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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor

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EDITORIAL

Rumors are once more rife of an exposure by the grand jury, of "graft" in connection with labor organizations in Chicago (p. 145), and this time the rumors flutter disagreeably near to some very respectable employers of labor.

So close, indeed, do those ugly rumors come to some of these pretenders to respectability and good conscience, that their apologists are busy warding off the anticipated blows at their reputations for goodness, by characterizing as blackmail the bribes they are suspected of having given to labor leaders.

Well, blackmail or bribe, what difference would it make? Some, to be sure. The man who submits

to blackmail such as labor leaders are accused of levying as a consideration for betraying their trust, is immoral from motives of cowardice; the man who bribes labor leaders to betray their trust, is immoral from motives of greed of gain and lust of power. We may pity the coward who pays blackmail, and not the scamp who tempts with a bribe. But, after all, cowardice does not excuse culpability.

And in fact, payments by employers to labor leaders—which stand confessed when "blackmail" is pleaded in extenuation, which also stand confessed when labor leaders are accused of taking graft, for the taking of graft implies a giver of graft,—they are in fact not paid as blackmail, whether apparently so levied or not. They are paid as bribes, and in pursuance of a deliberate policy that certain classes of employers have adopted and in which large employers generally have acquiesced. Leroy Scott's novel, "The Walking Delegate," is a faithful portrayal of actual conditions in this respect.

It is matter of common knowledge in plutocratic circles, knowledge to which almost any habitue of such clubs for instance as the Union League could testify if he would, that business men in Chicago have tacitly agreed that the best way to manage organized workingmen is to "buy their leaders." As to New York employers, the fact came out in the Sam Parks prosecutions. This method of fighting the labor movement by "buying labor leaders," reaches the depths of meanness, even if it does not cross the borders of business into the realm of crime. In comparison with it, the levying of blackmail, which is so freely charged against those leaders, rises almost to the lower levels of high finance. It is to be hoped that both may be exposed, and, if there is any law to reach such

cases, that the perpetrators of both will be punished. Some reason to expect such an outcome is afforded by the public activities of the public prosecutor here. Yet he appears to have taken the attorney for the employers' union somewhat too closely into his official confidence if he really intends to drive his investigations home.

Out of all the indications of labor graft, the rank and file of labor unionists ought to be intelligent enough to extract a valuable lesson or two. Whether the graft be blackmail or bribe, it is the same to them: either way, their trust is betrayed. It behooves them, then, to adopt methods of fighting for their economic rights which shall not place them so easily at the mercy of employers who buy their leaders and of leaders who sell them out. But this they cannot do so long as they depend upon the labor strike as their weapon of warfare. That kind of warfare necessitates the trusting of leaders; and, with the overwhelming temptations of bribes running up into thousands of dollars, even honest leaders to whom a thousand dollars in a lump seems like the fortune of a Monte Cristo, are in danger of falling. This is not labor-leader nature, as men whose price is higher would have us suppose; it is human nature.

At any rate the strike is an antiquated weapon which is becoming more and more ineffectual. Combinations of men dependent for the livelihood of their families upon daily work at poor pay, cannot long prevail against combinations of men who control millions of capital. In these circumstances the strike is not a contest between many workingmen and a few business men; it is a contest between many workingmen and many other workingmen. As in all other forms of physical warfare, the business men hire workingmen to do their fighting for them. This is an advantage

which in the long run labor organizations cannot overcome. They may make matters uncomfortable for employers, they may deplete their capital and disorganize their business, and in such ways discourage them from resisting future strikes if fair settlements are possible; but these possibilities dwindle as employers' organizations increase their effectiveness.

Besides that disadvantage, striking workmen are under still another. If their strike ceases to be passive, if they do anything more than fold their hands and wait, they are pretty certain to become entangled in the criminal law. The strike from their side is hedged in with wholesome restrictions for the protection of life, property and public order; and any disregard of these restrictions on their part is easily detected. But from the employers' side the situation is very different. Most of the laws for the preservation of public order favor the employers, and such lawless acts as they need to indulge in may be done so secretly as to defy detection or so elusively as to seem lawful. Strikers are at a disadvantage not unlike that of bow-and-arrow men in a battle with modern soldiers. They are in worse plight yet. Not only are they weaker in armament, but the rules of the game are against them. Is it not time for them to recognize that the strike is as antiquated as the stage coach?

Some labor unionists have recognized the necessity of adopting new methods. Notable among these are the locomotive engineers, who, under the leadership of the late P. M. Arthur, made a truce with their employers. Under this they are fairly treated, as fair treatment goes, and the railroads get their political support in very great degree, while Mr. Arthur got rich. This is the "business" method of trades unionism—the "conservative" and "sane" method, as plutocratic organs are fond of calling it. But it

lacks the element of universality. It would not lend itself to general adoption. Only as the striking unions keep up a turmoil can the leaders of "business" unions do "business" with employers. Apart even from that consideration, it is probably only with employers who have special legal privileges to maintain, such as railroad corporations, that labor leaders can do "business" for their unions. The Chicago experiment between the teamsters and the team owners has certainly not been encouraging. It is not from the strike method to the so-called business method that organized labor can turn with much hope.

What organized labor must do, if it would wage an effective fight and make permanent gains, is to abandon the strike and go into politics. In saying this we do not mean, however, that it should go into politics as men usually do, for the office or the spoils of office. Neither do we mean that it should go into politics as the Socialists propose, as a distinct class and with a revolutionary programme. What we mean is that it should go into politics for the purpose of securing point by point, election by election, specific legislation calculated to weaken plutocracy and promote fair economic adjustments. Regardless even of whether what it proposes is fair, the weapon with which to make the fight is the ballot and not the strike. But if it proposes fair things, it will draw a majority of the people to its support, and this it cannot do with a strike, no matter how fair and peaceable the strike may be.

By pursuing this policy of using politics instead of the strike as their weapon, labor unionists would place themselves distinctly on the side of law and order and their adversaries on the other side. They would make it practically impossible for their leaders to sell them out, for one of their weapons would be the pledging of candidates for public office and these pledges could not be broken

without inviting instant suspicion and speedy exposure, and no labor leader could give the treacherous official a clean bill of health. Another of their weapons would be demands for the initiation or the repeal of laws; and here again, though there might be treachery once in awhile, it could not be concealed. This method of warfare was adopted, only half-heartedly, by the Federation of Labor of Chicago in connection with municipal ownership, and the result is written in the election of Dunne and the tremendous majority on the referendum. If it were adopted whole-heartedly by that body and its constituent unions, it would soon win for labor unionism what strikes can never win. The day is at hand when the labor union movement in the United States must choose between the antiquated and ineffectual strike on the one hand, and the modern policy of which its enemy has shrewdly availed itself, of reaching out in a lawful way for control of the law-making power.

In the formal statement which Mrs. Eddy, the head of the Christian Science movement, gave to the public on the 11th through the Boston Herald, there are two points which are calculated to make a revolution in the conduct of some of her followers who accept her instructions as final. One relates to obedience to health laws. "In case of infectious disease," is the question, "would the Christian Scientist yield himself to the customary treatment of isolation and disinfection?" She replies: "If the law demands it, yes." This reply opens the way in plain terms to submission by Mrs. Eddy's followers to all such exactions of the health laws as isolation and disinfection, and by unavoidable inference to all such as vaccination and medical supervision. Without much if any violence to its meaning, it also opens the way to the calling in of medical assistance in non-contagious cases when fatal results are probable; for if the law is to be obeyed in preference to the

doctrines of the cult when the two conflict with reference to contagious diseases, it is not easy to see why it should be defied when they conflict with reference to diseases not contagious.

The other point relates to poverty. "If the world would abandon the study of disease and crime" is asked, "and devote itself to the study of wealth, health and love, would criminals, cripples and poverty cease to exist?" and the answer is: "They would." Nothing unfamiliar is suggested by this answer so far as it relates to health and sickness; but in its relations to wealth and poverty, the answer suggests possibilities of advance in the Christian Science movement which have heretofore seemed improbable. Most if not all Christian Scientists have regarded poverty as a "claim" of which the individual can rid himself as he may of disease by denying its reality. But with social adjustments as they are, this is in any comprehensive sense an impossibility. Individuals may, indeed, rid themselves of poverty by devoting themselves to acquiring wealth; but so long as their attention to wealth is individual they can rid themselves of their poverty only by inflicting it upon others; for wealth-getting is in our social organization a process of labor exploitation, whereby the laborer gets the work and the exploiter gets the "rake-off." But Mrs. Eddy's recent statement gives a different color to that phase of Christian Science. It suggests a very different attitude toward wealth-getting from that which luxurious Christian Scientists have heretofore maintained. "If the world would devote itself to the study of wealth," reads the question when all other subjects are eliminated, "would poverty cease to exist?" Mrs. Eddy's affirmative answer to that question is incontestably true. There are undoubtedly natural laws of wealth,—laws regarding its production and laws regarding its distribution. For the world to

know these laws and obey them is to extirpate poverty, and the world could easily know them and would gladly obey them were it but to study them. If Mrs. Eddy's rational denial of the legitimacy of poverty were to determine the attitude of Christian Scientists in general toward social life, if it were to displace the narrow and not wholly unselfish attitude of mere denial of poverty which prevails among them, at least one pregnant cause for misunderstanding the Christian Science movement and doubting the genuineness of its philosophy might disappear.

Lawson's exposure of frenzied finance reached a point in the June number of Everybody's Magazine, where he makes his accusations specific and brings home the crime of Amalgamated to the powerful and respectable criminals who engineered it. For a long time his articles (vol. vii, pp. 177, 465, 529, 579, 594, 612; vol. viii, pp. 36, 51) evoked sneers from the plutocratic press because they were void of definite accusations. But it is quite evident now that he was introducing his readers to an environment in which most readers are unfamiliar, in order that they might be prepared to understand criminality within that environment when the accusations came. This work of introduction was done with consummate art, and the specific accusations against the Standard Oil pirates which now appear, fit perfectly into the setting.

The familiar protests against Lawson's exposures, that he was "squealing", never had any genuineness. At the worst, he was a state's witness revealing secret plottings against the good order of society. No matter how unworthy of belief he might have been, his story was nevertheless a connected one which depended for its value only upon corroboration. The corroboration is now amply supplied, and Lawson's own character is no longer a factor. The

Rockefeller group and their apologists cannot answer by denouncing the accuser as "another" nor by calling him a miscellaneous liar. It is the facts, now, and not Lawson that this precious gang must deal with.

Yet Lawson himself appears to better advantage than before. There is something about his articles, something in their tone rather than in any of their assertions, which, more pronounced in the latest than in any of the others, suggests that Lawson is more worthy of respect than he has been considered. That he was crowded by the Standard Oil combine into assenting to the alteration of a scheme originally honest, as honesty goes in the circles of high finance, so as to make it fraudulent, and did not go into that conspiracy voluntarily, must be accepted as the truth unless his specific statements are disproved. Let that be as it may, however, of his sincerity in exposing and denouncing this fraudulent business, no matter whom it may hurt, himself included, there is little room for further doubt. He appears to have been at the mercy of brigands in whose plans he joined to save himself, and now to be making a clean breast of it all, not even minimizing his own share. If there is such a thing as genuine repentance, this would seem to be an instance. But the genuineness of Mr. Lawson's repentance is his own affair. His public service is what the public has to consider. And in all fairness this must be conceded to have been great. Such men as Rockefeller, Rogers and Stillman are socially dangerous when masked in respectability. Lawson has pulled off their mask, and for that—utterly regardless of his own part in one of their piratical exploits, of the genuineness of his repentance, and of his motives,—he has at least earned a right to be listened to fairly.

There has been a good deal of blowing of trumpets because justice has been swift upon the heels

of Bigelow, the embezzling banker of Milwaukee. With this case for a text, the press has surfeited us with sermons on the impartiality of the law. It is not true, we are told, that the law is enforced against the poor and not against the rich. Unhappily the Bigelow case is hardly a convincing instance. Although he had been a rich and influential man, he was neither when his crimes came to light. Before we cease to suspect that "rich men rule the law," let us see some rich man sent to prison for a richmen's crime. So long as the Rogerses and the Rockefellers and the Stillmans and the Equitable group are at large, it is not so clear that the law operates impartially; and to point to Bigelow's case as an example of its impartiality is weak. Bigelow wasn't sent to prison for his crime—embezzlement; he was sent to prison for his misfortune—failure in the investment of the proceeds of his crime. Suppose his investments had been profitable, does anyone imagine he would have been brought to the bar of justice? Yet his crime would have been as great.

THE CASE OF THE EQUITABLE.

Mr. Paul Morton's acceptance of the chairmanship of the board of directors of the Equitable company makes the question of his fitness a very curious as well as important financial problem.

With public faith in the integrity of life insurance management in general rapidly waning, and, in relation to the Equitable in particular, quite destroyed, the man to meet the need must not only possess unquestioned ability, but, above all, his record, his character, must be such as to compel the unqualified confidence of the public.

Such a man would not undertake the task unless assured a free hand. Given that assurance, the right man might, by assuming the direction of this great public institution, add luster to any name.

The board of directors recognized the need of a man whose character would compel confi-

dence. They made overtures to a number of such men in succession, who declined. Why did they decline?

It is conceivable that such a man might have conscientious scruples against accepting a salary so enormous as to render it a potential bribe—a possibly irresistible inducement to acquiescence in frenzied financial schemes.

Of course, able arguments can be made in favor of a hundred thousand dollar salary; able and lengthy arguments can be made in support of a million-dollar salary; and still abler as well as interminable arguments could be made to demonstrate both the equity and business expediency of paying a billion-dollar salary, if graft, under the name of "salary," should ever reach that magnitude. But, for the purposes of this article, suffice it to say that the able men of sterling character who declined the Equitable's overtures did not do so on the ground of insufficient salary. Let the question be repeated, then: Why did they decline?

There was a task to match the ambition of the ablest man. There were the stored-up fortunes of vast multitudes awaiting an honest man to conserve and distribute them. There was a rare field for the exploitation of the highest gifts of mind and heart; an opportunity to earn—with the certainty of receiving—the grateful plaudits of millions of men, women and children!

Why was it all refused?

The inference will not dawn that the power to do the right thing by the policy-holders was not tendered along with the hundred-thousand-dollar salary.

Was it not precisely that assumption that prompted the Chicago Tribune of June 10 to say, editorially:

It is almost an insult to assume that Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, for example, would associate his name and that of his honored father with a scandal—for a price?

Referring to the reported tender of the Equitable's chairmanship to Gov. Deneen, the same paper said:

He (Deneen) believes that "a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches," especially if the latter must be acquired by merging one's individual-

ity and renown in a great corporation which is rich but not respectable.

The Tribune also mentioned Gov. Herrick as one of those who resisted the allurements of the Equitable's overtures, and observed:

A great salary will not tempt any of the men named, or others like them.

In this same issue of the Tribune Mr. Morton's picture appeared in connection with a conspicuous announcement of his acceptance of the place that "a great salary will not tempt any of the men named, or others like them," to accept.

Is Mr. Morton the man for the place? Has the ex-vice president of the rebate-scandalized Santa Fe railroad the prestige of character demanded by the Equitable situation?

If the conditions on which the office was previously tendered to Robert T. Lincoln were such as to render the overture "almost an insult," what is there in the character of Mr. Paul Morton, as compared with the character of Mr. Lincoln, to strip the tender of its insulting quality? Or did Mr. Morton pocket the insult, as a necessary preliminary to pocketing the salary?

Was the Equitable really hunting for a man who measured up to the situation from the public's side, or from the side of its discredited managers?

Did it first try its conditions on the highest class of men, then on a lower class, and so on down, until it found a man that the conditions would fit?

Is the man who is generally believed to have evaded the law as a railroad official, the kind of man required to rebuild the shattered confidence of the public in a disgraced and discredited financial institution?

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

THE CROWN AND THE LORDS.

A liberal-minded old teacher, some thirty years ago, when there was less of machinery and more of the humanities in the schools, was in the habit of talking to his boys on various problems. Sometimes the talk was of individual conduct and homely duties; at other times he spoke of larger matters of the history of politics. One day, speaking of England, he

said that the abolition of the Crown and the House of Lords was inevitable, that he expected the change would come within ten years. Twice ten years have been added to his ten, and to-day his prophecy would seem to many farther away from fulfillment than it seemed thirty years ago.

The last three decades have seen royalty, and its accompanying nobility, increase in pomp and pretension. They have seen a new imperialism arise and a recrudescence of royal functions. They have seen processions of state and the outward manifestations of imperial power increase in grandeur and gorgeousness.

And yet the teacher's prophecy will come true. However entrenched seems the hereditary idea of Crown and Lords, it is sure to fall. Its absurdity is sure to become manifest to modern thought and education. The schools, in spite of their conservatism, will do their work of widening the thoughts of men. Books like Morrison Davidson's, hardly noticed by the orthodox, yet selling by the thousands, will be found not to have been written in vain. The end must come to this absurdity of Crown and Lords, as it has come, or will come, to every other high farce that has paraded, or still parades, on the human stage.

Even now voices are not wanting. In the May number of the Westminster Review there is a brief but pithy editorial article entitled: Wanted—An Elective Executive. It is true that the writer is referring to the election of a Prime Minister by the House, and makes no mention of the King; but the very fact of electing an executive as the real representative of the popular will would have an influence in emphasizing the expensive uselessness of a royal figurehead.

The article reads in part as follows: "The House must control the Executive. And that result can best be attained by the adoption of the system known as the Elective Executive, under which all ministers would be directly elected by the House and directly and individually responsible to the House, while the initiation of legislation would rest, not with the Executive, but with the House.

Under this system, of course, such an anachronism as the House of Lords could not long survive. This chamber of hereditary wreckers would right speedily be swept aside, and its place would be taken by the Referendum."

This is brave talk, and apparently not without significance at the present stage of parliamentary agitation. The conservative ministry is hanging on to every nook and crook, fearing an appeal to the country, and terribly uncertain as to what new policies may be forced into the arena. Many seem to feel that the country is on the eve of some new turn, and conservatives naturally wish to postpone the crisis. We may be quite certain that feeling is running high when a leading review speaks of the upper chamber as an anachronism, calls their Graces by such an epithet as Hereditary Wreckers, and proposes that parliamentary bills be referred for approval not to them but to the people. Referendum instead of Lords, the people instead of dukes—what a world of difference. And it must come so. In spite of all reactions of royal parades and imperialism it has been inevitable since the Reform Bill of '32. It is the natural evolution of democracy.

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

DIRECT LEGISLATION IN DELAWARE.

Wilmington, June 10.—Gov. Lee has signed the bill for submitting to the people of Delaware at the next general election the question of instituting a system of advisory initiative and referendum, the passage of which by the legislature was noted in The Public of April 1st (vol. vii., p. 823). The earlier part of the work for this reform was begun before I engaged in it. As near as I can tell, it was begun by the farmers in Kent County. But a little over a year ago a number of men, nearly all of whom were single tax men, met and advised that on account of experiences in endeavoring to promote the single tax cause in the State of Delaware in the past, we needed direct legislation. It was decided then to form an organization for the purpose of promoting direct legislation in some manner, and of this organization I was elected president. For a long time there was considerable difference of opinion and uncertainty as to the best method of procedure. Literature on the general

subject was distributed in every house in Wilmington, and to almost every house in Dover, and in other parts of the State, but not in a very thorough manner. A tentative canvass was made on a certain street which was considered to be a fair average sample of the city. This showed 30 per cent. of the voters willing to vote for direct legislation, even though they did not vote with their party. In addition, 20 per cent. favored it, but were not willing to vote outside of their own party. The rest either would not express an opinion or could not be reached for an interview. The canvass disclosed sufficient interest to make it worth while to go ahead.

So letters were written to the newspapers, and the editors were visited by persons capable of treating them in a friendly way and of making a good impression. All newspapers in the city of Wilmington were influenced in favor of the work.

The legal aspect of direct legislation was carefully examined, and it was found that the constitution of Delaware does not admit of anything of the kind, and an amendment would take nearly six years to become effective. On account of this, it was decided to make the attempt at having the constitution amended, but meantime to go ahead and do the best that could be done to awaken popular interest. It was thought that it would be better to get some measure passed by the legislature, even though the measure was not very effective, than to make a trial for an effective measure, and not have it passed; therefore, the bill offered to the legislature was merely one to submit to the voters at the next general election the question, Shall the General Assembly institute a system of advisory initiative and advisory referendum?

In case of the passage of such a bill, the next legislature would not be bound by it, i. e., they would not be compelled to establish the system, even though the voters wished it. The reason for this is that it has been well established in law that no legislature can do anything to bind another legislature. However, it was thought that a popular vote would have considerable moral force, and, besides this, the getting of any measure through the legislature would increase the respect of persons generally for those engaged in the movement, thereby insuring them a larger following than they might otherwise have.

A dinner was given, to which were invited a number of prominent people of Wilmington, the Mayor and the City Council being included. Mr. J. Z. White, of Chicago, was asked to explain the subject at this dinner. This he did very well, and the affair was considered a success. Many persons who did not expect to take

interest in it were convinced of the importance of direct legislation.

Questions were sent to the candidates asking them if elected whether they would vote for the proposed measure. Answers were received in the affirmative from 20 per cent. of the candidates, and the rest did not answer, except in one case where a candidate answered no. This candidate was not elected. During the heat of the election period little was done besides writing letters to the newspapers, which are thought to have produced considerable effect.

The measure was introduced in the Senate by a Republican. After its introduction Mr. J. Z. White was asked to make a special visit and address the members of the legislature on the subject. An appointment was made, and Mr. White addressed both Houses just after one of the sessions, making an address of about 15 minutes. All members seem to have been pleased with what he said, and many expressed regret that he did not speak longer.

Following this, the bill was brought to a vote. It passed the Senate by 11 yeas to 4 nays. One of the Representatives who was known to be favorable to the measure, also a Republican, was asked to look after the bill in the House. The bill was brought before the House and was passed unanimously. It may be said, however, that the best friend the measure had in the Senate, and, in fact, in the legislature, was one of the Democratic Senators, and it was at his suggestion that a Republican Senator was asked to introduce it. Care was taken all along not to make it a Democratic party measure.

The Governor having, much to his honor, signed the bill, what remains to be done is to create a sufficient interest in direct legislation between now and the next general election, about 18 months hence, to insure a general popular vote in its favor.

Ways and means of accomplishing this end have been carefully considered, but plans have not as yet been definitely formulated. In general, the following observations may be made. It is a mistake to assume that men of the leading classes are opposed to democratic ideas. Such an assumption frequently has the effect of making them oppose those ideas when under normal conditions they would not. It is very easy to associate democratic ideas with agitations distasteful to persons brought up as they are. As a rule, the great average of these people will adopt anything which is the fashion, and it is just as easy by proper management to make a democratic reform fashionable as not. At any rate it is well to repeat that it is altogether unnecessary and of no advantage whatever to excite their opposition.

When it came to the actual work to be done, it was found that the only persons who would go into it and do anything were single tax men, and perhaps one or two socialists. But contributions could be obtained from almost anyone with the usual difficulties.

F. I. DU PONT.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, June 10.

Norway and Sweden.

Since Norway's declaration dissolving her union with Sweden (p. 150), voluminous news dispatches have been cabled from both countries, but they have reported little but gossip and rumors. The future relations of the two countries are still unsettled and doubtful.

One specific event in furtherance of the dissolution occurred on the 9th. The Norwegians formally substituted for the union flag, the distinctive flag of Norway. At Akershus fort, Christiana, the ceremony of lowering the union flag which had floated there since 1814 and running up the Norwegian tri-color, was attended and applauded by 30,000 people, including the members of the Norwegian Storting.

Another event of significance was an informal declaration by the Swedish prime minister, published at Stockholm on the 12th, that the Swedish government will refuse to recognize the independence of Norway, and that motions to this effect will be submitted to the Swedish Diet when it meets in extraordinary session. This indication of the probable attitude of the Swedish government was confirmed on the 13th in a formal announcement by King Oscar in the nature of a defense, in which he said:

It remains for Sweden and for me as king of the union to decide whether the attack by Norway on the existing union shall lead to the legal dissolution of that union.

It was further confirmed by the publication, also on the 13th, of the following official circular which had been sent to all the Swedish and Norwegian consuls representing the union abroad:

After the Norwegian Storting had established a provisional government for Norway and in connection therewith declared the union with Sweden dissolved, the Swedish government decided not to recognize said provisional government. You are therefore instructed to continue the exercise of the functions constitutionally devolving on you as Swedish as well as Norwegian consuls, with this restriction, that you must not enter into communication with the illegal Norwegian government or obey its orders. In all emergencies you must apply to the ministry of foreign affairs for instructions.

Protests against recognition of Norway were filed by Sweden about the same date, with foreign nations. The King had already, on the 9th, refused to receive an official deputation from Norway. His telegraphic reply to the president of the Norwegian Storting was as follows:

As I do not recognize the revolutionary steps which the Storting in violation of the constitution and act of union and in revolt against its king has unfortunately taken, I decline to receive the deputation.

Russia.

The Zemstvo congress in illegal session last week at Moscow (p. 151) has adopted an address to the Czar, which, though suppressed in the regular newspapers of Russia by orders of the police, has been privately circulated throughout Russia, and parts of it have gone abroad in news dispatches. It is said to be a long document, describing the danger of the present situation both in foreign and in domestic affairs, condemning the bureaucracy, warning the Czar that the police are preventing the truth from reaching him, and petitioning as follows:

Sire, before it is too late for the welfare of Russia, command a convocation of representatives of the nation, elected by equal franchise, and let these elected representatives decide with you the vital question of war or peace, thus transforming the war into a national one. Let them establish an agreement with you, a renovated national organization.

A deputation of ten delegates, headed by Count Hayden and Mr. Shipoff, was appointed by the congress to present the address to the Czar. No indication of its presentation has yet been reported, although some dispatches mentioned the 13th as the day on which the Czar had agreed to re-

ceive the deputation provided a certain obnoxious member were withdrawn.

The congress which adopted this address is the second of its kind—a gathering of official representatives of the Zemstvos (or provincial legislatures) of the whole Empire of Europe. At the first congress (vol. vii, p. 535) there appears to have been a split between the conservative liberals, led by Shipoff, and the radicals, the former objecting to a direct ballot and manhood suffrage for selecting delegates to a national assembly. In consequence of this split the second congress was called by Shipoff for the purpose, as an intelligent student of Russian affairs puts it, "of presenting to the government what may be called the irreducible minimum of reform and elaborating a practical and expedient method of electing the first national assembly."

The Russian-Japanese War.

Rumors of skirmishes in Manchuria following the Japanese naval victory (p. 150) have given rise to inferences of a general movement of the Japanese land forces; and on the 14th it was reported from St. Petersburg that the Russian war ministry then believed that a general engagement of the opposing armies had begun. There is nothing yet, however, to confirm this conjecture.

Overtures for terminating the war have been made to both Russia and Japan by President Roosevelt. Immediately after the Japanese naval victory (p. 150) Mr. Roosevelt caused diplomatic inquiries to be made with reference to the spirit in which overtures for peace would be received from him. Intimations having been returned from both belligerents that such overtures would be received in a friendly spirit, he sent to each, through diplomatic channels on the 8th, the following dispatch:

The President feels that the time has come when in the interest of all mankind he must endeavor to see if it is not possible to bring to an end the terrible and lamentable conflict now being waged. With both Russia and Japan the United States has inherited ties of friendship and good will. It

hopes for the prosperity and welfare of each, and it feels that the progress of the world is set back by the war between these two great nations. The President accordingly urges the Russian and Japanese governments, not only for their own sakes but in the interest of the whole civilized world, to open direct negotiations for peace with one another. The President suggests that these peace negotiations be conducted directly and exclusively between the belligerents; in other words, that there may be a meeting of Russian and Japanese plenipotentiaries or delegates without any intermediary, in order to see if it is not possible for these representatives of the two Powers to agree to terms of peace. The President earnestly asks that the [in one dispatch Russian, in the other Japanese] government do now agree to such a meeting and is asking the [in one dispatch Japanese, in the other Russian] government likewise to agree. While the President does not feel that any intermediary should be called in in respect to the peace negotiations themselves, he is entirely willing to do what he properly can if the two powers concerned feel that his services will be of aid in arranging the preliminaries as to the time and place of meeting. But if even these preliminaries can be arranged directly between the two Powers, or in any other way, the President will be glad, as his sole purpose is to bring about a meeting, which the whole civilized world will pray may result in peace.

At Washington on the 12th it was announced semi-officially that both Russia and Japan had accepted President Roosevelt's suggestion in principle, and that plenipotentiaries would be appointed, but neither answer was given out for publication, it being explained that no good purpose could be served thereby. The Russian statement, given out at St. Petersburg on the 13th, explains that the Czar's reply to President Roosevelt's dispatch, after expressing concurrence of opinion "on a general settlement so essential to the good progress of the whole of mankind," declared:

As for an eventual meeting of Russian and Japanese plenipotentiaries charged with ascertaining how far it would be possible for the two Powers to elaborate conditions of peace, the Imperial government would have no objection in principle to such an attempt if the Japanese government expressed a desire therefor.

At that time no communication on the the subject had been received by Russia from Japan.

A Christian Science Explanation.

In the United States, one of the notable events of the week is a message from Mary Baker G. Eddy to the organization of which she is founder and head, the Christian Scientists. It was published on the eve of the annual meeting of this organization at Boston, by the Boston Herald of the 11th, and purported to be a final message to her followers, in the form of a catechism. It is as follows:

Is Christian Science a new religion? Yes, a new old religion and Christianity.

Does it stand in relation to Christianity as Christianity did to Judaism? Somewhat.

Are you an interpreter of Jesus' teachings or have you presented that which is new to his teaching? An interpreter thereof.

Is the text book of Christian Science the word of God in the same sense as the Bible is? All truth is of God, and Christian Science is eternal truth, demonstrable, based on a fixed principle and rules, and is susceptible of proof.

Is "Science and Health, a Key to the Scriptures," a fulfillment of the New Testament promises of a latter day revelation? It is.

Is Christian Science in antagonism to natural science? No, not to natural spiritual science. There is no material science.

Does it (Christian Science) discourage the study of natural science or any portion of it? It is gained by study and rightness.

Does it (Christian Science) deny the existence of disease germs or merely assert man's superiority over such forces? It denies the existence thereof.

Does Christian Science expect its followers to live immediately as though entirely spiritualized beings? No.

Is it proper for a Christian Scientist to disregard the laws of hygiene or to merely disregard them if circumstances make it necessary? To disregard all that denies the allness of God spirit and his laws.

May the Christian Scientist make use of physical culture, use especially nutritive foods, or make use of fresh air treatment as aids to physical well being? No, not necessarily.

Under any conceivable circumstances would a Christian Scientist make use of surgery? Yes, and no.

In case of infectious diseases, would a Christian Scientist yield himself to the customary treatment of isolation and disinfection? If the law demands it, yes.

Does a Christian Scientist regard poverty as a manifestation of disease? No.

Is poverty a disease of society or of the individual? Of both.

Can the individual, by the use of Christian Science, overcome a worldly defeat? Yes.

Is there a doctrine taught by Christian Science that evil can be willed against another as well as good? This doctrine is hypnotism. Christian Science can only produce good effects.

Has an evil mind power against a spiritual life? Evil works against all good, if it works at all.

Do you regard death as a great world fear which the human race wills against itself? Yes.

If the world would abandon the study of disease and crime, and devote itself to the study of wealth, health, and love, would criminals, cripples, and poverty cease to exist? They would.

Does Christian Science advocate the abolishment of philanthropic institutions, as well as hospitals? No.

Could society exist without jails and almshouses? Not at present.

The Chicago Teamsters' Strike.

Disorder in connection with the Chicago strike (p. 151) continues; but the police have no more difficulty than heretofore in suppressing it, and the cry for troops which was so insistent at first has completely subsided. One case of violence with fatal results is reported for the week. A special policeman guarding a non-union teamster shot into a sidewalk crowd from which it is said had come shouts of "scab" and killed a man in the crowd. Other instances of violence in parts of the city distant from the center are reported, one of them being an attack upon a lumber wagon by a mob of men and women which was dispersed as soon as the police reached the scene. Delivery wagons manned by non-unionists are still attended by policemen and labeled with injunction notices.

An attempt by members of the team owners' association to support the employers' union by offering union teamsters to deliver for "strike-bound" establishments, which would have precipitated a strike of 8,000 teamsters in addition to the 3,000 or 4,000 now on strike, was defeated by a referendum vote of the team owners' organization. This vote, reported on the 10th, stood 175 to 3 against the proposal.

No settlement of the strike is

near, so far as can be judged by external signs. The strike leader, Shea, having been charged with preventing settlements, offered on the 8th to withdraw if Mayer, the employers' lawyer, would do the same, and thus leave the parties to make their own settlement. This proffer was not accepted. Shea's words in making it were thus reported:

The employers charge that I stand in the way of a settlement. The teamsters charge that Levy Mayer is the stumbling block. It is not necessary to discuss whether either or both are right, but in the interest of the public I would suggest that committees from the teamsters and the employers, representing each line affected, get together to see if they can settle it. Leave Mayer and myself out of it.

Rumors of bribery of labor leaders and blackmail by them are thick, and a new grand jury is understood to be examining into the matter under the direction of the public prosecutor.

The Chicago Traction Question.

Notwithstanding the embarrassment which the strike has brought to his administration, Mayor Dunne has been steadily pushing the movement for establishing municipal ownership (p. 137) of Chicago's traction facilities. Mr. James Dalrymple, manager of the municipal traction system of Glasgow, who was in Chicago as Mayor Dunne's guest for the purpose of advising him technically with reference to the operation of that system and its adaptation to Chicago, departed on the 9th. He is to forward to Mayor Dunne a report upon his arrival home. Meanwhile, Mayor Dunne has been in consultation with Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland and A. B. Dupont of Detroit, both of them well known traction experts. The consultation took place at Mayor Johnson's Cleveland home, where Mayor Dunne and Clarence S. Darrow, the special traction counsel of Chicago, spent the 10th and 11th for that purpose. The scope of the consultation has not been divulged.

The Philadelphia Traction Question.

The expectation that the recent civic upheaval in Philadelphia would subside when the gas question (p. 152) had ceased to be exciting, has been disappointed. A new

subject of controversy has arisen. Recently four street car companies, subsidiary concerns of the Rapid Transit Company, a corporation that controls virtually all the street car lines in the city, secured the passage by the City Councils of ordinances giving them the right to lay 110 miles of track through certain streets without paying the city anything for the privilege. Citizens protested against the ordinances and Mayor Weaver vetoed them, but they were passed over his veto. Two weeks later, ordinances repealing them were introduced at the suggestion of the Mayor, and the 13th was set for a hearing before committee. The committee room was crowded with lawyers, representing both sides, and by voters. A motion was made that the repealing ordinances be reported favorably to the Councils. Select Councilman Thomas J. Ryan, the only Democratic member of the Select Council, moved in opposition that the bills be sent to the city solicitor for his opinion as to their legality. The suggestion was received with a storm of hisses. This made Mr. Ryan very angry, and, turning to the crowd, he shook his fist and said: "I am here serving the city to the best of my ability and doing what I think is right. If you have come here to browbeat me I can browbeat back, and I can even vote against you." So disorderly did the proceedings thereupon become that police were hurriedly summoned, and under their protection and in spite of cries of "thieves" and "crooks" the ordinances were referred to the city solicitor in accordance with Councilman Ryan's motion. The meeting of the committee is described by the reports as having been in all respects as sensational and as stormy as that held by the committee on finance some weeks ago, when the defeated gas lease was under consideration. On the 14th the city solicitor advised the Councils' committee that the Councils have full power and authority to repeal the traction ordinances, because the companies have not yet actually taken possession of the streets for which the franchises in question were granted.

Municipal Ownership in New York.

The first step toward commit-

ting the Citizens' Union of New York to a campaign for municipal ownership at next Fall's election (p. 117), was taken on the 12th by the city committee of that body. It then decided to recommend at the Fall convention that a municipal ownership plank be put in the platform. The recommendation adopted by the committee applies especially to the public lighting utilities and to subways. It sets forth that as some of the gas companies' franchises are about to expire, the city has an opportunity to acquire the plants, and, further, that the city should have unrestricted ownership of future underground railroads. The report winds up with this statement:

Ownership does not necessarily involve operation, but unless the private companies agree to terms so advantageous to the public and just to the employes as to warrant short term leases, the city itself must operate.

The Equitable Assurance Society.

A readjustment of the affairs of the Equitable, which have been afloat in business scandals for several weeks, may prove to have an influence of no little importance upon the development of opinion in New York in favor of municipal ownership of public utilities. The common belief in New York regarding this readjustment appears to be that it is part of a gigantic scheme for financing vast corporate interests in public service franchises.

The readjusting climax came on the 9th. James Hazen Hyde, the Society's first vice president and the controlling factor in its management, through his ownership of a large majority of the 1,000 shares of the stock of the "inside" corporation, had settled his differences by selling 501 shares for some \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000 (par value \$50,100) to Thomas F. Ryan. It was one of the conditions of the sale that the stock be placed in the hands of trustees in perpetuity, these trustees to be vested with power to elect twenty-eight directors as designated by the policy holders and 24 of their own selection. Pursuant to these terms, Grover Cleveland, George Westinghouse and Morgan J. O'Brien were appointed and have accepted as

trustees. For president of the board and head of the Society, the interests which effected this settlement chose Paul Morton, at present secretary of the navy, and he has accepted with a declaration that he is to have a free hand in rehabilitating the company. His salary is said to have been set at \$100,000 annually, but this not authentic.

The financial significance of the arrangement described above is thus indicated by the New York special correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald, in the issue of that paper of June 10:

In the first view of financial observers the hand of Standard Oil is seen supreme in the coup that has divested young Mr. Hyde of his great power. Standard Oil and the Morgan-Hill-Vanderbilt interests have been pitted against each other in this titanic war between the battle-scarred kings of finance, and now the former element, which seemed to have suffered defeat when the Frick committee's report was turned down and the Harriman influence overthrown, seems to have finished on top. Thomas F. Ryan in control means Standard Oil in control, for Mr. Ryan, as vice president of the Morton Trust Company, has close relations with the Mutual Life Insurance Company, one of the "big three," which is dominated by the coterie of financial monarchs whose domains are centralized in the building at 26 Broadway and in the National City Bank—the Standard Oil bank.

The same correspondent adds:

Mr. Ryan is the acknowledged head of the Metropolitan traction companies and only a fortnight ago induced Mr. Morton to ally himself with this interest as the operating chief of the New York City Railway Company, by which title the Metropolitan surface lines and their affiliated companies in Manhattan and the Bronx are corporately known.

The New York World editorially discussed the matter on the 10th in these terms:

Thomas F. Ryan has bought James H. Hyde's stock in the Equitable Life Assurance Society. Mr. Ryan is one of the choice spirits in the Consolidated Gas company and the Metropolitan Securities company, two corporations notorious for their corrupt alliances with corrupt politicians. Mr. Ryan has elected Paul Morton chairman of the Equitable board. Mr. Morton is a self-confessed violator of the inter-State commerce law, and is the distinguished gentleman who used to manipulate the rebate business for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad company.

The par value of the stock for which Mr. Ryan has paid several million dollars is \$50,100. Under article 3 of the Equitable's charter "the holders of the said capital stock may receive a semi-annual dividend on the stock so held by them not to exceed 3½ per cent." The sole honest income which the purchaser can legally derive from an investment of millions of dollars is \$3,507 a year. His object is thus of great public interest. Mr. Ryan, Mr. Morton, and their associates are promoting a vast scheme of underground railway construction in New York. The prospective investment is estimated at \$150,000,000. The assets of the Equitable Life Assurance society are \$400,000,000. It is obvious that a great life insurance society might be a valuable annex to a rapid transit company. . . . Without discussing Mr. Ryan's motives in acquiring this Equitable stock, which can yield him only \$3,500 a year in legal dividends, the World can only say that the necessity for legislative investigation into Equitable corruption is more acute now than ever.

The correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, whose dispatch appeared on the 11th, said:

That Belmont should come out so openly and praise Ryan is taken by many to mean but one thing, the consolidation of street railway companies in New York city and burying of the hatchet by the Metropolitan Interborough companies, which have been engaged in a bitter struggle for the possession of franchises. Belmont's chief opponent is Ryan, who represents the Metropolitan interests and brought Morton to New York from Washington.

This correspondent makes a significant statement also with reference to the three insurance companies which Thomas W. Lawson attacked in his magazine articles. In the same dispatch he says:

The New York Life Insurance company has ceased putting out literature detrimental to its rival, and has instructed its agents throughout the country to destroy all printed matter of the kind. In an order which was issued from the home office on May 24 well posted insurance men saw signs of the "big three"—the New York Life, Mutual, and Equitable—getting together. This extraordinary order was sent out by President McCall to agency directors and through them to all general agents: "The home office has instructed me to call your attention to the fact that the desire of the New York Life is in no way to attack or detrimentally to discuss the methods of any other life insurance company. I am instructed to say to you that you are hereby notified immediately to destroy any and every kind of circular or document in your possession that in

any way refers either to the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York or to the Equitable Life Assurance society, not including, of course, standard publications."

NEWS NOTES

—The annual convention of the Swedenborgian societies of the United States met in Boston on the 12th.

—The Team Owners' National association, of America, ended its convention at Chicago on the 14th. It elected H. C. Knight, of Boston, as president.

—James William Lowther, deputy speaker of the British House of Commons, was unanimously elected speaker on the 8th to succeed William C. Gully, who had resigned.

—The fastest railroad time between New York and Chicago was made on the 12th by a Pennsylvania special which ran from New York, with forty-seven passengers on board, in 17 hours and 58 minutes.

—Frank G. Bigelow, the defaulting banker of Milwaukee (p. 49) entered the penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on the 12th under a sentence by the Federal court of 10 years and 6 months' imprisonment.

—A successful experiment with wireless telegraphy in maintaining connection with a railway train was made on the 8th, between Chicago and St. Louis. The train was running at the rate of a mile a minute.

—A convention of "class conscious" labor unionists will be held in Brand's Hall, Chicago, on the 27th, to consider the organization of an Industrial Union. It is designed to substitute Socialistic labor unionism for trades unionism of the American Federation of Labor type.

—Theodore P. Delyannis, prime minister of Greece, was fatally stabbed on the 13th, while entering the Chamber of Deputies at Athens. He died in three hours. The assassin is a professional gambler, who committed the crime in revenge, Delyannis having closed the gambling houses of the city.

—Four elections on the adoption of the single tax for local purposes by New Zealand municipalities (vol. vii, p. 308) were held in March. New Plymouth voted in the negative, 313 to 167; Mount Albert voted in the negative 289 to 135; South Dunedin voted in the affirmative 347 to 117; and Petone voted in the affirmative 311 to 112. In the latter borough two previous votes were adverse.

It used to be the clergy that were deadheads. Now it is rich men and politicians who ride on passes.—The Crown,

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CHICAGO STRIKE.

The (Chicago) Commons (soc'l), June.—The teamsters' strike at Chicago enters upon its eighth week with the deadlock as fast, if not as firm, as ever. Every conciliatory effort to break it has failed. . . . So far there is not much evidence of suffering upon the part of the striking teamsters. The demand for labor in their own and other lines has been such as to put many of them at work and the strike fund has proved adequate to meet the wants of those who are unemployed. The embarrassment suffered by many merchants and the public, though gradually decreasing is still very great. The violence attending the strike has been grossly exaggerated in some of the newspapers of the city, and more still throughout the country and abroad. It has been entirely sporadic, and in by far the most cases has been due to individual altercations between union and non-union teamsters on the streets. Race prejudice still further strained the truce, when Southern Negro strike breakers appeared upon the scene. They were soon deported, however, by those who saw their mistake in introducing them. "Riots" have been reserved for the scare-heads of the sensational press. Only in a very few instances were there any approaches to organized mob violence. . . . Singularly little crime has attended the withdrawal of the police from their usual beats throughout the city. . . . At no time has the situation warranted the call of the military.

(Chicago) Daily News (Ind.), June 14.—John C. Driscoll, former secretary of the Associated Teaming Interests and later of the Coal Team Owners' association, acted in his days of influence on the broad general principle that industrial peace had a cash value to the employers of labor. Whenever a client of his was threatened with a strike he undertook to smooth away the difficulty if provided with the necessary funds. . . . There are employers who defend such transactions. They agree with Driscoll that if labor leaders of a certain sort need to be placated, it is the business of the expert employed for that purpose to establish a friendly understanding at the lowest market rate. As to the methods employed the man who draws the check is studiously incurious. . . . That is the immoral way. The employer has no right to disavow responsibility for the methods of his agent. To assume that trades union leaders are corrupt and to buy them off is to bring corrupt men to the front in unionism. Clearly it is to the interest of an honest employer to deal with honest men when questions relating to his working force are to be considered. He has no right to pay blackmail or tribute of any sort to keep from meeting an issue, even though that issue be raised for a dishonest purpose. If Driscoll is now to expose methods which spell bribery he may succeed in convincing the public that such costly experiences as the present foolish strike of teamsters are the natural outgrowth of a cowardly and wicked system of buying off venal labor parasites instead of exposing them and destroying their influence with their own followers.

Chicago, Tribune (Rep.), June 15.—Driscollism should be eliminated from Chicago. It should be eliminated from labor organizations by rebuking and dethroning officials who fatten thereon and play their members as mere pawns in the game. It should be eliminated from the ranks of employers, whence come the sinews on which it subsists. . . . Driscollism is at the bottom of the present strike. As a result of this uncalled for and indefensible struggle it should be purged away from the industrial life of the city. . . . The labor leaders who have made money out of strikes should be exposed and indicted if possible. The employers who have been

so cowardly or so immoral as to allow themselves to be blackmailed to settle or avert strikes should be held up to public contempt and indignation. He who buys up strike leaders to get rid of a strike fosters and strengthens the corrupt system of which he is a victim. One of the state's attorney's assistants is quoted as saying that "it is not a crime to give men money to stop a strike. The only wrong to the community is the moral wrong, I suppose." The grand jury can do no better work at this juncture than to inquire into that moral wrongdoing and find out who have been concerned in it. Out of that wrongdoing grew the teamsters' strike, with its attendant rioting, injury to business and bloodshed. . . . It is time to wipe out an infamous system which the cowardice of some and the greed of others have built up in Chicago.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN CHICAGO.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), June 9.—With the coming of Dalrymple private franchise grabbers and grafters began a campaign against the plan of municipal ownership declared for by a majority of the people of Chicago at the ballot box. . . . The cash-register-run newspapers got the cue to begin to discredit the municipal ownership plan. They began with Dalrymple. If Dalrymple said the streets and alleys gave forth a bad odor, they twisted this into a declaration from Dalrymple that Chicago was not ripe for municipal ownership. If Dalrymple said that the underground system might not be as good as an overhead system, this was declared to be another Dalrymple condemnation of Chicago going into municipal ownership now. The franchise grabbers would give any man \$50,000,000 to get Dalrymple to declare that Chicago could only flourish with the municipal ownership idea banished. They forget that the municipal ownership plan is a mature determination of a majority of the people of Chicago, and that no man can kill it. And they also forget that a recruit for the municipal ownership idea never loses his faith. Of course, they are all for municipal ownership, but they want it in the distant future. The average political grafter or franchise grabber wants grafting to stop as soon as he has got what he wants. This strike has been seized upon as a condemnation of immediate municipal ownership, and one of the trust-owned newspapers, a few evenings ago, declared that the municipal ownership plan was socialistic. The people of Chicago declared for municipal ownership several months ago, and they are as set for the principle now as they were then. And they will have it. And they are aware of the motives of ex-mayors and other spavined political hacks when they declare they are for "tentative ordinances." So are all the franchise grabbers in Chicago.

RACE RANCOR.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), June 15.—A New Orleans clergyman, the guest of the University of Chicago at this quarterly convocation, was not deterred by feelings of charity or courtesy from expressing publicly his surprise at the presence of a Negro among the candidates for degrees, and letting it be understood that he strongly disapproved of it. . . . He deprecated "interference" with the South, and censured the admission of a black student to a Northern university which whites attended as being "interference." This is an example of the unreasoning mood into which some Southerners lapse when they see a Negro given fair play—or what is considered fair play outside the South. When in that unreasoning state of mind they demand that the Negro shall be treated everywhere as Southerners treat him. He is not admitted to white universities in their part of the country. Therefore they fly into a rage because he is admitted to

a Western university, and call that an interference with the South in the solution of the great social problem. . . . It was not in good taste for the New Orleans minister to censure the conduct of his host. The sight of a Negro candidate for a degree may have shocked him, but he should have borne it with Christian meekness and minded his own business.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THEOLOGY.
The Woman's Journal (equal suff.), June 10.—It is a significant fact that two such speeches [Henry Labouchere in Parliament and Cardinal Gibbons at Trinity College, Washington] should have been made on the same day, by two men differing so widely in their views on other questions. Those free-thinkers who believe in equal rights are always trying to persuade women that the clergy are their worst enemies, and those of the clergy who believe in equal rights always try to show that atheism and contempt for women go hand in hand. As a matter of fact, people's theological views nowadays seem to have very little effect on their beliefs about woman suffrage. A man of an illiberal turn of mind on the woman question may base his argument on biology or on the Bible, but he will manage to arrive at the same crooked conclusion, which really grows out of his native narrowness of mind. And, on the other hand, a man of just and liberal temperament, whether he argues from science or from Scripture, will somehow contrive to deduce a conclusion in favor of equal rights.

MISCELLANY

"AN ANCIENT WRONG."

For The Public.
Ye whose love of right is strong,
See ye not the ancient wrong?
Men from land divorced are sold
Unto bondage, want and cold.
All that Nature's lavish hand
Gives to man, is in the land—
Fuel, raiment, dwelling, food,
Every luxury, every good.
Loss of land entails the strife
Waged for liberty and life.
Landless men are social slaves,
From their cradles to their graves.
Tyrants need not sit on thrones!
Who owns land the people owns!
He can rule with iron hand;
Let him but usurp the land.
See the helpless slave from birth,
Who can claim no spot on earth,
From another he must buy
Land whereon to live or die.
Where he may lie down to sleep,
Where he may his loved ones keep,
Where at last to lay his bones,
Must be bought from one who "owns"
Secret, this, of unknown woes!
Hence industrial slavery flows!
Who by land investment thrives,
Preys on homes and human lives.
Tollers, make a steadfast stand;
Claim the value of the land;
Use it for the common good,
As becomes a brotherhood.
Ye whose hearts are brave and strong,
Rise, redress this ancient wrong!
See this wrong from power hurl'd—
See ye then a happier world!
SAMUEL BRAZIER.
South Boston, Mass.

A NEGRO ON NEGRO STATUS.

From an address to the West Texas Methodist Negro Conference, in session at Fort Worth, Tex., delivered by a young Negro educator, R. S. Lovingsgood, President of Samuel Houston College, Austin, Tex., as reported by the Fort Worth Daily Record.

You say this is a government "of the people, for the people, and by the people;" that it is the "land of the free and the home of the brave;" a nation which guarantees inalienable rights to all of whatever race or creed. The spirit of liberty gave birth to this nation. "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none," is its vital breath.

Now, if the Negro proves good, useful, honest, peaceful and patriotic, what then?

The Negro challenges all the world to submit his title to sit in the "parliament of man," as an equal, to the simple arbitrament of merit. And, thank God, the Negro can be good. There is no monopoly in goodness. There are no trusts in learning. There are no mergers in noble, patriotic feeling.

I am sure that I interpret the spirit of the Negro race when I say that they are banding together to test, by righteous and useful lives, the Constitution of this nation. Hence it is that I am so anxious that my own people, whatever others may do, shall so conduct themselves as to challenge the respect of good men everywhere. Men blinded by passion may attempt to curtail the rights and privileges of others, and for a time succeed; but no man nor set of men, by statutory legislation or otherwise, can change the statutes of real manhood. For manhood cannot be donated by States and legislatures, nor can the inherent rights of manhood be subtracted by them. For this reason the Negro is looking to character more than to anything else; and striving to be the most patriotic, the most industrious, the most peaceable, the most useful, in fact, the best citizen in the community. The rule of love will govern him. He is to be a man-lover, not man-hater, and no example of hatred set him by any man North or South will cause him to swerve one iota from this principle. By love he can conquer. In this way he can put himself in a position to receive all the blessings vouchsafed to any citizen by the laws of God and man. There is power in goodness to win for him what is due him.

As to that bugbear, social equality, so often unjustly injected into discussions on the race problem, let me say: All the Negro wants is a fair show in

the race of life. I never saw a colored man in my life who was interested in the question of social equality, but he does want civil and political justice. Socially the Negro is efficient and sufficient in himself.

On his merits the Negro is willing to stand or fall. No grandfather clause for him; no grandfather clause for any man. Clear the track! Give him a man's chance. That is all he asks, and this the government cannot deny without forfeiting its own right to existence. The Negro challenges the American nation to treat him according to his merits.

The late Dr. J. L. M. Curry, the great Southern educator and publicist, said that God would sink the white man's civilization into infamy unless he is just to the Negro. Wrong perpetrated upon any human being recoils with destructive force upon the perpetrator.

We hear these days much about statesmanship as related to the Negro question. One wants the Negro segregated in one State or territory. Another would send him to Africa, etc. I have very little confidence in political and opera house statesmanship on this question. It seems to me to be a question of development of conscience, of building character. What we want is men and women, white and black, of patient, of altruistic feelings. How are we to get these men and women? We cannot pass a law and create them in a day. A ride on a train will not create them. It is not a question of geography. Our Christian colleges and schools are doing most to produce them. Those who give to these schools and work in them are America's best statesmen.

WHERE IS A WOMAN'S HOME?

In declining to publish suffrage articles a Kentucky editor says:

We believe that the dear women can do a greater good for our land in the home than at the ballot box. Therefore we cannot consistently use your articles.

If casting a ballot interfered with a woman's duty to her home, this gentleman would be quite right in his refusal to help the suffrage cause by publishing suffrage matter. But if he will answer the question, "Where or what is a woman's home?" he will see that the care of her home is a duty no woman can wholly perform unless she has the right to go to the ballot box as a citizen and cast a ballot.

Home is something more than the house in which a woman lives, the one-story frame cottage or the two-story brick mansion, where she sweeps, dusts, sews, cooks and rocks the cradle. The town or

city in which a woman lives is her home. The municipal government of the town concerns her and her children as deeply as it concerns any man. The State in which she lives is also her home, and every affair of state is as much her affair as the darning of the children's stockings or the sewing on the family buttons.

The country in which a woman lives is also her home. To every American woman "America" means "Home," and national affairs ought to interest her quite as much as the latest fashions in shirtwaists or hats.

There are 365 days in a year, and with this time at her disposal a woman who understands her duty can attend to the affairs of the house in which she lives and at the same time play a citizen's part in the management of her larger home, her city, her State, her country.—Lida Calvert Obenchain.

THE WAGE SYSTEM AND WAGE SLAVERY.

Editorial by Judson Grenell in Saturday Evening Blade.

Wage slavery is supposed to be closely allied to the wage system. In fact, many who write for labor papers use the terms as synonymous. They are regarded as twins. To work for wages is to be a "wage slave." The employer is the "slave owner," the superintendent or foreman is the "slave driver," and the workingman or woman is the "slave." So common have these forms of expression become that many take it for granted that the wage system really is slavery, and that the only way to overthrow such a system is by a revolution in industry that will abolish employers and employes as separate classes, and unite them in one.

And yet there is nothing cruel, or inhuman, or slavish, in the wage system. In fact, it is as innocent of injustice as is the bargaining over a counter for a piece of cotton cloth or a spool of thread. So long as a would-be purchaser can buy the cloth or leave it alone, or the would-be seller can advance or lower the price of the spool of thread; so long, in fact, as either seller or purchaser is free to exchange or refuse to exchange, the natural higgling of the market prevents exactions on the part of either purchaser or seller. It produces an equilibrium of cost, price and value.

The wage system, of itself, is not wage slavery. It is in practice as well as theory, where there are right conditions, as equitable a way of disposing

of one's labor and skill, and of purchasing human exertion, as is the bargaining over the counter of the dry-goods merchant, or in the grocery store, or the meat market.

What makes slavery of the present method of bargaining with the employer is not the system, but the fact that the two parties are not on an equal footing. The glory—or, at least, one of the glories—of the trade-union movement is that it has in a measure restored this equilibrium, and is likely to do still better work in this direction as great corporations with extensive plants replace the small concerns. The labor union is welding the wage-workers into compact bodies, able to exert a pressure in the direction of equitable bargaining. It has, in fact, deprived unscrupulous employers of some of their power to impose unjust conditions, and in so far as it has done this it has eliminated wage slavery from the system.

It is a fact, however, that the wage system, under present economic conditions, has in it the elements of wage slavery. These economic conditions make the difference between free bargaining and restricted bargaining; between equality and inequality; between the power to demand and enforce just compensation, and being the victims of those who, owning the tools, can starve into submission the possessor alone of labor strength and industrial skill.

Slavery consists of being deprived of the right to work for one's self. The wage system cannot do this unless it is buttressed and protected by laws and customs preventing the worker employing himself. Give the laborer absolute freedom of self-employment and no employer, no matter how strong may be his desire, can buy labor except at a price equal to its value in exchange. That is to say, the laborer will then absorb, in wages, the full value of his labor, and will be able to exchange it in the market for as much labor strength and skill in the shape of goods or products as he himself has created.

Machinery in itself has no power to enslave. It only has power to employ. Capital—another name for machinery used to produce wealth—can enslave no one only as it is given abnormal privileges. To free the laborer, then, it is only necessary to restore to him the power to make an equal bargain, and this can be accomplished in great part by restoring to him the use of the soil. Until this is done he will be at a disadvantage that trade unions can

only partially overcome. He will be a "slave," not because of the wage system, but because he is prevented, if he should so desire, from employing himself.

TRUE STORY OF THE CHICAGO STRIKE.

Part of an article in Public Opinion (New York) of June 10, 1905, by Luke Grant, a well-known Chicago newspaper man whose reputation for ability and fairness is without reproach.

Nineteen clothing cutters, members of the United Garment Workers of America, left their places in the clothing department of Montgomery Ward & Co., December 15, 1904. Little notice was taken of the strike. It received a four-line mention in the newspapers and that was all. Nearly four months later, after the places of the strikers had long been filled and the strike itself regarded as a "closed incident," it plunged Chicago into one of the worst industrial conflicts in its history. Ten human lives have been sacrificed; scores of persons have been maimed and injured in street riots and blockades; bitter race prejudice has been engendered; business losses have run up into the millions of dollars. The city itself, seriously embarrassed by lack of funds under ordinary conditions, has had to expend \$50,000 for additional police protection. Special deputy sheriffs have cost Cook county an equal amount.

For what? asks the average citizen. Because union teamsters sympathize with union garment workers? Is there not some hidden significance behind this titanic struggle that has not yet come to light? The strike of the garment workers was just. No matter what the clothing manufacturers say, their main object was to disrupt the garment workers' organization and establish the "open shop." In the clothing industry the "open shop" frequently means the sweatshop, and it was against this that the garment workers struck.

The firm of Montgomery Ward & Co. employed but a few cutters. The garments were made up in outside establishments. About four weeks after the garment workers' strike began in the shops controlled by the National Wholesale Tailors' association, the firm of Montgomery Ward & Co., not at that time a member of the association, began sending out garments to be made up in nonunion shops. The union cutters objected, although there was nothing in their contract specifically prohibiting such a course. Robert J. Thorne, secretary of the company, says he offered to arbitrate the dispute in accordance with the provisions of the contract. This the union men deny, and say they

were told to quit if they did not like the firm's policy, as it would continue to send garments to any shop it desired, regardless of whether it was union or nonunion. The men quit and their places were filled by others after a few weeks.

For weeks committees from the United Garment Workers had visited meetings of the Teamsters' Joint Council and pleaded for assistance. The teamsters turned a deaf ear. Then, when the garment workers' cause was lost, the teamsters began to take an interest in the strike. It is true they were requested to do so by the Chicago Federation of Labor, but they had been requested before and refused. Absolute proof is lacking, but there are many who believe that there was some mysterious power behind the scenes working for a strike. It may be a coincidence that Mayor Dunne was elected on a municipal ownership and referendum platform, largely by the votes of union men, on April 4, and that the strike against Montgomery Ward & Co. was called by the teamsters April 6. There is plenty of circumstantial evidence, however, to show that behind the strike there was a political plot to discredit Mayor Dunne and kill the municipal ownership movement, which was responsible for his election.

As has been shown, the number of garment workers employed by Montgomery Ward & Co. was insignificant. Had they been reinstated, or had the firm consented to arbitrate the dispute as was demanded, it would have made but little difference to the garment workers' cause. On the other hand, the teaming business of the concern is large. Its establishment is located in the heart of the business district. Of all the firms in the city, it was well understood that this company was the one least likely to yield to union demands without making a fight. A teamsters' strike against this concern could hardly help producing violence. Violence of a serious nature would result in troops being sent to Chicago. Troops in Chicago would discredit the administration and its supporters.

Aside from the political phase of the strike, the employers for the past three years have been anxious to curb the growing power of the Teamsters' union. Both numerically and because of the strategic position it occupies in the industrial field, it is the most powerful labor organization in Chicago. The teamsters are organized by industries in 46 separate locals, with an aggregate membership of 35,000 in the city. In the conduct of their own affairs the teamsters have been fairly conservative.

They have had few strikes on their own account. But they have had a tendency to take up the troubles of other organizations. These "sympathetic" strikes have exasperated the employers and the general public as well. The employers have charged that some of these strikes were called at the behest of individuals with ulterior motives. They have declared that they never knew when they were to be blackmailed, and that the signing of a union contract with their teamsters was no guaranty of peace.

The Chicago Employers' association, organized nearly three years ago, determined to curb the teamsters. Robert J. Thorne is president of that association, and is credited with having made the statement that he would donate \$20,000 to a fund to break up the Teamsters' union. So when the teamsters struck against Montgomery Ward & Co., April 6, the Chicago Employers' association at once assumed control of the strike. Its members believed they never could find a better issue to go before the public with. The teamsters had absolutely no grievance of their own. In striking they were breaking contracts. The garment workers' strike was a "dead issue." With the single exception of the Ward firm, not one of the big employers involved in the strike employed garment workers in any capacity.

Up to that time the Chicago Employers' association had shown little evidence of constructive work. It had prosecuted cases of violence with more or less success, and had secured many injunctions in strikes, but at the time of the strike it was largely a "paper" organization. The big merchants, however, realized that the battle they had been expecting for three years was at hand. Men like John G. Shedd, J. V. Farwell and others well known in the commercial world came forward and took an active interest in the affairs of the Employers' association and soon the constructive work became apparent. Within three days after the strike was called the trucks of Montgomery Ward & Co. were on the streets, manned by nonunion drivers under police protection.

In Chicago there are two distinct groups of team owners; the contractor who makes teaming his only business, and the big merchant who owns and operates teams incidental to his other business. Here there was a conflict of interests among the employers. The teaming contractors have been greatly benefited by the organization of the teamsters. It has placed them on a fair competitive basis as regards

wages. It has helped them establish a partial monopoly and thus secure better prices for their work. In one sense they are allies of the teamsters. The teaming contractors, or team owners, as they call themselves, have associations of their own, organized by industries, much on the same lines as the teamsters. There is the Chicago Team Owners' association, which controls the trucking business; the Coal Team Owners' association; the Furniture Movers' and Expressmen's association; the Commission Team Owners' association, and so on through some ten separate lines of business.

When the strike was called these associations held meetings to consider the question and decided to remain "neutral." This neutrality consisted in agreeing to the teamsters' boycott and refusing to ask union drivers to deliver goods to any place they did not want to. The big merchants who wanted to curb the union at once realized that in order to do so they would have to engage in the general teaming business. Within a week after the strike was called the Employers' Teaming company was formed and incorporated under the laws of West Virginia. There was a double purpose in this. As a foreign corporation this teaming company could apply to the Federal court for an injunction and demand the protection of Federal troops. At the same time it would serve as a menace to the recalcitrant teaming contractor.

The Employers' Teaming company was incorporated with a capital stock of \$100,000, and immediately it bought outright the horses and trucks of the Hough Teaming company, which did most of the hauling for Montgomery Ward & Co. Two days after the Employers' Teaming company began doing business the Daniels Coal Company was ordered to deliver coal to Montgomery Ward & Co., in accordance with its contract. It attempted to do so, and its coal teamsters struck. Immediately the Employers' Teaming Company bought the horses and wagons of the Daniels Coal Company and began supplying coal to many of the down-town buildings. Negro strike breakers were imported from cities along the Mississippi River, armed, and sent out on wagons with private detectives to guard them.

This condition provoked riot and disorder. Most of it was due to the Negro strike breakers and private detectives, who taunted the crowds on the sidewalks and in other ways tried to invite attack. Judge Brentano issued a sweeping injunction restrain-

ing interference with the business of Montgomery Ward & Co. or with that of any other concern which desires to deliver goods to the Ward establishment. Violence at once subsided and the teamsters were beaten.

Then, the garment workers, dissatisfied with the conduct of the strike, and the manner in which it had been confined to one concern by Cornelius P. Shea, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, requested that it be extended to other clothing houses, or they would have nothing more to do with it. The teamsters wanted a pretext to quit the fight then, and they refused to extend it. They were released by the garment workers and the Chicago Federation of Labor, and they called the strike off, on condition that 12 teamsters employed directly by Montgomery Ward & Co. be reinstated. When President Shea and his committee waited on Mr. Thorne and asked for the reinstatement of the 12 men, Mr. Thorne replied that they might make individual applications, and they would be reemployed as vacancies occurred. He said he did not know at that time how many vacancies there were, but that no competent man hired during the strike would be discharged to make room for a striker. He said it was a matter of "principle" with him, although he privately admitted that he wanted all his old teamsters back.

This attitude of Mr. Thorne put new life into the teamsters. There was nothing left for them to do but fight. This was on April 25, and it was then the real fight began. Next day Judge Kohlsaat, of the United States Circuit Court, issued an injunction on behalf of the Employers' Teaming Company, and the battle began in earnest. One thousand men were called out from the seven railway express companies, and 700 from the retail and department stores on State street. The trouble spread like wildfire, and for a time it seemed that the strike would become general among the teamsters.

The Employers' Teaming company increased its capital stock to \$1,000,000, and began purchasing teams and furnishing drivers as fast as the union men quit. It leased the wagons of the department stores or those of other concerns where the owners did not want to sell, so that the leased wagons would be under the protection of the United States court. It rented several buildings to house its non-union drivers in. Within three days

the number of teamsters on strike reached nearly 5,000, and many lines of industry were affected. On May 1 there were riots in all parts of the city. The employers kept on importing Negro strike breakers. As if to tantalize the mobs, the Negroes were given big hickory canes after the police had taken away their firearms. A wagon would be sent out with a Negro driver and a squad of other Negroes sent along to guard it. Frank Curry, a noted strike breaker, essayed to escort a consignment of Negroes who had just arrived from the railway station to one of the Teaming Company's boarding houses. Through the downtown streets he drove, some of the Negroes on wagons, others following behind on the street. At Lake street and Michigan avenue his wagons were blockaded by union teamsters. The mob attacked the Negroes. Charles Beard, a clerk, was standing on the sidewalk watching the fray, when he was hit on the forehead by a stone. He died four hours later in a hospital. Over Rush street bridge the battle raged. Windows on both sides of the street were broken by flying missiles, and Curry was himself assaulted with brass knuckles and severely wounded.

Judge Kohlsaat issued injunctions for each of the express companies and the employers clamored wildly for troops. Sheriff Barrett decided to swear in deputies, as the situation was getting beyond the control of the police force, although a call for 1,000 volunteers had been issued by Mayor Dunne. The executive committee of the Employers' Association held a meeting at the Union League Club, and at its close Levy Mayer, general counsel of the association, said that it had been unanimously agreed that "a call to arms was imperative." Next day a delegation of merchants went to Springfield to see Gov. Deneen about State troops.

One of the most significant happenings in connection with the strike occurred that day, May 4, the anniversary of the Haymarket riots. It was arranged that the business men should meet Gov. Deneen in Springfield at four o'clock in the afternoon. Sheriff Barrett announced that he would begin to swear in deputies and invited union men to go to his office in the county building and be sworn in. Many union teamsters went to the county building in response to Mr. Barrett's invitation, although the previous day he had refused to swear in a union man. Just about four

o'clock, while the county building was crowded with union teamsters, several coal wagons of the Employers' Teaming Company filled with Negroes drove up to the doors. At the same hour the employers were in conference with Gov. Deneen at Springfield. All the conditions necessary to start a riot were there, and, indeed, it has been shown that it was part of the conspiracy. Had the Negroes been attacked as the employers hoped they would be, Sheriff Barrett would have at once telegraphed Gov. Deneen that a riot was in progress in front of the county building, and that troops should be sent at once. But the Negroes were not attacked, and the plan fell through.

In the meantime the attorneys of the Employers' Association were busy in the courts. Twelve of the strike leaders were indicted for conspiracy, and many were cited to appear in the United States Court and testify regarding certain phases of the strike. More teams were being sent out each day by the Employers' Teaming Company, which at this time had more than 2,000 teams at work, besides furnishing drivers to other concerns who owned their own teams. Mayor Dunne issued orders that the police should ride on the wagons to protect non-union drivers.

Fearful that troops would be sent, and especially Federal troops, the strike leaders waited on President Roosevelt during his visit in the city, May 10, and presented him with a memorial urging him to investigate the causes of the strike before sending troops. The memorial was anarchistic in tone, and angered President Roosevelt, who scored the labor men for the "unfortunate phrasing" of the document. He declared that law and order would be preserved, and that behind the city and State stood the nation ready to see that law was enforced. While the President was in the city a rioting teamster was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff. About this time public sentiment, which had been strongly against the teamsters from the start, seemed to change. The importation of Negroes and the arming of them was universally condemned. The average citizen who saw a wagon on the street with an injunction sign pasted on its side, a Negro driver on the seat and a guard beside him carrying a shotgun in plain view, shook his head and condemned the employers, rather than the teamsters.

Quick to realize the change in public

sentiment, the employers stopped the importation of Negroes. White men were now arriving in the city at the rate of 250 a day on an average. Agents were busy procuring them in all parts of the country. The Negroes were discharged as fast as possible and sent out of the city, the employers paying the transportation. As the Negroes were replaced by white men the violence decreased. Both Mayor Dunne and Sheriff Barrett had given the strike leaders notice that they would not hesitate to call for troops the moment it seemed to them necessary. The employers were steadily increasing their business and again it became apparent that the teamsters were beaten. Talk of peace became pronounced.

Conferences were held between President Shea and Levy Mayer, representing the employers, and the terms offered by the Employers' Association were accepted by Shea and his associates. These terms were a complete surrender on the part of the teamsters. It was agreed that the men on strike should be taken back as vacancies occurred, except those guilty of violations of law; that the Employers' Teaming Company should remain non-union; that no man hired during the strike should be discharged to make room for a striker; that all violence should immediately cease, and that the strike should be called off at once; that immediately the strike was called off the employers would withdraw the police and deputy sheriffs.

The employers could not have asked a more complete vindication of their position. Yet when peace seemed assured the express companies stood in the way. They would not agree to reinstate a single man who had struck. Before the express drivers went out they were told that they would not be reemployed. The express agents said that to break their word would ruin discipline. The express companies are not members of the Employers' Association, and there was no way to make them change their attitude. President Shea asked the members of the Employers' Association to refuse to do business with the express companies and thus compel them to accept the same terms as the other employers. This they refused to do, as they said it would be a criminal conspiracy. So again the peace plans came to naught.

There is a law in Illinois against blacklisting. The express companies were accused of blacklisting their former drivers. They hastened to explain that they had no such intention. They asserted that while they would not re-

employ their former drivers, there was no objection to the men formerly employed by one company working for another company. The union men took up that proposition and held a conference with the express agents. The general agents said that the strikers could make application for work and they would receive the same consideration as other applicants. Thus at every turn some technicality seemed to stand in the way of peace.

It has been alleged that the big corporations reward their friends and punish their enemies. But see what they have done to Paul Morton!

BOOKS

RELIGION.

The future output of a novelist's mind is always a matter for speculation. Owing to the nature of the material with which he works the result may be variable. But the writer of more serious bent—the philosopher—seldom fails of giving us something valuable and provocative of thought, even though his conclusions and ours may be widely at variance.

Consequently, having read the "Letters of a Chinese Official," we may draw the deduction that their author could scarcely avoid giving utterance to truth in some one of its innumerable phases, should he set himself to its expounding. And this G. Lowes Dickinson has done in his recently published book: "Religion: a Criticism and a Forecast." (McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. Price, 53 cents.)

The theme is clearly presented in the brief introduction, although an introduction would seem a superfluity where the subject has been set forth with such clarity and precision. Although but 84 pages are employed for the entire exposition, it is not a book for careless reading in the idle hour. Whether or no we agree with the author, he is no hasty thinker—no blind leader.

To quote from the preface:

"My main object has been to raise, definitely and unequivocally, the question of the relation of religion to knowledge. I have urged that there is only one method of knowledge, that of experience and legitimate inference from experience. And while freely admitting, and even insisting upon, the importance of every kind of experience as material for analysis and discussion, I have argued that any truth that is to be elicited from such experience must be elicited by the method of science, in the broad and proper sense of the term. In other words, truth, I have maintained, is not revealed in any sense of the word 'revelation' which can be appropriate-

ly distinguished from the sense of the word 'science.' And though it may be the case that truth may be knowable or known about God or the soul, or other objects of religious belief, it can only be known, or knowable, like all other truth, by perception, analysis and inference."

Setting aside the claim of the churches to a revelation peculiarly their own, he yet wishes to prove that there is such a thing as religion and a need in the human soul therefor. His phrase, "A certain attitude towards life which is very, valuable, and which, in my opinion, may appropriately be called religious," bears a strong family resemblance to Matthew Arnold's famous definition of religion as "a tendency not ourselves, that makes for righteousness."

This attitude which he terms one of "active expectancy" enables him to keep the mind open to all future discoveries in the unknown, and gives him a larger hope than the agnostic harbors. For he considers the agnostic's position not merely one of denial but of an unwillingness to learn—not merely "I do not know," but "I will not consider."

This attitude of active expectancy is what he means when he employs the term "faith," and according to the degree of faith depends the fruitfulness and nobility of life.

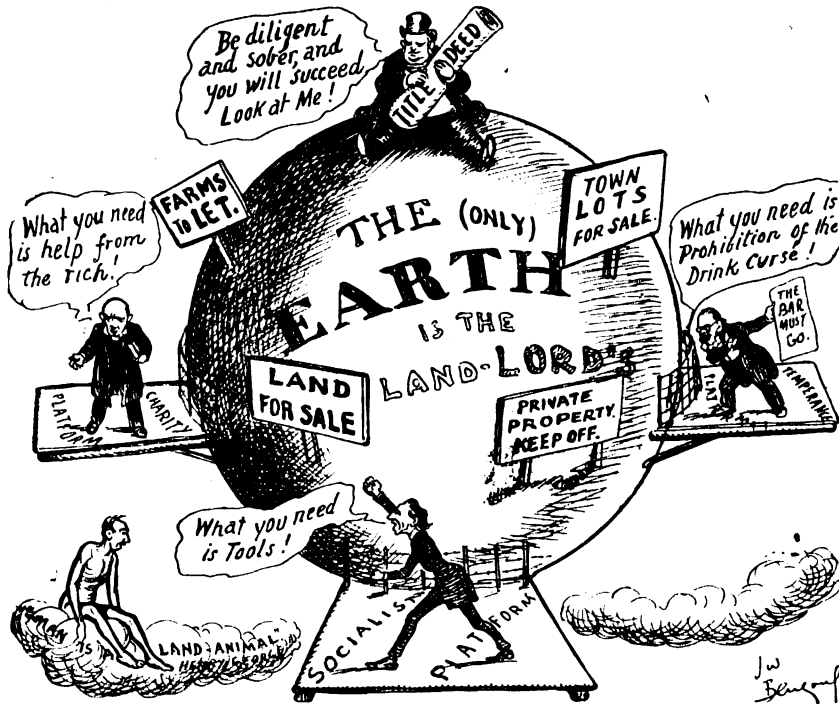
Prof. Dickinson, like most Englishmen of culture, is a thorough Hellenist and finds light and leading in Plato's pages. In his arraignment of ecclesiasticism he says: "For the spirit of Greece is the antithesis of the spirit of ecclesiasticism. And those who regard the latter as a danger could seek no better prophylactic than a wider and more popular dissemination of Greek culture."

The subject is treated under the four headings: Ecclesiasticism, Revelation, Religion, and Faith. Having perused the book, the orthodox will deem Prof. Dickinson's ideas subversive of all religious thought, the agnostic will find too much of faith and assertion, while midway between there is likely to be a large number by whom the message will be received with gladness.

MARY HEATH LEE.

FOLK TALES.

Under title of "The Touch of Nature," Augustus Mendon Lord retells some of the "little stories of great peoples" (Boston: American Unitarian association. Price \$1). The stories are interesting and smoothly told, though they lack some of the sparkle in print which they must have had as they fell from the authors' lips in telling them to groups of friends at Christmas and Easter, a custom of which they are the outcome, as he explains in his preface. In the search for suitable material for these occasions he



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BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"Tolstoy the Man." By Edward A. Steiner. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Company. To be reviewed.
—"The Voice of Equality." By Edwin

Arnold Brenholz. Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press. Price, \$1.25. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS

The April number of Frank Vierth's "Why?" (Cedar Rapids), now the official organ of the Henry George Association, presents a portrait of William J. Ogden, one of the lecturers of that organization, together with an account of some of his work in Baltimore. The work of George L. Rusby in New Jersey, of H. H. Hardinge in Chicago, and of John Z. White in his extensive lecturing tour, are also reported. and Mr. White is announced to tour the Pacific coast in June and July.

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