodstuffs may be sold immediately upon arrival without undue handling. The Halles Centrales of Paris, perhaps the most famous of the European markets, is a large and important centre for wholesale dealing, although it is not at the transportation terminals. It has, however, many excellent features which make up for this defect. Practically all these foreign markets have sales at auction, conducted by licensed auctioneers, bonded to the city and forbidden to have any interest in the buying and selling which they conduct, other than the fixed percentage on sales which they collect. Producers desiring to do so may consign their goods to the city, to be sold at the market price by the auctioneers, instead of sending their goods to any of the regular commission dealers. These auction sales act as safety valves on the market —the prices they bring are made public and fix the market prices of the day.

It is, of course, not to be assumed that we can model our markets directly on those of any other countries, where many factors and conditions are necessarily very different. We can learn from their experience, however, where to look for weaknesses in our own systems, and can gain some suggestions as to the lines along which we might improve. It is generally pretty safe to assume that, that reform or improvement is most likely to fulfill its purpose, which is based on existing economic conditions, and aims to increase the efficiency of existing agencies, rather than to impose new principles and ideas on unwilling business men. In seeking the

weak spots we often fail to recognize that we have in many lines developed efficiency in distribution that excites no wonder in us because it is so common. It is a considerable accomplishment to bring oranges and lemons from California to New York and sell them there at retail for two or three cents apiece, and bananas from South America and the West Indies, and sell them for a cent apiece and less, not to mention countless other things.

The terminal market idea is not a new thing—not something heretofore unknown that we desire to impose on the business world. We have in New York to-day a terminal market at practically every railroad freight terminal in the city. What we lack is co-ordination, marketing space and supervision. The terminals we have were not planned as markets—they have developed into markets because people have unconsciously realized that the terminal was the place where the primary marketing of foodstuffs could be carried on in the most efficient and expeditious manner, with the result that the bulk of it is carried on there with amazing efficiency, considering the facilities at hand, and at the same time, because of the inadequacy of those facilities, with enormous congestion, waste and loss of products.

An extension of the principles of our primary marketing in New York, as now carried on, would give us in the downtown section, not scattered terminals, but a large union freight terminal, into which cars from all railroads could be run, with refrigeration, extensive platforms at which trucks could be loaded, and wide spaces in which the traffic might move without congestion, ample storage space, and auction rooms for those desiring that method of sale. This principle, which is advocated for New York City, is no less applicable to other cities of the country where the number of buyers is large enough to prevent combinations to control prices, and this fact is gradually being realized by those who are studying and seeking to improve existing conditions. For example, in the preliminary report of the Chicago Municipal Markets Commission, dated April, 1914, this statement is made: "To a certain extent wholesale terminal markets, with modernized equipment, and to which all the railroads in Chicago can make direct shipments of freight, are considered the key to

the solution of the problem of the economic distribution of the city's food supply from the railroad terminals to the kitchen of the consumer."

In any city the terminal market, to have the most value, should be not only on one, but in direct connection with as many transportation lines as reach the city, so that freight cars could be switched directly to the market halls, and where goods come by water so that they could be unloaded from the ships directly into the market buildings. The market buildings should be large enough so that the goods need not be held back for lack of room to place them on sale, as sometimes happens now in New York in the heavy seasons. There should be ample storage room and refrigeration to prevent waste through spoilage. The business in a properly planned and located market is bound to grow, and it is better to plan it on an ample scale in the first place than to make extensions later, when buildings have been constructed in the vicinity and property has become high in value. Many of the foreign markets are very large, the Halles Centrales in Paris covering 22 acres, and having cost some $10,000,000. In London Smithfield Market covers about 8 acres, Deptford Market 30 acres and Islington (live cattle) 75 acres. Berlin, in the midst of the war, is building a terminal market costing $10,000,000. Food supplies come from all over the world now, so that a wholesale market in a great city assumes the importance of a stock exchange, or cotton or wheat exchange, or other great trading mechanism. For that reason it should be organized so as to handle its business on a large scale with the greatest economy. The time has gone by for hit or miss methods of handling the food supplies of a great city.

The salutary influence of proper wholesale markets is not confined to the city, but is perhaps most important in its reaction on production. Wholesale marketing as at present conducted is a mystery to the average citizen and a discouragement to the farmer. We will never reduce food prices until we encourage the farmer to produce more, through assuring him of the sale of all he can produce at steady, even though low, prices. It is of far more importance to him to be able to sell his whole crop at moderate prices than to sell part at high prices, part at moderate prices and the remainder not

at all. In this way only can he put his present fluctuating and hazardous occupation on a business basis. Some years ago I was engaged in an investigation of the reasons for the decline in the value of farm lands in the State of New York and the abandonment of the farms by boys and girls who crowded into the cities. The inquiry brought out many reasons such as Western competition, loneliness on the farm, lack of amusements, and the like, but the most potent reason was that the farm did not pay enough to keep the ambitious American on it. We hear and read continually the advice "back to the farm," but such advice is futile unless the farm can be made profitable. A further inquiry as to why it did not pay showed that lack of marketing facilities in the cities added so much cost to the goods before they reached the consumer, that the farmer received too low a price for his products, and his business was too hazardous. Conditions have not changed since that time, except for the worse. The city of Munich a few years ago found that the operation there of a modern terminal market, where the farmers of the surrounding country were assured of steady sales at moderate prices, and quick returns of cash for goods consigned to the market, so stimulated production that in one year the market constructed was outgrown by the business it attracted, and needed to be doubled in size.

In the development of our national life a mutual duty exists between the country and the city. The country must produce abundant and cheap food; the city must provide facilities for selling it without loss. It is one of the great problems before the people to-day of national importance.

THE MUSEUM AS THE NEW FORCE IN PUBLIC SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT

BY PROF. HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN, D.SC., LL.D.
PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

Address delivered before a special meeting of 1,600 Science Teachers, held in the American Museum of Natural History on Friday, July 7th, 1916.

It is a force which is especially exerted and manifested in our large cities, where the great museums of Natural History and of Art are beginning to use every means possible to extend their treasures to the children of the public schools.

The American Museum of Natural History of New York was one of the pioneers in this movement, under the leadership of the late Albert S. Bickmore, who in 1880 inaugurated a series of lectures for the teachers of New York City, which during the next decade was so extended as to embrace the teachers throughout the state. It was not until 1904, however, that the first lectures to the public school children themselves, designed to illustrate and supplement their work in the schools, were given at the Museum, and still later, in 1914, that the Museum arranged to give series of lectures at the schools, especially in the crowded districts of the city, where the transportation of children to and from the Museum was difficult.

In the meantime, in 1902, when nature study was first introduced into the city schools, a system of sending out to the public schools small nature study collections reached no less than 1,200,000 pupils. In 1906 the plan was adopted for providing instructors for public school classes visiting the Museum, in order that the teachers and pupils might utilize their time to the best advantage. In 1915 the Museum began the system of loaning to the public schools its lantern slides, derived from explorations in all parts of the world.

Another advance in the Museum's educational work was the provision in 1909 for instruction to the blind. This work

has since been extended, through special endowment, until now courses of evening lectures are given for the adult blind, at the same time affording opportunities for actual contact with the specimens, and classes for blind children from the public schools are held regularly at the Museum. The system of placing in the public libraries special exhibits on various subjects of travel and exploration was inaugurated in 1907, with the result that there is a very great demand for books on these topics. This system was extended in 1915 to the regular circulation of the Museum exhibits among the branch libraries of the city. A similar movement was begun in 1887 by the Milwaukee Public Museum.

Step by step measures of extension similar to those taken by the American Museum have been adopted by other institutions, and the movement has gradually extended over the entire United States, for example, in the Commercial Museums of Philadelphia, the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, the Charleston Museum, South Carolina, the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, our own Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Art Museum of Worcester, Massachusetts, and of Toledo, Ohio.

The American Museum is now visited daily by hundreds and sometimes by thousands of children, and the arrangement of all the collections, in the more abstruse as well as in the simpler fields of natural history, is designed to be self-explanatory and educational. The great principles of natural science, the elucidation of which represents one hundred and fifty years of exploration and research and which were first set forth by the great French naturalist, Buffon, through his popular expositions of scientific truths in Paris in the year 1739, are made clear not only in the text of the labels accompanying the specimens but in the arrangement of the objects themselves. This arrangement calls for the highest and rarest gifts of the museum exhibitor, for the truth as well as the beauty and harmony of the laws of nature must be evidenced. In fact, the reason that the museum has become the great new force that it is in public education is because the old conception of a museum as a storehouse of curiosities has been entirely abandoned and replaced by the newer and truer con-

ception of illustrating the underlying principles of the laws of nature.

A new definition of the purpose of a museum is: to bring a vision of the world to those who otherwise can never see it. Children are wonderful observers; as a rule they see things even more quickly than their parents, whose powers of observation have been largely dulled through disuse. The invaluable childish powers of wonder, surprise, and reverence are all cultivated. This inspirational movement is, perhaps, the most precious outcome of the extension of the museum to the school,—to those who can never travel and to whom a journey even from a distant point in the city to a museum, where are brought together all the wonders and marvels of nature in its various forms, is of itself a great event.

The practical aspects of this new museum movement are no less important. In art, all the beauty which has been created by the mind of man is brought together in orderly form as an inspiration to aesthetic development and individual achievement. In nature the book work of the class-room and the experimentation of the laboratory are supplemented and filled out by the intensive study of exhibits of the best that has been found through the centuries. As an illustration, the studies in botany in several of the high schools of New York are followed by direct observations in the Hall of Forestry, originally arranged under the direction of Professor Charles S. Sargent, author of "Silva Americana." The school studies in biology and zoölogy are rendered real by visits to the wonderful Darwin Hall, with its vistas of life on the land and in the sea, originally planned by two of the most talented zoölogists of this country.

THE FUTURE OF OUR LITERATURE

BY CALE YOUNG RICE

Among the problems the war has forced upon us has been such a searching of national ideals as we, or the world, have never before known. Its bloody conflagration has been as a strong searchlight thrown into all places of national obscurity —revealing not only the belligerents to us, but also our own national purposes. And that we are seeing new things of ourselves and of our future cannot be doubted—though which of these new things our literature should interpret, and why, does not seem quite clear to us.

Yet it is a matter of profound pertinence to us to know. We are a nation whose national spirit has absorbed the ideals and temperaments of many peoples—and whose literature, while that spirit was in its earlier process of formation, was the literature of very imperfectly assimilated elements—the literature of the "Melting Pot." Side by side with it, to be sure, went the old strain of American letters—local or sectional in nature, but nearly always regarded as "distinctively American": Hawthorne in the East, Cable in the South and Bret Harte in the West were three of its typical progenitors. And abroad we are still characterized in critical quarters by these, or similar, sectionalisms; and are still expected to stick to them, or at least not to regard ourselves as other than the uncosmopolitan, exaggerative, "shirt-sleeved breed" we were represented to be by Walt Whitman and Mark Twain, but which, it is scarcely necessary to state, we no longer are.

For the new Americanism, and the new American literature realizes, or should realize, that by reason of our very multiple make-up we have become a world-people. Our ideals, some of which at the moment are in violent conflict because of the war, are no longer merely Anglo-Saxon, but, as we are poured out of the "Melting Pot," are fused with the gold—and dross—of other races. The literature of the future, therefore, will not be an extension of the old Anglo-

Saxon strain; nor will it be the voicing of the unassimilated lumps of our immigrants, or of any other sectionalism. What we shall want to hear is the interpretation of those who have gone into the crucible, with all the heterogeneous elements of our country, and have come out with a new spirit—which should be more humane, more international and more cosmopolitan than any people has ever had hitherto. We shall be world-citizens not by reason of our conquests and colonies, but by reason of our fundamental human sympathies and understanding. And as for our literature, posterity may be trusted to give little heed to him who shall write to-day a lesser vision than this before his eyes.

THE DIRECTORS OF ART MUSEUMS

BY MISS CORNELIA B. SAGE, LITT.D., DIRECTOR OF THE BUFFALO FINE ARTS ACADEMY, ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY

This is frequently asked by persons who wish to be enlightened upon so important a subject, and is a question for most serious consideration. Museum direction is such a complicated subject and a theme so varied that any attempt to explain it, with its many subtleties and its network of multitudinous details, would be an unheard of impossibility. When all goes right with a museum the work is difficult; one properly managed, carries with it the many weighty problems of a large business firm, combined with the aesthetic work and artistic ability of an artist. The management of museums and the practical work of organizing exhibitions cannot be separated from artistic selection or the placing of works of art; the line is too subtle to be drawn; the practical and artistic ends too closely allied. The qualifications of a museum director are exacting. One to hold this position successfully must have great executive ability, must know when and where to place responsibility; he must have a knowledge of art in all its branches; art of all countries and all periods; all mediums; patience, infinite tact, and a living sympathy with the people. In other words, one must be an astute business man, a scholar, a teacher, a publicist, a lawyer, a detective, an insurance agent and a custom house broker, and to find all these qualities in one person is, it must be admitted, rather rare! The direction of foreign and American museums differs in this respect, that in the other world the collections are already formed, and the newly appointed director is chosen especially for his knowledge of the art they contain and his ability to add to the collection. This might also apply to two or three large American museums, but as the newer and smaller ones have limited permanent collections they naturally are quite dependent upon temporary or special exhibitions, which must be organized

by the director, and thus executive ability is required. The idea is quite common among the inexperienced that the feat of securing a fine collection is an easy one, and that one has only to ask to obtain pictures, when, in reality, to bring together desirable works of art for a special exhibition is almost an impossible task to accomplish, and is becoming more and more difficult each year. One has not only to know the best artists and their most important works, but to keep in touch with them continually, and, as many of the works necessary to the success of an exhibition are owned by museums and private collectors, one often has to use much persuasive power to secure them as loans; then, too, so many sales are being made and pictures are changing hands so rapidly that the work has to be done over many times. A great artist is often willing to lend, but has no works left in his studio—then one must locate the owners, who, perhaps, live in a far-away city or even county. In securing the works of Besnard and the other artists for the Société Nouvelle (after permission for the exhibition was granted) they had to be traced to all parts of the globe, and in one case, for a recent American exhibition, the same arrangement with the same artist had to be repeated three times, as, in each case, when his pictures were selected with his consent and definitely secured in New York for Buffalo, they were immediately afterwards purchased by various collectors who carried them east and west. The work of handling a one-man exhibition is comparatively easy, but arranging a collective exhibition, especially a foreign one, is appalling. When each picture comes from a different person, museum, collector, or dealer, each living in a different city, and leaves its owner and arrives at its destination at a different time, it takes an expert to manage the collection on account of the different express companies and packers used, to say nothing of the placing of insurance on them. All are insured in transit, the insurance on each picture which comes from a different destination placed and cancelled at a different time, while some must be insured in galleries, some not; it requires quickness of thought, constant watching and much experience.

The hanging and arrangement of a collection is an art and one of the most important features, as an exhibition can be made or marred by its installment. The making of the catalogue and keeping the biographical sketches up to date with the artists' prizes and honors is also a vital matter; then the gallery's bulletin must be written and illustrated and the year-book issued. There must be sales made during the exhibitions; otherwise, the artists naturally become discouraged, and if they were not broad-minded and wished also to aid the art of this country by exhibiting their works, they would be perfectly justified in not sending them year after year with no results. For this purpose, a museum must have purchase funds, which, if it has not, should be secured by the director and trustees. For a museum without an important permanent collection, special exhibitions are a necessity; without them, there will be few visitors, and a large attendance is important, as where there is an appropriation from the city, great efforts should be made to get the people to the gallery and to secure special collections of the highest standard to educate them. Exhibitions should be well advertised and publications sent broadcast. Every effort should be made to enable the work of a museum to grow each year, and the larger the work, the greater the attendance and public interest in its welfare. The exhibitions should be limited in number, and only those shown that are of the very highest standard. In choosing the works of the best masters, we should also limit ourselves to the artists' most important productions. It does not help a good artist to show his poor pictures; nor does it assist a poor artist to exhibit even his best works, as when hung in an exhibition of works of importance it is an injury to his present and future. In order to do justice to the public and the artists, a gallery must keep its standard high, thus raising the public to its level, and in so doing, it should make it an honor to every artist invited to exhibit there. If poor works are exhibited, good ones eventually will be withdrawn. Only worthy art should be shown in a museum, as the public of a city judges by that given it in its own gallery. The public is discerning and if it discovers that poor art had been in any way encouraged, even though that art first pleased its

fancy, it would be the first to hold the management responsible. No; in order to make a city a great art center, only works above criticism should be shown, and the people should be brought to a gallery and taught what they are only too eager to learn.

There should be no rivalry between museums, large or small, or between directors; but a perfect harmony of thought and action should exist; the one aim should be to promote art and each should aid the other in the accomplishment of this end. Let every director choose his own exhibition, if he so desires, or let him take others chosen by another director, if they are worthy, but keep the standard high. All should agree on a certain time of each year for exhibitions of similar classes, so that there should be a complete understanding as to the time appointed for such exhibitions, and no museum, large or small, should interefere with the interests of the others. The exhibitions of the year for each museum should be arranged not only to suit its own convenience, but with some thought as to accommodating other museums. If such a sympathy and consideration could be shown, it would tend to raise the standard of art, and a continuous current of superb exhibitions could be swept through the country each year from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. One thing more; museums are multiplying rapidly, and as museum direction is practically a new profession in America, the fact that several are at present without heads shows that there is a great dearth of capable persons to fill these requirements and men should be in training for such positions. The guiding of the many details of the work in a museum should be considered a most important profession and treated as such. Directorships should not fall into inexperienced hands, but should be confined to those who have not only had the proper artistic and business education, but years of actual museum training, and above all, art instinct and a great and reverend love of the work for its own sake—forgetting all personal gain and thinking only of the success of their museum and the artists.

THE NATIONAL GROWTH IN CULTURE.

BY FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

The pioneer conditions of American life gave little leisure for the cultivation of music, and the Puritan austerity and suspicion of any play of the senses largely discouraged even those simple songs of the heart which in most societies nurture the musical sense among the lowly. Having thus lived for many generations virtually without music, allowing the ear to become dull and the voice harsh and coarse, the old American stock was slow in recovering the musical sense. It has only partially recovered it to-day, for, man for man, we are much less sensitive to music than the once foreign population which has found a home among us. But, thanks in large measure to our immigrants, the musical advance in the United States during the last forty years has been nothing less than astonishing.

In 1876, the Centennial year, there was not a symphony orchestra in any city of the country. In Boston, to be sure, amateur orchestras had since early in the century been performing the works of the great instrumental masters, but it was not until 1881 that the permanent Boston Symphony Orchestra was organized. It is not too much to say that this organization, starting with a public which preferred to hear a local brass band in the town square play "Marching Through Georgia," has literally educated the North Atlantic States to appreciate the purest orchestral music. Originally consisting of sixty-seven pieces, and giving twenty-four concerts in the season, this orchestra has been enlarged until now it numbers ninety-six performers and gives over one hundred concerts. That the members of this symphony orchestra are able to reserve themselves strictly for the concert performances is certainly a proof of the hold which music has upon Boston.

Ten years elapsed after the establishment of the Boston orchestra before the now famous Thomas orchestra of Chicago was founded. That which the Boston orchestra did for

the cities of the Atlantic coast, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra has done for the cities of the Middle West—set a standard of the highest classical ideals. To-day the movement is nation-wide, and there are orchestras in New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Minneapolis and San Francisco—the latter of eighty pieces and secured by a guarantee of $150,000—which compare favorably with the municipal orchestras of the Continent, and there are vigorous organizations in many of the smaller cities. Even some of our universities are able to assemble orchestras that do creditable work. Thus, the University of Washington, the youngest of the larger state universities and in a section of the country which still smacks of the pioneer, has an orchestra of some fifty pieces that is now working upon Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. We have certainly traveled a long road from the Centennial Exposition, at which there were occasional concerts by amateurs, to the exposition at San Francisco, at which there was an orchestra of eighty pieces, playing twice daily, under the leadership of such men as Hagerman, Charles and Bendicks.

Equally great has been the progress in the interpretation and appreciation of operatic music. In this field the Metropolitan Opera Company has done a service to the nation analogous to that of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, New Orleans and San Francisco have now their regular opera seasons, and so nation-wide is the demand for opera that Metropolitan troupes are brought from the eastern to the western seaboard. Cities of the second class, such as Seattle, have local opera companies that are enthusiastically supported and doing better work each year. Light opera has a much more exacting public to satisfy than it had thirty years ago, and this improvement in taste is at once apparent if one compares the finished music of "The Chocolate Soldier" and "The Wizard of the Nile" with the superficial prettiness of the music of "Pinafore," "The Pirates of Penzance" and "The Mikado."

Concert music was, to be sure, popular in America long before the symphony and the opera had gained recognition. But the concert programs of the seventies! Orgies of cheap musical form and vulgar sentimentality, in which such classics

as "Silver Threads Among the Gold" and "The Midshipmate" clamored for first place in popular favor.

I recall vividly two memorable winters of my boyhood in which "Professor" Harrington—of blessed memory—conducted a singing school for two or three weeks in the Maine town where I was reared. At the end of this exhaustive training a concert was given, and such soulful songs as "The Whippoorwill" and "Silver Bells of Memory" were rendered to the delectation and delight of the community. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, and back again to the Atlantic, traveled this good man, conducting his singing schools, until over the entire land the silver bells of memory were ringing. Far be it from me to make light of those days of small beginnings, but for simple truth's sake one must contrast the present Maine festivals, in which dozens of communities co-operate in rendering oratorio music, and which are critically reviewed in the foreign musical journals.

In no field has the improvement been more pronounced than in church music. The gospel hymn with its crude theology, its grotesque English and its vulgar music, is not yet a thing of the past, and "The Holy City" is still tolerated in churches dedicated to the glory of God and service of humanity, but a better type of church music is fast taking the place of all this. Purer music may be heard in many a rural church of to-day than could have been heard in a metropolitan church thirty years ago. For example, I frequently attend a little suburban church in a Western city where the music is largely Gregorian.

The appreciation and production of music have now been made definite objects of education. Meritorious conservatories, to be sure, like the New England Conservatory, the Broad Street Conservatory, the Peabody and the Cincinnati, existed forty years ago, but the training was strictly for performance, not for appreciation or production. Now, in the public schools of California, children under sixteen work out harmonic problems and write music for their own choruses and quartets.

At the time of the Centennial Exposition Edward McDowell was a boy of thirteen; Horatio Parker, a boy of twelve; Mrs. Beach, a girl of seven; Harriet Ware, a still

younger child; George W. Chadwick had not yet left to study in Germany, and Victor Herbert was just beginning his musical education. In short, America had done nothing in creative music, and was to do nothing for a decade or more. American composition has now won the respect of foreign musicians, and the creative impulse is becoming nation-wide. If much of our composition has been produced under the influence of European models, many individual American notes have yet been struck, and such compositions as McDowell's "Indian Suite" and Arthur Farwell's "Dawn" and "Navajo War Dance" may properly claim American inspiration.

In architecture we are beginning at last to find ourselves. During the period from 1840 to 1876 architecture in America reached its lowest ebb. It was the era of shams: sham stone, sham wood, sham marble, sham vistas in sham churches; the era of jigsaw patterns and machine-made moldings. Little building of distinction was done in all these years. The Colonial period had left many beautiful homes and some good public buildings in the Georgian style; the Greek revival had left the Capitol at Washington, the Custom House in Boston and Girard College; and the Gothic revival had left Trinity Church and St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York and the Central Church in Boston; but the building of these thirty-six years was dull and unimaginative, elephantine in mass and unrefined in detail. The State Capitol at Albany, the City Hall at Philadelphia, and the Post Office and the old Grand Central Station in New York are typical of the most ambitious work of this period, architecture which is very literally "imposing." The turning point may be said to have been reached when Richardson erected Trinity Church in Boston and inaugurated the Romanesque revival in America. For two decades the vigorous, very individual and sensitive work of this gifted man trained Americans to feel the beauty and the happiness resident in architecture. In the meantime young men had been going to Europe to supplement their training and were coming back with a taste for Classic, Renaissance and Gothic types. One need only refer to the Church of St. John the Divine, St. Thomas' Church, the Library of Congress, the College of the City of New York, the new Harvard Medical

School, the Capitol at Madison, the University Club in Chicago and the Pennsylvania Terminal in New York to recognize that the spirit of noble construction is at work in America.

It is customary in some quarters to descant upon the ugliness of the scyscraper, but as for me such a structure as the Woolworth Building, strong, clean-cut and lithe, graceful with the spring of trained strength, rich and individual in ornamental detail, thrills me and embodies for me the strength of abounding youth, not without the tender notes of youth. It is the spirit of America turned visible.

This advance in the architecture of public buildings has been attended by at least an equal advance in the architecture of the home. Not to speak of the palatial residences which have been built in such numbers in the past twenty years, the houses of the common people, though at times giving way to a riot of bad taste, are often charming. Especially is this true in the newer sections of the country, where people very largely own their homes, and where the problem of building a house is one of the absorbing interests of early married life. When a goodly part of the populace become architecturally conscious, as they are in many communities to-day, architecture cannot fail to advance.

The new interest in architecture has been attended by a corresponding interest in landscape gardening and in interior decoration. Not only do our municipalities spend large sums upon parks and boulevards, but private grounds, even if limited, receve much careful study. Many of the residence districts in our cities are virtually parks in which homes have been pleasantly disposed.

The improvement in interior decoration has been nothing less than a revolution in taste. There was recently held in New York an exhibition of bad taste. The just awarding of the prize was a most delicate task, but it was finally given to a Venus de Milo with a clock in her stomach. Venus de Milos with clocks in their stomachs were the very lares of American homes a generation or two ago.

In architecture and the allied arts we have traveled since 1876 all the way from the crystal palaces and the stiff gardens that predominated at the Philadelphia exposition to the

miracle of beauty and refined sentiment that was created in San Francisco.

American sculpture proper begins with Hiram Powers' "Greek Slave" and Randolph Rogers' "Blind Nydia." The former never for a moment deceives one into thinking that she is a Greek slave; one knows at a glance that the subject is a sedate and rather cold-blooded American woman who feels unpleasantly conscious of the novelty of her situation. It was hailed with delight, however, and our undiscriminating fathers felt that we were vindicated in thus producing a masterpiece equal to the antique. The latter, with its stiff plated drapery and "its fingers and toes suggestive of piano keys," seemed equally beautiful to an untrained generation. That was two generations ago. One generation ago the work of William Wetmore Story satisfied the taste of the most cultivated. To-day a lad in the elementary course in modeling or design would not hang drapery in this clumsy and heavy fashion. It is, indeed, a far cry from such amateurish work to the dignity and tenderness of St. Gaudens' incomparable statue of Lincoln, or the rhythmic swing of his "Shaw Memorial" to the noble modeling of Paul Bartlett's stern "Michaelangelo," to the throbbing life and triumphal movement in Macmonnie's majestic fountain, or to the compressed emotion of French's transcendent relief of "Death and the Sculptor." If we have not yet produced a sculptor who adequately combines mysticism and realism, those two extremes which yearn to wed in the spirit of the modern world, if we have not yet produced a Rodin, yet the idealistic work of George Barnard is strikingly original in its symbolism and admirable in technique.

The interest in sculpture is national; almost every city of any size has some tolerable example of the art, and we have a large number of virile and imaginative young sculptors. In this particular art we are almost rivals of the French, and with the growing public demand it is reasonable to expect much good work. Such a bequest as that of the late Benjamin F. Ferguson, of Chicago, who left $1,000,000 for the "erection and maintenance of enduring statuary and monuments," shows how the art has penetrated our modern life.

With the cubists and futurists still holding the walls of our exhibitions, it may seem an inopportune time to speak of painting; many doubtless feel that the craze for work of this novel character either shows a decadent tendency in painting or its proof that traditions of good painting have never really become established among us. However, it is not possible to judge the value of any movement until that movement has run its course. A fresh energy is certainly being manifested by our painters as a result of this new movement, and a more daring attitude toward color. Twenty years hence, when accidental qualities have been discarded, we may feel that the futurists were as essential to the tradition of painting as were the Pre-Raphaelites and the impressionists.

At the time of the Centennial Exposition the art of painting was much further advanced in America than were most of the sister arts. If the public at large was still enamored of the Hudson River School, and estimated the worth of a landscape by the number of leaves or blades of grass that could be counted, there was yet a discriminating minority who were able to appreciate the work of Fuller, Hunt, Innes, La Fargo and Homer. In these men America had painters who, even if they had done no further painting—indeed, Hunt and Innes had died two years before—would enjoy permanent repute as artists. Whatever new effects in painting may be discovered, the exquisite tone quality in the work of Innes and the superb life and energy of the sea as interpreted by Homer will not fail of appeal. This was, indeed, a notable quintet, but when the Paris Exposition of 1900 was held, America was no longer represented by a few talented men but by a whole school of painters, and the American artists stood second only to the French in awards.

One need but recall the brooding calm of twilight as painted by Charles H. Davis, the mystery of a moonlit turn of road as painted by Benjamin Foster, the sunshine of New England meadows by Leonard Ochtman, the broad stretches of plowed fields by Bruce Crane, the brilliant colors of New England autumnal woods by John Enneking, the light-suffused mists of morning by Horatio Walker, the tremulous atmosphere by Theodore Steele, not to mention the work of a score of other men, to appreciate that America has produced a school of

landscape painters who have a refined sense of the characteristic and a flexible command of material.

If our portrait painters have not yet evolved a well-defined school they are well on the way toward it. Especially sympathetic and representative is the interpretation of women and of child life, subjects treated with the reverence and tenderness characteristic of the American attitude. Benson, Alexander, Thayer, Brush and Miss Beaux, artists who range in technique from the quiet but rich manner of Brush, reminiscent of the early Renaissance painters, to the out-of-doors settings of Benson, compact of quivering sunshine and the luminous shadows of leaves.

In recent years American landscape painters, under the leadership of such men as Childe Hassam, Prendergast and Arthur B. Davies, have been engaged in much daring experimentation. What the end of all this will be no one can tell, but it is idle to think that a man of the talent of Davies can return from the land of dreams without bringing back something of abiding value for art.

But the phase of painting that gives the clearest evidence of a national enthusiasm is decorative and mural work. The decoration of the Boston Library and of the Congressional Library created an enthusiasm so immediate and so widespread that practically every monumental building erected in the last two decades has been decorated murally. Indeed, not only capitols, court houses, university halls, churches, hotels and clubs have been thus decorated, but many private homes as well. The art of window decoration has itself been brought to a high degree of refinement. The aim is not so much to advertise particular goods as to arrange a beautiful composition in which color, line and mass shall subtly charm.

This decorative sense is especially noteworthy in view of the fact that it is singularly lacking in the English. There is little demand for mural work there, even so finished an artist as Brangwyn finding scant employment for his talent at home.

It remains to speak of the art of literature. Do we care for good literature as we once did, and are we producing literature equal to that produced one or two generations ago?

Literature is the art that has enjoyed the most traditional favor in America. Good literature was produced and good literature was read long before the other arts made any general appeal. Aside from the fact that former generations of Americans still retained enough of the Puritan attitude to feel apprehensive of the seductiveness of the other arts, the very fact that the majority of the people lived in small towns and rural communities made them fall back upon literature as the art which could most readily meet their demands.

The very difference in the temper of a rural community and of a city community must always imply a difference of attitude toward the arts. The country man seeks art in books; the city man draws upon all of the arts. It may make for clarity, then, to consider independently reading in the country communities and reading in the city.

What, then, is the status of reading in country communities to-day as compared with its status thirty years ago? My boyhood was spent in a typical New England village of some six thousand inhabitants. The people were largely descended from Pilgrim and Puritan stock; they were essentially American. Now, the number of those who may be said to have had any well-defined taste in literature and to have read the better books with any degree of constancy was small. Such reading limited to the homes of one or two of the clergy, one or two physicians and lawyers, an ex-Congressman, a shoemaker, a school teacher or two, and a half-dozen other families. To be sure, slender green folios of Dickens and Thackeray graced many a parlor table, and it was considered bad form—rather a commentary on one's breeding—not to have read these writers, but they were not put through with much of a relish, and suffered by comparison with the lighter novels of the day. The "Atlantic Monthly" entered a good many homes, but not many heads; its presence was thought to maintain the family standing upon a certain assured basis. But, despite the mediocrity about them, the little nucleus of sympathetic spirits held to their books, enjoyed their mutual tastes and gave a certain distinction to the village life. They were genuinely respected, though a little feared.

Now, I seldom spend a week in a town of the State of Washington without discovering rather similar conditions.

I doubt if there are many communities in the commonwealth where one cannot find something of intellectual companionship. Not long ago I chanced to be in a town of three thousand inhabitants, and during my stay was invited to a certain home to give a talk on Ruskin. What was my surprise to find that I was addressing a club which had been studying Ruskin for two winters, the majority of whom had read virtually all of his writings, and that the subject that they wished me to discuss was the relation of Ruskin's social philosophy to that of Carlyle and Tolstoi. The conditions took me back to the village of my boyhood. I cannot pursue this phase of the subject further, but I am inclined to think that reading holds about the place in rural life that it held a quarter of a century ago.

But what of the cities, for it is with reference to them that concern for reading is most often expressed. One day I chanced to be in the circulation room of the Seattle Public Library, and I noticed a man, rather shabbily dressed and rather grimy in appearance, doubled over a table and so absorbed in his book that he had not taken time to sit down. There he hung in an agony of interest, one leg twisted around the leg of the table by way of anchorage. My curiosity got the best of me, and I was rude enough to glance at the title of the book: It was the "Metaphysics of Aristotle." The "Metaphysics of Aristotle!" Well, if this man was reading that book, what were the other fifty men reading? I say men, for they come in such numbers that the women feel rather frozen out. For the most part they are artisans, laborers and prospectors. Very few business or professional men frequent the room. When the books most in demand were collected, I had my second surprise. Here are some of the titles, arranged roughly in classes:

Ruskin, "Sesame and Lilies"; Irving, "Life of Washington"; Matthews, "Study of the Drama"; Dickens, "History of England"; Curtis, "Potiphar Papers"; Newman, "Letters and Correspondence"; Schiller, "Plays"; Musset, "Poesies Nouvelles"; Hall, "Biography of John Hall"; Gautier, "Journeys in Italy"; D'Alton, "History of Ireland"; Garnett, "Turkish Life."

Dickens, "David Copperfield," "Our Mutual Friend," and "Pickwick Papers"; Hugo, "Les Miserables"; Hale, "The Man

Without a Country"; Stevens, "The Ebb Tide"; Allen, "A Kentucky Cardinal"; Hawthorne, "The House of the Seven Gables"; Lucas, "Mr. Ingleside"; Chesterton, "The Napoleon of Notting Hill."

Hirsch, "Genius and Degeneration"; Baring Gould, "Strange Survivals"; Widney, "Race Life of the Aryan Peoples"; Figueir, "Primitive Man"; Ripley, "The Races of Europe"; Haeckel, "History of Creation"; Shaler, "Man and the Earth"; Harriman, "Alaska Expedition"; Tyndall, "Fragments of Science"; Beecher, "Evolution and Religion"; Ritchie, "Darwin and Hegel"; Spalding, "Religion, Agnosticism and Education"; Haddon, "Races of Man"; Schopenhauer, "The World as Will and Idea"; Compayre, "The Intellectual and Moral Development of the Child."

This list constitutes rather more than half of the titles; the remainder were less representative, including lighter novels, and manuals of various kinds. Now these titles may be roughly divided into belles lettres, philosophical works and anthropological works. The latter show an intense interest in social and ethical questions, and the authors selected were the foremost scholars in Europe and America. In other words, these men are choosing the best literary and scientific thought. As a teacher of literature, my heart naturally went out to a young fellow, apparently a sailor, who sat almost immovable from nine in the morning until six, not even taking time for lunch, bound by the spell of "David Copperfield." It was a vertiable literary gorge!

In running over the shelves of the library with one of the assistants, I learned some rather significant facts about the books that are drawn out. Notwithstanding that it was during the holiday season and that fewer books are borrowed at that time, on this particular day of the three sets of Scott one copy each of "St. Ronan's Well," "The Monastery" and "Ivanhoe" were the only volumes on the shelves; of three sets of Jane Austen, one copy each of "Mansfield Park," "Northanger Abbey," and "Emma" were on the shelves; no volume of Dickens was available, though his works are in such demand that an average of three sets are worn out in the main library each year, and one in each of the several branch libraries; of the eleven volumes of "Adam Bede" and the

seven volumes of "The House of Seven Gables" all were in circulation; of the fifteen volumes of "Romola" twelve were out; of a total of seventy-two volumes of Howell's, only nine were available; of a total of fifty-six of Thackeray, three; and, what I deem more surprising, only three of the total thirty-two volumes of Meredith. In this summary, allowance need not be made for the school reservations, as those are cared for independently.

Now I feel warranted in concluding that, despite the vulgar literature which impudently assails one on every hand and which is the natural concomitant of a large half-educated reading public, there is a respectable, indeed a rather gratifying, demand for the best books on the part of the middle third of urban society.

It is among the more prominent people in the cities that I should look for a decline in the reading of purer literature. The cultivation and enjoyment of a literary taste is dependent upon leisure; it requires frequent hours of tranquil companionship, for the citadel of letters is not to be taken by the desultory attacks of a fatigued or distracted mind. But leisure is the very thing that the upper third of urban society is likely not to have. The scope, too, of knowledge in the field of every profession has been so enormously enlarged within a single generation that specialization has become inevitable, and the effort to keep abreast of the fresh conquests of the human mind in any one of these fields taxes the best of men.

Again, a large number of earnest-minded men feel the moral necessity of studying and wrestling with our vexed social problems, lest our democracy die before our very eyes, and they give much of their leisure to this noble service.

And yet, despite these demands and distractions, educated men manage to do more reading than is popularly supposed. A few years ago a prominent English scholar was lecturing in the city where I live, and was the guest one evening of a little club of professional and business men who meet once a month for a paper and discussion. The paper chanced to be on the philosophy of Nietzche—a man less generally known than now—and the discussion, which was many-sided, was entered into by virtually every member. Our guest was much impressed, for as we were leaving he abruptly accosted me

with the words—"Look here, old man, I want to know about this you know; that was a ripping discussion, a ripping discussion; what is all this about the wild and woolly anyhow?" I venture to say that such a group could be duplicated in any American city of any size.

I have presented rather slender data, to be sure, on which to base a generalization as to the status of reading in our cities, But I advance the opinion that, taking all classes of people into account, the percentage of readers of good literature is not less than it was thirty or forty years ago.

When we think back upon the American men of letters of a former generation, we are much inclined to feel that the Augustan age is behind us, and to reflect mournfully upon a passing tradition. It must be allowed that we have produced no second Emerson and no second Hawthorne. Time does not serve to dim the lustre of these names; indeed, they appear only the more resplendent seen in a cleared perspective. Emerson's mighty tones caused a displacement, and a subsequent readjustment, of the whole intellectual world of America and Europe. Hawthorne is in the very front rank of the world's novelists. We have not replaced these men, nor have we replaced Holmes, a humorist of an incomparable style, light, intimate, winning. Lowell was, I think, much overestimated by his own generation, for as a critic he was rather superficial, and as a humorist he never learned that the half is greater than the whole. Nor has Longfellow stood well the test of time. Were he writing to-day, it is doubtful if he would get much of a hearing.

But we must not think that we are badly off for able writers to-day. In the field of the essay we have such men as John Burroughs, a very sensitive interpreter of nature; David Grayson, a personal essayist of rare feeling; and Paul Elmer More, who is a much abler critic than Lowell. In the field of poetry there are a large number of men and women who are writing excellent verse, though we have no poets of the first rank. Indeed, we never have had them. One need but pick up the magazine that lies on his table to see that verse of high order is being written. Here is such a poem:

TO MY LITTLE SON

We were so very intimate, we two,
Even before I knew
The outline of the little face I love,
Or bent above
The small sweet body made so strong and fair;
For we had learned to share
The silences that are more near than speech
Before your cry could reach
My listening heart, or I could see
The miracle made manifest to me.

O little son,
Most glad, most radiant one,
Too soon, too soon, the hour must be cried
That draws you from my side!
In life's exultant hands is lifted up
This newly molded cup;
The tangled vineyard of the world demands
Your toiling hands.
Look deep, and in all women that you meet
Your searching gaze will meet
The mother of the child that used to be;
Beholding women, oh, remember me!

(Written by Pauline Florence Brower, in *The Century Magazine*, April, 1914.)

We need not feel anxious about the tradition of poetry when such verse is being produced. As for fiction, we have a school of novelists who certainly excel the novelists of forty years ago: Herrick, Churchill, White, Edith Wharton, and Margaret Deland. Finally there is the drama, a field that was altogether neglected forty years ago, and that is now being cultivated with marked enthusiasm.

Taking all of the arts into account, I think there is no escaping the conclusion that our sense of beauty has been greatly quickened and refined in the last generation. Distressed as he might be by much that he would see and hear, I fancy that Lorenzo de Medici, Cardinal Bembo, Sannazaro, Leonardo, Donatello or Titian would feel more at home in the America of to-day than in the America of forty years ago.

But if we have gained in the arts, if the power of beauty is more developed than in the days of our fathers, what shall be said of our gain and loss in the other powers of life, the power of social life and manners, the power of intellect and knowledge, the power of conduct?

Have we gained or lost in the art of gentle living? Have we refined the intercourse of private life? What of our social deportment? I once asked a prominent Englishman of letters what phenomenon of our social life most impressed him

upon a second visit to America. He replied, "That children who had seemed incorrigible to him ten years before had developed into such delightful young men and women." If we have lost something of the formality and deference that once maintained, has our social intercourse yet gained in naturalness and sincerity?

What of our gain and loss in the realm of knowledge? There can be no question that we have gained enormously in technical knowledge, but are we assimilating this technical knowledge, do we see the significance of facts in terms of life, have we the intellectual poise and equilibrium of our fathers, the philosophical hold upon things? Has our intellectual horizon been enlarged, or have we so trained ourselves as specialists that we have ceased to be philosophers? Has the vast acquisition of facts discouraged us from the effort to view life in a catholic and synthetic spirit? Are the present-day students really being educated? Is the Rousselian theory, the theory that education must place no restraint upon the child, but must merely help him to expand in the emotional instincts, which is so large a factor in shaping our pedagogical theories to-day, is this theory producing a race who achieve intellectual self-realization, or is it producing a race of flabby minds, minds essentially cowardly and self-indulgent? What shall be said of the great scientific drift? Has it precipitated us far on the way toward the goal of intellectual self-realization, or has it induced us to sell our intellectual birthright for a mess of potage? Is it giving us more scrupulous standards for the operations of the mind, or is the truth rather to be found in the conclusion of the editor of the most exacting of American weeklies when he remarks that "After dealing for a number of years with manuscripts prepared for publication by college professors of the various faculties, I have been forced to the conclusion that science, in itself, is likely to leave the mind in a state of relative imbecility." Again, has science so usurped education that the emotions are being left untrained, so that, stunted or rank as the case may be, they remain apathetic before the great drama of life, or betray us into wild and uncouth frivolity? In short, so far as the power of intellect and knowledge is concerned, is our stock appreciating or depreciating in value?

Again, have we gained or lost in the power of conduct? Have we more, or less, self-control than we had a generation ago? We have undoubtedly made great advancement in bettering the conditions under which the lower classes work and live, and as a whole we are better off physically than we were; now has this change made us more sensitive or less sensitive to moral and spiritual values? Through our social improvement propoganda, have we laid foundations upon which we are erecting a spiritual structure, or have we merely prepared for ourselves and our fellows a fools' paradise?

How fares religion among us? Has the Church less of a hold than it had? Is the busy minister of to-day busy with the Lord's business, or with man's busy-ness? Have religious organizations become so absorbed in freeing bodies that they are forgetting to free souls, and, in their practical activities, have they broken that contact with God which alone can sustain the Church?

Is the new theology which philosophical science has formulated, the theology which looks for the Infinite within the stream of nature itself instead of apart from that stream, which makes God himself a part of the process of evolution, is this theology, which seems to have swept most of us, consciously or unconsciously, into its stream, an abiding contribution to man's knowledge of the Infinite, or is it merely a pathetic attempt on the part of man to formulate a religion out of the fatuous effort to lift himself by his own boot-straps? Is it but "the ghost of Protestantism, sitting on its ashes, not enthroned but gibbering"?

In conclusion, is the intellectual fertility of man putting a strain upon his moral and spiritual fibre which it is not tough enough to withstand? Whither are we bound? Is the little fair-haired boy who stands beside me as I write these closing lines, this little lad whom I have helped to call here from the great Unknown, is he to behold and to be a part of the mad suicide of a race that could not use sanely the very powers that it had developed, or is he to behold and to be a part of an onward movement of humanity,

> On, to the bound of the waste,
> On, to the City of God?

THE BEET SUGAR INDUSTRY AND ITS RELATION TO NATIONAL ECONOMICS

BY TRUMAN G. PALMER
SECRETARY OF THE BEET SUGAR ASSOCIATION

The people of the United States consume more sugar than do those of any other country in the world. The annual consumption of sugar in the United States during the fiscal year 1914-15 amounted to over four and one-quarter million tons, or about one-fifth of the total world production of sugar. With the exception of Great Britain, the United States is the only country of any magnitude which imports sugar to any great extent. During the fiscal year 1914-15, the United States consumed 4,313,292 tons of sugar, of which 22.5 per cent was produced in Continental United States from beets grown in the middle and western states and from cane grown in Louisiana and other southern states; 25.4 per cent. was produced in our insular possessons; and 52.1 per cent. was imported from Cuba and other foreign countries, practically all of it being imported from Cuba.

The people of the United States annually send abroad over one hundred million dollars for the purchase of sugar which could be produced within the continental borders of the country, and thereby enrich American farmers, manufacturers, laborers, railroads, etc., instead of the people of foreign lands.

The conditions for producing the country's sugar supply at home are ideal. The United States has an exceptional agricultural climate, unexcelled virgin soils, an intelligent and well-to-do farming population, and an area of 274,000,000 acres of land adaptable to sugar beet culture. If, in addition to the present domestic sugar beet acreage, one million of this 274,000,000 acres were planted with sugar beets, the United States would cease importing sugar from foreign countries and become independent of the world's sugar markets.

Germany and Austria-Hungary, the two largest beet sugar producing countries of the world, with an area of about one-tenth, and a population 15 per cent. greater than that of the United States, produce, under normal peace conditions, not only enough sugar to supply their home consumption, but annually export over two million tons. Prior to the outbreak of war in Europe, these two countries supplied Great Britain with more than 60 per cent. of its sugar supply.

The price of sugar, in common with the price of other commodities, is dependent upon the law of supply and demand. As a factor in the world's economics, the production of beet sugar has wielded a widespread beneficial influence, not only through adding hundreds of millions of dollars to the wealth of the nations engaged in this industry, but by reducing the cost of this necessary food commodity throughout the world.

Before the birth of the beet sugar industry in France, at the beginning of the nineteenth Century, the world had depended solely upon the cane sugar industry of the tropics for its sugar supply. While the world consumption of sugar at that time was small, the supply was insufficient to meet the demand, and as a consequence, sugar was a luxury which only could be purchased by people of considerable wealth. The price ranged in various countries from thirty cents to one dollar a pound.

From being purely a tropical industry, the production of sugar, by reason of the establishment of the beet sugar industry, has spread to the temperate zone and the world now is supplied from two sources instead of one. Since the inception of the beet sugar industry the world production of sugar has increased twenty fold. Of the twenty million tons of sugar annually produced in the world, one-half is derived from sugar beets, and to-day sugar has become one of the cheapest food commodities to be had.

Although the demand for sugar has increased amazingly, and the people of the United States annually consume two and one-half times as much sugar per capita as they consumed in 1870, sugar had not, during the decade preceding the present war in Europe, participated in the universal and extraordinary upward price movement of other staple food pro-

ducts. In fact, while the price of other food products has increased from 60 to 100 per cent. the price of sugar has declined more steadily and to a greater extent than the price of other commodities has risen. The present American family sugar bill for two and one-half times the quantity of sugar is less than it was for the smaller amount consumed forty-five years ago. The reason the price of sugar declines to follow the general upward trend of prices of other commodities is that the latter are the product either of the tropics or the temperate zone, but not of both, whereas both the tropical and the temperate zones produce sugar in such great quantities that as a rule the world's markets are glutted with the surplus products.

One can realize the wonderful change brought about in the purchase price of sugar when it be considered that a pound of sugar which is purchased from the grocer is produced as a result of years of close application of science, a season's constant toil in the fields, the employment of vast quantities of machinery and capital, the application of numerous chemical processes, and that after it is manufactured, it is shipped thousands of miles and laid down at the door of the consumer for the same, and sometimes less money than he pays for a pint of milk which is brought in from the suburbs almost before it has lost the warmth of the cow.

It is interesting to note the effect of the domestic beet sugar crop upon the price of sugar in the United States. There are seventy-five beet sugar factories in this country, scattered from Ohio in the East, to California in the West, During the 1915-16 campaign, sixty-seven of these factories produced 874,220 tons of sugar. This product is white granulated sugar ready for the table and comes to the market in October of each year, where it enters into competition with the foreign raw sugar imported and refined by our seaboard refineries. Whenever and wherever this competition takes place, the price of sugar is materially reduced to the consumer. As an illustration, the conditions which prevailed in our sugar markets in 1911 may be cited. Because of drought, a shortage of 2,000,000 tons in the sugar crop of western Europe occurred, and as a result, the New York wholesale price of imported sugar rose from five cents a pound on June 29th, to

seven and one-half cents per pound on September 21st, a rise of 50 per cent. in twelve weeks, and it would have gone even higher had not the domestic beet sugar crop then come on the market. Within ten weeks after this occurred, and because of this domestic competition, the price of the imported product fell to five and three-quarter cents per pound, thus saving American consumers many millions of dollars. The price of sugar in the United States is lowered each year when the domestic beet sugar crop comes to the market and rises again as soon as that crop is all marketed. This marketing period lasts from four to five months of the year, and as the price of sugar to the American consumer is lowered during this period, it is fair to assume that by expanding the beet sugar industry in this country to the extent of producing sufficient sugar to compete during the entire year with the foreign raw sugar imported and refined at our seaboards, the price of this commodity would be lowered during twelve months instead of but four to five months as it is at the present time.

As stated before, a century ago Europe derived its entire raw sugar supply from the tropics and merely refined it when imported. To-day, with the exception of Great Britain, and of Norway which is too far north, no European country imports any considerable quantity of foreign tropical raw sugar and refines it for domestic consumption. The business is obsolete, a relic of past ages, driven out by the advent of beet-sugar production, a modern, up-to-date method which has been the most potential influence in Europe's marvelous agricultural development.

For fifteen years I have made a careful personal study of the sugar industry in the United States, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and some portions of the tropics. In the above named countries of Europe, I have met or studied the writings of their leading agriculturists, economists and other thinking men, and without exception, they state that the culture of sugar beets raises the standard of their agricultural methods as does no other crop, rids their fields of noxious growth, puts their soil in better condition, increases by 25 to 80 per cent. the acreage yield of all other crops grown in rotation, and annually saves them from sending several

hundred million dollars to the tropics to purchase a necessary food commodity.

In no beet sugar country visited was there found a disposition to regret its establishment or the money it cost to establish it. Germany alone spent over $351,000,000 in export bounties in order to encourage the industry. It is recognized universally as the father of modern scientific agriculture, and the culture of beets has so greatly increased the European acreage yield of all other crops grown in rotation as to make American yields look insignificant in comparison.

In the European system of agriculture, a hoed root crop of some kind forms the basis of the entire structure, and it is a demonstrable fact that the acreage yield of cereals in the different countries of Europe corresponds with the proportion of cultivated area which is devoted to hoed root crops, the greatest yields being found where the fields are most frequently devoted to roots.

Germany, under normal conditions, is the largest beet sugar producing country in the world, and through rotating cereal crops with sugar beets one year in four, that country has increased the acreage yield of cereals over 80 per cent. during the past thirty years, while the acreage yield in this country has remained practically stationary. To-day German farmers produce from one acre of their once wornout soils, double the number of bushels of grain that American farmers produce from our virgin soils.

The German Government has changed its former policy of assisting emigration because of inability to feed or employ a population of but 30,000,000, and now with a population of 65,000,000 to 70,000,000, that country produces 75 per cent. of its foodstuffs and annually imports 800,000 seasonal workers from Russia and Galicia to work in the fields and factories. At the present time Germany is enabled, in the face of a British blockade, to sustain and feed a population three-fourths as large as that of the United States from an area considerably less than that of the State of Texas.

Through governmental aid and encouragement, there are at the present time over 1,500 beet sugar factories scattered

over Continental Europe. If the United States had but one-third this number of beet sugar factories, not only would it keep at home hundreds of millions of dollars which now are sent abroad for the purchase of sugar, but there would be added other hundreds of millions to our national wealth by reason of the increased yields of all cereal crops. As a consequence, American farmers would be benefited by raising practically double the amount of their present grain crops, with very little additional labor and expense, and this increased yield naturally would lower the price of all breadstuffs to consumers throughout the country.

ARCHITECTURAL RESTORATIONS IN SPAIN

BY THE MARQUIS DE LA VEGA INCLAN

Extracts from a Letter, Dated the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Royal Tourist Commission, January, 1916.

In compliance with the commands of my King, I have completed the restoration and strengthening of the former Synagogue of the Transit in Toledo, the most important edifice of the Spanish mudéjar art of the fourteenth century, which was threatened with ruin. I am sending to the Institute some photographs of its present condition, forming a library of studies in Hebrew; for the origin of the monument in question was a synagogue founded by Simuel (sic) Levi, treasurer and favorite of King Pedro I. of Castile. When this work was done, I continued with the installation of the House and Museum of "El Greco" in Toledo, which has also been completed.

In Seville, His Majesty bade me take up the problem of cheap dwelling-houses; and in little over a year I have finished the erection of two buildings in the best part of Seville, surrounded by gardens and large enough for five hundred tenants. Furthermore, I have established a school for small children, and every tenant will have the right to a bit of garden and kitchen-garden in order that he may learn how to cultivate the ground, it being obligatory upon each to have a mulberry tree so as to stimulate the production of silk and restore an old classical Spanish industry.

This labor concluded, by order also of my King, I have carried on a certain amount of reinforcement in the Alcázar of Seville, laying bare, in the process, a courtyard of the time of the Califate, about the twelfth century. His Majesty being desirous that this work should serve as a model so as to avoid the deplorable restorations commonly made which, through exaggerated restorations, destroy that which should be respected, and by obliterating bits of art, history and tradition until then preserved in the ancient stones. I send also

a number of illustrations of the work done in connection with the Alcázar of Seville and of the new gardens which the King has decided to have laid out on vacant land, and of the kitchen-garden near the Alcázar.

In Seville, likewise, in the oldest ward and the one nearest the royal residence I have had some old dwellings rebuilt, not only that the ward shall not lose the character of its streets and squares, but chiefly to have them accommodate American students who may come to study the history of America and of Spanish art in the Archives of the Indies, the Colombine Library, the cathedral and all the monumental treasures that Seville possesses. Because of the war these buildings have not yet been occupied. They will accommodate some 80 to 100 students, and are provided with studios for those who may be sent to study painting in Spain. The habitations in question have been applied for by certain universities in California and other institutions of the sort in the United States. The houses are now completely finished, retaining their ancient aspect, but providing the comfort derived from a bath-room, heating, gardens and other necessities demanded nowadays by modern culture and custom.

Finally, at this moment I am getting ready the house in Valladolid in which Cervantes lived, along with two adjacent buildings. This work of enlightenment, rendering homage to Cervantes and the Castilian tongue, I must ascribe to the Institute, for it was inaugurated by a member of it, the distinguished American, Mr. Archer M. Huntington. When the King of Spain learned of the conversations which I had had with Mr. Huntington on this point, he wished to become associated with and to collaborate in the work of the hispanophile, whom the King esteems so much, and for whom he has so special a regard. The house in which Cervantes lived will serve as a memorial museum, so that all who esteem that immortal figure may come to do him homage. Another of the houses will serve as a meeting place for lectures and conferences, where daily homage may be devoted to the Castilian speech, through the reading of parts of the works of Cervantes. Similarly, in the third dwelling, will be installed a modest printing establishment as a sign of life, which may

bear to all the libraries and book collections of the world bits and fragments of "Quijote" and of the works of Cervantes set up on the modest press of the "House of Cervantes."

When this work is over, which I hope may be the last, I think of asking for a rest, and my greatest ambition would be to visit more in detail that beautiful country over there of which I have such pleasing recollections, and in particular the very flattering one of being a member of the National Institue of Social Sciences.

THOSE WHO MARCH

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

(From the *New York Tribune*, June 22, 1916.)

It is no little thing, this marching of the first hundreds of our volunteer soldiers. Despite the fact that the crowds that collect disperse, the bands pass and the flags come down again, those days on which our young men go forth to serve must remain forever memorable in our history and in our hearts.

On the foundation of such sacrifice as this volunteering supplies is built the whole edifice of our national life. All that we have, that we own, that America means to Americans and to the world, flows from the sacrifice of lives, flows from the willing and ready response of the hundreds and thousands to the call of our common country.

Not all the years that have passed since the first soldiers, soldiers only in the fact that they carried muskets, assembled on Lexington Green to this present hour have changed the fundamental fact that if men have a faith, a loyalty, a clinging to ideas and to ideals, to a dream of a race and of a country, they must be prepared to fight for them, to die for them, from time to time.

In 1775, in 1812, in 1846, in 1861, in 1898 and now in 1916, Americans have marched. Not a generation has been entirely free from sacrifice, and on several there has been laid a burden almost beyond endurance. To-day that which threatens seems a little war. No such effort as Germany or France is now making, no such need of volunteers as Britain has faced and met is foreseen or even conceived. Yet not less great, not less real is the sacrifice that is asked of the thousands who are going.

The departure of troops for war or even toward war is the most unreal thing in human life. Those who go first are young, proud with the sense of new dignity and duty, glad as youth is always glad when adventure beckons and the romance of service calls. They march before us, bringing our

cheers, perhaps calling forth our tears, too, but it is a spectacle about which there is only that which inspires.

But when they are gone the change comes. Slowly, steadily the realization arrives. Those who marched from us to camp disappear from the camp into the distance, which at the horizon meets the thing we call vaguely "the front." Little by little there come back the veracious chronicles of suffering, of hardship, at last a sacrifice and death. Those who went so willingly and so gladly become in a sense a sacred memory.

It is a cruel thing, this penalty that life exacts of a nation. It is a brutal tax, this blood tax which is laid upon successive generations. And yet we who cannot escape it are compelled, at the last, to see, with the cruelty, the splendor, the transformation in the lives of those who go and those who stay, that the great fact works. So much that is mean and ignoble slips out of the lives of the people whose sons and brothers and husbands are doing something heroic and unselfish for all of us and for what our nation means.

It is in this sense, with sadness, with a feeling of bitterness at the necessity of sacrifice, with a sense of pride in the grandeur of the thing done, that we shall now watch the best of another generation of Americans leaving us for a duty whose extent may not yet be measured or circumscribed.

For those who have marched, for the survivors of '61 and '98, what is now taking place brings a very real sense of tragedy. From them the future is not hid. They see the long drudgery, the privation, the weariness, the pain and the agony that may lie ahead. In their own time they have seen other generations march out in the sunshine of the first hours and beyond into the darkness of camp, battlefield and hospital. Behind all that is brilliant, stirring, appealing they perceive that which is terrible.

Yet seeing all this, they can put it aside to rejoice that the spirit that existed when they marched and when those who marched with them and did not come back were also young still survives, that the same flag is carried by hands not less worthy and defended by hearts not less indomitable.

It is, indeed, no little thing that is taking place in our lives to-day. Rather it is something so big and enduring that it must crowd out the common and trivial cares and concerns of

our lives. Thousands of men, young, surrounded by all that happiness, and comfort can bestow, are willingly, gladly, giving up what life holds of present promise and of future hope, giving up all they have and all they hope to have, because a single word has been spoken, the simple call of duty has come.

The glory of war that is the tinsel and the uniform, the pomp and the ceremony, is an empty sham. But the glory of war that is the duty, the sacrifice, the unselfishness, the submission of the individual to the common weal, is an enduring fact. And it is this fact that stands disclosed to us to-day in all its true nobility.

No man can now say how far those whom we love and send are to march. No man or woman can foresee now to what dangers, to what perils, they are not willingly but yet with complete consent sending those they love. We shall not easily keep our tears back; we shall not even in our pride completely control our sorrow. There has been asked of us the greatest sacrifice that can be demanded. We have made it. More one cannot say.

But for those who march, with what wishes for good fortune, with how many prayers for their safety, with what pride in their devotion they are going! Their action has lifted us all out of the sordidness of our everyday concerns, their willingness to go has brought a new, a nobler understanding to us of our country and our race. Because of them we have again lived through a great day—another great day in our history.

And whatever of pain, of trial, of sacrifice may still be demanded of those who have gone of one thing they must remain assured: our love, our admiration, our faith is all with them. What they have done makes all that we can say seem trivial; it is not by word that we shall even try to appraise their deeds. They have not failed us. In so far as we are able we shall not fail them.

RECENT DISCOVERIES BY W. H. BALLOU

Radulum Ballouii.—When Dr. W. H. Ballou found this plant growing on the living limbs of the White Cedar (Chamaecyparis thyoides) in New Jersey, he found a novelty, which Saccardo compiled as Hydnum balouii, although it is not a Hydnum. It is a novelty from several points of view. It is a Radulum in the sense of definition by Fries. Its teeth are not awl-shaped as in the genus Hydnum, but obtuse and tubercular. It is the second species of the genus ever found. It has a hard, woody texture. Only one other ligneous Hydnaceous plant is known, and the two should be put in one new genus. Then again, Radulum ballouii impresses me as most peculiar in its habits. It grows upon the living branches near the top of the tree, apparently not attacking the wood. I would not state that it is an epiphyte (like an orchid), but it looks that way. When growing, the teeth are golden yellow. When old, the plants loosen and fall from the limbs. It is curious that no one has found this plant previously, but its habitat, near the tops of the trees, and the difficulty of access to the white cedar swamps no doubt accounts for it.—Prof. C. G. Lloyd in *Mycological Notes*, Lloyd Institute, Cincinnati.

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Boletus Ballouii.—This is a beautiful mushroom, collected in the oak groves at Deal Beach, N. J. Its cap is orange color, its tubes white, and its stem nearly the color of the cap.

Russula Ballouii.—Discovered at Bullshead, Staten Island. This peppery mushroom has a yellow cap with brick red scales in centre, pale yellow gills and yellow stem.

Mycena Splendidipes.—This is a beautiful little mushroom, but poisonous. Its discoverer, venturing to eat a cap in the interest of science, was made sick by the experiment, and has furnished a warning to all future generations of its dangerous qualities.

PSILOCYBE FUSCOFOLIA.—Discovered on Staten Island. An edible mushroom, growing in vast clusters around stumps and in crevices of rocks. Found generally in suburbs of New York.

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PSILOCYBE GRAVEOLENS.—Discovered in the salt marshes of the Hackensack, N. J., environs, or "meadows." Remarkable for its strong and persistent odor. Specimens range from golden yellow to pure white. As the mushroom grows in very rich loam, it has possibly high edible qualities.—Prof. Charles H. Peck, in *New York State Botanical Reports*.

* * *

POLPORUS BALLOUII.—Discovered on Staten Island, at Bullshead. A remarkable form of Polyporus rufescens of Europe. Since its discovery it has been found and forwarded by the Rev. C. Torrend from Brazil. I have never received a species with spores so minute. Pure white, aging pale yellow, tough and woody in texture, attached with stem to roots of living oaks and on the trunks in bracket form.—Prof. C. G. Lloyd, in *Letter No. 49*, Lloyd Institute, Cincinnati.

The monthly bulletin, *Health News*, published by The New York State Department of Health, of which Hermann M. Biggs, M.D., is Commissioner, says in its June number: "A new impetus was given to public health nursing in New York State by the enactment of general amendments to the Public Health Law and to the Education Law during the 1913 session of the Legislature. The amendment to the Education Law authorized local boards of education to employ school nurses to assist in controlling communicable disease in schools and to take part in the physical examination of school children and the amendment to the Public Health Law authorized local boards of health to employ public health nurses whose qualifications shall be determined by the Public Health Council of the State and who shall work under the direction of the local health officer. These two laws made the first official recognition of public health nursing in New York State.

"Since the enactment of these two laws the number of nurses employed by local boards of education and local boards of health has steadily increased until now there are 81 communities outside of New York City that have public health nurses employed either in school inspection work or in public health work, under the direction of the local health officer, or employed in both capacities.

"Constant demands are being made upon the Department of Health of the State for assistance in securing nurses who can interpret vital statistics, who can study the causes of infant mortality and render aid in removing these causes, who can supervise midwives, who can assist in the detection of cases of tuberculosis and other communicable diseases, who are familiar with the various methods of securing admission of tuberculous patients to suitable hospitals and sanatoria, and who can not only be of assistance in ascertaining physical defects in school children but who also have the ability to assist in having these defects remedied.

"The State Department of Health realizes the importance of this nursing work and desires to render assistance with the limited forces at its command to all public health nurses throughout the State, hoping that through its supervising nurses and sanitary supervisors it may steadily increase the value of public health nursing.

"This Nation," says Judge Joseph Buffington, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, addressing citizens recently naturalized, "was built by building up; it was not built by tearing down. Our flag was made by sewing its stripes together, not by tearing them apart; by sewing stars on, not by ripping them off its field of blue. And that flag waves to lead us on so long only as willing hands hold it up. And it is in this helpful spirit—helpful to home, to school, to church, to neighbors, to country—you should start out to claim a helpful, hopeful, and happy American citizenship for yourselves. For, added to law and order, I want you to remember that on those great factors the home, the school, the church, the future of our country bottoms. These are the things that have made America the country to which you wanted

to come, and it is your duty to help in upholding them. Make every effort to keep your children in the schools. Stand by the school-teacher. Teach your child to honor and respect the teacher, for you can no more afford to undermine the teacher in your child's eyes than you would stand for the teacher undermining the parent in the child's regard. And just now I want to say that, in my judgment, there is no more patriotic, far-reaching work being done in our country to-day than in the Americanization of our foreign-born children through the quiet, faithful, day-in-and-day-out work of our school-teachers. The school is America's method of reaching the foreign-born adult through his American-taught child. I know whereof I speak in that regard. The eight and ten year old child of the incoming foreigner becomes in a couple of months, through the school-teacher, the dominant factor in the foreign home. Through its rapid gaining of English that child becomes the sole means of communication for that family with the outside world, and through that child to the measure that American patriotism, American institutions, American justice, and American life are embodied in that teacher, are they carried into that home. And no one who visits on a patriotic holiday our schools in neighborhoods where the foreign-born children predominate can feel aught but a deep assurance of the safety of our country's future when he sees the outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual patriotism the American school-teacher is implanting in these foreign-born children, eager to become American in every way, to salute and revere its flag, to learn its history and the story of its great founders and patriots. Let the theorist who does not know the foreign born, but who bewails the evils of foreign immigration, ask the school-teacher about the problem. His eyes will be opened. The truth is we Americans have not gotten into touch in our citizenship, in our churches, in any practical way with the foreign born. Apart from the school-teacher for the foreign-born child, we as native-born Americans have largely relegated intercourse with the foreign born to the saloon keeper, the padrone, the foreign born anarchist, and the native born demagogue."

In speaking of certain experiments tried at the Abington Memorial Hospital, Mr. George W. Elkins, its donor says: "There is one thought I have which in my judgment should be made as public as possible for the benefit of those who may have in mind the building of a similar institution, and that is this: In the deed of gift I had incorporated that any recognized school of medicine could be practised, provided it is authorized by the laws of the state of Pennsylvania. I had appointed on the staff the best and ablest men of the Allopathic and Homeopathic Schools, and to my great gratification these noble men are working in perfect harmony and it is no longer a question what school a man belongs to. Every man is working for results, and if there is any better team work than this staff is getting I do not know where it is or how it is possible."

The United States Government Safety First Special Train, consisting of twelve modern steel cars filled with exhibits illustrating the various activities of the Federal Government, left Washington, Monday, May 1st, over the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad system for a tour of the cities and towns of the country.

This train was suggested by The Honorable Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, who believed that the Safety First Exposition, held at the National Museum in February, would prove highly instructive to the rest of the country. President Daniel Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, placed at the disposition of Mr. Lane, a train whose equipment was valued at nearly a quarter of a million dollars. Van H. Manning, Director of the Bureau of Mines, was named by Secretary Lane as the executive officer in charge of the train as representing the Federal Government, with Morton F. Leopold as assistant, and nine cars of the train were devoted to the exhibits of the various bureaus.

An entire car was devoted to the Bureau of Mines exhibits, and contained a complete representation of the rescue apparatus used by the Bureau of Mines, including a full set of the oxygen mine rescue apparatus, a rescue telephone, safety lamps, oxygen resuscitators, and a graphic illustration of the work of first aid to the injured. The second car of the In-

terior Department contained the exhibits of the National Parks Service and the Reclamation Service.

The Treasury Department was represented by a car devoted to the Public Health Service and another to the Coast Guard Service. The Public Health Service car contained a dramatic representation of rural sanitation and dealt with the difficult problems of pure water supply and proper sanitation in country districts. The Coast Guard Service showed a full size surf power lifeboat and also the famous breeches buoy. Both of these exhibits attracted unusual attention in the inland towns where nothing like them had ever been seen.

The American Red Cross exhibit contained illustrations of the methods being used by the Red Cross in teaching first aid to the injured to workmen throughout the country.

The Department of Agriculture was represented by the Weather Bureau, the Forest Service, and the Bureau of Animal Industry. The feature of the Weather Bureau exhibit was a mammoth weather map which was being made up each day, giving the people an accurate idea of the weather conditions prevailing in all parts of the United States at that time. The Forest Service had an illustration of the effects of deforesting the watersheds. The model contained two miniature mountains, one covered with evergreen growth and the other barren. Water was turned on both of these mountains to represent rain fall. On the deforested mountain a constant corrosion of the soil followed with flooded conditions in the valley below, while on the forested area the rain fall was held and trickled down into the valley in a lazy stream of clear water with no flood effects.

The Navy Department exhibit contained a machine gun, a white-head torpedo, a six-pound gun used as a defense against submarines and other similar devices of warfare, giving the people some idea of how the United States attempts to keep up its preparedness against attack. "Preparedness is Safety First," was the motto. The Navy exhibit also contained a portable wireless apparatus used on submarines which was in use at each stopping place, picking up the news of the world from the Arlington wireless station.

The War Department was represented by its Medical Corps and the Corps of Engineers. Gas masks, like those used in

the European war as a preventive against gas poisoning, were shown; a device used by the War Department which immediately turns the box cars of a freight train into a hospital train, and a portable water purifying apparatus like that used by the troops in Mexico. The Engineers Corps of the army is showing the equipment used in building trenches and bridges and also the equipment necessary for demolishing bridges.

An entire car was devoted to the work of the Safety Division of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In this car were found a model of the block signal system in operation, types of defective steel rails, the standard couplers for cars that have resulted in a big decrease in the death rate among trainmen, working models of passenger engines and material whose failure has led to disastrous accidents on the railroads.

CONSTITUTION AND LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

JULY, 1916

CONSTITUTION

I. ORIGIN AND NAME

This National Society, organized by the American Social Science Association, under a charter granted by Act of Congress January 28th, 1899, shall be known as THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES.

II. OBJECT

The object of this National Institute shall be to promote the study of Social Science and to reward distinguished services rendered to humanity, either by election to the National Institute, or by the bestowal of medals or other insignia.

III. MEMBERSHIP

Qualification for membership shall be notable achievement in the field of Social Science or services performed for the benefit of mankind.

IV. ELECTIONS

1. Candidates for election shall be nominated by a two-thirds vote of the council, and for election shall require a two-thirds vote of the members present at a regular or special meeting, in person or by proxy.

2. Ten citizens in good standing, of any town or city in the United States may, as a reward for special services rendered by an individual, nominate him as a candidate for election or recognition. They must forward to the Council of the National Institute through the Secretary, a detailed account of the candidate's qualifications and the nature of the service rendered.

3. Honorary Members may be elected in the same manner as members under Art. I. They may wear the ribbon of the N. I. S. S., receive medals, or both, as the Council may decide.

4. Officers and Directors of the American Social Science Association shall be *ipso facto* members of the National Institute.

V. OFFICERS

1. The Officers of the National Institute shall consist of a President, as many Vice-Presidents as the Council may from time to time nominate, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who together shall constitute the Council of the Institute.

VI. ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. Officers shall be elected by Ballot at the annual meeting.

2. A nominating committee of ten shall be nominated by the President previous to the election.

3. The Council may fill a vacancy at any time by a two-thirds vote.

VII. ANNUAL MEETING

1. The annual meeting of the Institute shall be held the third Friday in January unless otherwise ordered by the Council.

2. Special meetings may be called by the President, by three members of the Council or, by petition of one-fourth of the members of the Institute.

VIII. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

1. It shall be the duty of the President, or in his absence, the senior Vice-President, to preside at all meetings of the Institute or Council.

2. The Secretary shall keep a minute of all meetings of the Institute and of the Council, and shall be the custodian of all records.

3. The Treasurer shall take charge of all the funds of the Institute and shall make disbursements only upon the order of the Council.

IX. ANNUAL DUES

1. The annual dues for members shall be Five Dollars.

2. Honorary members shall pay One Dollar annually, and shall receive four ribbons of the Institute.

3. The Council may at its discretion reduce the dues of any member.

4. By payment of One Hundred Dollars a member may become a life member of the Institute.

X. EXPULSION

Any member may be expelled for misconduct by two-thirds vote of the Council.

XI.

1. The insignia of the NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES shall be a bow of royal purple ribbon with a white bar woven at the extremity of the loops, or a metal and enamel pin of similar design.

2. Medals of membership will bear an eagle surrounded by a wreath of oak and laurel, with the name of the Institute, stellar rays making a background for the device.

3. Presentation medals shall bear the Figure of Fame resting on a Shield, holding wreaths of laurel. The shield to bear the name of the Institute. In the left hand, the figure to hold a palm branch. The reverse to show a torch with a name plate and *Dignus Honore,* the motto of the Institute.

XII.

This Constitution may be amended, by a two-thirds vote of the Institute, upon the recommendation of the Council, or upon the request, in writing, of any five members. The Secretary shall be required to send to each member a copy of the proposed amendment, at least three weeks before the meeting at which the proposed amendment is to be considered.

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