

the prostrate bodies of citizens, a destroyer in the luxury that feasts on the flesh of boys and girls, of women and men. No longer is it possible for men to be content to have while their brothers have not. Superior privileges of any sort now carry with them the sense of shame. The disgrace of wealth, the puerility of culture, the corruption that inheres in the possession of power, are making themselves widely and deeply felt. There are few so lost as to escape the feeling that superiority is a thing to be expiated in social sacrifice. Thus the might and right of the social problem, with the immensity and intricacy thereof, is matched by the honest and searching subtlety of the new conscience. . . .

When I call this conscience Christian, I do not use the word in any professional or pietistic sense; I do not mean that any particular form of religion is, or need be, accepted. This conscience does not come in the names or terms of Christianity; it comes without observation, almost as a new religion springing up from the human soil. Its most manifest activities and evolutions are unconscious of any relation to him we call Christ. The truest Christian conscience of to-day utterly rejects that which is preached and professed as Christianity. Many things that are done in Christ's name are the things which Christ stood against, and the things he stood for are done by many who call themselves materialist or agnostic. The atheist or profligate with human sympathies and social ideals is profoundly Christian in comparison with the professional Christian of faultless morality who conserves only his religious interests and the existing order; the latter is in fact solidly atheistic. We speak of our free school as secular; but it is probably the most concrete social expression of Jesus' idea.

By the term Christian conscience I mean that quality of conscience and sympathy which suffers not a man to rest short of some altar, however rude, on which he offers his life for the common service, the social good. He refuses to drink of the fruit of the vine until he can drink it in fellowship with all his brethren in the full-come kingdom of God. Therefore doth the father love him, because he lays down his life for the sheep.

Now that which makes the ethical tragedy of the present moment is the chasm between the existing civilization and the new conscience. Civilization no longer represents the conscience of the individuals who must find therein their work. The facts and

forces which now organize industry and so-called justice violate the best instincts of mankind. The social crisis discloses conscience and civilization becoming separate entities. Civilization affords no machinery by which the Christ-spirit can express itself in things. This best force in civilization is helpless to effectuate itself in facts. The highest moral reason of the world can find no way to enforce its dictates. The best faith of the world offers no method by which the individual can obey its principles. Without regard to his conscience, the economic system involves a man in the guilt of the moral and physical death of his brothers; their blood cries to him from the adulterated and monopolized food he eats, from the sweat shop clothes he wears, from his educational advantages, his special privileges, his social opportunities. Civilization denies to man that highest right under the sun—the right to live a guiltless life.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

A year and a half ago Prof. Hadley, of Yale, made an address on railroads before the Twentieth Century club in Boston. He argued against public ownership on financial grounds, and because, as I noted his thought, "England and the United States, the most progressive and enlightened nations, have private roads, and low grade peoples have public roads."

President Mead called upon me, without warning, for a five-minute's reply. . . . I thought the statistics of rates and costs were capable of a very different interpretation, if all the circumstances were taken into account, and I could not see the propriety of calling the Germans a low-grade people. England and America may be the most progressive and enlightened nations, but that does not prove all their institutions and conditions to be good. They have more slums and sensational newspapers and stock gamblers and suicides than the "low grade" peoples, but it does not follow that these things are good. Some of the states of Germany and other "low grade" countries started with private railroads, but as they advanced in civilization and experience they came more and more to the conclusion that public roads were best. They tried both ways and found the public plan superior. England and America have only tried one plan, and the continuance of the private system is chiefly due, not to superior civilization, but to the fact that the railroad corporations have greater power over the governments than they had in the

"low grade" countries. The main point I tried to make, however, was that the discussion should rest chiefly on planes above the financial. Economy is good (and it is with the public system), but impartial, undiscriminating, efficient service and the wages and conditions of labor are the most important railroad matters. Large classes of railroad employes are reported by the United States commissioners as making only \$123, \$150 and \$300 per year per individual. The average receipts of all the railroad employes, high and low, are only about \$500 a year, while the letter carriers get \$1,000 and Boston policemen \$1,200 for fewer hours and more agreeable service. If the railroads were made public property, under reasonable civil service rules, employment would be more secure, the hours shorter, the wages higher, the service safer (through automatic couplers, block switches, better-paid labor, etc.), and the men might average as much as the carriers, or double their present wage, and thousands would be able to have comfortable homes of their own instead of getting only half or a quarter of a man's fair pay. Nine hundred dollars or \$1,000 I thought was little enough for a man to have to keep a family and raise and educate his children. The work of a man is worth \$1,000, and he ought to have it. No competent worker ought to be asked to give a year of his life for less, and the fact that the government would see that the men it employed received enough to have good homes and educate their children properly, was one of the strongest reasons for the public ownership of railroads. Good citizens, happy homes, well educated children are worth more than anything else. Civilization is with public ownership, because it tends to manhood, the fair diffusion of wealth, and a wider cooperation.

Edward Atkinson followed me upon the floor, and said it was dangerous to hold out the hope of doubling the average wage of railroad employes. Prof. Hadley also said it was dangerous doctrine to talk of paying the railway men as much as the carriers.

Dangerous doctrine? Yes, it is dangerous; but dangerous to what? To private monopolies and unjust profits—to the wastes of the compound, competitive, monopolistic system we enjoy to-day; to the trusts and combines, and the favorites that get free passes, and special rates and rebates and all the inequities and discriminations that accompany private railroading. Dangerous to whom? To Wall street gamblers in railroad stocks, to transportation

lobbies in our legislatures and at Washington; to railroad millionaires, and all the multitude of those who are not willing that others should have the privileges they enjoy or receive as much wealth as they think needful for themselves. Dangerous? Yes, but not to anything that ought not to be in danger. The dangers of the doctrine are part of its blessing—it is dangerous to injustice, and to those who live by it, or cling to it. It is not dangerous to true economy, or to good citizenship, or democracy, or just and enlightened treatment of labor. Dangerous to say that an able bodied man, working every day in the year, ought to receive enough to have a home of his own, and raise his children in comfort and culture—think of it!

It seems to me more dangerous by far to oppose the elevation of labor than to favor it. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was deemed a dangerous book in the south, and it was—to the slaveholders. But it was not dangerous to justice and brotherhood. It was only dangerous to wrong and to men and institutions linked with it. And so it will be with every effort to improve the condition of those who do the world's work, and determine, in their home and business life, the character and thought of future generations.—Prof. Frank Parsons, of Boston University, in *The Kingdom*.

That some people may live without work others must work without living.—Puck.

Journalism was once a profession; then it became a trade; to-day it's a crime.—Life.

"The American soldier has been over-estimated!"

"What? The American soldier can whip anybody!"

"Oh, yes; but some folks evidently thought he could eat anything."—Puck.

Nature's live growths crowd out and rive dead matter. Ideas strangle statutes. Pulse-beats wear down granite, whether piled in jails or capitols. The people's hearts are the only title-deeds, after all.—Wendell Phillips.

Perhaps I do not know what I was made for; but one thing I certainly never was made for; and that is, to put principles on and off at the dictation of a party, as a lackey changes his livery at his master's command.—Horace Mann.

When I hear a man complaining that some cause which he has at heart will be put back for years by a speech or a book, I suspect that his attachment to it is a prejudice; that he has no con-

sciousness of standing on a rock.—William Ellery Channing.

"I don't like you running about to strange kirks in that way. Not that I object to you hearing Mr. Dunlop, but I'm sure ye widna like yer ain sheep straying away into strange pastures." Rory—"I widna care a grain, sir, if it was better grass."—Glasgow Times.

THE POOR MAN'S CONSOLATION.

I'm thankful that the sun and moon
Are both hung up so high
That no rich robber's hand can stretch
And pull them from the sky.
If they hung low, I have no doubt,
Some corporation ass
Would legislate to take them down,
And light the world with gas.

I'm thankful that the shining stars
Are far beyond our reach,
And that the rolling planets, too,
Are deaf to human speech.
If they were near, I'm very sure,
Rich men would own the skies,
And manage this whole universe
By private enterprise.

I'm thankful that the God of all,
Whose laws we must obey,
Has changed His plan for making man
By shaping him from clay;
If He had not, it's very clear,
'Twould be a doleful case,
Some man would form a big clay trust,
And stop the human race.
—Mrs. Samuel Gregg, in the Dedham
(Mass.) Transcript.

The stars come nightly to the sky;
The tidal wave unto the sea;
Nor time, nor space, nor deep, nor high,
Can keep my own from me.

In one of its advertisements the Cass Real Estate company of New York says: "Every altruistic thought, every religious emotion, every good impulse of mind or of soul, adds to the value of Manhattan Island real estate."—The Eagle and the Serpent.

If the French army had prevented a revision of the Dreyfus sentence, or if it can now prevent a decision that will be accepted as just, the republic of France is under a military tyranny compared with which the empires of the kaiser and tsar are free and enlightened governments. — Harper's Weekly.

Uncle (to the children, who have just had a dose of codliver oil all around)—"Well, do you like codliver oil?" Children—"O, no; but mamma gives us five cents for every spoonful." Uncle—"And then do you buy something nice?" Children—"No, mamma puts it into the savings bank." Uncle—"And then you buy something by and by?" Children—"No, mamma buys more codliver oil with it."—Fliegende Blaetter.

A well-known inventor and manufac-

turer, in answer to questions about some beautiful and shapely machines which he had turned out, has told me that it is his practice, and that of the best American inventors, to seek forms for their machines that are the most elegant in their proportions, knowing that in doing so they are choosing at the same time the strongest and most economical shapes. He studied the proportions and forms of animals and plants as his models of structure, and his ideal was to get a machine to look as though "it had naturally grown that way." — W. A. Rogers, in *Harper's Weekly*.

He had sat at the other end of the sofa for about an hour, and she was getting rather tired of it.

"It would be little loss," she said at last, "if the czar's proposal to disarm were made to include you."

It sometimes takes something of this nature to jar a young man into a realization of the fact that arms are made for use.—Chicago Post.

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Single copies, five cents each.

Published weekly by

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, Room 822,
Schiller Building, Chicago, Ill.

Post-office address:

THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION AGENTS:

Western Reserve, Ohio, OTTO PRISTER, 316 American Trust Building (Telephone, Main 1069) Cleveland, Ohio.

Toronto, Ont., E. M. BLOOMER, 579 King St West.