

terms and spirit. In this order, dated November 22, 1901, he said:

To All Members of the Force: All police officers should bear in mind that, while it is their duty to suppress crime and arrest and prosecute criminals, they must not resort to illegal means to accomplish desirable results. . . . Policemen cannot afford to ignore the law even for a good purpose.

It is to be hoped that the infamous and lawless "sweat box" system, introduced into this country by the most successfully corrupt chief of police that ever disgraced the New York force, will be abolished. Judges and grand juries, if they would foster popular respect for law, must set about suppressing this official violation of law. Now that one judge has been courageous enough to stamp it with judicial condemnation, there is no excuse for tolerating it. Other judges should denounce it and grand juries should act.

If inquisitorial proceedings are necessary, let them take place only in the presence of a responsible magistrate, as in the courts of first instance in Europe, where the prisoner can have some responsible protection. Let the inquisition be no longer allowed in the inner rooms of irresponsible police detective, where the prisoner has no protection at all and is at the mercy of merciless men.

Of course a law providing for an inquisitorial examination of prisoners charged with crime would be invalid, for under the English and American theory of the administration of justice no man can be compelled to give evidence against himself. But if such proceedings would be without constitutional validity, surrounded as the prisoner would be with judicial safeguards, what shall we say of the same kind of proceedings when they are carried to the extent of cruelty by policemen unchecked by judicial restraints? On what other basis can any man justify lawless proceedings of that sort than that he has turned "anarchist" and cares nothing for the sanctity of law?

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Cincinnati, March 23.

I.

There is in this city a socialist organization which is interesting and significant for many reasons, one of them being that it holds aloof from the fatalistic sectarianism of the socialist parties. It is the Clarion club, the members of which distinguish

themselves as "Clarionets," and its leading spirit is Edward C. Wenning.

The Clarion club meets at Odd Fellows' Temple on the first and third Wednesdays of each month, and during the winter season it offers a public lecture course, in a commodious theater, the course for the present year having closed to-day.

Speaking of this club, one of its leading members describes its internal policy as being very strict, though in a rational and practical sense. "The active member," he says, "besides being a socialist, must be willing to cultivate practical organizational faculties. He must not be an indolent or slipshod socialist, but must learn how an organization should be conducted and how he should conduct himself in relation to the organization of which he has become an integral part." To promote this policy the club sternly insists upon regular attendance, and, unlike most organizations, drops members who become too remiss in that respect. Instead of weakening the club, this strictness appears to strengthen it. Absentee government, one of the weakening evils of club organization, is eliminated.

Another feature of the internal policy of the Clarion club, as explained by the same prominent member, is self-cultivation. "The club does not merely advocate socialism, but advocates rather the study of socialism. It does not seek fanatically to make miscellaneous socialists of outsiders; it seeks to make good socialists of its own members, feeling this to be the best way, in the end, of converting outsiders. Tolerating no proselyting fever, it strives to keep itself free from fanaticism, from sectarianism, from stiff-necked bigotry and from crass partisanship in socialism as in everything else. Though it holds itself faithful to the cause of socialism and to the general socialist movement, feeling and acknowledging its oneness with that, it does not believe it to be to the best interest of the socialist cause at present to cooperate with a socialist party. It believes, both upon local and general considerations, that its higher and better service would, under existing socialist party organizations, be impossible. Looking to the welfare of the socialist cause, and testing the usefulness of socialist parties by that standard, it abstains from blind or indolent partisanship and adopts instead the policy of keeping in touch with the

thought, feeling and sympathy of the masses of the people who are not yet socialists. Its members regard these people as their fellow citizens, as their own brethren, and their burdens and problems as among the burdens and problems of the club. Consequently the club inculcates the policy of helping all the people practically and progressively here and now. It believes in democracy as well as in socialism. It believes in sensible current work, as well as in the ultimate goal. It believes in bridging the way to that goal and not in expecting the people to leap the intervening chasm. And it believes that in this way the goal can be reached more surely and faster than through the existing socialist parties, yet without meanwhile in the slightest degree abandoning the socialist ideal; for it believes that socialism is democratic and that its practical policy should be progressively constructive."

By way of illustrating the methods and spirit of the club, the same leader in its counsels refers to its annual lecture course, saying:

"Here it establishes a platform for public enlightenment, where no one idea, no one creed or doctrine, no offensive or pugilistic party speeches, no shallow or trivial lectures, are in place. Neither is the platform a 'forum' for acrimonious debate or the airing of multifarious views, ignorant and ill digested, on the social problem. On the contrary, well informed and competent thinkers, men and women who are not only sincere but intelligent, and capable of explaining the truth as they see it, are the kind of speakers whom the club seeks for. Their subjects vary and their philosophies may conflict, but it is light upon these varying subjects and an understanding of these divergent philosophies that the public needs."

The Clarion club was formed hardly more than a year ago—December, 1900—but its members claim for it already a gratifying influence, both within and without the city, and both as to quality and lasting effect.

Its directing and voting members must be socialists, but it maintains a roll of associate members to which any one in general sympathy with socialism who approves the methods and desires to aid in the work of the club is admitted.

"Its socialism," says the member already quoted, "is the socialism that

is indigenous to this country, growing out of the conditions here and expressing itself in the American manner. It is a socialism that is obedient to democracy and involves democracy. While at one in many essentials of its philosophy with socialism everywhere, it adopts the distinctly American type of expression, agitation and operation. It rests upon the principle of reciprocal rights and duties, and while it stands for the rights of society, including public ownership of the means of production and distribution and of all other social capital, it stands no less sturdily for the rights of the individual, believing the rights of society and those of the individual to be not antagonistic but interdependent and reciprocal."

The unique feature of the Clarion club, as a socialist organization, according to the same member, is that "it insists upon its members' studying and understanding the fundamental truths of democratic socialism; upon their making this understanding their special duty in the club and their primary obligation to the club; and upon their thereby cultivating a fitness for conducting socialist organization with intelligence and dignity, and qualifying themselves for enlightened citizenship—for taking their place, that is, in society and conscientiously doing their social and civic duties with propriety and effect. It is not the Clarion's first ambition to run up and down the highways pinning socialist badges upon everyone who will let him, nor to applaud every crude or unintelligent action or step or piece of printing that bears the socialist label."

One significance of this Cincinnati club will be better appreciated, though its members say nothing on that point, when it is understood that both the socialist parties in American politics are dominated by and wedded to the German "scientific" socialism, which repudiates the principle of human rights and definitely aims only to build up and place in political control a class-conscious labor party, proposing then to let fatalistic "evolution go on in its inevitable course."

A socialist movement which diverges from this policy cannot but be welcomed by many who are not socialists as well as by many who are. Whoever hopes and works for better social order, in the belief that moral energy and not fatalistic evolution is the superior social force, that right and not might is the true social ideal, and that laborers are entitled to own as private property the wealth that represents their varying contributions to production, must look with satisfaction upon this Cincinnati movement. And its common sense method of keep-

ing in touch with the common sentiment of the time and taking advantage of opportunities to advance its ultimate purpose, instead of segregating its membership, must appeal to earnest men who are also practical. Of its specific purpose, however, there can be but one opinion among all who have learned to distinguish things that essentially differ. When its members think of labor products being in the category of "social capital," thus confusing the essential and vitally important differences between capital which is artificial and that which is natural, and in consequence propose the public ownership and management of both kinds of capital, they become responsible for a proposition which can neither endure the test of discriminating analysis nor survive a logical comparison with their own fundamental principles.

## II.

Another significant institution of Cincinnati, much older and replete with historic experience and suggestiveness, while likewise of universal interest in connection with social questions, is the old Vine street church. As you enter the vestibule your eye catches the inspiring legend, inscribed over the outer door, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," a legend which is peculiarly appropriate to this truly religious temple. No less uplifting are the inscriptions, handsomely lettered upon the inner walls on every side. They are worth quoting as indications of the vital spirituality of this unique Christian church:—

Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.—Jesus.

Our country is the world; our countrymen are mankind.—Garrison.

Life without labor is guilt; labor without art is brutality.—Ruskin.

Far, far beyond our ken, the eternal laws must hold their sway.—Henry George.

The God who gave us life gave us liberty.—Jefferson.

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves.—Lincoln.

He does not really believe his own opinions who dares not give free scope to his opponent.—Wendell Phillips.

He who would gather immortal palms must not be hindered by the name of goodness, but must explore if it be goodness.—Emerson.

No consecrated absurdity would have stood its ground in this world if the man had not silenced the objections of the child.—Michelet.

He's true to God who is true to Man.—Lowell.

We cannot be saved separately; we must be saved all together.—Tolstoy.

They should be first among all who contribute most by their labor to the good of all.—Mazzini.

Those who make private property of the gift of God, pretend in vain to be innocent.—Pope Gregory the Great.

What does the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.—Micah.

It is the evening service which we attend in this historic and inviting sanctuary of the God who reigns on earth as well as in heaven. A spacious low platform, backed by a large organ, with a desk far to one side and a choir

at the other, occupies the rear of the auditorium. As the sound of the organ subsides the pastor advances to the reading desk. There are few of the conventionalities of church service. A prayer when the occasion inspires one, but at other times the scriptural injunction:

When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, for they love to pray standing in the synagogues. . . . but thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet—

is obeyed. A few announcements, among others a weekly economic class in the Sunday-school room, a daily free kindergarten in another of the church apartments, a fortnightly social gathering, also in the Sunday-school room, at which one learns that dancing is not tabooed. Then a hymn by the choir, one reading from the new testament story of the temptations of the Nazarene, and another from Ernest Crosby's "Plain Talks in Psalm and Parable," and the sermon begins.

The preacher's smooth shaven face reveals a jaw too finely chiseled to be brutal, but massive and firmly set, suggesting extraordinary powers of patient endurance; while all the face above is expressive of the gentleness, charity and unaffected humility which are known to be characteristic of the man. His sermon has been carefully prepared, but is extemporaneous in delivery; and, in spite of flashes of eloquence that thrill the sedate church audience almost to the point of secular applause, the rhetoric and the elocution are so natural that the preacher seems to be conversing earnestly, heart to heart, with each individual listener.

The subject is "The Temptations of Jesus." The miraculous is disregarded, the preacher inferring from the narrative of the temptations that it is an allegorical representation of inward experiences of this great man of Palestine. His abilities were transcendent, and for a time he was popular. Why should he not selfishly conquer the kingdoms of the world? That temptation the narrator had symbolized by the story of the temptation on the mountain top. And then, why not turn his abilities to making wealth? This temptation was symbolized by the taunting challenge, when he was hungry, to turn stones into bread. Once more temptation comes. Alone in his teachings, all the wealthy and learned and respectable saying he was crazy and his own family suspecting it, he began to doubt himself, began to doubt that what he taught was right; and this is symbolized by the challenge to cast himself from the pinnacle on which he stood, and thereby test the genuineness of what he supposed to be his mission. These are the great temptations that come to all men of ability who forsake the good things of this world which they might