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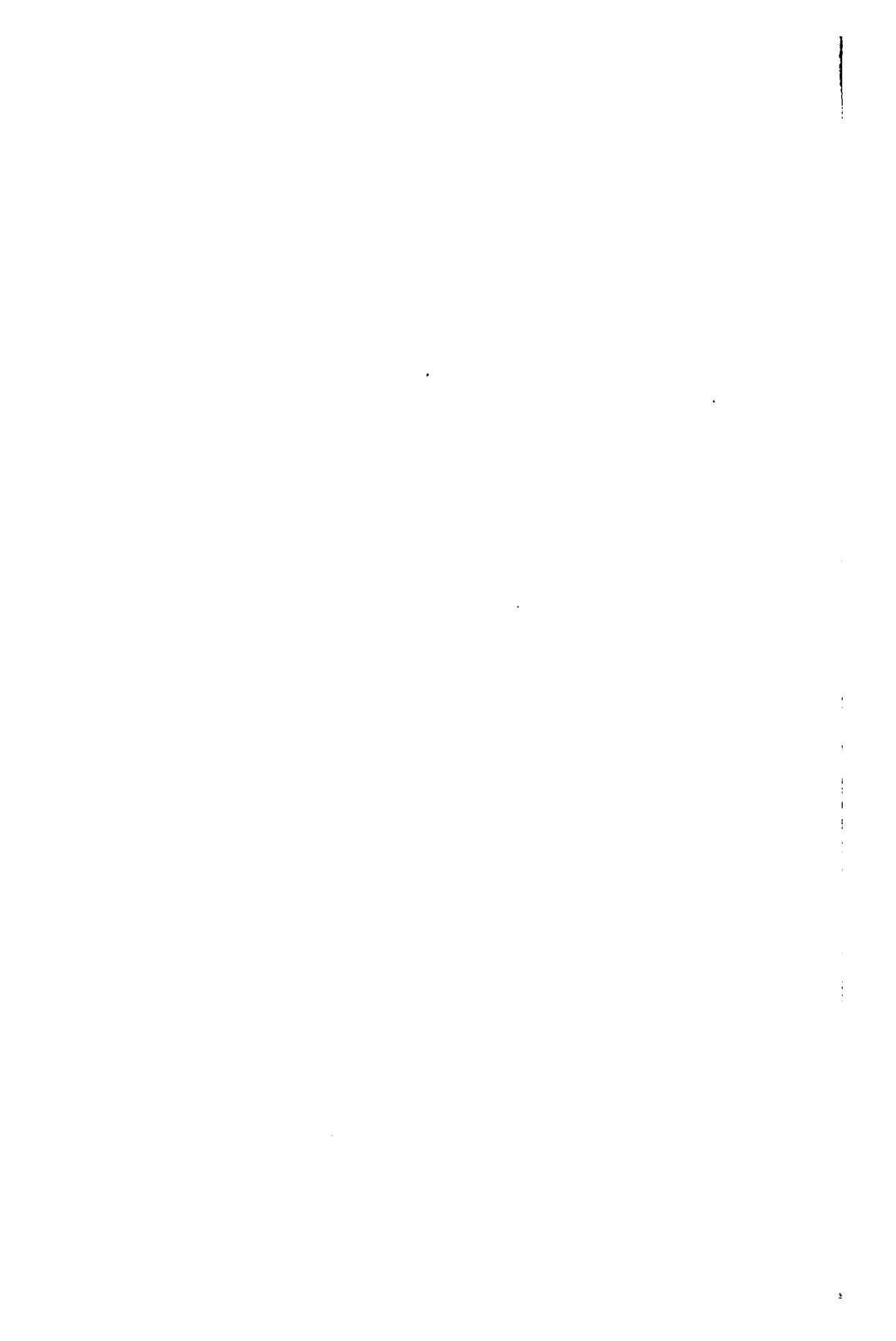
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"THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY."—*Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*

THE NATIONALIST

FRONTISPIECE, Pen and Ink Portrait of . . . EDWARD BELLAMY.

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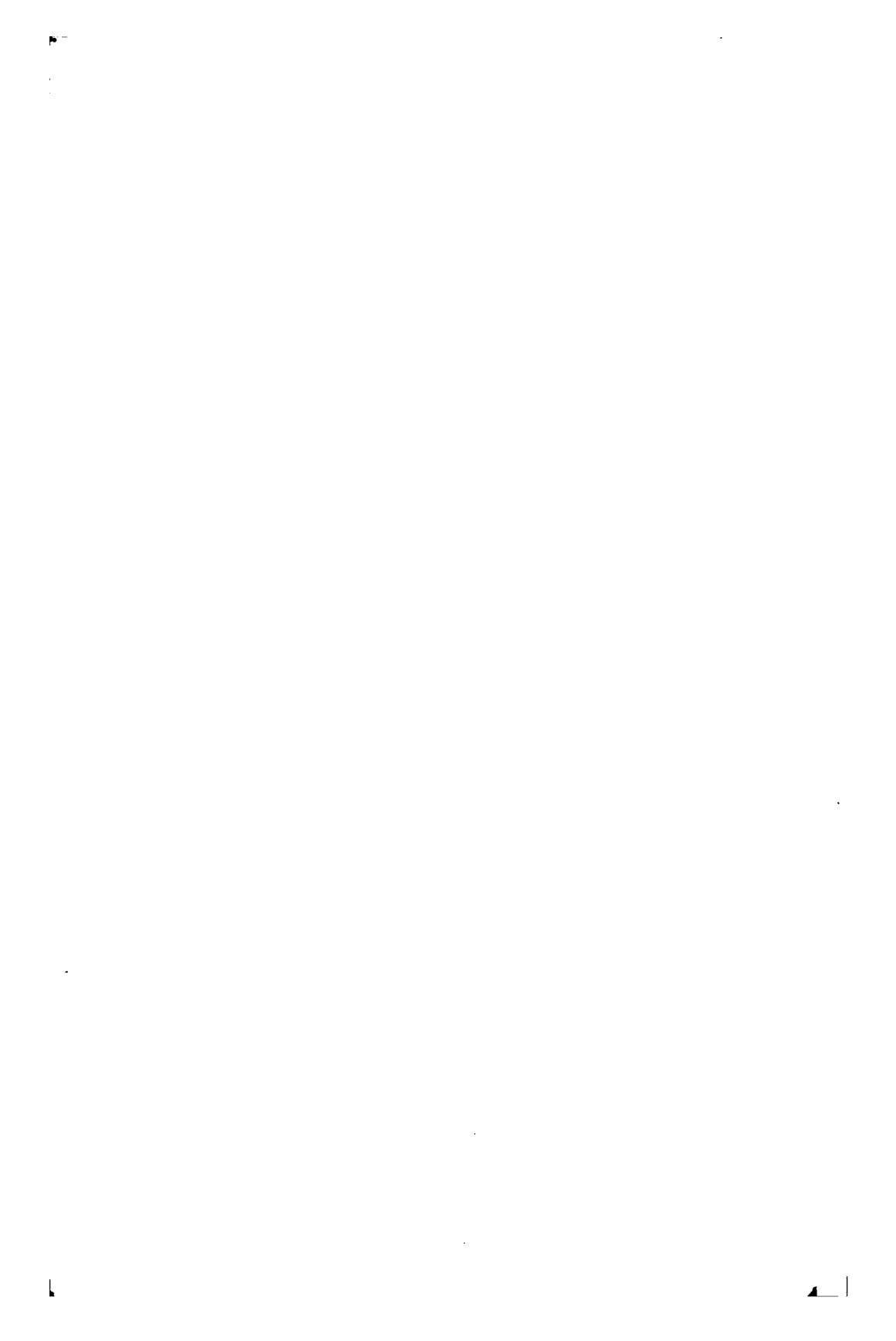
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THE NATIONALIST.

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No. 1.

LOOKING FORWARD.

It is an indication of the ripeness of the times for the National plan of industry that the predominating economic facts and tendencies of the epoch so lend themselves to its aims as to leave no question as to the practical policy of the movement. In order to realize in due time the Nationalist idea it is only necessary to take judicious advantage of the contemporary tendency toward the consolidation of capital and concentration of business control. The "Ship of State" is already being borne onward by a current which it is only needful to utilize in order to reach the desired haven. The progressive nationalization and municipalization of industries by substituting public control for the public advantage, in place of already highly centralized forms of corporate control for corporate advantage, is at once the logical and the inevitable policy of Nationalism.

In looking forward, however, to the future of the movement, and forecasting the work it may be able to accomplish, it is impossible not to recognize that more after all will depend upon its spirit than its method. Its method scarcely can be other than the one indicated, and this is so obviously the natural, and not an arbitrary method, as to give the best of ground for confidence that it is the right one. But an excellent method may be defeated by a bad spirit, while on the other hand, if the spirit be good and true, mistakes of method may be remedied, and will not prevent ultimate triumph. In offering some suggestions as to the spirit which should animate the Nationalist movement I do but describe what seems to me the characteristics of its present spirit and of the men and women engaged in it.

The first of these characteristics is unselfishness.

The sentiment of human brotherhood which is the animating principle of Nationalism is a religion in itself, and to understand it in its

full significance implies a sense of consecration on the part of those who devote themselves to it. Nationalism, is indeed, based also upon the soundest of economic laws; the principle of fraternal co-operation is as certainly the only true science of wealth-production, as it is the only moral basis for society; but the latter is so much more the important consideration that even if a brotherly relation with our fellow-men could only be attained by the sacrifice of wealth, not the less would the true Nationalist seek it. The ultimate triumph of Nationalism demands as its first condition that it be kept upon the high moral ground it now occupies, and retain as its chief motive that pure and uncompromising enthusiasm of humanity which now animates it.

The second of the characteristics essential to the spirit of Nationalism, if it is to succeed speedily, is a tolerant and charitable attitude toward the critical and the indifferent—toward our opponents.

There is the more need of dwelling on this point as there seems to be, curiously enough, something in the advocacy of reforms which tends to develop an intolerant and uncharitable spirit toward those who are not yet believers. And yet what could be more exquisitely absurd in itself than that spirit, on the part of a reformer, or more calculated to defeat his own supposed end. If it be true, as the tone of some reformers toward the rest of the world seems to indicate, that they are hopelessly better than the general mass of men, what expectation can they have of the success of their reform, since it can only succeed by converting these bad people? Until we call a man names, there is always a chance that we may convert him but, afterwards, none at all. And not only that, but we are not helping our case with the by-standers. It would seem plain that only reformers who have all the converts they need can afford to call their opponents names. There is especially one form of denunciation which Nationalists have thus far left to other sorts of social reformers, and it is hoped we may continue to. This is the denunciation of the wealthy in the supposed interests of the poor. Nothing could be more unjust and senseless. The rich could not, however disposed, abolish or greatly lessen poverty so long as the present industrial system remains. It is the system that is to be attacked and not individuals whose condition, whether of riches or poverty, merely illustrates its results. Of course, there are many rich men who have become so by vicious methods and these merit personal condemnation, but there are probably more to whose enterprise and leadership the community owes much of the

little wealth and comfort it has. It is a very barbarous and wasteful sort of leadership, to be sure, and one for which we hope to substitute a mode of organizing industry infinitely more humane and efficient. But meanwhile let us not fall into the mistake of those who rant against capitalists in general, as if, pending the introduction of a better system, they were not,—no doubt selfishly, but yet in fact—performing a necessary function to keep the present system going.

It is the distinguishing quality of Nationalism and one on which its near success largely depends that it places the whole subject of industrial and social reform upon a broad National basis, viewing it not from the position or with the prejudices of any one group of men, but from the ground of a common citizenship, humanity and morality. Nationalism is not a class movement; it is a citizens' movement. It represents peculiarly neither men nor women, North nor South, black nor white, poor nor rich, educated nor ignorant, employers nor employed, but all equally; holding that all of us alike, whatever our label may be, are victims in body, mind or soul, in one way or another, of the present barbarous industrial and social arrangements, and that we are all equally interested, if not for our physical, yet for our moral advantage, if not for ourselves, yet for our children, in breaking the meshes which entangle us and struggling upward to a higher, nobler, happier plane of existence.

The third of the characteristics essential to the spirit of Nationalism is patriotism.

There are social reformers who believe, the less one's devotion to his own country and countrymen, the better he will love other countries and humanity at large, as if a man were usually found to be a better neighbor in proportion as he neglects his own family. This is a belief which Nationalists utterly repudiate. The very word Nationalism is an appeal to love of country. Patriotism, though so often misdirected, is the grandest and most potent form under which the enthusiasm of humanity has yet shown itself capable of moving great masses, and in its spirit is contained the promise and potency of the world-embracing love in which it shall some day merge. Social reforms must follow National lines and will succeed as they are able to adapt themselves to National conditions and sentiments and identify themselves with National traditions and aspirations. We as Americans do not, I am sure, love mankind any the less for the aspiration we cherish that, in the present world-wide movement for a better social

NOW IS THE TIME TO BEGIN.

order, America may maintain and justify that leadership of the nations which she assumed a century ago.

The fourth characteristic of the Nationalist movement which it must retain as a condition of success is its present spirit of conservatism as to methods, combined with uncompromising fidelity to ends.

Evolution, not revolution, orderly and progressive development, not precipitate and hazardous experiment, is our true policy. The intoxication of a mighty hope should not tempt us to forget that the success of the great reform to which we have set our hands depends not so much upon winning the applause of fellow-enthusiasts, welcome as this may be, as upon gaining and keeping the confidence of the law-abiding masses of the American people. To this end we have need to be careful that no party or policy of disorder or riot finds any countenance from us. It is my own belief that on account of its peculiar adaptation to present economic and social states and tendencies Nationalism is destined to move rapidly, but it is for this very reason that prudence and conservatism are called for on the part of those identified with it. Our mistakes alone can hinder our cause.

EDWARD BELLAMY.

Chicopee Falls, Mass.

NOW IS THE TIME TO BEGIN.

Looking backward for less than a year,
 One may find ample cause for regret:
 Many faults you'll discover, I fear,
 Which you have not corrected as yet.

You've been cross to your child or your wife,
 Or have needlessly wounded a friend,
 And continued bad habits of life
 Which you've often resolved to amend.

And no doubt that you fully intend
 To reform when the New Year comes in;
 But I wish to suggest to you, friend,
 That right now is the time to begin.

FRANK J. BONNELLE

Boston, Mass.

THE WHY AND WHEREFORE.

It tickles our sense of the ridiculous to hear a person assert conflicting and irreconcilable views, and especially is this funny, when done with the obstinacy of one who is sure he knows, and the fact that he is unconscious of his own absurdity adds to the amusement, while at the same time it excites our impatience that he cannot perceive what is so clear.

Thus nothing can be more funnily exasperating than mankind's authoritative and discordant utterances concerning woman. Such a profound jumble as they are: "Woman is angelic: Woman shows wisdom in matters requiring judgment: Woman is unfit for council: Woman's moral perceptions are keener than man's: While man is putting on the boots of reason, Woman flies to the goal with her wings of intuition: Woman is to be blamed for the larger part of man's misdoings: Woman's nature is not susceptible of high cultivation: All that he was he owed to his mother: Woman excels in organizing and conducting philanthropic work: Woman has no soul: Very little information will suffice for woman's vocation: Woman has solemn responsibilities, even the training up of children for life in this world and in the next: It is sufficient for woman that she can be skilful with her needle, a good housekeeper and a stayer at home; but man needs every facility for developing his powers of mind: The little that woman has accomplished in the world compared with what man has accomplished shows how inferior is woman to man: Woman forms the citizen, guides the republic: and so on *ad nauseam*."

The "Ten Qualifications for a Wife" are thus stated:—good temper 4, good sense 2, wit 1, beauty 1, remainder to be divided among fortune, connections, education or accomplishments, family, and so on; not one of which is entitled to the value of an integer." The amount of good temper required is unpleasantly suggestive; still, credit is due the writer for his honesty. His belief in woman's small need of education is the same which has always stood in the way of her advancement. Most of the opportunities now permitted her have been gained by a march of conquest with a skirmish at every post. But through it all the enemy has ever sounded the cry—Oh, Woman's vast influence! Woman's solemn responsibilities!—never perceiving that forming the citizen and guiding the republic demand the development of her highest faculties. If we suppose that her declared

natural superiority (notwithstanding her declared natural inferiority) has been thought sufficient unto these high duties,

“For *he* was from the unorganized dirt unfolded,

But *she* came forth from clay which life before had moulded,”

we are driven from such supposition by the following dictum of one of the early Fathers. “What is woman but an enemy of friendship, an unavoidable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable affliction, a constantly flowing source of tears, a wicked work of nature covered over with a shining coat of varnish?” Says another: “Do you know that each of you is an Eve? You are the devil’s gateway. You are she who persuaded him whom the devil was not valiant enough to attack. You destroyed so easily God’s image, man!”

These ideas of the early Fathers are somewhat inconsistent with that exaltation of woman claimed for Christianity. Indeed, they seem to have regarded her chiefly as a means of degradation to man, a means which should be kept from his path very much as temperance reformers would remove the saloon. It was on this ground that women were ordered to be stayers at home, not to appear unveiled, to leave ornaments alone, and even to make themselves unattractive. “Natural grace must be obliterated by concealment, as being dangerous to the beholder’s eye.”

And it is this poor innocent weakling, man, on whose account one half of humanity has been remanded into obscurity, and for whom a whole continent, so to speak, labors to remove liquor temptations; it is he, even he, who assumes to be the guide and ruler of woman. Being at one and the same time the institutor of the office, the selector of the candidate, the candidate, the elector, and the incumbent, he proceeds according to his Mahommedan, or his Buddhistic, or his Christian, or his Hebrew, or his savage, or his civilized ideas to mark out woman’s sphere, tell her what are her duties, her needs, her capabilities, how to be womanly, how she can make him happy, what in her will meet his approval, in what ways she can serve him, what he will and will not allow her to do, how much knowledge he will allow her to acquire. He has constructed her creeds for her, and mapped out her heaven and hell. He has made her his toy and his slave. He has made himself her law-maker, judge, jury, jailer and executioner. He has burnt her, put her to torture, given her to wild beasts, and thrown her into the water by the hundred sackfuls. He has been her

sole attendant in imprisonment, has had sole charge of every public institution in which woman has been placed.

But his permission to learn to read opened the big outer door and let her into the vast fields of knowledge, where she pressed eagerly forward, by no means content with browsing round the edges. Perceiving his mistake he hastened to rope off the higher paths and to shut and lock the little inside gates leading to the professions, and to put up warning placards: "Danger!" "This ground entirely pre-empted by men!" "Lions in this path!" "No woman need apply." "Politics! A corrupt and vile institution we use for governing the country. Managed wholly by, and suited only to, man." "Pulpit! Women strictly forbidden to enter this path. (See I I Cor. xiv, 34: 'Let your women keep silence in the churches.')

The writing of the Fathers throw much light on this text so long ecclesiastically used to prevent women from speaking in public and especially from speaking in a pulpit. Man's conscience is exceedingly tender on this point. But what a funny conscience to be so tender in one spot and so tough elsewhere! The text, "I suffer not a woman to teach," glances off harmless while he proceeds to call the womanly host from their appropriate sphere to go forth, unveiled, as teachers in Sunday-schools, public day and evening schools, and mission schools far across the sea. Other texts fall equally harmless: "Owe no man anything." "Sell all and give to the poor." "Give to every man that asketh." "Of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again."

It is fortunate that scripture interpretation is only for man, as woman guided only by her own light might suppose it just as wicked for a person to try to reclaim his property, or to incur debt, or refuse to give, or refuse to lend, or permit any one to sue a man at law, as for him not to stop a woman from speaking. She might even ask why an injunction laid on the women of Judea nearly two thousand years ago should concern the women of America today. There is one text, however, which seems to confound even the wisdom of man. "Wives be subject unto your husbands as unto the Lord." Plain and comprehensive, it requires no explanations from commentators and councils whose prolonged labors settle what is Bible. But shall a woman obey her husband to do wrong? Of course not. How will she know wrong from right? By her conscience. But the right to obey her conscience gives her the right of decision, and the right of

decision makes the text of no avail, and if one text can be set aside, just as well can another. Were this not an age of unreason one might ask, since woman is an accountable being, why should she not interpret scripture for herself and be her own guide and director. Why abide by man's decisions? Because she always has thus abided would be the true answer. For it is assuredly true that the world thus far has been man's. The whole world of humanity has been regulated by the opinions of that half of it in matters of education, the decisions of that half of it in matters of duty, the inspiration of that half of it in matters of religion, the justice (?) of that half of it as embodied in laws, the wisdom (?) of that half of it in the management of criminals, paupers and the insane.

Sometime the world will be awakened by the dawning light of the light ages shining in its face and will see the why and the wherefore of its chaotic condition, and the reason thus revealed will be this, namely: That the world has been trying to get on with only one half of itself, the two parts are unlike and it takes both to make the complete whole. We read that Man was created male and female and "*them*" was given dominion. Co-operation, then, is the Divine ordering, and what God hath joined let no man put asunder. The scriptural assertion that it is "not well for man to be alone," has been assumed to mean that man, poor fellow, might be lonesome and need help, and therefore woman was created for his service and to make things pleasant for him. By a more sensible interpretation it would mean that to carry on its affairs the world needs both parts of the "*them*" just spoken of. Each having its own special qualities, it is not well that the masculine element, or man part, be left alone in — we will say in the planning and working of school systems, in the management of public institutions where both sexes are confined, in conducting newspapers (these going into families), in the management of criminals, in making the laws, in choice of public officials, in caring for the poor, and by all means man should not be left alone in the ministry. For as every human being stands in equal relation to the Divine Omnipresence we call God, woman, equally with man, is likely to be made a medium of divine inspiration, and "Quench not the Spirit" is as binding a text as any other. The pulpit everywhere is lamenting its own inefficiency. Let it call in the reserves. Let it avail itself of that superiority in moral perception, of the spiritual vision, of the genius for planning, of the skill in adaptation, of the

intuition, the patience, sympathy, warm-heartedness, love, devotion, tenderness, energy, enthusiasm, earnestness, persistency, declared by man to belong to woman by nature. With these, plus the special preparation and helpful conditions accorded to man, the pulpit would gain in her a powerful ally, and some unused and misused womanly activities would be turned to good account.

This same thing can be done in other directions with advantage to all concerned. Everywhere around us, among the rich and among the poor, we see woman-force running to waste and worse than waste. The coming new order of things will bring this force into service for the uplifting of the race.

And with this new order of things, foretold by Nationalists, will come another gain to the world. It will come through the development of woman's individuality. This has been arbitrarily interfered with and by this interference man has grievously sinned, in that he has put himself in opposition to the Divine order. This order as seen in creation is for individual development. Every kind of tree, shrub and flower develops according to the laws of its own nature. The elm does not give the pine its elm ideas of what it needs to become a pine; the apple tree does not guide the cherry, nor the honeysuckle the rose. The lily knows best what is lily, the daisy what is daisy. All these show forth their beauty, or their uses, according as each most perfectly develops its own individual type or pattern. Also, it is this very individual development of each which gives character and charm and value to the whole.

Three things must here be noted. 1st. The substances required for growth and development are common to all. 2nd. These operations go on free from arbitrary restrictions. 3rd. Only under these conditions can the individual pattern furnished by Creative Wisdom and the special uses of each become known. Just so in the human world; 1st. All should have equal opportunities for growth and development. 2nd. These operations should go on free from arbitrary restrictions. 3rd. Only under these conditions can the hidden pattern or type be evolved, and the special capabilities of each be brought into activity. Moreover, only by the showing forth of the individual pattern and purpose of each, and bringing the special capabilities of each into activity, can the whole great Divine world-pattern and world-purpose be made manifest.

Nationalism's surety of success lies in its foundation principle of

universal education with a view to the development of individual qualities and capacities, necessary restrictions bearing equally on all. This is alike the principle and the safety of republicanism. Being in accordance with the Divine order its adoption will be found the best thing possible for every department of human affairs, and especially best in the home. For, according as they are wisely educated, educated heart and mind, so shall woman become the better mother and wife, man the better father and husband, and so shall harmony be secured in the household.

In the light ages to come, while education will not concern itself less with intellect, character will be made a main issue and it will be reached by methods as yet scarcely recognized; methods which Nationalists must feel bound to discover and cause to be applied.

ABBY MORTON DIAZ.

Belmont, Mass.

TO WENDELL PHILLIPS.

I.

Fanatic!—in whose eyes
The tears each day would rise
For woes that were not thine;
Fanatic!—on whose brow
Victory, written now
In Fame's eternal shine,
Maketh to us—a sign!

II.

Sounding the soul's alarm,
Thine was the voice to charm
E'en serpents of their hiss;
Thine the lift eyes whose light,
Like lightning late at night,
Forespoke the radiant kiss
That fills the Dawn with bliss.

Medfield, Mass.

III.

O great soul, rapt away
From out our sight for aye,
But not from out our ken,
Thy magic was no myth;
A spell to conjure with
Thy name remains, as when
Thou spakest among men!

IV.

For, wheresoever Wealth
And Caste by force or stealth
Essay to hold in fee
The minds of men, thy voice
Condemns the cringer's choice,
Makes brave men braver be,
Makes free men still more free.

HENRY AUSTIN.

POLITICS AND THE PEOPLE.

Ours is no longer a government of the people. The practical politics by which our public affairs are managed long ago passed from the people to great political parties, or "machines," controlled and managed by Leaders or "Bosses," who make Politics their business, who recognize *success* as their object and defer to the people, or to classes, or to monopolists, as the case may be, to attain their ends. So well is this understood that it is hardly safe to shout from the stump "That is a government of the people;" for the answer is likely to be derisive laughter. What the end of this party government must inevitably be was pointed out in *THE NATIONALIST*, for August, by showing that "Public Administration is the Condition of Liberty," in the future of our Country. It was there shown that although the simple communities of Switzerland, and of our early New England, could continue a democracy, it was utterly impossible to do so in a highly complex and wholesale producing Empire, which the United States have now become, without largely increasing public administration and making it directly responsible to the people. Parties must more and more become subjected to the control of Trusts and Monopolies, and popular elections can be little more than the record of their wishes and interests. It is enough, we may be told, if the party action can be vetoed by a popular election held in the States every two years, and for President every four years. But even this veto will cease or be ineffective as soon as the Monopolists and Politicians combine in their control of the voters. The party will inevitably become more and more the reality of government, and be more and more under those who have, or can get control of the conditions of life. No one can afford to own his own vote at the South or the North, when his livelihood depends upon its use. No one however competent can, even now, obtain an office unless he pays money or court to some political boss, and puts up the salary for the nomination, even to judicial positions. For instance the public affairs and offices of the city of New York are now little more than appendages of Tammany Hall. The people of the State of New York have only the alternative before them of Boss Hill or Boss Platt. The United States government must fall to the management of the Republican or Democratic National Committee, and the people can only accept or pass upon the measures and candidates proposed by them or their parties.

All other votes are simply thrown away, and those who cast them have no part in the government whatever.

The original plan of our government evidently and avowedly was to have it rest upon a practical democracy secured by the action of the people in small districts, wherein assemblage of the people would be possible. This was the first and the initiative department.

From thence the second or representative, that is, the Legislative department, was to be chosen; and, thirdly, the Executive, the President, was to be found and elected by electoral colleges also chosen by the people in their several States. This original plan of our government has miscarried and proved a failure, because its democratic foundation and its electoral college have been captured and appropriated by partisans and their parties. The electoral college was the singularly unfortunate device by which the whole initiative, governmental action passed from the people to the partisans. An unprovided-for tie-vote in the case of Jefferson and Burr in 1801 made it evident that the scattered electoral colleges would never be sure to give any one Presidential candidate a majority of their votes unless some power outside of themselves should determine for whom their votes should be cast. This was done in the first instances by the parties in congress, holding a *caucus* for that purpose. Then in 1832-1836 the party convention system came into use, not only to name the candidates for whom the Electors should vote, but name them before the Electors were chosen, so that they became merely dummy names to be voted for by the people in order to satisfy legally the nominations of the Convention already made. Thus the King of the Caucus, or Convention, not only selected the President, and Vice-President of the Nation, but by reason of the organization of party needed to elect them, he consolidated his party, and extended its action so that all other officers, down to the constables in every town, must be named and voted for practically in the same way. Thus the *initiative* of the government planned for the people passed out of their hands, and made a democracy impossible. The Political Party with its Machinery and Boss, far more irresponsible and independent of the people than any King, has thus captured and annexed the whole government to itself. The people are utterly powerless except to change one political despot for another. The Democracy and the Legislature, like the electoral colleges, exist chiefly as the means by which the party Bosses legalize their decrees, bargains and caprices, and fill the offices with their crea-

tures. As the Trusts and Monopolies consolidate, these Parties will be their dependents. Our Congress and Legislatures will be to them what the Roman Senate was to the Emperor, or the British Parliament to Henry VIII. This enormous change of a government "of, for and by the people," to one of, for and by parties, was the unintended result of apparently a very innocent act on the part of Congressmen to get the electoral colleges to vote for some one candidate. The very fact of Congress undertaking this very necessary duty shows plainly that instead of the electoral colleges, Congress should itself have been empowered to elect the President, and been responsible to the people therefor. It is singular that the astute men who framed the constitution did not see that separate electoral colleges voting in separate States, on the same day, could never, of themselves, with any certainty, give a majority of all of the colleges to any one candidate. Necessarily the power which could arrange to get that done would hold the initiative of one political action in the country; for everything must depend upon that being done. To ensure it the Electors themselves must be named and committed beforehand, and to do that practically, compels the election of all officers, and the administration of the whole government. The Constitution is indeed a beautiful and wonderful political mechanism, but it did not protect the primary democracy, which was to have been its initiative, and to have furnished through its legal representatives the power to move it as a whole. It is now a splendid engine, but the boiler that furnishes the steam, and to which it belongs, is the Political Convention of the successful Party and Boss.

The main political question of our day is: Can the *initiative*, the moving and controlling power of the Government, be taken from the outside political party managers, and restored to the primal democratic assemblies of the people, and to their *legal* representatives? Can political action be included within the governmental action, or shall it remain an extraneous, extra-constitutional mob-power, the possession of which in the end, by the monopolists, will give them completely the government itself?

Unless the people can combine their government and politics, is it not certain that Politicians will own their voters, and that no Australian or other device of secret balloting will avail? Equally certain is it, that no effective civil service reform is possible as long as the chance to get an office and to keep it depends upon party interests and party

managers. Suppose, then the people should be aroused by the Nationalists, or otherwise, to a desire to control their own government,—to restore it (1) to the primitive democracy, (2) to the real representative Legislatures, and (3) to an executive responsibility to the people through their representatives—How could it be done?

This difficulty lies directly across the path of the Nationalists, and is one of the first they must seek to remove. Unless it can be done in some way, there is much reason to believe that the first and the last centennial of our Republic has been celebrated.

Let us then inquire if a few and simple amendments to the Constitution would not bring about the change. We have observed that the Fathers seem to have never anticipated the dangers which have overtaken us and which make our future so doubtful. But there was one exception. In the Convention chosen in Virginia to adopt or reject the proposed Constitution, *Patrick Henry*, the Hero-Orator of the Revolution, exerted all of his wonderful powers and influence to secure its rejection. He succeeded so far that its adoption by Virginia and other States was practically upon the condition that certain (the ten) amendments should be also adopted; but they did not cover his main objections. His view was that the new government, unlike the old, was not a Confederacy of the States, but, as Webster's tongue and Grant's sword have since made clear, a government formed by "We the People," soon to be a mighty Empire, and practically beyond the people's control; so that it could be neither a Democracy nor a real representative Republic. It would be a government of parties and partisans. There could be no democracy possible in Congressional Districts so large that the people could not know their candidates nor really choose them, as was theretofore done in towns, parishes and counties. There was no democracy in a Senate elected by Legislatures already beyond the people; nor in a President elected accidentally by separate State electoral colleges, whose actions could not but be wholly unaccountable and irresponsible. When he came to speak of elections his prophetic words intimate the remedy: (Elliot's Debates Virginia, p. 322). He said:

"It (the constitution) will destroy that connection that ought to subsist between the electors and the elected. If your electors be by (large) Districts instead of Counties, the people will not be acquainted with the Candidates. They must therefore be directed in the elections by those who do know them. So that instead of a confidential connection between the electors and the elected, they would be absolutely

unacquainted with each other. A common man must ask a man of influence how he is to proceed, and for whom he is to vote."

"It will be a common job to extort the suffrages of the common people for the most influential characters. The same men may be repeatedly elected by these means. This, Sir, instead of promoting the freedom of elections, leads us to an aristocracy. Where is the chance that a poor man can come forward with the rich? Instead of supporting democratical principles, it goes absolutely to destroy them. The great and direct end of government is liberty. If this is not effectively secured, government is an evil."

But great as was Henry's foresight he never caught a glimpse of "King Caucus," nor of the Political Convention Boss, exaggerating the evils he did foresee a hundred fold. Such a glimpse would undoubtedly have given the Constitution an emphatic rejection, at least until it had been amended, so as to render their existence impossible.

The remedies he did indicate, for the evils he did foresee, are all important to us. In a word they are, that whatever Government was to be, and however great, it must rest for its foundation upon small districts of the people able to meet and vote in primary assemblages, and that their representatives and officers must administer all government in strict responsibility to them.

John Fiske in his very instructive little work, "The American Idea in Politics," traces this popular government, resting upon composite local assemblies, from the forests of Germany, and the *hundreds* of the Anglo-Saxons, down to its flower in the town meetings of New England. He shows how entirely they differ from the Roman or Latin modes of government descended from "the city" and its despot. He indicates clearly that it contains the true method upon which the Republics must be built which shall in time form "The Federation of the World, The Parliament of Man."

Such a Federation will certainly be impossible if the political Bosses of the whole human race are to make their fight for its control the principal politics and business of our Planet, and run the component Republics as their private instruments in capturing the spoils of the world! Let us, then, suppose the Town Assembly, or other District so small as to permit a practical meeting of the people for consultation and voting, to be the political unit, from whence all political action and power must originate. At such meetings the selectmen and local town or city officers would be chosen directly, as is now done. At the same time and way, representatives should be elected to the State

Assembly, and also members of a convention to nominate the candidates for State Senator for that Senatorial District, and also members of a Congressional convention to name candidates for Congressman for that Congressional District. The Candidates thus nominated should be voted for by the initial Assemblies at a meeting called for the purpose, so that all power would come from them. The State Legislature thus chosen should on joint ballot elect the Governor, and the United States Senators—each house electing its presiding and other officers, of course. In a similar way the two Houses of the United States Congress, after electing their own officers, should on joint ballot elect a President of the United States. All officers should be removable before their term expires by the election of their successor by, say, a two-thirds vote.

The electoral colleges and all that relates to them should be abolished, and the holding or attempting to hold political caucuses or conventions, State or National, should be severely punished as criminal conspiracies against the Liberties and Welfare of the people. No political action should be permitted except through the District assemblies and the nominating conventions (for Senators and Congressmen), and the Legislatures and Congress elected; and all should grow out of and be responsible to the local democracies, as above indicated. All citizens should be required to attend their District meetings and vote, and sufficient rewards or penalties should make their attendance effective.

These simple arrangements would sweep out the whole political party and election machinery as we now have it, abolish all "The Halls" and "primaries," and save the people an immense amount of money, time, worry, disappointment, corruption, and deviltry of nearly every description.

Civil service could then be established practically and in good faith, instead of being a hypocritical mockery as it is now, and always must be under party government. To such a civil service under the control of a State and National Executive with proper Industrial Departments, all of the public administration necessary to secure the general welfare of the people, such as transportation, and the production and distribution of the common means of living, could be very soon safely committed. Then Corporate Franchises and Monopolies, the Money King, and finally the Landlord, would be replaced by *Uncle Sam*, or some one under him or the State, holding and working for the benefit of all. Integral co-operation, not "paternalism," would be the soul

and purpose of the whole government, and it would be at its best in administering the most, and interfering with individual citizens the least, thus making liberty possible and protecting it. Liberty is impossible until the conditions of living are known and secure. Every citizen would feel that the government was his partnership, his own affair, and Statesmen would be educated by public service, and by pride in successful administration now unknown to our partisans. In a word, all eyes would be *looking forward* to see how step by step we could change the refined cannibalism of our "gigantic poorhouse," called civilization, into a practical, co-operative brotherhood, gradually realizing the dreams of Fourier and Bellamy when, as engraved on the tomb of the former,

The Series shall distribute the harmonies;
The attractions be proportional to the destinies.

THADDEUS B. WAKEMAN.

New York City.

Among the books concerning "local democracy" worthy of attention, do not overlook the *Essays on Government, Parochial* and other, in *The Original*, by *Thomas Walker*, edited by Henry Morley, in his Universal Library, and published by I. Rutledge and Sons. There is very much healthy medicine in this book written for England (1817-1835) which, *Mutatis mutandis*, could be taken to our advantage. The party or mob government into which we are drifting, described by him as "*Ochlocracy* (which is derived from two Greek words signifying mob-government) is the most inquisitorial, dictatorial, and disgusting of all governments; and its tendency is to despotism as a more tolerable form of tyranny. It is an unwieldy Monster, more potent in the tail than in the head, and is hardly stimulated to action but by the garbage of trash, thrown to it by the base, or the weak, for their base or weak purposes," p. 11. The good governments of the world he shows have ever been those resting upon local units. So was it with the Saxon, Norman, Russian, and German tribe, Alfred's hundreds, the English Parish, and the New England Town. These practical facts are not from a "Nationalist Dreamer," but from one of the most experienced of English Magistrates and Scholars, who actually did the thing himself; (pp. 56-58) and who points out that only in that way can the noble saying of King Alfred have any sense, "That men ought to be as free as their own thoughts"; thus making "Anarchy" superfluous.

T. B. W.

MY MASTERPIECE.

I.

I wrote the truest, tenderest song
 The world has ever heard;
 How smoothly clear, how deeply strong,
 How sweet was every word!
 The flowing numbers came to me
 Unbidden from the heart;
 So pure the strain, that poesy
 Seemed something more than art.

II.

No doubtful cadence marred a line,
 So tunelessly it flowed;
 And through the measure, all divine,
 The fire of genius glowed.
 So deftly were the verses wrought,
 So fair the legend told,
 That every word revealed a thought,
 And every thought was gold.

III.

Mine was the charm, the power, the skill,
 The wisdom of the years;
 'Twas mine to move the world at will
 To laughter or to tears.
 For subtle pleasantry was there
 And brilliant flash of wit;
 Now, pleading eyes were raised in prayer,
 And now with smiles were lit.

IV.

I sang of hours when Youth was King,
 And of one happy spot
 Where life and love were everything,
 And time was half forgot.
 Of gracious days in woodland ways,
 When every flower and tree
 Seemed echoing the sweetest phrase
 From lips in Arcadie.

V.

Of Sagas old and Norseman band
 That sailed o'er Northern seas;
 Enchanting tales of fairy-land
 And strange philosophies.
 I sang of Egypt's fairest queen,
 With passion's fatal curse;
 And of that sad-faced Florentine
 As deathless as his verse.

Boston, Mass.

VI.

I sang the merry times of Pan,
 When Dryads thronged the trees;
 When Atalanta swiftly ran
 With fleet Hippomenes.
 Brave stories, too, did I relate
 Of battle-flags unfurled;
 Of glorious days when Greece was great;
 When Rome was all the world.

VII.

Of noble deeds for noble creeds,
 Of woman's sacrifice;
 The mother's stricken heart that bleeds
 For souls in Paradise.
 Anon I told a tale of shame,
 And while in tears I slept—
 Behold, a white-robed angel came
 And read the words and wept!

VIII.

And so I wrote my perfect song
 In such a wondrous key
 I heard the plaudits of the throng
 And fame awaited me.
 Alas! the sullen morning broke
 And rose the tempest's roar;
 'Mid discord, trembling, I awoke,
 And lo! my dream was o'er!

IX.

Yet often in the quiet night
 My song returns to me;
 I seize the pen and fain would write
 My long-lost melody;
 But, dreaming o'er the words, ere long
 Comes vague remembering,
 And fades away the sweetest song
 That man can ever sing!

ARTHUR MACY.

A SOLUTION OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

The present article assumes that there is need of radical temperance reform. The measures heretofore advocated have been moral suasion, license law and prohibitory law. The first of these attempts to restrain the drinker; the last two the seller of drink. No one of them is an undoubted success; and for this lack of success some reasons may be found. First, the appeal to the individual drinker is futile if his habit has induced such physiological changes that it may fairly be regarded as a disease; and nearly all confirmed drinkers are in this state. Such an appeal is futile also, if made to a moderate drinker, for he has the same confidence in his self-command that the stock-gambling cashier has in his ultimate honesty and solvency. Total abstinence will do for an occasional individual or even for wide-spread societies in a state of moral exhilaration; but it has not yet availed to stay the curse of alcoholism. The traditions of humanity, the charms of poetry, the legends of religion, and the hollow and senseless mockery of the modern "treat," draw the young into it and keep them there by the force of sentiment and conviviality till shattered nerves and stunted will crave for the merely sensuous indulgence.

Accepting the fact that the temptation is over-strong, the next thing to do is to deal with the drinkseller. The license law claims to restrict the traffic so that it shall be for the interest of the seller to conduct his business properly. The most it can do is to compel him to close his shop at particular hours and not permit disgraceful drunkenness on his premises; and almost anything short of wallowing on the floor of his bar-room is included in this license. Restricted high license, such as has been applied in Massachusetts, effects little else than to crowd the favored taprooms and statistics of "seizures" are not yet sufficient to show whether the kitchen groggery is ready to be extinguished.

The prohibitionist realizes that high license and moral suasion are ineffective, but hopes to succeed by a single mandate of the all-powerful "government" to refuse outright what it cannot regulate. Prohibition is a partial success in rural communities where the popular sentiment is in its favor; in other words, where drinkers are scarce. In all large cities it is a mere mockery. In Boston during the prohibitory period of twenty years ago, the sales of the largest wholesale liquor firm were just as large and their rate of profit just as preposterously high as at

any other period. Even on its chosen ground this measure fails to control the most prolific source of intemperance—the society feast, the clubroom, the cellar of the hospitable. “The original package” balks all local laws.

National prohibition is Utopian; and whenever we are in a position to secure it, the nuisance can be disposed of with less effort, will, in fact, have already sunk into insignificance. The difficulty that underlies all our schemes of reform is that both parties to the sale of a drink of liquor are co-conspirators. The seller wants to sell because he makes a profit; the buyer will not give evidence against him for any violations of law, because that violation contributes to his own gratification. The desire of profit stimulates adulteration and illicit sales; and lack of evidence has forced the Law and Order Leagues of Eastern cities to such devices that their witnesses are rebuked from the bench in open court, and bid fair to become proverbial for sneaking and treachery—questionable means that nothing can justify if not their end.

These two things, then, and these only, stand in the way of a reasonable restraint of the liquor traffic: the desire of profit and the privacy of the sale. The first of these difficulties may be obviated by compelling all liquor to be sold at cost; the second, by having all sales entered upon a public record. *This may be accomplished by making the manufacture and sale of liquor a government monopoly like the postal system, and in no other way.*

Let the government, then, assume the duty of brewing, distilling and importing all liquors, and forbid all other brewing, distilling and importing, just as now it forbids the private carrying of mails; let a suitable number of dispensing offices be established in each ward or other convenient district; at these offices the registered inhabitants or the bona fide guests of neighboring hotels may obtain liquor for such purposes and in such quantity as may be legalized; and the stranger within the gates must be vouched for, by the inhabitant with whom he is quartered, in such a way as to prevent any person from obtaining liquor from more than one office.

There would be nothing immoral about a public bar where the dispenser had no interest except that of efficient public service under wise regulation; and with a moderate and impartial supply of this kind, smuggling and illicit manufacture would be out of the question, because they could not compete with government prices, and the evils that come from *adulteration* of liquor would disappear. After this

system is established, any reasonable restraint will be perfectly effective, and absolute prohibition of the use of alcoholic beverages can be more effectively carried out than it ever has been yet. But this last step might then very fairly be considered an unreasonable restraint.

Under the present regime the liquor dealers are organized for the protection of their interests against the attacks of society, but there is no organization among them, nor can there be, to protect society against the outrages of which it complains. Even if there are some few saloons that will not sell drink after drink to the same customer till he is completely intoxicated, there is no hindrance to the very ordinary and usual practice of going from shop to shop, "seeing the town" and getting drunk by degrees. The most conscientious barkeeper—and there may be such—might find it difficult to decide whether the applicant before him could stand another dose of alcohol; and if the line is drawn too far on the wrong side, the barkeeper will justify himself with the motto of commercial greed,— "It's business." Not only is the moral responsibility divided by this practice, but the legal responsibility also. The law recognizes the right of the family to protest against the sale of liquor to any of its members whom it may injure; and if the relatives of a drunkard give notice in writing to any particular dealer, there is provision for legal redress if he sells contrary to such notice. It is impossible, however, to give written notice to the hundred saloons within easy walking distance, or to obtain redress, after the notice is served, without evidence of the specific act that constitutes the offense.

Under the system proposed in this article these evils would not exist. The drinker could get no liquor except where he was known and registered; and, if his case was severe enough to demand it, his family could prevent even that.

The extension of the government service by the absorption of this business will be a serious consideration to those who distrust political methods but the same object might have been urged against the introduction of the money order, the registered mail, the special delivery stamp, and against what must shortly follow, the delivery of all letters by carrier. Yet no one in his senses would urge the abolition of any of these things for the sake of reducing the civil service list. The fact is, the corruption in our civil service is a very slight matter; the pickings and stealings for a year are a cheese-paring to the embezzlements and dishonest bankruptcies of private business in many a

department of equal size. The real danger lies in the fact that appointments to public positions may be used to reward political services. But if we are to hold the nation back from useful work because we cannot control the appointment of our servants, what a mockery of self-government is ours! Or rather, what a mockery of statesmanship it is to dwarf the Nation's functions instead of radically reforming her methods of management!

Granting even, though only for the sake of argument, that it may in general be better not to extend the public service before reorganizing it, it will readily be seen that the question before us possesses a peculiar character in this respect. What is "political service" of the reprehensible kind? Is it not the bargain for and the delivery of certain parcels of voters, numbered and described as may be, and in consideration of certain favors promised and expected? The essential immorality and harmfulness of the transaction lies in the fact that it is made without due regard to the honest convictions of the voter, or to his lack of them, so that the ballot does not represent the intelligent opinion of the people. The consideration, when given in the shape of a political appointment, can only compensate a leader; and one very naturally asks what is the nature of the bond that cements this meaningless and sordid vote?

In one form or another, it is the liquor business. Such voters include not only those whose hearthstone is the public bar, but many others of reasonably industrious and honest habit, whose visible friend is the man who is kind to them with such kindness as weary and unending toil can appreciate. The political adventurer casts his bread upon the liquors and it comes back to him on election day. The cheery greeting, the hearty grasp, and the words of hope all have their uses, but the place where they are exchanged is the friendly saloon, and the clinching argument is "a treat all around." Again, in the local politics of cities it frequently happens that a man is returned again and again to the government when his character is known to be utterly worthless, and the sources of his income open to grave doubts. Such a man always has the saloons at his back. It is true that, in general movements involving the whole of a State, the liquor interest is easily worsted: but it may be doubted whether they do not often succeed in large movements where their hand is masked, and it certainly cannot be doubted that they have a strong grip on the rule of large cities. In one of our largest cities we are told that one

brewery holds six hundred mortgages on the stock and fixtures of as many saloons; and a very moderate estimate is that each of these saloons *owns* ten or a dozen marketable votes. Is it any wonder that such a city is powerless against the liquor interest?

Such well-cemented organization as that of the liquor dealers, with the keen interest that they have in politics, with their unscrupulousness and defiance of public opinion, is far more of a menace to our political integrity than the addition of a hundred thousand employees to the public service; and the department herein described will not, under the most generous estimate, require so many as that. For these reasons it seems impossible to doubt that the reform of this traffic must precede any political reorganization.

The conclusions arrived at in this article can hardly be altered by the attitude of the typical prohibitionist. His opposition to the evils of alcohol recognizes no other evil and shrinks from no risk. With a fanaticism possibly excusable in a good cause, but none the less suicidal, he sees no right in a traffic that certainly has much wrong in it; he follows up success with such immoderate zeal as must ensure reaction, and he meets defeat with petty and illogical retaliation. He hates the sinner as well as the sin, and he is well hated in return. Looking forward from such hopeless contradiction, it is pleasant to contemplate a state of things where there could be no more temptation to sell liquor than comes from the desire of pleasing the buyer; and it is good to know we are so constituted that the man who would sacrifice his duty for his drink is generally the man one cares least about pleasing. Then the responsibility would be fixed, and public opinion would lead in triumph where now it follows in captivity.

GEORGE W. EVANS.

Boston, Mass.

THE POETRY OF EVIL.

If this title shocks any æsthetic ear, it will be on account of the forced association of its incongruous members. But such association is not of my own invention. I have simply taken an existing fact in literature and named it. I do not lay claim to any originality in this; I claim only my own perception of the thing named, and ask others to view it as a thing which itself lays claim to art. The clearer outlines of this child of art have been brought to light by the illuminating vision of the twentieth century given in "Looking Backward." To be sure, before the appearance of the book the same facts existed, and had been alluded to for ages; but it has remained for the present year to present their title to clearer recognition.

We shall reach the true idea of this Poetry of Evil by observing the evolution of other ideas of evil in their natural order. First came the dark, theological doctrine of evil as the natural inheritance of man. Under it the world lay, brooded over by the black shadow of despair, lit, to be sure, here and there, with the silvery lining of a future promise. Then came, to occupy the ground with it, the philosophy of evil. Its form was more beautiful, its colors less sombre. It showed that evil must necessarily exist in a developing world, and it added to the "future promise" of its dark-browed companion a certain, present satisfaction in a perception of the path to its attainment. More than this, it offered a certain stoical comfort in the fact that evil, like death, was inevitable. Out of this latter idea has quietly evolved a dim outline of what I have called the Poetry of Evil. It first appeared as a child of the imagination, and has long remained in this shadowy form, but recent writers have evoked its more tangible existence as a material support to the theories of Individualism with which they would contend against the new movement toward Co-operation. They present it in somewhat this form: "The world, as offered us from the standpoint of 'Looking Backward,' is dull and uninviting, *because of the absence of evil*. In it we miss the lights and shades and thrilling contrasts which give color, tone and life to the panorama of human existence in the nineteenth century. On the one hand we miss that beauty of virtue which is wrought out of the struggle with the unfavorable conditions of life *i. e.* with evil: and, on the other hand, we miss that angelic beauty of character seen in charity — that beauty which represents the beauty of giving, and which, combined with the

former beauty of personal virtue found in struggle, gives the rhyme and rhythm in this great, seething mass of struggling humanity now surrounding us."

This picture it is that I have named the Poetry of Evil. True, it has not appeared in exactly the above language, but the ideas are the same, nevertheless, and they aim to portray the poetic or beautiful side of competitive strife in man's attempt to attain the highest individuality. If there were needed any confirmation of this statement I might refer to the general tone, and even to definite statements in some of our leading and most liberal religious journals. Liberal religious literature, better than any other, represents the intelligence of the age on any moral question. This is especially true of liberal religious journals. Their writers are broad-minded, cultured, and have a certain stability gained from their intellectual investment in the institution to which they have given their adherence. A number of these journals have lately given voice to the poetic idea of evil above presented, so that we may take them as representative words.

Now, what is there to this whole argument against Nationalism or Co-operation from this poetic standpoint? There is simply this: in contrasts and in mingled lights and shades there are the elements of beauty. But the truth is in the *fact* of contrast, not in any particular *grade*, or ratio, of its manifestation. Is it any more beautiful to see the fair form of charity engaged in bringing a happy throb to the hearts of children in the lowest streets of Boston—children whose very birth is a curse to them, and from whose hearts the temporary touch of love will be washed away the next moment by a deluge of sin and corruption, than it would be to see the same form giving itself in loving labor to children who were so placed that constant impressions of good could be made upon them and the evolution of good be a constant progression? Or is it any more poetic to see souls struggling with their own circumstances of evil in an endless, *hopeless* fight than it would be to see the same souls struggling under more favorable circumstances and winning the victory?

Let us not deceive ourselves by the presence of that which exists today. In the twentieth century there is offered a much more constant progression in the same struggle for it than here exists—only the chances of victory are greater. The contrasts which make the poetry of evil will exist so long as man can develop. The practical application of "Looking Backward," does not rob life of any of the glories of

struggle — only it robs struggle of its hopelessness and adds to its beauties the possibility of achievement. There is, however, beyond question such a thing in the world as the Poetry of Evil, but when such liberal-religious writers as we have referred to in general, attempt to bring it down from its high position and make it do duty as a controversial advocate they rob it of all beauty. The poetry of evil must still remain in shadowy outline until this century of competition and greed has passed and it has no real, permanent place on earth. It belongs only in the realm of imagination. True art is never hopeless in its ultimate expression and the struggle today is hopeless. If the artist does not make his hero the conqueror of circumstances, or if we cannot see all strife find peace in a higher unity, we condemn his work of art. In our present condition of business there are no solid grounds for hope. The man is unequal to the struggle. While a Chicago journal was setting in type words that attempted to portray the beauty of the poetry of evil, 22,000 miners a few miles away, in the same state were asking for the lowest pittance on which they could support their families and were being denied this. While another journal in Boston was setting in type similar words and sending them out in the name of charity, the wails of little children only a few streets away, dressed in rags and surrounded by profane and drunken parents, were robbing the words of all their truth. There was struggle in both these cases, but was it beautiful? It was robbed of all beauty of hopelessness. Will not the poetry of evil appear before us in clearer outline, when struggle is made amidst conditions that offer more certainties of success? Does the presence of real hope in the breast of every man and woman, instead of a fictitious hope realized only by a very few, detract from the beauty of this poetry of evil? The question is its own answer.

W. G. TODD.

Des Moines, Iowa.

OUR BLOCK—A COÖPERATIVE POSSIBILITY.

Last Sunday I was sitting at a window in the rear of my house in no very pleasant mood. Forsooth, a veil of sadness had been drawn over my spirits by the antics of the immigrant princess who presides over my kitchen. A variety of very excellent food material, costing a very high price, had been metamorphosed by this dignitary, with the aid of a coal-fire and condiments undreamed of by Brillat Savarin, into a tasteless, unsavory, indigestible mess and at this my stomach had rebelled. "Ah, me," I muttered, as I puffed away at my cigar in a vain attempt to kill the taste of my dinner, "I wonder if it is the same story with the sixty-four families who respectively occupy the sixty-four brown-stone front houses whose back-yards I see. Surely there might be some method by which, adding our mutual troubles together in this respect, they would negative each other and vanish in the total." Absorbed with this idea I seized a sheet of paper and covered it with figures till, urged by the appetizing dream of a good dinner, I arrived at the following result.

The sixty-four brown-stone houses in question are all occupied by families of moderate means whose incomes, I should judge, would average \$5000 per annum. The rent of these houses varies from \$1500 to \$1750 and each family would average about five adult members, making a total, for the sixty-four houses, of 320 people. Each family pays an Irish or German servant, who passes for a cook, an average monthly wage of \$16, a total annual payment to the sixty-four cooks of \$12,288. Now I think I rather under than over-estimate when I say that each family pays for food, and the coal to cook it, \$120 per month, making a total food consumption in the year of \$92,160; add the cooks' wages and we have a grand total of \$104,448 spent in one year by sixty-four families for badly cooked food, and this for a dinner of not more than one meat, two or three vegetables and a dessert. In some a soup may be added, but not much more than this.

Let us suppose that eight of the families should be willing to give up or rent, each eight feet of their yards (which they could easily spare) for the erection of a kitchen one hundred feet long and sixteen feet wide. By the others each giving up two feet a covered passage-way four feet wide could be constructed leading to the yard of each

house. Now this kitchen, to cook for sixty-four families, would require the following staff:

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------|--------|
| 1 steward and buyer at | | \$ 800 |
| 1 French chef | | 1800 |
| 1 assistant | | 800 |
| 1 “ | | 600 |
| 1 vegetable cook | | 700 |
| 1 assistant | | 500 |
| 1 pastry cook | | 800 |
| 6 boys at \$250 | | 1500 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total wages | | \$7500 |

So that the cooking done in the worst possible manner by sixty-four servants for \$12,288 could be done thoroughly well, in the most cleanly, economical manner, by competent and trained experts, for \$4,788 less.

The distribution of the meals could be accomplished rapidly and effectively by the boys using covered, heated and locked receptacles, made of zinc or tin, delivered to the maid servant of each house at the entrance to the yard. Breakfast and lunch could be made in a single delivery, dinner in two or even three, and at such hours as would suit the householders, within a certain limit.

Basing my estimate upon the cost of food at a first-class hotel in this city, and the difference in the cost of provisions at retail and wholesale, I feel that I am within bounds in estimating the total annual cost of the food consumption of the sixty-four families, including coal, at \$70,000, an actual cash saving in all of \$26,948.

Orders for breakfast and lunch could be sent in the preceding day, taken from a card distributed by the steward. The dinner would consist of soup, fish, two entries, roast, salad, and dessert, equal in every respect to a dinner served at the best Restaurant or Club in New York City.

This co-operative kitchen could be governed by a committee of three householders, elected by the householders at a general meeting. Each householder would pay his share of the expense monthly to one of the committee, based on the number of members of his family. An allowance should be made to the committee for their services and a fair rent paid to those householders whose land is taken for the site of the kitchen.

Thus, my dyspeptic neighbors, who on birthdays and other festive occasions take your wives and children to Delmonico's as a special treat, you have it in your power to solve the servant question, banish the kitchen tryant, relieve your wives of the burden of housekeeping and feast daily upon the fat of the land for one-fourth less money than you are paying now, while getting none of all these good things; and all this by the magic of that one word "co-operation." Will you do it? Oh, no. You would prefer to be dragged over harrows rather than surrender the glorious liberty of cooking just what and just how you please; and better, death by dyspepsia than such a blow to individuality as would be involved in carrying out the scheme sketched above.

With a fervent wish that the next generation may be wiser than mine, I throw away my exhausted cigar and shut down the window.

GEORGE F. DUYSTERS.

New York City.

THE KEY THEREOF.

When the morning stars together
 Sang that mystical song so wondrous,
 High in the purple above
 And low in the vast vault under us:—
 O Universe, tell me whether,
 When soft as a brooding dove

They sang that music wondrous,
 Low in the vast vault under us
 And high in the purple above:—
 Dear Universe, whisper me whether,
 When they sang that song together,
 The Key thereof was not Love!

ALYS HAMILTON HARDING.

Boston, Mass.

A PLAN OF ACTION.

Seven years of hard knocks in the cause of Collectivism ought to teach thought, ought to teach one plain, practical common sense, ought to have given me a clear idea of how the evolution of the New Civilization can be best assisted. I think it has done so and I have a plan of campaign. I recognize that if this plan *is* practical, the movement will, without undue friction, proceed along its lines; and that if it is not, I shall have to pick my flint and try again. But believing that I do see clearly, I would dearly love to have every Nationalist look through my spectacles.

Brave old John Swinton and clear-headed Joe Buchanan used to insist that we must first know exactly what we want before we can *do* anything. What I want then is this: the rapid evolution of the competitive system into the co-operative carried out without bloodshed; the Nationalization of Industry *begun* at once.

We say, that by education we are now "training our troops," as Cromwell trained his Ironsides in the fens of Lincolnshire, and that we will engage the enemy after a while. But he trained his troops in action, not in dreaming. So I believe that we should be acting—as well as preaching—now. Meetings, magazines, tracts, speeches, clubs, agitation, propaganda, are but a skirmish line; they annoy the foe a little but do nothing to dislodge him from his position.

Has not the competitive system its *one* vulnerable point? Is there not one weak spot that will first give way? Does there not exist one unguarded and unguardable break in their fortified camp?

We have now but a desultory rattling of musketry all along our line and every little rally of pickets believes its own group of four to be the main attack. We need generalship,—first to sight the proper point of onset and next to concentrate our raw recruits and hurl them in mass upon the enemy.

I come modestly to the council of officers then with my plan; and ask a hearing. In this movement I am no longer a cadet, and the bravery of uniform, the rustle of banners, the cheers of parade, the blare of bands, the enthusiasm of the young militia-man, move me no more. *While I will obey orders*, yet I go without hope to an assault upon the battlements of Land-tenure, the bastions of Corporate Greed, the breast-works of the National Congress, the intrenchments of Ignorance.

I see the guns frowning in the embrasures of these points and the line of fire from them is already marked with our dead.

But there *is* one unguarded point; and a point which they cannot guard; a breach made by their own monster gun and widened by its every discharge. This struggle is not to be won by rose-water and fine phrases but by the force of *Competition* itself. Train their own gun upon them and walls shall crumble and the defenders melt away. The weak spot is the force that Nature has given to Competition that it might kill itself, the impulse and power that lies within a wrong to end it,—this it is that predicts the suicide of Capitalism: Competition dies when the people begin to produce and distribute the necessities of life *at cost*. And Capitalism cannot fortify this spot. Competition, by which they fortify, is then already engaged against them.

It is not necessary to win a great National battle. If we could Nationalize the telegraph and the railroads to-morrow, *poverty* would still be as bitter and misery and crime as wide-spread. Until Uncle Sam can give *food, clothes and shelter*, the final victory is not won.

But—if next November we here in California, by concentrating our forces on one spot, succeed in carrying San Francisco for Nationalism at the ballot-box, and if then, right here, we make poverty unknown,—then this city will begin a growth unpicturable even in dream, a million of men will flock to it and every other city in the Union *must* follow in our footsteps or be *competed* out of existence.

We propose to win this next election here. And *then* this is our program: Our Nationalist Board of Supervisors will, by municipal ordinances, declare that the City and County of San Francisco henceforth proposes to conduct its own affairs; that it will begin the immediate construction of its own water works, bakeries, abattoirs, street-car lines, bathing houses and laundries. That it will pay for the construction and operation of these in *script* and will receive this script for water, bread, meat, car-fare and washing, and ultimately for taxation. This will give this script full currency as money and at par, perhaps may place it at a premium. I have no space to show where this has been successfully done; I can only note the market place of Guernsey, the court house at Greeley, Colo., the People's Ditch at Hanford, Cal., the natural gas at Findlay, Ohio, etc., etc. The script being received for the product and redeemed by it and then destroyed, will constitute a *scientific* circulating medium subject to no fluctuation in value.

If an aqueduct is constructed bringing the water from the Sierras

across the State (and sold to other towns and to farmers on the route as well) it will produce a revenue of \$1,500,000 per year and will cost \$10,000,000, paying for itself in seven years.

Bakeries and warehouses for grain can be established for \$500,000, and would make a *profit* of \$2,700,000 per annum at present prices. Abattoirs could be established for \$200,000 and would make a profit of \$5,900,000 per year at present prices. Wheat and meat could be bought of the farmer either for cash or script. As script would be current for water, for flour, and as every city merchant would take it from him in settlement of account, the farmer would take it from us.

The street cars of San Francisco pay a profit of \$1,042,675 per year and this plant cost but \$4,534,100.

Laundries and baths at present pay a profit of \$3,000,000; the City could build them for \$300,000.

The lighting of this city gives a profit of \$2,000,000 a year. A proper electric light plant could be put in for \$4,000,000.

The total cost of these plants would be \$19,000,000, the annual income (*profits*) would be \$16,000,000. The annual tax of this city is but \$3,000,000. Comment is superfluous.

The very first year we would nearly pay for all of our improvements. The second year we could buy up the outside lands and build homes for our workers. The third year we could establish other industries and in ten years we could actually, alone, pay off the National debt. No great National party, no weary fight to win Congress, are necessary, in my opinion. The point of attack is the municipality; the weapon is *competition with municipal script receivable for the goods produced*; and the road is a plain and easy highway.

Let the PEOPLE'S MONEY, — not the irredeemable greenback, but the scientific product-check, — once be sent into the field and NATURE then fights for us and the fittest and most perfect will survive.

Neither Ignorance nor Despotism are potent for any purpose against Science; and that we must win the citadel, and soon, upon these lines, seems to me to be as certain as a mathematical equation.

BURNETTE G. HASKELL.

San Francisco.

THE NATIONALIST MAGAZINE,
77 Boylston Street,
BOSTON, MASS.

✍ All communications of a literary nature should be directed simply Editor, **THE NATIONALIST**, 77 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. All communications relating to subscriptions, advertisements, etc., to the Business Manager, same address.

✍ Now, with the beginning of our second volume, is an excellent time to subscribe for **THE NATIONALIST**. Price \$1.00 a year. See on another page a list of some of the risen and rising writers who give their best thoughts to **THE NATIONALIST**.

✍ Tickets for Bellamy's lecture at Tremont Temple, December 19, are for sale at 465 Washington Street, as well as 77 Boylston. Look over the plan of seats and get your tickets early. Subscriptions to **THE NATIONALIST** can also be left at 465 Washington Street, if more convenient.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A CHRISTMAS GREETING AND SERMON.

The Christmas Nationalist presents the compliments of the season and a pen-and-ink portrait of Edward Bellamy to 35,000 people.

This portrait is considered, by all who have the pleasure of knowing Edward Bellamy personally, the very best ever made of him; in brief, it is a characteristic likeness, taken by a good photographer and then drawn by a good artist. Indeed, it may justly be called a work of art, well worth framing on its artistic merits alone as a human head to be hung up in study or work-shop or parlor; and truly it should be—will be in countless places—thus treated; and so its great original will be converted, as it were, into a familiar, household presence, like his works.

And this is well; for, besides being the most popular and probably the most famous living author, better still, Edward Bellamy is one of the most high-minded, kind-hearted and companionable of men. Indeed, it is his real crown, a crown more real than any ever worn by monarch, that those who know him esteem the man even more highly than the genius.

But right here a word of caution to the rapidly gathering army of his admirers—the industrial army in embryo—the Nationalists throughout the country! There is always danger in hero-worship, as in many other pleasant things, under the present social system. Not so much danger, perhaps, to the recipient of the worship, though it is a melancholy fact that again and again in history the heads of great men have been turned by the flatteries of smaller men, even in some cases, to the detriment of nations, by the adulations of contemptibly small men. But the chief danger lies in confusing a person, however great and heroic and worthy of esteem, with a Cause which is at once

the composite spirituality and most important practical business of the many—of Man, the Mass, in contradistinction from man, the unit.

This confusion some opponents of the grand and ennobling, yet simple and commonsensible, doctrines of Nationalism have already attempted to bring about. Realizing that in this age any reform, which can be juggled into even the semblance of a mere one-man following, can thus be side-tracked, some of our opponents have tried to make out that Nationalism and Bellamyism are identical; have attempted to foist on the people the idea that Nationalists regard Bellamy's delightful picture, "Looking Backward," as a perfect, though pre-natal, photograph of Society in the twentieth and succeeding centuries. Of course, such a statement by our more or less cunning opponents, if examined, is found to contain its own confutation. Nationalists, as a rule, do indeed believe in the broad, general colors of that picture, for the simple reason that those colors are foreshadowed by past and present events. As to many points of detail, however, a wide divergence of opinion is entertained—and rightly.

Nor, though great honor is due to Edward Bellamy, should it ever be forgotten that many others have worked and suffered and died young to bring about that clarity in the general intellectual atmosphere which to-day is enabling us to see the full beauty—and, seeing, to help toward realizing an approximate practical loveliness in human relations—of the glorious picture painted by Bellamy with the heartfelt hand of genius. Mr. Babcock, in the November NATIONALIST, has put this case with equal truth and picturesqueness thus :

"He who is accustomed to generalize does not say that Danton was the French Revolution, that Washington effected the independence of his country, or, to take the strongest instance, that Garrison and Phillips abolished chattel slavery. It is true that if these men, or such as they, had not appeared at critical moments, these great revolutions might have been delayed; but they succeeded, because they were the instruments of a force not to be resisted. *Before them, other men toiled and struggled—men whose names were never repeated beyond the narrow limits in which their voices were heard—who went to the stake, or the gibbet, or to nameless graves, without one glimpse of the day that should witness the triumph of the truth for which they shed their blood.* But when the men, whose names history has embalmed in everlasting remembrance, appeared on the scene, the time was ripe, and the movements had become irresistible which they simply guided to a speedier success."

Nor, yet further, does Bellamy wish to pose, or be posed, as a guide or leader, like Henry George, for instance. Bellamy recognizes that this movement is too vast to be led or guided by any one man: he knows that to ensure a speedy and permanent success it needs the patient focalization of many earnest hearts and subtle minds; and the attitude he takes on this point can be imitated with advantage by many men of mark in the Nationalist Clubs of this country; for the best way to hasten the day of the Reign of Humanity is to avoid in the management of our Nationalist affairs both the show and the substance of the rule of One-man-ity. This can be done by taking counsel together early and often and there must be just such practical co-operation on the mental plane, were it only by way of training, to bring

about finally in its full effect a practical co-operation on the material plane—a co-operation not of paternalism, but of Fraternity, with the widest possible Equality and the truest possible Liberty.

OUR ANNIVERSARY.

On December 19, at Tremont Temple, as announced on the outside cover and elsewhere, will be celebrated the anniversary of the formation of the first Nationalist Club. Edward Bellamy will deliver an address especially prepared by him on "The Purposes and Principles of Nationalism." F. A. Hinckley will speak also, and probably Daniel De Leon of New York City, and possibly Henry Austin will recite his patriotic and popular poem, Frederickburg '62, or one composed especially for the occasion.

TO BUSINESS MEN.

It is not the custom, nor must this be taken as establishing a precedent, to call attention on the editorial page to any advertiser or advertisement; but we wish business men especially to notice the action of Mr. Washburn, the manager of the American Supply Co., who ordered for distribution a special edition of 25,000 copies of this number with his advertisement on the back cover. This enterprise on his part proves two things: first, that clever business men are beginning to appreciate our great movement, and secondly, (also shown by our other advertisers), that they are beginning to appreciate the value of THE NATIONALIST Magazine as an advertising medium.

THE NATIONALIST EXTRAS.

Owing to the press of work upon THE NATIONALIST staff, it has been found impossible yet to make the needed preparations for the promised series of NATIONALIST extras. The first number will be issued early in the year, and particulars will be given in the January number. All communications on this point should be sent to Sylvester Baxter, care of the Magazine.

AN APOLOGY.

Owing to the great press of matter, the moving into our new quarters, and the printing so large an edition ahead of our usual time, the Departments, News of the Movement, edited by Mr. Willard, and Attitude of the Press, edited by Mr. Biscoc, have been unavoidably crowded over to the New year.

A CREDIT TO BOSTON.

The Arena which appeared this month bids fair to equal the high standard of Blackwood's if it will print articles of purely literary value and not narrow itself to matters of argument merely. This policy is outlined in its announcements, and for the sake of Boston to whom the initial Arena is a credit, we hope it will be followed and extended.

REMARKS ON REMOVAL.

On December First the Nationalist Club moved into its new headquarters, 77 Boylston Street, corner of Park Square. This change into larger and more convenient offices was made necessary by the increasing amount of work which must be done by the officers of the Club in order to keep pace with the rapid growth of the movement. The clerical force alone that now must be employed could not be crowded into the old quarters. Early in the year the officers and committees of the Nationalist organization had little to do in their official capacity, except to discuss the future probabilities of a Nationalist movement. In the later months of the year, however, speculations as to the speedy success of Nationalism have been lost sight of by those who have had to face the task of at least trying to keep track of the popular recognition of the ethics of Nationalism. Only such as have been in the position of workers at head-quarters can realize what Nationalism means to the country at large. In the small room hitherto occupied an heroic attempt has been made to keep abreast of the tide of correspondence from every State and Territory in the Union, as well as from nearly every English speaking corner of the globe, and it is to be wondered at that the effort has been partially successful. Of course, the great need of the Club has been the need of funds with which properly to carry on the propaganda. If, in the past few months, it had had the quarters and the money, it could have done an amount of work scarcely exceeded by the National Committee of one of the great political parties during an active campaign. But such a comparison is not intended as an indication that in any sense is the Nationalist Club a political organization. While this notice of change of location is not an exposition of the principles of Nationalism, it may not be out of place to say that the Club is in no way tainted by party politics. It is rather the point of crystalization for a moral revolution against the glaring defects in our present social life which threaten to further widen the already dangerous breach between capital and labor. Competition in some directions is dead, as, for instance, the Western Union Telegraph Company, and here in Boston, the West End Street Railway, or the Bay State Gas Company, are examples of monopolies which have not only done away with all competition, but, as a matter of fact, any chance for future competition. It will not be long before this will generally be the case with all the more important industries. The oil trust, the sugar trust, etc., are examples of a large number of trusts that have stepped out of the reach of competition and are now in a condition to make the producer pay the past expenses of ruining competitors and for a time, perhaps, not meeting running expenses or interest on watered stock. It does not seem out of reason that in time these great monopolies may even unite in one common trust for self-protection against the masses. But laying aside such extreme possibilities, it certainly is better that the people should own the monopolies upon which their welfare depends, provided that our

civil service system is so perfected that ability in each department shall receive its proper recognition, and any change of the party in power have absolutely no effect upon tenure of office. The Nationalists fully recognize that but one step in advance at a time can be taken and that each advance must show the direction for the next step. This is not Anarchy or extreme Socialism that would despoil those who have been able to take advantage of present social conditions. It is good "common sense," if an unselfish conception of something better than the present with its want, misery, and crying distress, means anything. The ethics of Nationalism are at bottom the principle of unselfishness, and it is not to be wondered at that men and women everywhere find in the Nationalist declaration of principles an echo of the "still, small voice" of their own better natures.

This notice of removal is also a notice to many magazine and newspaper critics who evidently do not understand the first principles of Nationalism that they are most cordially invited to visit the new head-quarters, 77 Boylston Street. Of course, all friends of the cause know that the new offices have been secured for their benefit and use.

JOHN RANSOM BRIDGE, Sec'y.

A RETROSPECT.

The First Nationalist Club of Boston and the world—the parent club as it is affectionately called by clubs all over the country—is a year old this month. Therefore it is pardonable that we should indulge in a little personality, looking backward over what we have attempted and accomplished. It seems, indeed, but last month, when that little knot of men and one woman gathered in the front room of 61 State street. It was a spot hallowed by heroic memories. From the windows could be seen the brass tablet that marks where the Boston Massacre took place March 5, 1770. Down the street past that building or its predecessor marched the "Indians," who threw the tea overboard and made the "tempest in a teapot," the teapot being Boston harbor and the tempest finally calming into the formation of a new social order. And the men who gathered there, a year ago, gathered to accomplish peacefully a similar purpose—to establish a nobler order. First political equality, now industrial equality. Then liberty, now equality and fraternity, especially the latter. Hardly a person in that room a year ago, but was a descendant of the early New Englanders. Their ancestors had made a political republic possible. The descendants showed the same blood and met to shape a new industrial republic. It was history repeating itself in part for betterment as a whole.

That building is now torn down to make room for an immense structure—the new Stock Exchange—which coming generations no

doubt will convert from a licensed gambling den into a temple of true learning in which our descendants will be taught where Nationalism had its birth. But history, not prophecy, is our business now, and in the May number of this magazine can be found a history of the formation of the parent club. Of the thirty or forty persons who attended the meetings until the club was definitely organized, Saturday afternoon, December 15, all but two or three joined and are now efficient and zealous members. We have lost one by death, George W. Dempsey, who would have been a most valuable and enthusiastic member had he lived. It is meet to pay this slight tribute to the departed in passing to mark the fact that he is not forgotten. Four or five have left the club to go to other cities where they like birds of passage scattered the seeds of truth.

The parent club has grown from thirty to about two hundred active members and a large number of associate members. Two other clubs of an aggregate membership of about two hundred are also in existence here and others are forming in East Boston, South Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester and many other places in Massachusetts. In another year there will probably be 5,000 enrolled Nationalists in Boston and the suburbs. The parent club limited its active membership to 250. This was done at the outset for two reasons. First, in order not to have too unwieldy an organization; secondly, in order to pick our members and indirectly to encourage the formation of other clubs in different sections of the city. The only reason necessary to enlarge upon is the second, as it is the one for which we have been unjustly criticized on the ground that we were too exclusive or felt too good to mix with the common people, were "rose-water revolutionists" and so on, simply because we desired to pick the best material for effective work and not admit any and every person who came along with a burning desire to reform the world or to join a club for the mere sake of joining. As has been truly said by Henry A. Ford of Detroit, "the Nationalist Club is not a cave of Adullam for the debtor and the malcontent." Some of the men who founded the first club had had experience in trying to change social forms before "Looking Backward" was written and they had often been told that it was the unsuccessful man, the ignorant and the violent, who desired a change. Therefore, it was made an unwritten law that this new club should be composed as much as possible of men who had been successful in the present fierce competitive struggle. They were not the weak, crying for mercy; they were the strong, demanding justice. They were not the crank or uneducated foreigner, importing ideas declared to be "exotics"; they were men of position, educated, conservative in speech and of the oldest New England stock. In fact, one prominent paper accused them of being the Brahmin caste of New England. There were among the charter members ministers and authors, whose names are household words, clear-headed practical newspaper men who had fought their way up to positions of influence in their profes-

sion, lawyers, doctors, business men and soldiers who ranked high among their fellows as men of sense. Thus the dynamic force of this new and small organization, by the variety of its components was calculated to influence every walk of life. With but a few lines in the newspapers at first, the new club went on with quiet persistence, its members active in many ways until the topic of Nationalism became what it is to-day, the most widely discussed and absorbing topic of the times.

Aided by "Looking Backward" in the start, the Club aided the book in turn by extending its circulation as the first step. Its light spread. The names of some of the more noted men and women in its ranks extended to other cities. The policy (narrow as it may perhaps seem) of picking our members had the anticipated effect. By the character of its membership it challenged discussion of the ideas it advanced. It was not composed of the "ignorant or dangerous classes," so-called. The men and women in the new club commanded respect. With the prestige of their social position and the force of their intellect they shattered the "conspiracy of silence." These questions must be discussed henceforth, until they are settled.

As news of our movement spread, requests for information came in first slowly, then faster, then in a steady stream, whose volume has grown until it now taxes the means and accommodations of the Boston Club to handle it. First came Washington, led by the venerable M. A. Clancy; then Jesse Cox of Chicago wrote that they had turned over the Collectivist League into a Nationalist Club; then appeared Orcutt and Cheney of Hartford; then New York, the great metropolis, made its working known through Stuart Merrill, J. Edward Hall, (now gone to his rest) and Daniel De Leon. Then California, the land of gold and glorious climate, began to stir under the quiet work of Eugene Hough and many other old workers in the cause of humanity. The stir has now increased to a fervid enthusiasm which has made California fairly rock with the Nationalist ideas. It leads in number of clubs, there being now seventeen in that state.

So the movement has gone on, and from all over the country come the same reports. The intelligent and educated are joining, men and women of wealth, of brains and of heart, in the professions, the ministry, in trade and among the workers and producers. The idea of the brotherhood of humanity being dependent on the nationalizing of industry has given a vitalizing moral force which attracts many who cared but little for its economic side. This movement has reached out and is beginning to unite the farmers with the toilers in the city. It has inspired and is inspiring countless books, magazine articles, editorials and articles in the daily press. We have fifty or more papers and magazines unreservedly advocating Nationalism. They are country weeklies, farmers' papers, labor papers and several daily papers. Many of the most prominent papers of the land print every day editorials favoring this or that idea on our programme. Some appear to

go just as far as they dare and some of the less prominent dailies are even more outspoken in our favor.

The movement has not lagged in gaining numerical strength. To-day, we have over fifty organized clubs in fourteen States, and the District of Columbia, and, while the membership has not been as yet fully compiled, it is safe to say that there are over 6000 *organized* adherents of Nationalism, working for the common end. It is also safe to say there are over 500,000 believers, more or less, in the doctrines of Nationalism. "Looking Backward" is now in its 210 thousandth, and selling at the rate of over 10,000 a week. It is adding converts to our ranks rapidly. Since May 1st, 1889, 69,000 copies of this magazine have been circulated, and we are now called on to print a sixth edition of our May number.

The work that has been done is something that we can feel proud of. The word, we, in the preceding sentence, means every Nationalist in the country, man and woman, who has assisted in this glorious work. In fact nearly every one has. It has not been a few persons who have done it. It has been the rank and file who have kept up a ceaseless and enthusiastic proselyting which is being felt all along the line. There has been in this work no "repression of individuality" which is one of the bugaboos of our adversaries, but on the contrary a development of a noble individuality. The Boston Club has not in any way sought to impose its ideas, or particular methods, upon any club or any individual. "Do your work as you think best, and we will help you" has always been its motto, and it has assisted most of the clubs so far organized. It has scattered documents by the thousands. Much other work has been performed such as sending speakers to various places.

All this has been done at the expense of the Club, or of the individual members. This is stated not in any spirit of self-glorification, but simply to give a complete picture. It leads up to the thought that very soon a closer union of the clubs will be necessary in order to set about organizing the National Party in a systematic manner, and also in such a manner that all will bear the expense, as unquestionably all are eager to. As soon as possible it is intended to call a convention by States to form a National organization or League. By comparing notes with other prominent clubs, there has been found to be a concurrence of opinion that it would be wise to wait until at least half the States of the Union have a Nationalist Club. Until that time, it has been thought advisable that the Boston Club should continue, as in the past, to act as the National organization. To facilitate the work of organizing, the different States have been divided into sections, each under the charge of a sub-committee. This division, for the purpose of organization, will be given in the January number, together with copious reports from the Secretaries of the fifty odd clubs, which will be found listed on the end of the pages of this Magazine.

C. F. WILLARD.

GOLDWIN SMITH'S "FALSE HOPES."

Professor Goldwin Smith, a Canadian of note, has recently taken a little intellectual journey, and as the motive by which he was guided or driven is proclaimed on nearly every page of the pamphlet *False Hopes* which gives an account of his trip, we see plainly enough that the end of his journey could not have been other than it was.

He started from the station of Present Method and was impelled by the idea of Money-Making, as a motive force. Of course, there could be but one ending to such a trip. He arrived at the station of "Leave the Present Order Alone." He really travelled in a circle. Mr. Smith makes a very great mistake in putting forth this book for it shows that he has but little belief in any world, of which Money as coined in gold and silver is not the impelling force. His opening sentence strikes one as the expression of a regret and that, too, a regret that the old regime—the regime of the 17th and 18th centuries—is not the order of today, and also he gives us the idea that he considers the old regime better than the present.

But with the development of the world why should not most men believe that their existence can be bettered by economic change? Why should they not desire to grasp "a full share of the good things of this world?" Is it to be lamented that the belief in a material heaven that dealt out rewards and punishments has departed? Medieval Christianity and some modern Christianity too, denounce the Valhalla of the Teutons and the Norseman with its drinking bouts and jollifications and the Paradise of Mahomet with its gardens and houris—but do they offer anything much better, or substantially different? Whose heaven is it where we shall hear

"The shouts of them that triumph —
The songs of them that feast,"

as described in "Songs of the Sanctuary?" It is well that men are beginning to abandon a belief in such a hereafter as that. Now that they have, there is reason for hope. The desire of man to have his "share of good things of this world" is a great stimulus to the attainment of them; and when there is as great and mutual a desire on the part of those who control the world, to assist in the creation and distribution of the aforesaid good things, we shall be well along on the road to universal peace and prosperity.

It is the one redeeming feature of Mr. Smith's pamphlet, that he did not say men had an eagerness to grasp money, for everywhere else throughout the pamphlet, the whole song is money and money-getting. Yet as a rule, the great mass of men, 999 men out of 1000, get money only because they can exchange it for something. They exchange labor for money and they exchange the money for "the good things of this world."

It is true that the present "Have-nots," not finding their place in the great multitude which is exchanging labor for money and the money for good things; not being educated to the point where they would starve in an orderly and becoming manner, rather than disturb polite society; not having been reared under influences that have taught them to control their passions, their desires, their feelings; having been raised under influences that have made them brutes, instead of men, do talk and act in a way to disturb society in general, and vested interests in particular. But it all comes because they want "the good things of this world."

It is pleasant to notice that Mr. Smith only credits these disturbing, poor people—the masses—with a desire to get a "full share." If they wanted to get more than a full share, like unto iron masters, sugar trust men, and those of *their* kind, who knows what would become of us? Mr. Smith makes a mistake, often made by the large tribe of prophets who "don't know," in supposing that the present economical and industrial conditions carried out until the whole world is peopled and worked, are the best set.

Mr. Smith starts all wrong, (most men over 45 years old do) in assuming that the making or acquisition of money as represented by the precious metals, or property, is the end and aim of physical existence. The first aim of man is to be comfortable. He wishes to be fed, clothed and housed, and in just that order are his wants. The gratification of his desires and his passions comes afterwards; the first are prime necessities. Now to do this, he is obliged to work. He exchanges his labor for money, the money for food, clothing, shelter, and it should here be observed that this is about all the great mass of men can get, and this exchange is also of the most meager description, compared with the possibilities of civilization.

But do away entirely with the stuff called money—and the idea that people work to get money: create a society in which the governing idea shall be the satisfaction of human needs by the exchange of the products of labor, and we have a new state of affairs. As the masses want only "a full share of the good things of this world" and as those good things can be had, when everybody able to work can have an opportunity to do so and can get in return the good things he ought to have and does not now get: so when this time comes, the jarring, jangling condition of society as it now is will cease to exist.

It isn't necessary now to try to fix the responsibility for the present order or rather disorder of things upon any man or set of men; it has grown up out of the darkness, little by little, the successful man generally trampling those by whom he rose out of the mass under his feet, and for such minds as Mr. Smith's (and there are many of them) this seems all right and is to be continued *ad infinitum*. These peaky disturbers, however, don't agree to that, they want a "full share of the good things of this world" and so they clutch at them, even without fear of the next world in which, forsooth, according to the old religions, they would be confronted with the pig stolen in this. It may be observed by the way, that the projectors of this heaven were a commercial people, for the accounts kept there were book accounts, *itemized* with the debits and a Per Contra," and if the latter would not offset the debits, why, perpetual imprisonment in Hell with no benefit of the poor debtor's oath settled the account. Is it is to be wondered that the great mass of men don't wan't any more of such a heaven?

The first and fundamental idea that must govern the new society is the entire abolition of money. Mr. Smith sneers at the phrase "Property is theft." When there is no money to be had for the exchange of anything now called property, there will be no theft. No one would take the trouble to forge deeds to a piece of land, if he could obtain for them only an order on the public store house for such articles of food or clothing as he and his family needed. No one would steal a watch if he could not wear it, or if he could only get for it a ticket allowing him so many rations of beef or flour to be used as required. The possibility of exchanging property for gold and silver and banknotes, and the ease with which it can be done is the temptation to the commission of much crime against property now; when there is no money there will be no robbery. So long as money exists, so long will the great mass of the inhabitants of the earth continue to grasp at the good things of this world and generally fail to obtain them.

There are inequalities of many kinds, possibly some greater than those created by wealth, but the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, under present conditions, not only aggravates the natural inequalities, but makes many others that would not otherwise exist, and while this condition of affairs continues, should we not expect there would be combinations of men of similar ideas to make conditions under which they think they would "get a full share of the good things of this world?"

Under the repressive conditions existing for so many generations in the Eastern Hemisphere what strange thing is there in societies of innumerable "isms" for the total destruction of the present political and economical systems so that on the ruins of the old structures, something new may be built. Let us consider these rebellious societies and their "isms" a moment. The great mass of Socialists so called, are not Destructives; they only want a chance to get their share, and they are perfectly willing to give all their labor to accomplish that end. The Nihilists and Anarchists are judged by a few of their leaders; but the great mass of persons classed by European governments under these names are seeking to better their conditions by peaceable means alone, and do not desire the *violent* destruction of any order of present society. Indeed, so far as destruc-

tive tendencies concern the taking of life, the righting of evils—real and imaginary—by the individual American with his shot-gun and revolver, go in the aggregate far beyond all that has been attempted or accomplished by the societies of all the rest of the earth. That the "sore heads" of our working population and the desperadoes among our tramps are peaceably minded, and not inclined to "grasp the good things of this world" except as a theory, is certain, for in a country where twenty dollars will buy a breechloader and a hundred rounds of fixed ammunition, there could be no chance for the capitalist or vested interests, if they were not peaceable.

Let us turn now to Mr. Smith's argument about workmen. There is undoubtedly a great difference between a good workman and a bad workman; but as things are now managed there does not appear to be any way for the bad workman to become a good one, except by a patient training which he has not been educated to endure, and a patient teaching by the modern master that he, also, has not the time and inclination to give. This is an age of machines and the owner or manager of machines expects to find the human machine, and the human portions of machines, running with the regularity and precision of the steel and iron machines. Men bewail the abolition or loss of the apprentice system, but it cannot all be charged to the laborer. The master must himself give attention to training apprentices, if they are to be his successors. There is no use in a discussion of this question nor in lamenting over the relations that once existed between masters and workmen. As Mr. Smith says, we must take the world as it is, and he cites the national workshops at Paris and the Government dockyards in England, as failures, when judged by the standards of work performed in private shops and yards. This is no doubt true, and the same can be said of the government dock yards in the United States; but it should not be forgotten that the former shops were instituted as a political measure; a tub thrown to the whale, for the English Government is obliged to take men into its dock yards under the stress of necessity and in competition with private individuals always on the lookout for the best workmen, and in our country the Government ship yards have become, notoriously, places for political heelers to lay off in, while waiting for the real work of elections.

Under similar conditions, impelled by the same motives as control men at work in private establishments, the output in a public yard or shop would compare favorably, taking amount and quality together, with work done for private individuals. If we compare the work performed by the men in the Government mail service, with an equal number working for the express companies, it will be found that when the former are not disturbed by politicians, and depend for promotion only on their records, the service comes as near perfection as it is possible for man to make it. In all government places where the tenure is political, there is the poorest work, and in those places where merit alone determines tenure no private establishment can do better. In point of pay and emolument there can be no comparison between that received by government employees and those operating their own work and *their* employees. The pay of public employees is in striking contrast to that given for similar work and responsibility by private persons. If we compare the faithfulness which public servants show in the care of money and property committed to their charge, with the embezzlements, peculations and carelessness shown by those privately employed, the superiority of the service given the public is in painful contrast with the wretched returns given to private employers.

Yet, in spite of these statistical facts, Mr. Smith prefers to believe the handling of the public revenues will corrupt men more than handling the same revenues owned privately. We must remember, however, that under Nationalism these revenues or returns will not be money or its representative, liable to be stolen. No public treasurer will carry off domestic supplies for which he has no use and for which he can find no market. Mr. Smith asks in what Phalanstery shall we put sailors, railroad men and presumably miners and all others of those who now perform the most disagreeable duties. They will be in their proper place and as there is no difficulty now in finding men for such occupations as they are fit for, so under the new system, there will always be men for all kinds of work. The artists of all kinds will also be in the new society. Michael Angelo did not work for pay. Thomas A' Kempis did not think of numerous editions and large returns from copyright. Beethoven and Mozart did not write their heavenly music at the bidding of

publishers. Columbus did not go on his quest chiefly for a share of the profits. Dr. Livingstone did not lay down his life in Africa to leave a large landed estate there to his descendants. The volunteers for forlorn hopes always exceed the number asked for. When the Creator of the universe has a message to deliver to any of his creatures, he will have no trouble to find a messenger.

As regards the question of the despotism that will rule in the Utopia of the Socialists, or the Nationalists, what reason is there to believe a wise regulation, that applies equally to all and is binding on all and by which all *must* work and live, would produce worse results, or be more irksome, than the want of order now which allows the frightful irregularities and indecencies of life, and the evils attendant on them?

Nearly everyone to attain a success that will ensure comfort, happiness and the kindly consideration of his neighbors lives by rule and lives fully as much by rule as will the community man in the coming social order. If Utopia is to be the last birth of time, it is for the reason that then there will be no need for further change.

As regards freedom of movement and worldwide travel, do not Raymond and Cook attend to just such perfect communistic business every month in the year? The same thing will happen in regard to every particular thing that can be mentioned. The birth of the new system can be delayed by such men as Mr. Smith, but with superior wisdom the coming man will bring it about.

As the old has gone and the present does not appear to be an harmonious age, the sensible thing is, to ask what is better? There is a foundation to be had somewhere and we must have a clear idea of what men exist for? For many ages the great mass of men has existed, apparently to perpetuate the species so that kings and rulers generally might have a good fighting force. But this idea seems to be gradually dying out and the commercial idea has taken its place very largely. The commercial idea of an object is, something from which money can be made, and that is about all the value there is in a man now. The question isn't so much "what good is there in him," as it is "how much money is he worth" and it may fairly be said that today the commercial idea of man is the prevailing one. So, if the question was now to be asked "what is the chief end of man" the answer would be unhesitatingly given "to make money." Once in a while in the discussion of subjects of this character it is well to return to the point from whence the discussion started, and provided the sentiments expressed are not pecuniary or personal to ask what some of the old ideas represented. We have a right to do this when those in the affirmative of a proposition bring God into the discussion, and we shall take the ground that there was a purpose in the making of the universe although we are not compelled by the argument to assent to the proposition.

If God did create the universe and all therein, we shall assume that the chief end of man is not to fight nor to make money, but to glorify his Creator and that this glorification cannot be accomplished by any so-called civilization that condemns to misery and degradation *any* portion of the human race, be it ever so small. And there can be no doubt about the embruting and dehumanizing tendencies of many modern methods of using human labor. Mr. Smith speaks of differences in station and in capacity not fixed by human lawgivers. Possibly the differences between any given two men today are not thus *fixed*, but probably they are the result of human agencies operating through many generations.

There is always in a race a capacity to return to the condition from which it originally sprung, and it might not require many generations for the descendants of even so highly cultivated a man as Mr. Smith, under fair conditions for the operation of the experiment, to become such beings as were the English from which he sprang, and who are so graphically described by the old Roman writers. What they and what their descendants were to a very recent period any one interested can ascertain, by reading an article by James Russell Lowell in *American Facts*, London, 1845.

We object to all this assertion that the present inequalities between man are God-ordained. Mr. Smith writes of various attempts at community of labor, of co-operation, in a rather disparaging way, citing them to prove his theory that the chief end of man is to make money, and that the way to make money is to exalt the interest of the individual. He doesn't give any credit to the idea under which these attempts were made. He exults over their failure, showing how, under the operation of existing laws, the sharper

individual, having only money making as the chief end of *his* life, could beat them every time. He doesn't point out, however, that these co-operatives only wanted a "full share of the good things of the world," while the other wanted the whole earth if he could get it.

Then, too, his flippant remarks about land in Afghanistan and Ireland show against him, for in the former country the land would be shared among all those of the tribe *willing to work*; while in the latter the man who wanted the earth had the power of the empire to support his claim and the question of a man being willing to work wasn't considered at all.

In the present age it does seem as if a man, willing to work a living out of the soil, ought to be allowed a location to do it on, subject only to the greater rights of all, and to what is fairly expedient for the community. We cannot, however, take time or space, to discuss the land question and the community farm in this article. With the question of Fiat money we do not deal, for we agree with Mr. Smith that paper money is as great a curse now as it ever was. The bone we have to pick with Mr. Smith is a different one. His grounds are that the present conditions, if not good enough, are rapidly creating the best conditions attainable. We do not believe this. The age is one that certainly has brought out much that was previously unknown; has multiplied production; has created almost heavenly conditions for many, so far as anything mundane can be said to the heavenly. It has produced many men who have accumulated millions, and a few from the many have devoted some of their wealth to projects for advancing the knowledge, and softening the condition of some of their fellows. But these instances are isolated ones; they are exceptional; otherwise they would not excite remark. And when we consider that all these accumulations are derived from the labor of the many, and we also see the possessors of millions shortening the daily wages of men earning a bare pittance and proving by statisticians that the product of labor is only fifty cents per head today, and saying that a man who gets that amount for self and family ought to be thankful, we doubt the value of the statistics and the humanity of the millionaire.

About statistics we may say something at a future time. The statement made by Mr. Smith, that private fortunes are held more and more subject to the claims of the community rests upon no foundation. In fact, never before was the assertion of the right of the money-maker to make and *hold*, more absolute than it is today. "The public be damned," says the representative man of his class. The probate courts, to be sure, interfere with some dead men's wills but the division made there does not affect the public. Mr. Smith next is mistaken when he says that "by socialism is meant the theory of those who propose in various degrees to introduce the regulation and payment of industry by the state," for, on this formulation of the ideas of others, he brings in his old time notion of "payment." Under the new idea that seems to be coming forward, the word "payment" will be left out. The labors of all the members of the community will be utilized when and where they are needed. The labor required from each will be performed and a proper and proportionate share of the products of all, will be given in return. The present idea of payment is the giving of something that will have a representative value and can be stored for future use. Under the new method for exploiting men's labor, there will be nothing that in any way resembles this. The rations Mr. Smith speaks of as being subject to theft would not be so, for as the only use the thief could make of them would be to consume them, they would be valueless, because he would have his own rations and more would be only a burden.

Here would come in Mr. Smith's argument about giving each an equal portion of the common product. Under our present system, and that is Mr. Smith's standard for judgment, that would be unfair; but when, under a new and better system, each one does the best that lies in his power, there is no reason why from the common products of labor, of such as he would appreciate, each one should not have all that he wanted; but it is a fair answer to make to the question that will be asked, what if all want whipped syllabus? to reply, "not all will want it." A few years ago a number of gentlemen of Boston dined at Tafts. Among the dishes was reed bird on toast. One of the convives, a hearty marketman, after finishing his "rations" of reed birds, said *sotto voce* to his neighbor: "So this is reed bird on toast; well, for my eating give me a good beefsteak and potatoes."

Mr. Smith asks: "Will the artisan submit willingly to the autocratic rule of his brothers?" As he does now, there is no reason to suppose he will not in the future; while, moreover, it should be remembered that the autocratic rule, will not be autocratic, and it will be a rule, under which ruler and ruled stand equal. Steam drives the engine and the engine drives the man. Now, certain individuals produce to sell, and as this is done in competition with other individuals none of them knowing with any certainty what the market may take, the work is done so as to realize the largest return of money to the manufacturer. When goods shall be manufactured to be exchanged, divided among a nation or a world of producers, each doing his share and producing only what can be exchanged and used, there will not be any quibbling as to the increase in the price of green calf skins nor how much extra labor a man must contribute for the rise in value in his boots. Neither will men be put in prison for obtaining goods under false pretences, and be employed making "warranted all leather" shoes out of imitation leather and pasteboard.

Mr. Smith cites the N. Y. C. Railroad as proving the value of individual management under the money-making idea. Would he really have people believe that the Engineers of the U. S. Army could not have made the consolidation known as the Vanderbilt system, had the whole people owned these roads and the Chief of Engineers received the order to consolidate them? Possibly a loose aggregation of people, not technically educated, could not have built the Victoria Bridge. No one supposes it, but to say that the same bridge could not have been built by Gen. John Newton is absurd.

Under the domination of the idea that there was money to make, Mr. Brassey built the Victoria Bridge, and if he got only five per cent profit he was modest as money makers go; but we have a good right to ask, what fiat fixed five per cent as a just profit or toll for Mr. Brassey to take from the material used and the labor employed? That the laws sanctioned it is all right enough; we don't find any fault; nor should we, if the profit had been twice as great. We are not now finding fault with the profits of Mr. Brassey, or of any other man, because the present system of civilization allows it and encourages it. We only take issue with the statement that it is the best system that can be devised and made to work.

Trust funds are seeking investment at as low rates as 2 1-2 per cent. We may rightfully ask why any arbitrary rate of interest or profit is a just one? Here we mean what competition will force out of the market. Take fortunes like those of three or four of our wealthiest men and put them in investments paying even one per cent, and their descendants in a thousand years would own the earth. The men handling the accumulations would not be producers at all, and probably would be men working for small salaries, while the owners must of necessity be persons who would not be in touch with the rest of mankind. Because the laws allowed this condition of affairs would it be the best one that could be devised? To this it is no answer to say, that self-interest would dictate a course calculated to offer the most advantages to tenants.

The probabilities would be against a Nero, a Caligula, a Commodus, yet history tells us of all three. The impossible always happens. Mr. Smith speaks of colossal stores like those of A. T. Stewart as offering the best and truest co-operation on the "cash-down" principle. This is all very well from one point of view, and yet it is probable that the establishment of these large stores, which can only be created by the crushing out of hundreds of smaller ones, have been of no real benefit to the community. They may have enabled people to buy some things cheaper, but the money saved, if we so call it, has been by crowding labor down, and the profit has not remained with the many, but with the millionaire shopkeeper. There isn't really any more money or products of industry in existence. What surplus there is belongs to fewer persons.

It is true, as Mr. Smith says, that "the number of people living in plenty and comfort has multiplied a hundred fold." There should have been such an increase. The capacity of the working world to produce is in greater ratio still, but of poverty, as compared with the old condition, there is as much, if not more than ever. Relatively speaking, there is as much misery, and so far as absolute degradation is in question, the revelations made in some of the poor-houses and insane asylums, equal anything ever told of. Much that we see of our boasted culture absolutely demonstrates that under a civilization where the laws allow an individual accumulation, the race may have a gilding of refinement

at the head, but that at the foundation, the space separating it from barbarism is only a line in thickness for the whole, and in its lowest stratum barbarians now live and multiply.

If the object of all human effort as regards man himself is to produce happiness, there can be no question that a most thorough failure is the result. What material advance has been made belongs to them who have it; no thanks to the lords or rulers of society or to the money kings. Miserable, indeed, would our state be if there was not this increase in the number of the well-to-do class. Mr. Smith does not, however, tell us what is true, viz: that while the wealth of the world increases, the establishment of one of these happy, comfortable homes becomes more and more difficult year by year. The comfortable homes were most of them created or begun before the opportunity was offered for the building up of the colossal fortunes that are now being accumulated. The tendency of the present day is to diminish the number of employers and to increase the number of the employed. Young men cannot go into business as they could a generation ago on small capital. Clerks and salesmen cannot, in proportion to their numbers, obtain partnerships as formerly. To make one A. T. Stewart requires the absorption of several hundred small stores with a thousand partners.

Suppose we cite a sugar refinery as an instance of the change, call it growth if you will, of modern industry. First a small establishment with one partner to buy and sell, one in charge of the office, and one for a general over-seeing, all the employees knowing and being known, by their employers. Then comes the great stock company with a board of directors, and a managing superintendent, a foreman in charge of different divisions of labor, and the owners knowing none of them; the main object being as large dividends as can be squeezed out of material and labor. Then the Trust controlling all the refineries, shutting down on one section of a country; throwing all the old employees from superintendent to floor-sweeper out of work without a thought of their situation. At this stage, labor is only a material like raw sugar or bone-charcoal; all to be bought by the bulk and thrown away when used up or worn out. The rule under which these concerns are carried on is as autocratic as that of the Czar of Russia and infinitely more safe; for the trust is not to be reached by dynamite, since, for the protection of its property, the very community which it outrages is bound. In answer to this Mr. Smith will say: "This is the common course of things; this is the line of development." Exactly so, from his standpoint; but that is the very thing that comes up and out of his creed eternally; money; money; money; man is nowhere, except as he can make money; if he cannot, he is only material. To this point the battle is being waged. No system of civilization that leaves the great majority of men subject to the whims, caprices, desires or avarice of any one, is the proper civilization. If society is to grow for permanent stay, it must grow symmetrically. The foundation of the structure may not have the same ornamentation; may not show the refinement of the arts as does the superstructure; but it must, nevertheless, be of solid material, well adjusted and skillfully cared for and preserved. Decay in a portion of this will certainly entail ruin on what is above and rests upon it. No community of monied people exclusively has yet existed. Nor is it possible for a monied class to exist a long time without a proportionately well-doing and contented class below or with it. The next step downward is slavery; the second barbarism.

A change in the method of transacting business from control by the individual to that of the trust is possible. The iron trade is nearly there already and with advancing time this centralization will continue. We may ask how long it will continue; the answer is, so long as property can be computed in and exchanged for money.

Mr. Smith expresses himself quite warmly on what he calls the confiscation of every man's freehold; his farm that he has bought and paid for and that the state has guaranteed to him in the most solemn manner. That such ideas find respectful hearers outside of dens of robbers and lunatic asylums is evidence that the world is in a curious state of serious perturbation. But that a man who has been a robber all his life, should change his manner of obtaining his living, would to his comrades evince a mind curiously perturbed, and yet such changes have been made.

That thousands of serious minded, law abiding citizens are entertaining these notions is a proof, not that they are wrong, nor that they are robbers or lunatics, but that they be-

lieve that the present method of parcelling out the earth's surface is a wrong one. Many persons, neither robbers nor lunatics, believe that no matter what station of life a man is born in, he is more indebted to his fellows at the end of his life than they are to him—the exception in any case only proving the rule.

Through his peculiar disposition aided by inherited wealth and protected by laws, many a man becomes rather a nuisance than a help to his fellows. To hold land for increase of value he forces unnecessary and unnatural growth of communities. Men are obliged to work and as they congregate in manufacturing towns, one man may, often does, compel them to live in the most unhealthful places, many times causes sickness and suffering beyond the power of remedy; thousands of deaths occur yearly in every state in order that an increased value may be given to certain pieces of unoccupied land, and for this and similar reasons many persons are beginning to believe that private ownership in land is inexpedient as well as unjust. As man comes naked into the world and seldom takes out of it much beside a shroud and a coffin, it would be no very great hardship, while he is in it, to confine his possessions of *terra firma* to what portion of it he could conveniently handle.

Now, if there is one point on which every one can agree, it is, that speculation in land and allowing it to be held in large tracts, unused, is of no benefit to any community or to a nation. As soon as this is forbidden by law the talk about there not being land enough for all will cease. Then too there will be a better education of the race. When a man is confined in his holding to what he can use, communities will not be scattered to the four quarters of the earth just because some one or half a dozen men hold square miles of the best land uncultivated. There will be no depopulation of the farm for the town, for the town and farm will be one. It is as easy for a farmer to go a mile or two to his work as it is for a mechanic.

Mr. Smith evidently supposes that those who wish to make a new system for humanity to walk and work under, expect it to come all at once. He makes a mistake there again. Even those who most suffer under the present order of things, and those who hope to gain the most by the establishment of the new order, do not wish or expect it to be a revolution: they look for an *evolution*.

Everybody knows more than anybody, and where the changes are to be made which will affect whole masses of the people, the changes will be gradual. As the present free condition of the civilized world has come from repealing restrictive laws, so the other and greater changes will come from the repealing of other restrictive laws that bind men down. So long as the enclosing cocoon remains unbroken, its tenant is nothing but a grub. The possibilities of flight come to it when freed from its bonds. Mr. Smith believes that the present laws are necessary to keep the world on its course, or rather to keep men from self-destruction. Some of them may have been needed in years ago, but many of them are so far outgrown that the statute book would be better without them. The present Unitarians would have been burned a short time ago to prevent them contaminating a pure and undefiled church. The modern Episcopalians would have been rank heretics in the last century, yet the church has no better or more zealous defenders than these same liberals. The church holds them by love not fear. So, in other matters, when men are freed from the law and self-responsibility comes into being, it will be found that society is more secure than it has ever been. There is no breaking, when there is nothing to break.

The discussion now going on is preparing men's minds for the coming change, and when it comes it will be a change from darkness to light; from slavery to freedom; from barbarism to true civilization; from want and degradation to plenty and an ennobled manhood.

WILLIAM L. FAXON.

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THE NATIONALIST.

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No. 2.

THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT.

The session of the Massachusetts legislature preceding the State election of 1888 passed the ballot act, which without essential modification went into operation at the November election of this year. The postponement for a year of the time when the act should take effect was hardly necessary. Those who had charge of the details, the carrying out of which ensures its success, are compelled by the provisions of the law to concentrate a month's labor within the two weeks next preceding the day of election. Except in the case of the City of Boston the provision of places for voting consumed no more time than usual each year, while the time needed in the manufacture of the movable voting shelves is hardly worth taking into account. The City of Boston furnished an unusual exhibit of voting appliances which, though adding greatly to the comfort of the voter, was in no wise essential to the perfect observance of the law. In this city 286 polling rooms were provided, in each of which six or more paid officers were stationed, and for the furnishing of which more than twenty thousand separate articles were needed, in the aggregate.

Seventy-five houses, about eighteen by twenty-five feet on the ground, have been constructed in the streets and upon vacant lots at a cost of \$25,000, to remain till after the December election for city officers. One hundred and fifty carriages were required to bring the precinct officers and the ballot boxes to the City Hall on the evening of election day. In no particular was expense spared to give the new system a trial under the most favorable circumstances, though Boston has spent more than \$90,000 on election this year whereas less than \$15,000 was spent last year in that way, yet considering that the latter was entirely new and some of the city officials had believed and predicted the failure of the law, it was better to err on the right

side and make too great preparations than none at all. The method and promptitude with which all the details were carried out by the city officers are worthy of all praise. Attention to the unnecessary preparation and expenditure of money in Boston is not directed in a carping spirit, but for the information of those interested in the adoption of the system in other places. At each of the 286 voting precincts in Boston, an average of 176 voters cast their ballots on election day, November fifth, that is, twenty-two voters to a compartment which, as there were eight compartments to each place would be less than three voters an hour to a compartment. The average time required by each person for voting was about two minutes. So that, with the accommodation afforded, the polls could have closed in less than an hour after opening if all voters had been at their respective precincts at seven o'clock in the morning. The uniform testimony is that at no time of the day had any voter to wait and that generally the compartments were more or less unoccupied.

In the large cities outside of Boston no inconvenience was found in voting in the undivided precincts of the previous year. In Hyde Park, a town contiguous to Boston, there are 1500 or more voters; twelve hundred and eighty of these cast ballots November fifth. Here there was but one precinct and one room provided for voting; yet everything moved as smoothly as in the small precincts of Boston; forty movable inexpensive compartments were an ample number and a single ballot box was made to do duty for all who cast their votes.

At the recent election an unprecedented amount of work was crowded upon the State department and the State printers. There were 941 voting precincts in Massachusetts, which means 941 different patterns of ballots or, including the pink posted forms, twice that in 1888, in which the ballots of every package differed in some way from the ballots of every other package. In the printing and distribution of more than a million of these ballots with the multiplicity of the changes in the names the utmost care had to be exercised. The nomination polls close fourteen days before election. Before this the State printers had printed the outsides of the ballots, but so much work is crowded into the fourteen days that the outside printing must be done in such a way as to meet the requirements of the inside printing whatever the size of the ticket, for the State officers cannot determine that point till all the nominations are in. It was expected, for instance that the ballot would be a three leaf one this year, instead of the two

leaf one that was found to be ample in size. The Labor party proposed to put in a complete ticket and at the last moment failed to do so. The ballots are printed in sheets and one-third of the paper provided and run through the presses was not needed, and afterwards cut off. Of the fourteen days before election, five are allowed for the withdrawal of candidates and in that time copy must be prepared for, ballots covering the whole State. The State printers commenced work Saturday evening, October 26th, and by working their establishment eighteen hours a day and Sundays were able to print and distribute the three sets of tickets at the times and in the manner prescribed by law. The folding of the ballots required the services of fifty young women and in the transmission of these ballots to some places special messengers were employed. Every detail was carried out successfully, but considering the unusual demand made upon the physical powers of the employees of the State and which as the law stands cannot well be avoided it were well to inquire if it would not be better to amend the law so that the nomination polls be closed a few days earlier and more time be given the printers.

This change would be of great advantage also to the electors who then would be able to scan the nominations much more thoroughly. If the nominations for all over the State could be printed in advance upon one sheet it would prove of very great convenience. A committee from the Knights of Labor were directed to question all the candidates as to their position upon certain public questions. There are 40 members of Senate and 240 members of House. The Knights of Labor committee sent over 600 letters of inquiry to candidates. But eight days is not enough time in which to see the candidates or send them letters and receive answers from them and make the necessary disposition of forces that might be a consequence of replies obtained. In the above instance, answers were received from sixteen senatorial and one hundred and thirteen representative candidates in time to be printed in the *Advocate*, the Massachusetts organ of the order, in its issue of November 2nd, three days before election.

Some objection had been made just previous to the election to the type used in printing the ballots as not being sufficiently legible, but in tracing this objection to its source it was found to have been inspired by political managers who desire an excuse for placing the candidates of the larger parties in larger type than the candidates of the smaller parties. Such managers are of opinion also that if each party ticket

could be placed by itself it would help to increase the vote of the larger parties and diminish that of the smaller. The present alphabetical arrangement, however, meets with the universal approval of the electors and appeals to their natural sense of justice.

The expense, except to the City of Boston, very much of which was unnecessary, is less than under the old system. The State appropriated \$20,000 for printing and distributing the tickets, and the expense will probably come within the appropriation. Outside of this there was little evidence of the usual profuse expenditure of money for printing. Hardly half a dozen candidates in the State had specimen tickets printed, while cards and printed forms to familiarize the voter with some candidates' name were rarely met with.

By the State's assuming the expense of printing and distributing the ballots the number of independent candidates was largely increased and in many instances these have beaten the regular candidates, formerly a thing of rare occurrence. This independence, it is believed, will more and more assert itself as time goes on and as the good chance to break from the thralldom of party comes to be generally known.

EDWIN M. CHAMBERLIN.

Boston, Mass.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY OF GHENT.

The history of co-operative enterprises, starting with the phalansteries and other experiments based on ideas of Fourier and Owen, down through the Rochedale and kindred associations to the recent co-operative mine in Pennsylvania, has been a history of disasters.

They have succumbed because of the unequal struggle between vast capital, controlled by powerful syndicates on the one side, and the painfully gathered and comparatively insignificant sums saved through the self-denial of workmen. Or because, forgetting the solidarity with all mankind, they have become simply stock-concerns, run for the sole aim of profit, thereby engendering the very feelings of greed and selfishness which it was their primary object to extinguish. It was but natural that under such conditions as internal struggle should arise among the members in many cases, landing the most wary and unscrupulous on top and ejecting the majority by the subtle process, known as "freezing out."

These failures should have taught the truth, self-evident to those taking a comprehensive view of present economical life, that the only objects of such undertakings as of all palliative measures can be propagandistic and strategic by enabling the wage-worker to gain breathing-space, to live decently for a time and to gather his energies for the more gigantic struggle, sure to come, for universal co-operation. This purpose, consistently and unswervingly followed, can always be attained. It is not necessary that such co-operative efforts should last. Every day of their existence teaches its lesson. That they have, however, in them the possibilities of the longest life the institution referred to in the title of this article will, I trust, amply show.

This Belgian society was first suggested and inaugurated under the auspices of the managers of the *Voornit*, a social democratic daily in the Flemish language appearing at Ghent. The present manager of the society is the principal editor of the above journal, Citizen Anseele, foremost among Belgian socialists. The objects of the society are mainly propagandistic, while affording workmen and others good healthy bread at reasonable rates, furnishing sustenance for striking workmen and employment to such as have become victims of capitalistic vindictiveness. The company is managed and its staff of employees consists entirely of socialists; not because of any discrimination against any other workers, but because it feels itself in duty bound to lend its

aid to those who are in the van of its movement and exposed to all its dangers and hardships. Men in blouses and having all the signs of former hard labor are in charge of some of the most important branches of the establishment. The management is well aware and takes every opportunity of impressing upon its members, that no co-operative concern will ever be able to solve the serious social problem now confronting us. Its main object, besides those enumerated above, is to show what can be done by the workman, without the aid of the capitalist, even under the present unfavorable conditions, when all the forces in power are conspiring to futilize his efforts toward a life enduring and consistent with civilization. In this respect the Society in its short career has done wonders, as the following *resume* will show.

Started some eight years ago and maintained from the small contributions that its members (chiefly working men who, as is well-known, are perhaps nowhere so underpaid as in Belgium) it began operations in a small *estaminet*, or tavern, in one of the poor quarters of Ghent. A few workingmen constituted its entire personnel. Its operations were confined to making bread. No capital except the above contributions and that produced by the labor of the institution has ever been employed. Today, it has three large establishments, besides three pharmacies and twelve *bureaus* for the distribution of bread and bread-tickets or *bons*. It also employs its own doctors. Its pharmacies are patronized not only by sympathizers, but also by the most violent enemies, because they have learned to place great confidence in the quality of the drugs there sold and the accuracy with which their prescriptions are compounded—a tacit eulogy conferred by the *bourgeoisie*, or the class-conscious proletariat.

The bakery, the most important branch of operations, is the most extensive I have ever seen. Establishment No. 3, has all the appearance of a large factory or *usine* and is devoted entirely to its operations. The limits of possibility have been reached in the replacement of manual labor by machinery. The flour is kept in store-rooms directly above the dough-working rooms. The sacks, as needed, are transferred by trucks to chutes conveying their contents to two large kneading machines below. From the kneading machines the dough is passed to troughs carried on trucks and the completed loaves to sliding trays which are in turn located conveniently in front of four steam ovens of the latest and most improved construction. A steam

engine produces the power necessary to operate the plant and the entire establishment is lighted by electricity. The daily output is from 7000 to 8000 loaves. None but the very finest quality of flour is purchased and every sack is tested by the company's chemist. The company also possesses large store houses for coal, paper (used for the "*Voornit*") and every raw material employed. By virtue of its extensive purchases it is enabled to secure the most advantageous rates. From the bakery the bread is delivered directly to the consumers' houses or to the *bureaus* by twelve dog-carts and several wagons. Sixteen dogs (commonly employed as draught-animals in Belgium) and eight horses are employed for this distribution and for all necessary hauling purposes. This bread is of the most excellent quality, having already taken two prizes in spite of the chicanery employed by the *bourgeoisie* to keep it out of the contest. These were the first prizes at the expositions of Ostende and Ghent. In addition to the bakery and the pharmacies already adverted to, the company conducts a dry goods and clothing establishment, a shoe factory, a cigar factory and a machine shop, the latter three founded principally for the purpose of offering a livelihood to such workmen as by their devotion to their socialistic principles have forfeited their positions. A lecture room, a theatre and concert-hall, a night-school and an extensive library are all supported from a portion of the profits (pardon the term) flowing from the enterprise. Five thousand families are the customers and their numbers are constantly growing. It can be imagined that the "boss" bakers, and all those employers whose selfish interests are threatened by the company, have done and are doing all they can to undermine them. For instance, a rival concern has been started by them called the "People's Company," but I am assured that they are not able to "compete" (another bad term for a Nationalist to employ) with the co-operative firm, although they work their men 12, 14 and more hours, whereas in the co-operative company the working hours have been reduced to 10 along the entire line. The secret lies in the fact that the one works simply in the interest of the workmen and for their support in their struggles, desiring no profit except a small reduction in the cost of every day necessaries, while the other is run for profit. Besides the objects already stated the company devotes its surplus receipts to the support of its organ, the "*Voornit*," already referred to, which it is enabled to sell for the small price of 2 centimes (2-5 of a cent) and which has attained a circulation of about 10,000. Similar

institutions exist at Antwerp and Brussels, and the former has reduced its hours of work to *eight*.

What are the inferences to be drawn from the above? Are they not obviously and unmistakably?

1. That labor out of itself is able to create all things necessary for life, comfort and luxury; in short, to carry on all production.
2. That labor is able in a short time to produce its own capital.
3. That even today an enhanced rate of production is consistent with a reduction of the hours of labor, the only obstacle to the realization of that reduction being the greed of the employer for immense profits.
4. That the so greatly overrated *administrative capacity*, claimed exclusively for capitalists, is forthcoming and found in abundant measure right in the ranks of labor and its champions.

That these facts are demonstrated is a great gain. For one acquainted with to-day's mode of production finds it hard to hope that such enterprises can be extended soon to all affairs of life. The power of concentrated capital is too great for that. The countless co-operative concerns crushed by capitalistic competition or juggled into mere stock-companies give mournful testimony thereof. But I say it is a great gain to have demonstrated to the world that the workingman is dependent on no one but himself for the means to gain his livelihood. He creates them all himself. It is a greater gain when he realizes that, instead of aiding him, capital monopolized by a few is an absolute detriment, an obstacle to his endeavors, a blight upon his welfare.

Let him once realize these facts and organize accordingly for a *universal* co-operative effort and then capitalism will be forced to abandon its subterfuges and specious pretexts; then, no doubt, it will come out in its true colors and rely upon force as its sole argument, and, appealing to force, it will be crushed.

Before closing let me record the observation made, while being conducted through these establishments; the cheering confirmation of the theory that man is essentially good, needing but humane environments to bring out his best qualities; to cause his eyes to sparkle with human sympathy and brotherhood. What a contrast between the kindly and manly look with which the foreman who conducted me around was greeted in every quarter and the hang-dog and servile demeanor—the “factory look” that meets the ordinary manager! The operatives showed a personal and absorbing interest in the work

entrusted to them compared with which the usual work is mere galley-slave drudgery. What a powerful rebuke to that unworthy cant which affirms that there will be no incentive to work, when competition is removed!

MAX GEORGH.

Washington, D. C.

A QUEEN AND A PIONEER.

[Read at the Breakfast given to Miss Amelia B. Edwards, Novelist and Egyptologist by the Woman's Press Association of Boston, Nov. 29, 1889.]

I.

From the land that has queened it for ages
 With ever extending sway
 By the spell of her seers and sages,
 Writ large on History's pages,
 From the land that has queened it for ages
 We welcome a Queen to-day.

II.

Not Queen by a coronation
 Of custom and pride of place,
 But hers is a loftier station;
 Yes, hers is an elevation,
 And a spirit-coronation
 That elevates all the race.

III.

For, not content with the pleasure
 Which her graceful novels lend,
 To gather up Learning's treasure
 By a sacrifice of leisure,
 She hath reckoned a sweeter pleasure,
 Since it serveth a nobler end.

IV.

Yet not alone do her splendid
 Labors for learning count;
 By women who have ascended
 Is the woman-sphere extended
 And the average grows more splendid,
 As night with the stars that mount.

V.

Yes, by such lives laborious
 Is quicker shapen the plan
 Of the day, when woman glorious
 Shall arise; arise victorious—
 No longer the slave laborious
 Or the tempting toy of man!

Medfield, Mass.

VI.

And it totters—that wrong to woman
 By the barbarous ages piled,
 That Pyramid inhuman,
 Abhorred by every true man,
 Which presseth down the woman,
 And even the growing child.

VII.

And oh, of that ancient slavery
 Not alone shall the life outrun,
 For, likewise losing its bravery
 And branded as demon-knavery,
 Man's present industrial slavery
 Shall cease from under the sun.

VIII.

Yea, the worse than Dantean vision
 Of children in store and mill
 Shall cease, and oh, fair fruition!
 Full half of that new condition,
 That era of juster vision,
 Will be owing to woman's will.

IX.

And so, from the land that for ages
 Has queened it, we welcome here
 For the Past lit up by her pages,
 For the Future her life presages,
 From the land that has queened it for ages
 A queen and a pioneer.

HENRY AUSTIN.

PROF. HARRIS'S LACK OF VISION.

In the October *Forum* Prof. W. T. Harris rather loftily attacks what he is pleased to call "Edward Bellamy's Vision." May it not be possible that the Professor's "vision" is at fault rather than Mr. Bellamy's? Before applying the knife to Mr. Bellamy's cataract may it not be worth while to correct the Professor's strabismus? The operation being performed, will he kindly look over some points of his criticism?

On p. 202 he says: "The disease is inequality, caused by thrifty habits in a portion of the community, opposed to unthrifty ones in the remaining portion. The old remedy proposed to correct the evil by curing the unthrifty and making them industrious, skilful, frugal, temperate." A refreshingly simple diagnosis! All a poor man has to do to become rich is to become "thrifty," forsooth! The sewing girl, working for seventy-five cents per day, only needs to exercise a little "thrift," in order to have a marble bath-tub with silver faucets! The street-car driver, working eighteen hours per day, must use more or less "thrift," and he can have his own carriage, and be able to see his own children often enough to recognize them! When income barely covers the outgo necessary to stay the pangs of hunger, and to put something between the body and the weather, the Professor would prescribe some "thrift," and the patient would soon be able to buy a porterhouse steak and a sealskin sacque!

Thrift is, surely, an excellent and necessary virtue, but it must have something upon which to be exercised. Taking the figures of that amiable and optimistic capitalistic statistician, Mr. Edward Atkinson, himself, one must still wonder where the saving is to begin, if the bare animal requirements of living are at all adequately met. To the thousands of helpless men, women, and—God pity them!—children, who toil day after day in mines and factories and shops, the word "thrift" must sound startlingly like "starvation." What kind of thrift has produced the inequality between the work-worn woman, stitching shirts at six cents each, and the society pet whose delicate digits never touched anything harsher than silk tapestry? What guilt of unthrift rests upon the shoulders of the hod-carrier, while the club-lounger has no graver care than to keep his trousers from bagging?

The "old remedy"—by which, probably, the Professor means the present social and economic laws—would make men "industrious,"

by "lockouts," "trusts," "shut-downs," and other such means, familiar to employers of labor; would make them "skilful" by destroying the apprenticeship system, and forcing our youth to learn trades in States' Prisons; would make them "frugal" by putting it in the power of the capitalistic employer alone to dictate the terms of a contract; would make them "temperate" by setting a saloon at every corner, and hedging it about with the protection of the Law!

The "old remedy" has been in use some hundreds of years, with results no more satisfactory than those found today in what is called American civilization. Society had better run the risk of dying of a new remedy, with some chance of recovery, than to accept the certainty of dissolution from a chronic disease.

Again, on p. 203, Prof. Harris accuses the writer of "Looking Backward" of two "assumptions,"—first, that by competitive methods the rich have grown richer and the poor, poorer; and, second, that the rich have grown richer at the expense of the poor. But the first of these "assumptions" is proved, surely, by the earlier history of Sparta, the whole history of Rome, the French Revolution, the facts now existing in England, and the growth of fortunes in the United States. (See the article in Nov. *Forum*, by Mr. Shearman, who is *not* a Nationalist.) Professor Harris would hardly have made that statement, if he had stopped to think—and philosophize his thoughts. Evidently he is not yet free from the common, but unsafe, admiration for *averages*. And Bellamy's second "assumption" has a rather secure foundation furnished by Laurence Gronlund in his "Cooperative Commonwealth," which seems to be as reliable as the Professor's mere general denial.

On p. 205 Prof. Harris remarks sententiously:—"Real human beings have other needs than food, clothing, and shelter." He seems to forget, however, that these wants must be satisfied *before* any other needs can be considered. Would the Professor try to feed the hungry on a lecture entitled "The Higher Aims of the Concord Philosophy"? Or to clothe the naked with an able essay on "The Æstheticism of the Greeks in Dress"? Or to visit the poor and the afflicted with a discourse on "The Beauties of Gothic Architecture"?

Practical philanthropists are fast learning the lesson so clearly taught and illustrated by Christ,—to *first* clothe and feed the poor, and then lift them to higher things. As long as there is sharp phys-

ical want in the world, Prof. Harris's "other needs" must wait for their satisfaction. Man must have bread before Browning!

It is, however, for the defence of "Individualism" against the supposed attacks of the Socialist forces, that Prof. Harris,—and other critics,—most vigorously sound the alarm. But there are two facts that seem to have entirely eluded the Professor's analysis. First, Individualism is not altogether and in itself a desirable thing; and, second, that the progress of the race, from nomad to man, and of society from the cave-dwellers to the "Four Hundred," has been *away* from individualism, and toward dividualism. The Veddahs of Ceylon, and the Adaman Islanders furnish the truest types of the Individual, in the sense in which Prof. Harris seems to use the word. Even in old colonial and frontier times each man was carpenter, shoe maker, farmer, banker, physician,—all in one. These functions, as society grew, became differentiated and distributed. Formerly, too, Sovereignty was "individual" in one man,—now it is distributed, and more thoroughly than ever before, among the many. Even yet, in rude society, one man may combine the functions of sheriff, judge and jury; may apprehend those who wrong him, pass sentence, and execute it. But all these functions are carefully differentiated in the higher forms of the social organism, and the individual man is not free to redress his own wrongs in his own way, or to get other justice than the *Community* grants him. He may not even do entirely as he pleases with what is called his own property, for many laws, made by the community for the common benefit, prevent him while he lives, and frequently set aside his written will after his death. And so it comes about that, in the highest form of society that has yet been evolved, man possesses less individualism, of *one* sort, than his anthropoid ancestors.

But the gain in individualism of the *right* sort has been magnificent, as the social gradient has grown steeper. In proportion as men have yielded many liberties, and have been willing to sacrifice much of freedom, have they enjoyed the best results of the social compact. For by such sacrifice they have gained largely in force and opportunities. Man as a social factor has the force of the whole body politic; and may have boundless opportunities for gain and growth in all good things. The stimulus to mental effort, the safety of person and property, would have been impossible without the surrender of many rights and privileges which belong to the man living

outside the community. It is Individualism in *mind*, in *character*, in *purposing*, not in mere material holdings,—which we want, and which man has ever aspired to. Freedom of thought, of speech; freedom in use and enjoyment of what is rightly one's own to use and enjoy; freedom from want and oppression; freedom from wage-slavery; such freedom we want! And Prof. Harris and his fellow-critics must be very unobservant readers indeed, not to have perceived that in "Edward Bellamy's Vision" such Individualism and such freedom are specially provided for. The right of "private initiative" is left undisturbed, while an adequate return is assured to the worker, for all productive effort. The right of private *use* and *enjoyment* of the results of one's labor,—which constitutes true "property,"—is not only left untouched, but is *guaranteed* in the "Vision" as it is not now, by any manner of means; but as it shall be.

Yes, shall be and before many years; for two strong currents, of thought and feeling, are converging toward Nationalism,—one running through the hearts of the wage-slaves; the other, through the minds and hearts and consciences of clear-headed, man-loving men and women. Does Prof. Harris stand so firm that neither current may sweep him off his feet?

R. N. ROARK.

Lexington, Ky.

PROF. HARRIS'S DISCOVERY.

Are the rich growing richer and the poor poorer? Professor W. T. Harris, in his "*Forum*" criticism of "Edward Bellamy's Vision" disposes of this matter in grand style. Such an "assumption," he says, "is the product of imagination and not the result of inquiry into existing facts." Then a few figures are called up in witness. Now a long time ago some wise man remarked that "figures cannot lie." Later it occurred to certain unscrupulous persons, who had experience in buying up witnesses, that here was one who must be secured for their purposes. And now there is no more popular way of forcing a falsehood, or of presenting a garbled fact, than by calling in this perverted witness. In this case, if we take into consideration the actual increase of population and remember that we are speaking of numbers and not of geometrical progressions, we find our witness on the

other side. If there are one hundred poor men and one rich man to-day and to-morrow there are two hundred poor men and two rich ones, is it right to say that poverty is not on the increase? Or if the poor man's miserable pittance of an income has meanwhile doubled, thereby scarcely keeping pace with the increased desires generated by changed conditions, and the rich man has meanwhile doubled the volume of his superfluity, is it right to say that the gap between the rich and the poor is not increasing?

In his eloquent eulogy on the law of competition Professor Harris goes back—as he must—for justification to “natural law.” What then is this “priceless boon,” this “continual education,” this stepping stone to the highest “religious and scientific ideal?” Simply the application to the intercourse of men of the natural law by which all lower evolutions have been brought about, the law of the survival of the fittest. Competition, or the everlasting contest of the strong with the weak, carried to its logical conclusion, leaves only the strong—the acme of individualism, and a colossal selfishness.

But this seems to be Professor Harris's ideal. Listen to what he says, quoting first from Huxley: “Science looks upon nature and sees a great progression from the formless to the formed; from the inorganic to the organic; from blind force to conscious intellect and will—” “Thus Science (Here comes in Professor Harris) makes the production of individuality the ultimate purpose of the world. The highest form is that which is self-forming as intellect and will.” And this is the “highest religious and scientific ideal,” according to Harris. But what an ideal! Let us ponder it closely and see if we must accept it. It resolves to this and this only: Is there no ethical right that is higher than animal law?

But the climax of the astounding is reached in the Professor's closing sentence. “Wantonly to throw away these instrumentalities of our freedom” (personal property and free competition) “is to throw away all that the race has gained for eighteen hundred years.”

Here we discover, what has otherwise been carefully concealed, that he recognizes that something really did happen about eighteen hundred years ago. But what was the nature of that something? We must infer if we accept the Professor's logic, that *then* was discovered the beneficent law of competition and if so, that beneficent law, the triumph of the strong, was not the law of animate creation from the beginning. According to Harris, we may infer that of old the herds-

men of Abraham did not strive with the herdsmen of Lot, but that this beautiful scheme of brother against brother to the end of time, for the development of his own individuality, was the song the Angels sang to the shepherds of Bethlehem. Surely, if the gospel according to Harris is right, we have been reading it all wrong. Let us read it all over again thus revised: not "*Go and sin no more,*" but "*Go and lay up for thyself much goods;*" not "*Go sell all thou hast and give to the poor,*" but "*Go save a surplus and then make a sagacious investment;*" not "*How hardly shall a rich man enter the Kingdom of Heaven,*" but "*Let the poor man go to the devil! He is not thrifty;*" not "*Love thy neighbor,*" but "*Love thine own 'self-forming individuality.'*"

Verily, there are times when the progress of eighteen hundred years seems small, and one of those times is when we find a man like Professor Harris making the implication that Christianity and competition are synonymous terms or exchangeable values, and then using that impious implication in an argument that seeks to prop the tottering cause of capitalism.

In fine, if the Professor is right the advice of Iago is no longer the most contemptible utterance of an execrable soul, but has, or should, become the pious watchword of our progress! In the higher evolution of the race the present system may have been a necessary stage, but that in its methods are to be realized our ultimate possibilities we do not believe. Men whose souls were winged for lofty flight — men who have had an inkling of what has been said in the New Testament and who have felt the impulse of great aspirations — have caught glimpses of broadening possibilities and a new ideal for a "new humanity." But no, we are told we have reached the end in the differentiation of an "ultimate individuality."

Yet after all the oracular assumption of the Concord School Professor in announcing "ultimates" is not so tremendous as his historical discovery. Think of it again! Men have so far forgotten themselves and the nature of their cause, in differing as to what it was that came into the world *eighteen hundred years ago*, that they have denounced, imprisoned and even burned each other at the stake, but to announce that the Appearance 1800 years ago was this beneficent system of competition and personal property — *that* has waited for Professor Harris!

HERBERT A. BIRDSALL.

Buffalo, New York.

THE ICEBERG.

Lines suggested by Mr. Bellamy's words in his letter to the Boston Transcript on "The Rate of the World's Progress: "As a great iceberg, floating southward from the frozen North, is gradually undermined by the warmer seas and, becoming at last unstable, churns the ocean to yeast for miles around by the mighty rockings that portend its overturn, so the barbaric industrial and social system, which has come down to us from savage antiquity, undermined by the modern humane spirit, and riddled by the criticism of economic science, is shaking the world with convulsions which presage its collapse." —

What dream is this of loveliness and peace,
Of towering splendor and majestic calm,
Like opal gleaming on the sapphire seas,
A jewel rare safe held in Neptune's palm !

Mark how its battlements with mimic fire,
Caught from Apollo's roseate quiver, glow ;
Its azure grotts, and tapering emerald spires
Clear-mirrored in the placid flood below ;

Its vales in snowy drapery lulled asleep,
Its cliffs besprent with ocean's fitful tears,
Its glistening hills that lord it o'er the deep,
That storm nor time can stir with coward fears !

What matter, if beneath the sea so still
A vaster bulk in purple darkness lies ;
If pitiless and far-extending chill
Surrounds those lofty peaks that spear the skies !

Forget all, save its loveliness sublime :
Doubt not, its power, pregnant with power to be,
May bid defiance to the shocks of time,
A shining symbol of eternity.

Yet slowly, surely, drifts the berg along ;
Toward milder climes with steady pace it goes ;
The flood grows warm, the south wind blows more strong,
The burning sun each day more fervid glows.

Sudden, a rumbling thunder stuns the ear ;
Whole peaks have split and sought the answering sea ;
The trembling mass feels dissolution near,
That erst by storm nor time could frighted be.

THE ICEBERG.

Its pinnacles with mighty rockings sway ;
The swift wind whistles shrill from out the sky ;
The gray and angry seas their power display,
And with the clamorous gale in discord vie.

List how their furious blows combined resound
In chorus loud, a mighty, deafening din ;
A lurch, a roar, white foam for miles around ;
We knew at last the common cause they'd win.

Let ignorance and selfish blindness see
Beneath the social berg no wrong or ill,
But such as may be due to Fate's decree,
Or might prevented be by single will.

Let them refuse to see its glittering height
But argues greater, darker depths below,
And its cold beauty, so deceptive bright,
Means needless sorrow human souls must know.

Let them their faith so warmly cherished keep,
The berg will last till time shall be no more,
The hopeless many doomed to misery deep,
To toil and die in tribulation sore.

Yet, sure, the sun of knowledge with the years
Doth brighter glow, with more resistless ray,
And surely flows, with all-dissolving tears,
More warm, the flood of sympathy each day.

And now the sacred breath of conscience hear,
From whisper faint, fast rising to a gale ;
What need with such a trinity to fear
The common cause of victory swift will fail ?

The common cause of justice, progress, love,
The glorious cause that makes the whole world one,
The cause whose triumph sure will send the dove
Of peace through every land beneath the sun : —

Whose bonds since first warm, human pulses ran
Have been cemented oft with precious blood ;
Whose goal's the solidarity of man,
Long sought, hard won, but faithful, Brotherhood.

W. W. TOWNSEND.

Washington, D. C.

PATERNALISM vs. INFERNALISM.

“That is right which is for humanity’s benefit ; that is wrong which is opposed to the welfare of the human race.”

Criticisms upon the arguments of those who favor governmental control of business enterprises now managed by private individuals seem to be the order of the day, and the outspoken wish of the people to rid themselves of this capitalistic tyranny is often characterized as the “march of paternalism ;” and many persons, who have given the subject but little thought, find this flippant objection sufficient to deter them from giving their endorsement or aid to any movement in this direction, though most thoroughly convinced that the present system is radically wrong, and feeling satisfied that some change must be brought about that will better serve the interests of all.

The economic question is the present great issue, and must be fearlessly met and wisely solved, for if it be not done in this way many indications point to an attempted solution that every lover of his kind and country would deplore. Therefore is it not better to approach the subject fairly and candidly, instead of appealing to foolish prejudices which at the most can only slightly retard the swift oncoming of a revolution in our industrial system! No one can claim, with any degree of seriousness, that justice and equity prevail in our land to-day, and any one who would make such a claim need only look at two pictures to be convinced of its falsity. Miners in Illinois have been on a strike against a proposed reduction of wages to sixty cents per day; the condition of themselves and families pitiable in the extreme and starvation staring them in the face: could anything be conceived of that would more naturally impel a resort to violence? Yet they have remained orderly and law-abiding citizens.

“If they are suffering to such an extent, let them return to their work,” says he who so deplures the “march of paternalism ;” but would the speaker be willing to see his wage or income cut down to sixty cents a day, and with that meager allowance support the loved ones dependent upon him for their very existence?

Finding such a question rather hard to answer, the objector perhaps remarks: “Well then, why don’t they seek some other employment?” True, they might do that; and thus add to the vast army of unemployed that already exists, and take the risk of being arrested as tramps and confined as criminals while seeking that indefinite “some other

PATERNALISM vs. INFERNALISM.

employment!" And what is to become of their families in the meantime?

It is very easy to point out a course of action for others to pursue, but if in the poor miner's place, what would you do? Do you think you would then so heartily approve of our present industrial system, or would you be not only willing, but anxious, to try a change, even if such change did tend toward what you are pleased to call paternalism?

Let us glance briefly at the other and more pleasant picture — far pleasanter for the participants therein. Come to Newport; the elect of society are gathered there; on every hand is wealth, luxury and display; palaces to live in; servants without stint; horses, carriages, music, dancing, gambling. Votaries of nothing but pleasure, do they ever give a thought to their fellow beings in far-away Illinois? Nay, are there not some among those highly favored mortals, whose income will be increased by the reduction of the poor miner's wages? Look at the two pictures and then say whether this is the best possible result our civilization can give us, and if so, how far are we really removed from barbarism? And yet our present system does not lack eloquent eulogists!

Many, however, of those who oppose us, only oppose because they do not understand us. Do we propose (they ask) to remedy the evils pointed out by dividing the wealth of the entire community equally among the people? No, nothing of the kind. We are proud of the material prosperity of our country, and its great wealth, but we do deplore the unequal distribution of that wealth; we have no wish to harm the individual, but we do intend to destroy the system that renders such inequalities possible, and it is our desire and aim to bring about so radical a change that such glaring injustice will be impossible in the future. How, we demand, did the individuals who compose the private corporations that control these profitable enterprises, by means of which such gigantic fortunes are amassed, acquire the privileges which they enjoy? To this there can be but one answer; from the law-makers elected by the people, to whom is delegated the power to grant these valuable franchises — granted upon the supposition that the public interest is best served thereby; but if obtained by misrepresentation or fraud — or used selfishly for their own aggrandizement, is it not clear that the people have a right to resume control of their own, providing always that a suitable and just remuneration be

PATERNALISM vs. INFERNALISM.

given to the individuals whose capital was invested? Certainly no one would be injured by such a procedure, and especially is such a course manifestly right if the original intention of the grant has been lost sight of, and has degenerated into a stock-jobbing scheme — enriching the few at the expense of the many, or if used in thwarting the will of the people by its corrupting influence upon legislation. Now the fact is, most of the great fortunes in this country have been made by speculation in railroad, telegraph, telephone, gas, land and mining stocks; the aggregation of capital in a corporate company enables the managers, who are usually large holders of the stock, to so manipulate it as to cause it to rise and fall at their pleasure, and large profits accrue to themselves from such fluctuations, which, of course, are disastrous to those with small holdings who were induced by alluring prospectuses to put their money into such property as an investment, and this has been carried to such an extent that to-day there is nothing so utterly unreliable as the financial statements of our great corporations. It seems a curious absurdity that while we have strict laws against lottery schemes, which from their very nature are limited in capacity for evil, we have yet no law against stock-speculation, which has no limit to the financial and moral ruin it causes. Indeed, of a very large percentage of failures and defalcations, speculation in stocks is the prime cause.

But let the principles of Nationalism prevail, and all the enterprises now in the hands of individuals be taken back into the hands of the people, to whom they justly belong, and the widespread and constantly increasing evil of speculation will be eliminated; "Black Fridays" will then be an impossibility; the "silver kings" will no longer force a debased currency upon the country; railroad magnates can retire upon the spoils wrung from a long-suffering people; the coal barons will then have time to reflect upon the enormity of the crime of limiting the output of that commodity, thereby forcing the poor to pay exorbitant prices for it; and Wall Street will no longer be an important factor in Congressional action. If an earnest effort to bring about such desirable changes can be justly spoken of as the "march of paternalism," then the present system, with its unlimited power to impoverish and brutalize the people through its trusts, monopolies and combinations, can truthfully be characterized as the march of infernalism.

HENRY R. LEGATE.

Boston, Mass.

THE NATIONALIST MAGAZINE,
77 Boylston Street,
BOSTON, MASS.

All communications of a literary nature should be directed simply Editor, THE NATIONALIST, 77 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. All communications relating to subscriptions, advertisements, etc., to the Business Manager, same address.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A \$4,000,000 LESSON.

The beneficent effect of entrusting "private enterprise" with the performance of public services was illustrated in Boston on Thanksgiving day. The companies supplying light and power, telegraph, telephone, messenger and other electric services are allowed to run their wires about as they please, over the roofs and through the streets of the city. The result is what the Herald has aptly called "Electric Anarchy." Thanksgiving day began with a violent gale which prostrated many of these wires, crossing them, and diverting a powerful electric current which caused the most serious fire in Boston since the great conflagration of 1872. The loss was about four million dollars and four brave firemen and one volunteer were killed. Such a lesson ought to be enough to arouse the public to a sense of its danger, since every storm is liable to cause an infinitely worse calamity so long as the present system is allowed to exist. If the electric-lighting service were performed by the municipality, it would at once be so systematized that it could interfere with no other form of electric service, nor be interfered with by them, while the public would be well and cheaply supplied. It might naturally be supposed that the public would at once demand this, but we Americans are getting so used to our chains of servitude to corporations that we are acquiring an Oriental indifference to the teachings of experience. After a great ado in the newspapers—interviewing business men, etc., as to the remedy, amounting simply to a general expression that something or other ought to be done—the mountain labored and brought forth a mouse, in the shape of a message from the Mayor to the Council, recommending that "fusible plugs" be required wherever buildings are entered by electric wires. This remedy would be about as effective as stopping the leaks of a ship with soap! Not a word as to any form of control or regulation; the tangle of wires left as before, with "dead" wires and "live" ones free to fall in every storm and deal destruction at random. This indifference well illustrates Prof. Ely's remark: "Where public spirit is in a low condition public authority is unable to perform its proper functions, and they are with loss handed over to private individuals." It looks as if Boston needed still another lesson.

A PRACTICAL SUGGESTION FOR NATIONALIST CLUBS.

The proposal for the return of politics to the people described in the article "Politics and the People," in December's NATIONALIST, contemplates that *all* of the voters, without any party, shall assemble in their Assembly, or Representative District, and nominate their representatives by *open* nominations and then elect them by *secret* ballot.

But, until the laws providing such unpartizan, legal primaries can be obtained, and in order to aid in obtaining them, it is suggested that the Nationalist Club in *any* Assembly District, can at once initiate the proposed reform, thus:

Let the Club in any District, and if more than one, let them combine so as to form but one for the District, announce by proper notice that at a certain time the Club will go into open nominations for the next member of Assembly from that District, and at the same, or some other time, the candidate will be nominated by the Club by secret ballot (Australian system) from those nominees. Then such nominee will be voted for by the members of the Club *and all others who choose* at the next election at the polls, and perhaps be elected! Why not?

This simple plan would turn every Nationalist Club into a *center of practical politics at once*, and compel attention and active propaganda. It then only remains to get the Legislature to extend this unpartizan legal primary so as to include all of the voters of each District, and the *political initiative* is again in the hands of the people!

The rest of the reform, including the legal prohibition of the conspiracies known as political party conventions would naturally follow.*

THE GAS QUESTION.

It is necessary in order to accomplish anything practical on the gas question in the Legislature, this year, that a large petition favoring such law should be presented. All persons desiring to help in this matter are requested to send their names in immediately to H. R. Legate, 77 Boylston Street, Boston.

* NOTE: If efforts are made to put the above suggestion into practice it should be remembered:

1. That the proposed use of Nationalist Clubs for practical politics is *provisional* only; and that when the political initiative is by law returned to the people it may be necessary to have Districts smaller than the existing Assembly, or Representative Districts, in many instances.
2. The danger that "Nationalist" Clubs may be organized or captured by professional and traitorous politicians for selfish interests, necessitates that all such Clubs should be recognized by the Advisory Committee of the Boston Nationalist Club until such time as a Nationalist League shall be formed, and an Executive Committee chosen by existing Clubs by vote, or by delegates in some meeting for that purpose.
3. By laying this matter before the friends of Nationalism in January, a sufficient number of Clubs could be organized, *recognized* and prepared, to take part *effectively* in the next Fall elections. Then we should be felt as a power! Why not?

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

The recent convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston was a notable event. Its proceedings were conducted with dignity and a full sense of the responsibilities attaching to the organized trade unionists. The debates were fraught with intelligence and good humor. While the advocates of the collectivist school of economics were largely in the majority there were a few extreme individualists or anti-statists. A clash of opinions inevitably arose, but the issue was cheerfully accepted. Comrade Vinette of Los Angeles presented a plan for nationalizing the industries of the country which was referred to the incoming executive council. The only thing to be regretted was the seemingly antagonistic attitude assumed toward the Knights of Labor. While it is extremely desirable it seems also extremely hard for the average human being, or labor organization, to "Forgive and Forget."

AS TO WOMEN.

A feature in the scheme of Nationalism that has been somewhat misapprehended, the position of women, formed the subject of Mrs. Ford's breezy contribution to our November number. It is often mistakenly assumed that in the future industrial republic, as it has been outlined, the men thereof say to the women: We assign you to that position in society in which you have the opportunity to use to the best advantage the traits and qualities peculiar to your nature. In reality this is said by the nation, the entire people, to all the individuals composing it; the men as well as the women. There are certain activities which must always be performed by men; there are others that are best performed by women, and still others which may be done by either women or men. In a society rightly organized, each person would do the work for which he or she was best suited. It is natural that women should be the best judges of the methods to be pursued in the work of their sex, and that men should be of theirs. As with many other features of Nationalism, we have the rudiments of this principle in our present system of administration, and its application is extending yearly, with the most beneficial results, as in school-committee work, the supervision of public institutions, etc. The sphere of women's work has been enormously extended in the past few decades, but in this extension the physiological fact has been lost sight of, or ignored, that women cannot safely work under the same conditions as men. And so long as this violation of physical law continues, by so much will the health of the coming generations be lessened; by so much will the strength of the people be impaired. This is why the State of the future, for its own welfare, will tenderly care for its women. For the position of women to-day, the women themselves are chiefly responsible, just as the men are for their own position. When either sex unitedly demands that which it wants, it will surely obtain it; be it the ballot, or be it industrial emancipation.

OUR EMBLEM.

“The Stars and Stripes” is the national emblem. It symbolizes the nation. As such it stands preeminently as the emblem of Nationalism. While recognizing the universal brotherhood of man and the fact of the same blood flowing through the veins of all men, we see no reason why our flag should be the color of blood. It is a good idea for all clubs at public meetings to display prominently the Stars and Stripes as the emblem of Nationalism: — the development of the nation as the unit of societary evolution.

THE FIRST WOMAN.

The question having come to us several times who was the first woman to join the Nationalist Club of Boston as a charter member, we deem it only proper to state that it was Miss Alzire A. Chevallier, a lady who enjoyed the personal friendship of the great Wendell Phillips, and who has been active in reform all her life. She lives now in New York and edits the *International Magazine of Truth*, whose handsome make-up testifies to her ability in the literary field.

THE GREATEST CRIMINALS.

Henry D. Lloyd, a leading Chicago journalist and author, has made a careful study of the atrocious lockout of coal-miners at Spring Valley, Illinois, and, in the *Chicago Herald*, states the facts in an eloquent open letter “To Certain Rich Men.” He addresses the owners of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad and its subsidiary corporations, the Spring Valley Mining Company, the Spring Valley Town Site Company and the Northwestern Fuel Company, mentioning by name some of the most prominent millionaires in the country. He holds them all individually responsible for the outrageous treatment of those poor men, since they profited by the acts of their associates, raised no protest against them, and contributed not a dollar to the relief of the suffering and starving. In brief, the wrongs recited by Mr. Lloyd are, that by glowing advertisements of the prospects of the new mining town, thousands of the best miners in the country were enticed to settle at Spring Valley; their expectations were not realized and they found that they could barely make a living; in December, 1888, a third of the mines was closed, without warning, but the miners were promised that if those who were not thrown out would share their work with their fellows, full operation would be resumed in the spring; three families struggled through the winter on what had barely sufficed for two, but in the spring, instead of redeeming its promise, the Company, again without warning, shut down the mines entirely, and the miners began to starve; in August, the offer was made to resume work at the starvation price of 35 cents a ton — the original price of 90 cents had proven insufficient for a livelihood — but coupled with the condition that the men abandon their union; a month later, the offer was doubled, but the same conditions insisted

upon. Various other wrongs were inflicted and the cases of suffering and inhuman treatment were many. The whole proceeding may be described as a case of capitalistic "bunco-steering"; the enticement of unsuspecting workmen into a trap from which they could not escape, and then the endeavor to wring a further profit out of their labor by depriving them of their inherent rights as men and citizens, and reducing them to a condition of hopeless serfdom. One of the millionaires most directly concerned in the outrage said: "We can control the workman only so long as he eats up today what he earns tomorrow," and he is said to have become so indignant at the criticisms upon his inhuman conduct that he has refused employment to those miners who, during the lockout, distributed food, clothing and medicine to the sick and starving.

Nationalism makes no attack upon classes or individuals; it blames the system that makes tyranny and oppression possible; that places the fate of the many in the hands of the irresponsible few. We are all responsible for the system; we cannot live under it without sharing its fruits and thereby the responsibility for its evil. We are all "participants in the crime." But those who reap the greatest harvest are the most guilty, if, when made aware of the consequences of their acts, they persist in oppressive action, or make no attempt to bring about a better state of things. Miss Constance Howell, in her recent earnest contribution to *THE NATIONALIST*, spoke of the millionaire as the greatest criminal of all. When applied to such conduct as that of the Spring Valley plutocrats, the expression is unqualifiedly true, though the primary blame rests upon the system that breeds hard hearts and greedy hands. But in addressing ourselves to the rich, for whose good Nationalism works as well as for that of the poor, we do not ask them to "give up" their possessions. If every millionaire should to-day give up all he has the world would be no whit better off while the system of industrial competition and production for profit lasted. We only ask the rich to make a wise use of their possessions. A millionaire who thus should seek unselfishly to make the lot of his fellows a better one might atone for the wrong to the thousands from whom toil has been taken to swell his accumulations; for then he would simply be the trustee for devoting their earnings to the welfare of themselves and their children. Why cannot more rich men, who heap their wealth rather for their children than for themselves, see that, while to the latter the heritage may be a curse, and that, if chance should impoverish them, as it often does, their work has been worse than vain—why can they not see that, if they endeavor earnestly to make the social conditions of their community and of their country the best possible, they will thereby assure their children a far brighter future than individual wealth can secure them? And in no better way could this end be reached than by using such power to hasten the day of the triumph of the principles for which Nationalism stands—a triumph that is inevitable.

THE DEMOCRACY OF UNIFORMS.

A young Russian noble, Roman Ivanovitch Zubof, gave lately in the *Boston Post* an instructive account of the gymnasia, or high schools, of his country, showing that their administration by the national government had really a democratic influence, producing among the youth tendencies quite contrary to what the despotic government would desire. A potent factor in this influence is the uniform which must be worn by all scholars alike, and which makes it impossible to distinguish, so far as all outward appearance goes, between prince and peasant scholar, thus preventing that display of dress, that affectation of manner, that ostentatious superciliousness, which he had noted as productive of such pernicious results in Great Britain.

"This enforced equality," says Mr. Zubof, "really brings about, unconsciously, in the course of time an actual conscious equality which can hardly be paralleled in any other country, however democratic. . . . The sons of noblemen and peasants sit in the same room, perhaps on the same bench, dressed in similar clothes, maintaining the same decorous and respectful attitude, called upon to answer the same questions, and marked with the same impartiality of judgment. While the student peasant's father stands before the lord of the manor with hat off and drooping arms, or tremblingly kisses his hand, the son himself will enter the same house unabashed and with unfaltering countenance, ask familiarly for the young nobleman, his comrade, and if not invited to the family table or entertainments, at least while in the son's rooms, is treated cordially, as an equal. Such is the effect of this unconscious school of democracy."

Such would also be the effect of the national industrial army, with its distinctive uniforms and its humane discipline. Unlike a livery, which is a mark of servitude, a uniform is an honor and a token of equality. It replaces the false and extrinsic individuality sought through differences in dress and, approaching the intention of Nature, places all men side by side to show for their real worth in the true individuality of personal traits and endowments, which are thus brought out and duly emphasized.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

CYRUS F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

BOSTON: MASS. Seldom, in these latter days of money-grubbing, has such a mighty wave of enthusiasm rolled up its towering crest and broken at the feet of any man as that which scattered its unseen yet palpable influence over Edward Bellamy, in Tremont Temple, Boston, Thursday evening, December 19. High up on the platform he stood, calm and apparently unmoved. The vast audience when he was introduced arose as one man. The men applauded and then broke into a cheer, in which the women who were waving their handkerchiefs could not refrain from joining. He could well feel proud of such a reception from one of the best and brainiest of Boston's celebrated audiences. In that place were men and women of wealth and learning, well-known business men, men and women of the professions, and last and more important, many an educated leader of the proletariat, listening with critical and approving mien. The high intellectual character of the audience was apparent at a glance. As he stood there, the comparatively unknown author of little over a year ago, deep must have been his feeling of satisfaction, if he thought over the part which his brain and hand had played in bringing such an audience together, to celebrate the anniversary of Nationalism. Yet although one of the foremost in this new movement, he stood as willing and eager to do his share of the work as the humblest in the ranks. Well he performed it. In calm, conservative tones and diction, in a voice low, yet audible in the most distant corner of the great hall, with the great organ gloriously decorated with the National colors as a fitting background, he enunciated the most radical ideas, demanding that the people should control all the industries, and that the disinherited should have their own. His address will soon be published and there is therefore no necessity of referring to its subject matter now.

Edward Everett Hale, the celebrated divine, author and philanthropist, acted as chairman. His introductory speech was full of epigrammatic wisdom. His remarks on the province of government were treatises of political economy condensed into sentences. These sparkling gems of thought, pure and clean cut, seemed to fall from his lips as from an inexhaustible treasury, and when by a happy oratorical art he seemed to gather them all up and weave them into a chaplet which he placed on the head of Edward Bellamy, the effect materially assisted in creating the enthusiasm mentioned in the opening words. It was much regretted that Professor De Leon, of New York, who spoke after Bellamy did not make a longer address, but he was fatigued from his exertions of the afternoon, when at the meeting of the representatives of the different clubs he made an eloquent and scientific address on the growth and present status of the movement for social reform in all countries.

Rev. Frederick A. Hinckley was the last speaker, and he again aroused the enthusiasm of the audience by his inspiring speech on the moral aspects of Nationalism. The audience was filled with enthusiasm. Every few minutes, especially during Bellamy's address, it interrupted with thunderous applause.

President George D. Ayers, of the Boston Club, who presided during the afternoon meeting, and introduced Rev. Mr. Hale, as the chairman of the evening meeting, performed his duties most ably. The daily press of the city gave it good reports to the extent of two and three columns in some cases. Ever since then, the so-called "capitalistic" papers, not only in Boston and New England, but in New York and elsewhere, have recognized our growing strength by attacking us, some violently, others more mildly. We have not lacked friends altogether, the *Haverhill Gazette* being notably honest.

This anniversary was a great boom to our cause. Its effects will soon be seen in the formation of numerous clubs. It has not only advertised the ideas and the movement, but it netted a handsome sum for our treasury to be still further devoted to spreading the glad tidings of the Brotherhood of Man.

The next day after the anniversary in Tremont Temple, a conference was held between the visiting delegates and the members of the Boston Club at the headquarters, 77 Boylston Street. There were present representatives from Oakland, Cal., Washington and Brooklyn Clubs, also four delegates from Clubs in New York City, besides many of the more prominent members of the Boston Club.

A resolution was adopted as the sense of the conference that, while in sympathy with a reduction of the hours of labor, the organization could not commit itself to the economic errors involved in the eight hour movement, but that Nationalists as individuals should be encouraged to aid the movement to lighten the toil of manual workers.

Attention having been called to the expense that the Boston Club was under, a Washington delegate expressed the opinion that each Club should send to the Boston Club one dollar a year from each member. Accordingly the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the representatives of Nationalist Clubs assembled in informal conference recommend to the various clubs of the country the formation of a Nationalist propaganda fund for the purpose of organization and for disseminating information; each Club contributing annually a certain proportion of its membership dues to that end, and suggesting that one dollar for each member annually is an appropriate sum; suggesting also that for the time being the sum be paid to the Boston Club to aid it in the work of organizing the Nationalists of the United States.

CALIFORNIA: SAN FRANCISCO. The following is an extract from an interesting letter written by a member of the San Francisco Club to the Secretary of the Boston Club.

"The whole state seems to be inoculated with Nationalism and it seems probable that California will head the movement as far as the number of societies are concerned. A number of prominent gentlemen have joined the movement in San Francisco, viz: Ex-Judge Wheeler, (a man who has been a life-long Republican and who has a reputation for integrity and great ability), Dr. Moliere, a well-known physician and inventor of the Moliere baths, Mr. James Clark, the poet and singer, Mrs. Walter Campbell, the most popular church singer in San Francisco, Hon. Thomas V. Cator, a New York lawyer of great ability, an eloquent speaker, and a score of other bright men and women who, (in many cases), regard Nationalism as the chief object in life. To give you a little idea of what some are doing, I will mention one lady who devotes nearly all her time to talking with people. Every week she invites a dozen or fifteen ladies to lunch, and twenty or more in the afternoon, and discusses the subject. Every two weeks she sets aside an evening and invites thirty to fifty men and women who know little or nothing about the subject. As she has a wide circle of acquaintances she accomplishes considerable for Nationalism. Another young lady devotes all of her afternoons and an hour or two in the forenoon talking to her friends upon Nationalism and has talked to over three hundred persons during the past four months. As she has read extensively upon the subject and is a fluent talker, she makes many converts. She is young, enthusiastic and fond of society, yet she gladly relinquishes its charms for Nationalism. There are many others equally enthusiastic. Is it a wonder that California people are so interested, with such workers? The largest society here has nearly three hundred and fifty members, and when we meet again next week Monday we shall soon have over four hundred, as eighty members joined last week. We shall make an effort next Fall to elect a Nationalist ticket and, if successful, shall take steps toward having the city own its own water, gas and electric works. We have reason to think we shall elect our ticket, for so many earnest and prominent men are joining the movement."

OAKLAND. The enthusiasm in Oakland shows no signs of abatement. Public meetings are held weekly. "Looking Backward" and THE NATIONALIST are circulating among all classes. Oakland promises to become the banner city of Nationalism on the Pacific coast.

LOS ANGELES. Under date of Dec. 2nd, the Secretary of the First Nationalist Club of Los Angeles writes:

"Yesterday it rained and it rained, and yet 150 people gathered at the meeting. I gave them encouraging reports of the movement and especially its close connection with the general labor movement. W. C. Owen followed me and made the most brilliant plea for Nationalism that has yet been uttered before the Club. On Tuesday Mrs. Watson is to lecture before the Illinois Association on "The Future of the Republic." On Thursday the Order of Chosen Friends hold an open meeting on the East Side to discuss Nationalism. Club No. 2 will embrace this opportunity to add to its membership and hold regular meetings. Twenty-five ministers of the Gospel on the Pacific coast are

openly advocating Nationalism as practical Christianity, and up to date 6,700 copies of "Looking Backward" have been sold in this city. The Anaheim Nationalist Club (Farmers) is very active in the cause. Compton was organized two weeks ago."

The anniversary of the birth of Nationalism was celebrated by Club No. 1, Thursday, Dec. 19. The hall was beautifully draped with the National colors. Mr. J. R. Hunter opened the meeting with a song. Mrs. Anna F. Smith made the anniversary address, after which the Club was presented with a fine silk banner by Mr. D. S. Van Slyke, an old army veteran, who said he had enlisted to abolish another form of slavery. Mrs. L. A. Scholes sang "Little Fishermayden," after which reports of officers were in order.

The election of a new board of officers came next with the following result: President, Dr. H. P. Peebles; 1st Vice-President, A. R. Street; 2d Vice-President, J. D. Blackman; Recording Secretary, A. Vinette; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. J. T. Coan; Treasurer, J. E. Neubauer; Librarian, W. H. Stuart. The meeting closed with a song by Mrs. Coan.

OCEAN VIEW. For a small suburban village with a mixed population, Ocean View takes the premium for enthusiastic Nationalism. There is scarcely a thinking man or woman in this suburb but has identified him or herself, or have intimated their intentions of becoming a member and a worker in the glorious cause of Nationalism.

FRESNO. A wide-awake club of Nationalists has been organized in this place.

KAWEAH CO-OPERATIVE COLONY. Kaweah Colony have organized a Nationalist Club, consisting of over fifty members. At the last meeting which was held Saturday evening, Nov. 16, several visitors were present, including Mr. Tucker of the Oakland Nationalist Club. The program consisted of vocal and instrumental music, addresses, and reading and discussion of a portion of Looking Backward. It was one of the most interesting meetings the Club has yet enjoyed. Several Nationalists, from different parts of the State, have visited our Colony and feel that we are with them "heart and hand," working in the grand cause of Humanity. We have just received a magnificent floral gift of Japanese Chrysanthemums from the Oakland Club.

ANAHEIM. The Club has elected the following officers for the ensuing term: President, H. G. Wilshire; First Vice-President, R. F. Gilman; Second Vice-President, W. R. Harker; Secretary-Treasurer, C. P. Kellogg; Librarian, Dr. D. W. Hunt; Chairman Lit. Com., Francis G. Ryan.

AVALON (KAWEAH COLONY.) A Club has been organized here, and the following board of officers elected: President, H. T. Taylor; Vice-President, Carrie Sweetenham; Secretary-Treasurer, A. B. Burdick.

FULLERTON. The Club has now 60 members enrolled and is pushing things. The *Fullerton Star* is a zealous advocate of Nationalism and the editor is a member of the Club which is composed of the leading citizens of that town.

The officers of the Club are as follows: President, H. G. Wilshire; First Vice-President, R. A. Buchanan; Second Vice-President, Col. W. M. Walker; Secretary-Treasurer, J. B. Mullen.

LONG BEACH. A Nationalist Club was organized at the Congregational Church, Friday, Dec. 6th. The following are its officers: President, Rev. R. M. Webster; Vice-President, Mrs. Frank Hart; Secretary, Fred. Bixby; Treasurer, Frank Robinson; Executive Committee, Messrs. McPherson, Lowe and J. Dillingham.

ENCINITAS. This Club sprung into existence, October 25, 1889, with twenty charter members.

The present officers are: President, Judge J. H. Van Emmon; Vice-President, Mrs. A. H. Cozens; Secretary, T. W. Cozens.

This Club is organized in the center of a large agricultural and horticultural district, and the officers and members propose to carry on an active agitation among the farmers. The interest in the Nationalistic movement is steadily increasing.

BRITISH COLUMBIA: VICTORIA. At this place the Mayor has spoken in favor of Nationalism, stating that "we must do away with the iron curse of wages that now hangs like a millstone about the necks of the people."

ILLINOIS: CHICAGO. The Nationalist Club has now secured permanent headquarters at 170 Randolph Street, Room 20. Public meetings are held every Friday evening, and we hope all Nationalist friends passing through the city will give us a call.

On the evening of Dec. 11, the Club held a meeting in the Club-room of the Grand Pacific Hotel, which was attended by a large audience. Henry D. Lloyd, a gentleman of wealth and cultivation who has been interested in the new movement for some time spoke on the subject, "The Union Forever." He insisted that the immediate help to progress were the securing of an eight hour working day and the strengthening of the Trade Unions. He was followed by Mr. C. L. Hicks, who illustrated the principle of Nationalism by calling attention to the gradual lighting of the streets of Chicago by the municipality. Three years ago the city electrician asked for a small appropriation for the purpose of lighting the river and harbor by electricity. His request was granted and the result was so successful that the next year he asked for a larger sum to light one street. Last year a much larger sum was appropriated, and by 1892, when Chicago expects the World's Fair, the whole city will be lighted by electricity, the system of lighting owned by the people. It will be then but a step to lighting the stores and homes, and by that time the gas trust will be dead.

MICHIGAN: DETROIT. Nationalist Club No. 1 of Detroit has started out with a membership of over fifty. Interest in the cause is spreading and the prospects are favorable for a rapid growth of the Club.

LANSING. The first Nationalist Club of Lansing is endorsed by several leading citizens and includes among its active members the pastors of the two largest churches of the city. The scope of the Club is extended so as to include the discussion of all social and industrial questions, with a view of making it educational in its work and purposes.

MUSKEGON. No. 1, of Muskegon, Mich., has been organized with M. G. Averill as Secretary.

NEW YORK: NEW YORK. Daniel De Leon writes:

"No. 1 is progressing steadily, increasing its membership and holding its meetings regularly.

"No. 2 lately held a large public meeting.

"We now propose to attend to New Jersey with increased vigor.

"Last, not least, I am glad to report the formation of two new Clubs in this city, besides No. 4 (the Washington Heights Club) which Mr. Nieuwland informs me is already organized, to wit:

"No. 5 (East Side), A. F. Grab, 175 E. 93d Street, Secretary.

"No. 6 (West Side), George Moore, 283 W. 132d Street, Secretary."

The No. 3 Club of New York reports that they are increasing in members slowly but surely. Their time is most devoted to gaining new members and discussing economic questions.

No. 7, Richard E. Reaser, Secretary, reports permanent organization under date Dec. 8. Washington Heights Club has the following officers: President, Fearleigh Leonard Montague, architect; Vice-President, Robert Schwalb, china decorator; Secretary, Edward J. Newland, stationer; Treasurer, Miss Bessie Williams, teacher.

BROOKLYN. Nationalist Club No. 1 was permanently organized December 4th with a membership of thirty-five. The secretary writes: "The birth of this new member of our Brotherhood was most auspiciously inaugurated; enthusiasm was a marked characteristic of the gathering; and the intelligent discussion of the best methods for the realization of Nationalism, was very gratifying, as evincing thorough understanding of the almost unlimited possibilities of the human race under this most humane and equitable form of administration. Prof. De Leon addressed the meeting on the necessities of propagandistic work, instancing a few of the methods most likely to prove successful. Rev. H. H. Brown favored the company with a most effective speech, as to the course the Church should pursue in this most noble work."

OHIO: COLUMBUS. At a recent meeting of the Nationalist Club of this city, Capt. L. H. Webster, in the course of an address upon the cardinal principles of Nationalism, advocated that the government should foreclose its mortgage on the Union Pacific railroad rather than extend the lien 112 years, and urged that this be made an issue in the coming congressional campaign, and so give the country the first government railroad, telegraph and express and the first industrial army. Mr. Gayton enlightened the Club as to the benefits from government control in England, and a resolution was adopted pledging the Club to oppose any candidate for congress in this district who does not favor the foreclosure of the mortgage on the Union Pacific and its operation by the government through the Postoffice department.

CINCINNATI. Nationalist Club No. 1 of Cincinnati has completed its organization and is now holding two regular meetings each month. Many applications for membership are coming in.

MISSOURI: KANSAS CITY. This city wheeled into line with the Nationalist movement by the formation of an enthusiastic Club of Nationalists on the evening of Nov. 11th. Judge Morton was elected president and addressed the meeting. A member writes: "There is already a clear issue between the people here and a private water monopoly. We hope to see that pushed to a finish and to at least enter the wedge at other vulnerable points against monopoly."

ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

J. FOSTER BISCOE, EDITOR.

No class of men have been such close and practical students of the industrial situation as Journalists. Out of their study has been born a conviction which has colored their printed utterances, even when muzzled by those who own the pens, ink and paper they use. This is seen in their friendly tone to all efforts by the laboring classes to secure, through legislation or by contests with capital, a recognition of their manhood and their right to the product of their labor.

When, one year ago, the Nationalist movement started, it at once received encouragement from the editorial rooms; and as the months have gone by their endorsement has been more and more outspoken. The leading dailies of our great cities keep hitting right and left at the oppression of the wage earners by the middle class and the crushing out of the middle class by those who are gaining possession of one industry after another through syndicates, trusts and monopolies; and each month we hear the boom, boom of the magazines striking at the crying evil of our industrial system,—Competition. Read the article by Thomas G. Shearman in the *Forum* for November,

Who owns the United States?

He gives the names of seventy individuals whose aggregate wealth is \$2,700,000,000, an average of \$37,500,000 each. We number 60,000,000 of people. Mr. Shearman states that 25,000 persons own one half the wealth of the United States.

How do they get this wealth?

We make them work for it. "Wake them up before daylight! Send them, half-clothed and half-fed, out upon the streets, and away to the factory, the store and the mill! Then let them work, second for second, minute for minute, and hour for hour, all day, with the senseless, nerveless, tireless piece of iron—the machine—driven by steam! If they are mangled, say it was the will of God. If they go home to die, the victims of supply and demand, put them in their coffins and call it Providence! If they don't, but live on, in spite of all, miserable specimens of depraved, stunted and vicious men and women, look at what they have produced, measure it, count it up in dollars and cents, and figure up the sum total! Then contemplate the cursed pile."—[*Phila. Union*].

How do they get this wealth?

"There is a paper mill in Fort Edward which is run day and night. Half the girls go on at 7 in the morning and work till noon. Then the other half go on and work till 7 P. M., at which time the girls who worked all the morning come on again and work till midnight. Then the afternoon girls take up the burden again and keep it up until 7 A. M. This work involves constant activity and watchfulness and imposes a severe strain on muscle and nerves. For the ten hours during which it continues, the working girls get sixty-two cents. The reader will readily guess, no doubt, that Fort Edward is in England, or some other effete despotism of the Old World, where "pauper labor" is the rule. But he will be mistaken. It is in the great State of New York, and the facts are set forth in the report of a factory inspector who has been sweeping around after violations of the labor law."—[*Detroit Free Press*].

What Abraham Lincoln said :

"I see in the near future a crisis arising that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. By a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel, at this point, more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war."

Was Abraham Lincoln right?

Extract from the speech of one of "the seventy" who would have the American People believe that it is for the welfare of the United States that all its wealth should be concentrated in his hands and those of his fellow millionaires. "I do not have any apprehensions about the dangers which surround the Republic. It will be written on my tombstone as on the grave of the Roman, 'I have never despaired of the great Republic.' (*But where is the Roman Republic and why did it perish?*—ED.) I see nothing to prevent her fulfilling the fondest wish that the patriot can have today. Never did a nation advance so fast, and all we have to do, and what the American People will do, is to follow it out on this line, and hold fast that which has proved itself to be good."—*Andrew Carnegie*.

The hope of the Nationalists.

In the days of the Crusades, the rich devoted their wealth to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre; in the fifteenth century, under the eloquent preaching of Savonarola, they bore their treasures to the Piazza; in the eighteenth century they begged themselves to secure the liberty of their country and in its last great peril their coffers were thrown open to free the slaves and save the Union; so now let us hope that when once they realize the cruelty and injustice by which these riches come into their possession, through the noble spirit of humanity, which is theirs now as in the past, they will again become crusaders, devotees, patriots.

The other side.

"Nationalism is designed to increase the responsibilities of the various Federal, State and Municipal governments. It is a part of this system wherein the United States have exclusive charge of the mails, in which Great Britain owns and operates the telegraph, and in Continental Europe where the governments, in several instances, control the railways. In France, Nationalism has taken another important step. The government, outraged by the exactions of the telephone companies, seized the telephone franchise by some construction of the right of eminent domain. (*and reduced the rate one-half*—ED.) All these things already accomplished, and the others projected, prove that Nationalism is attaining a strong grasp all over civilization. If Chicago, as a city, could own the telephone franchise, it would be able to crush one of the most oppressive and inexcusable monopolies in existence. If the government would take possession of the telegraph interests, it would be a relief from a tyranny as oppressive as that which held the Colonies at the period of the Revolution."—*Chicago Herald*.

And what have they to say about it?

Vanderbilt
John G. Deshler, a national banker of Columbus, Ohio, in a speech: "If the people are such fools as to allow me to put saddles on their backs and spurs on my boots and then invite me to ride, I am not going to walk. If it is robbery, the people who sustain the parties, who authorize the robbery, are to blame, not the robber."

What one paper says:

"There are, of course, not a great many sensible persons who are seriously led into the foolish labyrinth of exploded fallacies which the 'Nationalists' profess to believe. 'Looking Backward' from being merely a dull and foolish book, and it is emphatically both, (*The American People like dullness and jolly. The last edition of it was the two hundred and seventieth thousand. When they want brightness and wisdom they read the Boston Courier.* — ED.) This volume bids fair to be made by the popular discontent and ignorance a dangerous one. It is melancholy to see how much genuine and unselfish enthusiasm is here, not only wasting itself, but doing positive harm in the spreading of dangerous and delusive exploded fallacies."—[*Boston Courier.*]

The next Postal Reform.

It is patriotic to believe that any industrial enterprise undertaken by our government is better managed and furnishes better accommodations to the public than the corresponding departments of foreign governments. This is the praise bestowed on our postal system by a recent writer. "There are two points at which those Americans who have made any thoughtful comparative study of postal systems have felt with shame and impatience the miserable defects of our system. One of them is the parcel post. But a far more important matter, and one wholly neglected, is that of postal delivery. In other civilized countries, the postoffice, receiving a letter from the writer, undertakes to deliver it to the person addressed. In our own happy land the postoffice receives the letter, and (except in the case of a privileged small minority of the people,) undertakes to carry it to within five or ten miles of the person addressed, and keep it there till called for. This is the mere barbarism of postal service, worthy of the dark ages before Rowland Hill. The cost and loss which it involves becomes obvious to any one on a moment's reflection." Space will not permit a statement of the results of Doctor Bacon's moment of reflection. It is well worth reading. "Is there any reason why it is harder to deliver letters to a population of a given density in America than to a population of like density anywhere else? Given the same density of population, is it more difficult to deliver letters to every house in Massachusetts than to every house in Switzerland? But Massachusetts is twenty-five per cent more densely populated than Switzerland. Are the square miles in Scotland any easier for the postman to get over than the square miles in Rhode Island? There are but one hundred and nine Scotchmen to the square mile, and every man of them has his letters promptly brought to him; there are two hundred and fifty-four Rhode Islanders to the square mile—nearly two and one-half times as many—and (outside four chief cities) they can have their letters by going to the postoffice and calling for them."—*Dr. Leonard W. Bacon in the Forum.*

THE EIGHT HOUR MOVEMENT.

Criticisms have been made by a few labor papers and prominent members of labor organizations that Nationalism is not in sympathy with the working class movement, that it is an "airy dream," "a bubble," and so on. Abuse is no argument. It is something also which Nationalists do not propose to indulge in, either of the capitalists or those who differ with us as to the methods by which to reach to same desired end. It is the system against which we intend to bend all our energies. If others desire to go out of their way to throw mud at us, so much the worse for them. They waste their time and energies and it does us no harm. There is nothing like good nature for a long campaign.

We do not believe in imputing motives to any one. We can only reply to those who say that we are not in sympathy with the working class movement that they are in error. We are not only in sympathy with the working class movement but we are the working class movement. Our movement is to abolish the drones and all other classes until every man is a working man in the truest, noblest sense. Then there will be no classes.

Out of the 14,000,000 wage workers in the United States not one in fourteen is a member of the labor organizations of this country. Yet with a certain grand audacity a portion of this little army has determined to make an effort to secure an eight hour work-day next May. Our sincere wishes are that their efforts may be crowned with success. We will hail with satisfaction anything that lessens the toil or improves the condition of mankind.

Yet, while it would give many more leisure with all the benefits which that implies, it is still but a palliative. The present unjust system would still remain. Rent, interest, profits, the fatal Molochian trinity, would still grind the people down into the dust.

It is for this reason that as an organization we hold up the banner, "The industries of the people for the people." Against the present system we fight and against it we shall continue to fight. With calm yet firm determination, with dogged persistence even, we shall keep on. We shall try to enliven the struggle with good nature and song but we shall keep at our fight until the competitive system is no more and Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are something more than lip phrases.

Despite the entreaties of friends, despite the manoeuvring of enemies, let us on to the fray with a light heart. Down with the present terrible system which devours fair women and innocent children! Down with the system that makes thieves out of honest men at both ends of the present social scale.

With it all let us remember the constructive work we have to do: the Australian ballot, compulsory education of children up to 18 years, the nationalization of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, mines and trust industries, and the municipalization of street railroads, ferries, lighting and water works.

We may be misunderstood, That is not our fault nor our loss. We may be calumniated by those we desire as friends. They will be sorry. We cannot and must not dissipate our energies. We must concentrate them against the already tottering system. If the eight hour movement is successful, or partially so, we can say to the organized wage workers, "Now that you have attained it, come with us and take the next step." If it fails, let us with words of encouragement say, "Now try our plan."

There are many of us who individually will take part in this eight hour agitation. Let them. There are others and more who will not. Let them also. As an organization our duty is plain. Not from any lack of sympathy, but out of the best sympathy must we press forward to remove the obstacles and make the road clear for the people to come to their own. Our work is to prepare the time when the skilled and unskilled manual worker, the professional and intellectual proletariat of brain workers, the so-called business man and even the rich paupers now supported by society shall say to each other, "You are my brother."

C. F. W.

REVIEWS.

THE KINGDOM OF THE UNSELFISH, BY JOHN LORD PECK.

This work is a scientific treatise on sociology, illustrated by biology. It is written in a remarkably comprehensive way, exhaustively treating of the most delicate, intricate and common-place experiences of human life, and so welding and wielding them as to attest to all thoughtful minds the truth of the statements made in support of its argument which is clearly that morality has an evolutionary basis. The author, in a few instances, because of prejudice and want of mental breadth, fails to comprehend the sweep of the materials with which he deals, but to the large class of robust, independent minds who are in substantial agreement with him, he has done a service by his scientific classification of well-known experiences and observations. To a still larger class of thinkers who are looking towards his conclusions, the advent of this book will prove an important factor in helping to higher ideals, because of the fearlessness and honesty with which the social relations are discussed. To that vast class of minds (who, if they can be said to hold conclusions, rely upon artificial support for them; failing to understand the principles upon which the conclusions are based, and being unable to catch the ideals presented,) the book may seem to teach a coarse materialism.

The order and range of subjects treated are as follows: "The Reliable and the Unreliable in Thought," a concise but extensive survey of the whole ground. "Christianity has a virtue of its own in its power to arouse enthusiasm; but in rationality it falls far behind the olden type."

"The Evolution of Morality," Sociology, in the largest sense given to it, is claimed to be the latest and the highest of the sciences; it has yet to enter and investigate the spiritual, as well as the material, field; vice and virtue are shown to be intellectual no less than emotional, consequently goodness must be positive rather than negative. That justice, equality, generosity, magnanimity, modesty, humility, truthfulness, and self-control are all high virtues, though taking their rise from selfish sources, is affirmed. "Is there then no possibility of human nature's becoming so moralized, or spiritualized, or progressed, that the individual can *stand alone* in his goodness, — beyond the liability of falling away from his union with God and all good souls."

"Independence." This chapter shows how, sadly lacking are women in positive virtues, owing to their dependent position. "The curse of the poor is their poverty," said Solomon; we would add, because of its being the great obstacle to their gaining a spirit of independence, and consequent moral growth.

Under the heading, "Vanity and Pride," embracing intellectual immorality, conceit, selfishness and selfrighteousness, that we are morally bound to accept adverse criticism is plainly shown; and that selfishness often defeats its own interest, because a wiser policy would be a benefit to some one else. The doctrine of Free Will being necessary to justify the fiendish vindictiveness of an eternal hell, it came to have almost universal acceptance; hence men were held accountable for their religious beliefs and punished accordingly.

"Natural and Social Selection" treats of the industrial situation. "Society as yet has no idea of doing as much for its members, in comparative effect, as an ignorant farmer does for his flock of sheep" — "This natural selfish and reckless competition ends in all sorts of inequalities. The strong hand and the unscrupulous disposition come to decide every contest, and to appropriate what is most desirable." The party to which Individualists belong is still predominant in the state, the church, and the schools. Among their many weak points, two are prominent. First, they assume to know all about society and social science. Next, they assert that every one has a fair chance to show his fitness for success, "as if there were some real equality to start with." Their indifference to universal education indicates a temper of keen injustice towards children. Our need is a general conviction of social sinfulness. "Mr. George's plan of taxation, aimed at land monopoly, attempts to cut off one head of a four-headed monster devouring the people, leaving three other heads, the mercantile, manufacturing and transporting monopolies, to devour as fast as they may."

"Love" has two main purposes, one the giving of life to a new generation, the other to give vitality to the more highly developed parts of the whole organism. Although

dealing plainly with this most delicate subject, there is never a coarse touch in the handling.

"Religion; Conversion and Salvation; Art; God; Immortality; Human Perfectibility": these concluding chapters, considered from the outlook of the moralist, aim at exhibiting the loftiest standard of justice and unselfishness. Because of the lack of social science, the example of Jesus could not be accepted by the Church. That which has the highest beauty has also the greatest utility.

The author quotes broadly, not by passages, but a touch here and there, from celebrated men in the philosophical, material, and medicinal sciences in support of his position.

Those who have little time for extensive reading, but who care to be taken into the very center of modern thought, will find it well analyzed and arranged in this new, genuine book.

Empire Book Bureau, 28 Lafayette Place, New York.

METZEROTT, SHOEMAKER. The dedication of the book to the Clergymen and the Workingmen indicates its purpose, to help in establishing just economic conditions for the whole people, and to advance the cause of Evangelical Christianity. The characters, for the first half, promise a higher conclusion. They are bold and sympathetic in their logic and reasonings; which later on the one hand rises to fanaticism, and on the other sinks to dogmatism. Both parties would naturally have come to common ground had they followed their religious leadings. It is a panorama of several stations in life, whose conditions are made possible only, by the present economic system. We have before us in full array Mr. Randolph a millionaire, affable shrewd, with iron nerve, who not only can manipulate Wall Street, but can play upon his daughter's prejudices and regulate her life after his own pattern; Dr. Richards lofty in moral tone, but condemned to Pessimism, through intellectual inability to push investigation back to first principles and forward to reasonable confidence in human nature; also influenced by the suffering and death, caused by the lack of physical comfort, which his profession forces him to see. The inventor is here, a victim to our unorganized civilization. His passion is so strong and hope so high that he risks the comforts of his family to complete his invention; then he finds the field occupied and despair ends his days. Karl Metzertott, from being a free thinker in embryo, passes through the phases of love, marriage, the birth of a lovely child, up through fellow feeling for those more unfortunate than himself to the establishment of "Prices" a co-operative institution, where harmony prevails until the theology of Ernest Clare clashes with the atheism of the shoemaker; and the division becomes complete when Louis, his son, joins issue with Ernest Clare who is carpenter and preacher. Louis through his friendship with Dr. Richard's crippled son has seen so-called high life as well as low familiarity. He is a fine lad, who up to a certain time lives in beautiful relationship with his father. Louis replacing theology for religion, the father's blind resistance, the death of a woman caused by over-work for Mr. Randolph's daughter (Louis's "*mein Roslem roth*")—the personal envy, and intangible sense of injustice of a knot of workmen, stirred by Karl Metzertott and the dead woman's husband, resolved on revenge, bring on the crisis: Louis is shot in defending Mr. Randolph from the mob.

The book is divided into three parts, "Love, Altruism, Flood and Fire." It gives promise of large circulation among Christian Socialists.

T. Y. Crowell & Co., publishers, 13 Astor Place, New York.

FOR THE SAKE OF THE PEOPLE.

BY ROMAN I. ZUBOF, AUTHOR OF 'VIERA.'

Still and soft was the summer night, wrapping in her gentle shadows all the outstanding objects and lulling everything. Not a creature was stirring; yet all nature seemed pregnant with wondrous voices, and from everywhere resounded whisperings and gentle chirpings, and the very falling stars seemed to traverse space with a soft sibilance. The night was moonless, the heavens shone with countless myriads of lights, and all and everything seemed to listen, and listen wonderingly, and wait.

The shadows formed a deep background and threw into relief a solitary grey house standing high on the deserted hill, and not far from it, under a hedge of copse and thistles, were a group of young men in one black mass, sitting motionless and crouching, and also waiting.

The house, looming against the starlit sky, was the Kieff observatory, and the hill was situated in what is known there by the name of "Kieff Switzerland." The silence deepened, and the young men, absorbed in waiting and listening, had not exchanged a single remark for some minutes; an owl, rustling and flapping her wings, came flying over their heads, then veered aside with a startled screech. The group were disturbed a little, then they looked upon one another, and settled themselves in a better position for listening, and waiting.

"They are not coming yet," said one in a whisper.

"There's hardly time for them to come back," reflected another in the same suppressed tone, and they fell again into silence. Suddenly the stillness was broken by loud and startled cries. "Burglars! Thieves!" roared a woman in affright. "Fire! Cara—oo—ool! Ca—ra—oo—ool!"

The group of young men started to their feet, and listened anxiously. Simultaneously with those cries, there resounded the echoes of running footfalls; somebody was hastily and precipitately making his way through the adjoining field of wheat stalks. A dog began to bark furiously in some neighboring yard, another answered him from a distance, and in a moment the whole atmosphere was filled with echoes of mingling and confused sounds.

Whrr-rr-rr! whrr-rr-rr! resounded the whistle of the night patrol from a distance, and was immediately answered by a similar shrill whistle from the other side.

"The devil! they're caught!" said one of the group vexatiously. "Let's run towards them," suggested another—a little fellow who, in the darkness of the night, looked quite young, and who gave signs of restlessness all the time of waiting, "we've all got revolvers, and we'll be eight against six—I only heard two patrols—come, dammit—let's come!"

“Stand still!” commanded an authoritative voice from amongst the group—“don’t be in such a hurry to get hanged—all in good time, Mitya—here’s somebody coming.”

Scarcely had he said that, when a figure emerged from the darkness, and hastening towards them exclaimed breathlessly, “Run for your lives! we’re surprised—they’re at our heels—run quick!—follow me!” and without allowing them time or opportunity for questioning, he ran past them, and they followed. Over brambles and bushes, over fences and gardens, they ran breathlessly, without uttering one syllable: the whistles resounded behind them nearer and nearer; they heard the humming and din of confused voices; they felt they were pursued from different directions.

As they got over one fence a big dog threw himself furiously at them, as if ready to devour them. Somebody fired. The report echoed loud in each of their hearts, and for a moment they all halted. The doors and windows of an adjoining house were opened, and shut again with a loud bang: they started onward again, over another fence into a shaded garden, over a stile and then into a long and deserted street.

“Now to your houses!” said the man who led the group, “tomorrow at ten at Sergie’s; good night.”

And each one parted from the other, and walked off quietly in the direction of their respective houses, as if nothing had happened to them, as if they were simply returning from some quiet entertainment, without hurry or anxiety. At a great distance from them resounded confusedly the different noises of alarm, but each one walked on elated and confident, convinced of the safety of his comrades. Some of them met the night patrol walking leisurely and slowly. They exchanged greetings with them and wended their way—each disappointed at the failure of their enterprise; each conscious of a narrow escape from danger.

II.

Madam Agapova and Sergey Andreyevitch Lapuchin were old friends; he had met her when she was still known as the young Zagoskina (her maiden name) and when Kieff, and even the tail-end of Petersburg society, where she appeared in two successive seasons, were anxiously watching the denouement of her career, i. e. whom she would choose for her husband, as there were evidently a number of young men—and even those who could not be included in the latter category—who would have willingly taken her for their wife. Sergey first met her in Kieff, in the vicinity of which was situated his patrimonial estate, and where he had come to spend a couple of months’ “leave of absence” from his regiment. The following winter he met her again in Petersburg, where his regiment was then stationed, and of which he had been made sub-colonel. A few months after she had left the capital, he had occasion to run down to his estate, and when

he came up to Kieff to call at the Zagoskins, he heard the news that Elena Ivanovna was engaged to Alexander Vasilyevitch Agapov who had just been promoted to the governorship of the Kieff county; then, a few weeks after he had joined his regiment again, he received an invitation to her wedding.

Two years afterwards, to the surprise of all his acquaintances, Sergey resigned his commission in the army, and retired to his estate. The Agapovas, when he called on them, already in his civilian dress, were the most amazed and Elena Ivanovna in particular, kept looking at him all the evening and asking why on earth he did such a thing as retire from the service where he had been so distinguished, and the uniform of which became him so much better than his civilian dress. What was he going to do? become a landlord, and close himself up in his estate with all the prosaic bother its management would entail upon him? Was he going to get settled, and has he brought with him a wife, who prefers Arcadian peace to the pomp and glory of the world and its life, the brilliant life of the army? Ah, there is where the secret lay. But Sergey only smiled gravely, and to all her badinage offered no explanation as to why and wherefore he resolved so suddenly upon retiring from a sphere where the prospects were becoming daily more promising; only when she adverted to the probability of his having got married, he answered with the same grave smile on his face. "No, Elena Ivanovna, not that; it takes the mutual inclination of two people to bring about that climax, and even if I were so inclined, where will you find the other person to devote herself a living sacrifice to it?— No, I am afraid I am a doomed bachelor!"

She looked hard at him for a moment, then felt her face reddening, and glanced at her husband, who was then more profoundly absorbed in watching the curling of the smoke of his cigar, than in listening to their conversation. When left, she said: "What a strange man Sergey Andreyevitch is!" "A perfect original, my dear!" replied her complacent husband, and bethought himself suddenly that he had to go to the club.

Sergey came to the Agapovas again and again, where he was always certain to receive a cordial welcome, at least from the hostess, who evinced a candid friendship for him, and respectfully listened to all he had to say with the air of an obedient pupil listening to the instructions of her master; her esteem for him, the longer and better she knew him, tended to augment rather than abate, and she began to value and deem it a great honor to receive his confidences, and to listen to his expounding of his private views and convictions of things, which, she knew, he very seldom enunciated before others.

His visits to Kieff were not very frequent, but every time he came to town, either to transact some business, or simply to recreate himself a little, he was certain to pay a long visit to the Agapovas, who gradually learned to look upon him as a great friend of the family, who

was expected to make and feel himself perfectly at home in their house. They, in their turn, had gone down to his estate for a few days, and were exceedingly interested and surprised at the simplicity of his life, and his cordial and familiar relations with his tenants. He showed them over places and buildings in which he had taken an equal share of cultivating and constructing. "With your own hands?" asked Madame Agapova, quite astonished at the idea. "Yes, Elena Ivanovna, with my own hands," he answered smilingly. She looked then at his hands,—broad, firm, fully developed and expressive of tenacity, and glanced over his broad-shouldered and massive figure, displaying iron strength and build, and then at his face so full of gentleness and kindness, and thought the whole thing still more wonderful, still more strange.

And this time, when they were leaving, and when her husband again in response to her question replied—a "perfect original" she felt how inadequate and deficient a term it was to convey all *her* feelings and thoughts on the subject.

Soon after that visit, Sergey came one day and, in her husband's absence, confided to Elena Ivanovna a plan he had got into his mind, which was more startling to her than the announcement of his retirement from the army. It was: He had resolved upon selling his estate.

"Great heavens, Sergey Andreyevitch," she exclaimed, "what is that for? What are you going to do then? You are not going to leave us?"

"May be yes,—may be no!" he replied gravely and thoughtfully, which made her more perplexed than ever, and almost secretly frightened at the idea of the contingency positively taking place; and then he added: "But it must be so, Elena Ivanovna. That is finally resolved upon."

He went away that day, without offering any further explanations, and she remained occupied with her thoughts, which were annoying and troubling her, but which she kept revolving and revolving in her mind as to the possible reasons that could make him so suddenly resolve upon such a step. Evidently there was something preying on his mind; she had observed it almost from the day he came to them and announced his resignation of his commission, without ever offering any candid reason for his doing so; he seldom spoke of it, he rarely spoke of things in general, so that one could see where the bent of his thoughts lay, but the very abstinence from offering his opinions made some of his acquaintances shake their heads suspiciously as to the real nature of his private convictions. But when they said as much to Elena Ivanovna, she indignantly repudiated the insinuations, simply because she could not conceive him to entertain any other views but those which were highly proper, legal and ideal. Yet, something must have been weighing heavily on his mind, something that she would have liked so much to know, if something very heavy, to try

and relieve him, help him, aid him, and if that were impossible, at least to share with him and counsel him.

She reasoned and pondered no further; she knew and all the emotions of her nature told her as much that to feel and think so was right and proper, and that, at least, she could not help feeling an anxiety for the well being of one, whom she unconsciously began to regard with a feeling of reverence. But she felt, she could not ask his confidence which she secretly divined would almost amount to personal confession, though she was all eager to gain it, and it taxed her utmost patience to await a voluntary statement, of what he was going to do, of what his opinions and ideas were of his own future. One thing, she instinctively felt, that she ought to be more guarded in communicating to her husband everything Lapuchin told her, for lately she began to feel that it was not her husband, but herself whom he considered the friend he was visiting and in whom he was confiding.

So, on the evening of the very same night in which the story opens, she accidentally and lightly adverted to the fact of his intentions of selling his estate, to which her husband observed, it was a very good thing for him to do, since, otherwise, the peasants would all become a set of fools and lazy rascals under his management. With that frank observation the great official, conscious of the weight of his opinions in general, stood up and said he had important engagements taking him to the club, which perhaps would delay him till the small hours of the morning. Scarcely had he disappeared from the door, when Sergey was announced and shown into Elena Ivanovna's presence.

"I have come to bid you good bye, Elena Ivanovna," he said, as soon as they sat down together on one sofa. "I have finished all my business in town and I am going off in the morning." The lamp on the table shaded with a pale-green screen threw a mellow light on Madame Agapova's face and prevented him seeing the slight pallor that stole over it, and the expression of almost alarming anticipation which it displayed at the utterance of those words. She wanted to ask something, but she was afraid her voice would betray tremulousness, so she turned her face more attentively towards him, and waited with an eager expression in all her features. Sergey had his eyes cast down on the sofa, his face was expressive of extreme gravity of thought, something of great moment was happening in his inward consciousness, and at last, after a moment's silence, he added in a lower tone. "I am going for good; I may never see you again, Elena Ivanovna."

"Why Sergey Andreyevitch!" she exclaimed, "why, for good, for ever? What makes you so suddenly resolve upon such a step?"

"It must be so," he interrupted in the same grave tone: "I have debated it long in my mind. I have thought it over and over again, and as I find it the only thing in my power to do, I must do

it!" He stopped suddenly and glanced into her face; it was pale and animated with an expression of intense attention and expectation. "I am telling you this, forgetful of the fact, that you do not know one single secret thought of mine, which has worked and revolved in my mind for the last few years; forgetting also, that perhaps when you know it, you would—you would—"

"I would what?" she asked eagerly.

"You would pronounce it chimerical, ridiculous, and perhaps very much worse than any of those epithets could designate it, and as much as I would like *you* especially to think with me as I do, and feel the same feelings as I do, I should not like to think, wherever destiny will ultimately place me, that our friendship is forever torn asunder."

"But you have not told me anything, yet! you know enough how I have esteemed you in the past, to warrant you my respect in the future; and indeed, if you really think me a friend of yours, you will tell me all and everything; you will confide in me, for I have been longing and longing to ask you, but thought it would be presumption, and I did not dare."

"Well, Elena Ivanovna, I have resolved to sell my estate, because I think it wrong for any individual to own property of that kind; I have sold it now, and the money that I got for it I shall devote to the furtherance of the object of my belief, of the belief of our party, and I myself will practice what my convictions tell me to practice; I will labor for my bread; for to live without labor is the greatest of mortal sins: it taints the soul and the body."

"You will labor! What could you do more than you have done! You worked on your own farm, as hard as any of your laborers, and you were so kind and good to them."

"But that is not sufficient. I thought when I resigned my commission in the army, and came to my estate and worked and participated in all the labor of the farm, that I was doing the most right and best thing, but I soon found out it was not enough, for it was not all. The peasants looked on and smiled at me, and while they liked me, they looked upon me as if I were condescending to them; they refused to treat me as their equal, and I myself, in spite of all convictions, did not feel myself on an equality with them, either. What did it matter that I eat the same fare, and toiled at the same labor with them, the fact remained the same: I owned all the land and the property around, and they did not; they only considered themselves temporary tenants. But that is not all, Elena Ivanovna." He stopped as if considering for a moment whether to tell her all he had in his mind, or not. He looked up to her, and her face was still animated with the same expression of attention, her eyes riveted on him in wonderment, in admiration, in perplexity, in urgency to tell her further and more of what she wished so eagerly to comprehend.

"You must know," he went on, "that when I was an officer it frequently fell to my duty to march a company of soldiers on a village

of peasants, and enforce payment of private or state rent. I saw often, that the peasants who refused to pay the rent were for the most part unable to do so; and when they were made to pay in kind, when all their means of livelihood and further improvement were sold in order to satisfy the demands of an exorbitant landlord who was idly dissipating the produce which they had accumulated with the sweat of their brow, or to satisfy the demands of the State, which was utilizing all that taxation for things which the taxpayer had not been asked his consent for, I saw that those peasants whom we were ordered to mutilate, and if need were, to exterminate, were no other than peaceful and gentle Russian meujiks, who honestly and laboriously struggled for a livelihood,—people of our own blood, of our own flesh, and country and religion.

“I saw that the government which professedly existed “from the highest to the lowest” for the purpose of watching over the interests, and securing the welfare of the nation, of the people,—was cruelly and exactingly living on the life-blood of those very people it was supposed to protect,—and that they really existed only for the conveniences and advantages of a small minority. When the laborers in the factory, already compelled to subsist on mere starvation wages, already doomed to a life of squalid misery, refused to work, and submit to a still further reduction of wages, the soldier was called to prevent, at the point of the bayonet, the congregation of the laborers for mutual counsel and advice: the soldier was called and ordered to shoot down his own brother, his own kin, his own countryman, in order to compel him to work and starve, just to satisfy the avarice and greed of the employer,—who lived at a distance from the factory, and was ignorant of the smallest particle of the work his employees were engaged at in toiling for his wealth, for his luxuries, for his comforts,—while they had not enough to satisfy the cries of their children for a bare piece of bread! That was not all; I saw then the soldier was called to guard the prisons and strongholds, where the national criminals were confined,—I saw that all of these thieves and desperadoes were my possible brothers and sisters under a different system; and I saw also, Elena Ivanovna, my own friends, my own comrades of youth, confined within those fortresses, kept there, chained there, maltreated, insulted and deprived of their liberty and even life—and all because they raised a protest against the existing barbarities of things, against the bribers, the outragers, the murderers of the national mind, and the integrity of the moral life. . . . I had no enmities against persons then; but I conceived a hatred for the system, and I thought it a dishonor to man and God to remain in the function of a soldier under such a system, and therefore I resigned. When without my desiring or exulting over it our Emperor was killed—I waited; my heart bled at the thought of such a national crime,—but I hoped; a year—two—three years have already passed, and the same outrages, the same crimes, the

same atrocities, are perpetrated in the name and under the sanction of law and government, which should be a stigma and a shame even to acts of invaders and conquerors. It is a time, Elena Ivanovna, when it is criminal to stand with our heads down and look on the struggle that has laid low so many noble and useful lives; it is a time when it is a shame for every thoughtful man and woman to hesitate on which side to stand and remain indifferent to the combat. . . . I thought that a personal ideal would be sufficient for the life of an individual, but it has been so inseparably bound up with my social ideal, that I found it inadequate and unsatisfactory to myself, and I resolved —” He stopped for a second.

“What have you resolved to do?” she asked.

“I have resolved to sell all I have — and go forth and become one of the people, of which I am, and in whose quality I believe. I have resolved to work and struggle against the present system, to devote all my life and means and energy to the introduction of a new social era, where the present state of things shall be considered an impossible shame and outrage.”

“But that is such a stupendous undertaking; you will never accomplish it, Sergey Andreyevitch.”

“Possibly so, — what of that? but I shall have worked for it, for the accomplishment of what I believe to be right and just, — and what need I more? Meanness and injustice do not ultimately triumph over the ideas of right and equity, and if I shall have lived in the effort of working out my ideas, or, if need be, if I die for them, what more?”

Elena shuddered: “Great God!” she said sotto voce, “you will never accomplish it! you will never accomplish it! you will waste your life and opportunities,” she murmured in distress.

“In considering duties,” he said interrupting her, “we cannot weigh and balance the consequences and the results they may bring with them. We must act if we believe there is wrong to redress, if there is right and truth to fight for. My individual life is of no consequence to any human being, but I shall live happier in the consciousness that I have lived with the desire and effort of improving the condition of the nation and the people.”

“What thanks will the people give you for it?” she asked. “They will be the first to betray and spurn you. Oh, Sergey Andreyevitch, I hardly know what to say; I hardly know how to feel.”

There was a painful silence for a few seconds. Suddenly he rose up. “Good bye, Elena Ivanovna,” he said. She rose up too, and stood facing him, pale, with head cast down, and then offering her hand she said, “Good bye! God will be with you.” A wave of emotion came over her, and she could say no more; he pressed her hand and walked out.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

LIST OF SECRETARIES.

(Alphabetically by States.)

| | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|---|
| CALIFORNIA. | | |
| SAN FRANCISCO. | Club 1, . . . | Anna H. F. Haskell, 719 Greenwich Street. |
| | Club 2, . . . | |
| | Club 3, . . . | |
| OAKLAND. | | Harriet F. Stevens, Snell Seminary. |
| LOS ANGELES. | Club 1, . . . | A. Vinette, Station F. |
| | Club 2, . . . | L. R. Biddle, 125 John Street. |
| | Club 3, . . . | (German.) |
| SAN DIEGO. | | Mrs. Mary A. White, 1433 First Street. |
| NATIONAL CITY. | | George R. Moore. |
| PASADENA. | | L. H. Bannister. |
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FEBRUARY, 1890.

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THE NATIONALIST.

VOL. II.

FEBRUARY, 1890.

No. 3.

THE ELEVENTH CENSUS CONSPIRACY.

The Federal Census Act for 1880 provided for a report upon the condition of each person enumerated, *and whether employed or unemployed, and if unemployed, during what portion of the year.* In the Federal Census Act for 1890 this clause is conspicuous by its absence. Whether or not the omission is of significance, and if so, to what extent, a historic review of our recent census and labor statistics may help to determine.

Honestly collated and judiciously applied, statistics may, due allowance being made for their serious and unavoidable defects, point approximately to the truth. Our labor organizations shrewdly surmised that were publicity given to the actual facts concerning child and woman labor, hours of work, wages, enforced idleness, and kindred matters, much of the optimism that blocked the way to social reforms would vanish. Accordingly, at an early day they demanded official investigations of the condition of the people. The demand was apparently granted. In a number of states bureaus of labor statistics were actually established. But the reports that issued from these bureaus were inane and confused; with regard to some of the subjects on which light was especially desired, they were mostly silent; and, despite criticism, this course was adhered to with suspicious tenacity. Foremost among these suspicious omissions was that of all information touching the average enforced idleness among the wage receivers. A notable exception herein was made by the Massachusetts decennial census for 1875, issued by the Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics, of which Mr. Carroll D. Wright then was, and till recently continued to be, the chief. In it was found a table exhibiting the average number of days in which the wage receivers were employed in 260 of the principal industries of the state;¹ and although the report neglected

¹ Compendium of the Census of Massachusetts for 1875, pp. 370-376.

to point out the important conclusions to which the table led, it enabled a careful computation to bring out the fact that the average idleness among those wage receivers amounted to almost exactly one fourth of their time—an equivalent (584,690 being the number of skilled and unskilled laborers in Massachusetts) of 146,172 persons unemployed for an entire year.

This revelation brought on unlooked-for results. Misgivings had for some time been rife as to the rise and spread among us of a class of wholly unemployed. The amount of idleness shown to prevail in Massachusetts alone confirmed the popular apprehension, and spurred investigation. But the inquiry on this head was met at the threshold by the very Massachusetts decennial census for 1875 with what looked like a flat denial of the existence of such a class in any appreciable numbers. It declared :

The tabulation of occupations should mathematically account for every man, woman and child in the State; practically, had it come within five thousand, it would have been considered accurate for census purposes; in reality, we had over twenty different clerks engaged upon the same tabulation, and the footings of the several parts of the whole showed a number in all occupations, considering conditions, as paupers, convicts, students, etc., for the time as people engaged in occupations only forty-three out of the way.¹

Here was a paradox. The hours of work in Massachusetts being on an average rather above than below ten a day, and the average idleness of the wage receivers being equivalent to an army of 146,172 persons unemployed for an entire year, a maximum possible of only 43 persons wholly unemployed was justly deemed preposterous. Somewhere there was error. An angry discussion arose on the subject, and extended beyond the State of Massachusetts; epithets were bandied; the Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics instituted a hurried re-investigation, and issued in 1878 an advance sheet of its tenth annual report in support of its position; a variety of reasons, not without weight, were adduced against the reliableness of this last investigation; the public mind was aroused and anxious to arrive at the facts; and the Tenth Federal Census Bill coming up for consideration at the approaching session of Congress, the disputants, it seems, decided by mutual consent to appeal to that body. This appeal took the shape of a memorial; it was signed by over 3,000 citizens; and bore date of January 28, 1879. It prayed, among other things, that, 'in taking the census of 1880 report be made of every person, whether employed or idle, and, as near as

¹ *Ib.* pp. 10-11.

might be, of the number of days in the next preceding year, in which such person was employed.'¹ The joint congressional committee on the census adopted at once the gist of the memorial by incorporating the words 'and whether employed or unemployed, and if unemployed during what portion of the year' into the body of the 17th section of the census bill; and in that form the bill became a part of the law of the land.

Under this law the census of 1880 was taken. Its ponderous tomes fill up shelves. Yet search as one may, they vouchsafe not the slightest information directly on the burning question of idleness. Read by the light of the preceding events, the language of the memorialists of 1879 bore a specific meaning; and both the memorial itself and the discussion from which it issued pointedly indicated to the census officials not only the intent of the amendment to section 17 of the census act, but also the importance attached to execution. Nevertheless, the mandate of the people of the United States, in Congress assembled, was left to lie a dead-letter upon the statute book.

The absence of all information on the unemployed in the census of 1880, so far from allaying the popular misgivings on this head, or hushing the discussion which the so-called pessimists had started upon the publication of the Massachusetts decennial census for 1875, confirmed the one, and stimulated the other. Aggravatingly silent as were the pages of the federal census directly upon the subject of the unemployed, a careful investigation of their contents showed, nevertheless, that, whilst 3,837,112² persons were given as engaged in manufactures and mining,³ the whole number reported as actually employed at those industries was only 2,732,595,⁴ and that, consequently, there were 1,104,517, or nearly one third of the whole number, entirely unaccounted for, i. e. idle. Again, the Tenth Federal Census reported 17,392,099 persons as belonging to the industrial classes.⁵ Deducting from this number the 3,837,112 engaged in manufacturers and mining there remain 14,554,987 to be heard from. Upon this mass of humanity the census shed not a ray of light. But the condition of the manufacturing and mining employees supplied the deficiency by affording a starting point, and the idleness among the industrial classes in the country was accordingly computed justly as equivalent to the full time of at least 5,000,000 persons.

¹ Sen. misc. doc. No. 19, 50th Congress, 2d session. ² Tenth Federal Census, vol. I, p. 708.
³ *Ib.* vol. II, p. 2. ⁴ *Ib.* vol. I, p. 708.

Other sources furnished confirmatory data — all the more suggestive because on their faces far short of the truth — and added fuel to the discussion. In 1879, 1884, and 1887 the Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics issued its 10th, 15th, and 18th reports. The paradox presented by the Massachusetts decennial census for 1875 was, in each instance, essentially repeated. The lowering of wages,¹ extreme penury,² hunger,³ suffering through overwork,⁴ pinching economy,⁵ patient submission to unjust treatment,⁶ 28,508 skilled and unskilled persons unemployed in 1878 at a season when hands are usually in greatest demand,⁷ and an average loss of 4.11 months each during one year by not less than 241,589 wage receivers,⁸ — sure symptoms of an overstocked labor market — were all candidly admitted and recorded, while, at the same time, only 822 persons were reported idle in the State during the whole of 1885.⁹

Data like these, gleaned from the Tenth Federal Census itself, as well as from other statistical compilations could not but throw into a suspicious light the work of the Census Office of 1880. They confirmed the evidences of men's senses everywhere that pointed not only to a distressing amount of idleness among the wage receivers, but also to the actual existence in our midst of a vast class of persons wholly unemployed — without taking into account the swarms of our homeless and houseless, of whose proportions the enormous number of 4,800,472 cheap lodgings, and of lodgings furnished in the station houses of the city of New York alone, during one single year,¹⁰ gives a hint. Broad statements about the average earnings of the wage receivers were, in themselves, an information sufficiently imperfect. Such statements, however, made without an accompanying and truthful exhibit of the number of those who received nothing, or next to nothing, were clearly understood to be needless, nay, misleading, in so far as they were meant to throw light upon the condition of the people. Accordingly, to ascertain, as accurately as might be, the extent of idleness among the wage receivers, the existence or non-existence of a class of wholly unemployed persons in the country, and, if such there was found to be, as nearly as possible its actual dimensions, became a popular wish that grew and gathered volume. To this end, recourse was once more had to a memorial to Congress. The memorial of January 28, 1879, was therein incorporated in full; the former reasons

1 Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 139. 2 *Ib.* pp. 65-92. 3 *Ib.* p. 117. 4 *Ib.* pp. 70-90. 5 *Ib.* p. 72. 6 *Ib.* p. 88. 7 Tenth Annual Report, p. 6. 8 Eighteenth Annual Report, p. 303. 9 *Ib.* p. 156. 10 Report of the Police Department of the city of New York, December 31, 1883, p. 76.

for an inquiry into the amount of idleness among the people were re-affirmed; and complaint was made of the neglect with which the Census Office of 1880 had treated the provision of the census act upon that subject. The memorial was signed by the Hon. William D. Kelley, a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, and the Hon. Eugene Hale, United States senator from Maine, among others; and was, by the latter presented to Congress on December 17, 1888.¹ Early this year the act for the census of 1890 was passed and approved; the memorial presented by Senator Hale was in its vital respects disregarded; and the important clause requiring a report upon the condition of each person enumerated, *and whether employed or unemployed, and if unemployed, during what portion of the year*, which had found its way into the act for the Tenth Federal Census, vanished from the act for the Eleventh Federal Census "leaving not a wreck behind."

In the interpretation of amended documents it is a fundamental principle that the insertion of new or the elimination of old matter is of prime importance to their understanding. What, until the passage of the act for the census of 1890, might have seemed unexplainable in some instances, paradoxical in others, and vaguely suspicious in all, now acquires unmistakable meaning. The utter silence on the subject of the unemployed by the State bureaus with the exception of that of Massachusetts in the decennial census for 1875; the latter's change of front, as shown by its persistent effort to minimize in its subsequent reports the fact of which it had unwittingly, it would seem, allowed a glimpse in that year; the disregard paid by the federal census officials to the mandate in the act for the census of 1880, were but successive manifestations of a deliberate plan to misrepresent, and if need be, to wholly suppress, the truth on the actual condition of the people. The agencies that inspired the wording of the act for the census of 1890 had learned from experience the difficulty of systematic falsification. Conceal as they might the facts in 1880, the curtain could not be drawn so close but that it allowed an impertinent ray of light to wink through the folds; and, moreover, a second violation of the law, in the face of the indignation aroused by the first offense, might not fare so well. The elimination from the census act for 1890 of the clause requiring an investigation of the idleness among the

¹ Sen. Mis. doc. No. 19, 50th congress, 2d session.

people was a shrewd move, and is but the culmination of a long planned conspiracy.

With the collapse of the Malthusian doctrine as a divine justification for the wretchedness of the many and the dazzling wealth of the few, the need of some other breastwork against progress was promptly felt by the plutocratic interests of Europe. As a defensive barrier, the Malthusian doctrine had revealed inherent weakness. It was raised upon the admission of wide-spread want among the people; and from that point of vantage the social reformers could, and did, play their artillery with destructive effect upon the enemy. That grave defect was to be avoided. It was urgent that new defences should be thrown up upon lines which denied the prevalence of involuntary poverty, and asserted a state of increasing popular well-being. The complete change of base involved in such tactics did not hinder their adoption. The new breastworks were raised upon the new plan; and, manning them, there rose a novel Paladin—the *statistician*, armed cap-a-pie with manufactured figures and diagrams to do battle for plutocracy. Such was the experience of Europe, and such were the implements of warfare put in the hands of the Mulhalls, the Giffens, the Levis, and minor mannikins. But capital is international; of recent years, moreover, its exodus to the United States has been prodigious. Accordingly, here also, where the counterparts of the Mulhalls, the Giffens, and the Levis have begun to be needed and to show their heads, the improved and tempered instruments of plutocratic warfare against progress are likewise forging and to be forged. For this purpose the people's money is to be taken, and the people's will to be thwarted. Will the conspiracy succeed?

DANIEL DE LEON.

New York.

THE NEGRO'S PART.

I.

The development of man is a progress from the abstract to the concrete; his history, as we possess it, is the history of the development of individuality. Pre-historic man has left us only the idea of a Race, — the primitive Aryan, dwelling upon his own lands, and subsisting upon the fruits of his own labors. Further down the ages we encounter the gigantic but misty figures of semi-individualized heroes and heroines, with a human name, and a mythic history, then kings and princes, nobles and paladins become endowed with will and conscience, though the rank and file of humanity still serve only to fill up the chasm over which these favorites of the gods pass to immortality.

But the present age is strongly individualistic; and just as our modern telescopes have resolved the rings of Saturn — once thought to be solid — into innumerable tiny planets, each pursuing its own orbit, which, though largely determined by the influence of every other planet, is still its own individual orbit, and distinct from all other orbits in the universe, — so we latter day saints are beginning to realize that every man of the so-called masses has a life of his own, which no other man can, by any possibility, live for him.

Every man, we say advisedly, for the individuality of women and children is quite another matter altogether. Women in America are not, it is true, mere chattels, actual legal tender, as Stanley found them in the realms of King Mtesa; yet neither have they attained the position in which the year 2,000, according to Mr. Bellamy, is to find them; while children are still trained largely according to fixed rules and set theories, their fluent natures pressed into a mold of custom, squared off with a ruler, and turned out upon the multiplication table to harden. Now how is the woman to work out her salvation, and that of her children which stands or falls with hers? By rivalling man, and competing with him upon fields to which he, justly or unjustly, considers that he has a prior claim? Under our present system she has scarcely another choice; and she does rival him, often successfully, yet with some loss, and certainly at great cost, to herself. But the year 2,000 promises her "a world of her own," wherein her powers may find free play and her nature its full perfection; wherein she is to be, "not like, but diverse"; as thoroughly womanly, as distinctively feminine as possible.

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But what has all this to do with the negro? Much every way; the negro being, in some respects, in a very feminine position. The man of the race has, it is true, the right to vote, but practically he votes as he is bribed, cheated, or intimidated into voting; in his choice of a trade or profession he is quite as heavily handicapped as the woman, and if he go beyond what is arbitrarily defined as his sphere, — an inferior sphere, be it remarked, to that of the arbiters, — he encounters a social prejudice equally insurmountable.

But perhaps the arbiters are right; perhaps the negro — for we are not now pleading the case of woman — perhaps the negro is inferior to the white man. Well, perhaps he is; perhaps all other races that ever have lived, now live, or ever can live, are inferior to the Indo-European race, Teutonic branch, Anglo-American variety. Yet we have been surpassed in various respects by several nations both ancient and modern. The Hebrews for example — once considered a very inferior people indeed, — are an easy first in mathematics, and in music a good second, against the world. But in music the negro far excels any race or people on the globe. He has, it is true, produced as yet no great names, unless we quote such a freak of nature as Blind Tom; but as a people they are the most musical in the world. Every one knows how the Jubilee singers set folk staring; yet we have heard music from ordinary untrained school-children that equalled the best efforts of the Jubilee singers. The richness, the peculiar *klangfarbe*, of the negro voice, is simply marvellous; and there seems to be scarcely one of the race who does not sing more or less well.

Is music then their only heritage? Far from it; the average negro has a feeling for form and color which, in special cases, has even already been cultivated into something very well worth while; he is a natural orator and a capital actor; these gifts, be it remembered, belonging not to one or two, here and there, but to nearly every member of the race.

Well; but we often hear it said that the negro has had twenty-five years of freedom and has done almost worse than nothing with it; that the large majority of the race are quite as ignorant, far more degraded, and generally less comfortable than in slave times. That this is true, especially of the far South, I shall not attempt to deny; nay, I believe that even the education which some of them have received, while it has unfitted them for their former position, has not

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been sufficiently deep and thorough going to do much more than scratch the surface of their former ignorance.

Do we therefore conclude that the negro is unfit for freedom; or, rather, that he has never possessed it? Is a man free who is built around with a wall of iron prejudices, whose presence is considered to contaminate, not merely the bed he sleeps in and the car or steamboat in which he travels, but even the neighborhood in which he lives? My brethren, those things ought not so to be; but so they certainly are. Proof is needless; else could we find it in abundance. There is a certain house, in a respectable, though not fashionable, street, a quarter of a mile from the writer's own home, which was, a year or so ago, rented for a colored orphan asylum, in charge of colored sisters. Quieter, more regular, more inoffensive tenants no house could have had; yet the neighbors complained, some of them moved away, property depreciated, rents came down, and that locality is now given over almost exclusively to colored people.

Now how many men are there of pure Caucasian lineage, who could work their way against such a headwind of prejudice as this? Some, of course; but not more in proportion to numerical strength than the negro race can boast of. An article appeared not long ago, in one of their own periodicals which, quoting a white writer's statement that colored children are equally as quick as white up to a certain age, after which they fall behind, accounted for it by the theory that at that age they begin to feel the degrading influence of their inferior social position. As we have already concluded, there is doubtless some ground for this opinion; but there is also the observed fact that colored children, as a rule, are very poorly taught. For negroes, as a rule, must be reached through the imagination and, though eager after knowledge and proud to be considered learned, it must be confessed that they lack the Anglo-Saxon capacity for dull, uninteresting plodding. Trained teachers of their own race, who understood this characteristic, and how to use it, might do much with them; but under present conditions they easily can, and often do, pass through their school-days without even the smell of fire upon their garments.

II.

Now it must be evident to the least careful observer that, under the present unfortunate social conditions, while a few exceptional natures may rise to a point considerably below that which they would have

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reached, had not so much energy been expended in overcoming friction, yet the great mass of the negro race must infallibly deteriorate. This, indeed, is just what is taking place under our very eyes. The negro is losing the virtues which were called forth by the old system and is gaining no others in their place; he has ceased to be a slave without becoming a freeman, and a man can have no worse master than his own passions.

The question now arises, therefore, what are we going to do about it? Well, first of all, we can let it alone. And the end thereof is destruction. For we must remember that race prejudice is not confined to one side of the color line; and the present signs of the times point with horrible certainty to a period when this feeling shall awfully materialize. And though a war of races might result in the extermination of the numerically weaker, yet this method of settling the negro question would be about the most expensive we could well select, and would also be attended by such wholesale carnage and horrible atrocities as would luridly eclipse the French Revolution and the Sepoy Mutiny.

Next, we may make the best of things as they are; we may admit the negro to perfect political and social equality; we may throw open to him every trade and profession, and receive him as an honored guest in every drawing-room. But before we eliminate our social prejudice in this wholesale and, of course, possible and perfectly practicable manner, let us consider whether, after all, it may not, by some tenuous fibre, be connected with the eternal verities of right and justice. For it must be remembered that prejudice is only prejudgment, and that in the case of a whole race, — nay, of two whole races, — instinctive prejudgment is rather apt to be correct, though it may manifest itself in ways that are not admirable.

Religious or political equality is quite a different matter from social equality. We may vote with the negro, we may even vote *for* him; we may kneel beside him at the altar, as the present writer has done many a time; but we don't ask him to dine with us. Why? Because we do not wish him to marry our daughter. For intermarriage is, after all, the foundation of social intercourse, and its permissible limit forms the boundary of what is called "Society," or one's "own set."

Now ought we to wish the negro to marry our daughter, or his daughter to marry our son? On ethnological grounds alone, we answer emphatically, No! For wholesale intermarriage would in the

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first place soon banish the black man from America, and a race of octoroons would be but a poor exchange. Since, as even the old negro traders could have told us, and as was a recognized fact on every Southern plantation, the octoroon is mentally and physically inferior to both of the races from which he springs; he lacks energy and muscular strength, is predisposed to consumption and, as a race, would be doomed to speedy extinction.

Moreover, the instinct which is the defense against this fusion of races is quite as strong in the negro as in the white man. We know of one family — who, by the by, took their origin from a mixed marriage “in the old colony days.” The story is a romantic one, and the marriage, though of course irregular, was solemnized, under protest, by an ordained clergyman of the Church of England. This family — to begin our sentence again — had, even before the war, won such a position in the Southern city in which they had lived, free, educated and well-to-do for several generations, that they were offered a pew in the oldest and most aristocratic Church in the place; an unheard-of concession for the times, which they declined, on the ground that they “preferred to worship with their own people.”

Another instance: A very pretty girl, with fair hair and blue eyes, was offered, by her father's sister, a fashionable milliner, a place in her shop, on condition that she would conceal the African blood that came to her from her mother. The girl made the reply that “she would not deny her own people.” This happened only a few years ago, and neither the girl, nor, we believe, her mother, had ever been a slave.

These are not isolated instances: they are types and parables. Indeed, it is thoroughly comprehensible that centuries of slavery, and of dwelling together as strangers and despised, in a strange land, should have welded together these descendants of many African races into one race, the Afro-American; and should have mingled in the blood, and fused into the heart of that race, such a passion of Nationality, as Nationalism, above all other isms, can least afford to disregard. Yet as Howard Payne had no home, so the Afro-American has no country.

III.

We are now, for dealing with the problem we undertook to solve, “The Negro's part in Nationalism,” prepared with the value of two

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important factors, his race individuality and race prejudice. For, as the full development of woman is to be attained by her being as distinctively feminine as possible, so the ideal of the negro race — God's ideal — is to be reached, not by amalgamating with the whites, but by being negroes to the ends of their fingers, and with all the strength that is in them.

During the stormy times of abolition excitement before the war, the project of colonizing the negroes in Liberia was extensively agitated. Doubtless it was the best and most statesman-like plan possible at the time; yet it had its dark side. For, though the climate of Africa may be more endurable by the negro than by the white man, in other respects the banishment would be as bitter to him as to us. Africa is no more his country than Great Britain, France or Germany is ours; he has trodden the shores of America nearly as long as the white man; and indeed in any case selected at random for comparison between the two races, the chances are that the African ancestor will prove to have been the first arrival.

Also:—suppose we nationalize our land and our industries to-morrow, next week or next year, or at any time in the near future. Do we want, *can we have*, in addition to the difficulties which will start up on all sides in our tramps, paupers and criminal classes, the further complications introduced by race-prejudice? Let us by all means inscribe on our banners "No distinction of color;" but organize your Army of Industry on this basis, and then,—wait—till the first negro shall be promoted over the heads of his white co-workers!

Now of course, if this difficulty, this wrong, if you like, could be obviated in no possible way, it would have to be met and wrestled with; but there is neither socialism, nationalism, nor rationalism in trying to butt down a stone wall that has a gate in it. But into what promised land does this gate lead? Where can the negro find a fair field, and no favor; room to develop along the lines of his own nature, and the stimulus of generous and friendly emulation?

Our answer is, under present political conditions,—nowhere; but once establish *THE NATION*, and it would be easy to set apart a sufficient territory—presumably in the far South—as the Afro-American's peculiar heritage, within which he should, as far as possible, be left to govern himself. Not that he should be in any sense abandoned, or cast adrift; on the contrary the negro contingent should form an integral part of the industrial force, officered, however,

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from its own ranks, and with its fair and proportionate voice in all questions of general importance. Certain kinds of production, such as the cultivation of cotton, rice and sugar, would, by the conditions, fall naturally to his share ; but he would participate in all the material and educational resources of the Nation, and would have ample facilities for the development of every faculty. Nay, though a certain amount of gentle coercion might be necessary to the establishment of this as well as other divisions of our true Grand Army, yet, once established, its own cohesive force would keep it together. And individuals might therefore be allowed free liberty of action and of residence ; there would be no more objection or race-prejudice than the negro in Europe now encounters, or we ourselves feel for an occasional Japanese. But, mark you, a wholesale emigration of the negro to England, or a settlement of the Japanese nation bodily in our midst, would be a matter altogether different. The position of the negro is now a difficult, because an anomalous, one ; but acknowledge his independence, recognize his individuality, give him a sphere of his own, and social questions will settle themselves.

Are we like children, marking off the boundaries, and settling the laws of a fairyland, a country in the moon? Truly, we have awaited the coming of the Bridegroom for nearly nineteen centuries. But the Wise take oil with their lamps : the oil of preparation. For, in an hour when we think not, the Bridegroom shall come indeed.

AUTHOR OF "METZEROTT, SHOEMAKER."

CHICAGO'S ADVANCE.

It has long been argued by those now swelling the Nationalist ranks, that all service of a public character could be performed by the people for themselves, cheaper and better than by private corporations. Few have doubted the truth of this as a principle, but the difficulty has been to get a satisfactory demonstration. In this "practical" age, men demand fact and not theory. It is the dollar in hand they want.

A theoretical scheme for saving money and blessing humanity at the same time, will find admirers without number. Show them the "sure thing," especially as to the money part, and they become enthusiastic advocates.

Chicago is now engaged in establishing a Municipal Electric Light System. It is an undertaking directly in line with Nationalism. The work has progressed far enough to demonstrate itself a "sure thing," both as to saving money for the people and as a blessing to humanity. It therefore finds hearty endorsement, save only by our Gas Trust and private Electric Light corporations.

A large part of our extensive river front, bridges, and viaducts, as well as many of our streets, are now lighted with electricity generated by the city at its own plant. The wires, lamps, and entire paraphernalia are owned by the city, free from any sort of control by private corporations. The system is being rapidly extended so as to embrace the whole city. It is the intention ultimately to make connection with stores, factories, and residences, so as to supply light for private consumption.

How did we succeed in getting such a work established without being headed off by private monopoly? Through a beginning so small as not to attract especial notice! To our faithful servant, Mr. John P. Barrett, City Electrician, are we chiefly indebted for our good fortune. Some two and a half years ago, as Superintendent of City Telegraph Department, Mr. Barrett asked the City Council for a small appropriation with which to experiment in lighting the river front by electricity. About twelve thousand dollars was granted him. With this he purchased a small outfit, and commenced operations in an abandoned Fire Engine House belonging to the city. He laid his wires in the ground, from the first, and started a few lamps on the river front and at certain bridges. The effect was *truly* electric. The dark narrow river, dangerous alike to passing vessels and such people as were belated along its wharves, became like day, and safety was vouchsafed

to all within the rays of these lamps. This small venture gave wonderful satisfaction, and the next year, a larger appropriation was voted with which to extend it, and try the lighting of a few streets. Mr. Barrett made the most of his opportunity, and the city's electric lamps soon became noticeable on prominent corners.

As these increased in number, the councilmen from wards not thus lighted, began importuning Mr. B. for an extension of the service to their wards. They would say to him, "My constituency are observing your electric lights down town, and, as tax-payers, want to know why they can't have the same thing out their way; what's the reason you can't run your wires out to our ward and give us the benefit too?" To which it gave Mr. B. great pleasure to reply, "that is exactly what I propose to do, just as fast as you gentlemen will vote me the money to do it with." With the "Constituency" thus aroused and making demands, there was little disposition to refuse Mr. Barrett's request for a larger appropriation; in fact a vote against it would be political suicide.

During 1889, there was appropriated for this service, two hundred and seventy thousand dollars (\$270,000.) A large part of this sum is being expended in the building of three very substantial plants in as many divisions of the city. These will be completed and running by March 1st, next. In addition, a system of trunk lines is being rapidly extended throughout these districts, the wires being laid under ground. At present the city is operating 310 lamps. By March next 500 more will be added. March 1891 will see another 1000 added, making about 1800 in all. By March 1892, there will be in operation 2500, sufficient to light every street which is now lighted by gas. Chicago will be able to present to its visitors from all over the world in 1892, a sight to be found nowhere else, — a great city entirely lighted by electricity, the service performed by itself.

The present cost per lamp per night, according to the city electrician's last report, is about nineteen (19) cents. With the new plants in operation, the cost will be reduced to about (50) fifty dollars per lamp per year. St. Louis considers herself fortunate in contracting with a private corporation to supply city electric lighting at \$80 per lamp per year, an advance of sixty per cent. over Chicago's cost.

We now pay our Gas Trust the modest sum of six-hundred thousand dollars (\$600,000) per year for lighting our streets. Our 2500 electric lamps at \$50 each will do it for \$125,000,—and, as Mr. Barrett

says, — give us forty times the light. The same authority says that the private consumers of the city electricity will pay less than for monopoly gas, and the city still have a profit on the business. In fact, he expects that after a time, the city profit on private consumption, will pay the expense of city lighting, and thus the city save the whole \$600,000 per year now paid the gas trust.

Thus is Chicago publishing to the world, in the universal language of dollars and cents, *how much* better and cheaper the people can perform their own service, than they can get it done by farming it out.

The subject of Municipal Gas service has had much airing of late in Chicago, growing largely out of our Nationalist club work. Each of our nine daily papers supports the idea, and editorials favoring it are of frequent occurrence. The matter is now before the city council, and favorable committee reports have been made. With electric lighting, we shall need fuel gas.

In addition to these steps toward Nationalism, Chicago is just entering upon a most gigantic work for the people, in her sanitary drainage scheme. This is an enterprise which is to empty our sewage into the Gulf of Mexico, instead of into the lake at our door, from which we immediately draw our water supply. It means the turning of Lake Michigan into the Mississippi river, through an immense canal which we are to dig, and through which New Orleans steamers will come to Chicago. It will cost millions of dollars and employ thousands of workmen for several years. We have just elected our trustees for this work, and shown our ability to manage our own business, by rising in our might and electing a Citizens' ticket nominated in rebuke of boodlers.

In our excellent municipal water service, the profits remain with the people, and we have nearly a million dollars of surplus with which to make needed extensions. Had our street car service been on the same basis, we should now have a fine surplus with which to build the elevated roads so much needed by Chicago. Unfortunately, the profits on that business have flowed into the pockets of the Philadelphia barbarians, who some years ago came and camped down on our street car lines, and have since been giving us a most detestable service. But Chicago is being rapidly prepared for municipal street cars.

There are those who fear corruption through extending the municipal service. The danger is as naught compared to what we *daily see* through the operation of public necessities by private monopolies.

Our relief from an unfaithful public servant, will be to vote him into retirement, or—if too susceptible to corrupting influence—to put him where temptation will not assail him. But what power of ballot or prison bar is there, to which we may appeal, for protection from the legalized syndicates of robbers so numerous throughout our land?

CHARLES L. WEEKS.

Chicago, Illinois.

ROBERT ELSMERE.

Poor, simple philanthrope! To stop content,
 And satisfy thy soul with finite Christ;
 Reduce the Holy Trinity to one,—
 A far-off, silent, necessary God,—
 Then worship whom thou hast declared a man!
 First Christianity decapitate
 And then, the head put loosely back in place,
 To serve the purpose of thy make-shift creed!
 Why not go on and deify all good —
 Good men of every age, and kindly deeds
 By Buddha, Jesus, or another done?
 Why not Eternal Goodness throne and crown,
 And see in every man who serves that King,
 Helping his fellows in unselfishness,
 A Christ indeed — not human, but Divine! —
 Such as we see in *thee*, thou son of God?

CHARLES FRANCIS COBURN.

Lowell, Mass.

A FOOTPRINT IN NEW YORK.

Many good people, who have read *Looking Backward* and been deeply entertained with its alluring picture, believe, none the less, that it depicts a wholly remote and impracticable cloud-land and that Nationalists, though well-meaning, are a class of romantic visionaries. To such persons as honestly despair of ever realizing the good things of Nationalism, I would like to point out what seems to be an unmistakable footprint, showing that Nationalism had plainly set its foot on the sands of our present industrial foundation before Mr. Bellamy's book was written. The discovery of this mark of Nationalism was as genuine a surprise to me, as my boyish imagination led me to suppose that the discovery of a real footprint was to Robinson Crusoe on what he had hitherto believed to be an uninhabited island. I am the more desirous that attention should be called to this discovery because I find that only the few who have been in a situation similar to my own appear to know anything about it.

About two years ago there appeared one day, for the first time, in the office of a large manufacturing establishment with which I am connected, a solid, serious-looking man who presented a card inscribed, *Francis U. Coe, Deputy Factory Inspector*. As his bearing and card indicated that he was clothed with authority from the State the doors were quickly thrown open to him. Without any circumlocution or apologies, but with perfect civility he then proceeded, in an earnest and businesslike manner, to make a thorough examination of every workroom and closet in the entire building. I followed him with increasing curiosity while he critically examined elevators, fire-escapes, plumbing, staircases, and the protection from shafts, cogwheels and belts. Occasionally his hawk-eye would perceive a small-sized boy among the employees and he would stop and question him closely. If he found the boy to be under thirteen years of age he made a note of his name. He also enquired into his ability to read and write and noted sharply if the labor which he was performing seemed too heavy for him. Wherever girls were employed he made a careful examination of the protection afforded to their skirts from the belts and gearing. Detecting in our room an exposed piece of revolving shafting under a work-bench, he paused long enough in his detour to depict to me in a few eloquent words and with real solicitude in his face the horrible nature of such an accident as having a girl caught in

the gearing. Arriving at a part of the factory where men and girls were employed in grinding and scouring metal on emery wheels, he sniffed the metallic, dust-laden atmosphere and began to ask one and another of the employees many questions concerning the effect of the metallic dust upon their lungs.

Nor did his zeal extend only to guarding with jealous care the lives and health of these workmen and women whom he had never seen before. It took cognizance of moral conditions as well. He assured himself by personal examination that there were separate toilet rooms for the sexes and that they were properly located.

Having finished his first tour of inspection, the Deputy Factory Inspector led the way to the office where he produced before my wondering eyes printed copies of the Factory Inspection Statute which had been adopted by the New York State Legislature no longer ago than May 18, 1886. It appeared from a perusal of these statutes that this seemingly autocratic man was paid by the State of New York to do nothing but visit all factories, which were located within a certain district, and to exercise a vigilant care for the safety and health of the working people employed therein. That this inspection was no mere formality was demonstrated by the fact that this single visit cost the factory to which I refer \$450 for automatic elevator gates which the Deputy Inspector deemed essential to the safety of the employees. He also required that several boys, whom he had ascertained to be under thirteen years of age, should be turned over to the schoolmaster.

A year later the Deputy Inspector called at the factory again, bringing with him a brother inspector who happened to be visiting him and whose district comprised some of the huge cigar factories situated in a part of New York City. Together, these men, whose sole business in life was to look out for the welfare of their fellows, made another exhaustive tour of the factory while I meekly followed and studied them intently. They were equally alert in the performance of their duty, but "hunting in a pair," as it were, one supplemented and sharpened the perceptions of the other so that nothing escaped them.

"Here," cried one of them, "this fire escape is not accessible enough to the girls in that room. In case of fire the smoke would prevent them from finding it. There must be another furnished on this side of the building."

"Yes;" rejoined the other, "and this metallic dust must be very injurious to the lungs of the men and women who work at these

emery wheels. There must be fans and blowers provided that shall draw it off as fast as produced."

"Surely," I thought, as I observed the earnest manner and solicitous expression of these men, "they could hardly be more zealous to guard and improve the conditions of these men and women if they believed them to be their veritable brothers and sisters. It would scarcely surprise me to have them come in some day and say, 'This girl is not looking so well as she should; she must be sent to the mountains for a vacation' or, 'this boy does not look well nourished. He must have better food and more of it.'

This time the visit of the inspectors cost, for an extra fire-escape and new fans and blowers for carrying off the metallic dust, not less than \$500. During the year that had elapsed since the previous inspection, the age under which children could be employed had been raised from thirteen to fourteen and again several boys were transferred from the shop to the school.

Is not then this system of factory inspection a genuine footprint of Nationalism? It is made by a stealthy foot, too, for few know that the Factory Inspection laws are in existence, though they are being studied and amended in the interest of the working people every year. The latest step has been the appointment of female inspectors to look particularly after the welfare of women who are employed in factories.

Who can doubt that these inspectors would, if their functions were so extended by the State, distribute food, clothing, and all the goods of life with as much zeal and impartiality as they now guard their wards against disease and accidents? From my observation of factory inspectors I believe that their occupation of looking after the welfare of their fellows is highly favorable to the development of that latent, fraternal feeling which is deep in every human breast. To establish this fraternity in every department of life is the aim of Nationalism.

GEORGE N. MILLER.

Niagara Falls, N. Y.

THE PHILADELPHIA GAS WORKS.

The faults which are pointed out in the Philadelphia gas works are not the faults of the municipal system, but rather of the particular circumstances existing in this city. At the very outset the error was made of placing the gas works in the hands of trustees, a method of municipal administration that is now generally conceded to be most unwise. In the hands of this irresponsible commission the gas works were made the basis of mismanagement and theft that have long been notorious. The result of these years of maladministration forms an exceedingly heavy handicap for the present administration under which the works are in the hands of one responsible head—the Director of Public Works. Yet, although he has been in office less than three years, the results he has obtained indicate that under municipal administration the gas works can be made to yield a profit.

As regards the quality of the gas furnished there is no question. The average candle power for 1888 was 18.54 (see p. 125-6) and Director Wagner informs me that the candle power for this year will probably be about 20. This, I think, will be found to compare favorably with other cities. I have it from two excellent and impartial authorities (Mr. Clark, of the United Gas Improvement Co., and Mr. Graeff, editor of *Light, Heat and Power*,) that the gas of this city is all that could be asked as regards quality.

The greatest trouble experienced in the Philadelphia gas works is the difficulty in distribution. This fault is one peculiar to this city and is due to its vast area. With the single exception of London, where the gas is infinitely inferior to that supplied here, there is no city in the world where gas is delivered at distances so great as in Philadelphia. There are 900 miles of pipeage (see p. 121) and upon some of the supply mains in order to pump the gas to distant points at a pressure that will be practical at the delivery point it is necessary to use a pressure at the holders that is far too great for the consumers in that immediate vicinity. When the pressure is adjusted for near-by consumers, those at a distance can get hardly any gas. This is probably the most serious problem with which the gas engineers have to deal and it is one that the enormous extent of the city makes it impossible to escape. The great distances vastly increase the leakage account and thereby add materially to the expense.

THE PHILADELPHIA GAS WORKS.

The annual report of the Director of Public Works for the year 1888 (p. 13) shows that the receipts from the sale of gas exceeded the expenditures by the sum of

| | |
|--|-----------|
| From this should be deducted the damages paid by the Schuylkill East Side Railroad | \$553,420 |
| | 125,000 |
| | 428,420 |

There are still outstanding loans created on account of the gas works as follows:

| | |
|-----------|-------------|
| Due 1899, | \$ 980,200 |
| " 1900, | 1,020,300 |
| " 1902, | 500,000 |
| " 1905, | 1,000,000 |
| | \$3,500,500 |

The annual payments on account of these loans which are made through the City Treasury, but which should be charged against the Gas Works, are:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Interest at 6 per cent. | \$210,030 |
| Sinking Fund 1.2 per cent., | 42,006 |
| | \$252,036 |
| | \$170,384 |

This shows the actual cash balance standing to the credit of the Gas Works on their operations for 1888, but to show the real profits accruing to the city there should be added to this the cost of the gas consumed by the city departments and in lighting the streets, (see p. 11) 451,960,781 cu. ft. at \$1.50,

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Also the amount paid for the maintenance of the public lighting service, | \$677,941 |
| | 157,809 |

\$835,750

\$1,006,134

This would give an actual profit of \$1,006,134 for the year.

It is worthy of note that in the expenditures for 1888 are included the items of \$128,568 for the extension of the works, and \$163,567 for laying new mains, a total of \$292,144, which is really a permanent investment in an enlarged plant (see p. 134). Strictly speaking this should not be charged against running expenses.

The results of this year's operations cannot yet be had, but Director Wagner says he expects to show an actual profit of at least \$750,000, as against the \$428,420 above.

EDWARD H. SANBORN.

Philadelphia, Penn.

A LIQUOR SOLUTION PRECIPITATED.

My attention has been called to "A Solution of the Liquor Problem" in the December number of the NATIONALIST. In the interest of solving the problem aright the frank utterances of the author are entitled to consideration. The deep interest we all have, whether we all feel it or not, in the promotion of sobriety, thrift, and good government, as opposed to intemperance, wasteful dissipation, and the control of the liquor power over municipal and state elections, over city, state and national officials, continues to keep the subject constantly before the people. No other question is so deeply allied with the labor or industrial problem, and it is in this connection that I am led to discuss or review briefly the interesting article mentioned.

First, I am obliged to object to the position taken that total abstinence "has not yet availed to stay the curse of alcoholism." The current of the alcoholic river has not been stopped, it is true, but it has been checked and stayed by total abstainers or this country would have been overwhelmed years ago by an alcoholic flood. Total abstinence, more than the weak-kneed, ineffectual execution of license or prohibitory laws thus far, has served, in most of our states, as a prevention "better than cure," as a dam to the river to stay the ruinous current and prevent a Johnstown disaster. The example of total abstinence as an educating force is invaluable; and to secure the best results by artisans and the safety of the travelling public, the nation should require entire abstinence on the part of its workers when it takes control of the railroad and steamboat lines and the industries of the country. T. V. Powderly has wisely said: "I would sooner be at the head of 100,000 sober men than of a million of even moderate drinkers." The saloon, representing the combined liquor traffic — manufacture, importation and sale, is the greatest enemy to labor reform, ballot reform, reform for the prison graduate and all other needed reforms. Total abstinence, reinforced by prohibition, is the greatest opponent to the saloon. Moderate drinking encourages the drink habit and the demand for the saloon. Total abstinence does not. Give us a nation of total abstainers and nine-tenths of the present penal institutions may be converted into industrial factories of a higher order, where the artisans will not be required to wear prison garb.

Second, I would utter a Methodist Amen! to the views expressed concerning the license law and restricted high license. The abundant evidence in Boston and many cities throughout our country that even high license does not reduce the consumption of liquor or the number of arrests for drunkenness, is conclusive on this point.

Third, the statement concerning prohibition, that: "In all large cities it is a mere mockery," leads, by inference, to a mistaken conclusion, viz. that the fault is in the system or principle. In response I submit that while prohibition has been an almost entire success, for a year or more at a time, in thousands of towns and in some of the smaller cities like Lowell, New Bedford, Des Moines, Sioux City and Topeka, it has never yet been properly tested in any large city or state in the Union, because it has never had a party in power behind it to elect sympathetic officials for its enforcement. I well remember what kind of officers were appointed—to enforce the law? no, to shield and favor the liquor dealers—when the prohibitory law was upon the statute books of Massachusetts many years ago. Rhode Island has had a similar experience in recent years, but if her legislators and officials had possessed sufficient courage to stand by their oaths of office and carry out the intent of the prohibitory amendment, the voters would have realized the benefits arising from the absence of the liquor traffic and would never have consented to the abrogation of the amendment. If any eight-hour law should be enacted in this state and the party in power should not enforce it in the larger cities, would it be fair to claim that therefore an eight-hour law is not what is required to benefit the masses? Until they have been fairly tried and tested let us not condemn total abstinence and prohibition as worn-out theories; and until we can elect as statesmen and congressmen, in this country, men who will close the disgraceful barrooms in the capitol and capital of the nation, we are not prepared to solve the liquor problem through the servants of the people.

Fourth, the remedy or solution proposed is to have the government do *all* the manufacturing, importing, and selling of alcoholic liquors, dispense the same at cost through offices established to accommodate the thirsty and the travelling public, and have the sales publicly recorded. In Massachusetts, under the prohibition statute of 1855 to 1863 the liquors required for medicinal, chemical, and scientific purposes were obtained at state agencies, and a public record was kept of

the sales; all other sales were illegal. If the law had been honestly enforced for a few years and the agencies placed in honest hands, our annual struggle under local option and license laws would have been avoided; millions of money expended in courts, public institutions, etc., would have been saved, and taxation by this time would have been reduced, as I firmly believe, fully fifty per cent. The Massachusetts method of '55 was far in advance of the beverage plan proposed for the government to adopt. If we wish to rid the country of the curse of intemperance and the evils arising from the sale of alcoholic beverages, can we do so any more effectually by catering to the bad habits and evil passions of men through public government dispensaries? We have learned that licensed liquors will ruin a family as quickly as unlicensed, and will not pure alcoholic liquors if branded "U. S." go to the brain as surely as if doctored and watered by a profits seeking retailer? In fact, the latter, as compared with a salaried government official, has an interest in weakening the drams and prolonging the walking condition and existence of his customers, and he well knows how to "extend" his beverages as to compete with the government if it should sell the pure article at cost as proposed. Those who believe that "there would be nothing immoral about a public bar where the dispenser has no interest," etc., should have the experiment tried at East Boston, South Boston or the North End before recommending its adoption throughout the United States. The *Boston Record's* views of the street scenes in front of such dispensaries would be sufficient to condemn them, no matter how wisely regulated might be the frequency and number of obtainable drinks inside the barroom.

Our government is already too much interested as a partner in the liquor business of the United States — to the amount of over \$90,000,000 annually, which fact has become one of the great bulwarks of defence for the liquor traffic; so much so that one of the largest dealers in Boston has admitted that it would ruin their business to have the internal revenue taxes removed. The better plan would be for the government to prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of all alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes and establish agencies for the sale of such liquors only as are required for the arts, sciences and for medicine, when prescribed by well-known, reputable physicians,— a public record being kept of all such sales. The condition of society that would follow the adoption of this method is being anticipated by

the East Tennessee Land Company, whose property of 300,000 acres, nearly five-hundred square miles in extent, will be pledged perpetually, through the deeds of conveyance, to the prohibition of alcoholic beverages. They cannot afford to wait for the government to become convinced as to what is best for the people, and have placed this foundation stone under their edifice as a sound business and economic policy.

It is estimated by those who can properly pass judgment thereon, that of the \$900,000,000 annually expended for alcoholic drink in this country, at least ninety per cent. is spent by the laboring men or wage earners. The liquor traffic robs labor not only of the ability and power to produce earth products and manufactured goods, but also of the power and privilege of purchasing and enjoying the average consumer's share of said goods and products. Let \$10,000,000 be expended annually for better food, more clothing, furniture and home comforts, and the manufacturer's cry of "overproduction," and their demands for a reduction in wages would cease. Underconsumption is one great cause of our business disturbances, and this comes chiefly through the liquor saloons which are permitted to exist and the drinking habits of the people. Capital robs labor more or less in various ways, but none more so than the \$118,037,729 engaged in the liquor business in 1880, which paid labor only \$15,978,579; while the same amount of capital in legitimate, useful industries, employed five times the number of men and paid in wages \$60,314,000. English capitalists now own most of the breweries and the money invested has probably increased, but it is not probable that the wages of their employes will be increased in proportion.

With these facts before the people there is not much danger that the proposed ownership and management by the government of railroad, telegraph, telephone and express lines will be extended to include the liquor business. The capital and credit of the nation, which belongs to the people will all be required in more beneficial branches. Liquor and liquor saloons are the great tax makers in this country. The more that capital has to pay for taxes the less it will pay for labor. Labor's greatest enemy, directly and indirectly, is liquor and the traffic therein. Then let liquor making and liquor drinking be abolished. Close the breweries that hold thousands of mortgages on as many saloons. Close the distilleries that do more damage to the foreigners and natives in this and other countries than the money spent through home and

foreign missions does them good. It can be done if Nationalists and Prohibitionists will unite, and such a union is not at all improbable.

The queen of Madagascar may be called a "fanatic," but she has exercised more good common sense than has the ruling power in Massachusetts with its boasted civilization and Christianity which we claim to possess. By the entire exclusion of alcoholic liquors the people of that island have had less suffering and misery to contend with and more real happiness than have the enlightened races in this country. On a steam car quite recently I overheard two gentlemen conversing about Nationalists, and one remarked that he thought they were "preparing the way for the second coming of Christ." But if they are going to turn our government into a vast maker and dispenser of alcoholic liquors, the result will be far from resembling the desired millenium and the coming of Christ had better be postponed. He might shock some of the benevolent people with a remark that the services of the Samaritans of this day and generation, although very desirable, appear to be called for simply because of the dissipation indulged in by many believers in the use of stimulants.

GEORGE KEMPTON.

Sharon, Mass.

THE KING OF WALL STREET.

He has an office in the street
 With countless messengers and wires;
 Early and late he keeps his seat
 And plots and schemes and never tires.

Some men he makes quite mad with joy,
 And some with ruin strangely pale;
 Whether he please them or annoy,
 His own deep game will never fail.

These play for diamonds, women, wine,
 And these for lordly power and state,
 But no man knows the king's design,
 The steadfast king—whose name is Fate!

FREDERICK PETERSON.

New York.

THE NATIONALIST MAGAZINE,

77 Boylston Street,

BOSTON, MASS.

All communications of a literary nature should be directed simply Editor, THE NATIONALIST, 77 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. All communications relating to subscriptions, advertisements, etc., to the Business Manager, same address.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE POSTAL SERVICE.

The annual report of the Postmaster General makes some recommendations which, if followed, ought to do much to improve the service. Chief of these is the appointment of a "General Manager" to serve ten years. The continuance of this official during good behavior would be better. From administration to administration, would assure the maintenance of a stable policy and protect the public from the annoyances arising from reversals of "rulings" and from other changes common to the assumption of the helm by a new hand every four years or so. The proposition to extend the parcels post system, however, — something that is much needed — is looked upon unfavorably as an immediate measure, simply on account of the crowded condition of the mails and the lack of room in the postoffice and postal cars. But good business management would energetically endeavor to provide the facilities demanded. Not to do it looks too much like a tender consideration for the express companies, whose pernicious influence has hitherto prevented the realization of an efficient parcels-post. Neither is the proposition for a bastard postal-telegraph service commendable. This proposition is for the department to enter into a contract with "existing companies," by which, under the consideration of reduced rates, the facilities of the postoffice will be utilized by the telegraph companies. This simply means a league of the Nation with the Western Union monopoly, which, snuffing danger from afar in the growing agitation for a postal telegraph, would undoubtedly welcome this opportunity for casting an anchor to windward in the shape of governmental backing of its tyranny, thus guaranteeing the continuance of enormous profits on its watered capitalization, and assuring the perpetual bondage of its overworked and underpaid employees.

NATIONALISM ON THE BENCH.

In 1851, Judge Timothy O. Howe of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, in a case decided by him, (*Kellogg v. Larkin*), took occasion to comment on a remark made by Judge Jewett of the Supreme Court of New York, that "it is a familiar maxim that competition is the life of trade. It follows that whatever destroys or even relaxes competition in trade, is injurious, if not fatal, to it." He referred also to a remark made by Judge McKissock of the latter court as to the public advantages "from the wholesome influence of rivalry and competition." Judge Howe's remarks at that time have lost none of their original force and are pertinent to the discussion aroused by Mr. Bellamy's deductions made from the same premises.

The learned Judge said: "If it be true also that 'competition is the life of trade,' it may follow such premises that he who relaxes competition commits an act injurious to trade; and not only so, but he commits an overt act of treason against the commonwealth.

"But I apprehend that it is not true that 'competition is the life of trade.' On the contrary, that maxim is one of the least reliable of the host that may be picked up in every market place. It is, in fact, the shibboleth of mere gambling speculation, and it is hardly entitled to take rank as an axiom in the jurisprudence of this country. I believe universal observation will attest, that for the last quarter of a century, competition in trade has caused more individual distress, if not more public injury, than the want of competition.

"Indeed, by reducing prices below, or raising them above values, (as the nature of the trade prompted) competition has done more to monopolize trade, or to secure exclusive advantages in it, than has been done by contract. Rivalry in trade will destroy itself, and rival tradesmen, seeking to remove each other, rarely resort to contract, unless they find it the cheapest mode of putting an end to the strife. And it seems to me not a little remarkable, that in the case of *Stanton v. Allen*, it should have been urged against the agreement, that its object was to exempt the standard of freights, etc., 'from the wholesome influence of rivalry and competition.' For it is very certain that because of that very purpose, because they did tend to protect the party against the 'influence of rivalry and competition,' courts of law have upheld like agreements in partial restraint of trade, ever since the case of *Mitchell v. Reynolds* was decided."

TYRANNY OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

One of the great tyrannical corporations of this country, the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company — which is largely responsible for the enslaved and degraded conditions of the Pennsylvania anthracite coal-miners — has recently given a new proof of its despotic inclinations, in the shape of an order that its train-men should henceforth appear only with smooth-shaven faces, both moustaches and beards being forbidden. This is

a most significant indication of the increasing disposition of our great industrial taskmasters to make menials of their employees. In the English caste-system, male domestic servants are required to shave their beards in a fashion that forms a mark of servitude, and the custom is followed by Anglomaniacal people in this country. Now a great railway company follows suit. Such is the tendency to enslave their fellows, and make them conform in their looks and acts to their will—that is, to rob them of their individuality—on the part of those who, by strength or cunning, make themselves uppermost under the much vaunted system of individualism that “leaves every man free to do as he pleases,” and yet the partisans of that anarchistic system complain that Nationalism tends to destroy individuality!

WILLING TO BE REGULATED.

The various electric interests of Boston, after having tangled their wires into an anarchistic snarl all over the city and kindled the biggest fire since the memorable conflagration of 1872, now agree, with remarkable unanimity, that some kind of municipal supervision of their lines ought to be instituted. Their motive, like that of the gas companies a few years ago, is evidently of the kind that prompted a certain small boy who, having done something that merited a severe flogging, suggested to his father that it might improve his morals if he were shut up in the closet for half an hour! So the electric companies, snuffing in the air the growing demand for the nationalization and municipalization of their functions, are now willing to be regulated—just a little bit! For the chance still remains that they may, somehow or other, contrive to regulate their regulators. The gas companies also, a few years ago, agreed that state supervision might be a good thing, and they cheerfully bent their necks to the light yoke of the Massachusetts Board of Gas Commissioners.

“RESPECT PAID GAS COMMISSIONERS.”

The companies well knew, when the board was established, that this measure would have little effect in curbing the working of their sweet will upon the public so long as the function of the board was not mandatory, but simply advisory. So the gas commissioners have submitted year after year a number of excellent reports, in which the evils of over-capitalization are eloquently pointed out, and various admirable measures suggested looking towards improved service in the interest of the public. The shrewd managers and attorneys of the corporations doubtless looked forward to this result as furnishing a harmless escape-valve for reform sentiments, which they could smilingly afford to ignore so long as they themselves manipulated the strings that controlled legislation by ways that are dark and tricks that are by no means ~~new~~. So, regardless of the sentiments of the Gas Commissioners, for ~~whom~~ office they affect so high an esteem, they have gone on doing just as

they pleased, and the capitalization of the Boston plant has been watered by something like ten million dollars, increasing by so much the burden upon the public, and yet, these beneficent corporations would have us believe that, by some sort of hocus pocus they can water their stock as much as they please, earn fat dividends on the same, pay interest on an abundance of bonds, and at the same time render cheaper service than the public can obtain by carrying on the business itself with only the necessity of earning enough to pay a very low rate of interest on the cost of the works. And there are yet some people so incredulous as not to believe the persuasive statements of the corporation attorneys!

AS TO OPPONENTS.

Any notice of the abuse of such men as Edward Atkinson would be very impolitic on the part of Nationalists. He is a man who has something of a reputation as an economist and statistician among those who know nothing of economics and statistics. His expertness with figures has been exposed often enough by able and honest writers, before the advent of Nationalism. Consequently to notice him would be to dignify him. We shall reply to Gen. Walker as we have to Professor Harris.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Many inquiries having been made of us as to the genuineness of the Kaweah Co-operative Colony, whose advertisement appears in this Magazine, we submit the following statements: First, while we seek to exclude from our pages advertisements of a doubtful, suspicious, or immoral character, we do not guarantee any that we print. Second, we have received a document attacking the Kaweah Colony as a whole, and certain of its members as untrustworthy and designing persons, but as the author of this attack wished us to print it without his name, we have regarded it with the silence due to anonymity. Third, we have read another attack in the San Francisco Chronicle, evidently emanating from the same source. Fourth, we have just received from Kaweah what appears to be a newspaper "proof" of an article too long for insertion here. This article consists of a sworn statement before a notary by J. J. Martin, Secretary of the Kaweah Colony, and a supplementary letter from the firm of Sterers & Co., endorsing the colony in high terms, and this endorsement is further strengthened by the names of the Mayor of Visalia, the Supervisors of Tulare Co., the County Clerk, the President of the Visalia Bank, and a score of other, as it seems to us, highly respectable names. So, as well as we can judge, the Co-operative Colony of Kaweah is an honest affair; but at the same time it is only right and prudent for all possible investors to examine carefully before embarking their all, or any large part of their property, in this or any other enterprise.

MARK TWAIN AS A NATIONALIST.

Mark Twain's new book, "A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court" deserves extensive circulation among Nationalists. It is a nobly earnest, as well as a deliciously humorous work. "Looking backward", in its way, it ruthlessly slaughters the shams of all artificial pretensions. Eloquent in its plea for the true equality of man, it takes occasion to attack some of our modern encroachments on the rights of the people. Its allegorical illustrations will do good Nationalistic service. In one picture, representing a slave-driver, is seen the face of a notorious American millionaire. Here is a sample Nationalistic passage:

"You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease, and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags,—that is a loyalty of unreason; it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it. I was from Connecticut, whose Constitution declares 'that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have *at all times* an undeniable and indefeasible right to *alter their form of government* in such a manner as they may think expedient.'

Under that gospel, the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay, does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate any way, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does.

And now here I was, in a country where a right to say how the country should be governed was restricted to six persons in each thousand of its population. For the nine hundred and ninety-four to express dissatisfaction with the regnant system and propose to change it, would have made the whole six shudder as one man, it would have been so disloyal, so dishonorable, such putrid black treason. So to speak, I had become a stockholder in a corporation where nine hundred and ninety-four of the members furnished all the money and did all the work, and the other six elected themselves a permanent board of direction and took all the dividends. It seemed to me that what the nine hundred and ninety-four dupes needed was a new deal."

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

CYRUS F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

CALIFORNIA: SANTA ANA. Santa Ana club effected permanent organization January 5th, with membership of 47. The officers are: President, E. D. Cooke; Vice-President, Rev. H. D. Connell; Secretary, J. P. Lesley; Treasurer, Adam Foster; Financial Secretary, J. S. Clark.

CAMPTON. This town has a strong club and the membership is made up of earnest workers in the Nationalist cause. The club held a meeting recently and raised funds and labor to repair the streets and sidewalks of our town, which were badly damaged by the late floods. The city treasury was empty so the Nationalists did the work.

LONG BEACH. This Club held a splendid meeting Jan. 10, at which Dr. Peebles, President of the Los Angeles Club, spoke. The Club now numbers 100.

LOS ANGELES. The meeting of the club, Jan. 12, was the largest ever held. Fully 1000 people were present. Every available space was occupied. Rev. A. J. Wells, of this city, was the main speaker, and he was greeted with rounds of applause. \$25.00 was contributed towards the purchase of a piano. German club No. 3 also had a rousing meeting. 10 new members were added, making 40 in all. Permanent officers were elected as follows: President, J. E. Neubauer; 1st Vice-President, Geo. Feller; 2nd Vice-President, E. Schnabel; Secretary, B. Loewy, 36 W. 5th St.; Treasurer, P. R. Bellman. All the papers report our meetings now, and they recognize the movement as the coming factor in politics. Club No. 2 held a meeting last Friday, notwithstanding it was the coldest night experienced here for years, and half of the members were down with La Grippe. A Nationalist weekly will be issued about February 10.

Miss Anna Ferry Smith has been appointed as the organizer for Southern California. Her address is 122 West 5th street, Los Angeles.

Among those who are soon to speak before Club No. 1 are Hon. Lionel F. Sheldon, ex-Governor of New Mexico, on government ownership of railroads and telegraphs; Hon. Albert Kinney of Pasadena on ballot reform; Mrs. Imogene C. Fales of Boston, president of the American Sociological Society, on the principles of co-operation, and Hon. Henry C. Dillon, formerly of Denver, now of Long Beach, on land reform.

A meeting to organize Club No. 4 was held at Masonic hall, 29 1-2 South Spring street, on Tuesday last, and about a hundred people assembled there. F. P. Cook opened the meeting with appropriate remarks, and the address prepared by Dr. Peebles was read by A. R. Street, the former being absent owing to illness. Mrs. J. T. Coan favored the club with a song, "When the Tide Comes In," and Mr. F. H. Rogers recited "The Execution," from the Ingolsby legends. A recess of fifteen minutes followed, during which 55 persons enrolled themselves as members of the club. When order was called, Mr. Humboldt Morris was chosen as Chairman pro tem., Mr. W. S. Lancaster as Secretary, and Mr. Wade as Treasurer. Messrs. Schole and Reardon and Mrs. Coan were appointed a committee on constitution and some short speeches on social economy were made by H. G. Wilshire, A. R. Street, F. P. Cook, P. H. Reardon and Jordan Cox.

A preliminary meeting was held in Illinois Hall, January 14, to form another organization, and another meeting has been called at the same hall. H. G. Wilshire will address the meeting. Steps are also being taken to form another club on Washington street.

VENTURA. A club of 27 members was organized here, January 27, with the following officers: President, J. Hamer; 1st Vice-President, Mrs. T. B. Shepard; 2nd Vice-President, T. H. Daley; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Irvin Barnard; Corresponding Secretary, J. A. Shaw; Treasurer, J. A. Corey; Librarian, Miss Myrtle Shepard; Committee on Work, J. McElrea, Irvin Barnard, Mrs. M. E. Bellah, Mrs. R. E. Breakey. This list of officers, elected and appointed, constitute the executive board and are organized for work. Some of them were active in old anti-slavery days, and in entering upon this new crusade for industrial emancipation of their fellows, are actuated by the same earnestness and devotion to "the higher law" that inspired them in days gone by. The people joining this movement here are the most intellectual and progressive of Ventura county. Ventura

Club No. 1 sends greeting and fellowship to National Clubs everywhere and will be glad to open correspondence with them, to the end that we may know each other.

SAN JOSE. The club meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock. The meetings are well attended and the club has 59 members on the roll.

SANTA MONICA. A meeting was held in the Town Hall Jan. 11 to form a club. So many were present that the hall was too small for the audience, and the Opera House will be secured for the next meeting. A permanent organization will be effected soon.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Since last report, our club has had regular meetings, with the exceptions of an interregnum during the holidays. A change in the proceedings has been made, which sets apart every alternate meeting to the hearing of a paper, lecture or essay and consequent discussion, the other evening being devoted to the transaction of business, hearing of reports, etc. This is found to work well, as it relieves the pressure, which necessarily arises from trying to do business and listen to speeches on the same evening. Under the new arrangement, two meetings have occurred, at one of which a paper was read by M. A. Clancy, on the subject of the "*Old and the New Ethics*," and the second was addressed by Paul T. Bowen, one of labor's clearest-headed orators, on the "*Platform of the Knights of Labor*."

Our delegate, Ferdinand Schmidt, brought back a most interesting and encouraging report of the anniversary meeting in Boston, and made us all feel that the cause was certainly in a prosperous condition.

On January 17, a number of the officers of our club met on invitation of Mrs. Seraph Y. Ford, a number of friends at her pleasant residence in Takoma Park, a suburb of Washington, where a most agreeable conference was had with a view of forming a club in that locality. There is no doubt that soon, as the result of this conference, a club will spring up there, composed of intelligent and earnest workers.

Local agitation in behalf of Congressional action looking to public control of illumination and for the public furnishing of free school books and other supplies, has been constantly going on, and whether these reforms shall be immediately or remotely realized, their agitation is educational in informing the people of the purposes and methods of Nationalists.

KANSAS: ELM DALB, CHASE CO. Mr. A. Schneider expects to organize a Club here the early part of February, and will send full details.

MASSACHUSETTS: BOSTON. Since the anniversary meeting in December the Nationalists have been principally engaged in recovering from La Grippe and the pushing of the petitions to the State Legislature to give cities and towns the right to establish their own gas and electric light works to supply the light to the inhabitants at cost. It is proposed by those having the matter in charge to present a petition bearing the signatures of 200,000 persons. At the last public meeting, January 24th, at the Women's Educational and Industrial Union rooms, 98 Boylston street, a good audience was present in spite of a heavy snow storm. Rev. Francis J. Bellamy delivered an address on "The Play of Individualism Under Nationalism," in which he proved that true individualism would be best promoted under Nationalism. Mrs. S. H. Lake made an impassioned, eloquent speech in favor of the ethical side of the movement. A number of clubs are in progress of formation in and near Boston which will probably be definitely formed before the next number.

FALL RIVER. On Jan. 18, sixty of the "best people" met in a parlor in this city and listened to an address on Nationalism. A club will soon be formed here.

SALEM. Salem Club was organized on Saturday evening, Jan. 25, with a membership of about 20, at 22 Federal street. Officers were elected as follows: President, ex-Mayor John M. Raymond; Vice-President, Rev. M. J. Callan; Secretary and Treasurer, Wm. H. Gove, Esq.; Assistant Secretaries, Misses Mary R. Atkins and Emma A. Tibbetts. An advisory committee of five was also chosen. The club will meet again on Wednesday, Feb. 12.

The constitution adopted contains the following article: "Believing the economic and humanitarian tendency of the age is toward the nationalization of industries, this club

seeks to promote its practical adoption by familiarizing the people with the beneficent idea underlying it, and by encouraging national and local measures tending in this direction.

President Raymond read an impressive address upon Nationalism as he understood it. A paper was read entitled "Where is the church—who are the Christians?" which first appeared as a communication in the Salem Observer about nine years ago. A very effective sermon was also read from the International Magazine of Truth, New York, by Rev. W. E. Copeland, Unitarian minister in California, delivered before the Pacific Unitarian Convention, upon the subjects: "The Kingdom of God," and "Looking Backward."

SOMERVILLE. On the evening of January 24 a meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. George Payne, 51 Morrison street, West Somerville, for the purpose of forming a Nationalist Club. Mr. Frank Shedd, acted as chairman. Capt. Chas. E. Bowers, of the Boston club, presented the economic side of the Nationalist movement in a very able manner. Capt. B. F. Bailey followed, and after a few remarks read from a Portsmouth (N. H.) paper an article which he had written on Nationalism. A committee which had been appointed at a previous meeting, reported on a constitution and declaration of principles, recommending the adoption of the declaration of the Boston club and to base the constitution on that club's constitution. Mrs. Avery made a few remarks, after which the membership list was signed by fourteen persons and the meeting adjourned at the call of the chairman, so as to get as large a charter membership as possible.

Clubs are being formed, or are in process of formation in Springfield, Holyoke, Northampton, Worcester, New Bedford, Chelsea, Salem, Haverhill, Somerville, Cambridge, Lexington, Wellealey and Quincy.

MICHIGAN: DETROIT. Right under the noses of the old politicians of Wayne County is growing a political movement that may play hob in the near future with their fine drawn schemes. This is the Nationalist movement, that is gradually reaching out and embracing an enthusiastic and hopeful army of voters. One of the leaders in this movement is Mr. R. A. Shipman, and he is now engaged in a system of organization that is simple yet far-reaching.

This is nothing less than the organization of "Social Clubs," where the doctrines of Nationalism are propounded, these Clubs sending delegates to Ward Clubs, which in turn send their representatives to Congressional Clubs. Thus the machinery of a political party is forming that, if rightly handled, cannot fail to change the political complexion of some sections of Wayne County, and may even throw the election of Congressmen into the hands of a minority party. — *Evening News.*

DOWAGIAC. A Nationalist Club has been organized at this place, with G. W. Haynes Secretary.

LANSING. The Lansing Nationalist Club, though but a few months old, numbers 54 members, and holds meetings every Friday night in the spacious rooms of the Inter-Lake Business College. Over 100 people are often present at these meetings. The Club has had printed 500 copies of its Constitution, Principles and By-Laws, and is in a prosperous condition.

There are Clubs at Dowagiac, Blissfield and Manistee, where the "Manistee Broadaxe," a weekly newspaper, favors establishing street railways, etc., under the control of the city, and other radical ideas.

MUSKEGON. The news from this Club are glad tidings. No one could have conjectured the interest that many of our noblest women have taken in the movement. Our male membership is composed of every grade of worker in life's harvest-field, from as talented professional men as the State can boast of down or up to the Mechanic and "Common Laborer," whose temporal conditions elicits far greater interest than all the rest. Now it may be a common spectacle enough in some portions of this broad land, to see a congregation of ladies and gentlemen, embracing workers, and perhaps some idlers, in nearly every avocation, meet to deliberate upon the common weal of all, but it is a sight beheld far too seldom. Such a scene is precisely what may be witnessed every Friday evening at the meetings of our Club. To see men, who, by reason of fortuitous circumstances have been placed

beyond the probability of want, declaring to other men whom they call brothers, and who have never been relieved from some of want's direst afflictions, that the chasm between the very rich and the very poor, which Victor Hugo believed could not be bridged, to hear the favored ones of fortune declaring that that chasm must and shall be crossed, is like catching a glimpse of the dawn and breathing the perfumed air of a perpetual Spring time. Friday evening, Jan. 17, the meeting was given over to the management and control of the ladies, which was the happiest and best meeting held since our organization. Notwithstanding their short time for preparation, the meeting was favored with some original essays that would grace the columns of any publication in this country, and some select readings that were immensely interesting and instructive. Monday evening, Jan. 27th, Dr. H. W. Thomas of Chicago, delivered a lecture here, the subject of which was — "Social Forces." We expect to secure several other prominent lecturers during the year, among them the immortal Bellamy.

MINNESOTA: ST. PAUL. A Club has been formed in this city, full particulars of which will be published later.

MINNEAPOLIS. At the meeting of the Club January 29th, at the Brunswick Hotel parlors the subject of "Municipal Collectivism in Europe" was discussed. The introductory address was made by Mr. Albert Shaw, the well-known writer on economic subjects.

NEW YORK: NEW YORK CITY. At the business meeting of Club No. 1, Jan. 27, the club decided that the forms of an election gone through at the meeting before were null, void and of no effect, and that "the officers elected last year continue in their seats until the conference committee of the clubs of this city shall have decided upon the form of organization this club should adopt." This decision and all else was arrived at with virtual unanimity. These officers are: President, Gen. Abner Doubleday; Vice-President, John W. Lovell; Secretary, W. C. Temple; Assistant-Secretary, Daniel De Leon, 1487 Avenue A.

Nationalist Club No. 3 is now holding regular weekly public meetings. The programme consists of lectures, music and recitations, ending with a free discussion of the lecture. Next meeting will be the eighth. All the previous ones have been so successful that they have taxed the seating capacity of our hall. We are not alone doing excellent, as far as our meetings are concerned, but, in adding to our membership, you will see that Club No. 3 is very much alive.

BROOKLYN. Club No. 1 of Brooklyn, has succeeded in locating itself in permanent quarters, at Nos. 177, 179 Mortague Street corner Clinton; the rooms will be open all day, and in the evening, and one or more members of the club will be constantly present to receive visitors, and those interested in ascertaining the whys and wherefores of Nationalism. The formation of a library is now under discussion, and its scope, it is proposed, shall be as comprehensive as is possible, particularly in that class of literature pertaining to Nationalism. The acquisition of new members goes on apace, and the outlook, on the whole, is very encouraging.

OHIO: COLUMBUS. On January 21st a meeting was called for the purpose of organizing Club No. 2 in this city. Mr. L. H. Webster of Club No. 1, delivered an address which was appreciated very much by all present. A committee was appointed to prepare a Constitution and also to have charge of the programme for our next meeting, which will be held Feb. 4. The Club adopted the "Declaration of Principles" of the Boston Club, and elected J. J. Glen, Secretary.

OREGON: COQUILLE CITY. A Nationalist Club was organized here the first of last month, and is the first Club in Oregon. The officers are, President, S. W. Harrington; Vice-President, W. H. Nosler, and Secretary, H. H. Nichols. The members are very enthusiastic and intend to organize throughout the County and possibly the State. To Mr. Nosler is due the credit of starting this Club. The newspaper of that town, the *Herald*, has adopted Nationalistic ideas.

SOUTH DAKOTA: MILLBANK. A Club has been organized here, composed of active and leading men. Full particulars will be given in the March NATIONALIST.

PENNSYLVANIA; PITTSBURGH. An effort is being made by C. A. Burrows, 122 3rd avenue, to form a club in this city. Those believing in Nationalism and residing here are invited to correspond with him.

PHILADELPHIA. At the last meeting the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, A. J. Loos; 1st Vice-President, Mrs. Ella E. Curtis; 2nd Vice-President, Paul H. Rosenthal; Treasurer and Secretary, Dr. J. J. Taylor; Assistant Secretary, Miss Elizabeth Pease; Corresponding Secretary, Paul H. Rosenthal.

WASHINGTON: NORTH YAKIMA. Dr. G. W. Carey is zealously engaged in forming a club in this city.

WISCONSIN: GLENBEULAH. Following a preliminary meeting a week previous, a number of citizens of Glenbeulah met January 10 and organized a Nationalist Club. Fifteen persons subscribed their names as members upon the "Declaration of Principles" adopted by the First Nationalist Club of Boston. F. D. Ladenberger was elected President and Clifford VanAlstine Secretary for the ensuing year. J. R. Tallmadge was the organizer.

ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

J. FOSTER BISCOE, EDITOR.

It has not been our pleasure before to read such a fair, catholic, clear-cut statement of the ethical principles, which lie at the foundation of Nationalism, as that made by Rev. A. W. Jackson in the Christian Register of January 2nd. The writer, not a Nationalist, shows none of the disposition, exhibited ad nauseam by critics of Nationalism to identify its aims with the fanciful details of Looking Backward.

"I do not understand that the Nationalist cares primarily for credit cards or the abolition of wages. He asks that the higher ethical idea shall rule industrial life. Of ethical systems there are many; yet two moral ideas practically rule. The one Jesus taught. It demands of men that they consecrate their gifts. It is the idea that puts man before me, the public good before the private welfare. It recognizes the grandly unselfish aim as the only rightful one. The other, Jesus never taught; it is to be hoped that preachers never preach, yet is accepted as necessary and inevitable. It is the idea that puts men into the scramble of life, and, under certain regulations called laws, bids each get what he can. Now, often enough, have men dreamed of making the higher motives the ruling forces on what we may call this lower plane of life. Nationalism, however, sees an insuperable obstacle in the present industrial organization. To reform that organization, then, is the first thing to do. So to reorganize industry that all shall surely share in what all produce, is with the Nationalist the starting point in a new moral career."

In quite a different spirit is N. P. Gilman's captious reply in the same paper. One would hardly suppose that the blindest egotist would begin an article with this assertion in regard to the value of his own work. Especially when his subject has been so much and so ably discussed by others. "The article in the Quarterly Journal of Economics happens to be the only considerable attempt yet made to appraise Nationalism critically and scientifically; i. e. to give the actual facts of its brief history and a statement of its chief aim." Members of the new Nationalist Club, learning that Mr. Gilman was preparing a hostile article which he expected to publish in the Quarterly Journal, waited with interest its appearance, but on reading it the general consensus of opinion was, that an article so superficial and plainly written in a spirit of pique was best answered by taking no notice of it in the Nationalist magazine. Contrast with Mr. Gilman's "hasty sced," C. M. Barrows' fair-minded comments in the same number of the Christian Register.

Albert Mason has a very careful and scholarly essay in the New Church Magazine for

January. His position is unique. The aim of the Nationalists is, in his judgment, to establish an economic system similar to that already revealed by Swedenborg. Extracts from the latter's writings are made to show the similarity between his revelation of the economic conditions of the heavenly world and those now advanced by the Nationalists. How Mr. Mason can, after identifying so closely Nationalism with the heavenly order, then turn around and condemn it because subversive of individual freedom is difficult to understand. Equally unexpected, also, is his assertion that such an economic condition is unsuitable for man in his present material environment. "It is well to remember at the outset that an ideal social order *on earth* which shall perfectly embody the order of heaven cannot be the heavenly order itself." It is not in a captious spirit that we desire to place in contrast with the above language these words: "Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GAS WORKS.

"If any city competition in the gas business has been suppressed, and if those who have suppressed it have loaded the business with stock and bonds representing three times as much capital as is required and has been invested, and if they are compelling the people to pay interest and dividends on all these securities, the prediction may safely be made that the people will find relief in some way and if no other method shall seem feasible they will take the business into their own hands, with all the risks that may attend such action."—[Extract from an editorial in the *New York Times*.

The article by Albert Bushnell Hart in the January Quarterly Journal of Economics on the "Rise of American Cities" will be interesting to those who look at such questions broadly as bearing on National life. "The proportion of the population in cities in 1790 was 1-30; in 1860, 1-6; in 1880, 1-4. This is a most significant and fundamental fact for it means a gradual change of the basis on which our institutions rest. The Republic was founded for a country largely agricultural with a diffused population having means of easy subsistence. I believe that it will soon need to stand and will stand for a population of which one-half lives in towns of 4000 inhabitants or upwards." In view of this prospect the stability and even the preservation of our free institutions will depend much more than has yet been realized upon the wise settlement of this question,—shall the great departments of municipal service be given over to private corporations, trusts and syndicates, for private gain, or shall they be conducted by the municipalities for the benefit of the inhabitants?

"Municipal ownership of gasworks is not an experiment. In the United Kingdom there are 552 plants, of which 168 belong to cities. In Germany, out of 667 plants, 338 belong to cities. In Saxony every gas-making plant belongs to the city in which it is located, private ownership being unknown. In short, abroad the municipal ownership of gas works is as common as in this country is the municipal ownership of water works. Americans pay a higher price for gas than any other people in the world. The average price paid in this country is \$1.75, in the United Kingdom, 71 cents and on the Continent of Europe \$1.20. In all these cases the municipal ownership and operation of the works are highly satisfactory to the citizens, and in no case which the writer has investigated would they consent to the sale of the plant. When the people pay high prices for gas they get the benefit either in lower taxes or in public improvements, and if at any time they think the price of gas too high, they can lower it at the ballot box. None of these advantages would they obtain were the works owned by a company." Bronson C. Keeler on "Municipal Control of Gas Works." Forum for November. Mr. Keeler also appeared last January as an expert before the House Delegates Investigation Committee at St. Louis, and gave some very valuable testimony on the same subject.

Another economist, Albert Shaw, after careful investigation says, in an article in the Political Science Quarterly, June 1889, "It is quite largely from revenue considerations that the English and Scotch towns assumed the gas business. They believed that they could not only cheapen gas to consumers, but also earn net profits and thus reduce the rates. It is almost the universal testimony that municipal gas enterprises are a brilliant success. They have steadily reduced the selling price and largely increased the con-

sumption. Their management has been as efficient and economical as that of the private companies."

Out of the hundreds of municipalities owning and managing their gas works, there is one, Philadelphia, which is always brought forward as an awful warning by the disinterested managers of gas corporations, anxious to protect any municipality from the foolhardy undertaking of manufacturing and distributing gas to its citizens. What appears to be the result of a careful investigation of that city's works by a disinterested party is printed in the *Boston Transcript*, January 4th. The writer, John R. Commons, thus summarizes: "The proof is conclusive that under municipal ownership and control they are on the whole satisfactory, and, considering the independence and power which they give to the citizens of Philadelphia as against the rule of private monopoly, they can furnish no gratification for the enemies of self-help and public ownership of public monopolies." In the *Transcript* of June 11 there is an attempt to break the force of Mr. Commons' statements.

But the most commonsense view of the whole matter is that taken by Sylvester Baxter in a short communication to the same journal. "Whatever may be the facts in any particular instance, the principal of public ownership for monopolies of service I claim to be the correct one, for it is evident that the public can fare better from a service not run for profit than with a service that has for its prime motive the earning of large profits to a private corporation, with the benefit of the public made subservient thereto."

The following list of a few printed sources of information is added for the benefit of those who desire to investigate this subject for themselves.

Private Bills Legislation. 2 Vols. 1885-87, Frederick Clifford.

The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply. Edmand J. James. (American Economic Association Publications, Vol. 1).

Electric Lighting in the City of Detroit. Chas. Moore. (American Economic Association Publications, Vol. II).

Powers of Municipalities Respecting Public Works. Frank J. Goodnow. (American Economic Association Publications, Vol. II).

The Relation of Modern Municipalities to Quasi-Public Works. (American Economic Association Publications, Vol. II).

Problems of Today. Richard T. Ely.

The Rise of American Cities. Albert Bushnell Hart. (Quarterly Journal of Economics, Jan., 1890).

Municipal Government in Great Britain. Albert Shaw. (Political Science Quarterly, June, 1889).

Municipal Control of Gas Works. Bronson C. Keeler. (Forum Nov. 1889).

Monopolies of Municipal Service. Arthur Hildreth. (Nationalist, May and August, 1889).

Public Gas Works of Philadelphia. John C. Commons. (Boston Transcript, Jan. 4th, 1890).

Reply to John C. Commons. (Boston Transcript, Jan. 11, 1890).

Report of Special Committee on Taxation. (Boston Executive Business Association, Oct., 1889).

REVIEWS.

"SPEAKING OF ELLEN," BY ALBERT ROSS.

A most encouraging sign of the growth of Nationalism is the infusion of its doctrines into some of the most interesting current fictions. A notable instance is the novel, "Speaking of Ellen," just issued from the press of G. W. Dillingham, and written by Mr. Albert Ross, the author of "Thou Shalt Not." Mr. Ross made his first great hit in the literary field only one year ago, and his two novels, printed within six months of each other, have already reached a circulation of nearly 200,000 copies. That he should have made his third book a plea for Nationalism proves his belief in the takingness of our creed.

The heroine of his story is a mill-girl in the New England village of Riverfall, a cloth manufacturing centre. The spinners and weavers have by common consent chosen her their spokesman and leader in all their many controversies with the corporation. She is a beautiful and intellectual girl, and Philip Westland, the mill agent, soon learns to esteem her, though he cannot then agree with her views. He deems it his first duty to see that a good dividend is earned for the stockholders, and as Ellen's word suffices for all his 2000 employes the twain frequently meet. Arguing in favor of employing little children he gets a taste of Ellen's theories that is new to him. "But where is our great mother, the State!" she exclaims; "the State, which claims our allegiance, which seizes our substance for its revenues, which drafts our brothers into its armies, which punishes our treason even with death! Every child that is born adds to its strength and glory! The State is a god! Does it take all and give back nothing?" This sets him to thinking.

But a capitalist born and bred is not converted so easily. Westland meets Ellen again and again before the truth finds lodgment in his mind. One evening, after he has coolly told her that he had the right to buy his labor, like his cotton, in the cheapest market, regardless of other considerations, she demands of him: "What valuable thing have *you* ever done for your race? You have lived on the product of other men's toil. You are a gentleman—God save the mark! You never did anything, you never mean to do anything, to help support the great table at which you have eaten so greedily!"

Quotations from this powerful novel equally worthy might be taken abundantly. Almost every page contains some striking figure. The contests of Ellen with Converse, the English Anarchist, show a delightful side of her character. Converse believes in meeting force with force and tries to convert Ellen to his theories. "He talked to me of knives and dynamite," she tells her steadfast friend, Hugh, with a shiver, "and I—I listened to him—a thing I never did before! Could you not pray for me tonight? I need it very much!" But when the strike is on, and the employees of the mills are evicted from their houses, owned by the company, she dismisses Converse from her committee, because he attacks the constable who is serving the notices.

A committee of the strikers visit the agent, who asks them sarcastically what they have gained by exchanging even low wages for none at all. "We have gained manhood and womanhood!" replies Ellen. "We were never created for slavery." At last, the heroism of the girl and her companions, the growing love that she is exciting in his bosom, long before he is aware of it, the ingratitude of the complaining stockholders, and finally the death of one of the evicted children from exposure, turn the scale with Agent Westland and he joins Ellen's forces. By the strangest of combinations the mills are reopened as a Nationalist institution.

Essays on these subjects reach the cultured, but a vivid novel like "Speaking of Ellen" will do the work with the masses. Many of them will receive their first lessons in Nationalism through it pages. We congratulate Mr. Ross on his work and commend it to all friends of the cause, not only for its sound doctrines, but as one of the best sustained and most interesting books of this greatest of literary epochs.

CHAPTER III.

BY ROMAN I. ZUBOF.

Early on the following morning as Lapuchin was preparing to start on his journey for his country place, to see for the last time his patrimonial estate with which were associated his earliest reminiscences, he was called upon by a visitor whom he greeted familiarly as "Grishka." Grishka was a thick-set middle-sized young man with wavy hair curling round his forehead, dressed in a simple peasant blouse with a belt round his waist. "Well, Sergey Andreyevitch," he said stepping into the room and sitting unceremoniously on a chair, "the affair last night ended in a fizzle; the old woman scented us and raised such a row that all we could do was to escape by the skin of our teeth."

"Why, that's unfortunate," said Lapuchin, "the police must have got wind now of the whole business, and then all the papers and the machinery must have been discovered."

"No, not a bit of it! I ascertained that early this morning," replied Grishka, reassuringly. "They took them simply for a set of common burglars, chased them, and when they came back and found that only one window had been tried, they went into no further investigation; that's all right so far, anyhow."

"What was the means you purposed using to get the thing?" asked Lapuchin.

"Oh, we had all sorts of plans at first; then Strachov proposed to steal it by the aid of common burglars."

"A bad plan," observed Lapuchin interrupting him.

"So said I; but what will you have us do? The things must be got at once and we were at our wit's end how, and it seemed the only thing feasible. But they're all to come here,—they ought to be here now—and then you will aid us with your counsels at all events. What news of Falenko's trial?"

"Nothing new that I am aware of; only the police are showing his latch key in every door there is a vacant hole in; so you must be more on the lookout. But are there any very compromising papers at his rooms?"

Grishka snorted contemptuously at that observation. "Compromising?" he repeated; "of course, all our manifestoes and things are there. Falenko had the whole secret press in that room and worked it there; compromising indeed! You know very well a black cat suspiciously running after a mouse would be sufficient evidence with our eager authorities to convict any one of us. Suppose we get it all right from there," he said suddenly rising from his seat and walking about the room,— "where are we to put it for the time being?"

"Oh, I know a safe place enough with one of my tenants in the country."

But here the conversation was interrupted by the entrance of two other young men, and a few minutes later the group were joined by three more who all immediately took up the subject of their discussion.

The question was now : What was best to be done? Falenko, one of their comrades, the most daring and enterprising of what are commonly known in Russia as the "illegals;" (a term comprising all those who openly or covertly rebel against the present, or advocate the righteous administration of the law of the country) had been arrested by the authorities, and they having information of his being the chief, if not the sole worker, of the secret press which troubled the police by the startling and ubiquitous appearance of manifestoes and proclamations touching on the character of their own not very honorable actions, were particularly anxious to get hold of that nefarious machinery. It was still more vexing to them to possess the very key leading to the room where the printing-press was inclosed and which they had found in Falenko's pocket, for he wickedly and stubbornly refused to give them any hint that would lead them to the unlocking of the proper door and the authorities, therefore, were left to their own devices to find out the right place. Falenko's comrades, on the other hand, as soon as they were apprised of the whole situation of affairs, were equally anxious to obtain the same printing press. First, because the machinery would be in better custody, if in their possession; secondly, because a printing press, ever so small, is an invaluable property to the revolutionaries who persist in printing and publishing things which the profoundly wise and singularly astute censors of the Empire cannot endorse, commend or approve; and thirdly, because there were a number of papers and manuscripts compromising a whole host of students, male and female, who, in the present momentary anticipation of the discovery of these documents, found it advisable to make themselves scarce.

"You are certain, Grishka, that the police haven't the right clue?" asked one of the group.

"Positive; I went by there this morning and saw the old woman talking to the baker. I asked whether Falenko was back from vacation, and before she answered me she went off into a long rigmarole about the terrible attempt to break into her house that night; what a fright she got—it is a miracle she survived it—and then I asked her one thing and another until she told me the whole story from beginning to end. She finished by asking me to assure Falenko that all his things were all right, and that, with the aid of the Lord, the attempt to steal them was frustrated."

"Well, and what did you say?" asked somebody.

"Oh, I said nothing particularly wise. She showed me the door which is fast locked and of which she has not the key, and the window which had been tampered with; she has knocked ever so many nails into it."

"I think the best and straightest way to get at those things," broke in a tall young man who was sitting with his feet astride a chair and playing with a lock of fair hair that fell loosely on his forehead, — "the best way would be simply to march five or six of us in the dead of the night, straight for the house, and force our way into it."

"Spoken like Ivan the wise one!" interrupted Grishka, "and what do you think will the old woman do meanwhile? pray to heaven to lead her not into temptation, eh?"

The company laughed in which laughter Ivan Bogdanov (the name of the comrade, at whose expense they laughed now) heartily joined. "Well, and what do *you* propose?" he asked the last speaker.

"My head is void of propositions now; I am only seriously certain that if we don't steal a march on the authorities within a few days and get the things one way or another, they are certain to be discovered, that is all! I came here to listen to something better than I know myself. What does Sergey Andreyevitch think we ought to do?"

All eyes turned now on Lapuchin, who had been listening to every one present, without uttering a syllable. "I don't know, friends, what best to propose," he replied gravely; "but I think any violent measures, especially after the woman's suspicions had been roused, would prove fatal to the real object; I would advise something more quiet, perhaps more dangerous to one individual or two, but more certain of success."

"Well?" said two or three voices in chorus.

"My advice would be," continued Lapuchin in the same grave tone, "to get a skeleton key to the room, if that were possible, and since Grishka is certain that she doesn't know what really happened to Falenko, to come there with a note purporting to be written by him and showing the key as additional evidence, for one of you to take up your abode there for a few days, and then smuggle out the things quietly and by degrees, — at least the papers could easily be got at."

"That's the best plan yet suggested!" observed Grishka gratuitously in a broad, loud voice, taking the pipe from his mouth, and knocking out the ashes against the table.

"The question is now, how to get the skeleton key," began Ivan, "has anybody an idea what the key is like?"

"It doesn't matter if we haven't an idea what it's like," interrupted a little, quite boyish-looking fellow from the corner of the room in a husky and thin voice. "I could make one in a day, if anybody came with me and went to the house to keep the old woman talking, while I take an impression of it with soft wax."

"I'll go with you!" cried out Grishka and Ivan Bogdanov simultaneously.

"Well, then, that is settled;" answered the little fellow, "and now the question is who amongst us would do the other thing best? Will

you palm yourself off as the unsophisticated student coming from the country, during vacation, to transact some disagreeable business in town?" he asked turning to Ivan Bogdanov.

"I don't think I'll do," replied he; "the old woman knows me too well; and, besides that, the eyes of the authorities have been too long fixed on my fascinating figure—not to set them thinking when they see me hovering round. I think we must get some one not known in town."

At this suggestion all eyes were instinctively turned on Lapuchin.

"If you think I can best serve the purpose, of course, I am at your service, friends," he said unhesitatingly, "only if done it must be done at once, without a moment's delay; when could I have the key?"

"To-night, if Grishka will come with me at once," said the little fellow.

"Then, friends, I invite you to my new quarters to-morrow at noon."

"All? all of us?" they asked in chorus.

"No, not all of you;" replied Lapuchin,—"Grishka and Bogdanov at noon; one or two of you in the evening, and I'll have nicely made-up packets for each of you."

"What about the proclamation we were to issue?" asked Ivan Bogdanov.

"We'll talk of that afterwards," interrupted Grishka, who rose and left the room followed by the little fellow.

"I'll see you tonight," said the latter turning to Lapuchin before leaving.

"All right; I'll expect you."

CHAPTER IV.

Elena Ivanovna, when left alone, sank down on the sofa and was soon deep in meditation. At first, the feeling she experienced was as if something had been violently snapped and rent asunder from the thread of her life; something with the deprivation of which the future must become barren, heavy—almost intolerable. Lapuchin's departure was so sudden, she had such a number of questions to ask, such a host of thoughts had been evoked in her mind by that statement, revelation, confession she had almost regarded it, of what he intended doing. And yet she did not wholly comprehend it; or rather she could form no definite idea within which his plans, his ideas, his wishes, were included, beyond a something indefinitely large and stupendous that was moving against a dark shadowy background of activity, of strenuous and terrible activity. What was that? What did he mean by all he said? Why did he resolve to sell all he had, all that everybody toiled and slaved for in order to possess, and go forth, renounce life and all its pleasures and become a poor artisan, a hard

working laborer? Was everything really as the pictures he had drawn before her? Was everything really so wrong and unjust? The idea was too great for her; it overwhelmed her; in her imagination the whole length and breadth of the Russian Empire was rapidly unfolded with all the countless humanity swarming in it,—and she beheld the sturdy figure of Lapuchin making silently his way through them, and with an almost giant-like strength putting down this and that, and combating injustice and poverty and oppression. She shuddered; some violent emotion was passing and convulsing her being; then she seemed to experience a sudden interior illumination; her sphere of life seemed suddenly to expand and the little injustices and brutalities that had perpetrated within her very sight, and which had not arrested her attention simply from their being such common occurrences, she now saw were rampant and prevalent throughout the breadth of the same great Empire. Yes, she suddenly conceived their wrongness and wondered why she stood by so calmly and witnessed them, without protest, or exertion to prevent them. But her thoughts were revolving in a cloud of visions and to her mind only one thing remained more distinct than all other things, and that was the broad and giant-like figure of Lapuchin rising amid the mingling mass, rising up and silently working for the good, the amelioration of the condition of things, and beckoning everyone to follow and do the same. Why was it that he should feel it more deeply than all the other people she knew—than her husband, for instance? What was it Lapuchin was meditating? To join those foolish young men and women who have done such terrible acts, and get himself into trouble, and lose his liberty and probably his life? Great God! it was terrible to think of it! He hinted as much. His own words came back to her memory, ringing within her very soul. "What matters it, if I lose my life, provided I have lived my idea, and died for it? To see an injustice perpetrated; to feel an action wrong and immoral and to stand by without protesting, without struggling against it, is a crime, a positive crime!" He had said those words, such a long time ago, almost more than a year ago, when once disputing with her husband, and they now flashed back on her memory and evoked a tumult in her mind. And yet, oh! that she could save him, stop him from treading that terrible precipice where he is certain to fall; oh! that she could run after him, and implore and beg and beseech him on her knees; but no! she felt it would be of no use; she almost heard the resolute ring of his voice, saying to her, "No, I must forth! all the world of the poor, the oppressed, the condemned, the heavy-laden—are my brothers and sisters. All are victims of a system based on shame and crime, fed by the human blood and the life of thousands of individuals. I must onward and battle against that evil, or otherwise I shall perish everlastingly and become a vampire myself, living on the life blood of my own brothers and sisters." She got up from her seat and began to pace rapidly round the room. It was still, silent as the grave, around her.

The windows were open, and the dark night outside poured a caressing air into the room. Suddenly she walked over and sat by the window, looking out into the deep darkness. All objects stood like erect shadows in the night; the stars were all as if mysteriously whispering amongst themselves; and every visible thing looked wondrously silent and motionless; save that somewhere in the distance a dog barked at intervals. From everywhere around came the loud chirping of numberless grasshoppers; a gentle breeze arose and caressingly touched her face, and as she looked and listened, though her former agitation was beginning to subside, she was suddenly possessed by a heavy melancholy. A deep sigh escaped her breast, and she felt disconsolate and lonely in this wide, wide world. What was her life? What did she live for? What had she done and what was she doing? Her heart had yearned once for conquests and grandeur and riches, — and then, when her wishes were partially fulfilled, she experienced no satisfaction, no contentment. If her heart had no longer those unconquerable desires, it was not filled, it was still empty, desolate, dissatisfied; and as she looked round she saw nothing on which to anchor her hopes and wishes. It was terrible, she was so young and beautiful, and now the first time that she had paused to look into the depth of her own existence — she found it shallow and wanting; she had longed for so much, and had got nothing, absolutely nothing. Her very position, her very wealth and prosperity, were shadowy illusions, that melted away at the mere approach of reality; they vanished, and behind them was unveiled a hollow and hideous chasm of mocking unreality! The very moments she was now spending in reviewing her past and present, her husband was away, ostensibly on some official business, but in reality dissipating his hours with idle and gay companions, or even worse. She had reason and evidence, even, to believe that he was no longer faithful to her; that his love, if such a man's passion can be so termed, had expired almost with the first satisfaction of his desires, while she — while she — her heart quailed at confessing to herself, even now that she looked carefully into it, and examined her feelings — that she had never loved, loved in the sense she comprehended a woman is capable of loving, and that the desire for the glitter of the position was the chief motive of her yielding to his wooing. It was a terrible thought; but she felt it; it came to her with the suddenness and force of a stupendous, clamorous wave, and she did not bend voluntarily, she sank under its irresistible potency. Oh! life was terrible to her! The world was so large — but her own sphere was so oppressive, so close, so crampingly narrow! And again she thought of Lapuchin, and envied him, because he was able to shake himself free from all the bonds and entanglements of his position and go forth unwaveringly to do as he listed, into a sphere of usefulness and activity which, the more she dwelt on it, became more alluring. The clinking of spurs on the gravel path interrupted her thoughts; she heard the guard's salute and recognized her husband's step

approaching the house. A minute after and he entered the room in which she was sitting. "Not retired yet?" he asked in surprise. "Why, it's nearly two o'clock!"

Elena Ivanovna drew in her head from the window, but did not reply to his remark.

"Lapuchin was here;" she said after a minute's silence.

"Oh!"

"He came to take leave."

"Is he going off?"

"Yes; he is gone forever."

"Ah!"

"He has sold his estate, and Heaven only knows what he intends doing now."

"A perfect original! a perfect original! He was always queer!"

Elena did not volunteer further information to her indifferent husband, but felt annoyed at herself for having said so much; she thought suddenly, all this had been specially confided to her, and now she had told her husband things that she ought not to have told, though there was nothing in it, which her husband might not already know. Only she felt everything Lapuchin did was so above the comprehension of her husband, was so foreign to his reason, that almost her possession of those facts which Lapuchin had communicated to her, established a sudden partition or division wall between herself and her husband,—a division that had existed before and always, but which it seemed to her she had only for the first time noticed. She looked at him as he was glancing over some papers,—the report the chief of police had left for him, and she thought it was so strange that she should be there, and that he should be sitting so indifferently and naturally. Suddenly he put away the papers, and said he would retire immediately. "I heard some patrol alarm as I was coming home," he said, approaching the window she was sitting by; "you did not hear it? I wonder what it was?"

"Oh; perhaps some burglars or thieves," she answered indifferently, and rising she walked out from the room.

CHAPTER V.

Faithful to his promise, the little fellow appeared in the middle of the night at the house where Lapuchin was staying and rapped at his window with a preconcerted signal. The window was soon opened and Lapuchin's head appeared through it. "I have been waiting for you;" he said, looking down at the upturned face.

"All right;" replied the other, "couldn't finish it sooner; hadn't all the requisite tools; here's the key—good night!"

"Good night!" and Lapuchin closed the window.

The following morning he duly presented himself to Falenko's landlady, and handing a note and the key begged to be admitted to his friend's vacant room, where he would stay for a couple of days while

transacting some business in town. The landlady took the note in her broad white hands, carefully looked at it from both sides, then looking at Lapuchin from top to toe, which evidently presented to her a more intelligible cypher, she handed back to him the note saying: "Read it for me, pet."

Lapuchin read the note, purporting to have been written by Falenko, and asking his landlady to accommodate a friend of his in his room for a few days, and to put everything at his disposal, and hoping that she was well, he was sorry to add he had not been feeling as he would like to feel.

"The poor fellow!" said the landlady in a compassionate tone; "no wonder; he's been working and working all days and nights; well, my dear, that's all right. I was thinking he might have been uneasy about his things, for there were thieves here nearly breaking into the house the other night."

"Really?" asked Lapuchin; "and were they prevented?"

"Yes, that they were! I heard some scratching and scrubbing going on for some time; thinks I, it must be the cat worrying a mouse, but I couldn't close my eyes till I got up and listened and then I heard some whispering. That won't do at all, says I, and raised an alarm; the police gave them chase — but there now — let them catch them, if they can! The police ain't so smart as they think."

"Well, that was an escape!" remarked Lapuchin following the landlady who was leading him towards the room; "but how did it happen you were awake at the time?"

"Oh, I wasn't awake, but my ears ain't as dull as they look; ever since my poor man died, the smallest noise wakes me up."

"Expecting his ghost?" asked Lapuchin.

"The Lord save us!" she exclaimed making the sign of the cross; "no, not that. There, now, this is the room, and this is the door, — are you also in the doctoring line?"

"A little inclined that way," he answered diplomatically, and putting the key in the hole, he easily turned it over and, thanking his landlady, he locked himself in. By and by there was a knock on the door. Lapuchin opened it and found his landlady standing at the entrance; she had forgotten to ask him his name.

"Lensky" said he.

"And name and father's name?"

"Ivan Nikolavitch."

She walked off, evidently satisfied with her cross-examination. It was plain to Lapuchin, that everything must be done as carefully as possible, and that no precaution on their part would be lost, for the old woman appeared to see and hear with all her eyes and ears. There was a heap of papers in one corner, which, without his spending time over an examination as to their nature, must be either

removed or destroyed. Falenko had not anticipated his arrest, he was apprehended accidentally at the room of a comrade, where the police made a raid and discovered some treasonable documents, and consequently the room presented a work-a-day appearance; nothing was concealed, nothing was arranged in order or form. The question which remained the most difficult to solve was, how to get out the machinery, as of course it was out of the question to get it out through the door, without arousing some serious suspicions, while it seemed to him impossible to get it through the window. He looked at it again and again, turned its wheel, and saw it move and click and snap; lifted it and turned it round, and though he was endowed with such extraordinary physical strength that he could easily take it up and carry it through the door, he was at a loss to comprehend how they were to pass it through the window; except by taking it apart, of which he was not mechanic enough to understand the process. For the present he contented himself with stuffing his own pockets with papers and making up unsuspecting parcels for his friends. Punctually at the hour Grishka and Ivan Bogdanov appeared at the room, both exultant over the fact of their being inside of it, and soon Grishka went out and came round to the window, where he received several substantial parcels which he carried off boldly and openly, avoiding only the windows of the landlady. When Lapuchin mentioned the difficulty the machinery presented to him, Grishka poo-pooed the idea,—“Why, it can be taken piece-meal; that’s the way we got it in here; wait till Stenka, the little fellow, comes; he’s a devil of a dab at such things.” And he left the room.

Towards evening, Stenka appeared, as had been planned; then Grishka returned with a few bottles of beer, and the mechanic betook himself to taking asunder the machinery and arranging it in portable portions, amidst the laughter and loud talk, and even singing of songs and all the inevitable characteristics of a students’ spree. Two or three were stationed in different places to prevent more serious surprise than the landlady could threaten them with, but the machinery was taken asunder, the papers were packed up and other materials were destroyed before late in the evening, without any serious interruptions. Before midnight most of the things had been got out of the house safely and quickly, without arousing any suspicion from any quarter. The friends on parting talked loud and negligently and, promising soon to come and see Lapuchin again, they all went off carrying away with them papers and other materials which made them, for the first time since Falenko’s arrest, feel more at ease and safe from any serious consequences which might result to the secret local organization from the trial of their comrade. The following day, the affair was repeated; some other friends called and carried off other things, and toward evening, locking the door again, Lapuchin left the house, without leaving any trace of his ever having been there.

Two days afterwards the police discovered the former quarters of

their prisoner; and the landlady when questioned told the story of a friend having called and taken up his abode there for a couple of days. She told them all she knew, how friends had called, and how they caroused. She was asked to give a description of the appearance of Falenko's friend; but beyond his being "a big, large chap" she could give them no further information; she did not know whether he was blonde or dark, whether he had an aquiline or straight nose; whether he had dark or light clothes on him, either! "What was his name?" was demanded of her. "Ivan Lensky, your honor." "Ivan——, what?" demanded the official now sternly. "Nikolayitch?" "That so? Why didn't you tell that at once? Now beware and be on the lookout!"

The police authorities departed, enraged at having been so cleverly foiled, and determined to find some clue or other to the gang. Every one that was the least suspected was immediately put under arrest. Amongst them was Ivan Bogdanov, Grishka and Stenka and a host of others. The landlady was called to the police station for "purposes of identification," as she was informed when trembling with fear she asked why they were ruining an innocent soul. One after another was brought before her, whom she immediately and successively dismissed with a contemptuous, "Not him!" One young and tall man, when brought before her, she regarded with some doubt; "But turn round, a little, my dear," she asked. The young man turned round. "Pshaw! not him, either; he is only a strapping compared with that one;" so the authorities, more enraged than ever, were obliged to let loose their captives. A conspirator was around, evidently, whom they did not know — and an unknown force is always terrible to an official mind.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

LIST OF SECRETARIES.

(Alphabetically by States.)

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| SAN FRANCISCO. | Club 1, . . . | Anna H. F. Haskell, 713 Greenwich Street. |
| | Club 2, . . . | |
| | Club 3, . . . | |
| OAKLAND. | | Harriet F. Stevens, Snell Seminary. |
| LOS ANGELES. | Club 1, . . . | A. Vinette, 1221 West 1st Street. |
| | Club 2, . . . | L. E. Biddle, 125 John Street. |
| | Club 3, . . . | B. Loewy, 26 West 5th Street. |
| SAN DIEGO. | | Mrs. Mary A. Waite, 1433 First Street. |
| NATIONAL CITY. | | W. A. Henck. |
| PASADENA. | | L. H. Banister. |
| SAN JOSE. | | Thomas Allen. |
| OCEAN VIEW. | | Col. G. Thistleton. |
| KAWeah. | | Louise Redstone, Three Rivers. |
| FULLERTON. | | J. B. Mullen. |
| FLORENCE. | | Geo. D. Seale. |
| ANAHEIM. | | (Farmers) C. F. Kellogg. |
| ORANGE. | | Charles Baker. |
| SANTA ANA. | | J. F. Lesley. |
| COMPTON. | | Wm. H. Wright. |
| ENCINITAS. | | T. W. Cozens. |
| OCEANSIDE. | | |
| AVALON. | | A. B. Burdick. |
| LONG BEACH. | | Chas. F. Bixby. |
| FRESNO. | | F. M. Stow. |
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| SANTA MONICA. | | |

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| DENVER. | Club 1, . . . | Arthur Cheese-wright. |
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CONNECTICUT.

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| HARTFORD. | | Mrs. S. A. Thompson, P. O. Box, 68. |
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IOWA.

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| BUNKER HILL. | Club 3, . . . | Dr. Joseph Williams, 15 Monument Sq., Charlestown. |
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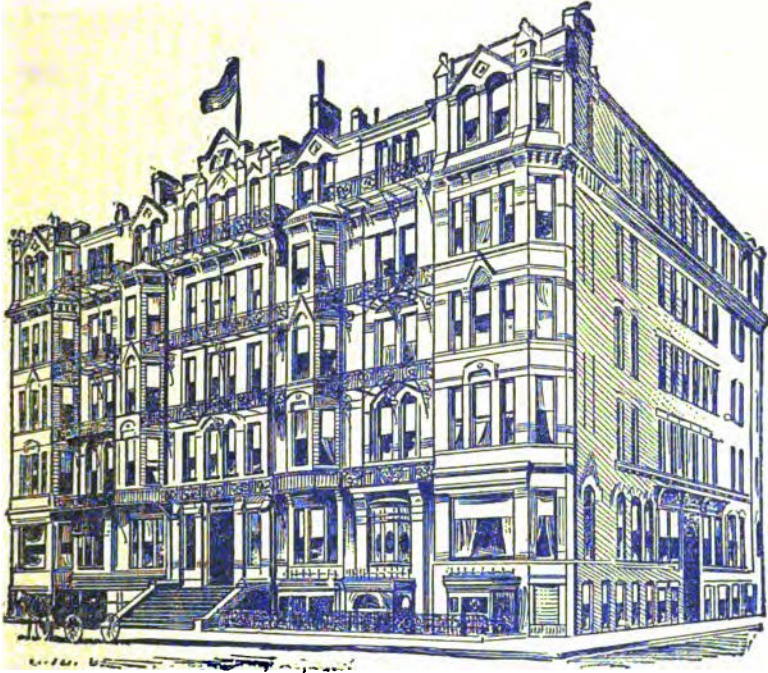
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"THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY."—*Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*

THE NATIONALIST

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized.

No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill considered changes; we make no war upon individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

The combinations, trusts and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation — the people organized — the organic unity of the whole people

The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts.

THE NATIONALIST.

VOL. II.

MARCH, 1890.

No. 4.

TRUSTS OR FEDERAL CONTROL.

Giants in every law of business have driven to the wall the small men; the giants having demonstrated to their satisfaction that they cannot crush and ruin one another. Therefore the old truth is revived, "In Union there is strength," and the result is "trusts" here, "trusts" there, "trusts" everywhere. The plan to unite all the railroads in a gigantic trust dwindles all other trusts into insignificance, for the capitalization of all the railroads approximates one half of the total assessed valuation of all personal and real property in the country. How simple the plan and yet how comprehensive, as expressed by the promoter under only three heads, substantially as follows:

1. Maintain all the equities, etc.
2. Continue the legal and all other relations to the United States and the several States.
3. Secure unity of interest upon an absolutely equitable basis in the ownership, operation, and earnings of all the lines.

The first clause "maintain," the second clause "continue," develop nothing either new or original. Clause three fully covers and expresses the new departure: "Secure unity of interest upon an absolutely equitable basis in the ownership, operation, and earnings of all the lines."

Ponder on these few simple words covered by clause three. Can it be possible that billions upon billions of property can be best managed under a "unity of interest upon an absolutely equitable basis in the ownership, operation, and earnings?" There can be no doubt of its practicality and success, if it can be accomplished. Money alone makes the discord and stands in the way. Giants do not willingly take small men as partners; they prefer to absorb them.

The practicality and success of trusts upon a very large scale have been demonstrated to be good things for those that are inside, but a

strong sentiment prevades the community that they are bad things for those outside and are opposed to "the greatest good for the greatest number."

Carry the trust thought one step farther, "Secure unity of interest upon an absolutely equitable basis in the ownership, operation, and earnings" of all the business of all the people of this great country by organizing all labor into one grand industrial army, under Federal control.

Money makes discord; the want of it, unhappiness. The greatest good of the greatest number requires the solution of the problem by the government. Individuals can do nothing; in unity there is strength; equity is the rock foundation; a government of the people, by the people, has made this nation the foremost of the earth. The ballot makes all men equal; the ballot conducts peaceful revolutions; a majority of the people can make all business "official business" under Federal control to "secure unity of interest upon an absolutely equitable basis in the ownership, operation, and earnings" of all the business of all the people. The equitable basis is equal work by all and equal compensation to all; in other words, unity of labor, unity of interest, equal division of net results. Would such a revolution be any more distasteful to the powers that be, to the owners of all real and personal property, than was the emancipation proclamation to the slave owners or the legal tender act to the creditors? Let us consider a few facts pointing steadily this way.

The government has given us the best currency and postal service on the face of the earth, because the making of money out of them by the people is reduced to a minimum; and there is a "unity of interest upon an absolutely equitable basis," with every safeguard that the ingenuity of man can devise.

The government has given us a military school at West Point and a naval school at Annapolis unsurpassed as educational, and unquestioned as integral institutions, where merit, not money, wins the highest award.

The Government in our late war united the young men of our country into an army and put down the greatest rebellion ever known. It was a glorious war, but there was one great blot connected therewith and that was "government contracts," enriching the few at the expense of the many. There was also a great civic lesson for the Emancipation proclamation and the legal tender act demonstrated that the

government can do anything when backed by a majority of the people.

Be he rich or be he poor today, who would not carefully consider any plan that would be an absolute insurance that his children and his children's children would never want? Come, let us reason and consider together!

The united wisdom of this great country that has done so much to elevate mankind, that professes the universal brotherhood of man, must not stop or stand still. Great things have been done; greater remain to be achieved. The men that have, during this generation, passed away most esteemed and honored by their countrymen and the world, were the heroes of the late war, poor in this world's goods, but rich in great deeds. And here is the chief lesson of their lives: To achieve these high honors, they were educated by the government and in the nation's peril were not found wanting in organization and faithful work.

Let the Government go further. Let it educate every child born here or coming to our shores; let it compel a most thorough and complete course of education for both sexes from start to finish. Let all be educated, all have the best education that can be devised to prepare for the various works of the nation; then will all be fitted to serve a Government that not only has educated them, but will see that they never want any good thing.

First the necessary education, next the proper work, and all work to be "official business," and alike honorable, every person of both sexes to take the prescribed preliminary or apprentice course of work to fit them for any calling of their own choosing under the Government; this service to be for a given number of years somewhat similar to the period during which males are now liable to do military duty, and extra meritorious work to receive badges of honor. The Government to furnish all persons according to their several desires with every reasonable thing at cost; dollars and cents to be used as measures of value not in circulation; each citizen, male and female, to share and share alike in the net profits of official business; a percentage of the surplus of production over consumption to be spent in public improvements for the recreation and amusement of all.

Let us think again over these preposterous propositions. The average man or woman earnestly desires that only which cannot readily be had; possession dispels the charm. Those who can have everything

they desire are models of economy and thrift. Under the proposed plan, if man could have everything he desired, he would desire nothing but comfort and happiness according to his *natural* tastes. The saloon and the many vices now so common in our land would disappear, for no man or woman would pander to the tastes of the vicious, if there were no money to be made out of them, and a sure and honorable living were free to all.

Free postage would not increase the volume of matter for the mails, for there would be no business mail aside from "official business." Free telegraphs and free railroads would not be crowded, for the messages and travel would be entirely disconnected from business. The list might be continued to the end. A systematic organization for the development of all business and all labor under Federal control, for the equal benefit of all the people, would "secure unity of interest upon an absolutely equitable basis in the ownership, operation, and earnings of all the lines." The resulting economies and prevention of waste would give to all far more than they would have any desire to use under their letter of credit issued to them annually by the Government. The whole business of the world is the conversion for consumption of the primary products of the soil, the mine, and the sea; and the transition from individual to federal and international control can be as imperceptibly accomplished, as was the change from state to National banking and currency, or the resumption of specie payments.

By prohibiting bequeathing and inheriting, the property of persons would at their decease pass under State control or to the State as Trustee for the legal representatives, the State to charge temporarily a graduated income tax according to the size of the estate, the minimum tax on small estates to be one per cent. on the annual income with a gradual increase on larger estates up to fifty per cent. or even more on estates aggregating many millions; the income less the tax to be paid to the legal representatives until the time fixed for Federal control of everything; in the meantime, the surplus income would be used for the education and general welfare of the people.

Our forefathers, to guard against the evils resulting from the entailing of property in the mother country, framed general laws in the United States prohibiting the entailment of property beyond two lives in being, and thus laid down the principle that the State has the right to stop this method of dealing with property. Under

this plan, each State would, in about sixty years, by the death of all proprietors, control all real property within its borders; and deeds, mortgages, stocks, bonds, and all other evidences of property would be as worthless as Confederate currency; all property would belong to the people. The common wealth of Massachusetts would in reality be the *Commonwealth* of Massachusetts.

The property now owned by the United States, and by the several states, cities, and counties, is for the use and benefit of all, and the magnificent parks, public buildings, and other improvements simply foreshadow what might be accomplished by "a unity of interest upon an absolutely equitable basis."

When individual effort failed to give a satisfactory light-house system to protect life and property on the sea, the government took the matter in hand with advantageous results. Long ago the government assumed control of all property on navigable waters both inland and ocean. How far distant is the time when the government will control and direct all labor, business, and property on both sea and land?

FRANK FIELD FOWLER.

Boston, Mass.

IN TRANSIT.

My life was sighing, sighing—
 A cadence full of pain,
 A twanging string's refrain;
 Dull after-glow out-dying.

My soul is singing, singing—
 An incense raised from mist,
 Swollen waves, the sun has kissed,
 Love *touched* me—insight bringing.

M. ROLLINS MURPHY.

Frankford, Philadelphia.

THE NEWSPAPER OF THE FUTURE.

I have before me the "dummy" copy of a projected newspaper. Its title is "News of the Week; Showing Universal Progress." Its editor treats evolution, not as a doctrine, not as a belief, nor as a notion but as a demonstrated law, all-pervading as the law of gravitation. As to human society he affirms that, by carefully studying the history of the Past and by closely observing the tendencies of the Present, we may arrive at some accurate conclusions concerning the Future. That is to say, by applying to current news a method of observation and instruction similar to that employed by the United States Signal Bureau in predicting the weather, we may establish a scientific basis for prophecy.

However, the design of the paper is best expressed in standing head notes at the top of the first column of the first page. These notes, in italic brevier type, read as follows:

"As the idea departs that the affairs of society are directed by men in authority, by rulers, statesmen, legislators, politicians, warriors, financiers, teachers, journalists, and priests; and as the idea advances that there is a plainly recognizable universal law of growth, progress, or evolution to which all things are subject; so, we believe will the demand increase for publications such as this, containing an impartial and, so far as possible, an exact record of current events. This record, under the review of intelligent readers, may be looked upon as predicting the future of society far more accurately than, as yet, the reports of the Signal Bureau indicate the probabilities of the weather."

"De Toqueville said, 'It is not necessary that God himself should speak in order to disclose to us the unquestionable signs of His will. We can discern them in the habitual course of nature and the invariable tendency of events.' And this declaration is the keynote to the contents of this journal. That, socially, this invariable tendency is toward Liberty — physical, moral, and intellectual, and is irresistible, though at times it may appear reactionary or obscure, any one may discover by carefully studying the *News of the Week*. By consciously complying and co-operating with this tendency, men may hasten the dawn of absolute social equality and individual liberty, abolish poverty and pain, and secure on this earth a condition of perfect happiness.

We hope by this record of current events to demonstrate the universal and uniform processes of evolution and shall give especial attention to accounts of contemporaneous inventions and improvements in the arts and discoveries in the sciences; to reports of the repeal of obstructive or repressive laws and the enactment of those indicating progress and the march of co-operation; to notes showing the aspiring

struggles of labor and the monopolizing grasp of capital; to items marking advances toward greater intercommunication between nations and the spread of political, religious, social, and individual freedom everywhere on the earth."

In size the paper is somewhat smaller than *Harper's Weekly* and is composed of eight pages of three columns each. The news matter for this copy was collected in New York during the week ending August 22d, 1888. It would seem at first that a week were too short a time to show plainly the operation of the law of social evolution—that it would be almost as imperceptible as the movement of the hour hand on a clock, but the projector, a veteran journalist, has edited copies for many weeks for experiment and recreation, and though, of course, some weeks furnish events of far more seeming importance than others, the uniformity of the law is distinguishable in all. A bound volume at the end of the year would afford the most convincing evidence of the truth of the declarations made in the standing notes.

I quote a few of the items on the first page under the heading, "Features of the Week":

"Mr. Blaine's defence of trusts has created widespread agitation not only among Democrats but Republicans.

"The report of Pacific Railroad rascality has been pigeon-holed in the United States Senate (committee on printing). The Senate is still at work upon a tariff bill in the interests of Protection. The sympathy of the Senate with corporations and monopolies is largely due to the methods of electing senators in our legislatures. Of late years corporations have played an important part in the election of senators.

"Important witnesses have been examined by the congressional committee investigating the subject of immigration and contract labor.

"Capt. John Ericson announces that his sun motor (an account of which will be found under the head of inventions) is now completed. It is likely to create a revolution in the system of irrigation in desert places.

"Lieut. Younghusband has returned from a journey of 7000 miles across the Chinese empire. His route covered ground unknown to modern explorers.

"The experiments in jumping from balloons with parachutes continue to be successful at Coney Island. They are important in cultivating the idea of safety in aerial navigation.

"During the past year the assessors of the town of Port Jarvis, N. Y., have been taxing land values irrespective of improvements with a result, just announced, of the most satisfactory kind. The tax has become popular in that village and will be continued."

After the "Features of the Week" comes the news in detail, classified alphabetically, beginning with "agriculture." Let us read the item under the first heading:

"The forcing of vegetable growth by means of subterranean steam pipes is explained and advocated by a writer in last Sunday's *New York Sun*.

Here is an item under "Commercial and Financial":

"In Wall Street on Saturday there was a decided fall in stocks. It is a prevalent opinion among the older brokers in Wall street that it will never recover its lost prestige. Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago now have stock exchanges of their own and almost all the cities in the country have bucket shops. All these have made Wall street of less importance."

This is under "Educational":

"Professorships of Bacteriology have been established in the Berlin and Heidelberg universities. Also one of Embryology in the latter."

After the news is thus disposed of under appropriate headings, occupying three or four pages, there follow editorials, miscellany, book reviews, and light reading matter for the family circle, all having reference to the main design.

A curious prediction is prefixed to the items under the heading "Criminal," viz.:

"As the condition of society must become worse before it becomes better the editor predicts, not only from observing the tendencies of the Present but from records kept for a number of years of the embezzlements and defalcations of persons employed in financial capacities, [recently the *N. Y. Herald* has published such a record covering ten years] that there will be a greater number of such crimes committed during the coming years than ever before. It may be noted here that crimes against the person are decreasing while those against property are increasing alarmingly. As a matter of social evolution the latter crime must continue to increase almost to the point where all confidence between so-called "men of business" is destroyed and strict commercial integrity almost unknown. This point is not so far distant and in it lies the hope of early social reorganization. Hostile individual competition must surrender to harmonious corporations and trusts and these in some shape will be, eventually, all inclusive."

"Marriage and Divorce" stands at the head of several items showing the constantly growing discontent in the marital state, the increasing facility with which divorces are granted, and the tendency of legislation and the courts to moderate the penalties attached to infractions of the civil marriage code.

"Suicides" are divided into three classes: Those caused by want due to the present industrial system, those caused directly or indirectly by irrational laws, and those caused by (preventable) disease.

An editorial on the "Waning Power of the Press" points out that this loss of influence is chiefly due to the fact that newspapers are now conducted solely as business adventures and not in the interests of the public, or only so far as to hoodwink the public into thinking they are so conducted. Several instances are given where the leading New York papers have combined in assailing or urging certain measures of legislation, without the least effect in preventing or promoting such legislation [a recent notable instance was the concentration of some of the most powerful journals in the state against the re-election of Gov. Hill, and yet he ran ahead of his ticket.] In the days of Horace Greeley and Samuel Bowles, in whose sincerity, aside from commercial motives, the people believed, the influence of the press was far greater than now. The inference is that this influence must continue to diminish and that the newspaper of the future, instead of being the product of individual effort for gain, will be conducted in the interests of social evolution by qualified representatives of the people, and that the news and not editorial dicta will govern public opinion. (The significance of the recent combination of seven of the leading New York journals to increase the price of their Sunday editions, which combination, the news-dealers call a "newspaper trust," may here be noted.)

An editorial note finds fault with the single tax as "inadequate and not satisfying the rising aggressive spirit which demands a more thorough re-adjustment than the mere restriction of the land. That might answer if all could start equal, but what is to be done with the capital of which for centuries labor has been despoiled and which is now in the hands of the original despoilers or their heirs?"

These items are under the head of "Miscellany."

"According to the census taken in 1860 there were in the United States but nine cities containing a population of more than one hundred thousand each. Today there are nearly, if not quite thirty cities in this country with a population of more than one hundred thousand each."

"Photographing the great nebula in various parts of the heavens is now engaging astronomers. In its broad outlines the Nebular Hypothesis is daily gaining support from revelations made in this way."

But enough has been quoted to show the scope, object and need of such a journal. Though the works of Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, Haeckel, and other exponents of the law of Evolution, have, in multiplied cheap editions, been before the public for many years, and the existence of such a law is uncontested by any great living scientist, no newspaper has yet appeared conducted upon evolutionary lines.

As the *News of the Week* has not been copyrighted anyone is free to undertake its publication, and, sooner or later, may we not hope for the appearance of a journal of which this description is a mere suggestion?

DAVID EDWARD CRONIN.

New York City.

A LYRIC OF LABOR.

Let us raise up a tocsin of warning,
 We toilers on shore and on sea;
 Our song is the song of the morning—
 Our theme is the right to be free.
 The light of the sky has been breaking;
 We see what the clouds had in thrall;
 The tyrants that hold us are quaking—
 " *Upharsin* " is writ on the wall!

We toil, but we do not inherit;
 We build, but we do not possess;
 The flower of our skill and our merit
 Blooms only those others to bless;
 It is time now that Right cried a warning,
 That Justice should thunder a call;
 Our song is the song of the morning—
 " *Upharsin* " is writ on the wall.

Sweet freedom is ours, if we dare it—
 Demand it with adamant will;
 And the gold that we coin, we shall share it,
 The fruit of the forge and the mill:
 The creators of wealth cry a warning;
 A new hope shines forth for us all;
 Our song is the song of the morning—
 " *Upharsin* " is writ on the wall!

San Francisco, Cal.

VENIER VOLDO.

GENERAL WALKER AND "THE ATLANTIC."

When, in reviewing the origin and tendency of a popular movement, a writer begins with the words which form the opening paragraph of General Francis A. Walker's criticism of "Mr. Bellamy and the New Nationalist Party," we may naturally suppose that, in the opinion of that writer, the world has arrived at an era in which "men lose the capacity nicely to measure difficulties, if indeed they do not altogether fail to distinguish between what is possible and what is impossible." After reading the article we are confirmed in our surmise, and indeed feel perfectly willing to accept the essay itself as a demonstration of the sweeping proposition with which it has been introduced. The greater part of the review is devoted to the discussion of Mr. Bellamy and his book. We have nothing to do with that portion here, except in so far as it contains one or two deductions of a general import, respecting which a few words may not be out of place.

The idea of organizing an industrial army upon the plan of one enlisted for military objects is somewhat severely animadverted upon, because "the purpose of industry differs widely from the purpose of war." Without saying one word for or against the industrial system here foreshadowed, we are, by the character of the objection urged against it, brought face to face with the relation which exists between structure and design, between mechanism and result. Can the functions of any given organism be changed, without variation in the general plan upon which its structural elements have been disposed? There is no doubt that if any piece of complicated machinery be diverted from its original office to the performance of another and a different task, changes will have to be made in some minor details of its constitution. Its general form may, however, remain the same. General Walker himself will hardly tell us that, because a fleet of ships has been constructed and manned for purposes of war, it would be ridiculous to think of establishing a mercantile marine. These very ships themselves, indeed, manned and worked by the self-same crews, with discipline unchanged, could, with but a slight alteration in the items of their equipment, be converted from engines of destruction into agents of man's physical improvement and mental as well as moral advancement. It is well known that to-day many of the vessels which are employed in the carriage of passengers and merchandise from one

country to another, are so constructed that they can be used in war whenever the demand for their services shall arise.

This being so, what is to prevent the discipline of an army from being devoted to a good instead of to an evil purpose? Every soldier that exists is a reproach to the civilization of the nineteenth century. Until we can fully realize what brotherhood really means, until we can so understand the interdependence of the various portions and the different peoples of the world, as to see that no member—no nation—can be injured without entailing suffering and mischief upon the aggregate, our development will be but slow. But while the end of military discipline is an evil, the discipline itself is good, and it is surprising to find an intelligent man holding so derogatory an opinion of his fellows as to affirm that they will "cheerfully submit to the sternest discipline" when it is for slaughter and destruction that the self-sacrifice is demanded, but that for mutual help and sustenance, "in the conduct of their daily lives, in profound peace," they will inevitably resist any restriction of their personal liberty.

It is very easy to make the flippant remark that "the traditions of personal liberty, the aspirations for a still larger freedom, are too dear to be surrendered, even for the acute delights of an annual review, with triumphal arches, garlanded streets, banquets, and music." There is, however, in this matter something deeper and more serious than the writer of these words seems to comprehend. The subject is not to be disposed of with a sneer, however great an adept in the art the sneerer may be. In his aspirations for a still larger freedom, our critic will do well to bear in mind that the largest freedom is the acme of personal bondage. No greater latitude of conduct can be imagined than that which will permit every one to do as one pleases. But no more tyrannical condition of self-subordination can be conceived than is implied by this very proposition. The moment the freedom of but one is infringed, that moment the law of mutual rights is transgressed—the time has come to an end when everyone can do as one pleases. In order then that the law may be fulfilled it becomes necessary that the life of every one be so ordered as to keep continually in view the rights of every other; every man's pleasure must consist in making all the self-sacrifice which may be requisite to the maintenance of his neighbors' rights without a semblance of impairment.

Of the entire article, small as is the portion devoted to "the party to which the book has given rise," it contains one remark

which we can all heartily endorse. It is said that "in propositions of such weighty import it is impossible to use words too carefully." This is a doctrine worthy to be borne in mind even by him who propounds it. It may be commended to Gen. Walker's own attention, with the hope that he will act upon it when next he undertakes the discussion of an important matter.

But to pass on to the objections urged against the party, it will be found that the declaration of principles is condemned because in a condensed abstract all has not been said which might have been predicated of the subject with which that declaration deals. But a document of this kind is not a discourse, and it would utterly destroy its usefulness to make more than a reference to that with which it concerns itself. But our critic is extremely hard to please, for it is next discovered that too much has been said. Too much space is devoted to a diagnosis of the disease for which a cure is sought. When, however, an associated effort is made to discover a remedy for an acknowledged evil, it is but natural that those who thus unite their labors should state at some length what they believe to be the character of that evil. It is proper and advantageous that this should be done, for by this means only can be enlisted the intelligent service of others, whether by criticism or by direct assistance.

Not only does the disposition of the parts of the declaration come under condemnation, but a word therein is fixed upon for special denunciation. "Brutal" is not appropriately employed in its present connection. If, as Mr. Walker suggests, it were the law of the survival of the fittest that has been in operation in the development of mankind, then indeed would the epithet "brutal" be here misapplied. It is not, however, this law which has been at work; it is, as the declaration truly says, the "brutal law of the survival of the strongest and the most cunning." This is the law which plays its part among the brute creation, and there it may well be the fittest that survive. Thus it is the *brutal* law, and, inasmuch as man has some attributes which are not shared by the brutes, it cannot properly be called the "human principle." It is not the principle by means of which man's development has progressed, but rather that by which it has been retarded. It is in spite of this principle that mankind has developed "from purely animal conditions," into that which it is today; and a far greater capacity for a much higher civilization would have resulted if the law

of the survival of the fittest had been allowed an unrestricted operation. That the means by which the recognized evil is sought to be remedied are set forth in general terms only, shows that the compilers of the declaration were wiser than those who criticise their production on the ground of this method of statement. Had they yielded to the desire for details of the reconstruction which they sought to aid in bringing about, they would simply have resembled a gardener, who, when he planted a seed, should undertake to predict the exact form of the plant which would be produced. Nationalists have no thought of manufacturing a new society, they simply wish to aid in evolving from the present such conditions as will enable man the better to cultivate his higher nature. They see that there ever have been, and are now, agencies at work which retard the growth of man and prevent his attaining unto the highest that is within the compass of his natural capabilities. These agencies they would do their best to remove and thereby assist nature in her own work, and they fully recognize the fact that, with the details of the future, none but the foolish can suppose that they have aught to do.

For competition *per se*, Nationalists have no word of condemnation. For the present system of competition they find no word too strong for condemnation. They seek to raise it to a higher level. They perceive that the unequal struggle for the means of physical subsistence is at the root of the evils under which mankind is groaning, and they would therefore gladly see this kind of competition superseded by confederation, so that man, emancipated from the rule of the "brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning," may have full opportunity of entering upon a mental and moral competition, which will develop the best and noblest of his nature. Here is a field in which no favor need be asked, a contest in which the very highest individuality may be realized, a competition in which the law of the survival of the fittest will have full and unrestricted sway.

JOHN STORER COBB.

Boston, Mass.

THE BANQUET.

Ye sybarites! who linger at the board
 Where the rich cates are served, the choice wines poured,—
 Know ye the fields that bare the bread you break?
 Know ye the vineyards ravished for your sake?

Your bread is white and light; not so the hand
 Which wrung that substance from the stubborn land;
 Heavy, and hard, and callous to the touch,
 The hand that kept so little—gave so much!

Your wine is soft and sparkling; the romance
 Of sunny Spain is there, the smile of France—
 Thus to your taste! Drink deeper—ye shall find
 The purple dregs with drops of toil imbrined.

Whose toil? Not yours who sit and sup at ease,
 But his whose life is ever on the lees,
 Whose cup is but a black and bitter brew—
 All he has left, good friends, from serving you!

Ah, take your fill—but know that, while ye feed,
 The harvest fields are hungry from your greed!
 The vineyards drain anew their crimson flood,
 Thirsting, that ye may banquet on their blood.

Take ye your fill—but quickly! for the dawn
 Discrowns your revels—ay, the feast is gone!
 Go forth, and with the toilers bear your part,
 Serving and served again with equal heart.

IDA WHIPPLE BENHAM.

Mystic Bridge, Conn.

THE NATIONALIST MAGAZINE,
77 Boylston Street,
BOSTON, MASS.

All communications of a literary nature should be directed simply Editor, THE NATIONALIST, 77 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. All communications relating to subscriptions, advertisements, etc., to the Business Manager, same address.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

GOOD NEWS ABOUT BELLAMY.

It gives the present editor-in-chief of this magazine very great pleasure to announce to the hourly increasing army of thoughtful people who read this magazine (and clamor if they happen to miss a number through any fault in our office or in the U. S. post office) the good news that the editor-in-chief for the ensuing year, beginning May 1, 1890, will be Edward Bellamy.

ASSISTANT EDITORS.

Mr. Bellamy will have as assistants the same staff which have so faithfully seconded the present holder of this office, namely, Cyrus F. Willard of the Boston Globe, known for years in labor circles, Sylvester Baxter of the Boston Herald, a journalist and magazintst of long experience, and John Foster Biscoe, a member of the Boston Bar. To this staff will be added, John Storer Cobb, also a member of the Bar in several states of this Union and formerly editor of a Jewish Magazine, The New Era, and Capt. Edward S. Huntington formerly of the United States Army, with probably several other men and women of national reputation.

A NECESSARY SEQUENCE.

It must be evident from the preceding paragraphs to all who take an interest in social questions that this magazine will continue to grow in value with every month and that the high standard of philosophic candor in discussion and purity in literary quality, with which it started, will not be lowered, but lifted. This, anyway, is a part of our duty to the people as a whole and to our subscribers as individuals.

OUR SUBSCRIBERS' DUTY.

It seems to us, likewise, that our subscribers owe a duty in return, if they believe in our doctrines and appreciate our efforts to spread them; and that duty is, to persuade every friend who can afford it not merely to subscribe in person to this magazine but to persuade others the same. If this be done, the circula-

tion will be doubled four times over before next Christmas. The circulation now is more than encouraging, not merely in its quality, but its amount. We shall print of this number nearly ten thousand copies. Our first edition is seven thousand. Quite a difference from last May, when we started with 2,000, and doubted whether we could afford to stereotype it. But we had faith in the American people and our faith has been proven true by the fact that in the past ten months 90,000 copies of this magazine have been circulated. We appeal to our subscribers, therefore, with perfect confidence to do the duty which we thus take the liberty to point out.

LAURENCE GRONLUND'S NEW BOOK.

We begin in this number the serial publication of Gronlund's new book, "Our Destiny, the Influence of Nationalism on Morals and Religion." We have had the entire copy of this work in hand for some time, but it has been necessary to take the precaution against loss of getting a type-written duplicate and the distinguished author has been making several additions and improvements upon his first draft. To those who have read "The Co-operative Commonwealth," and "Ca Ira, or Danton in the French Revolution," Laurence Gronlund needs no introduction. Those who have not we advise to do so as soon as possible and to follow from month to month in this magazine his latest and, according to his own belief, his best contribution to economic literature.

OUR RUSSIAN NOVEL.

Our Russian Novel, "For the Sake of the People," two instalments of which have appeared, is now discontinued. It was one of the mistakes of the present editor that he began to publish this novel before the entire copy was in hand. In lieu thereof we print this month a translation from a distinguished Norwegian author which was made expressly for this magazine. That the subtlety of its satire and the deftness of its literary touch will be appreciated by our readers, we have little doubt. Yet that is not the chief point of this foreign picture, for the like can be found, it is sad to admit, in every town of 30,000 inhabitants in this great nation, as well as in the big cities, those congested centres of population, pregnant with revolution as much more terrible than the French as our engines of destruction are superior to those of the last century.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S SCHEME.

It is not surprising that we working men view, with distrust, any scheme for the amelioration of our condition which emanates from the imperial throne of Germany. It seems to us that any plan for a reorganization of the relations between capital and labor must begin within and work outwards, to meet with any chances of success. The occupant of a throne is upon too high a pedestal to obtain any accurate view of the condition of the humble workers on whose shoulders his throne is sustained. No

wonder any promised concessions from such a quarter are regarded as nothing but "a sop to Cerberus." Yet there is a hopeful side to the question thus presented. The fact that the hand-workers have already made themselves so great a social force as to render their claims worthy of consideration at the pinnacle of the social fabric, must be a source of rejoicing to all who are seriously working towards a solution of the social problem; and the promise of co-operation on the part of so many European governments is gratifying to all who regard the world-embracing principles of Nationalism as a necessary factor of that solution.

A NATIONAL ARBITRATION COMMISSION.

The extent to which the social condition of mankind is attracting attention in high quarters is somewhat remarkable, and will be viewed with pleasure, disapprobation, or indifference, according to one's individual standpoint. The ruling powers seem to have entered upon a period of emulation in the manifestation of their interest in the condition of the working man. For instance, even our national Congress appears unwilling to be out-run in the race of devising means for settling the disputes which are more and more frequently arising between employer and employee. A bill has been introduced which has for its object the creation of a Commission of Arbitration, in matters of strikes and lock-outs. So far, so good; but as far as we can learn the workers are not to have any voice in the selection of the members of the commission. It is open for this reason to great doubt whether that body, if the bill should become law, will commend itself to the workers' confidence. Would it not therefore be well, at the present time, to remind our legislators by petitions from organized bodies of labor that a very important element of success has been omitted from their scheme, and to advise them before too late, to remedy this deficiency?

BEGINNING TO TELL.

Some early opponents accused us of being dreamers and some impatient followers have clamored for us to get down from our preaching perches to practical work. We point such critics to our work in Chicago and to the battle we are now waging in behalf of the people with the great corporations that seem to be entrenched in our gilt-domed State House. We are not in a hurry. We are here to stay. We know that it may take several years to rid Massachusetts of even one corporate incubus. But our blows, given last year in behalf of the town of Danvers, are beginning to tell. This is what the *Boston Globe*, of March 6, remarks editorially: "Speaker Barrett joins those socialists who are urging that towns and cities should have the right to manufacture and distribute gas, just as they distribute water. The speaker's own town in particular desires this privilege. The idea is a mighty good one, if it does wear the National label."

ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

J. FOSTER BISCOE, EDITOR.

Nationalism must be a plant of sturdy growth when, within little more than a year from its first appearance, the editor of the *North American Review* can write of it, "After the Tariff and the Speakership, what are the two subjects uppermost in the public mind? Probably Nationalism and electric lighting." A happily suggestive combination, the most subtle force and the most powerful agent for developing a higher social order are here combined. Each, because it bears so great a blessing to man, carries in its wrong use as great peril. Those who would banish electric lighting because of the attendant dangers to life and property are at one with those who condemn Nationalism because the misuse of its principles would imperil our freedom and individuality. But banishment is not the question in either case. Electric lighting and Nationalism are here to stay. The wise man will address himself to the problem, how to use them so as to get the best results with the minimum of harm.

Nationalism is a plant of sturdy growth because it is indigenous and because it has long been deeply rooted in our institutions. The New England township, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution foreshadowed its coming. "Unconscious Nationalism in our American system of government," Mason A. Green calls it, in an article in the *New Englander* and *Yale Review* for February.

"The first proposition of Nationalism of the "Looking Backward" order amounts to a rescript of our American belief that government is of the people, for the people, and by the people—the union of the masses for the benefit of the masses. The second proposition of the new school means the 'eventual nationalization of industry and the placing of the livelihood of the people under the national guaranty.' But if the State is to guarantee a livelihood to all, it must assume the function of superintending the preparation and training for the trades and professions. The guaranty of livelihood must mean the guaranty of fitness to gain a livelihood. And this, curiously enough, is precisely what the great majority of our towns, cities, and states have been inclining toward these many years. The training of our children has been gradually taken from the rural dominie and private tutor and placed in the hands of persons supported out of the public treasury. Elementary education is first made free and then compulsory. The incidental hardship of such a fiat is being mitigated in various ways. Massachusetts goes into the open market and buys all the text books required for the public schools. Wisconsin furnishes text books at cost. California hires educated men to write or compile text books, establishes a publishing house, and manufactures them for the children. By this means she takes at least one branch of trade from the system of free competition. So far as this goes it is in principle the nationalization of industry, and the scheme to go still further and feed the children, as is proposed in Chicago, and perhaps clothe them, is the necessary logic of a compulsory system of education. It is a significant fact, also, that the public school system is broadening out so as to include free tuition and practice in the trades. The industrial department of public instruction is indeed in its infancy, but industrial education, supported out of the public funds, is spreading gradually and systematically."

This growing demand for a united helpfulness towards the members of our common humanity is England's too.

"How many opportunities are there for poor boys and girls, and even for boys and girls not so very poor, to rise from school to school, and from school to college, and in this way attain such a development of their natural powers as shall enable them to the full extent of their capacity to serve their country and permanently enrich the common weal? First of all we require an adequate supply of public secondary schools. Here voluntarism will prove very little more efficient than it was found to be for the supply of our elementary schools. In this case also we must look finally to the State. And why should we not? 'Government,' says Burke, 'is a contrivance of human wisdom to supply human wants.' Of course, Burke never meant that the State is a kind of Whitley, a universal and indiscriminate provider to save the individual trouble; but when individual

effort signally fails to provide something on which the prosperity, it may be even the stability, of the State depends, then the State must look to it. We have not the schools; we cannot get them for ourselves; we must have them. This is the summing up of the case."

"There are, moreover, advantages in the State connection outside the region of necessity. It would give to the schools that public stamp which is, speaking broadly, a primary requisite for the implantation and growth of the public school spirit. To make secondary education a national concern would be to give the offspring of the middle classes, in the words of the eminent educationalist, Matthew Arnold, great, honorable, public institutions for their nurture; institutions conveying to the spirit, at the time of life when the spirit is most penetrable, the salutary influences of greatness, honor and nationality—influences which expand the soul, liberalize the mind, dignify the character." Middle class education. John Massie, *Westminster Review*, February.

A splendid exposition of the principle of municipal action is that of the City of Glasgow, where, beside the ordinary municipal functions, the city provides model tenement and lodging houses, public baths, gas, street railways, water works, municipal slaughter houses, wholesale marts for produce, meat, animals and fish. "The numerous undertakings of the municipality, far from imposing heavier burdens upon the rate-payers, promise in the years to come to yield an aggregate net income of growing proportions, to the relief of direct taxation. Glasgow has shown that a broad, bold, and enlightened policy as regards all things pertaining to the health, comfort, and advancement of the masses of the citizens may be compatible with sound economy and perfect solvency." Glasgow, A Municipal Study. Albert Shaw, *Century* for March.

Laissez-faire kicks hard at this, but it will find that it is kicking itself. Political economists have a hard time of it. They are born to die. "I well remember, when, as a young man, I was under examination in a committee of the House of Commons on the subject of strikes, the ineffable air of complacent superiority and pity with which one member quoted some not very relevant aphorism from the wealth of nations and crushed me with the remark, 'Then you do not agree with Adam Smith in this view?' As years rolled on—*Le Roi est mort—vive le Roi*—Mill was firmly enthroned in Adam Smith's place, and I encountered the supercilious reply; 'Ah, that is an exploded idea. I fear you have not studied what Mill has written on the subject.' Still later, the Papal infallibility of Mill was denied, and an appeal to his authority has been answered; 'Yes, yes; but Mill's view is not adopted by the 'Third School of Economists.' And now many of the doctrines of the Third School of Economists are refuted by that, which, for want of a better definition, I must term the 'Fourth School,' led by the able treatise of Prof. Simpson, a work which stands pre-eminent for its close and logical reasoning, and is remarkable for its modesty, and for the absence of that dogmatic intolerance which characterises the views of the majority of economists." Sir G. Molesworth on *Political Economy* in its relation to strikes.—*National Review*, February.

And now the economist, General Walker, has been kicking lately. This is not the place to examine carefully how badly he has bruised himself. Mr. Bellamy has shown him one spot at least.

General Walker: "But it was no Bellamy who said that in the sweat of their brows should men eat bread."

Mr. Bellamy: "Quite right, General. All Bellamy said was that they should not eat their bread in the sweat of other people's brows."

"It might be well for critics to remember the fact that nothing else contributes so materially to the growth of a reform movement, as a certain kind of opposition; Nationalism has been highly favored in this respect, and its rapid growth is due somewhat to this cause. Its opponents cannot confer a greater favor than to continue their variegated assaults upon this 'social dream;' but if they should put themselves in a way to get the sentiments of the people from every portion of this broad country they would pause long enough to ask themselves seriously if it were not possible that it might prove something more than a dream." H. R. Legate.—*Boston Commonwealth*.

Up-Van Winkle who wakes to find that the world has moved since he has been sleeping is very much hurt thereat and writes in the *Edinburgh Review*, January, "It is

astonishing to find men of education, who might have been expected, from their experience and training, to take a larger view, proposing remedies which have been ruthlessly exposed any time these fifty years; a striking proof of the small educational results secured by the addition to available information! State regulation of labor is urged to-day, as if Adam Smith had never lived and written; a generous administration of poor relief finds its advocate, in spite of the timely republication of the reports of the Commissioners of 1834; State-aided emigration is still a common-places among panaceas, as though Malthus' great work were buried with him in the tomb." We have a dim recollection that funeral obsequies were performed over "Malthus' great work" some years ago.

"Nationalism is more of a religion than a policy. It declares that each man is his brother's keeper, and draws its party lines at neither race, color, condition nor sex. To become a Nationalist one has but to be an American citizen, and a lover of humanity."—*Iowa Tribune*.

"The progress of civilization has been through association to produce greater liberty and responsibility. The Nationalists believe the extension of this principle of association will continue to produce greater liberty and responsibility on the part of the individual, and thus tend to the perfect individuality of the citizen. To accomplish this, they have no fixed plan. No plan wrought out by poet, novelist, or reformer, is thought to be the plan which the future years will evolve; but the principle involved in all these schemes, the principle operating in all the imperfect methods of to-day, must ultimately organize itself in some form of a State where the power now centralized in parties, capital, monopolies, will be thoroughly decentralized and diffused through all the nation."—*H. H. Brown, Christian Register*.

The House of Bishops in England is divided against itself as to the work of Christianity in society. The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury recommends the clergy to study such books as Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," Doctor Alfred Russell Wallace's "Land Nationalization," and Edward Bellamy's novel, "Looking Backward." While on the other hand the Bishop of Peterborough, in an article entitled "The State and the Sermon on the Mount," in the *Fortnightly Review*, January, declares that he believes that the proper place for him who holds that the State can enforce the altruism of Christ's teachings is in a lunatic asylum. Other assailants say that individuals obey the spirit of Christ's teachings, if not the letter; why should not the State do likewise? To this also the Bishop answers, Nay.

But one American clergyman knows where he stands; and does not hesitate to declare his convictions. Dr. Lyman Abbott, in a speech at the Henry George banquet in New York, said: "The great problem of political economy in the past has been how to accumulate wealth. The great problem of political economy in the future is, how to distribute wealth. Not by a rough and rash method of distribution, not by a divide and a divide again, not by flinging it out as coppers are flung to scrambling beggars in the street, but by systems of industry from bottom to top and from root to utmost branch on broad and democrat principles."

"We do not believe—at least I do not—that government is a necessary evil and the less we have of it the better. We have no wish to go back to a paternal government; we certainly have no wish to go back of that to the barbarism of individualism, but we do look forward to a fraternal government in which the people bodied together in one great brotherhood shall have learned not to have things done for them by a king or an aristocracy, but to do in their common wisdom, by their common will, and with their common industry—to do the things that are for their common well-being."

"So long as there are women in this city who buy their food only by selling their womanhood, so long as there are men in the rich coal fields of Illinois that must stand without, shivering at the door with pick in hand and muscle ready for work, while wealth locks the coal field up against them and against a shivering population; so long as in the iron fields of Pennsylvania men are working their twelve hours a day, with no time even to court their wives or kiss their children, so long my hand and my heart are enlisted in any and every movement that gives fair promise for the emancipation of man by the emancipation of industry."

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

CYRUS F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

CALIFORNIA: SAN FRANCISCO. This Club called a State convention of delegates from all regularly organized Nationalist Clubs in the State to meet March 5, at San Francisco. Each Club having a constitution and by-laws substantially similar to those of the Boston Club is entitled to representation upon the basis of one delegate for each 25 members. The convention is to consider: 1—Platform; 2—State Organization of the Party; 3—Methods of assisting a National Organization; 4—The Systemization of local club work; 5—Resolutions; 6—The Propaganda in and further organization of the State; 7—Methods of work; Referendum, Initiative, Imperative Mandate; 8—Election of State Party Officers; 9—The date of the Next Convention; 10—Consideration of Methods of Nominations, primaries and conventions; 11—The Revenue of the Party.

Immense meetings are held in this city in the Metropolitan Temple, and flowers and flags are displayed in abundance. The music is furnished by some of San Francisco's most prominent artists.

Rev. Samuel Freuder has taken up the Nationalist cause to that extent that he has given up his synagogue, and is devoting himself to preaching to both Jew and Gentile the gospel of Nationalism.

LOS ANGELES. Club No. 1 is to present resolutions to the proper authorities protesting against the imposition of set fees for the administration of justice, and voicing the sentiment that justice should be free as air.

At the executive meeting of the Club Messrs. Vinette and Owen were instructed to draw up and get printed a petition in favor of the Australian Ballot Bill, and also a petition to the City Council praying them to abstain from the further granting of franchises to individuals and urging them to take all such steps as may from time to time be possible to bring all affairs that concern the municipality under the control of the municipality.

Club No. 4 is principally a social club, at which entertainments, impersonations, singing, etc., are given, all tending in the direction of Nationalism.

CROMPTON. The Club is proposing to establish a library and reading-room, and has already between 150 and 200 volumes promised. The Club is also setting quite an agitation afoot among the farmers to induce them to start a co-operative creamery, a class of enterprise greatly needed throughout this section.

CARMENTA. A Club has been formed in this town.

SUMMERLAND. Mrs. Anna F. Smith reports having organized a Club of 20 members here. Mrs. Smith also reports that she addressed the Social Science Club of Santa Barbara on the 10th inst. She lectures there next Sunday on "Nationalism and Trusts."

VENTURA. The organization of this club was completed the 13th of January, with the following list of officers: President, J. Haynes; Vice-Presidents, T. B. Shepard and T. H. Daly; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Irving Barnard; Corresponding Secretary, J. A. Shaw; Treasurer, J. A. Corey; Librarian, Miss Myrtle Shepard; and the following executive committee: Mr. Irving Barnard, Mrs. M. E. Bellah, Mrs. R. C. Braky and John McEllery.

SANTA CRUZ. A Nationalist club has organized at this place with W. C. Lewis, P. O. Drawer E., as Secretary. He desires copies of the constitution and by-laws of the different clubs in the country, as well as information in regard to working, which members may have to give.

IOWA: FORT DODGE. Venier Voldo of California, who lectured before the Lehigh Club on January 11th, also lectured in this place on the 14th, and was principally instrumental in forming a club which starts in with fourteen members. The following officers were elected: President, C. H. Payne; Vice-President, Hon. Frederick Hess; Secretary, Rev. H. R. Bradshaw; Treasurer, R. P. Bell. The membership of the club is composed of some of the best people in the town, and the club has a fine outlook for the future.

DES MOINES. This club is small and formed among a few for the purpose of study more than anything else. It has been the habit of a few friends to meet at the house of Mrs. Gillette every Sunday evening and discuss matters of interest in an informal manner. Nearly a year ago they became interested in the theories contained in *Looking Backward*, and hearing of the Boston Club, concluded to form a club in this city. F. M. Gilbert, President of Gilbert Starch Co. is President of this club. He is now planning to take some central room in the city. The interest is so great here that it is expected that when the first public meeting is held there will be many new members. The primary aim of the club heretofore has been to educate themselves that they might intelligently talk these ideas to all whom they may meet; so, much time has been spent in reading and discussing papers, etc., under the general term of Nationalism. Members of the club have been in correspondence with many people throughout the state, and in consequence many clubs are being formed. The *Iowa Tribune*, whose office is located in this city, circulates among a large class of people devoted to this movement. Through this paper hundreds of copies of *Looking Backward* have been sold from Texas to California, and Maine to Louisiana, a large number going to California. The Farmers Alliance met in this city a few weeks ago and several of their most prominent men, after conversing with Nationalists from this city, went home to form Nationalist clubs in their neighborhood: and so the work of education goes on.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. The item of most interest since my last report is the banquet to celebrate the anniversary of the formation of our club. It was held on the 12th instant, at the St. James hotel, and about ninety persons, ladies and gentlemen, were present. Our Club numbers now about one hundred. It was a reunion of such a pleasant character that every Nationalist felt that the principles they favor were being practically realized in a small way. The tone of the speeches was earnest and thoughtful, and many encouraging words were said. The dining hall was draped with the American flag, indicating the patriotic sentiment of the occasion, and one of the speakers, Mr. Brackett, made fitting allusion to the fact, and moved a vote of thanks for its presence. No regular toasts were prepared, but each speaker was free to choose his subject, and it is unnecessary to say that each did his part well. The local press gave very friendly notices of the banquet.

At our last meeting, an important matter was proposed by our President, Mr. W. W. Wright. It was to memorialize Congress for a law compelling the different corporations in this city and District who are serving the people in any capacity, in furnishing gas, electric lighting, transportation and contributing in any other manner to the wants of the people, to make detailed statements yearly, showing their capital stock, the amount paid in and by whom, amount of earnings and expenses, amount paid for labor, and also the net earnings; these statements to be sworn by the officers of the corporation. By this means the people can learn what they are paying, and also what they are getting for it.

MICHIGAN: LANSING. The Nationalist Club holds meetings every Friday. They are largely attended and original and selected articles bearing upon the question of co-operation are read. A member of the Club recently had an interview with the Governor of the State, which was published in the *Lansing Republican*. Governor Luce was speaking of the bushels of letters which he was receiving from the farmers, asking how their condition would be changed, and he expressed the opinion that the tariff had nothing to do with the great trusts that are the burden of the country at present. The caller said:

"Well, Governor, you will have to join the Bellamyites and become a Nationalist."

"Do you think so? Well, I believe I am, with one exception, as conservative a man as there is in Lansing; but I tell you I believe that the time will come when society will exist about as outlined in that book."

"Do you really think so, Governor?"

"Yes; I think the great corporations and trusts will force the people to it."

He will probably be the next U. S. Senator from this State and is considered one of the leading men of the country.

MISSOURI: ST. LOUIS. On Jan. 5th, there was founded in this city, the first Nationalist Club. Although the weather was very bad the meeting was attended by 25 persons.

After short discussions the "Declarations of Principles" was signed by the following: C. Rucker, A. Longley, Sam'l Kurz, S. Seiler, G. H. Scheel, Joseph Scheidler, John F. Bergherm, George G. Ward, Dr. Hugo Summa, Wm. E. Ulrich, Fred Grisler, Chas. J. Zuppert. After organizing pro tem the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, John F. Bergherm; Vice-President, A. Longley; Librarian, S. Seiler; Secretary, G. H. Scheel; Treasurer, Dr. Hugo Summa. A committee was appointed to draft a Constitution to be adopted at the next meeting. A large hall centrally located has been secured and meetings will be held every Sunday. Meetings will be opened with organ or piano music followed by an address on Nationalism. The members are all enthusiastic and true workers in the cause in which they have enlisted—"The Nationalization of Industry and the Promotion of the Brotherhood of Humanity."

KANSAS CITY. At the last meeting of this club, David P. Page was elected Secretary in place of H. W. Allen, resigned. The club is composed of good Nationalists in the fullest sense of the word, and they expect soon to have a very large club.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN. Nationalist Club No. 2, of Brooklyn, was formed Monday evening, Feb. 10th. The meeting was held at Eureka Hall, 378 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, E. D. Mr. J. B. Wakeman and Mr. H. H. Brown addressed the assemblage. Eighteen subscribed themselves as members. A fair audience was in attendance. Our next meeting will be held Feb. 24th, at 8 P. M., at above hall. Our Secretary is H. Newman, care of W. Winham, 291 South First street, Brooklyn, E. D. The above named will act as temporary Secretary until we elect permanent officers and adopt by-laws and constitution.

NEW YORK CITY. Club No. 1. Within the city there is no new club, but we are alive, as you will see. A most important mass meeting was held here on the school question in which we Nationalists took our full share. Bellamy was to be here and speak, but late on the 11th we learned he was too sick to come. He sent a letter which was read at the meeting on the 12th, which was received with all the wild applause it deserved. The address which the school conference has prepared is a valuable document and will be printed in pamphlet form together with Bellamy's address. We are pushing along and fanning two important issues: Municipal rapid transit and proper school laws which implies better, in fact, proper factory legislation with regard to children. The papers, following their policy of silence, give little space to either. But both, the rapid transit affair at Washington Heights, and the school mass meeting were completely successful.

Nationalist Club No. 2 has its headquarters at Nationalist Hall, 142d street and Alexander Avenue. The Club has been the tenant of this hall since December 1st, 1889. The Club has not "lately held a large meeting," but have given six public "lectures;" most of them were well attended. The lecturers were Mr. J. B. Wakeman, Mr. H. H. Brown of Brooklyn, Mr. Hugh O. Pentecost and the Rev. Dr. Bliss of Boston. On the 13th of this month we held an entertainment, the hall being so crowded that hundreds of friends were turned away unable to gain admission. We are now collecting advertisements for the *North New York Nationalist*, of which we will distribute 5000 copies a week on the streets. The plan is copied from our friends in Los Angeles. We hope to increase our membership by this agitation and thereby lessen the burden of the present membership.

Nationalist Club No. 4 is one of the smallest in numbers, but a couple of its members have made it one of the most aggressive and practical Clubs in New York City. Club No. 4 was represented at the Boston Conference December 14, by R. Schivalls. In the last week of December Edward J. Nieuwland, Sr., published *The Forerunner*, advocating a railroad from Kings Bridge to the Battery. It was followed on January 7 and 14 by debates between representative Monopolists and Nationalists in the Athenæum, W. 155th street, near 10th Avenue. Jay Gould was represented by Lawson N. Fuller. Nationalists De Leon, Wakeman, Thomas and Nieuwland advocated railroads without the issue of bonds or shares, and proved that private railroads in New York City could carry passengers for 2 1-2 cents, while now 5 cents is charged. Railroad fares need be

only 1-2 or 2 cents, taking into calculation the enormous profits of the Elevated Manhattan News Co. The debate was a decided success. About 1000 people attended the meeting. The Railroad Committee in Albany, on February 11, gave a joint hearing on the rapid transit bills. Representatives of various franchise-hunting companies were present to push their projects. If the County Committee of the Nationalists in New York City was as practical as they should be, and if the Nationalists followed up their victory at the Athenæum debate, it would have resolved to hold a special meeting on this subject, propose their plan to the Railroad Committee in Albany, and force the Assembly, Senate and Governor to show their hand.

NEW ZEALAND. There is a prospect of Nationalist Clubs being formed in this far away section of the globe. Eight hours is the recognized working day. Municipal control of gas and largely of trainways prevails, with State-owned railroads and the Federation of Labor bodies is said to be much more complete than in America. The sentiment of land Nationalization is very strong. Rev. Rutherford Weddell, a Presbyterian minister at Dunedin, who is also a Christian Socialist, has been appointed a member of the recently organized Royal Labor Commission. He writes hopefully of the inevitable spread of our ideas in that colony.

OHIO: COLUMBUS. Dr. Williams is the second minister in Columbus who has attacked Nationalism. Dr. Washington Gladden having been the first.

Following Dr. Gladden's attack Nationalist Club No. 2 was organized here, and we confidentially expect like results to follow the efforts of Dr. Williams.

The Columbus newspapers are without exception friendly towards the movement, and honestly attempt to present our views correctly to the public.

A voluntary movement of some of the most respected citizens resulted in a meeting in Prof. Hudson's Commercial College on the evening of January 21st, for the purpose of forming a second Nationalist Club of this city. L. H. Webster of Club number one, delivered a short talk on the Cardinal Principles of Nationalism by request and answered many questions. A preliminary organization was formed which will be made permanent in all probability. The Columbus Club number one approved the idea of not calling a convention until half the states are represented by the club.

CLEVELAND. The club in this city has adopted the name of the Franklin Club of Nationalists, and has now been organized for over a year. It has been actively engaged in spreading the ideas of Nationalism during that time, and its members hope soon to accomplish some practical results. The Secretary is W. Shurtleff.

OREGON: CORVALLIS. A club was formed in this city January 22d with a large membership. The following named gentlemen were elected officers: President, Mr. C. C. Hogue; Vice-President, Prof. E. R. Lake; Secretary, C. T. Wardlaw; Treasurer, O. G. Hopkins; Corresponding Secretary, F. J. deNeven. It was thought best to conform as closely as possible to the constitution and by-laws of the Nationalist Club of Boston.

PENNSYLVANIA: PHILADELPHIA. Rev. Morrison I. Swift, who delivered an address before the Nationalist Club of Oakland, Cal., is now engaged in establishing a family guild in Philadelphia, which is an institution of the Episcopal Church. It is devoted to educating the poorer class of the population, by evening classes on all subjects. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the ideas which are given on economic subjects, are rather more radical than those generally found in such places. In a recent letter he speaks very highly of the compulsory education plan of the Nationalists.

WASHINGTON: NORTH YAKIMA. North Yakima reaches across the continent and desires to be enrolled with the great movement of "Nationalism." We organized Saturday, Feb. 15th, and elected as President, Wm. Lee, and Secretary, J. H. Needham. Although few in members, we are strong in the hope of good time coming.

A CLEAR CONSCIENCE.

BY ALEXANDER KIELLAND.

(Translated for the Nationalist from the Norwegian by F. B. Arngrimsson.)

A small handsome carriage drawn by fat sleek horses stopped at the gate in front of Attorney Abel's residence. On the harness was no ornament of silver or other metal; everything was dark and sombre. The varnish on the carriage was of a dark greenish tinge, and the cushions of an appropriate dusty-grey. It was only on close examination one observed they were covered with the costliest silk. The coachman looked like an English clergyman in a black tight-buttoned coat with a low stand-up collar and a white neck-tie.

Lady Warden who was alone in the carriage now leaned forward, took hold of the handle, stepped out slowly, gathered up her trailing dress and closed the carriage door carefully. Why the coachman did not dismount and assist her was inexplicable, for the team was not at all likely to run away. But when anyone scanned that imperturbable face with its worthy grey whiskers, one would soon be convinced that he was a man who knew his business and never neglected his duty.

Lady Warden walked through the little garden in front of the house and entered the front room. The door of the adjoining chamber stood open and there sat the lady of the house, beside a large table covered with heaps of finery and copies of the latest fashion journal open.

"Ah, how opportunely you arrive, dear Emilie," exclaimed Lady Abel. "I am quite in despair about my milliner. She can't find anything new, and here I am looking for something in the journal. Take off your shawl, dear, and come and help me; it's a walking dress I want."

"I fear I cannot be of much assistance to you in finding ornaments," replied Lady Warden.

The good Lady Abel looked up in surprise. There was something so disquieting in the tone, and she had a great respect for her rich friend.

"You surely recollect, do you not," continued Lady Warden, "I told you that my husband had promised me—I mean—requested me to order a new silk dress for myself?"

"At Madame Labiche's? Yes, of course I do," interrupted Lady Abel; "and now, I suppose, you are on the way to her. Oh, take me along; it is such fun."

"I am not going to Madame Labiche's," replied Lady Warden almost solemnly.

"But my—Why not?" asked her friend, her brown eyes dilating with wonder.

"Well, I will tell you," replied Lady Warden. "I do not think we can with a *clear conscience* spend so much money on unnecessary finery, when we know that in the outskirts of the city, this very city, there are hundreds of people suffering hunger—yes, literally, hunger."

"Yes—but," objected Lady Abel and cast an uncertain glance over the table, "that is the way things are in this world; we know of course that inequality——"

"We ought to be on our guard against increasing that inequality, and do what we can to make things more equal," interrupted Lady Warden, looking down at the dress material and other things on the table.

"O, it is only alpaca," pleaded Lady Abel, believing she observed a slight reproach in her friend's looks.

"Good heavens! Caroline," exclaimed Lady Warden; "you do not suppose I am lecturing you? This is a matter which each one must decide for oneself and according to conscience."

The conversation dragged on a while longer; then Lady Warden told her friend that it was her intention to drive out into the worst of the city suburbs so that she might, with her own eyes, satisfy herself as to the real condition of the poor. Yesterday she had read the yearly report of a private philanthropical society of which her husband was a member. She had purposely avoided seeking information from the police and the

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charity organizations; for it was her settled purpose to visit the poor at their very houses, learn to know them personally, and then reach them a helping hand. The ladies parted a little less affectionately than usual. They were both in a serious mood. Lady Abel remained in the front room; she felt no inclination to go on with her dress again, although the goods were very pretty indeed. She listened to the sound of the carriage as it rolled away over the smooth pavement through the villa district.

"What a kind heart Emilie has!" she sighed.

Nothing was less natural to the good Lady Abel than envy, and yet it was with a feeling of that kind she looked after the light carriage. But whether she envied her friend because of her kindness or because of her carriage, would not be easy to decide.

The coachman received his orders without showing the slightest surprise, and silently drove on further and further, into the queerest streets in the district of the poor, with as composed a countenance as if he was driving to a fashionable ball. At last he was bidden to stop, and none too soon, for the street had grown constantly narrower and now it seemed as if the fat horses and the fine carriage would stick fast as a cork in the neck of a bottle. The imperturbable showed, however, not the slightest anxiety although the situation was almost desperate, and a local wit sticking his head out of a garret window told him it would be easier to take the team out dead than alive.

Lady Warden stepped forth and turned into a narrow street. She indeed sought the worst. In one doorway stood a half-grown girl. "Do very poor people reside in this house?" asked Lady Warden.

The girl laughed and said something as she swept close past Lady Warden into the narrow lane. What the girl said Lady Warden did not understand, but got the idea that it was something not very decent. She entered the first room she came to. She had often heard how the poor never kept their houses properly ventilated, and was not surprised to find that it was the case here; but, now that she herself experienced breathing a stifling atmosphere, she was in a few minutes so weakened that she was fain to throw herself on a bench by the door. But there was something in the movement with which the woman of the house swept the clothes off the bench down on the floor, and in the smile with which she invited the lady to take a seat,—something which indicated that the poor woman had seen better days, though her movements were more practical than graceful. Perhaps, she was a pearl fallen to the dust. As Lady Warden glanced at her own long grey dress spreading over the dark floor, it occurred to her that she herself looked like a pearl fallen in the dust.

The conversation began and was carried on as such conversations usually are. If each woman had kept to her own language and train of thought, neither would have understood the other. But, as the poor always understand the rich far better than the rich understand the poor, so the former have adopted a language of their own which experience has taught them to use when they need to be understood, that is, so understood that the rich shall feel a desire to help. Nearer than this the two never approach. This language the poor woman knew to perfection, and Lady Warden soon had an outline of her wretched existence. She had two children; a boy of about four, who lay on the floor, and a suckling infant. Lady Warden looked at the pale little thing, but could not understand that it was already thirteen months old. At home she had a prodigy only seven months old, but twice as big.

"You must give something strengthening to the child," she said, thinking the while of various kinds of prepared food for children.

At the sound of the words "something strengthening" there arose from the bed of straw a rough-looking head with hollow eyes, and a towel tied about the forehead. Lady Warden was frightened. "Your husband?" she inquired.

"Yes, my husband," replied the other. "He has not gone to work to-day because he has such a toothache."

Lady Warden, knowing what toothache was from personal experience, uttered some words of sincere compassion. The man lay down again and at the same time Lady Warden noticed another person whom she had overlooked. A very young girl sat on the other side of the stove in a corner of the room. The girl stared for a moment at the well-dressed lady and, then averting her face, bent forward and almost turned her back

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to the stranger. Lady Warden thought the girl must have on her lap some embroidery she wished to hide, or perhaps she was mending an old dress.

"Why is that boy lying on the floor?" she asked.

"He is lame," replied the mother, and to this she added a detailed account, describing in pathetic language how the poor boy had become lame through a severe attack of scarlet fever.

"You must buy him —" began Lady Warden — "an invalid chair," she had almost said, when it occurred to her that it was better to buy it herself. It was not good that the poor should ever get hold of much money; but something she would give the poor woman at once; for here she desired to help; here was a real need, and she felt for her pocket-book. It was not in her pocket; it must be in the carriage. Just as she was about to explain her misfortune to the poor woman with a promise to send her money later, the door opened and a well-dressed gentleman walked in. His face was full and of a strange, whitish complexion.

"Lady Warden. I presume," said the stranger; "I happened to meet your carriage on the street, and here I bring your pocket-book."

Lady Warden looked at it; yes, it was hers. On the polished ebony plate were the letters E. W. engraved in black.

"I happened to notice it in the hand of a girl just as I turned a corner in one of the worst slums of the city," said the stranger. "I am an overseer of the poor," he added.

Lady Warden thanked him, though there was something about him she did not like. But when she turned round to speak to the woman she was almost frightened at the change which had taken place in the room. The man sat up in bed and glowered at the fat stranger, the woman had assumed a repulsive smile, and the little lame invalid had rolled himself toward the door and, supporting himself on his emaciated hands, gazed up like a little savage. In every eye was the same hatred, the same combative defiance, and now it seemed to Lady Warden that a vast gulf existed between her and the poor woman with whom she had a few moments ago spoken so intimately.

"So this is how you are today — Martin?" said the gentleman, in quite a new tone of voice. "I should not wonder if you had been with the gang last night. Yes, yes, this afternoon they shall come for you, and send you down for two months."

The dam broke, and the pent-up torrent rushed out. The man and the woman both shouted at the same time, the girl came out of the corner and joined in the chorus, while the lame invalid yelled and rolled about on the floor. Words could not be distinguished — only the voices, the looks, the hands—it seemed as if the small room could not contain these exploding passions.

Lady Warden turned pale and arose. The gentleman opened the door and both hurried away. In the doorway she heard behind her a woman's terrible laugh. It must be the same woman who had spoken so tenderly about the poor child. She felt a sort of antipathy against the man who had been the cause of this horrible and horribly sudden metamorphosis, and as they walked together out on the street, she listened to him with an indifferent, half-offended air. But little by little her expression changed. There was indeed so much truth in what he said. The overseer told her how encouraging it was for him to see a lady such as Lady Warden have so much sympathy with the poor, and, although he had to admit, that aid given with the best intentions often fell into wrong hands, yet it was something beautiful and ennobling that a lady such as Lady Warden—

"But," interrupted she, "do these people not need help? I got an impression that the woman had seen better days, and that she, if assisted in time, might rise again."

"I am indeed sorry to have to tell you, Madam, that she is a very noted bad character." The lady shuddered. With such a woman had she spoken and spoken of children; she had even mentioned her own child which now lay in its nice clean cradle at home. It occurred to her that she must hurry home and see if it was still pure and well.

"Yes; Madam probably noticed her — her — condition?"

"No, — you mean?" —

The fat gentleman whispered a few words.

The lady winced. "With the man in the house?"

"Yes, Madam, I am very sorry to have to tell you that these people,—” and he whispered again.

This was more than Lady Warden could stand; she almost fainted, as she accepted the gentleman's proffered arm. They now walked swiftly towards the carriage, which by this time was some distance further away than when she left it.

For the imperturbable had performed a feat which even the local wit had acknowledged by a choice oath. Having sat for a long time as still as a statue on a seat, he had allowed the fat horses to walk step by step backwards until they came to a widening in the street, unnoticed by others than an experienced coachman. A mob of street-arabs had gathered about the carriage, and had done what they could to scare the fat horses, but the spirit of the imperturbable was in them. After carefully measuring with a calm look the distance between the sidewalks, the coachman made a turn so sharp that it looked as if the carriage would go to pieces, but so accurate, that there was not an inch over or to spare on either side. And again he sat there still as a statue, and again he measured with his eyes the width of the street, noticed and stowed in his memory the policeman who had witnessed the feat, so as to have a witness he could refer to, if his story should not be believed in the stables.

Lady Warden permitted the overseer to help her into the carriage, and she invited him to call on her the next day.

"To Attorney Abel's," she called to her coachman. The fat gentleman lifted his hat with a bland smile and the carriage rolled away. As they drove further away from the poverty-stricken place the carriage moved more smoothly and rapidly along the street, and when they reached the broad, shaded avenue which led through the villa district, the fat horses playfully sniffed the fresh air from the flowerbeds and the imperturbable gave three artistic cracks with his whip.

Lady Warden likewise felt how good it was to come into fresh air again. What she had seen and still more what she had heard, had fallen upon her like a stunning blow. She began to measure the vast distance between herself and those people.

Formerly the words, "Many are called, but few are chosen" had seemed to her a somewhat difficult, even hard, doctrine. Now she understood that it *must* be so. How could people so depraved raise themselves to that moral excellence which is necessary to fulfilling the highest duties in life? What was the state of those poor people's conscience, and how could they indeed withstand daily temptation? She indeed herself knew what a temptation was. Had she not to fight against one of the most dangerous of all—that of wealth—against which such severe judgment is written. She shuddered at the thought of what would happen, if that beast of a man and that unfortunate woman should suddenly become rich. To be rich was indeed no small trial. It was but yesterday that her own husband had tempted her by urging her to take a new servant, but she had overcome the temptation and replied:

"No, Warden, it is not right. I will not have a servant on the coach. True, we are rich enough for that, but let us guard ourselves against extravagance. I am able to get in and out of the carriage alone and the coachman shall not step down for my sake."

She was sorry for this now, and her eyes dwelt complacently on the seat beside the imperturbable.

When she arrived, Lady Abel, who had cleared the fashion journals off the table was surprised to see her friend so suddenly back.

"Why, Emilie, are you back here already? I have just told the milliner she could go. What you have told me has quite taken away my desire to get a new dress. I can also do without,"—said good Lady Abel, and her lips trembled slightly as she spoke.

"Everyone should act according to conscience," replied Lady Warden gravely; "but I think it is also possible to be too particular."

Lady Abel looked up in surprise. She had expected something very different.

"Yes; listen now, my dear, to what I have learned," said Lady Warden, and began to relate her own experience. She painted the first impressions of that stifling room and its haggard inhabitants. Then she related the theft of her pocket-book.

"Yes, my husband insists on it that there are people who cannot keep from stealing," remarked Lady Abel.

"I fear your husband is more correct than we like to admit," replied Lady Warden. She then told about the overseer of the poor, and the ingratitude which those people showed to him for his daily care. But when she came to that part of the story which dealt with the poor woman's previous history and especially when she told about the young girl, the good Lady Abel became so affected that she asked the servant-maid to bring in some port wine. When the wine stand was brought in Lady Abel whispered to the maid: "Let the milliner wait."

"You may imagine," continued Lady Warden, — "Well, it is almost impossible to tell," and she whispered.

"What is that you say,—in one room and one bed? Altogether?" exclaimed Lady Abel, and she clasped her hands.

"Yes, an hour ago I should not either have believed any such thing possible," added Lady Warden; "but when a person has been on the spot and is actually assured of the fact —"

"My God, that you should risk your life there, Emilie!"

"I am glad I have done so and thank Providence that the overseer came just at the right moment. For, as it is delightful to help the virtuous poor who in their poverty lead a pure and sanctified life, just so annoying is it to satisfy the evil cravings of such people as those."

"Yes, you are right, Emilie. I don't understand how people in a Christian community, baptized and confirmed in a Christian faith, can live in that way. Don't they have every day, at least, every Sunday, an opportunity of hearing a powerful, pathetic sermon; and the Bible, I am told, can be obtained at a ridiculously low price."

"Yes, and when we consider," added Lady Warden, "that not even the heathen, who lack all these blessings, live so, they certainly have no excuse, for God has given all a Conscience."

"And it speaks, indeed, loud enough for any who will listen," interrupted Lady Abel piously.

"Yes, Heaven knows it does," replied Lady Warden, and looked up with a reverent expression.

When the two friends parted they embraced each other lovingly. Lady Warden took hold of the ebony handle, stepped into the carriage, and gathered up her trailing dress; then she closed the carriage door not with a slam, but slowly and carefully.

"To Madame Labiche," she called out to the driver; and then turning to her friend, who had followed her even to the gate, she said with a tranquil smile: "Now, thank Heaven, I can order my silk dress with a clear conscience."

OUR DESTINY.

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THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALISM ON MORALS AND RELIGION.

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By Laurence Gronlund, Author of *The Co-operative Commonwealth, Ça Ira, Etc.*

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PREFACE.

1. Ethical problems, very likely, require to be discussed in every generation with a change of dialect, as Leslie Stephen claims, but discussion in some dialect they surely need if, as I contend, a Socialist *regime* be really near at hand. The originality of this Book consists in its consideration of how American Socialism—Nationalism—will affect Morals and Religion.

Three writers have during this generation discussed virtually the same problem: William H. Mallock, whose book *Is Life Worth Living?* warns us of a most disastrous future if we do not quickly return to the old beliefs; J. C. Morison, who in *The Service of Man* prophesies a glorious future if we will but break abruptly from these same beliefs; and Prof. William Graham, who in *The Creed of Science* holds that the road we are pursuing will not lead to the destruction of our deepest moral and religious convictions. I shall contend and, I believe, prove—if my readers will have patience—that the coming Nationalist Commonwealth will evolve the most robust morals and also a unanimity in religious beliefs, so as to satisfy the highest intellects, as well as all the instincts of the human heart.

That is to say: I hold, that, though it is perhaps a fact that a majority of those who are called Socialists are avowed Atheists, yet Atheism is not an integral part of Socialism, but merely an accretion upon it, like tartar upon the enamel of the teeth. Such are Atheists, not because they are Socialists, but because they are Frenchmen and Germans. Nationalism is eminently religious.

Very little has hitherto been done to persuade the higher order of minds or to place Socialism in its proper light before them. To speak frankly, I can perfectly sympathize with Sir James Stephen, who, in the future, generally foreshadowed by the motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," cannot see "a state of society which a reasonable man ought to regard with enthusiasm and self-devotion." I can very well understand that a society, confined even to the most fascinating and abundant material enjoyments, and in which morality is simply an invention to abate social jars and frictions, is not seductive to such minds.

William H. Mallock illustrates his fears by saying: "The path of thought has taken a sudden turn around a mountain, and we find ourselves looking bewildered on an utterly unfamiliar prospect. * *

* A mist hangs over it, and we have no right to be sure it is the promised land or not." He is very much afraid that it means our spiritual degradation and the destruction of our whole moral civilization.

Now, I have ventured on this book, because I firmly believe that I can dissipate the mist, and prove to unbiassed minds and sympathetic hearts that it is, indeed, towards "the Promised Land" that the Power behind Evolution has all the time been leading our race. If this "moral civilization" must pass away, it is only because it will grow into something much grander. At present it is an "immoral" growth; Pharisaism, precisely of a kin to that, so fiercely denounced by Jesus, which makes self-styled "better citizens," who, having never known what temptation means, strut about praising God that they are so much better than their humble, temptation-ridden brethren who are tempted every moment of their poor life to act wrongly by this *Satanic* system of ours. And the morality which will take its place can, I am sure, be best stated in that sublime precept which embodies the deepest truth; that, in which we are bidden to love our neighbors as ourselves. Instead of spiritual degradation, American Socialism, as I understand it, will give us a profound conviction of the presence of God in Humanity, and confer on Humanity a special dignity, fit to inherit "endless times and eternities." And if the American people can be persuaded that Nationalism really offers them such an ideal, the next half century will be a period of change compared with which the past fifty years will seem tame and uneventful.

Such an effort seems now particularly opportune. It is well known that a constructive form of Socialism has for some years been evolving

among American working-men. The conscience of the country has during the past twelve months been aroused, as it has not been since the anti-slavery agitation—witness the Nationalist and Christian Socialist movements—an evidence that our comfortable classes are becoming conscious of being part of a living organism that suffers. The soil then is fertile and prepared; the time favorable. Throughout our country there is a moral awakening and a deepening ferment. All the signs and portents seemingly declare: God wills it!

What a proud distinction for our American civilization would it be—compared with that of Europe—if some of the leaders of intellect and conscience among us would, like modern Richards, place themselves at the head of the new social crusade. Nothing, surely, would so fill and fire such men with the needed enthusiasm and devotion as the ideal here presented.

To present this ideal is my present task and honor, and I believe I have the qualifications for making this effort. I do not refer to literary ability. I entered upon my works of Socialist exposition, not from literary ambition, but from a deep conviction, that I had something to tell my fellowmen.

The rise and spread of Pessimism is a fact of great interest and significance. A strange protest surely, that, in these days when the jubilant chorus is loudest, the note of desolation and despair has broken in as a discord that suddenly finds acceptance, first of all, among the fortunate classes—a philosophy, affirming the nullity of all things, and asking: Is Life worth living? Yet while Pessimism is a symptom of the hollowness at the core of the present order, I, whose lot is certainly not cast among the fortunate ones of this world, answer: Yes! Life, if lightened and warmed by a true philosophy, *is* worth living. My secondary purpose is to communicate this, my joy in life, to others. In spite of experiencing as much as any one the hardships of the established state of things, in spite of privations and lack of sympathy for many years, I know that this is the threshold of the Golden Age, and feel that it is a high privilege to live now, a privilege which I am sure posterity will envy me. My faith makes me an optimist; of this faith I proceed to give an account, confident that it will soon be realized.

LAURENCE GRONLUND.

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OUR DESTINY.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOIL.

"Keep hammering away, even at the risk of being deemed a victim of crochets. For this is a not over-intelligent world."
John Fiske.

2. Spencer's *Data of Ethics* should be rather called "Data of Selfishness" or "Data of the Animal Wellbeing of Man," as it does not go beyond our animal origin; and but considers goodness in man identical in kind with goodness in a dog or in a rock. Mallock, on the other hand, remains in the clouds, where mankind could not dwell, if it would, and his morality, rooted in these clouds, is thus a topsyturvy growth. J. C. Morison, again, who has a practical eye for the needs of our immediate future, unfortunately, opens his book, *The Service of Man*, with this simile: "A ruined temple, with its fallen columns and broken arches is a suggestive type of the transitory nature of all human handiwork" and applies this to all human activities, even the highest. Such a view is dispiriting enough to make one, entering upon this service, throw it up at once and commit suicide; but what is more to the point, it is false, because one-sided; just as false as is that of a person with the jaundice, who sees all things yellow. This book, whatever it is, will be found radically different from either of those three works.

In order to get a type that would appear to me adequate of man's highest work, of that which he has been sent into this world to do, let me outline a stately tree of whose grandeur the wonderful Californian giants are but insignificant miniatures; a tree whose germ was planted with the advent of life upon this planet; which has been growing ever since, and which is destined to reach a marvellous height and girth, until its rich foliage shall finally overshadow and shelter the whole world, and its one blossom and one fruit, more precious by far than all mythological apples, shall fill the earth with gladness. Such is an approximate, and yet inadequate, type of man's distinctive work, his permanent work, since by its fruit it is connected with all eternity, for by the one blossom I typify his belief in God and by the one fruit his belief in Immortality. This tree, in other words, is a type of what in Greek is called Ethics, in Latin Morality, and in Saxon Righteousness.

Mark, I say, *is destined to*, for morality is yet but very small, a stunted bush, and what I wish to emphasize is, that under the circum-

stances, by which it is, and has hitherto been surrounded, it could not be anything else. I repudiate all physical, materialistic morality as utterly false — the gross, initial mistake of Evolution-moralists — and I contend that the germ of morality has, sometime and somehow, come upon earth from on high or from elsewhere. But there is another point, equally important and certain, which the Intuitionists are just as wrong in ignoring, namely: that material surroundings, almost exclusively, condition the growth of this germ; or as the Evolution-moralists rightly put it: "The moral development of a given period is determined by the corresponding state of the social evolution."

First, then, it is a fact, that economics, or our material, industrial relations are the soil in which the roots of morals bury themselves and from which they draw their nourishment; next, it is equally a fact, that the state of morals is much dependent on whether the social atmosphere is cloudy and chilly or sunny and warm; a third fact is, that just as an apple-tree produces small, sour fruit, if left in natural neglect, but delicious pippins, if a skillful gardener gives his attention to it, precisely so it is with morals. These three facts, soil, cultivation, and atmosphere, are the true "Data of Ethics" and these we shall study in the first three chapters. They are the variable, transitory, and phenomenal phases of morals. In the remaining part of the book we shall follow the growth of morality itself; the permanent, eternal essence of man, "the proper science and business of mankind in general," as Locke says.

This first chapter, then, will be devoted to the impending change of soil in our industrial system. It will, therefore, contain nothing novel to Nationalists or Socialists. But I beg them to remember that this book is written mainly for outsiders and, also, that these preliminaries are the necessary stepping stones to what follows.

Few can deny that it is now a very barren soil. Carlyle sneers at the Englishman's hell: that of "not making money." But surely under our present system lack of wealth *is* hell, is a true penal servitude for a man's natural life, together with the torturing consciousness of leaving a like hopeless heritage to his offspring. With our present conception of life as a competitive race, property is the sole thing worth a sane man's pursuit, simply because we cannot be independent, indeed can scarcely be honest, without it.

But is not such a life-theory about the most demoralizing that could be promulgated? Surely it is one which, systematically acted on,

would be fatal to all high aims. It is a conception of life which, if true, would make Falstaff the sensible fellow and all disinterested servers of mankind noble fools. In what a terrible dilemma does the fact, that there is no safety for the unpropertied man, place us! How serious the responsibility for urging choice spirits to seek higher things than wealth!

Again, modern Political Economy, entirely disregarding the fact that both the Ancients and he who is called its founder insisted upon the unity of morals and economics, has entirely divorced them. Wealth has thus become an ultimate, instead of a mediate end, and this has caused Political Economy to be styled "the dismal science," for it sacrifices human beings to capital; and makes our national wealth, controlled by shrewd, capable men, whose object is gain, act like a malarial poison upon a population of operatives.

To expect robust morals from such a soil would be as unreasonable as to expect grapes from a vine planted on an iceberg. No wonder that our professional moral teachers are uncertain what to teach. In his so-called "*Science of Ethics*," Leslie Stephen comes to the conclusion that "in exhorting a man to be virtuous, you exhort him to acquire a quality which will in many cases make him less fit than the less moral man for getting the greatest amount of happiness from a given combination of circumstances," and that "as a matter of fact, prudence and virtue often emphatically differ." But there is something worse yet. Not only is conventional Morality nothing but calculating prudence, but our highest morality makes selfishness an end; it makes one consider himself superior to others of his fellow-men: differentiates him from other poor sinners, and is thereby positively a vicious thing. No wonder that the blossom and fruit of such a morality must be correspondingly insignificant, to wit: a God who is simply a bulky policeman governed by partiality, and an Immortality, consisting in "such a good time" for our favored selves in the next world, while the vast majority of the race goes to perdition.

But morality, true morality, is now avenged! Our present condition is such, that it may well be doubted if there ever were more misery in the midst of so much wealth.

We are fast coming to see that the production of wealth is *not* the chief interest of a nation; and also that Political Economy will be forever "dismal and accursed," if it does not change.

3. Sober and well-informed observers, however, perceive that a large social transformation is actually now going on. Unfortunately many leaders of thought are yet profoundly ignorant respecting these matters. Never was I more amazed, than when I read in a work, issued in 1889, on "State-Socialism," by Claudio Jannet, Professor of Political Economy at the Catholic Institute of Paris, these words: "The State must not pursue the chimera of bringing production and consumption into equilibrium. Observation, indeed, shows that there is in humanity, by reason of the original fall, a certain amount of economic suffering which no material progress can possibly remedy. The crises of over-production are the scourges, inherent in our modern economic condition. Catholics who talk of suppressing our economic anarchy, and of harmony and equilibrium of interests, forget that one of the consequences of the fall of Adam has been to render labor painful, *to make the earth grow thistles.*" (The professor's own italics!) "No progress of science, no social institutions, can ever make them disappear."

What a monumental stupidity in a modern Professor of Political Economy! But fortunately day by day thoughtful people are in greater numbers discarding the notion once almost universal, that social customs and institutions enter into the eternal order of things in such a way that any thorough-going change must involve universal ruin. The fact is being recognized, that our world is everywhere in a constant flux, is at every moment *becoming*, like a flowing river which is ever in a condition of change. There is, however, in this connection, another point of very great practical importance, to which we shall several times in this book have to recur, which is not sufficiently recognized, and about which even Herbert Spencer is apparently at sea, and this is that there are in human affairs two kinds of evolution which it is highly important to keep apart. There is the *natural* evolution—the only one that Spencer seems to recognize—and that other, brought about by the intervention of man: the *conscious* evolution. The latter will certainly by and by play far the most important role. That human intervention can modify social phenomena is the scientific foundation for all rational hope of a systematic reform of human affairs; but it is to natural evolution that we so far have been and, undoubtedly for some time yet to come, will be, almost exclusively, indebted for our progress.

Many have of late been studying this natural evolution, and think

that they now clearly see the direction in which it works, in one word, its "trend." They think that they have especially learned the nature of the startling revolution through which our forefathers passed. The spirit of independence — the most important thing for our race since Christianity — had fallen upon them, stirred the human mind and given it a fresh impulse. This impulse has never ceased, but has multiplied human efforts in a hundred new directions and increased a hundred-fold man's power over nature. In all civilized countries it has raised up from the masses the greatest plutocracy the world has ever seen, and this in a century which seemed bent on making equality one of its chief social goals — a plutocracy that is now everywhere at its zenith.

But events are still marching on with their relentless logic. Nowhere has this plutocracy had such perfect liberty of action as in the United States. And there has now come over industry and business here a startling change which is going on with such rapidity as to suggest the complete abandonment of the principle by which the industries of the nation have hitherto been developed. This change is the formation of the "trust;" the merging of our corporations into a body, outside the control and ignoring the consent of the State, a body whose Executive Board has full power of management and full authority to limit or centralize production, consolidate establishments, purchase raw materials, and supervise selling prices, terms and conditions. The object of this is greater regularity of production, steadiness of prices, and a uniform system of credit, as well as the prevention of unhealthy competition.

But this phenomenon has an inner, underlying meaning. It presents the question, whether under present conditions society can continue to develop normally and healthfully in all its parts. In particular, it brings before the public mind the dilemma: whether we are to have organized capital, or organized government; for this one thing is perfectly evident, that we must in the future have organized business action of some sort. In other words, it prepares the public mind, as nothing else could, for — Socialism.

Observe, there is a good kind, and a bad kind of Socialism, a Socialism of mutual good will and mutual help as well as a Socialism of hatred and spoliation. It is the good kind that is here meant, and that is now called "Nationalism."

The fact is that competition is the individualistic way of doing business; and combination, the principle of the trust, is the socialistic

way. Every trust is a concession to socialism and its working principles. It is even more; it is a practical confession of the socialist charges, that competition necessarily involves great waste, and that by concentration the cost of production can be materially lessened, while at the same time the market can be so controlled that no goods need remain unsold. Thus, to take but one example, the Whiskey Trust, consisting of eighty distilleries, absolutely finds its advantage in operating but thirteen.

This is an exceedingly important matter and points to several lessons that should be learned by the public precisely at this moment. It shows how blindly and stubbornly our political leaders persist in leading the wrong way. Everyone knows that just now the Courts of New York are trying to put down the Sugar Trust by declaring this combination to be for an "unlawful object." But what matter how many thousand times unlawful a thing may be, if it only be a public social advantage, which this evidently is? What should be seen by our leaders is, that a "Trust" is a use of socialism for the benefit of capitalists; and attention should be called to the practicability of socialist principles everywhere and the lesson taught that in no country can these principles be so easily and quickly applied to business life as here. If this natural evolution be simply allowed to go on, and no stumbling blocks be put in its way, in a very short time, certainly by the commencement of the Twentieth Century, we shall find social activities conducted by Trusts, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. What then?

Few people pause to consider that the year 2000 is not farther ahead of us than the American Revolution is behind us: that it is our grandchildren who will then be living. Still fewer reflect upon the extent to which we shall have grown in all respects, by that time, not only in population, in wealth, and in the concentration of wealth, but, if things continue as they are, also in misery and discontent. Can any sensible man doubt that long before that time our children will demand a radical change? And will they not trust their own government properly organized rather than organized capital? The State is already becoming a very practical power among us in the regulation of industry and in assuming what have hitherto been regarded as private functions. The Anti-State Commerce Law is an indication. As Higginson says pointedly: "Since government can profitably conduct a bankrupt railroad by means of a receiver, a good many persons come to think that it can also carry on a successful one."

The outcome, then, that all this points to is, that our children will second this natural evolution by eliminating all useless functionaries — those whose only “function” is to put the profit into their own pockets — and by placing the central management in the hands of the collectivity. Our country, being a self-contained one, is for that reason precisely the one that ought to take the lead in inaugurating Socialism. There is even now no more inherent improbability of a socialist State than there was two hundred years ago of a Democracy. Meanwhile, by the full information which they are now collecting relative to the various productive agencies, the trusts are preparing for such government control.

△ It is really a curious fact, and one that furnishes food for reflection, that while our people are shuddering at the spectre of destructive Socialism, there is being constructed under our very eyes a socialist *regime*, showing us how the environment of the individual will be changed.

What we now especially suffer from is planlessness, what we need and must have, what the coming social order will give us, and what the “Trust” to some extent already provides is *system*.

Planlessness, anarchy, is the great trouble, inherent in our industrial system. Division of labor, as everyone knows, is our great principle, but it has peculiar dangers. No one now does the whole of anything, but hands his work over to men of complementary trades; further, our greatest industries are those which turn out parts only of things, parts which in themselves are useless for human needs, if not complemented by other processes. This is the world’s industry, carried on as a vast co-operation of labor — an extremely complicated machine in which each trade represents a wheel. Such a machine makes exceptional demands on the organizing powers of the human brain. The organization of industry, as we know it, is kept going by the individual self-interest of many men, working without the knowledge one of another, or of one another’s doings and intentions. Everyone is thus guessing, and generally guessing pretty wildly; the wonder then is, not that there is periodical depression, but that the industrial machine works at all. The very perfection of organized and divided labor demands system: that is the keystone which is to unite the infinity of

human wants and the willingness of unemployed hands. Its proper working absolutely requires one mind to look after it, that all its parts may be balanced and harmonious. Suppose that one head could say to the planters: "Next season our country will need so many thousand bales of cotton;" to the spinners: "Have your spindles ready to take up so many bales;" to the weavers: "Be ready to weave so much yarn," there would, of course, be insured a steady demand, a steady supply, continuity of employment, and an absence of depression everywhere.

In this connection, it is important to note that by the actual state of things the laboring classes have been more pinched than any other classes of society and that this has made them more far and clear seeing — self-conscious. It is this that has made them form their Trades-Unions, in which they have had to postpone their private interests and defer their personal judgments to those of their fellows and their class. And this brings us to a proposition, of a most remarkable kind, considering the source whence it emanates, which is none other than Wm. H. Mallock, who certainly is best known by his anti-socialistic crusade. He, in a late paper, proposes to incorporate Trades-Unions in a closer and more recognized way "in the life of the country;" to enlarge their powers and character, and at the same time to define their limits, so that they may come to embrace all the various divisions of the laboring population. He contends that "the welfare of the country depends on a balance between the claims, not of a numerical majority and a numerical minority, but of a variety of bodies that rank as equals on account of the *equally essential services* which each renders to the community." He goes on to advocate that such legally recognized labor organizations should represent all interests common to all workingmen, "as distinct from exceptional talent," and be enabled to enforce their claims; should form "an estate of the realm," as he terms it. "The justification of such an arrangement," he adds, "lies deep in the nature of things and is the only one in complete harmony with facts," and is "the only way to lift the masses into a recognized and permanent place in the solid structure of the Commonwealth." This remarkable advance by Mallock is, in truth, a theoretical concession to socialism — as the trust is a practical concession, — showing that it is in "complete harmony with facts," and has the force of logic on its side, for the above proposition is virtually what socialists and organized labor reformers contend for. We all know

how objectionable the "scab" is to the *latter*; nothing, certainly, would please the organized workers better than to see the law compel all workers to enter a Union, submit to the collective judgment of their trade, and concur in electing representatives who should watch over and force forward labor's interests in the management of the shop and store, as Charles Francis Adams, Jr., President of the Union Pacific Co., has lately suggested in regard to the railroad employees.

"But it is a pity if an employer cannot manage his own business to suit himself." It may be a pity, but it is true, even now, that this is exactly what he cannot do. The truth is, it is not "his own" business; the men are in reality his business partners, and he must manage the business in their interest as well as his own.

Well, when the people resolve to have done with all private business, and to disestablish Trusts, what about the "sacredness of property?" This simply means, that what the law pronounces "property" is sacred. The law so styles it because it is thought most expedient for the social welfare, but as soon as it is found expedient to announce that for the future certain forms of wealth shall not be "property," that they shall be used in certain ways and not in "certain other ways," it will also be discovered that the State has a perfect right to do this, and that for the wealth thus appropriated a socialist State can without difficulty compensate, to its full value, — *without interest*. Moreover, whenever wealth is the fruit of little labor, and much questionable manipulation, and audacious gambling, under legal forms, such "property" is easily regarded as much less sacred, and the legalization as much less divine.

Those who are fond of assuming a nation's inability to manage business affairs should be asked to read in Adam Smith the passage which criticises public management. Here they will find enumerated certain enterprises which that author regarded as necessarily private, and which, nevertheless, are now in the hands of the State. Indeed, this assumption is now entirely obsolete, since so many enterprises have taken the form of limited, or jointstock companies, the managers of which have no more personal interest in them than has the superintendent of a well-conducted public office in it. Such a business can now, without the least difficulty, be transferred into the hands of the public without any change in the system of administration.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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No. 5.

"THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY."—*Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*



THE NATIONALIST

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized.

No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill considered changes; we make no war upon individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

The combinations, trusts and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation — the people organized — the organic unity of the whole people

The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its cost. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our efforts.

From the First Nationalist Club,

OF SOMERVILLE, MASS.

LIZZIE G. KNAPP, Secretary, 28 School Street.

MAY 1 1890
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No. 5.

THE SPHERE OF THE STATE.

On account of their application of the word "State," the framers of our Constitution have given to our language a peculiar definition of it. The *State* of California, the *State* of New York, and the *State* of Pennsylvania, are not, and never were, States, according to the real meaning of the word. The Union is a State, France is a State, Russia is a State. Webster says, "A State is a whole people, united to one body politic."

Individualists claim that the State is merely an organ of society, a machine for governing. Herbert Spencer, when a young man, wrote a book called "Social Statics," in which he assumes as a first principle that "every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the like freedom of any other man." From this principle he tries to prove that society is simply a voluntary association of men for mutual protection, and the State merely an organ for that purpose. The State is a policeman—nothing more. By and by, when the millenium arrives, the State will lose even that function; it will become a rudimentary organ. After that it will disappear altogether. As long as it exists, it is nothing but a necessary evil, instituted only to check the bad, and thus only a burden to the good.

This is individualism, and such was Spencer's reasoning in 1850. In accordance with these views, our capital-holders, the ruling powers of our country, cry out: "Your State, your Government, your whole business, you know, consists in securing us unlimited freedom to exercise our faculties. That is what we are doing, all of us are exercising our faculties, each to the extent of his ability. Let us alone, and simply see to it that we are not interfered with; that is what you are paid for, you know. 'Everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost,' is our rule of action and yours."

And the "Government" lets them alone, and the shrewd, greedy

individuals exercise their faculties and grow fat at the expense of others. Probably in no other age have individuals had more power over their neighbors than they now have in consequence of this "let alone" policy. Every factory, mine, workshop, and railroad shows the working of it. One individual has acquired one hundred millions, while another individual — perhaps a producer of a part of this fortune — is sent to prison as a tramp. But that is all in order. For hear young Spencer: "The shouldering aside the weak by the strong, which leaves so many in shallows and miseries, is the decree of a large foreseeing benevolence, regarded not separately, but in connection with the interests of universal humanity. To step in between weakness and its consequences suspends the process of weeding out those of lower development." So our capitalists are men of higher development. They in whom survives that tendency of the brute, unreasoning, unchristian world, the world of Necessity not of Freedom — that tendency to live at the expense of others — they who grasp and grasp for money, out of greed and irrespective of the benefits which might accrue from it, if it were gotten not at the expense of others, *they* are men of higher development. Why don't they abolish this good-for-nothing State altogether?

Well, perhaps the State is something else besides an organ after all. Herbert Spencer, having grown older and more profound, and having studied society as it is and the process of its development, instead of evolving it out of his own inner consciousness as he did when a young man, found that the body politic is not a "voluntary" association of men. In an essay devoted to the drawing of parallels between a highly developed State and the most highly developed animals, he sums up: "That they gradually increase in mass; that they become, little by little, more complete; that at the same time their parts grow more mutually dependent; and that they continue to live and grow as wholes, while successive generations of their units appear — and disappear — are broad peculiarities, which bodies politic display, in common with all living bodies, and in which they and other living bodies differ from everything else." He shows also the analogy between the distributing system of animal bodies and the distributing system of bodies politic, or between our economic division of labor and that prevailing in organic bodies. He finds that each State is a living organism, differing from other organisms in no essential respect. Each State, also, in regard to other States, possesses a distinct indi-

viduality, what the Germans call "Volksgeist," a spirit which has its life in the nation — national history which produces specific traits of nationality, differing from the common traits of humanity.

It follows, since the State is an organism, that its relation to its citizens is not that of a heap of sand to its grains, but actually that of an animal organism to its units. This is a conception of far-reaching consequence.

In the first place, together with the doctrine of evolution as applied to all organisms, it crushes the theory of "man's natural rights." The term, natural rights, was invented by Jean Jacques Rousseau as a metaphysical means of sanctioning resistance to absolute authority in kings, nobility, and clergy. Let us examine the term.

A few years ago some scientists placed, in a part of the Alps remote from human habitation, two babes under the care of a deaf and dumb woman, in order to note in the children the effect of isolation from the human voice and from civilization. When they had reached the age of fifteen or sixteen, it was found that they were able only to produce the noises heard around them, and that they imitated the motions of the farm-yard and other animals. These children possessed "natural rights," that is, "rights" by impulse or natural appetites alone. One of the natural rights left men now is to act the brute towards wife and children, and another, very highly prized by our autocrats, is the privilege they now possess of "saving" for themselves what other people produce. In short, natural rights are the rights of the muscular, the cunning, and the unscrupulous.

The genius of Rousseau cast so delicious a glamor about his invention that it seduced many eminent thinkers. He played upon the minds of men and produced, instead of harmony, a terrible discord. His speculations furnished the motive power of the great French Revolution, the incidents of which showed that the "natural rights of man" were good tools with which to tear down rotten systems, but sandy foundations on which to erect new ones. These speculations stirred up such dregs as Lamartine describes in his *French Revolution of 1843* — "revolutionaries without faith, without ideas, but filled with passions and mental commotions, wishing for convulsions in their own image, and finding in prolonged convulsions their only ideal. For their whole theory, they aspire to revolutionary government without faith, without law, without end, without peace, without morality, like themselves."

When we carefully consider the idea of natural rights, the grain of wheat in the bushel of chaff is the idea that all men are actually equal. This fiction is to many a glorious, God-given fact, and they preach it as though they were the special confidants of God. No, all men are not actually equal, but each man is responsible to his fellow-men, to himself and to the Most High for the faithful employment of his best efforts in some honest work. And no, emphatically, no, "natural rights" are not rights; they are the chains of a terrible bondage.

Civil society is man's natural state, for every man is dependent on his fellow-men. All men are regulated by, and owe their freedom to one law, the great law — "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." This law is, in fact, the vital force of the political organism, the State. The State thus becomes the giver of all our rights; our civilization; our exalted condition which men individually never would have been able to attain; and our ability to wage war with the inabilities of our "natural" condition, to subdue nature, to redress natural defects and inequalities. And, indeed, as says Hegel, probably the greatest German philosopher, "It is only by being a citizen of a well ordered State that the individual has rights." The State, therefore, instead of being a "burden to the good," a "necessary evil," is men's greatest good. This conception of the State as an organism thus consigns "the natural rights of man" to obscurity, and puts duty in the foreground.

In the second place, we can ascertain now the true sphere of the State. That is, we can commence to build something solid. Sphere is the proper word. To say that we can ascertain now the rights, duties, or functions of the State in regard to its citizens would be in direct contradiction to the fact that the State is an organism. For can we speak of the rights, duties, or functions of a man in regard to his heart, his head, or his arms? In relation to other states, the State has rights, duties, or functions, but towards its own members it has only a sphere of activities.

A man's sphere, as far as he himself is concerned, consists in caring for his own well-being. If that be properly done, his brains, his lungs and his stomach will have nothing to complain of. So with the State. Its whole sphere is the making all special activities work together for one general end — its own welfare, or the public good.

To accomplish this, the State may do whatever is shown to be expedient. "It is," says J. S. Mill, "fully entitled to abrogate or alter

any particular right of property which it judges to stand in the way of the public good." It may to-morrow, if necessary for the public welfare, take all the capital of the country from its present owners, without any compensation, and convert it into social capital. Capital is the produce of labor, and labor depends on implements or ideas which are the produce of a long-established, organized society. Our axe, with its fine steel blade, is the result of long generations of development from the rudest stone tool. Neither Professor Morse nor any other inventor can lay sole claim to the telegraph; it belongs to society, for it grew little by little.

The State may reclaim possession of all the land within its limits; for the land's value, like that of other capital, is partly real, on account of the labor of this generation and of former generations, and partly unreal, due to the monopoly of, it and the constantly increasing necessities of the community. When, therefore, the increased values of real estate, due simply to the progress of the country, are permitted, in the form of increased rents, "to drop into the mouths of land owners as they sleep instead of being applied to the public necessities of the society which creates it," in the words of Mill, it is only because the too "enterprising" individual has got the better of the State.

The State is then fully entitled to take charge of all the instruments of labor and production, and to say that all social activities shall be carried on in a different manner.

Undoubtedly, capitalists will interpose their so-called "vested rights." As the State has for a long time tacitly allowed a certain class to divide the common stock of social advantages among themselves and appropriate it to their own individual benefit, therefore they say that the State is estopped from ever recovering it. But the theory of "vested rights" never applies when a revolution has taken place, and the whole structure of society is changed. Mr. Gronlund says, "The tail of a tadpole that is developing into a frog may protest as much as it pleases; but nature heeds it not, and when the frog is an accomplished fact, there is no tail to protest." Henry George remarks very pointedly, "When we allow 'vested rights' we still wear the collar of Saxon thrall." The only "vested rights" any man has are the rights to such institutions as will best promote the public welfare.

Burke said rightly of the State, that it includes the dead, the living, and the coming generations. We are what we are far more by the accumulated influence of past generations than by our own efforts, and

our labor will principally benefit those who are to follow us. The public welfare thus includes the welfare of the generations to come. This comprehensive conception places the pettiness and impotency of our "individualism" in the most glaring light.

"But if the State's sphere is to be extended to everything that may affect the public welfare, why, then there is no stopping to what the State will attempt." Professor Huxley replies (Administrative Nihilism): "Surely the answer is obvious that, on similar grounds, the right of a man to eat when he is hungry might be disputed, because if you once allow that he may eat at all, there is no stopping until he gorges himself and suffers all the ills of a surfeit."

Does it not now seem more profitable to lay stress on duty rather than on rights?

Professor Huxley, speaking of the analogy Spencer found to exist between bodies politic and animal organisms, says: "I cannot but think that the real force of the analogy is totally opposed to the negative (individualistic) view of the State function. Suppose that, in accordance with this view, each muscle were to maintain that the nervous system has no right to interfere with its contraction except to prevent it from hindering the contraction of another muscle; or each gland, that it had a right to secrete, as long as its secretion interferes with no other; suppose every separate cell left free to follow its own interests and be "let alone"—*laissez faire*, lord of all, what would become of the body physiological?"

This negative view of the State function is a very modern one. Not until the exaggerated form of the Protestant doctrine of the independence of the individual had taken possession of men's minds; not until the great delusion had become prevalent, that we have been brought into this world, each for the sake of himself, did it come into vogue.

But even ultra-Protestant nations that adopted this view in theory have been impelled constantly by an inward necessity to repudiate it in practice. It forbids the State to concern itself about the poor, and yet the Poor Law of Elizabeth (still in force in Great Britain and in our country) confers upon every man a legal claim to relief from funds obtained by enforcing a contribution from the general community. It forbids the State to concern itself about schools, libraries, universities, asylums, and hospitals, and yet the State concerns itself more and more with them. England is now spreading her activity

over railroads and telegraphs without the least apparent compunction. Our country seems about to do the same.

Now, in the third place, it must be emphatically understood that when we insist that the State should extend its sphere over all social activities, we do not mean the present State at all.

There is not yet a full grown State. In all States, our own country included, classes exercise the authority and direct all social activity. Yes, in our own glorious Republic, a certain class exercises authority. It has been justly said, "He who controls the highways of a nation controls the nation itself." Now what is the significance of the fact that men of wealth have secured seats in Congress to such an extent that our national Senate, in great part, consists of very rich men? It is this: The autocrats of our industrial affairs dictate the policy of the Government to legislatures, to Congress, to judges, to governors, and to presidents. Both our national and our local governments throughout profess allegiance to the "let alone" policy. Not one so-called statesman of any influence in either of the two great political parties ever dreams of interfering with the "business" interests of our plutocrats, if he can help it.

Class-rule is always detrimental to the welfare of the whole social organism, because classes, when in power, cannot help considering themselves pre-eminently the State. They, furthermore, cannot help being biased in favor of their special interests. Matthew Arnold says truly, "Not State-action in itself, but State-action exercised by a hostile class, it is that ought to be deprecated."

Our Republic, therefore, may properly be likened to some animal organism where the blood is principally diverted to the stomach or the brain, leaving the arms and legs as stunted as possible. However, the time is coming, and it is not so very far off, when will arise a *State*, a living organism with no palsied limbs and no glutted organs, one whose every organ shall receive blood in proportion to the work it does. The logic of events will cause our present class-State to develop into a commonwealth—a State where the whole population will be incorporated into society.

The future commonwealth will help every individual to attain the highest development of which he or she is capable. State-help is not to do away with a man's own efforts. Do we set aside a man's own exertions in cultivating a field when we give him a plow? Does the State render useless the powers of a boy when it furnishes him schools,

teachers and libraries? The commonwealth will relieve none of self-help, but will help everybody to help himself.

This commonwealth will evolve that priceless good—freedom. Freedom is something which the individual unaided never can achieve. It is something to be conferred on him by a well organized body politic. A man who is ignorant is not free. A man who sees his wife and children starving is not free. A man who must toil twelve hours a day in order to live is not free. A man who is full of cares is not free. Shelley says in the "Apostrophe to Freedom," "For the laborer thou art bread." But freedom is not alone bread, but leisure, absence of cares, ability and means to do the right thing.

It is probably best not to look ahead over the years into the *minutiae* of the commonwealth; our attention should be directed to what is going on around us, and we should get for ourselves the lesson which our period is teaching. We should endeavor to place ourselves *en rapport* with that mysterious, irresistible Logic of Events and draw from it the wisdom and beauty it has for us all.

FREDERICK M. WILLIS.

University of California.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT SHOES.

Those superficial thinkers who assert that greater prosperity lies in the direction of more extended competition will profit by looking back to the time when shoes in this country were first made in quantities sufficient to dignify the business with the name of "an industry;" when each man worked by himself, and competed with every other shoemaker.

This was the most grinding competition and it produced, as we all know, expensive shoes. People in the farming districts went "bare-foot" all summer, and many children remained at home (such as it was) from the school (such as it was) all winter, because their parents could not afford to pay for shoes produced by as perfect a system of competition as can be devised, with not less than twelve hours work per day per man. Lasts, the cheapest ones, were made with a pocket knife; the best were made with a spokeshave, and rights and lefts cost extra.

Shoes have cheapened since those days; but did laborsaving machinery do all this? It did much, but was not the prime factor. Put a man to making shoes by himself to-day, and give him one of each of the latest improved machines, and in a few weeks he would be found on an old-fashioned shoebench surrounded by the same tools his grandfather used. For a man working alone the old tools are best. He could not afford to keep in order a mass of complicated machinery, nor pay the interest on the cost of it. He could not spare the time required to learn to run them all, as the operation of many of them is a trade in itself. He could not even spare the time to go from one machine to the other, with the shoe in his hand, because the old-fashioned tools would accomplish the single operations in less time than the machine could be got ready to do it. They would not pay the rent for the room they would occupy. Nearly all of them would be worse than useless to him. He might keep the stitcher, but hardly more than that.

Well, if laborsaving machinery is not the prime factor, what is? I answer, laborsaving machinery is but one of the numerous benefits which follow in the wake of co-operation. When for making shoes a sufficient number of men co-operated to make machinery profitable, then it came. And when we look over the shoemaking business to see where the boasted competition comes in, we find the principle of co-operation underlying it.

Shoemakers today are co-operating in the most scientific manner. Then why all this talk about the sharp competition in the shoe business. It is because, while each shop is co-operative in itself, both in the manufacturing and distribution, yet they all are sharply competing with each other. Shoemaking is one thing, and a system of distribution is another. Shoemaking is all right so far as it is co-operative; but in the distribution of the shoes the same economy would prevail under a system of co-operation, and when the same scientific principle of co-operation is applied to the distribution of shoes, as is now applied to the making of them in each factory, then will follow similar happy results.

Who foresaw or could have foreseen the immense benefits that followed the application of co-operation to the making of shoes? Who, when he looks at the above facts, can doubt that similar benefits, quite as difficult, perhaps, to foresee in detail, will follow the application of similar principles to the entire manufacture and distribution of

them? It is safe to call as witnesses in defence of this position any of the great industries of the country.

Let us call on wool. There was once competition in the manufacture of woolen cloth in this country. Then one person had one loom, made with a broad axe, and wove cloth that might irritate the skin of an alligator, and took it to market on horseback. The competition was sharp enough in those days to have suited Gen. Walker. But was cloth cheap? Since then cloth has become cheaper. Did laborsaving machinery do all this? It did not. It had an important influence; but was not the prime factor. It does not appear difficult to establish this position. Let us apply the machinery without the co-operation and observe the result. Suppose one woman in possession of a modern spinning mule. What could she do with it? Would she have an extra woodshed built to keep it in or set it up in one corner of the barn? It could not be put in a corner of the kitchen alongside the loom as could the old spinning wheel. Would she hire fifteen or twenty of the young farmers round about to turn it, and have a machinist on the farm to keep it in order? Probably not. She would sell it for old junk and buy a spinning wheel, one of the ancient emblems of competition; and she would show good judgment in doing so.

Under competitive conditions the old tools were best. Laborsaving machinery is as truly the offspring of co-operation as any child is the offspring of its mother. So we see that there is not the same absolute competition in the manufacture of woolen fabrics as formerly. But it exists in a greater degree in the distribution, though not in the manufacture of the goods, and again we are brought face to face with the enormous waste in both production and distribution. Has wool been a good witness? Call on any of the great industries, and you will get similar testimony.

How men like General Walker will regret that they threw up their little gopherdam of sticks and grass to stop the oncoming of this mighty river of reform, which shall sweep these follies away!

WILLIAM O. WAKEFIELD.

Lynn, Mass.

SIMILAR CASES.

(Respectfully dedicated to Gen. Walker, Mr. N. P. Gilman, etc.)

I.

There was once a little animal, no bigger than a fox.
 And on five toes he scampered over Tertiary rocks.
 They called him Eohippus, and they called him very small,
 And they thought him of no value when they thought of him at all.
 For the lumpy Dinoceras and Coryphodont so slow
 Were the heavy aristocracy in days of long ago.
 Said the little Eohippus: "I am going to be a Horse!
 And on my middle-finger-nails to run my earthly course!
 I'm going to have a flowing tail! I'm going to have a mane!
 I'm going to stand fourteen hands high on the Psychozoic plain!"
 The Coryphodont was horrified, the Dinoceras shocked;
 And they chased young Eohippus, but he skipped away and mocked.
 Then they laughed enormous laughter, and they groaned enormous groans,
 And they bade young Eohippus "go and view his father's bones!"
 Said they: "You always were as low and small as now we see,
 And therefore it is evident you're always going to be!
 What! Be a great, tall, handsome beast with hoofs to gallop on!
Why, you'd have to change your nature!" said the Loxolophodon.
 Then they fancied him disposed of, and retired with gait serene;
 That was the way they argued in 'the Early Eocene.'

II.

There was once an Anthropoidal Ape, far smarter than the rest,
 And everything that they could do he always did the best;
 So they naturally disliked him, and they gave him shoulders cool,
 And, when they had to mention him, they said he was a fool.
 Cried this pretentious ape one day: "I'm going to be a Man!
 And stand upright, and hunt and fight, and conquer all I can!
 I'm going to cut down forest trees to make my houses higher!
 I'm going to kill the Mastodon! I'm going to make a Fire!"
 Loud screamed the Anthropoidal Apes with laughter wild and gay;
 Then tried to catch that boastful one, but he always got away.
 So they yelled at him in chorus, which he minded not a whit;
 And they pelted him with cocoanuts, which didn't seem to hit.
 And then they gave him reasons which they thought of much avail
 To prove how his preposterous attempt was sure to fail.
 Said the sages: "In the first place, the thing can *not* be done!
 And second, if it *could* be, it would not be any fun!
 "And third and most conclusive, and admitting no reply,
You would have to change your nature! We should like to see you try!"
 They chuckled then triumphantly, those lean and hairy shapes;
 For these things passed as arguments—with the Anthropoidal Apes!

III.

There was once a Neolithic Man, an enterprising wight,
 Who made his simple implements unusually bright.
 Unusually clever he, unusually brave,
 And he sketched delightful mammoths on the borders of his cave.
 To his Neolithic neighbors, who were startled and surprised,
 Said he: "My friends, in course of time, we shall be civilized!"

THE ANGEL AND THE MONK.

We are going to live in Cities and build churches and make laws!
 We are going to eat three times a day without the natural cause!
 We're going to turn life upside-down about a thing called Gold!
 We're going to want the earth and take, as much as we can hold!
 We're going to wear a pile of stuff outside our proper skins;
 We are going to have Diseases! and Accomplishments!! and Sins!!!"
 Then they all rose up in fury against their boastful friend;
 For prehistoric patience comes quickly to an end.
 Said one: "This is chimerical! Utopian! Absurd!"
 Said another: "What a stupid life! Too dull, upon my word!"
 Cried all: "Before such things can come, you idiotic child,
You must alter Human Nature!" and they all sat back and smiled.
 Thought they: 'An answer to that last it will be hard to find!'
 It was a clinching argument—to the Neolithic Mind!

San Diego, California.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.

THE ANGEL AND THE MONK.

A tender, reverent monk in Eastern cell,
 (Who loved his fellow men and wished them well,
 Nor deemed well spent a day that soothed no ill;
 Whose soul compassionate would quickly thrill
 With pity, for each pain and sorrow brought
 Near to his door) thus prayerfully besought
 The Loving Heart, the perfect throne of Grace:
 "Grant me," he cried, "one sight of Thy dear face,
 O Lord of Heaven, that I may surely know
 The love Thou bearest unto all below."

* * * * *
 'Twas toward the daydeath just ere darkness fell,
 And his whole soul was tranced in prayerful spell;
 When flamed a pure, soft light within his room,
 That quick redeemed it from impending gloom,
 And showed an Angel Presence standing there,
 Divine embodiment of all things fair.
 The monk enraptured gazed, bereft of speech,
 Sensing a sweetness mortals rarely reach,
 When slowly tolled the bell, a call once more
 For him to serve the sick and suffering poor.
 Reluctantly at this resounding quest
 He rose—and bent before his angel guest
 With reverent mien, then silently retired
 Like one who loses all he most desired.
 He sought the wretched throng whom cruel fate
 Had seemed to curse—but who had learned to wait
 The coming of this friend, who was their light,
 As was to him this vision of the night.
 Soon he resought, planning their needs to fill
 From his own store, his cloister dark and chill,
 When lo! the Presence stood once more revealed,
 In dazzling glory, with no grace concealed.
 Then found he speech, and cried, "I am twice blessed;
 I had not thought to find thee *still* my guest!"
 The angel smiled and said: "*Hadst thou delayed
 Thy duty, friend, I could not thus have staid.*"

Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. RANDALL.

THE NATIONALIST MAGAZINE,

77 Boylston Street,
BOSTON, MASS.

All communications of a literary nature should be directed simply Editor, THE NATIONALIST, 77 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. All communications relating to subscriptions, advertisements, etc., to the Business Manager, same address.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

CONVICTS AID SOCIETY.

There is no doubt that when the era of justice is established the death-knell of charity will have been sounded, for as soon as the need has been removed the thing itself must cease. When man shall receive a fair proportion of that which he produces, when the appointed time, of which Gen. Walker reminds us, has arrived that man shall eat bread by the sweat of his brow and no man, as Mr. Bellamy very aptly adds, shall eat it by the sweat of another's brow, charity will perforce cease. With the necessity to receive will vanish the ability to give; for there will no longer be one class receiving the produce of another's labor, of which it can, to relieve distress thereby created, return a small portion to its rightful owners and call it charity. But this time is not yet, and we must deal with things as they are and not as they ought to be. So, as long as charity is a necessity, it cannot take a more beneficent form than that of extending aid to discharged convicts, and it is therefore with pleasure that we note the doings of the society which exists for that purpose, and observe in the agent's quarterly report that "a fair average" of those assisted "have proved themselves worthy of the assistance rendered them and of the confidence placed in them."

THE RACE QUESTION.

The senatorial scheme for settling the negro question, however it may be regarded from a moral or a constitutional standpoint, lacks, as a practical measure, that element of success, whose absence we noted last month in the measure for forming an arbitration commission, namely: those most concerned have not been consulted. They have, however, made themselves heard in the matter, and, in opposing the enforced emigration plan, have, in our opinion, uttered wiser words than those who have supported it. The future of the negro, as a prominent member of that race has said, is in his own hands. He naturally objects to compulsory expatriation, and at the same time he manfully asks that the patriarchal hand of the government may not even be extended to help him along in life while he remains among us. He simply asks to be let alone, and to this he has a

right. If he can run faster than the white man in the race of life, let him win. Let him be neither hampered nor pampered. By leaving questions of this nature alone, and turning their attention to others of more moment, our legislators could better serve the country.

THE FRENCH CRISIS.

In the downfall of the late and the formation of her new ministry, with M. de Freycinet at its head, France may be regarded as having come successfully through her latest political crisis. From the very first appearance of General Boulanger, as an important factor in political agitation, to the reception of the new ministry by the chamber, the Republic has displayed the firmness of conscious strength and, it may be hoped, has weathered the last storm that threatens its existence. In the announcement of its policy, it is very significant to note the amount of attention that is bestowed upon the condition of the laboring classes. We have not indeed much faith in the proposals by which it is sought to ameliorate that condition. Extending the powers of pawnbrokers and reorganizing charitable funds are not measures that will confer lasting benefits upon those for whose advantage those measures are propounded. But, as an example of the consideration which is being displayed towards the subjects with which they so inadequately deal, they are encouraging. Everywhere, in monarchies and republics alike, the laboring classes are making themselves heard and felt at the different seats of government. Progress is in the air, and before long they will be able personally to take an efficient part in the framing of legislation that shall affect themselves.

AFFAIRS IN GERMANY.

Just as France has emerged from a crisis, Germany appears to have entered upon one whose effects it would indeed be bold to prognosticate. The assembling of the labor congress and the retirement of Fürst Bismarck, both tend in the same direction, the strengthening of the socialistic element of the country. There is but little doubt that the one event had a powerful influence on the other. Great as was Bismarck as an organizer of his country under one government, he yet lacked that insight which would have enabled him to see wherein the true strength of a nation resides. Well as he appeared to know other European people, he seemed incapable of forming a just estimate of his own. He has obstinately maintained his seat upon the safety valve while the socialistic steam has been engendering, and it is doubtful whether his voluntary withdrawal has very considerably ante-dated which would have been a compulsory removal. In the meantime the conference has assembled, and the first measure for the amelioration of the condition of the workers has been inaugurated by spending their money in fêting the members. Still, matters are favorably progressing, and in autocratic Germany, as well as in republican France and theocratic Rome, the voices of those at the base of the social pyramid are now loud enough to be heard at the apex.

HUMAN EQUALITY.

"So long as men are men and society is society," says Professor Huxley in the April *Popular Science*, "human equality will be a dream; and the assumption that it does exist is untrue in fact, as it sets the mark of impracticability on every theory of what ought to be which it starts from." If our friends, the Nationalists, who found their social theory upon the assumption that one man's labor is worth just as much as another's, will paste this little extract right into the crowns of their hats, and read it over as they have the time to spare, they may be saved from drifting into some very absurd positions.

So says our friend *The Post*, always courteous even when most disagreeing, and no doubt earnest in giving such advice. The monition is, however, based upon a wrong assumption. Equivalency of labor and equality of man are two very different things. But Nationalists have never taught either doctrine. In all that they do they endeavor to take into account natural inequalities. What they ask in this respect is equality of conditions and opportunities for these inherent inequalities to properly manifest themselves. At present, money is the controlling agent. In many cases may be seen the inferior, through the agency of wealth, prepared in routine studies and placed in positions for which they are unfit, while the superior are kept out of that for which they are by nature fitted, solely because means are not forthcoming to provide the necessary education and training. With the extension of equal opportunities to all, Nationalists will be fully satisfied, so far as this branch of the subject is concerned.

ART COMMISSIONS.

If we are to have an Art Commission to superintend the erection of statues in our public streets and pleasure grounds, it looks as if it might be well to petition the Legislature to extend their powers beyond the scope of the bill which is now before it for consideration. The request of the Mayor, that the superintendent gardener of the public garden lay out certain beds of flowers in set designs of patriotic or emblematic import, does not argue very highly concerning his opinion of the taste or artistic culture of the visitors for whose edification the plan has been conceived. Mathematical figures are very well in their place, but are quite opposed to every principle upon which nature carries out her plans, and have therefore long been abandoned in the arrangement of plants. It may be that the City Hall is not a place where a knowledge of the principles of any art is expected to flourish but at any rate it may be reasonably asked that the occupants of that edifice shall refrain from interfering in any way with the floral or other decorations of the city. If the superintendent be fitted for his duties leave him to their unrestrained exercise; if he be not so fitted, find another who is; but for the sake of all that is pure and genuine in art, let our municipal authorities not interfere even by suggestion.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A LITTLE FRUIT.

Apropos of George F. Duyster's entertaining and instructive article in the December NATIONALIST, "Our Block—a Cooperative Possibility," which every housekeeper should study, and Mary A. Livermore's "Cooperative Experiments," in the October NATIONALIST, the following despatch to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* is pleasant reading:

DECATUR, ILL., March 24. After many weeks of figuring, fifty-two Decatur families, including many of wealth and position, have united in a novel manner of living. They have joined together to maintain a co-operative boarding house, the expense to each person for the best of food and cooking being not more than \$2.50 a week, or 11c. a meal. The ladies take charge a week about in turn and buy all the food, while a paid housekeeper attends to the details and serving. Another similar establishment is projected.

Is it necessary to add that the NATIONALIST has subscribers in Decatur? No, for the great idea which has long been in the air is now becoming so common and so close to earth that in a few centuries historians will mildly wonder how a people with the brain power of Americans in 1890 could so delay their nobler development and so narrow their true individualities by living as a mass in so gross a state of uncomfortable and dyspeptic individualism.

VALUABLE NEWSPAPER STRAWS.

Apart from its capitalistic virus, an ideal newspaper, the *New York Sun* the other day had an editorial fit which it entitled "Agricultural Socialism." We note some of the *Sun's* radiant remarks:

"Organizations of farmers are constantly giving their support to platforms distinctly socialistic. The mass meeting held by farmers of Marshall county, Minnesota, the other day, was a fair specimen of recent similar meetings in the Northwest and the Southwest. In fact this meeting may be regarded as in some sort an epitome of agricultural socialism in the West and South."

The *Sun* even quotes some of the resolutions prepared by these wise farmers:

"Resolved, First, that at least one perfect system of railroads spanning the country in every direction and at suitable interspaces ought to belong to and be operated by the National Government; and that said Government shall, as early as possible, either purchase a system already existing and perfect it or construct a new one.

Secondly—That other great industries, a private monopoly of which must have a depressing effect upon the people, shall, as speedily as possible, be made the property and business of the Government.

Thirdly—That the Government shall cease to show partiality in favor of capitalists by depositing public money in the private banks of the country at the low rate of interest it has hitherto received from them; and, instead, shall show to the poor man that it can also be on his side, by loaning money to needy farmers and laborers at 2 or 3 per cent. per annum, sufficient security being given."

In the bitterness of its Anarchistic soul the *Sun* then sobs:

"It is unnecessary to comment upon these resolutions. They make pleasant reading for Socialists. They are unpleasant reading for those of us who believe that Government should interfere as little as possible with the concerns of the governed. Is the spirit of

Independence and self-reliant helpfulness that has been characteristic of Americans and American communities dying out?"

A curious straw right here is the fact that one of the *Sun's* old friends, Rutherford B. Hayes, has just subscribed for the NATIONALIST, thus affording the *Sun* a fresh chance for another fit editorial—we mean another editorial fit. But that philosophical Anarch, the *Sun*, is not alone in its capitalistic grief. Its rival, the *World*, has just had an equal spasm on Postal Telegraphy. It remarks Cassandra-wise:

"The proposal of the Postmaster-General to establish a Postal Telegraph system is in many respects a seductive one. The convenience of cheap postal telegraphy appeals to all minds, and *not the less strongly because of the arrogance with which the existing telegraph monopoly of Jay Gould habitually treats the public.*

But there are objections of the gravest character to the taking of any step in the direction of State Socialism. The chief of them is that the tendency in the direction of that form of despotism is already much too strong to be contemplated with equanimity by lovers of democratic liberty under a state with restrictive functions.

The Postal Telegraph might easily develop into a Government monopoly of telegraphs, to be followed in natural course by a Government monopoly of railroads, express lines, mines, factories and the like. That way danger lies." [The italics are ours.]

Right in line with the action of the western farmers, so bewailed by the *Sun*, is the bill brought forward in the National Senate by Leland Stanford of California, a multimillionaire, whom some sapient editors now accuse of making a colossal bid for the Presidency. The \$50,000,000 Senator sees the disease, at least, when he recommends the Government to loan money to the farmers at a very low rate of interest. But his remedy, though worth trying, would only postpone the evil day. Still, as statesmanship has been called a science of palliatives, his proposition entitles him to rank with some of the ablest leaders of parties in a nation that should be an industrial unit. And anyway, if his accusers are right as to his lofty ambition, his candidacy is a thing worth considering.

THE BOSTON HERALD VS. PROF. DE LEON.

The article in the February Nationalist, entitled "The Eleventh Census Conspiracy," has created quite a stir. It is, indeed, a terrible indictment and, if not substantially true, the Nationalist ought certainly, as demanded by the Boston Herald, to apologize for it. Now the Nationalist, though taking every precaution for correctness is, of course, liable now and then, like everything human, to be misled. In this case, however, we fail to see any radical error yet proven, though several powerful newspapers with great pertinacity have charged Professor De Leon with great inaccuracy. The Boston Herald being one of the most pertinacious defenders of the Census office, let us examine its position. Here is DeLeon's reply to its earlier defences.

To the Editor of the Herald: Your editorial entitled "A Baseless Statement," contained in your issue of the 16th inst., and wherein you attempt to refute the conclusions I expressed in the February number of the Nationalist Magazine, with regard to the existence of a conspiracy to prevent the dissemination of truth about the condition of our working classes closes with this question: Will Prof. DeLeon admit his error?

Have you proven any? I described the condition of things as revealed by the reports of the bureaus of statistics of labor themselves; I gave the history of the clause providing for an inquiry into the enforced idleness among our working classes; I pointed out how that clause got into the census act for 1880; how it was treated by the census office, and how it got out of the census act for 1890. You do not dispute a single one of my allegations of fact. But, say you, my conclusion is false, all the same, because the census act of 1890 expressly provides that this year's schedules of inquiries shall be the same as those of 1880, and the blanks that have been prepared under that law contain the inquiry: "16. Months unemployed during the census year."

You give me no news. You do not overthrow, or as much as touch, my conclusion. On the contrary, you add strength to it, seeing you go to the trouble of making it evident that the census office and their conferees are able to furnish their friends with only an equivocation in rebuttal of what you justly style an indictment against them.

Let me ask you a few questions.

1. Do you think the query concerning idleness in the schedules of 1890 carries with it greater force than did the same query in the schedules of 1880, although the latter was backed by an express mandate, while the former limps unsupported?

2. Would you say, in the face of all the contemporaneous facts, which you do not even attempt to deny, that the omission of the clause concerning the unemployed from the census act for 1890 was but the result of innocence, "childlike and bland?"

3. Can you imagine that a query which, according to fundamental principles of interpretation, as established by your own Greenleaf in his work on "Evidence," to say nothing of Vattel, has been rendered obsolete, unmeaning and harmless, is seriously intended to be treated with deference in 1890, notwithstanding the same query in 1880, when it was part and parcel, and had all the vigor, of law, was contemptuously ignored?

4. Do you not see that, by construction of law and by common sense, the elimination from the census act for 1890 of the clause ordering an inquiry into the working classes clearly abrogates query No. 16—a query inserted into the schedules of 1880 only by reason of the law of that year, and that the said clause of the census act for 1880, pregnant as it was with meaning and antecedents, being thus eliminated, the provision requiring the schedules for this year to be the same as those for 1880 is, so far as query No. 16 is concerned, inoperative, and of no binding force whatever upon the census office?

5. In view of all this, can you fail to perceive in the reappearance of query No. 16 on the face of this year's schedules; in the present punctilious observance of the letter of the law by the census office (after the outcry raised by the emasculation of Sec. 17 of the census act); in the pretensions of outraged innocence now exhibited by that office—can you fail to perceive in all this the very essence of exposed, yet hopeful, humbug?

And now to me in turn the interesting question arises: As you call upon the NATIONALIST and myself to admit our imagined error, and give the retraction as wide a circulation as we gave to the charge, is it not rather for you to admit your error, and give the reassertion of my position as wide a circulation as you gave to your assertion of its baselessness?

D. DE LEON.

New York, March 21, 1890.

The *Herald's* first comment on this is curious in the extreme.

"The professor's first question, whether the *Herald* had proved any error in his statements, can be answered in a very few words. He charges that there has been a "conspiracy" to prevent the collection and dissemination of information in regard to the condition of workingmen. In support of this charge he referred to the fact that the census act of 1880 required that an inquiry should be made as to whether each person "was employed or unemployed, and if unemployed, during what portion of the year," and showed that the results of that inquiry were never published. *On that statement we had no issue with him.* [Italics our own.]

The *Herald* then claims, after making the above striking admission reflecting apparently on the fairness of the Census office (which is in fact the whole meat of the matter and the vital question at issue) that

De Leon said an important clause in the Act for 1880 had vanished from the Act for 1890 and that it, the Herald, has proved the important clause still there. The Herald seems to believe that a cat, with its claws neatly cut and hopping about on sore toes, is still a capital mouser to all intents and purposes. For the Herald, evades De Leon's first categorical question as to whether the query concerning idleness in the 1890 schedule carries with it greater force than in 1880 when it was backed with an express mandate. And where the Professor begs an answer, the Herald begs the question, remarking suavely :

"The answers to his second and fourth questions are that the provision for this inquiry has not been 'omitted' or 'eliminated' from the census act of 1890, as we have shown."

Note the peculiarly diplomatic phrase "the *provision* for this inquiry has not been omitted." Now a provision for a thing, a mandate to do it and the doing thereof are three distinct conceptions. Question 3, by the by, as to the ordinary application of the Law of Evidence as laid down by Greenleaf and Vattel, the Herald, very wisely it seems to us, steers clear of entirely. The Professor of International Law is a practiced logician. So is the Herald editorial writer. Therefore the latter knows a logic-trap when he sees it and declines to meddle with the bait. But yet, clever advocate as the Herald editor is, he makes one or two side-remarks which hurt his case in what touches the true question at issue, namely, the fairness of the Census office; for instance, the remark italicized above and this :

"How much the census bureau will do with the facts when they have been collected we do not know."

Judging from what the Herald admits the Census office did not do in the past, is it not fair to infer that in the future as serious a sin of omission in regard to the publication of the enumeration of the unemployed may be confidently expected. But it seems to us now when the Census office is being brought into discredit even more by its zealous supporters of the capitalistic interest than by De Leon's indictment, that it is high time for the responsible head of that great office to reply in person to the charges made and *reiterated* by the Professor. We call on Carroll D. Wright, therefore, to come forth under his own signature. The pages of the Nationalist are open to him and the Nationalist suspends judgment, being only anxious to get at the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth for the sake of the people, the whole people, rich as well as poor, men, women and children—and posterity!

NATIONALISM—PRINCIPLES, PURPOSES.

EDWARD BELLAMY'S ADDRESS AT TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, ON
THE NATIONALIST CLUB ANNIVERSARY, DEC. 19, 1889.

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No fact is better established by experience or more easily demonstrable by reason than that no republic can long exist unless a substantial equality in the wealth of citizens prevails. Wealth is power in its most concentrated, most efficient and most universally applicable form. In the presence of great disparities of wealth, social equality is at an end, industrial independence is destroyed, while mere constitutional stipulations as to the equal rights of citizens politically or before the law, become ridiculous.

One hundred years ago this Republic was founded upon a substantial equality in the condition of the people. It was not an equality established by law, but a condition resulting from a general state of poverty. For the first fifty years the increase in the wealth of the country was gradual, but within the last thirty years, owing to great mechanical and commercial inventions, it has multiplied by leaps and bounds, no longer growing from decade to decade by arithmetical, but by geometrical ratio. Instead of chiefly tending to enhance the general welfare of the people, this wealth has been mainly appropriated by a small class. At the present time the property of 100,000 men in the United States aggregates more than the total possessions of the rest of the people. Ten thousand people own nearly the whole of New York City with its 2,000,000 population. The entire bonded debt of the United States is held by 71,000 persons only, and over 60 per cent. of it is in the hands of 23,000 persons. A volume of similar details might be furnished, but the situation may be summed up in one of the characteristic phrases of modern business, as follows: Mainly within thirty years 100,000 Americans have succeeded in "freezing out" their 65,000,000 co-partners as to more than half the assets of the concern, and at the rate of the last thirty years, within thirty years more will have secured the remainder.

That is the situation which has created the need for Nationalism. Those are the facts which account for the rapidity of its spread among the people.

For the sake of clearness let us distinguish the evil effects of the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, as political, social and industrial. First as to the political, effects.

The great corporations and combinations of capital dwarf our municipalities, overtop our States and are able to dictate to our National Legislature. The extent to which intimidation and bribery are employed to influence popular elections taints with the suspicion of fraud nearly all verdicts of the ballot when the majority is not large. Even in the grand appeal to the Nation the money power, by judicious concentration of corruption funds upon close States, is able to set at naught the will of the people. The titles of the Presidents of the Republic are no longer clear. What money cannot effect at the polls, by intimidation or by bribery, it does not hesitate to attempt by the corruption of individual legislators. Our municipal Council chambers are too often mere auction rooms, where public franchises are sold to the highest bidder. The Legislatures of some of our greatest States are commonly said to be owned by particular corporations. The United States Senate is known as a "rich men's club," and in the lower House of Congress the schemes of capital have only to meet the sham opposition of the demagogue.

Socially, the vast disparities of wealth afford on every side inhuman contrasts of cruel want and inordinate luxury. The dazzling illustrations of pomp and power, which are the prizes of wealth, have lent to the pursuit of gain, at all times sufficiently keen, a feverish intensity and desperation never seen before in this or any other country. The moderate rewards of persistent industry seem contemptible in the midst of a universal speculative fever. In all directions the old ways of legitimate business and steady application are being abandoned for speculative projects, gambling operations and all manner

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of brigandage under forms of law. The spectacle presented in many instances of great riches, notoriously won by corrupt methods, has undermined the foundations of honesty. The epidemic of fraud and embezzlement, which to-day renders wealth so insecure, results from the general recognition that the possession of property, though it may have a legal title, is very commonly without a moral one. This is the deplorable explanation of the cynical tolerance of fraud by public opinion. Property will not, in the long run, be respected which is without some reasonable basis in industry or desert, and it is justly believed that much of the wealth of to-day could not stand inquiry into the means of its getting.

The consequences of the appropriation of the Nation's wealth by a few, and its further concentration by means of corporations and syndicates, have made possible a policy of monopolizing the control and profits of the industries of the country never before even imagined as among the possible perils of society. Hitherto, when oligarchies have usurped the political control of nations, they have left the conduct of business to the vulgar, but our new order of "nobility" is laying its foundations deeper by obtaining absolute mastery of the means of support of the people.

The effect of the concentration and combination of capital in the conduct of business has been directly to bring the wage-earner more completely than ever under the thumb of the employer. A chief object of combination is to control prices by restricting production—that is to say, employment. While the competition among wage-earners for work is thus made more desperate, they are placed at the mercy of employers by the fact that in so far as employers are consolidated they no longer compete with one another.

But there could be no greater mistake than to fancy that the manual worker is peculiarly a victim of the present situation. The business men, the small tradesmen and manufacturers and the professional classes are suffering quite as much and have quite as much to dread from monopoly as has the poorest class of laborers.

As one after another the different departments of business, productive and distributive, pass under the single or syndicate control of the great capitalists, the so-called middle-class, the business men with moderate capital and plenty of wit, who used to conduct the business of the country, are crowded out of their occupation and rendered superfluous. No doubt the substitution of single for multiple control and the suppression of middlemen represents an economy. But the economy does not benefit the consumer, but goes to swell the profits of the capitalists. Meanwhile, fathers who were set up by their fathers in business find it impossible to do the like for their sons. There is now almost no opportunity left for starting in business in a moderate way; none, indeed, unless backed by large capital. What this means is, that we are rapidly approaching a time when there will be no class between the very rich, living on their capital, and a vast mass of wage and salary receivers absolutely dependent upon the former class for their livelihood. Meanwhile, as the immediate effect of the closing up of business careers to young men, the professions are being overcrowded to the starvation point. The problem before young men coming out of school or college, where to find a place in the world, was never so hard as now. Plutocracy is indeed fast leaving no place for a young man of independent and patriotic spirit, save in the party of Radical Social Reform.

The agricultural interests of the country are passing under the yoke of the money power quite as rapidly as the other forms of industry. The farmers are becoming expropriated by the operation of something like a universal mortgage system, and unless this tendency shall be checked the next generation of farmers will be a generation of tenants-at-will. The agrarian conditions of Ireland bid fair in no long time to be reproduced in portions of the West.

Such, fellow-countrymen, is the condition of political corruption, of social rotteness, of moral degeneracy, of industrial oppression, confusion and impending ruin which has resulted from the overthrow of our republican equality by the money power. If you would learn how republics perish, shut up your musty histories of Greece and Rome and look about you.

In time the money power is bound to seek protection from the rising discontent of the masses in a stronger form of government, and then the republic, long before dead, will be put out of sight. Then it will be too late to resist. Now it is not too late. The republic

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step here is being taken from us, but it is still possible to bring it back. Soon it will be too late to do so, but to-day there is yet time, though there is none to waste.

The Nationalists of the United States ask the co-operation of their fellow-countrymen to bring back the republic. To that end they propose a reorganization of the industrial system which shall restore the equality of the people and secure it by a perpetual guarantee.

In advocating a plan to secure equality we propose to graft no new or strange principle upon the republican idea, but the exercise of a power implied in the very idea of republicanism as ultimately necessary to its preservation. A republic is a form of government based upon and guaranteeing to all citizens a common interest in the national concern. That interest can be common only in proportion as it is substantially an equality of interest. The time has now come in America as it has come sooner or later in the history of all republics, when by the increase of wealth and by gross disparity in its distribution, this equality in its three aspects—political, social, industrial—is threatened with complete subversion. In order, under the changed conditions, to make good the original pledge of the republic to its citizens it has become necessary to re-establish and maintain by some deliberate plan that economic equality, the basis of all other sorts of equality which, when the republic was established, existed in a substantial degree by nature. The question is not of assuming a new obligation, but whether the original ends and purposes of the republican compact shall be repudiated. We demand that the republic keep faith with the people, and propose a plan of industrial reorganization which seems to us the only possible means by which that faith can be kept. We are the true conservative party, because we are devoted to the maintenance of republican institutions against the revolution now being effected by the money power. We propose no revolution, but that the people shall resist a revolution. We oppose those who are overthrowing the republic. Let no mistake be made here. We are not revolutionists, but counter-revolutionists.

But while the guarantee of the equality of citizens is thus a measure amply justified and necessitated by merely patriotic and national considerations, without looking further for arguments, we do, in proposing this action, look both further and higher, to the ends of the earth, indeed, and the ultimate destiny of the race.

While historic, political and economic conditions require that this movement should be conducted on national lines by each people for itself, we hold the economic equality of all men a principle of universal application, having for its goal the eventual establishment of a brotherhood of humanity as wide as the world and as numerous as mankind. Those who believe that all men are brothers, and should so regard one another, must believe in the equality of men, for equals only can be brothers. Even brothers by blood do but hate each other the more bitterly for the tie when the inheritance is unequally parted between them, while strangers are presently made to feel like brothers by equality of interest and community of loss and gain. Therefore we look to the establishment of equality among men as the physical basis necessary to realize that brotherhood of humanity regarded by the good and wise of all ages as the ideal state of society. We believe that a wonderful confluence, at the present epoch, of material and moral tendencies throughout the world, but especially in America, has made a great step in the evolution of humanity, not only possible, but necessary for the salvation of the race. We are surrounded by perils from which the only way of escape is the way upward.

and we
regard The plan of industrial reorganization which Nationalism proposes is the very simple and obvious one of placing the industrial duty of citizens on the ground on which their military duty already rests. All able-bodied citizens are held bound to fight for the nation, and, on the other hand, the nation is bound to protect all citizens, whether they are able to fight or not. Why not extend this accepted principle to industry, and hold every able-bodied citizen bound to work for the nation, whether with mind or muscle, and, on the other hand, hold the nation bound to guarantee the livelihood of every citizen, whether able to work or not. As in military matters the duty to fight is conditioned upon physical ability, while the right of protection is conditioned only upon citizenship, so would we condition the obligation to work upon the strength to work, but the right to support upon citizenship only.

The result would be to substitute for the present ceaseless industrial civil war, of which

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it would be hard to say whether it is more brutal or more wasteful, a partnership of all the people, a great joint stock company to carry on the business of the country for the benefit of all equally, women with men, sick with well, strong with weak. This plan of a national business partnership of equals we hold not only to be demonstrably practicable, but to constitute as truly the only scientific plan for utilizing the energy of the people in wealth production, as it is the only basis for society consistent with justice, with the sentiment of brotherhood, with the teachings of the founder of Christianity, and, indeed, of the founders of all the great religions.

The realization of the proposed plan of industry requires as the preliminary step the acquisition by the nation through its government, National and municipal, of the present industrial machinery of the country. It follows therefore that the Nationalists' programme must begin with the progressive nationalization of the industries of the United States. In proposing this course we are animated by no sentiment of bitterness toward individuals or classes. In antagonizing the money power we antagonize not men but a system. We advocate no rash or violent measures, or such as will produce derangement of business or undue hardship to individuals. We aim to change the law by the law, and the Constitution, if necessary, by constitutional methods. As to the order in which industries should be nationalized, priority should naturally be given to those the great wealth of which renders them perilous to legislative independence, to those which deal extortionately with the public or oppressively with employees, to those which are highly systematized and centralized and to those which can be readily assimilated by existing departments of government.

The following are some of the measures in the line of this policy for which the country appears to be quite ready:

First—The nationalization of the railroads whether by constituting the United States perpetual receiver of all lines, to manage the same for the public interest, paying over to the present security-holders, pending the complete establishment of nationalism, such reasonable dividends on a just valuation of the property as may be earned, or by some other practicable method not involving hardship to individuals.

The nationalization of the railroads is advisable for reasons apart from the Nationalist programme proper. Firstly, the railroad corporations, by the corrupt use of their vast wealth to procure and prevent legislation, are among the most formidable of the influences which are debauching our government. Secondly, the power they wield irresponsibly over the prosperity of cities, states and entire sections of the country, ought to be in the hands only of the general Government. Thirdly, the desperate rivalry of the railroads, with its incidents of reckless extension, duplication and rate wars, has long been a chief waste of the National resources and a cause of periodical business crises. Fourthly, the financial management of a large portion of the railroad system, together with its use for speculative purposes, has rendered railroad financing the most gigantic gambling and general swindling business ever carried on in any country. Fifthly, the convenience and safety of the travelling public demand a uniform and harmonious railroad system throughout the country, nor is it likely that anything less will bring to an end the cruel slaughter of railroad employees now carried on by the corporations.

A second measure for which the people are certainly quite ready is the nationalization of the telegraphic and telephone services, and their addition to the Post-Office, with which, as departments of transmission of intelligence, they should properly always have been connected.

Third—We propose that the express business of the country be assumed by the post-offices, according to the successful practices of other countries.

Fourth—We propose that the coal-mining business which at present is most rapaciously conducted as respects the public, and most oppressively as regards a great body of laborers, be nationalized, to the end that the mines may be continuously worked to their full capacity, coal furnished consumers at cost and the miners humanely dealt with. It is suggested that all mines hereafter discovered or opened shall be regarded as public property subject to just compensation for land.

Fifth—We propose that municipalities generally shall undertake lighting, heating, running of street-cars and such other municipal services as are now discharged by cor-

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porations, to the end that such services may be more cheaply and effectually rendered; that a fruitful source of political corruption be cut off and a large body of laborers be brought under humaner conditions of toil.

Pending the municipalization of all such services as have been referred to, Nationalists enter a general protest against the grant to corporations of any further franchises whether relating to transit, light, heat, water or other public services.

It is to be understood that all nationalized and municipalized businesses should be conducted at cost for use and not for profit, the amount at present paid in taxes by such businesses, being, however, charged upon them.

It is an essential feature of the method of Nationalism that as fast as industries are nationalized or municipalized, the conditions of the workers in them shall be placed upon a wholly humane basis. The hours of labor will be made reasonable, the compensation adequate, the conditions safe and healthful. Support in sickness, with pensions for disabled and superannuated workers, will be guaranteed.

The question will be asked, "How is this great force of public employees to be placed beyond the power of politicians and administrations to use for partisan purposes?" Nationalists respond by proposing a plan for organizing and maintaining all public departments of business that shall absolutely deprive parties or politicians of any direct or arbitrary power over their membership, either as to appointment, promotion or removal.

In the first place, it is understood that upon the nationalization of any business the existing force of employees and functionaries would be as a body retained. It is proposed that the service should be forthwith strictly graded and subsequently recruited exclusively by admissions to the lowest grade. All persons desiring to enter the service should be free to file applications at the proper bureau upon passing certain simple mental or physical tests, not competitive in character and adapted only to minimum grade of qualifications. Upon vacancies occurring in the force or a need of increase the desired additions should be taken from the list of applicants on file, either in order of filed applications or, more perfectly to prevent fraud, by the drawing of the requisite number of names from a wheel containing the entire list of eligibles.

The chief of the department should be appointed at the discretion of the political executive, whether of city, state or nation, in order that responsibility for the general management of the business might be brought home to an elective officer. With this exception, and perhaps the further exceptions in some cases of the chiefs of a few important subordinate branches of the service, all positions should be filled by promotion in order of grades, such promotions to be determined by superiority of record and with certain requirements of length of service. While the chief should have power of suspension, no discharge from the service should take place save by verdict of a tribunal expressly erected for that purpose, before which all charges of fault or incompetence, whether by superior against subordinate, by subordinate against superior or by the outside public against members of the force, should be laid.

It is believed that such a plan of organization would absolutely prevent administrative coercion of members of the public service for partisan ends, and it is urgently recommended by Nationalists that it be immediately applied to the Post-Office and all other business departments of the general Government, to the employees and to the public works department of all municipalities.

The nationalization of the several great branches of public service and productions which have been enumerated would directly affect, greatly for the better, the condition of a million and a half of workers.

Here truly would be a bulwark against capitalism, against corporate usurpation, against industrial oppression. Here would be a mighty nucleus for the coming industrial army. Here, too, would be a great body of consumers whose needs would suggest and whose demands would sustain the beginning of the coming National distributive and productive system.

Even a single industry organized on such a basis as described and guaranteeing to its toilers security, health, safety, dignity and justice would be an object lesson of the advantage of Nationalism, even in its beginnings, which would greatly hasten the general adoption of the system. As a measure which cannot wait, seeing that at best, the conse-

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quences of its postponement must continue to be felt long after it is effected, we urge that such partisan support as may be needful to enable them to attend school to the age of seventeen at least, be provided under proper guards by the State for the children of parents unable to maintain them without aid from their labor, and that with this provision the employment of children should be unconditionally forbidden, and their education made rigidly compulsory, to the end that equality of educational opportunities for all be established.

Seeing that it would be manifestly inconsistent to make the education of our children compulsory while permitting the unlimited importation of adult ignorance and vice, a necessary complement to any system of education would be such regulation of foreign immigration as, without prejudice to honest intelligent poverty, should prevent the importation of persons grossly illiterate in their own language, of the defective and of criminals, merely political offenses not being considered crimes.

In reviewing the measures which have been mentioned as substantially representing, according to my belief, the present demands of Nationalists, it is observable that there is not one of them which is not demanded by considerations of humanity and public expediency quite without reference to Nationalism. A man has no need to be a Nationalist at all to advocate them. They have been freely and often favorably discussed by the press for years, and the leading political economists of this country and Europe are on record in favor of most if not all of them. As to some of the most important of these propositions, it is altogether probable that a majority of the American people, if they could be polled to-day would favor them. Nationalists may be, as some say, a very extravagant and fantastical set of people, but there is certainly nothing fantastical about the plan of action which they propose. There is not even anything which can be said to be greatly in advance of public opinion. This moderation is not accidental, nor yet a result of policy, but a necessary consequence of the method of Nationalism, which is essentially gradual and progressive rather than abrupt or violent, the method of evolution as opposed to that of revolution.

As to the relation of Nationalism to certain political and social issues of the day, a few words may be pertinent.

First, as to the tariff question. When the nation conducts all business for all, the common interest in every improvement will create a far stronger motive than now exists for all sorts of experiments and improvements in home industry, but owing to the public control of the production, tariffs will no longer be necessary as now to encourage private persons to undertake such new experiments. They will be tried as Government experiments are now tried, costing the country only the expense of the experimental stations, the Nation without prejudice to the experiment, continuing, if expedient, to buy in the cheapest market till its own is the cheapest.

The sectional jealousies based upon industrial rivalry, which now make States and cities enemies of each other's prosperity, and create sentiments of disunion will disappear when a National pooling of interests shall interest all equally in the prosperity of all.

As to the race issue, the industrial discipline imposed by Nationalism, while of general benefit to the white population of the South in common with that of the North, will be an ideal system for developing, guiding and elevating the recently emancipated colored race. It should be distinctly stated that the National plan does not propose any forced association of the races in industry, or aim at any form of social amalgamation.

As to the question of women's rights, the National plan will put an end to every form of sexual slavery and place feminine freedom and dignity upon an unassailable basis by making women independent of men for the means of support. We consider that by no method less radical can women's rightful equality with men be established, or, if established maintained.

The evils of intemperance have their strongest roots in the brutalizing conditions of existing society, in the poverty of the masses, their gross ignorance, their misery and despair, in the slavish dependence of women and children upon men, and in the interest of a large class of tradesmen in the sale of intoxicants. If this be true, then the abolition of poverty, the universality of the best education, the complete enfranchisement of women, with a system of distribution which will destroy all personal motive for stimulating the

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sale of intoxicants, constitute surely the most promising as well as the most radical line of true temperance reform.

While the nationalizing of land in such time and by such methods as shall involve least hardships to any is a part of the National plan, and while the Nationalists meanwhile favor all practicable measures to prevent land monopoly and protect tenants and farmers, they are not persuaded that any measure applying to land alone would furnish a sufficient remedy for existing industrial and social troubles.

While sympathizing with all efforts of workers to obtain small immediate improvements in their condition, Nationalists would have them reflect that no great improvements can be gained, and if gained, can be secure, under the present industrial system, and that the only effectual and peaceable way of replacing that system by a better one is offered by Nationalism. It is also pointed out that the plan of Nationalism, by the humane and just conditions which will be secured to the employees of every industry, as it comes under the public control, offers not only the greatest ultimate results, but the speediest and surest way for immediately benefiting great bodies of workers absolutely without a risk of derangement to business.

One hundred years ago, after immemorial years of repression, the human passion for liberty, for equality, for brotherhood burst forth, convulsing Europe and establishing America. There is at hand another and far mightier outburst of the same forces, the results of which will be incomparably more profound, more far-reaching and more beneficent. Men now past middle age are likely to see in Europe the last throne fall, and in America the first complete and full-orbed republic arise, a republic at once political, industrial and social.

It is instructive for Americans to remember that there is scarcely any argument brought to-day against Nationalism which was not in substance brought against the experiment of political equality undertaken in this country a century ago; scarcely one which does not spring from the same low and suspicious estimate of human nature, the same distrust of the people, the same blind belief in personal and class leadership and authority; scarcely one which was not, as to principle, answered a hundred years ago by Madison, Hamilton and Jay in the *Federalist*. And, indeed, how could it be otherwise? For what we propose is but the full development of the same republican experiment which the fathers undertook, a development now become necessary if we would preserve that experiment from ignominious failure.

In advocating equal rights for all as the only solution for the social and industrial problems of to-day, Nationalism follows the lines laid down by the founders of the Republic and proves itself the legitimate heir to the traditions and the spirit of 1776. Guided by those traditions, sustained by that spirit, we cannot fail.

EDWARD BELLAMY.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

CYRUS F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

ARKANSAS. EUREKA SPRINGS: In this city of waters a club was organized the 9th of February, and the same constitution as the parent club adopted. Charter membership was nineteen, and it is expected that it will grow very rapidly as there is a large field for operation in this city. William Kluge was elected Secretary.

CALIFORNIA. LOS ANGELES: Club No. 1, at a late meeting, adopted resolutions requesting the city council to revoke a resolution granting certain water and gas rights. After a paper by Mr. Wheeler, entitled "Why I Became a Nationalist," the following delegates were elected to the State Convention: Mrs. Anna F. Smith, Mrs. Parker, Mrs. Imogene G. Fales, Mrs. Kingsbury, Col. Dailey, Mrs. Campbell, Messrs. Wilshire Street, Owen, and Dr. Peebles.

A plan of city organization has been submitted by a general committee, which provides for the organization as soon as practicable of the Nationalists of this city into nine ward clubs, into clubs at large, and one Nationalist city central committee. The clubs at large are organized for the purpose of taking in members of different nationalities, who are not sufficiently conversant with the English language to join the ward clubs, as the "German," "French," "Spanish," "Italian" Nationalist clubs of Los Angeles. This method of city organization is something which should be followed approximately by all cities where there are two or more clubs.

Club No. 2, at a late meeting in the Congregational Church, was addressed by Rev. A. J. Wells, between five hundred and six hundred people being present.

Club No. 3 (German) has a commendable practice which might be followed with profit by all the other clubs throughout the United States. This is a "social session," which is devoted to impromptu remarks by all present, which enables them to become better acquainted with the question and to acquire practice in public speaking. Of course, no one is allowed to speak more than five minutes. This club elected E. C. Schnabel as delegate to the San Francisco State Convention.

Club No. 4 is called The Social Club and meets weekly. At each meeting a long and varied programme, vocal and instrumental, speaking, recitations, etc., are the order of the day.

Club No. 5, at its last meeting at Illinois hall, had eight hundred persons present.

Club No. 6 has been formed at the West end.

Clubs are being organized in every ward, and there will soon be a central committee with delegates from each club.

BUENA PARK: A club will be organized here shortly.

CLEARWATER: After an address by H. G. Wilshire on March 11th, at which the whole town turned out en masse, a Nationalist club was formed, twenty members signing the roll. Mr. Malcolm was elected temporary President, and Miss Thomas Secretary.

DOWNEY: A meeting, attended by over one hundred persons, was held here lately, and was addressed by H. G. Wilshire. The chair was taken by C. H. Eberle, editor of the Downey Champion, who was subsequently elected Secretary of the club, which was organized as the result of Mr. Wilshire's efforts.

LORDSBURG: Several meetings have been held here, with G. L. Ensign as President, George B. Farmer as Secretary, and John Overman Treasurer.

NORWALK: A club has been formed in this town with E. E. Dollard as Secretary.

OCEAN VIEW: Harry A. Sully, the corresponding secretary writes as follows: Herewith is a brief report of our Ocean View Nationalist Club; our present officers are: President, Mrs. R. Walsh; vice-president, Mrs. R. Mackay; financial secretary, Mrs. J. Hale; corresponding secretary, Mr. H. A. Sully; treasurer, Mrs. E. Joy.

The membership to date is 81. We have inaugurated a boys' auxiliary to the club, and take pleasure in announcing that we have the First Boys' Flute Band organized under

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the auspices of the Nationalist movement. We find the discipline and co-operation, incident to and connected with the weekly practice, are having a very good effect in making "Our Boys" more gentle to each other, in addition to which they are growing up to manhood under the banner of Nationalism. The band only consists of twelve boys whose ages range from 11 to 16 years, but it is doing good work not only in educating the lads, but in assisting us to reach the parents.

The good work goes on apace and we at Ocean View are doing what we can to bring into the fold as many as possible. We are determined that everyone inside a three mile radius from our beautiful little suburb of the big city (San Francisco) shall be told what Nationalism is, what it is going to do, and how it is proposed to achieve the work.

POMONA: A club is in process of formation in this town. G. L. Ensign of Lordsburg and F. B. Cook of Los Angeles being the moving spirits.

SAN FRANCISCO: The clubs in this city are busy making preparations for the State Convention, to be held April 2nd. This State Convention, it is expected, will form a State League, which shall bring the different clubs of that State into a harmonious working condition. The statement made some time ago that California would send a Nationalist delegation to Congress seems within sight of verification. Such peculiar circumstances exist in San Francisco in the contest of the city with the Spring Valley Water Company that long-headed and conservative Nationalists are claiming that the city will be carried for Nationalism in the Fall.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. WASHINGTON: Secretary M. A. Clancy, writes: "Considerable interest has been excited in our Club by the introduction of a resolution thanking Senator Stanford for his resolution in the Senate for government issue of money based upon pledge of real-estate at one or two per cent. interest. It was debated *pro* and *con* during two evenings, but as no vote was taken upon it each side must be supposed to be satisfied. The reports of our Committee on Information indicate a widespread interest in Nationalism throughout the country, mostly in the western portion, California taking the lead. Our Publication Committee has sent over one hundred copies of *Looking Backward*, with circulars, to persons in different parts of the country, and has received many replies, all favorable with one exception. Many furnished additional names, the recipients thus becoming centres of distribution. The Committee has also distributed many copies of the *Craftsman*, a local labor paper, as a means of propaganda, as it has generously published everything furnished by the Club on Nationalism. The committee has also arranged for a series of lectures before the Club by local talent, the first of which by J. L. McCreery on "Prosperity on an Average," has already been delivered, and others to follow by Alex. Kent, our first president, on "Individualism and Nationalism"; by Paul Bowen, on "Social Hypocrisy," and by Dr. W. W. Townsend on "Invention and Nationalism." Our membership has not increased very rapidly lately, but a more general interest in the subject of Nationalism is apparent, prompted in a great measure by the newspaper publications, which are generally favorable. It is only such publications as the Forum and Atlantic Monthly that seem disposed to antagonize. They will only aid, however, in the general educational movement which seems to be healthily progressing."

KANSAS. ELMDALE: A club was organized at this place on the eve of January 21st, with six members. It has now sixteen members; increasing slowly, but surely. The officers are: President, E. Stotts; secretary, S. E. Yeoman; assistant secretary, L. B. Breeze. The Constitution of the Boston Club was adopted as far as it would meet the case. Meetings are held weekly, and at each meeting selections are read from the NATIONALIST MAGAZINE.

CONCORDIA: Club number one was organized, March 12th, on lines laid down in the constitution and declaration of principles of the Boston Club. The officers are: President, George W. Marshall; vice-president Benjamin Lane; secretary, Mr. Carnathea; treasurer, H. M. Spaulding; advisory committee, Thomas Lemay, C. W. Stewart, D. B. Couch, B. P. Shafer and W. B. Shaw. Meetings will be held regularly on the second and fourth Wednesdays of every month. The club starts with a membership of thirty-four. Thomas Lemay read the New Revolution by Edward Bellamy, which was received with great applause.

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MASSACHUSETTS. BOSTON: A great deal of the efforts of the Nationalists in this city has been devoted to matters now pending before the Legislature. One to give cities and towns permission to establish gas and electric plants, and the other to raise the age of compulsory education. A great many members of the club have appeared at the hearings before the different committees of the Legislature in advocacy of these measures. Interest in these matters was not confined to members of the club. It is expected that a vigorous fight will be made on the first matter, with great probabilities that it will pass the House of Representatives and be killed in the Senate, where the "influence" of corporations is very strong.

Club No. 1 holds its regular business meeting once a month and also a public meeting, at which addresses are made on the different phases of Nationalism. Capt. E. S. Huntington delivered at the last public meeting, in the hall of the Women's Educational Union, a very powerful address on "Nationalism, Its Historical, Ethical and Practical Basis." He was listened to with close attention, as his address bore evidence of great research and careful statement. An open letter is to be sent to every club throughout the country stating that the First Nationalist Club of Boston is in favor of making eight hours a legal working day, and urging other Nationalist clubs to assist in obtaining such laws.

Club No. 2 is meeting weekly at Twilight hall, corner of Hollis and Washington streets. The meetings are alternately public and business meetings. Mrs. Clara Foltz, President of the San Diego club, delivered a characteristic and enthusiastic speech before this club last month. The club is growing in membership and devoting its time principally to pushing the fight against the gas monopoly.

A club is in process of formation at the West end.

Sooner or later a city central committee will be found necessary here as has been the experience of other cities. There is enough material to organize a club in each ward, if those who are now members would take hold as they should.

In chronicling the news of the movement the work of the Christian Socialists should not be forgotten. Their paper, "The Dawn," is doing excellent work, the ministers, of which to a large degree the society is composed, preach week after week sermons on our present social condition. These efforts are bound to tell. A society has been formed in New York and San Francisco, and one is in process of formation in Providence, R. I.

SOMERVILLE: The First Nationalist Club of this city is progressing finely as regards membership. It has been decided to hold a grand rally and mass meeting at Fraternity hall, Union square, at which Rev. James Yeames will be the principal speaker. It has been decided by this club to raise a sum of money by means of a sociable and entertainment to place the NATIONALIST MAGAZINE in twenty schools and colleges in the State of Massachusetts, in order that the rising generation may gain a knowledge of the principles on which Nationalism is founded.

MINNESOTA. MINNEAPOLIS: Mrs. Kate Buffington Davis, the Secretary of No. 1, writes: We have held meetings regularly every two weeks, with the exception of the holiday season, and had several lectures out of the regular course. Interest in Nationalism is developing among all classes. We have among our new members, manufacturers, bankers, ministers and capitalists.

On the evening of Jan. 29th, Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, addressed a Union meeting of the clubs of the city on "Collectivism in German Municipalities," giving an inspiring account of the practical working of municipal control of industries as developed in Berlin, Munich and other German cities. At the close of the address a resolution was proposed, demanding that the control of lighting be placed under the municipal charge as an industry carried on by the people for the people.

It was unanimously adopted by the clubs, receiving many assenting "Ayes" from guests assembled, including the affirmative vote of Dr. Shaw.

A club in process of forming in Washburn, Wis., under the leadership of Mr. Hugh Munroe, will probably be fully organized before these words are in print.

As a result of Mrs. Diaz's visit to our twin city, St. Paul has now a flourishing club; the officers are: President, E. J. Hodgson; vice-president, Jennie Fuller, M. D.; secretary, Harry Y. Russell.

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I am also in receipt of a letter from Dr. Fish, editor of *The Great West* (a journal representing the political and commercial interest of the farmer), in which he says:

"I assure you that our labor is not only in line with farm work, but very earnestly so. I am out on the lecture platform nearly every week, and find a vast inspiration from Mr. Bellamy. We are doing great work among the farmers, and sending out the book, while the just complaints by the farmers of our commercial system prepare the ground as it was never 'pulverized' before." You can see there are many and varied forces at work in this region, and we assure our friends elsewhere of practical results.

MISSOURI. ST. LOUIS: This club has now a good membership and is ready for active work. Meetings are held every week. The first work which the club is doing, is to get as many readers as possible for *Looking Backward* and the *NATIONALIST MAGAZINE*.

KANSAS CITY: The First Nationalist Club of this city lately adopted resolutions commending T. B. Blackstone, President of the Chicago and Alton Railroad, who, in his annual report made to the stockholders, advocated the nationalization of the railroads. These resolutions also put forth the idea that in taking possession of the railroads the people should repudiate all watered stock and fictitious bonds.

NEW YORK. BROOKLYN: Club No. 2 has been organized in the eastern district with a membership of twenty-five. The officers are as follows: President, Rev. H. H. Brown; Vice President, C. C. Mulholland; Recording Secretary, P. T. A. Neuman; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. A. A. Winham; Treasurer, J. S. Smith.

Mr. C. F. H. Walsh, the Secretary of Club No. 1, writes hopefully as follows: It is an extremely pleasant duty to report such success as that which we have accomplished. We are growing in many directions, but more particularly in numbers and in public esteem. These specified growths are, I believe, in a large measure due to our public lectures, which are given every Saturday evening at the Club's headquarters; they are well attended, and as free discussion is permitted at the close of lectures, they have become quite popular. The club now consists of seventy members, and it is an exceptional week in which we fail to increase numerically. We have become very optimistic, not only as to the future success of the club, but also in regard to the movement as a whole.

NEW YORK: Club number nine has just been organized in a new section of the city, the Secretary being Henry S. Beers, 215 W. 131st Street. The membership of all the clubs is steadily growing, and is of very desirable material comprising men and women from all ranks of labor, manual and brain. Bellamy's address in the *World* produced a sensation, and being followed as it was by his answer to General Walker, the effect was very good. The conference committee is working slowly as the matter to be attended to is the organization of a central body representing all the clubs.

ALBANY: The gas question is being thoroughly investigated in this club. Two papers on the question have been read before the club and a series of seven articles published in the *Albany Journal*. Public meetings are held twice a month and are fairly well attended. Prof. Daniel DeLeon spoke here a short time ago, his subject being "Nationalism the only way out!" Last January the Single Tax Club, several labor organizations and the Nationalists joined forces in a movement for municipal control of the electric light plant. Statistics were being collected and petitions circulated, but the work was scarcely under way, when a resolution was introduced in the Common Council to make a new contract for five years, although the present contract had over a year to run. As this resolution confined the bids to the Brush system and the Albany Company has the exclusive right to that system in this city, it virtually meant that the present contract should be extended five years, and the company be allowed to fix the price at whatever figure it pleased. The Mayor is manager of the Electric Light Company and prominent politicians of both parties, and the proprietors of nearly every newspaper in the city are stock holders. We determined, however, to make a fight. Through our efforts a public hearing was given. Speakers were on hand from every representative organization in the city, arguing mostly for open competition at least. Mr. Bowen of the Single Tax Club presented figures from several cities and made an able argument for municipal control. W. S. McClure, secretary of the Albany Club, stated the case from the Nationalist point

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of view, urging as strongly as possible, ownership by the city as being in every way preferable even to open competition. Not a member of the Common Council dared to speak a word in favor of the resolution, but it was passed by just exactly the vote required. It was reserved for the stockholding press to defend their action, and they actually tried to do so. It caused an indignation meeting to be called, at which they were roundly denounced, and we are now endeavoring to make it the leading issue in the spring elections. The Secretary of this club writes: "We feel, in spite of our slow growth in numbers, that the work will tell in time. We have gained a hearing at least, and we think it has been largely through our efforts that practical municipal reform is becoming a live question in this city."

PENNSYLVANIA. ALLEGHENY: A club was formed in this city Thursday evening, March 19th, with the following officers: President, W. J. B  ard; vice-president, J. H. Hollins; secretary and treasurer, T. J. Roney. The club has now twenty members on its roll, and expects to have in the near future the largest number of members in the United States. About the first of April the club will move into a new and larger hall in the centre of the city. The address of the Secretary is 43 Anderson Street.

STURGEON: The club was formed in this place, March 21st, by August Gatet, its charter membership comprising some of the more intelligent citizens of the town. Its officers are as follows: President, August Gatet; Vice President, Jacob Abbiaty; Secretary, Robert McVicker; Librarian, Chas. McVicker. The constitution of the Boston club will undoubtedly be adopted as the constitution of this club.

OBITUARY.

We have to chronicle the passing from earthly labors of, perhaps, the most aged of the followers of Bellamy. Mrs. Eliza Webber died at the residence of her daughter Mrs. Irene W. Clark, 809 E. 15th street, Minneapolis, Minn., on Feb'y 22d, at the advanced age of 90 years. Her influence was far reaching, for, despite her years, her soul was young and ardent in battling against the wrongs that oppress humanity. Though passed from the scene of earthly struggle, her brave spirit inspires her descendants, among whom is counted Dr. E. F. Clark, Pres. Nationalist Club 1, of Minneapolis.

REVIEWS.

THE ANCIENT LOWLY, BY C. OSBORNE WARD, Translator and Librarian U. S. Dep't of Labor.

This book is a valuable historical compilation of data, from a standpoint of social science. It takes the subject from the earliest known period to the adoption of Christianity by Constantine. If the lofty tone and spirit of the work be caught, it cannot but prove a tremendous lever in the furtherance of a diplomatic disposition of the socialistic questions both political and economic which press hard on all sides for temporary adjustment, if not for final solution.

It appears that the Hebrews were the chief originators and conservators of what is now advocated in the name of socialism, as the law of Moses had partly abolished slavery as early as 1400 B. C. While the Indo-European branch of the human family have ever been competitive, Aristotle, in 350 B. C., predicted that "slave labor may become obsolete," and Rodbertus, in our time, that society will outgrow the wage system, or competitive slavery.

Two theorems are set down: 1st, "that the greater the organization of the working classes for mutual protection and resistance the higher the standard of enlightenment in the communities they inhabit." 2nd, "that the higher the enlightenment, the more complete is the extinction of social ranks."

Hesiod, who lived probably more than a thousand years before our Christian era, was the first known labor agitator. His poem, "Works and Days," entitles him to be styled the father of the emotions of pure sympathy. Because historians, according to our present historian, were mostly of patrician stock, we have waited in vain, until now, for a true knowledge of the innumerable strikes and labor wars that occurred during the period covered by this book. Some of the most prominent leaders are as follows; Eunus, Athenion, Spartacus, Drimakos, Gracchus, Aristonicus, and Satyros. If we were to compare ancient with modern warfare, we must pronounce the latter humane in the extreme, ancient practices being too horrible even to think of; the crucifying of 6000 prisoners of war along the Appian Way being among the milder atrocities.

According to the best information collated by Mr. Ward, the societies of self-help among the proletariat were not confined to the Hellenic Peninsula, the Ionian and Grecian Archipelagoes, but existed also in Asia and Africa; and these societies appear to have uniformly followed Aristotle in his method of self-teaching. That these societies were devoted to religious exercises in connection with the economic relations is a fact established beyond question; which is sufficient reason for the historian to treat them as interdependent subjects.

"The old red flag" comes in for a good share of scientific investigation.

Out of the many places marked by great uprisings of workingmen, we have but to name Pergamus, Rhodes, and Cappadocia to be aware that the early Christian Church found these places a mellow soil wherein to firmly plant itself. By the turn of a sentence here and there, we find the writer conservative in theology; this, however, does not detract from his wisdom in summing up evidence which goes to prove that economic slavery must be subverted and superseded by the realization and practice of equality; and the diplomatic, not the irascible method, alone makes such just results possible.

Mr. Ward deserves the gratitude of those whose hopes are high for the coming civilization for having given to the world so valuable a book. It can be obtained from the 1st Nationalist Club of Washington, D. C.

A PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Early in February, Henry Austin, editor of *THE NATIONALIST*, came to see me and strongly urged me to become his successor, beginning with the May number.

My regard for Mr. Austin lent great weight to his wishes and after considerable hesitation I consented.

I was at that time pretty well used up from a two months' tussle with the influenza then prevalent, and was in no condition for work of any kind; but in making this engagement with Mr. Austin, and through him with the public, I reckoned on regaining my ordinary health before it should fall due.

In this expectation I have been disappointed. I am now told by my physician that if I am to be of use in the future, I must take an almost absolute rest this summer.

In view of this advice it would seem imperative that I should not assume, *at least for the present*, a duty so responsible as that of editing *THE NATIONALIST*. This fact was communicated at once to Mr. Austin, but the number containing the announcement was already out of his hands. In order that my failure to make good the announcement should rest where it belongs, that is on myself, I offer this personal explanation.

By way of compounding for my broken engagement I hope to write a good many editorial notes for the Magazine during the summer, which service, together with the Presidency of the Nationalist Educational Association, according to the announcement on the cover of this number, will make me a somewhat active member of the Editorial Board.

EDWARD BELLAMY.

Chicopee Falls, Mass.

OUR DESTINY.

THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALISM ON MORALS AND RELIGION.

BY LAURENCE GRONLUND,

Author of *The Coöperative Commonwealth*, *Ça Ira* or *Danton in the French Revolution*, etc., etc.

This, the author's latest and, according to his own belief, best contribution to Economic Literature, was begun in the *March Nationalist*.

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Albert Stickney has written a book to convince his readers that the most pressing political need of the people of the United States is the calling of a national constitutional convention, in accordance with the provisions of our present constitution, to consider the question of constitutional amendments. This is, undoubtedly, the desirable way to make our country a socialist Republic. But it is very fortunate, that there is no prospect of such a convention during the next quarter of a century, or before the natural evolution can have done its work of enlightening the people. It will need that length of time at least, for the interested capitalists know how to create public sentiment in their favor, and to them is due all the talk about the inability and the corruption of the State. The more lucrative a private enterprise is, and therefore the greater need that society should conduct it in the interest and for the benefit of all, the stronger will private parties oppose the change. Meanwhile all our influence should be directed toward inciting or compelling the party (or rather the faction) that in principle stands nearest to us, to apply the principles of socialism to enterprises wherein the Constitution is no obstacle; and, on reflection, we may find a great number of instances where the several States can adopt these principles to the great advantage of their people.

5. We now come to the very kernel of this preliminary — the first great proximate effect of a socialist *regime*.

This is Increased Production, the second great *desideratum* of our times, but to which the Trusts do not help us a bit. They do bring harmony between production and consumption, but this they do precisely by decreasing the former.

It is a most profound truth which Professor Walker teaches: "We need a new Adam Smith, to write the economics of consumption, in which will be found the real dynamics of wealth;" yet a truth to which our employers seem totally blind, since they behave as if it were their ideal to have production carried on without "hands" at all, except perhaps a stoker and engineer. They seem constantly to lose sight of the fact, that their boots and shoes and other products are not consumed by people of another planet; that we are not even in the position of England, whose products still, to a great extent, are

consumed by foreigners,—while we produce for our own people. Suppose, then, each large factory could produce millions of dollars worth of goods with but a stoker and an engineer, would not these goods be valueless in the hands of producers, since the masses could not buy them, however much they might want them? Of what use is a wealth of nails if they cannot be sold? This is brought into still stronger relief in cases where the “wealth” is in products that only serve as raw-materials for other processes—these, when not sold, being entirely valueless.

Consumption, especially in our country, is then, truly “the real dynamics of wealth.” Increased production can be sustained only by increased consumption, and thus the latter is the *first* consideration. It is impossible to emphasize this point too much; we cannot too strongly insist, that current political economy is “dismal,” merely because it has an eye for nothing but production. It is with that as with happiness—in order to attain it, you must not make it your goal. Our capacity for production is already absolutely boundless; it only needs a sufficient stimulus; consumption is that stimulus, and the urgent question is how the coming change will affect consumption.

If one go to the root of the matter it will be found that the present economic system—because it is a “wage” and a “profit” system—artificially limits consumption and destroys the purchasing power of the masses. In thus doing, it chokes production as if with a ring of granite, just as much as, by bringing inventions, machinery and the division of labor to their present state, it at first advanced it. What is now needed is simply to destroy this granite ring, to abolish this profit-mongering; to promote production for the satisfaction of social wants, and consumption will then immediately vastly increase and this will expand production with a rebound. This is what Nationalism means and what it purposes doing: to enable society—the nation, state, or municipality, each in its proper sphere—to set all willing hands and brains to work, by furnishing them the necessary capital; then we shall have, not the artificial harmony between production and consumption which the trusts create, but perfect natural harmony between the capacity for producing and the capacity for consuming, both of which are even now illimitable. No pampering, no poverty any longer, but the whole country vibrating with the music of joyful labor!

It must be evident that this will be a far greater blessing of Socialism than the equitable distribution which hitherto, even by Socialists,

has been thought to be its greatest effect. What need we care, if a few get more than their share, if only all others can have all that they need? But profit-mongering must go, and its abolition, Mallock warns us, will be disastrous.

He claims that the 500 million pounds, which is now annually produced in Great Britain, over and above the incomes of forty years ago, by an equal number of workers, are "evidently" not the product of Labor, but of the "ability" of the Minority. Then he criticizes the position of the writer in these words: "Laurence Gronlund has been misled in his belief that each step of industrial progress is a step which once gained is gained forever, and that the capitalistic classes have done their work and given to energy all the productivity required. This is a delusion. Whatever ability has been needed to cause progress is needed to keep it from retrogression. The progress of the life of Society must forever be formed and maintained by the Minority." Therefore the coming democracy will have to be careful not to "rob the world of wealth and leisure, the main sources of progressive industrial energy, of their prizes," i. e., of the results of profit-mongering, or we shall surely return to barbarism.

The place and function of **THE ABLE MAN** in a Socialist Commonwealth will be hereafter discussed; in this place I will say merely a few words about Mallock's "Ability," which is supposed to have created the above surplus, and which makes its activity contingent upon profits.

He has in another place explained it. He supposes a capitalist to buy a bankrupt factory and during the first year to make a profit of \$100,000 by changing, in an infinitesimal degree, the products to suit the fancy of certain customers. This profit, and the whole of it, he now claims to be the fruit, exclusively, of the "ability" of this capitalist, and to belong, and to belong justly to him, and to him alone. You are perfectly right, we reply; under the present competitive system it would be sheer folly to confiscate these profits for the benefit of the operatives, simply because under this system it is the special function of the wise organizer and manager to keep a watchful eye on what consumers need, and to have it ready at the time and place, and in the form in which it is wanted, and in no greater quantities than is needed. But in the Socialist Republic, while the Able Man will be far more in demand than now, this special sort of "ability" will become perfectly superfluous, because system will have been intro-

duced everywhere. No huge quantities of goods will then be produced in anticipation of an uncertain demand; no guesswork and no secrecy will be requisite anywhere.

In passing it may be remarked, that the functions of the capitalistic employer of a hundred years ago and the period immediately following are in our time being increasingly performed by salaried managers of impersonal companies, officials who certainly ought to find their advantage in being turned into the ministers of a democratic state.

And this has the closest possible connection with the movement, soon to assume practical shape in our country, for a normal working day of eight hours. In this connection it is worth while to recall Professor Walker's declaration: "self-assertion by the working classes is an important factor in the beneficent distribution of wealth—" and, we add, in the *production* of wealth. Organized Labor proves itself far more intelligent and clear sighted than does such a journal as the *New York Evening Post*, when it sneeringly asks, "if reduction of hours of labor leads to increased production, why should not the condition of the race be infinitely improved by a general cessation of industry?"

Organized labor can give the *Post* the economic instruction it so sadly needs. The lack of consumption in "the masses," of which we have spoken, is almost synonymous with the low level of "working-class" comfort, because (though of course the wage-workers are not literally the same as the masses, and still less are the laborers out of employment) depression in one place quickly propagates itself by contagion. We are, in other words, shut up in a circle: we cannot have steady production, if we have not steady consumption; we cannot have the latter if the workers, and all the workers, are not kept in steady production. A reduction in the hours of labor will certainly have the result of giving employment and decent wages to the large numbers of laborers now in enforced idleness, and thereby of increasing the effective demand — the ability to buy — of the entire working-class. Again, such a reduction will increase the intelligence, the good-will and the social estimation in which the laborer is held, and that, in subtle ways, will react on production, both as to quantity and quality.

6. We have now reached the second proximate effect of a socialistic *regime* and the immediate consequence of System and Abundance : of Independence or Freedom, as opposed to the insecurity — or so-called “Liberty” which is now the lot of the masses. The conception of life as a “ competitive race ” is bad enough, but even this is only for the comfortable ones. Most men do not know about any “ race ; ” they have trouble enough to *live*. Ask them what they are striving for, and they will reply : God knows, we have no time to think of the future ; we have enough to do in protecting ourselves and our children from the pressure of the present. The great crime of the fortunate ones has been that hitherto they have neither known, nor cared to know, how the vast majority lives, but have stood aloof from it and left it in degrading want and abject helplessness.

Look at the wage-earner in steady employment and see what his “ independence ” in this blessed country amounts to. The Census of 1880 tells us that the average wage is less than \$7 a week. The chiefs of labor statistics in two of the most favored states of the Union, Massachusetts in the East and Illinois in the West, inform us that the majority of workingmen, those who are sober and industrious, cannot make both ends meet, without sending their tender children to the factory. And for the privilege of earning this “ livelihood ” the wage-earner is indebted to the favor of some individual, his master, upon whose will and whim he is constantly dependent during the whole term of his employment.

The wage system is founded on the pestilent heresy, that labor is a commodity, a ware. By denouncing this doctrine in their late pastoral the bishops of the Episcopal church nobly did their duty. The worst effect of the system, that which makes it almost satanic, is, not that it makes some rich and makes others poor, but that, by placing one class under the power of the other, to be used as means to its ends, it destroys all truly human relations, fills the one with lordly hauteur, the other with servility, divides the nation against itself and defeats the ends of humanity.

Ah, but what shall we, then, say of those who can find no work, who would consider themselves happy, blessed, if they had a “ master ? ” That is the terrible fact which finally moved Mallock. He now admits that insecurity is the real injury to, and grievance of, the modern laborer. “ To be discharged means to be cut off from society, thrust out of all connection with civilization ; this makes want of employ-

ment a real torture to him. Not alone the actual pain of being out of work for a time, but the anxiety the worker experiences in securing another engagement — all this forms not alone inconvenience, but sometimes bitterness, and, more than that, it is a constant reminder to him how insecure is his tenure of his individual share in civilization." Now, the nationalization of industries will necessarily be attended with the following results :

First, everyone will become a public functionary, and will be entitled to suitable work from the Commonwealth. Our progress so far has been from *status* to *contract* ; the latter we shall afterwards see can be but a transition stage ; we shall in the future have status once more, but on a higher plane : formerly, birth determined condition ; henceforth, capacity will be the controlling factor. Dependence on individuals, and on their pleasure will consequently cease ; while all without exception will equally depend on the impersonal collectivity in a far purer form than do our present public functionaries who owe far more to favor than to merit.

This demands a true Civil Service Reform. It is to be regretted that the petitions for a national telegraph system did not embrace a demand for an administrative system, similar to what President Adams proposes for railroad employees. In substance this would consist of a board, nominated by the employees, which would have to adjudicate upon all grievances, secure to those already in the service tenure during good behavior and due promotion to even the highest places, as well as to make all new appointments. A similar system should apply to each service as soon as nationalized.

Prof. Graham insists that there are three " deep, dominant and not decreasing " desires, which the social system of the future must not contravene. The first of these is freedom of speech and action ; that, we have shown above, will be guaranteed by Nationalism.

Second, we can surely say, without here entering into details, that there will result a more equitable distribution of wealth, which has hitherto been thought to be the principal effect of Socialism, but which we have seen must give precedence to increase of production. Without discussing the principle of distribution, we can say that those performing the lowest offices will be paid sufficient to lead a life worthy of a man ; and that disagreeableness of occupation will increase rather than diminish the pay. Imagine the man carting muck paid as well as he who sells tape ! This alone will grind existing ar-

rangements to powder. Hence, we insist, that Prof. Graham's second desire—"the instinct," as he calls it "of private property"—will also be gratified by Nationalism. Far from doing away with private property, Socialism will enable everybody to acquire property; it will consecrate it by placing it on the unimpeachable basis of personal, useful effort. If a man desires to accumulate and save his earnings, let him do so, and let him use them in any way he pleases, except in fleecing his fellow citizens therewith. How tremendous will be the gain to Society when pauperism, the social Inferno which is the shame and danger of our civilization, has disappeared! This pauperism is nothing but the necessary fruit of the wage-system which imperatively requires a reserve army of laborers.

Third, Graham's last "deep and dominant" desire—free scope for choosing one's career, with all that this implies—will to an extent now unknown be guaranteed by Nationalism, as everyone must on reflection see.

At present it is almost exclusively chance that determines one's career. Under Nationalism the youth will first have every opportunity of discovering that for which he is especially adapted; and it will be to the interest of Society that he be assigned a place in conformity with his capacity. Then, he will enter a Trades-Union which as "an estate of the realm," in Mallock's language, will do its work in perfect liberty, subject only to the superintendence of the central management. Rules, of course, there must be; but they will mainly be such as are made by the Union of which he is an active member, i. e., they will be self-made.

7. But we have not finished with the hardships of which the new order will relieve the wage-earners and which have now to be borne by them, unknown to our comfortable people. Insecurity and dependence are bad enough; but how many of our leisured class ever reflect upon what it means to toil day in and day out, from early morning till six at night, merely for a living, for a livelihood that, as we have seen, cannot in the majority of cases make both ends meet? And, mark, this is the lot of the more fortunate portion of the masses! Think of this, for once, and say if it be not an outrage, that our

“glorious” civilization has brought the masses nothing but the poor privilege of living in order that they may work.

The masses now groan, some under excess of toil, others under its monstrous opposite, enforced idleness. Nationalism will give them blessed *Leisure*. There is a radical distinction between leisure and idleness. The former means the free time that follows upon a proper period of pleasant labor, rewarded by a secured, decent existence. Enforced idleness is infinitely worse than toil, is the industrial horror that serves as invisible chains, more potent than actual chains, to keep the modern serf to his daily task, in as much as for him who is emancipated a more terrible fate is in store: that of being suspended over the abyss of pauperism.

To live in order to work; what a miserable contrast to “work, in order to live!” That life was given us to enjoy, few in their sober senses doubt. The earth is arranged to be a scene of enjoyments for all—for the greatest number at least; a few possibly are destined to the grander and, to them the more congenial task, of being “severely but divinely sad.” So clear is this, that we cannot hesitate to pronounce that the man who is not happy is not fulfilling the purpose of his existence. I do not forget, I rather wish to note, that it is not only the toilers but frequently also the employers, who suffer from lack of leisure. We need only to recall what physicians tell us, that they meet with numerous instances of nervous exhaustion among merchants and manufacturers, a consequence of the great strain which the industrial leaders are under to attain the impossible—and this is as little from choice with them as with the operatives. Among that class we find weariness, satiety of material sweets, ruined nerves, and the relish for life gone.

The more we study these facts the nearer we arrive at the certainty that the scantness of man’s joys is traceable to his unskilful use of the existing provisions, and to his contravention of the evident design, and that this scantness is the fruit of our industrial system.

It is, further, noteworthy that this lack of leisure is very unprofitable to society. Genius is now looked upon as a rare gem, and mediocrity is considered rather our normal condition. This, as Lester Ward insists upon, is not at all as it should be. As a matter of fact, in all the civilized nations, and certainly not least among Americans, there is an abundance of genius everywhere, and again there is a complete equality among the different classes, in the sense that the oppor-

tunities for discovering native genius are the same in the various classes. Yes, even in the "dregs" of society, in "the belly of the abyss," there are men of genius; men intended for poets, philosophers, artists, inventors, equipped and endowed by nature for such careers, may be found in the mournful company of the "lack-alls." "What might be grain is now grass, because, especially by their excessive hours of labor, these classes are crushed into a condition far below their possibilities." All that is required to find and expand this genius is to extend opportunity to all members of society—particularly leisure. Then so-called feats of genius will be found to be the normal activity of the race.

Our "self-made" men show what grand individual types our working classes may develop—no, we might rather say, they do *not* show, and cannot show this at all, because the way by which they have raised themselves is radically wrong. In order to succeed, they have had to carry on a life-long battle against obstacles, to display inordinate individuality, amounting to conceit, thus immensely narrowing their mental horizon. For, observe, genius is *not* strengthened by struggling, as is generally supposed. It is universally true that real greatness is timid; the finer it is in quality, the more it recoils from obstacles and shrinks from hostility; true merit, indeed, as a rule, never creates its opportunities. Society has hitherto lost tremendously by its negligence. Merely by furnishing leisure and opportunity Socialism will convert latent talent into an enormous civilizing force, of which the little that now shines forth is but a glimmer.

8. For the purpose of this book, it is assumed that all these acquisitions, leisure, security and plenty, are, within a measureable period, to become the birthright of all as the products of natural evolution. We have a right to assume this, for everyone who will open his eyes and be honest to himself must admit that the tendency of things is in this direction. Of course, we cannot dispute with Professor Gide of Montpellier, France, his right to say that he believes this tendency will soon be reversed. All signs and portents show that the face of mankind has always been set in a socialist direction, and so far there has been no looking backward. And as it has been, so will it continue to

be, a matter of *natural* evolution, of which the change in our brains forms part. There has been the access of a new, radical, divine order in human life, that is disintegrating the old, outworn, temporary organization, and gradually creating the new. When the Socialist *regime* is born, then will it be time for society to second this natural evolution, time for the conscious evolution. Lester F. Ward* is premature when he insists we should commence now and begin with education. Mankind will not be ready for this until hunger has ceased and leisure has been obtained.

But these attainments, far from being the end, form but the starting point. Here is where Herbert Spencer is radically wrong. He, who knows nothing of men's assisting natural evolution, fancies that this transition principle of competition and "sphere of contract" will ultimately lead us to what he apparently considers an ideal state:

"A Society is conceivable of men leading inoffensive lives, scrupulously fulfilling their contracts, who yet yield to each other no other advantage beyond those agreed upon."

To this it may be observed, first, that in supposing it possible that the present system could ever bring in such a social state, Spencer proves himself a true representative "middle-class" man; for a distinguishing trait of the present narrow-minded ruling classes, the "bourgeoisie," is the assumption that everyone is, or might and ought to be, a "bourgeois." Next, it is doubtful whether a society like the above is conceivable, except it be composed of a crowd of monads, each governed by independent, inherent laws. At all events I deliberately avow my firm conviction, that a company composed of all the present inmates of our penitentiaries would be preferable to such an "ideal" community; these would, at any rate, be men with human virtues as well as frailties. Again, if the evolution in the midst of which we now find ourselves should issue in such a race of "bourgeois," "scrupulously fulfilling their contracts;" if it should end by merely promising material well-being to all the inhabitants of the United States, *and nothing further*, I frankly declare that I would not lift my little finger to help bring about such a result. And I have had a sufficiently practical, though a short experience of such a community, for Spencer's "ideal State" is, actually, realized on a small scale, in our day. I refer to the so-called *Familistere* in Guise, France, founded thirty years ago, by the late M. Godin. This is the only

*In *Dynamic Sociology*.

successful instance of the practical application of Fourierism to business, a wave of which in the forties passed over the United States and resulted in several short-lived experiments, like the Brook Farm, scarcely any of which survived into their teens. At Guise nearly 2,000 persons live together in two huge buildings, and enjoy some of the material advantages which we have supposed Socialism will bring to our people. They have an abundance of the necessaries and material comforts of life and enjoy security of existence. They do not work quite so many hours a day as is usual in France, and have somewhat higher wages together with uninterrupted employment. In addition to this, if their income, for any reason, falls short of a given minimum, they are compensated from a fund, set apart for that purpose; if they fall sick they are paid from the sick fund, and on reaching old age, they receive a pension. Among them pauperism, and we may say poverty in its harshest form, are thus unknown. If this result could be accomplished throughout such a country as ours, a great step, undoubtedly, would have been taken. Godin has done this great thing: shown that it can be done. He said to this writer: "Make of France 18,000 Familistères and *la misère* is abolished." Very true. But he added, "and the social problem is solved." Oh, no! It is just when I imagine the United States divided into 23,000 such "Familistères" that I shudder, and decline to move a finger to help bring it about.

For that something is the matter appears from this fact: now and then one of the intelligent Parisian artisans, moved by the evident material advantages of the institution, goes there, but, if he has means to get away, he hardly ever stays more than three months. Then he directs his steps back to Paris. What is the matter?

The truth is, this so-called "Social Palace" is not at all a "Socialistic Model," as Godin unfortunately held it up to be. Intellectually and, moreover, socially, it is a failure. The people are unsocial and unsympathetic; there are absolutely no social gatherings, no clubs, no literary or debating societies among them, as one would naturally expect; and the reason is a simple one. The material success as well as the failures are due to the character of the founder. It will sound incredible, when I say, as I do on good authority, that during the thirty years of the existence of the institution Godin, a social reformer, never once crossed the thresholds of the people, among whom he resided, to sympathize with them or press their hands in token of his

sharing their joys and their sorrows. This characterizes his sociability and explains that of his people. His intellectual standing will be sufficiently shown by stating, that he habitually consulted his "spirit friends," and that his principal efforts to raise his people intellectually consisted in attempts to initiate them into Spiritualism. It may be added, that respecting Karl Marx he once made this remark to the writer: "Pooh! he did not found a Familistère!"

But in Godin's experiment we have indeed Spencer's ideal: "an industrious people, leading inoffensive lives, and scrupulously fulfilling their contracts, but yielding to each other no advantages beyond their contracts." The Familistère was, indeed, worth the three months' study that I devoted to it, if simply to become convinced that material well-being is not sufficient for a people and *must not be made an end*. But yet for an intellectual and moral advancement it is a pre-requisite as necessary as the soil. Subserviency to material interests has hitherto degraded human life to the ground, but ere long, by providing for his honest, orderly, physical subsistence, society will relieve everyone of her members from this, and leave the heart and the mind free for higher aspirations.

This chapter commenced with noting the fundamental difference between this book and the *The Service of Man*. It is now evident that we have made our start, not from the clouds like *Is Life Worth Living?* but from our actual environment. The next chapter will—unlike the *Data of Ethics*, which derives our whole manhood from our animal basis—emphasize the higher element in human nature, which I maintain is fully as much a *fact* as our animal inheritance, that is, we shall pass to the examination of the essence of the true morality.

CHAPTER II.

THE SOCIAL BOND.

"Plant a principle in the world and Time will take upon itself the duty of developing all the fruits of it."

—M. E. M. Carrs.

9. We must continue the consideration of the true *Data of Ethics*.

The Social Bond is the backbone of this whole discussion of morals and the foundation of our observations on Religion. In this chapter Morality is in the first place, regarded not as a law, but as a *fact*. This means that we cannot use the old definition

which makes Morality consist in duties towards oneself, duties towards Society, and duties towards God. The latter, whatever they may be, clearly belong to Religion rather than here; and duties towards oneself can, as we shall see, be eliminated, since their ethical quality consists solely in making us more efficient agents in fulfilling our true moral obligations, which all refer to Society — i. e., to our fellowmen. Again, the fundamental conception of morality is not that of criminal jurisprudence but of physical law, i. e., it is the expression of the real relation of things. Morality, in its essence, is the force that, as a matter of fact, ties us together, just as the force of gravitation binds us to the earth. I cannot better define it than as *the Bond that holds men together*.

This shows us the blunder in the position of the Anarchists. One of their spokesmen says: "the duty of the individual to sacrifice himself to God, the state, the community, the 'cause' of anything is a superstition that always makes for tyranny." In other words they stubbornly refuse to see facts as they are. Is it not poor philosophy to call a "superstition" that fact of whose existence their own disciples furnish abundant proof? What individuals have in their generation more readily sacrificed themselves for a "cause" than the Russian and the Chicago Anarchists? The worst in these teachings, however, is, not that it is poor philosophy, but that it is disgustingly and dangerously immoral.

Yet this must be granted: that the Anarchists are logical, far more logical than Herbert Spencer; it is their premises that are wrong. These premises are furnished them by Spencer's *Data of Ethics* and Mills' *Utilitarianism*, to wit: that we are a crowd of monads, each governed by independent, inherent laws, and that we have come into this life, each for the sake of himself—these doctrines are a corollary to Spencer's ideal state, and Mill's teaching that sexual "experiments in living" are outside the sphere of social sanction, and that men have always acted, and particularly have formed society, from motives of utility. These teachings, carried out to their logical conclusion, evidently end in Anarchism.

But these doctrines are false: they do not harmonize with facts. Take the last. A social state would never have existed, if its rise had depended on a conviction of its utility to the individual. Such utility did not and could not manifest itself till after a long preparatory development of the society which it was supposed to have created.

And then the fact is, that its utility is less than its burdens. No, undoubtedly, society arose from a radically different motive, one that is in the closest possible connection with our definition of morality. We have said that it is "the bond that holds us together," and it is this same bond, an innate, social sentiment, that originally drew man and his fellows together, and in so doing formed society—whether clan, tribe or nation. A far more correct conception of the matter than is enunciated by Spencer with his "monad" theory, had the old philosopher, Aristotle, when he defined man as a "social animal;" that is to say, that only in unity with one's fellows does the individual *ego* realize its true being. To be "moral" can thus be said to be synonymous with being "social" in its profound sense.

But let us go deeper. To form a society and live in it involves cooperation from the start; this, again, elementary subordination; that is to say, both in forming society and co-operating with our fellows we—*obey*. To be sure, this word in our age of individualism is almost tabooed, at least it jars on our nerves, but it really cannot be helped; if we honestly interpret the facts of existence, we must say that to obey is the very foundation both of society and sociology. Indeed, we may say, that the germ of morals is, in its very essence, *obedience*. Man is truly made to obey, and to feel remorse if he does not obey.

There is a much stronger inclination to obedience in the generality of men than it is customary in our day to suppose; if men were as rebellious as they are represented to be, it would be difficult to see how they ever could have been disciplined. I affirm, on the contrary, that there is in all of us a natural disposition to obedience; it is certain that we are all of us more or less disposed to respect any real superiority, especially intellectual and moral, in others, independently of any advantage that may accrue to us. Who, in these anarchic times of ours, has not in his secret mind often felt how sweet it would be to obey, if he could have the rare privilege of assigning burdensome responsibility for his conduct to wise guidance?—a feeling, in fact, strongest in those best fitted to rule. Indeed, as to the *fact* of obedience, there is no difference between the Anarchists and us; the difference comes in somewhere else. They obey as much as anybody. Whenever the spirit of revolutionary destruction was abroad in France, the hottest revolutionists manifested a scrupulous obedience to their chosen guides. Trades-Unionists are distinguished by their

perfect trust and confidence in their leaders. The instinct of submission is so great in us that we lavish it far too often on deceptive appearances.

But obedience is one side of the shield, the other is—authority. Here is where the difference comes in. Anarchism wants to abolish and discredit authority. Socialism, on the contrary, exalts it. This is a difference as radical as that between the North and the South pole; and to confound the two systems, as is constantly being done, is positively disastrous. This is the principal reason why the new term, "Nationalism," even if not absolutely adequate, should be welcomed by Socialists. Since Anarchists, as a matter of fact, do not get rid of obedience, they cannot logically get rid of authority—"even Anarchy must have a centre," as Carlyle, with a really profound apprehension of human nature, said. All co-operation needs a representative organ; if not so concentrated, it is sterile. Hence society without government is impossible.

The question is not, whether we shall, or shall not, have authority, but whether it is a sham or a true authority. Every social authority is constituted by a corresponding assent, spontaneous or deliberate, of various individual wills which concur in a common action, whose authority is the organ. This aggregate of individual wills, the effective majority, those who have come to social consciousness, and from whom issues the categorical imperative, constitute the *sovereignty* of a nation. The authority that occupies the seat of this sovereignty is hence derived from concurrence, and in no other way; and the more extensive the society, the more irresistible the correspondence—such is, even, the authority of the German Kaiser and the Czar of Russia. It is no use to quarrel with this arrangement, any more than with the force of gravitation. There is in every nation a seat of sovereignty as surely as in every body there is a centre of gravity, and some person or persons are sure of occupying it. Only, when the occupant is in touch with this effective majority, the socially conscious portion of the people, or (what is really the same thing) the trend of social evolution, is it a true authority; otherwise, it is a sham.

Spencer, Stephen, and all Evolution-moralists are really astray, when, in place of the supernatural system, which is supposed to be tottering to its fall, they seek to set up "a new regulative system," which shall restrain the moral conduct of future generations. They are not a bit wiser than Mallock, but like him they fancy, that current

morality has its roots in the clouds. We do not need any regulative system from them or anybody else. The forces which produced morality are ever present to sustain it, and are, age after age, acquiring an increasing power. Morality faces us everywhere with its categorical imperative, while at the same time, it is coming more and more to surround us with an atmosphere of love.

10. Let us recall our definition, that morality is the "bond that holds us together." Now this bond consists of a three-fold strand: Home is our affectional, country our practical, and humanity our intellectual bond. All these are requisite to our development; and great as is the misfortune, that continental Socialists want to dispense with the second, with country and patriotism, actually stamping the latter a vice, just so fortunate is it, that the very sound of "Nationalism" consecrates patriotism as an ethical sentiment. It is geographical considerations that explain and excuse the former, for socialism is impossible in any one continental country, so long as any others of those countries maintain the old *regime*; therefore the working-classes there clasp hands, ignoring their national characteristics; but the United States is in the unique position of being able to successfully inaugurate socialism, and thus best serve humanity, by pursuing the even tenor of her way.

One's country, we then say, is *the* practical bond, where primarily authority resides. The home and family frequently create an obnoxious bias, arouse a sort of aggregate selfishness, and even become a centre of personal selfishness. Hence it is the office of democracy to put down family pride and exclusiveness, or, by means of country, to raise it one step higher—converting it into collective egoism. Humanity, on the other hand, is too vague to be practical at present, although, by its universality, it is our intellectual bond. Love of mankind or aspirations after universal association are yet too weak a sentiment to move any but the choicest spirits. Moreover, the nation seems to be a necessary stage in our evolution toward the highest unity. Let me use an illustration. Suppose we have a vessel and in it a liquid which we want to convert into a solid. One way to accomplish this is to cause it to coagulate gradually and equally throughout

the entire mass; another way would be to make the liquid thicken at various points throughout the mass, so that a number of gradually increasing nuclei would be formed which during this process would seem to repel, and actually would repel, one another; when this absorption was complete the nuclei themselves would attract each other, till we had the one compact solid. Is not this the way in which actually the solidarity of mankind seems to be accomplished? We can apply this illustration to the formation of nations out of classes and provinces (or out of our states,) and also of humanity out of nations, which like the above nuclei show a considerable mutual antagonism during the process. But the common destiny, i. e., the organic unity, of Europe was a fact, even when every European nation looked on every other as its natural and permanent enemy.

This intermediate stage is, in our days, nothing narrower than one's country, the nation. In ancient Greece it was the city. At present it is also with the municipality that the individual is chiefly concerned. It determines the sum of existences proper to each family, since even in our anarchic days, the general distribution of labor determines men's respective occupations everywhere. Hence, everyone is, in the first place, a *citizen*. But the leaders of the Paris Commune were egregiously in the wrong, positively reactionary, when they insisted on the Commune, the municipality, as the sovereign collectivity. The city has now, historically, expanded into the nation, "the fatherland;" and it is history that settles the matter. The nation it is that has subordinated all individual efforts to a public activity, *carried on by successive generations*, and thereby it has become the symbol to the mind and heart, when our memories of the past, our feelings as to the present, and our wishes for the future seek a centre for common efforts. This centre we express by the word *sovereignty*, and this is the historical acquisition of the nation, and therefore it is the authoritative and practical bond. Both history and practical politics unceremoniously disregard the protests of Spencer and the anarchists. Every nation asserts itself as a power that spends the property and person of the individual without regard to his wishes and that destroys his life in punishment such as no "Social Contract" explains by the most palpable fiction. Yet the people do not seem to call in question the morality of such procedure.

Herbert Spencer, further, denies the expediency and rightfulness of the state, alleging that it is no longer needed for the personal security

of the individual. This is very shallow indeed, and nothing but prejudice. There will be more said on this important point in another place, here only this: that the State or Government has a function, far more important than that of restraining—which in fact is only temporary—and that is that of regulation, accommodation and amelioration. It is the cohesive force of society, absolutely needed, so long as our self-regarding instincts are more energetic than those that prompt us to union; but afterwards it will be needed to combine and direct and adjust; it is by it that we establish a sense of real solidarity throughout all generations, and it alone is able to fuse the various industrial classes—which now is so much needed. That is why it is growing in influence.

Till then patriotism will remain the type of the true social feeling; but it needs to be transformed into a persistent disposition to perfect our country as a servant of humanity, without concealing her shortcomings. We should be glad that so broad and wide a feeling as that, embracing our country, has the influence that it has. We shall have plenty of use for it, for we are not yet truly a nation, nor, for that matter, is any other people.

American socialists, or Nationalists, have every reason to foster patriotism because, as already said, our country needs only to pursue the line of its previous history; we need only point to our Constitution, our Declaration of Independence, and the foundation laid by the Puritans. We probably shall realize socialism in advance of other nations, and thus be called upon to show them the way: first, because we are a self-sufficing country—in that respect having a great advantage even over Great Britain; next, because we have had most practice in self-government; and, lastly, because there really exists good-will between our various classes. Moreover, in spite of our reputation abroad of worshipping the “almighty dollar,” our two great wars have shown that we know how to risk our lives for ideals: that of the Revolution was waged for a point of honor, that of the Rebellion for human liberty and union. Every fibre of ours ought to thrill with patriotism.

11. Another *Datum* of Ethics is *Necessity*, complementary to *Free-will*, and even more important, as we shall see later on.

In applying the reign of law to the mind, the thoughtful advocates of free-will go a great way in agreement with the school of "Determinists." In spite of our metaphysical differences, that is what we all rely upon in practice. Whenever governments legislate to restrain crime, whenever teachers train pupils, whenever political economists put their theories into practice, they all assume, that by influencing motives, they can direct the actions both of so-called "good" and "bad" men. And what a fatal possession would an absolutely free will be to us! It would in truth be an evil, more disastrous than any actual misery whatever to which we are now subject. If something, if sympathy and duty, could not determine our will, we should constantly tremble at thinking what our actions would be the next moment. It is because our will fortunately is not "free" in this sense, that we feel insulted by being supposed capable of a mean action; and that men of healthy judgment know that every man cannot be bribed, and every woman cannot be led astray. Aye, hence it is that every one of us now relies, even for life itself, on the aptitude and integrity of a multitude of unknown agents, whose folly or wickedness might effect the destruction of us all. Now could we possibly be tranquil for a single moment if the locomotive engineer was not every moment subject to ordinary motives? All cooperation depends on our *not* being "free."

But, like thoughtless children, we do not reflect on the inner meaning and significance of this suggestive fact. This empire of necessity which science everywhere discloses in the world of mind as of matter, in the succession of thoughts and volitions is not a prison, is not a tyrannical master that necessarily oppresses us. It does not make this world a world of fatalism, but it does forbid anarchy and makes it a world of order. It prevents us from making a tangle of existence. Simple, natural evolution has prepared for us a path from which it has been made impossible for us to deviate considerably. And it has done very much more. Far from being a necessity to which we only can bow our heads, we, by that very necessity acquire practical freedom as soon as we come to self-consciousness. By obeying nature, we rule it. By knowledge of its uniform behavior, we can press the laws into our service; the more completely nature, including our own bodily and mental states, passes under the dominion of established laws, the more we can avail ourselves of them. We can increase, vary, modify, neutralize the operation of laws, but only by the action of other laws.

We can summon one law to our aid, to deliver us from the evil effect of another law. Though each item of our deliberation is controlled by motives, we can labor for distant ends and choose appropriate means to reach a foreseen goal. As we progress, less of chance is pressing on us and more choice allowed us. We may even be able to subdue the maleficent forms of disease. This very necessity, while it prescribes to us our goal and our destiny, makes us the seconders, the helpers of natural evolution, and to that extent "in action like an angel, in comprehension like a God."

Thus order is the natural foundation for socialism, and so far from disposing us to inaction, regulates our activity, so as to increase its range and render it effective. A vagrant and visionary liberty—because after all in constant subjection to unforeseen influences, external and internal—is thus superceded by a noble law of common progress, which not only regulates the individual but combines bodies of men, fostering the dispositions that bring men together, and suppressing those which put men asunder.

Again, this empire of necessity, or the *fact* of the Social Bond, lays the foundation for the important distinction, later to be made, between current morality and the New Ethics. The doctrine, that we are wholly the smiths of our own character, has filled our "moral" men, who never experienced temptation, with a foolish, selfish, anti-social pride, divided us into two bodies, each going its separate way to all eternity, and nourished a sneaking private design on God's bounty in the shape of personal salvation. But the empire of necessity when it is thoroughly appreciated, will have these three important effects: First, it will demolish this unsocial pride and teach us that a criminal who has at times loved what is good, true, and beautiful, and has striven after it, is nobler than a "moral" man who is selfish and never has wished to become better. Second, that there is a spark of the divine in even our thieves and murderers; that they are what they are, to a great extent, because our better circumstanced people have kept aloof from them; and third, that our destiny, whatever it be, is the same for us all. Sir James Stephen very strongly blames the sentimental twaddle of indiscriminate love for all humanity, and insists that it is part of a wholesome character to detest sin and the wicked man. True enough, but at the same time we shall be made to understand that "the bond which binds us together" is a sober fact which tells us, that we *must* look after and improve our bad characters; far

from weakening our detestation of vice and wickedness it will rather strengthen it.

12. Now we pass on to what is the central point of this chapter, to find out what this rightful authority tells us to do, to find out the *end* of morals; and this will lead us to the third *datum* of this chapter: the cultivation of Morality.

What has above been said immediately suggests the answer; if the State, the Nation, is the rightful authority, and the masses feel, actually, a disposition to obey, the answer will naturally be that the end of morals is the nation. Still, this will have to be justified; the command must not be arbitrary. Moreover, not alone does the individual in his superficial ignorance deem his own welfare, often simply his own pleasure, the immediate object in life, but many of our moral teachers confirm him in this claim.

Now, experience, and especially the highest experience, teaches that if we pursue our individual happiness with conscious and relentless purpose, we surely fail. It teaches us further—and this is certainly a point of the greatest importance—that the highest development of the individual is evidently *not* what man is designed for. Is it not a fact, which the fearful penalties undergone by so many, ought by this time to have knocked into our heads, that one of man's component elements cannot reach the highest development of which it is susceptible except by maltreatment of, and injury or peril to another? That the mind, especially, which is regarded as the noblest part, can only attain supremacy under bodily conditions which imply or threaten disease? Again, does not the *individual* appear to have reached his perfection centuries ago? It is universally admitted, that for the highest reach and range and power of mental capacity in every line, the lapse of two to three thousand years have shown no sign of increase. Our knowledge, to be sure, has gone on increasing. But very early, I should say, in history the power behind evolution gave to us patterns and types to imitate and approach—not to transcend. Does this not clearly intimate to us our appointed work?*

*See *Enigmas of Life* by W. R. Greg.

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Will it Destroy Individuality? *Charles N. Chadbourn*

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OUR DESTINY (Continued) *Laurence Gronlund*

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized.

No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill considered changes; we make no war upon individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

The combinations, trusts and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation — the people organized — the organic unity of the whole people

The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts.

THE NATIONALIST.

VOL. II.

MAY, 1890.

No. 6.

WILL IT DESTROY INDIVIDUALITY?

He who maintains that the present economic system is the Ultima Thule of human progress, when all others prove inadequate, has one argument which he never fails to propound as a clincher. It is in substance this: "Placed in the midst of a great grinding scheme of governmental production and distribution, without hope of being able to secure to himself more than his share of worldly goods, man would straightway lose his ambition and the race would sink back into a dull sameness compared to which peas in a pod would present a pleasing variety. The competitive system is necessary for the preservation of individuality."

Entrenched within the stronghold of the present system its advocate thus thunders forth his anathema: "Beware, oh sacrilegious mortal! Dare not, with impious hands, assail this structure, lest in its overthrow you yourself be overtaken in the universal catastrophe. The competitive system is the repository of the wisdom of the ancients, the safeguard of human fortunes, the conservatory of Individuality! Without individuality, O reckless man, you would be but as the beasts that perish. Better poverty and misery than the dull sameness of absolute equality."

But let us not be frightened from the assault by all this din; let us rather inquire whether the advocate of the present system has any right to invoke the name of individuality. Does the present system foster individuality, and would Nationalism destroy it?

The only individuality worth having is that full and rounded culture of body, mind, and soul, which brings out in each human being the utmost of which he is capable. Thus only, is he individualized; thus only, is he differentiated from his kind. Any system which does not cultivate such a manhood, or at least afford to every man the opportunity and incentive to do it for himself, has no right to invoke the sacred name of Individuality.

Where within the confines of the present system shall we seek the true individual?

The competitive system imposes the prime necessity of making money; all occupations are reduced to this one level, and all success is measured by this one standard. The chief product to which competition can point with pride, as peculiarly and undeniably its own, is the millionaire. He is the most widely differentiated from his kind by the only means which the system recognizes: the possession of riches. He is the highest example of the "survival of the fittest."

Here, then, among its most noble offspring, shall we find the most worthy examples of all that is claimed for the present economic system. Here shall we find true individuality. Is not he who can amass and keep a fortune the embodiment of success? Must he not for this purpose possess that perfection of physical strength, that wealth of intellect, that depth of culture, that grandeur of soul, which constitute a noble manhood? Do we not, for these reasons, grovel in the dust before the man of millions? What is there which could possibly broaden the mind more than buying and selling stocks, lending money at interest, speculating in real estate, collecting rents, or cornering the market in bread-stuffs? What line of conduct is better adapted to ennoble the man created in the image of God, than to drive a sharp bargain with his fellow-creature? What is there which will better inculcate the precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thy self," than to employ labor at the lowest market rates?

"The love of money is the root of all evil," and the love of money increases with its possession. There is nothing which more tends to dwarf and impoverish a man, body and soul, than the possession of riches. Wealth does not confer manhood. Call to mind every rich man you can who is, or who has been, great, and in every instance is it not despite his riches? Has he not given to intellectual culture, or works of charity and mercy, the time in which he might have been making money? Has he not given away with noble generosity money which might have been invested in first mortgages at 7 per cent.? Is there any way in which a rich man can elevate and ennoble himself, except by doing violence to all his preconceived notions of the basic principles of the competitive code? If he saves, he may be stingy; if he spends, he may be selfish; but if he gives away, he is surely crazy.

But the rich man is not the sole product of the present system.

There is also his inevitable co-product, the unemployed, the pauper, sunk in helpless degradation and misery. Him we may dismiss without a thought; even the political economy of the competitive system makes no pretence of calling him an individual, it simply lumps his kind all together as the "masses."

"But," objects Competition, "the sturdy laborer who eats the bread of honest toil in the sweat of his brow, he is the true individual you seek." Is the toiler, then, dependent for his precarious privilege of drudging for a living on the caprice of his employer, denied the comforts and often the decencies of life, and, if he is foolish enough to marry, rearing his family in hopeless poverty, is he the true individual? What means has he for intellectual culture? What time has he to care for his own moral welfare, or that of a family, the existence of which is almost a crime? Does the bookkeeper, poring all day, and often far into the night, over columns of figures and debit and credit accounts in a ledger, absorb therefrom culture for a noble manhood? The factory child, dragged almost from his cradle to earn a living for himself and others; the mother, torn from her home to gain a scanty substance for her family; the clerk, standing behind a counter measuring calico or weighing sugar; the household drudge, consigned to hopeless social ostracism; the petty tradesman, harrassed by the cares and worries of being slowly but surely crushed out of existence by the competition of his wealthy rivals; the whole surging mass, fighting one another for gain, are those the noble results of our boasted civilization?

The whole present money-making process, so far from being a means of culture, is essentially degrading. To say nothing of the moral aspect of questionable methods, it is at best but the most petty and despicable haggling. There is nothing which tends to individualize the man in the methods of business which obtain in our Stock Exchanges and Boards of Trade. Are any of the qualities which make up a sharp trader the essentials of a noble manhood? Why should a man when he reaches his home at night strive to throw off all thoughts of business save for the reason that he yearns to rise above its moral degradation? Does not business sagacity consist in taking advantage of the ignorance or necessity of buyer or seller, for profit?

Property is the sole individual. We speak of Mr. A. being worth so much, and we do not think of A at all, but of his millions; transfer

them to B, and you transfer the essential personality with them; — B. is now a person of importance, A. is nobody, yet in neither of them is there any change. A system, that shall have the right to invoke the sacred name of individuality for its defense, must be able to grant that individuality in something like equal measure to all who live beneath its sway. Otherwise let it stand forth in its true colors, and openly avow that it exists solely for the benefit of the favored few. But even the best individuality which competition is capable of affording, that of property ownership, she notoriously distributes with a criminally partial hand. Man's life does consist in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. The man, or the combination of men, who can bring into action the greatest aggregation of capital, wins the field. He has, as Napoleon used to say of the army which had the biggest battalions, "the Lord on his side." What, save a pitiable scarcity of manhood can be expected from a system in which success can only be attained by a mad scramble over the prostrate bodies of defeated competitors,—every man for himself and the devil taking all but the foremost; a system in which the possession of wealth gives absolute power over the bodies, minds, yea, and the souls of men; in which nine-tenths of the people live, either in enforced idleness whose only relief is in crime, or in drudgery which makes slavery a thing devoutly to be desired? The slave driver has at least a property interest in the physical well-being of his chattels, but the wage driver has but one solicitude, to get the most work for the least pay. If his laborers die off are there not hundreds of others to take their places? An employer who refrains from carrying out the principles of competition from mere sentimental motives of humanity is rushing blindly to financial destruction. What chance has he with a competitor who carries out the code in its strictest letter? A man who attempts to get out of life more than material things is no part of such a system; he cannot be classified in any of its departments; he is a rare exotic. He exists by reason of the nobleness implanted in human nature. Does not every one who reads these lines know from his own experience that, in so far as he is a man, he owes that fact not to his money-making schemes but to himself? Every one who has made a man of himself has done so in direct violation of the laws of competition, in some cases, in the face of all prudence. In so far as a man is forced to submit to the demands of the present system, just so far is he unfitted for any individuality worthy of the name. "Money," said

Louis Agassiz, when approached with a munificent offer for a lecture tour, "I have no time to make money."

But in spite of all this the true individual does exist; in spite of the fact that among the classes who live under a material competitive system it seems but a hopeless task to try to find him; yet he does exist; who is he then?

He is the true teacher, the true artist, the true musician, preacher, scientist, philosopher, inventor, physician, philanthropist, writer, student, statesman. His is the mind that moves the world. He is influenced by no sordid motive, his success is not measured in dollars, yet it is none the less real and tangible. Who shall say that this kind of competition does not call forth a man's utmost powers? How many men do we see who do their best work in college? Many a valedictorian makes but a sorry success in after life. He left his ambition in the halls of his *Alma Mater*, and is become the very picture of shambling despondency. Or, if he takes his ambition with him into the world, what field does he find for it there? Only the one,— money-making. So he discards his old standards, and succeeds or fails as fortune may decree, but, in either event, loses about all his culture. Many a man who stood well in his class ten years ago would make but a poor spectacle, were he to attempt to-day the translation of a page of Xenophon.

We discover at this point that not a few, forced by stern necessity to be by day money-making machines, are during the few hours of their scant leisure, men. In other words the individual exists in spite of the present competitive system.

Let us turn now to a happier picture. Remove, in imagination, want and the fear of want as a factor in human existence. Assure to every man the full fruits of his toil, a comfortable living. Make it impossible for any man, through possession of the means of subsistence, to wield over his fellows the lash of slavery. Grant to him who labors that greatest boon, leisure, that he may ennoble himself and make of himself a man.

Is there then nothing to live for, when the avenue to material gain is closed? Is an A 1 rating in Bradstreet's the only pathway to glory? Will man cease to strive for the esteem of his fellow-men because he cannot reckon that esteem in dollars? Is there not a dominion of the intellect vastly more magnificent than any aggregation of wealth, which will lie within the reach of every man, when by the force of

his personality alone he may win a place for himself? The abolition of the dollar as the standard of success will mean the attainment of the true aim of education. A college course will not then be wasting four years in dilettante pursuits, to be sternly cast aside when the real work of life begins, but it will be laying a foundation upon which may be reared that noblest superstructure, — man.

The present competitive system is doomed. It contains within itself the germs of decay and death. Like the luckless fisherman of oriental fable it has let loose a genius before which it stands powerless. The Trust is but the legitimate offspring of the system, and is slowly but surely crushing it out of existence. Yet let us not in the downfall of the system mourn the death of competition. 'Tis but the vile body which is dead, the soul shall live while mankind shall exist. Freed from gross and sordid motives, emulation will still move men to noble efforts and lofty attainment.

When at last the stronghold of the competitive system shall surrender, and its walls crumble into shapeless ruin, then will it be shown in the clear light of day that the individuality it was so jealously guarding was but its bastard counterpart, Individualism. "Individuality is not Individualism." The latter refers everything to self, and sees nothing but self in all things. It is the quality which primarily regards self for self-interest." (Worcester.) Speed the time when the inauguration of the principles of strict justice, equal opportunity, and universal brotherhood, may indeed deal the death-blow to an individualism which is — Selfishness.

CHARLES N. CHADBOURN.

Minneapolis, Minn.

NATIONALISM VERSUS PROHIBITION.

"It is not our morality or want of morality, which makes our economic relations what they are, but our economic system that makes our morality what it is."

Gronlund: "The Co-operative Commonwealth".

The February NATIONALIST contains an article entitled "A Liquor-Solution Precipitated," raising a question which, it appears to me, should be settled by Nationalists at the outset and once for all.

That question is embodied in the somewhat startling proposition, that Nationalists should unite with the Prohibitionists to "close the saloon." In other words it is proposed that Nationalism form the tail to the kite of Prohibition.

I shall refrain from dwelling at any length on the merits or demerits of the Prohibition movement, except as to its economic side; I do not consider this magazine the proper ground for such foreign discussions. I shall refrain from referring to the various vices, such as the opium habit, covered with the mantle of Prohibition; I will not enlarge upon the comparative growth of inebriety in sections where prohibition prevails, the fear of detection adding hypocrisy to the evil; I shall not present the argument of the moderate drinker, nor advert to the comparative decorum and sobriety existing in countries where prohibitive measures would be laughed to scorn and where innocent enjoyment and decency are ensured for the music — and beer — garden by the universal patronage of women in company with their fathers, husbands and brothers; I shall but suggest the fact that the remedy offered by Prohibitionists proposes to put in place of the evil of occasional intemperance the wrong of universal coercion and tyranny, such as might indeed have won the public mind in the days of Blue-Laws and Scotch Calvinism, but which is sadly out of place when all tends to the goal of perfect personal liberty.

But what I do desire to develop in this article is the pivotal fact that the philosophy and policy of these two movements are so utterly irreconcilable that it would be suicidal for Nationalists to entertain any thought of affiliating politically with Prohibitionists.

The basic fact that underlies Nationalistic thought, the thread that links together the propositions of universal co-operation, the central idea that greets us throughout "Looking Backward" is expressed most aptly in the quotation from Gronlund with which I have headed this article.

NATIONALISM VERSUS PROHIBITION.

We Nationalists believe, supported by a vast array of facts, that man tends to develop into more exalted conceptions and practices of morality as his environments become more just and tolerable, and that, therefore, it is necessary to ameliorate these before the former can effectually be improved. We have made it a policy, therefore, that no purely ethical, religious or, least of all, sumptuary discussions should be entertained by us as Nationalists.

The Prohibitionist, on the other hand, is pledged to the extremely narrow view that by withdrawing the possibility of obtaining drink (if that were possible) man will be made better in spite of himself and that, hence, (here he makes an enormous jump in his argument) he will become prosperous. He is absolutely blind and deaf to any other view than that liquor is the sole cause to which can be traced all the evils of society.

These antipodal theories should make it conclusive that there is absolutely no common ground whereon Nationalists and Prohibitionists can meet. To my mind it is incomprehensible how the latter can consistently become identified with Nationalism, how one who, with the author of the article under discussion, exclaims that "No other question (referring to the liquor problem) is so deeply allied with the labor and industrial problem" can endorse the Nationalist program which affirms distinctly that "as long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system the highest development of the individual cannot be reached," and that "those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system based on the brute principle of competition," and which in no way alludes to the influences of the liquor traffic.

It is stated in the article by Mr. Kempton, that "The liquor traffic robs labor not only of the ability and power to produce earth products and manufactured goods, but also of the power and privilege of purchasing and enjoying the average consumer's share of said goods and products. Let \$10,000,000 be expended annually for better food, more clothing, furniture and home comforts, and the manufacturers' cry of "overproduction," and their demands for a reduction in wages would cease. Underconsumption is one great cause of our business disturbances, and this comes chiefly through the liquor saloons which are permitted to exist and the drinking habits of the people." This view is so utterly at variance with the position of Nationalists that I cannot forego pointing out its errors.

NATIONALISM VERSUS PROHIBITION.

Under the present system of production and distribution, it is not true that by temperance the wage-earner would be enabled to enjoy more of the "earth's products and manufactured goods." Quite the reverse is true. If universal sobriety prevailed among workingmen, the consequence, under the present absurd system, would be that the employer would get more work out of him and that, his wants being reduced, his wages would sink; the share he would get in the product of his labor would be decreased not only by the amount formerly expended in drink but also by the additional work the employer would be able to extract from him, until the overworked and underfed human machine collapsed.

In this respect the position of Prohibitionists is on a par with that of "philanthropists" of the Atkinson type, who devise all sorts of schemes such as fuel-saving stoves, cheap food, etc., for the benefit of the workman. Cheap food and penurious economy, the curses of Ireland and India, when modern industry could empty the horn of plenty over every human being! What a satire upon human understanding! Has Mr. Kempton ever considered that India has a population practising universal abstinence from liquor? And is he not also aware that misery reached its climax among that unfortunate population?

Again referring to the above extract, Mr. Kempton forgets that, were the liquor traffic abolished to-day, a vast army of wage-earners would be thrown out of employ; untold misery and privation would be added to the present almost intolerable lot of the workman. Moreover, since as production has already today glutted the market, and since the tendency with every successful effort at consolidation of capital, every labor-saving invention, is to retrench, to throw wage-earners out of employment, it is not seen where these would be able to apply their undoubted "ability and power to produce." They would simply swell the numbers of the already stupendous army of unemployed and tramps, or by their competition in the crowded labor-market they would aid in depressing wages still further, and thus the sum total of misery and destitution would be enormously increased.

By the way, what is set up on page 110, to wit: "Capital robs labor more or less in various ways, but none more so than the \$118,037,729 engaged in the liquor business in 1880, which paid labor only \$15,978,579; while the same amount of capital in legitimate, useful industries, employed five times the number of men and paid in wages

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\$60,314,000, is not calculated to fortify Mr. Kempton's position, for it appears from the figures there quoted that the average wage paid to the individual wage-worker by the liquor industries in 1880 was more than 1 1-4 (one and one-fourth) times that paid by the "legitimate and useful industries."

Prohibitionists differ from Nationalists in this that they fail to recognize the fact that the prevalence of drunkenness is among the two extremes of society.

The one class, the underpaid and overworked pariah, careworn and neglected, with no avenue of rational enjoyment, having neither time nor means nor energy left to allow the intellectual being to grow, no hope of ever escaping from his wretched condition, readily resorts to almost the only means of enjoyment, of covering wretchedness for a time with oblivion, the rum bottle.

The other class, the worthless idler, living on the work of others, the scion of aristocracy and plutocracy, satiated with enjoyment, steeped in pleasures, without the wholesome and tempering influence of useful work, seeks to drown moral prostration and *degout* in debauchery and excess.

Both these classes will disappear upon the advent of a just distribution of wealth, upon the destruction of competition, and with them, so Nationalists hold, the evils of intemperance.

Nationalists also hold that in the physical exhaustion resultant from the poor and insufficient food the wage-worker in many trades is able to buy and the intensity of his labor, he would simply break down much earlier than otherwise if he did not resort to stimulants and that in such cases it would be cruel restraint to deny him the support in the weary golgotha of his life.

But I do not intend to enlarge further on these facts, self-evident to Nationalists. All I desire to inculcate is that there exists so fundamental a difference between the two movements that it is futile to speak of a common cause. The one involves the philosophy of asceticism, the other claims the right of enjoyment for all. It holds that enjoyment for all is rational and conducive to the weal of society, and, therefore, moral; it holds asceticism to be either morbid or hypocritical.

While I have no hesitancy in believing that advocates of temperance and total abstinence may, and undoubtedly have, become valuable promoters of Nationalism, still it must not be forgotten that, most

likely, the bulk of Nationalists believe otherwise. As to those who believe in prohibition, the enactment of sumptuary laws, the interference with the private affairs of the individual, a position deprecated by many total abstainers, they cannot in my judgment become allied with our movement.

MAX GEORGH.

Washington, D. C.

A CRY.

Hearken, a cry from a soul that is down!
 Heard ye it, men, in the heat of the day?
 A sob full of anguish which floated away
 So full of despair that I thought it would drown
 The rattle and noise of the hurrying town—
 Hard was the voice—it had not learned to pray—
 It was Want—it was Poverty, Sin and Decay—
 The fruit of the vices mankind has long sown.

And heard ye it not? Why, it passed by your home;
 In the street it has touched you, and you, deaf and blind,
 Beheld not, nor heard? But the moment will come
 When, knowing the sin and the want left behind,
 Too late you will wonder why thus you passed by—
 Listen! God hears it—O hark to the cry!

FLAVEL SCOTT MINES.

SMALL NEW ENGLAND FARMS.

The small farm was a natural product of early New England civilization. The artisan or day-laborer of the past, when dissatisfied with his wages, could go out into the surrounding wilderness and there create from meadow or hillside a home for his family and an occupation for himself. There was an independence about this mode of life that could be found in no other. With orchards of apple and maple, fields of wheat and of flax, herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, supplemented by willing hands at plow and loom, the wants of hunger and nakedness were supplied. Mental food was about all that the land did not furnish and the farmer's life of the past has been considered an ideal picture of peace and plenty. Dr. J. G. Holland has given us a vision of the blazing hearth and well-stored cellar in "Bitter-Sweet": a supply sufficient, said Charles Dudley Warner, a few years ago in *Harper's Magazine*, "to stand a six months' siege."

As the country filled and manufacturing villages grew up about every waterfall, the farmer found that the skilled artisan could turn out cloth of more graceful pattern than the home loom; and his wife secretly wished to exchange the gingham sun-bonnet for one of those airy, nameless creations of the milliner, and in this way the era of exchange began.

This was beneficial to the farmer, making him, perhaps, the happiest and most contented of men. Of the turmoil of cities he saw but little and cared less. The politician troubled him not, for his principles were the result of inheritance or surroundings. Argument had no effect upon him, and bribery and threat only maddened. This characteristic is still possessed by this class more than any other. New doctrines advance but slowly among them.

The reef which first threatened to wreck the New England farmer was competition with the West. The volumes of the United States census for the past thirty years are a tell-tale record of the shifting centres of production. Sheep, cattle and cereals first drifted to New York and Pennsylvania, then to Ohio and Illinois, and now to the almost illimitable prairies beyond the Mississippi; and each removal has witnessed a decrease in the cost of production. Even now, the cost which many consider at the minimum, is likely to receive another reduction from competition with the South American pampas. The census shows on the one subject of sheep a decrease in New England

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during the last thirty years of 518,264. Maine is the only state that shows an increase, and this is but a sample of the decrease of cattle and the cereal products.

Directly in the wake of Western competition came Yankee ingenuity as a drawback to the small farmer. The picturesque sight of children dropping seed into the earth, followed by their more sedate elders hoe in hand, was supplanted by the seed-sower drawn by horse-power. The horse-hoe removed the weeds from the growing crops and the swaying line of mowers gave place to the reaping-machine. This necessitated capital, and the hard-handed son of the soil resented the innovation as an implication of laziness.

But just so far as the farmer deprecated labor-saving machinery, the capitalist rejoiced in it. Heretofore, farming, to him, had represented drudgery, rough, unpolished manners and rheumatic limbs. Now there was something pleasant in fields of waving grass and acres of growing crops. By help of machinery they could be raised at less expense than formerly, while strength and skill, before needed in farm labor, was now unnecessary. Small farms did not satisfy the capitalist. He would rival the western ranch, and consequently several farms were bought and joined together. This combination not only lowered prices, but introduced a competition not before felt. In shop windows signs like the following captivated the hero-worshipping American public: —

“BUTTER FROM THE FARM OF GOVERNOR BUTLER.”

And so many governors went into the farming business that when their produce was disposed of, there were few people left to purchase of the common small farmer.

This change from manual labor to machinery has created such a demand for land as a profitable and pleasant investment for the capitalist that the young man of limited means who aspires to earn his living by tilling the soil, must, in addition to the heavy and unequalled taxation imposed upon the owners of farms, encumber himself with a mortgage, which in the present condition of the business there is little hope of his ever lifting. This system is fast leading to tenant-farming, the increase of which the last census plainly showed.

The Western landshark has been blackly pictured and deeply deplored, but his Eastern counterpart is a no more pleasing acquaintance. The young man with a mortgaged farm expects his visit

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annually and, if the money for interest due is not forthcoming, his harvested crops and herds are depleted. After a while, the mortgagor giving up in despair, the mortgagee receives the farm to sell over, again and again. As to the extent of farm mortgages, which are so baffling to the gatherer of statistics, one man in a small Maine town of three hundred voters is said on good authority to hold claims on sixty farms, and he is not the only real estate broker in that town, either.

In view of these facts is it any wonder that so many abandoned farms are to be seen in traveling through the country? Some idea of the extent of this abandonment may be gained by the recent circulars from the Commissioners of Immigration for the States of Vermont and New Hampshire. In the latter state there are almost 1000 farms vacated in 160 towns, and this is but a fair sample of the other New England states.

There are but two remedies for this condition, and one of them seems to be retrograde and impossible. Henry George's single-tax scheme for the nationalization of land would undoubtedly unlock those lots of land held for speculation in cities, in the West and in Northern New England, but it could not touch the question of competition and depression of prices in farm products. Of course, the farmer could return to his simplicity of a century ago, with its extra burden of toil on both man and woman, foregoing all luxuries and pleasures; but that would be a step backward. Of this problem, therefore, there seems but one solution:—To join the ranks of the new party in their grand plan for the nationalization of all industry.

CHARLES E. WATERMAN.

Paris, Maine.

THE NATIONALIST MAGAZINE,
77 Boylston Street,
BOSTON, MASS.

All communications of a literary nature should be directed simply Editor, THE NATIONALIST, 77 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. All communications relating to subscriptions to the Business Manager, and all advertisements to the Advertising Department, same address.

EDITORIAL NOTES:

RUSSIA'S UNREST.

Russia is at any rate consistent. She changes not the manner of her going. From year to year, from decade to decade, from century to century, she continues in the same path. To-day, as at any time within her history, we read of students' rising and the arrest of the risers, conspiracies in the army and the death of the conspirators. Political economy is reduced to the simplest hypothesis. A continual struggle for extermination is going on between the rulers and the ruled. This may tend somewhat to complicate matters while it is in progress, but it is a wonderfully simple method of solving the great questions which agitate the country. By its means each day brings the matter in dispute nearer to a settlement by the shortest and most direct road. The long night of an almost impenetrable gloom has almost passed, and the day dawns upon deeds of blood which answer to a cruel despotism. Extraneous excitement must be found for the passengers in the ship of state, and the captain rushes without chart or compass through the stormiest of waters. The firemen heap the fuel upon the fires, and the force of steam is rising to an awful pressure. To avoid danger the pilot orders the safety valve held down with weights, and these are constantly augmented in number as the peril increases. The resisting capacity has been almost reached. Explosion must of necessity be at hand. Endurance can scarcely hold out much longer, and we may be looking any day for news of perhaps the most fearful, the most bloody, and at the same time the most righteous revolution that the world has ever seen.

LOOKING BACKWARD.

It is sagely observed by *Don Alhambra Del Bolero*, grand inquisitor of Venice, in the course of one of his songs in "The Gondoliers," that

"whoever you may be,
To this conclusion you'll agree—
When everyone is somebodee,
Then no one's anybodee!"

This proposition is respectfully commended to the careful consideration of those who have taken it into their heads that the social scheme outlined in Mr. Bellamy's "Looking Backward" is capable of practical realization.

The above is the way in which our valued contemporary *The Post*,

EDITORIAL NOTES.

gives us a friendly rub in a recent issue. The conclusion drawn in the final verse of the above stanza is not a just one. It overlooks the fact that some somebodies may be greater than other somebodies, and neither Mr. Bellamy nor the nationalists have ever pretended that all somebodies are mentally and intellectually equal. We merely, as we have many times said, demand that all shall have equality of opportunity for displaying their inequalities. Possibly Mr. Bellamy himself had but little idea of the practical fulfilment of many of the fine conceits contained in the recital of his beautiful dream. But it is remarkable how, one by one, these reflections of his imaginations are becoming incorporated in the world of reality. Only the other day in New York, at a reception tendered to Mr. Thomas A. Edison, there was telephonic and phonographic connection with various theatres within the city, and the assembled company was enabled, without leaving the room, to listen to the performances at these different places of amusement. This is one of the author's fancies that has been perhaps the most relentlessly ridiculed, yet here it is already shown to be practically within the reach of the rich. And, as surely as the poor can now enjoy that which only the rich could appropriate in past ages, so surely will the poor in future times be able to avail themselves of the pleasures which are exclusively the privileges of the rich to-day.

HENRY M. STANLEY.

That Mr. Stanley has performed a service to the world, through the advancement of civilization, there can be no question, and we are not concerned to enter upon the invidious enquiry whether he had other than the most disinterested motives in starting upon his latest adventures. It seems, however, as if the noted traveller were about to fall into the snares which proved the ruin of Sir Morrell Mackenzie; that of allowing his tongue to deprive him of the proper reward of his brilliant performances. Every man who achieves success, especially a success of so much importance as to place him upon a high round of the ladder of fame, will find detractors — fellowmen who are willing to pull him down from his elevation to their own level. Under these circumstances the wisest and best thing for him to do is to hold on firmly and let them pull. The moment he wastes any of his strength in speech he is, as a rule, lost. It merely weakens him, and, as their detracting efforts are not based upon any reason except the bare fact that he is above them, all the words that he can employ will avail nothing in inducing them to relax their efforts or in leading them to see that they are not injured by his elevation, but that this has been effected rather by means of deeds through which they, in common with the rest of the world, are put in receipt of actual benefits. Especially should he himself refrain from such detractions. Mr. Stanley will wear his laurels with much better grace, if none of them are plucked from the brows of Emin, de Brazza, or any other actor in the same field of enterprise as himself.

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A NAVAL DISPLAY.

All patriotic citizens of the United States will be made proud by the intelligence that the World's Fair Bill now before Congress has been amended by the addition of a clause empowering and directing the President to hold a naval review in New York harbor in April, 1893. Until this announcement reached them through the daily papers, we doubt if any inhabitant of these United States knew that his country possessed a navy. We all knew that it possessed four or five vessels, which are of their class as good as any afloat, and we also knew that these vessels were parading European waters, to impress upon the governments in that part of the world the importance of America as a naval power. Of course they will be duly impressed, and we are glad to see that they are to be invited to witness the display of our strength which the President is empowered and directed to make in New York harbor. We may all now rest assured of our immunity from the incursions of a foreign foe, for although we knew not that we possessed a navy and do not even now know where it is kept, we may rest assured that unless we did possess one, and a powerful one too, no senator would have had the hardihood to propose such a demonstration of it, and the presence of foreign nations to witness it.

THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS IN JAIL.

Thomas Broderich, who was sentenced sometime ago, to a long term of imprisonment for engaging in the dynamite plot against the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, has been pardoned by the governor of Illinois. The anarchists who were sentenced to imprisonment for being engaged in the noted bomb throwing some years ago, are confined in the prison from which he has been released, and a pitiful account he gives of their treatment in their confinement. As related by him the conduct pursued towards them is more like that which we might look for in Siberia than in the United States of America. We scarcely expect to hear, in this country, of prisoners being constantly chained to walls and having to undergo various other kinds of inhumanity. Of course it would be rash to accept as literally true in all its details the statement of Broderich, but he has certainly said enough to make it imperative that a searching investigation into the matter be made. Whether he speak truly or falsely can make no difference in this respect. He will have created in the minds of many people a suspicion against the managers of the jail, and for the sake of the police as well as that of the convicts an investigation should be had.

THE CENSUS CONSPIRACY.

Prof. Daniel De Leon's article entitled "The Eleventh Census Conspiracy" which was published in the February *NATIONALIST* seems to have been one of those blows from the shoulder which is felt severely by the opponent. A letter

has been received from Carroll D. Wright protesting against the statements made by Prof. De Leon. The *Boston Herald* as well as the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics people also criticise Prof. De Leon's statement. All of these criticisms are without definiteness and clearness. Prof De Leon's position is that the law for 1880 provided for taking the statistics of the unemployed, and provision was made on the schedule of the enumerator for obtaining such information. The law was flagrantly disobeyed. The present law, according to De Leon, contains no specific provision for taking the census of the unemployed. It says that the schedule for 1890 shall be the same as that for 1880. Prof. De Leon's point is that if the law was violated in 1880 with the unemployed matter in the schedule, what assurance is there that it will not be violated in 1890 when the law does not specifically provide for taking such census of the unemployed?

If any person doubts Prof. De Leon's statements, he will find them backed up by references to official documents, and if any person connected with either the census office or the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, or any other Bureau of Labor Statistics, desires to controvert the statements of Prof. De Leon, these columns are open.

A CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST CHURCH.

The establishment of a congregation in connection with the Episcopal Church, having for its object the earnest study of social problems and the application of the principles of socialism, in the practical details of every day life, is a movement which marks in a very conspicuous manner the advances which the doctrine of Universal Brotherhood is making in the hearts and minds of men. We know well that it has not been always within the pale of the church that this doctrine has received its most practical elucidations. It is quite true that the teachings of the New Testament are socialistic, and that the great founder of the Christian religion as well as his most notable followers always preached an imminent change in society and in the dispensation of all that was to make man fit for the eternities. It is certainly an encouraging sign to see the church falling into line in giving its attention to these matters. It will not be surprising if the movement now inaugurated by the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss of this city shall very rapidly grow. When the influence of the church is exerted wholly in the genuine interest of those for whom that church was founded, the progress of civilization will receive so great an impetus that the time will be short before the whole world is included within its embrace.

GERMANY'S NEW CHANCELLOR.

It is not an easy task to assume the chancellorship of the German empire after Bismarck. It is well therefore that General Caprivi has undertaken the duty with some

idea of considering the needs and necessities of his countrymen. Neither the change of chancellor nor the deliberations of the international congress, however, seem to have fully satisfied the nation or solved all the social questions that have for a long time been agitating it. The socialists appear to be a constantly increasing power, and as such to be enforcing their demands with more and more persistency. The emperor must be given credit for meeting them in a fair and manly way, but we cannot relinquish our idea that they will have to work out their own salvation, and that no mere concessions from above will have any effect in removing the righteous discontent which pervades the ranks below.

AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.

It gives us great pleasure to welcome the Unitarian club into the nationalistic ranks. The Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale did good service at the club's last meeting, in advocating reciprocity of intercourse among nations, so that the interdependence existing among them might become a reality, and a sure and speedy remedy for international wrongs and grievances might be found. War is at best but a barbarous means of arranging disputes between nations; certainly no more civilized when employed between two peoples that have fallen out than when resorted to by two individuals who have had a disagreement. We have no doubt that a public opinion which has suppressed duelling in the most highly civilized countries, will also in time put an end to the more comprehensive struggles which from time to time convulse the world. No people was ever benefitted by such a struggle, and it is therefore safe to say that when a people takes the management of its affairs into its own hands, war will cease upon the earth. The club has, however, fallen into one error, and we must remind it that this desirable end is not to be reached by either loving or serving our neighbors as ourselves. We must love them so as to find our pleasure in serving them. Their good must be our aim, and the love of them collectively must be greater than that of ourselves individually. That our individual good will thereby be enhanced is true, but the end will be reached equally well, whether this be or be not the motive urging us on.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

CYRUS F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

CALIFORNIA. FRESNO: This club is progressing steadily, and at its last meeting recommended the formation of a national league as soon as practicable.

The organization has been reported of clubs in Los Gatos, San Mateo, Stockton, Petaluma, Healdsburg, also second and eighth wards of Los Angeles. The address of the secretaries will be found in the list as far as obtainable.

SAN MATEO: J. H. White of the Pacific Union gave an excellent lecture here, March 26, on the subject of "Needs and Benefits of Nationalism." A club was organized with seven members which has since grown to ten. The officers are: President, Nathan Philbrick; vice president, W. E. Rhodes; secretary, L. G. M. Keen; treasurer, James Wiley.

CLEARWATER: The club held its second meeting lately, a good audience being present. Mr. H. Harrison of Los Angeles delivered an excellent address. The club then went into permanent organization, the following officers being elected: President, W. Malcolm; 1st vice president, J. M. Miller; 2d vice president, Mrs. Anna Atwater; secretary, F. A. Atwater, and treasurer, Mrs. Epperson. Mr. Malcolm was elected as delegate to the San Francisco convention. The Secretary reports prospects as most encouraging and that the club expects to convert the whole settlement to Nationalism within the next three months.

VENTURA: The First Nationalist club of Ventura met at their hall in Ventura, April 6th, and elected the following officers for the ensuing three months: Judge Hamer, president; Henry C. Hansen, recording secretary; R. E. Brakey, corresponding secretary; J. C. Savisson, treasurer; Miss Myrtle Sheppard, librarian. The club now numbers fifty members and all are enthusiastic missionaries in the cause of Nationalism.

LOS ANGELES: We are still making giant strides here in educating the people to a correct perception of the evils that afflict them. All the clubs are increasing in membership and influence and two more clubs have recently been organized. All of the clubs sent delegates to the state convention 500 miles away. They hold meetings weekly and are sure to have full houses. The latest news I can give you is the formation of a joint stock company to purchase the *California Nationalist* and have the paper under our direct control and management. The shares will be placed within the reach of all and the subscribers also have a voice in its management. All profits accruing will be used for propaganda work.

CONNECTICUT. HARTFORD: At the annual meeting of the Hartford club the following officers were elected: President, James G. Bacon; first vice-president Miss Mary F. Reardon; second vice-president A. H. Crosby; secretary, Ella Ormsby, Box 83; financial secretary, James W. Green; treasurer, C. H. Dresser.

NEW HAVEN: A preliminary meeting of ladies and gentlemen was held at Trades Council Hall, April 6th, for the purpose of organizing a club, fifteen names having been enrolled for that purpose. A long considered draft of a constitution had been prepared for the occasion and as all were practically of one mind the process of organization went smoothly forward, and the constitution was adopted as prepared without change and the following officers were elected: President, Wm. E. Roberts; vice-president, H. H. Lane; secretary, Mrs. S. Hewitt Lane; treasurer, Patrick F. Collins; librarian, Horace W. Farnsworth. Its first regular meeting was held Sunday afternoon, April 13th, same hall. The constitution was ratified and the declaration of principles of the first Nationalist club of Boston was adopted. There being quite an attendance present, by request, Mr. H. H. Lane delivered a brief address upon the origin, progress and aims of Nationalism. At the close of the address several new members were admitted. The club intends holding public meetings every Sunday afternoon, and expects to have a large number of members before midsummer.

IOWA. IOWA FALLS: A Nationalist club was organized in this city March 24, which contains some of the best educated people of the town. Our Nationalist club is

the outgrowth of a "Bellamy club" that was founded here last autumn for the purpose of studying some of the social problems treated in "Looking Backward." The Bellamy club is the most popular organization in the city. Although the membership of the Nationalist club is small all are earnest workers. Much credit is due H. E. Barber for the active part he has taken in the formation of both clubs. We would like to correspond with any other clubs on subjects of interest to both.

MARYLAND. BALTIMORE: Club No. 1 of Baltimore was organized April 2nd, with a membership of sixteen. Joseph Knell was elected temporary chairman, and Mr. G. Lloyd Rogers, secretary. Miss Woods, author of "Metzeroff, Shoemaker," is one of the members.

MASSACHUSETTS. BOSTON: The Fourth Nationalist Club of Boston has been organized with 15 members. Till the regular election of officers (which is on the last Monday in May) the following have been chosen: President, Mrs. H. S. Hutchinson; vice president, T. J. Regan; secretary, Luther Bixby; treasurer, H. H. Woodard. The meetings are held at present at the residence of Mr. E. M. Chamberlain, 90 Worcester street, every Wednesday evening. An address is to be given at the next meeting, May 1, by Rev. Philo. W. Sprague. Subject: "What we want, and why we want it." At the two succeeding meetings addresses will be made by Mr. E. M. White and Mr. Henry Leeman respectively. Subjects: "Money" and "The Union Pacific." The club extends an invitation to all in any way interested to attend these meetings. The location is convenient and the rooms pleasant. We feel quite encouraged with our beginning; the nucleus consisting of some of the leading spirits in various reforms, the K. of L. and the Single Tax even, the Social Science Club, workers of hand and brain, from field, factory, counting-room and pulpit. With deepest gratitude and kindest feeling toward our sister clubs of Boston, our ambition yet is to still raise the standard of human rights and brotherhood.

Club No. 1. At its last regular monthly meeting, the committee on nomination submitted a report giving a list of nominations for the ensuing year. The public meeting of the club was held Thursday, April 24th, at the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union rooms. Mr. E. I. K. Noyes delivered an address, the subject of which was, "The Evolution of the Social Organism." The paper showed careful study, and gave a most comprehensive view of the social structure. The presentation of his views was made in a most scientific manner, and was highly appreciated by those present. The club is still pushing its work before the legislature on the question of municipal control of natural monopolies. The club is awaiting replies to its circular in regard to formation of a National organization before taking further steps in old lines or in proposing new fields of work.

LYNN: The recently elected officers of the Lynn Nationalist club are as follows: George H. Carey, president; Wm. Conway, 1st vice-president; Edward Johnson, 2nd vice-president; Mrs. L. J. Hitchcock, recording secretary; John T. Broderick, corresponding secretary and Wallace Osborne, treasurer.

The club is steadily growing in strength and influence and increasing in numbers. There does not seem to be much opposition to Nationalism here; the people of Lynn generally agree with us.

It is the intention of the club to continue its efforts in the direction of practical reforms, and we hope before long to have some gratifying results to show to the Nationalistic world.

We are always pleased to hear from our co-workers throughout the country.

MICHIGAN. FLUSHING: This club was organized in January, but notification of its organization has only just reached this office. The club has a membership of fifty and meets once in two weeks. Nationalism has several enthusiastic advocates in this city, and they are not among the poor, ignorant or visionary, but are educated and talented, and some are of the wealthiest people in the town. The corresponding secretary is W. E. Hough, insurance agent and lawyer.

NEW YORK. ROCHESTER: A club was organized in this city several months ago, but through some accident nothing has as yet been printed concerning it. The officers

are: President, Hon. Elias Mapes; secretary, William Richards; corresponding secretary, H. Perry Blodgett; treasurer, Abraham Lipsky. The club holds regular meetings, the last one of which was addressed by Rev. W. C. Gannett. Mr. Jacob White will address the next meeting on Individualism and Nationalism. The club has a membership of thirty of the best people in Rochester, and the headquarters of the club are at 80 Reynolds Arcade.

NEW YORK: Club No. 9, has been regularly organized by the adoption of constitution and by-laws. Its last meeting was held at the residence of Stansbury Norse, 2238 Third Avenue, and the members were unanimous in adopting the Nationalist plan of electing a temporary chairman to preside over each meeting of the club. Steps were taken to procure a hall, and hereafter all meetings will be held on the second and fourth Mondays of the month at 108 and 110 E. 105th Street. This hall will seat three hundred, and the club intends to have it filled at each meeting. The secretary writes that they have the prospect of a large and influential club. The officers elected are: Corresponding secretary, Stansbury Norse; secretary, Harrie Stowe; chairman executive committee, Robert Lewis, M. D.; Treasurer, Louis E. Bates. All correspondence should be addressed to Stansbury Norse, 2238 Third Avenue, N. Y.

The first public meeting of this club was held April 19th. Rev. H. H. Brown lectured upon Nationalism. About 200 were present and were very much interested in the lecture, applauding continually. The club starts in with fifteen members and expects to increase its membership very materially among the educated and conservative element of Harlem.

SOUTH DAYTON. An enthusiastic club of men has been organized in this town by R. L. Shepard. A ladies' auxiliary club is also being formed to work with the first club and still be separate. Mr. Shepard expects to soon organize clubs in Villenova and Cottage, which are farming towns near by. He says that they are all farmers in that section and work fourteen to sixteen hours during the summer season, and are as a whole in a worse condition than ever before. He also says that members of the club are entirely able to advocate our principles and defend them as well.

NORTH DAKOTA. GRAFTON: Pursuant to a call for a meeting, a goodly number of representative citizens of this place gathered in Williams' hall on April 5th, for the purpose of organizing a Nationalist Club. Upwards of seventy names had been secured to a paper setting forth a declaration of principles and petitioning for a local club. The following officers were chosen for the balance of this term, which expires May 1, next:

President, James A. DeLaney; vice presidents, A. L. Woods and T. E. Healey; secretary, Otto Krogstadt; assistant secretary, Chas. H. Brown; treasurer, H. A. Ball; financial secretary, D. McLellan; advisory committee, Wm. C. Lestikow, Wm. MacKinzie and T. F. McHugh; committee on publication, Andrew Walker, John Illstad and H. C. Kellogg; committee on membership, Wm. Tierney, James Crane and F. L. Davies; committee on information, A. L. Woods, A. McCully and E. Schumann.

The club is composed of a majority of the ablest business men, bankers and nearly all the county officials. The president is a prominent lawyer.

SANBORN. A Nationalist Club in Sanborn was organized March 20th, 1890, with the following named officers: President, D. F. Siegfried; vice-president, Alex Moffatt; 2nd vice-president, S. E. Thompson; Secretary Vernon Shaw; treasurer, Jas. H. Black; assistant treasurer, H. Y. Miller. Thirty members voluntarily signed the membership roll without the slightest demand. The club propose to start a People's Reading Room and Club for recreation and business. Nearly everyone in this district is reported as favorable to the ideas of Nationalism.

OHIO. COLUMBUS: This club is doing good work and at present is being favored with addresses each week by prominent and able speakers. At a late meeting the club was addressed by Mr. A. W. Wright, member of the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor and editor-in-chief of the Journal of the Knights of Labor. He delivered an able and clean-cut Nationalist speech, in which he declared that both the Farmers Alliance and Knights of Labor were ripe for Nationalism. The club has also been addressed by George D. Jones, a prominent lawyer of great influence.

ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

J. FOSTER BISCOE, EDITOR.

THE OPEN HOSTILITY OF THE PRESS.

Galveston Weekly News.

"The German Emperor declares that 'it is the duty of the State so to regulate the duration of labor as to insure the health, the morality and the supply of all the economic wants of the working man.' Here we have in succinct outline the ideal of State Socialism. It makes a clear-cut issue between the principles of *laissez-faire* for the industrial freedom of citizens and the principles of systematic restraint of such freedom by an unrestrained exercise of the power of legal compulsion. The next step would naturally be to compel the employment and occupation of the incapable and superfluous, to compel a division with them of the wages of the capable and employed, or to tax the community at large for the support of an increasing army of privileged idlers and aristocratic pensioners. And what after that? Of course, the millenium—or the deluge."

The Nation.

It is so bitter that it has to drag in a fling at Nationalism when least called for. A silly law condemned by the *Journal des Economistes* was introduced into the French Chambers. "It assumes, also, as most of the French '*reglementation*' does, that man is made for the State and not the State for man." It refers to the protectionist newspapers in which some New Englanders are clamoring for free raw material in order to save them from ruin; and concludes: "It is not surprising that 'Nationalism' and Caesarism make progress under such influences as these, and that politics should in so many countries be resolving itself into a struggle to enable every man to mind his neighbor's business."

"The Socialists who go under the name of Nationalists will find instructive matter in the vigorous exposure of Mr. Bellamy's gospel by Francis Walker, (*Atlantic Monthly*) in which, sarcastic as the writer is, the most biting passages are his clear statements of the exact meaning of the new doctrine; but President Walker plainly labors at a disadvantage from the flimsiness of the case he demolishes with his root and branch logic."

The New York Herald.

"This is a queer world. Some weeks ago the German Emperor came out in the totally unexpected character of a communist. Later, an Illinois railroad president in an official report urged the policy of government ownership of railroads. Later still, Senator Stanford, a reputed millionaire and also a railroad president, declares for a law by which the Federal Government shall loan money on real estate at one or two per cent. But amazing as Mr. Stanford's proposition is, a Georgia man 'goes him one better,' as the profane put it. Mr. Livingstone, the president of the Farmers' Alliance of Georgia and a candidate for the Governorship, puts out a platform to which he requires all the candidates for Congress in his state to pledge themselves, 'that the government shall advance money to farmers on growing crops in the field to the extent of eighty per cent. of their estimated value.' He also advocates the government ownership of railroads. It all reads as though Bedlam had suddenly taken to politics."

"You cannot go on preaching and enacting State Socialism forever in any country, and least of all in the United States, without making an inconvenient multitude of converts, who will reduce the doctrine to practise in their own way."

Chicago Tribune.

"Mr. Edward Bellamy, the author of *Looking Backward*, has attempted a reply in the March number of the *North American Review* to the trenchant criticism of the novel which was contributed to the previous month's issue of the same

periodical by General Francis Walker. The reply exposes so many weak spots and invites so many opportunities for assault that General Walker should find it an easy task to dispose of so-called 'Nationalism' for once and all when he strikes the return blow. Within a year from the time Bellamy's system began, the whole social state would be in danger of starvation. The next year, both in town and country, the State would sink into universal stagnation and pauperism. All the great works of the world would be abandoned. There would be no more railroading, and nine-tenths of those we have would be useless. Everyone doing what he pleased and entitled to State support, there would be no incentive to great enterprises; no ambition to make important inventions. Life would be as tedious as a twice-told tale. A bare subsistence would be the outcome of each one's lazy effort. Its inevitable effect would be a gradual shirking of work, universal discontent, and certain poverty with its attendant train of evils. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. As soon as the problem, what to do with the discontented, failed of solution the chain would give way at its weakest point, and neither Bellamy nor his State could repair it. Neither he nor any other Socialist has taken the trouble to explain how they propose to found their State, to elect their governor, to confiscate all private property and turn it into a common pool, to deal with the intrigues of parties for official honors and spoils, to prevent ballot-box stuffing, cheating, and swindling, to stop slinking and shirking, to make men work when there is no incentive to work, as no man could order anything, and, in a word, to revolutionize human nature."

Cincinnati Commercial Gazette.

"Does any mortal suppose that if the government of the United States had assumed control of the telegraph system, even twenty years ago, any considerable improvement would have been made? No one. A government moves in ruts. The life of an employee is measured by the life of the administration under which he is appointed. For faithful service he has no hope of reward. There is no incentive to the exercise of inventive genius. The science of electricity would not have been developed as it has been if government had been in control of telegraph lines. The post office system has progressed, but not as it should have done, and as it would have done had it been managed as express companies are governed. Even now it is in every respect far behind express companies. Every newspaper publisher knows this. In the transmission of correspondence and the distribution of papers where quickness is necessary the express companies are used in preference to the post office and that, too, regardless of cost. So it would be in the case of governmental postal service. Private enterprise would beat the government unless the latter should destroy private enterprise by adopting losing rates and paying shortages out of the national treasury. Would that be good policy? But on general principles, we would no more favor the government control of telegraph than we would that of railroads."

"Enterprises that can properly be conducted by private capital the Government had better let alone. Those things in which the public are concerned should be regulated, but this is as far as the Nation under our system should go. This is the substance of the strongest argument that can be advanced against the scheme for the so-called postal telegraph. The telegraph system has been built up, developed and made very nearly perfect by private enterprise, and in the same way it should be continued, unless we want a paternal government that will seek to do everything, running railroads, expresses and steamship lines. In matters of this kind there could not be a worse, more odious and oppressive monopoly than a government supervision. This properly belongs to despotism but never to a government of the people."

The Sun.

Appropos of the suit against the trustees of a young man, Howell Osborn,—"Lawyers say that the courts have been growing more liberal in their consideration of the question which often rises: How much money is needed for a man's support? They take into account a man's social surroundings and the amount of money he has been accustomed to spend, and in this case the proposition is flatly set forth that an unmarried man with no dependencies may claim legally that he needs \$30,000 a year for living expenses." That will do very well to go beside Andrew Carnegie's position that the rich,

after having supplied their own wants, should dispose of the balance of their wealth in public benefactions.

Christian Leader.

"The author of an article in the *Arena* calculates that one million persons 'of the educated class' have read Edward Bellamy's novel, and he hence concludes that there are a 'million Americans so dissatisfied with the established order that they hail a socialist regime with ardor, and are in spiritual communion around the book.' If our Nationalist friends do not restrain their imagination, they will usher in the twentieth century before the nineteenth is out of the way."

The World.

"If the disproportion, which now impoverishes the worker and unduly enriches the employer, is ever to be corrected it must be through forces set in motion by workmen themselves, and while theorists and novelists dream of a Utopian State in which the government shall be the sole capitalist and the only employer, practical men are searching for a device which shall exactly reverse that process and make capitalists of all men who choose to be so. When the employed are no longer dependent from day to day upon the grace of the employer, their labor will bring what it is worth, and the practical problem is how to bring that state of affairs about."—*George Gary Eggleston.*

Boston Herald.

"The favorite stock investment of the human race has, in all ages, been the buying of securities in the Millennium. A Millennium to be worth a copper must always involve in some form or other the 'Reign of Saints.' A Millennium must always be suited to the spirit of the age. Here in America there is slim chance of passing off a cut-throat robber for a holy saint, while, at the same time, a more unpopular doctrine than that the saints should have all the good things to themselves could hardly be preached. So Mr. Bellamy proposes to avoid the error of Mahomet by making everybody a genuine, bona-fide saint. All that it is necessary to do is to cut off the sources of temptation to be anything else. How easily this may be accomplished he shows in his book. Greed, lust, violence, envy, hate, are only skin deep. Feed a tiger on huckleberries and he will sing like a sucking dove. President Walker still holds to the antiquated idea that there is an entity in people called human nature and that this peculiar entity takes on such a variety of forms that no common diet of water gruel would eradicate the difference between man and man any more than between wolf and lamb. No, says Mr. Bellamy, all that is necessary is to make certain social changes, and, presto! we shall see the Sultan of Turkey a strict monogamist, Jay Gould a cheerful conductor on a small branch line of railroad, and John L. Sullivan a devout Sunday school teacher. Is it, then, to be wondered at that the author of such a comforting book sells 300,000 copies!"

REVIEWS.

The novel "One Voyage" by Julius A. Palmer, Jr., has given us sincere pleasure. It is delightful reading, moral in tone, at the same time full of incident and interest; indeed, the whole atmosphere of the book is so healthful and invigorating that we feel mentally refreshed after a reading of its breezy pages. The characters are so faithfully drawn they become real entities and we follow the fortunes of Clinton and Hubert Abbott with the warmest feelings of friendship. We rejoice in the escape of Clinton from the thralldom of the cold-hearted and selfish Alice Gray, and we breathe a sigh of content when Hubert finally succeeds in winning the heart of the sweet and loyal little woman, Louise Bradford. We sniff the salt sea air with Capt. Hardy, and we so thoroughly enjoy life on board the White Fawn that we come into port with reluctance.

A few brief extracts will show the graceful style with which Mr. Palmer tells his story and presents his characters.

"Clinton Abbott succeeded to his father's business as he had always prayed that he might. How successful in practice were his theories of the proper relations of capital and labor; what was the effect upon his fortune and life produced by the decline of the shipping interests and the supplanting of wooden vessels by those of iron; what was the result manifested in the future from that day when he discovered that the adoration he had offered to an ideal of his own imagination had been wasted; these and many other interesting matters are beyond the limits of the present history. That his faith in goodness never wavered and that his love of purity and sincerity never ceased may be confidently asserted. He recognized, as he saw more of the world, as travel enlarged his powers of discrimination and age introduced the lines of silver into his hair, that it was not the ideal that had been at fault, but his impersonation thereof. He knew that the integrity of his manhood was the harvest from seed that had been sown in the sorrow of his youth. The sculptor embodies not the truth and purity of his conceptions in the spotless marble until after he has first seen them fashioned in clay * * * * Far better to pass through the present life, even to the eternal silence, with lofty and ennobling, even if totally unrealized ideals, than to fix the standard at the outset so low, so near to the possibilities open to animals that there shall be no doubt of its attainment under the most earthly conditions."

"When Louise at last heard those words from the lips of Hubert Abbott they occasioned no surprise and called for no mutual explanations; they were but the natural consequence, the anticipated culmination of a relationship which had grown daily dearer and more tender to two pure and loyal hearts. The formality of marriage was only the outward expression of that union which at the time existed between the two in heart and soul. To perpetuate and give publicity before the world to that oneness, which already has a spiritual being, such is the object of any outward acknowledgment of marriage. Unless the union has been made in perfect truth and sincerity on both sides before the word is spoken at the altar, it will never exist at all. But where the alliance is made in honor and purity, where it is in reality a life for a life, then is it an ideal of a combined force for the highest and best ends, not only in this mortal life but, assuming eternity to be no more than the faith of the ages in the truth that goodness can never die, the results of such union for good could only be known should we reverse the wheels of time and read to-day that which their revolutions might record in the countless cycles of an infinite future."

But it is in the portrayal of the characters of Tomson & Tomson, Trust Lawyers, and their methods of business that Mr. Palmer is at his strongest after all.

"Perhaps the office of Tomson & Tomson should have borne the name of a bank rather than that of a firm of counsellors-at-law. Be that as it may, an enormous amount of money was passed in its doors and, as it was always kept in the name of Tomson & Tomson, no one but the members of the firm knew how much was in reality their own and what sums were simply on deposit with them for account of other parties. They had accordingly the reputation of being a firm of immense wealth * * *

"It is the acknowledged principle of banking," said Mr. Tomson, the elder, one day, when he was instructing his son in the methods of conducting the trust business.

"What is the principle of banking, Governor?" demanded the younger Mr. Tomson

who, although very quick and well educated, might be pardoned his want of ability to apply principles to practice.

"That of crediting each person with the amount paid into this office on his or her account, simply charging the same to cash."

"But I thought in trust matters that every separate estate should have its own bank account and list of investments," replied the youth, with general principles for his authority.

"Theoretically you are right, but practically it must all be kept by some one, and by whom with better right than ourselves? There must be a bank — *we* are the bank; the sum total of our deposits is represented by accounts at sundry institutions. It would be an endless system of book-keeping if I had to open a set of books for each specific fund which has ever passed through my hands."

"And the bank?"

"Has been insolvent for years!"

"Then we must borrow all the money we can."

"Tut! tut! my boy; as long as you are in the world never use that expression 'borrow money.' Persons that are hard pressed, those in debt dunned by exacting creditors, those who are striving to make both ends meet — such, and such only borrow money. Step down State Street; do you find the stock brokers who, of course, are obliged to use large sums of ready cash, do you find them advertising for loans of money? Why, the public would laugh at them and ask to see their securities; but they have an elegant walnut counter, with a plate glass window, and a gilded netting behind which is a teller or cashier, and on the burnished signs you read 'Deposits received and interest allowed on the same.'"

"And yet theirs is a risky business?"

"That makes no difference; to no other class of merchants, are such immense sums advanced without any other security than the sign-board above mentioned. Let a merchant dealing in tea, coffee, or cotton goods desire additional capital, and he can get it only by hypothecating merchandise which he already owns, but State Street and Wall Street have had all the funds needed for years, simply by deference to the principles of banking."

It is hardly necessary for us to add that until the State becomes the general trustee such banks will flourish in this world even though "insolvent for years."

CAESAR'S COLUMN. BY EDMUND BOISGILBERT, M. D.

Caesar's Column portrays an imaginary state of society a hundred years hence, which looking at one side only is the logical outcome of our present commercial system. Persons belonging to the upper classes are described as being powerful, having "resolute mouths, fine brows and all the marks of shrewdness and energy;" but not one of whom it could be said "he loves his fellowman."

The direst pessimism pervades the book; not even the highest-minded of the "Brotherhood of Destruction" rises above the desire for revenge. Striking quotations are made from current authors of the highest standing, showing the tendency to such a state of society as the author describes in so horrible a manner. The church of that day resolves itself into a lecture-room from which materialism is preached in minute detail, with illustrations by the conduct of the congregation that their loftiest conception of love was on the animal plane, which demonstration roused Gabriel, who is a visitor to this country from Africa, to defy all conventionalities by denouncing such sentiments in the strongest terms possible.

The grim spoliation of all that is sweet or noble in society is slightly relieved by the love-passages of Gabriel and Prince Cabano's latest acquisition for his harem who is pure, as is evidenced "in the whole pose of the body, for every fiber of the frame of man or woman partakes of the characteristics of the soul;" and the marriage of Max, one of the commanders of the Brotherhood, with a poor opera singer, whom he has protected from the evil designing men who haunt the green-room.

In the final arrangements for the destruction of civilization ingenious descriptions of

infernal machines are given. They add to the diabolical zest of the fiends in human shape, to wipe out the last remains of science and art, leaving humanity to begin over again at first principles with only such few as are able to survive because of their brute strength and cunning.

The title of the book is derived from Ceasar, the commandert-in-chief ordering the slain to be cemented in a column, as a monument to remind man of the inalienable rights of his fellowmen and the consequent destruction of civilization, if this principle be ignored.

"God wipes out injustice with suffering; wrong with blood; sin with death. You can no more get beyond the reach of his hand than you can escape from the planet."

A touch of relief is given in the last chapters by the organization of a co-operative colony in Africa. Chicago: F. J. Schulte & Company, Publishers.

OUR DESTINY.

THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALISM ON MORALS AND RELIGION.

BY LAURENCE GRONLUND,

Author of *The Coöperative Commonwealth*, *Ça Ira or Danton in the French Revolution*, etc., etc.

This, the author's latest and, according to his own belief, best contribution to Economic Literature, was begun in the *March Nationalist*.

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In forbidding us to surpass the limits of the thoroughly but harmoniously developed specimens of humanity, we have assigned to us the feasible—and what ought to be the welcome—task of bringing up the whole human race to these limits. Not to urge the exceptionally few to still more exceptional attainments, not to put our own minds and brains into a hotbed, not to attempt the surpassing development of our own highest faculties, but to put all our fellowmen into a fertile and wholesome soil, to make all more vigorous, and wise and good, and holy in the measure of their just and well-balanced capacities; this is the perfection we ought to seek after, our true ideal, the end of morals.

This greatly clears our practical course and speculative difficulties. It shows that the timid fugitives from the duties and temptations of the world—whether it be the ascetics of old or the many cultivated moderns, who, having become disgusted with politics and with “the masses,” have gone in for self-cultivation—have all turned their backs on the right goal. It indicates that this is the bottom fact of our existence: that it is the common life of all which each should develop in himself; that one cannot aim at one's own true well-being without aiming at that of others. These others are not mere means to myself, but are involved in my essence; and this essence is superior to, and gives law to, us all in a higher sense than our bodily organism gives law to its members. This makes morality logical in theory and real in fact.

Please pause here a moment and note the meaning of these *data*, these facts: Obedience to true authority, sovereignty, empire of necessity and the fellowship of man. It means that persons like the first Napoleon commit a tremendous mistake in treating morality as vague declamation, fit for babies or Sunday schools, but not affecting brainy, practical men. It tends to show, what other chapters will further establish, that morality, on the contrary, is an objective reality of transcendent importance and priceless value, a reality of which a gigantic tree was taken as a weak type. Here we have especially inquired into the inner nature of the reality, examined its germ, and we come to this important conclusion, that *morality is the offspring of the universal order of this Empire of Necessity, of benevolent Necessity, which really at bottom constitutes all rightful authority and sovereignty.* This, as we shall later see, by no means does away with Free-will, but the latter is more limited than its advocates like to

admit. Again, we now find that morality itself issues in Social Unity, the brotherhood and fellowship of man. This, as the next chapter will show, does not ignore our own selves; we shall then see, that we are equally entitled to define the moral end as self-realization, if we are careful to consider "self" as a member of the whole. I am morally realized only when I am aware of myself as a member, when my private self has ceased to be my exclusive self. By perfecting the world, and thus only, I perfect myself.

Compare now this view with the position of Herbert Spencer: "When the aggregate is no longer in danger from wars, the final object of pursuit, the welfare of the units, no longer needing to be postponed, become the immediate objects of pursuits." That means, of course, that when, in our days, private and public claims clash, the latter must give way; and that as society progresses the bond that unites its members loosens more and more. This is, surely, as immoral teaching as any can be. What a philosophy of history! And that by the foremost modern English philosopher! What a curious idea he must have of an "organism!" His society has certainly more likeness to a heap of grains of sand than to even the lowest form of organisms. Yet, as Prof. Clifford says: "That society is an organism, the highest of all, is one of those great facts which our own generation has been the first to state rationally."

How much sounder is Sir James Stephen's idea: "The strong metaphor that we are all members one of another is little more than the expression of a fact; a man would be one, outside society, as little as a hand would be a hand without the body."

Since then, our most popular philosophers inculcate such ideas, it is no wonder that but very few minds gladly postpone their own interests to the public welfare, and as long as this state of things lasts, it is impossible for conscious evolution to take place. But natural evolution goes serenely on. Let us assume that the economic changes, outlined in the previous chapter, have taken place; that the monopolies have become unbearable, so that the nation is forced to announce, that for the future the industries will be carried on by the collectivity—which, by virtue of the authority vested in it, it has a perfect right to do—and we shall witness a radical, a tremendous change in the moral consciousness of the people. They will quickly turn their backs on Spencer and his ideas. They will not need to be told, as children in the schools of France are said now to be taught, that it is to the State

they are indebted for their schooling and various other good things. No, immediately after this change, the citizens will have an object lesson daily before their eyes. They will know for certain, they will see that they owe their abundance, their freedom, and their leisure to the Nation. They therefore will know for certain, they will "feel in their bones" that the welfare of the collectivity—whether of the Nation, the State, or the Municipality—means their own welfare; that the general interests are, as a matter of fact, identical with their individual interests. Their country will then, for the first time, become a true "fatherland" to them, and they will naturally cherish for it the feelings which children have for their father, and look up to it as the guardian of their destiny and of their welfare as units.

But what is of by far the greatest importance is that public opinion will be evolved into a Collective Conscience. The great trouble now is, that public opinion is at sea on all great moral questions, and therefore neither speaks nor claims to speak with authority on any. We have a dim sense of a constraining *ought* that, like a life-instinct of the race, always compels man to do what he does not choose and what he cannot foresee will benefit the individual at all. There is an impulse within us to consider moral ideals as true and not illusory lights, and of binding obligation, to the extent that they must be followed, sometimes at all hazards. Duty must be done at whatever cost, or it is not duty. But then thinkers arise among us like Leslie Stephen, who confine themselves to society as it is, and thus bring in fundamental discord by telling us that there is a "path of duty" and "a path of happiness." For society as it is, almost as a rule, gives success to the cunning, the unscrupulous, the worthless, the impotent, rather than to the worthy. That is to attack these moral ideals in a vital part, to regard moral rules as nothing else than a useful invention to abate social jar and friction, and to bring them down to the level of police regulations is to oppose their binding obligation.

What a wonderful, beneficent change in this respect, when the Social Commonwealth is evolved with its Collective Conscience. It will really make Duty an *obligation*, meaning in Jeremy Taylor's appropriate phrase: something "tied by bands"; for to the Commonwealth it will tie us all by the very strongest bands of interest, of personal well-being, of happiness. It will imperatively, with authority, with a sense of being infallibly right, point out to all the welfare of the aggregate, the solidarity of the social organism, as the end of

morals. That is to say, the Collective Conscience will become that "skillful gardener" without whose care no tree can be expected to bear its choicest fruit, the conscious guardian, and trainer of morality. Lastly, it will inaugurate the *Conscious* Evolution of the race, the Golden Age ahead, when Society will consciously second natural evolution.

And if the common destiny of the race shall become a universal article of faith, what a pettiness will be infused into all mere private ends! We have yet to witness the moral superiority of a philosophy which connects each of us with the whole of human existence, in all times and places, inspiring all with an invincible repugnance to moral offences, with an irresistible impulse to steady practical devotedness!

13. Not alone does the Power behind Evolution clearly and distinctly outline the *end* of morals to us, it has already furnished us with a *motive* sufficiently powerful to make us respond almost spontaneously to the promptings of the Collective Conscience. This is Love of Approbation.

Understand, I do not say that there are not even now choice spirits who do not need any ulterior motive at all. They are moral because they like it. "My duties are my rights" they say. But, of course, it is the vast majority of men with whom we are concerned, and they we know need a motive and a strong motive. What I contend is, that Love of Approbation is such a motive, of enormous strength, and — I am tempted already here to say, providentially — present in all, even in the choice spirits, who perhaps have acquired their moral spontaneity simply by frequent exercise.

It is trite to say, that there are many forms of this faculty. The familiar judgments of companions or contemporaries which fill up everyday life in business, workshop, social intercourse are all, however slight, so much social pressure on this faculty; but let us instance one example which will show that probably no stronger social bond could be born in us.

That is furnished by the duel. Reflect on it! This custom, imposed by military morals, induced knights of the greatest piety to brave the strongest religious condemnation in the most brilliant ages of the

church, thus showing that religious precepts are not nearly so strong as the judgment of one's fellows. This is put into still stronger relief by the notorious fact, that this very duelling is in our days spontaneously disappearing under the sway of industrialism.

As this is evidence of its strength we have an evidence of its universality in the fact that much of the mischief done by our loafers, street-urchins, and criminals, is due to the applause of comrades. It is only love of approbation misdirected.

It may be objected, that our choicest spirits, our martyrs, run counter to this faculty, bid defiance to the judgment of their contemporaries and follow their own conscience. But is not the explanation this, that their love of approbation is not less, but it must, of course, be the approval of those whose judgment they value, and that they do not value the judgment of their contemporaries? May not such men at the same time fancy themselves standing before a court, with God for judge and his saints and all good men of future ages for jury, and fortify themselves with *their* imagined applause?

By the way, a unique instance of the strength of the faculty here suggests itself to me: Suppose a sensitive youth to be in the company of others to whom chastity is a folly, how often has such a one blushed for a chaste action on his part which excites the others mirth? This blush shows that his virtuous impulses are for the moment overshadowed by his love of approval.

Place now our old human nature as we know it, no whit changed, subject to the same old motives, under a socialist *regime*. How will this Collective Conscience, evolved by Nationalism, act on this love of approbation?

It is unfortunate that health is not infectious as disease is; but most happily, "while vice is as catching as disease, virtue is too." In our present state of anarchy we, of course, see nothing that can give us an idea of the energy and tenacity of this conscience. We cannot fancy to ourselves a plenitude of assent, such as yet never has existed to the same degree; the difference between now and then is the whole gamut between a weekly whispering instinct and a swelled chorus of harmony. Next, we, equally of course, must eliminate all conception of external "force" which has no relation to the feeling of which we now speak. But doing the best we can, we can see that if a divided public opinion can act, as it does, as a great engine for protecting and sanctioning the whole mass of beliefs, habits and customs which

collectively constitute current morality, the consciously unanimous Collective Conscience must be able to act as a gigantic magnet, of tremendous attracting power. Natural Evolution will thus furnish us, in the socialist *regime* and our old human nature, with a complete self-acting machinery.

All that mass of difficulties which Leslie Stephen, as an individualist, meets with does not at all apply to this new *regime*. Thus he says: Individualist "morality has no *leverage*. A true theory of motives will not even tend to make me moral if I care nothing for society." "The search for some reason, binding every man simply as reasonable is hopeless, unless a man has certain sensibilities, character." That is most true now, but Nationalism supplies the leverage. At first, indeed, we must expect a few cases of vicious inclinations and entanglement of passion where even such collective conscience will not restrain; for we must not ask too much of change of the generation that brings in the New *Regime*. But, to the hardihood of braving the discredit of this conscience, add a socialistic education and training that will keep the young, from infancy till adult age, under the eye of the teacher, and such cases will afterwards be extremely rare. Public disapproval will prove itself far more effective than our present "do it and be damned" theory of morals, not to speak of the deliberate selfishness of this theory.

Spencer's idea that *now* "the moral check to theft is a consciousness of the evils, caused by a disregard of proprietary rights," is another really funny illustration of his manner of looking upon us all as *bourgeois*, "making contracts with each other." But it is impossible to understand how he can think such a check effective in the actual state of mankind, with its motto of "the devil take the hindmost," when lack of wealth is hell and when there is no safety for the unpropertied man. Ah, but in a Nationalist Commonwealth—Spencer's *bete noir* with its community of interests—there it will apply. By the way, we have today in Switzerland, which is as complete a nation as any, an interesting instance of the superiority of common interests over even ethnic and religious sympathies as a social bond.

We are now ready to enter upon a consideration of the the last of *our data* of Ethics: the change in our intellectual views, the atmosphere to morality; but it is advisable to discuss first two questions

that might otherwise prove stumbling blocks to inquirers. These are Equality and Individuality, which really hang together.

14. The majority cry for equality, the minority for individuality, and both cries are warranted. The former means, that men of the same race, with something of an education, will not endure gross inequality of fortunes. Above all it means that nature's inequality of gifts, which furnishes the only superiority of divine right, has been nullified and trampled on by present society's artificial inequality; that the one inequality founded on fact, has been set aside by another founded on chance or chicane, and favored by existing institutions. The nationalist commonwealth will realize both this rational equality and this rational inequality—at bottom one and the same thing, and its citizens will recognize real inequalities where they exist, as much as substantial equality where it exists.

It will, I apprehend, realize equality in three different forms:

Equal rights to the inheritance of mankind; that is to say we shall be equal partakers of the commonwealth and its well-being; note, I say *partakers*, for it is in consumption where Equality appears, as Individuality does in production.

We claim an equal right to this "inheritance of mankind" which, by our institutions, a minority is at present enabled to monopolize, and which it does monopolize and use in order to extort thereby an unearned increment; and this inheritance is true *Capital*. We mean thereby the principle, potentiality, embodied in the axe, the spade, the plow, the steam-engine, tools of all kinds, books or pictures, bequeathed by thinkers, writers, inventors, discoverers, and other laborers of the past, a social growth to which all individual claims have lapsed by death, but from the advantages of which the masses are virtually shut out, for lack of means. The very best definition of government, even that of today, is that it is the agency of society which procures title to this treasure, stores it up, guards and gives access to it to every one, and of which all must make the best use, first and foremost by education. Not the least mischief is the terrible waste that we make of it.

The nationalist republic will realize this equality by giving to all an equal opportunity to earn all they need and want. This is a very

different thing from the suggestion that all citizens should receive *equal* remuneration. I do not believe in the latter; it seems curious to me that they who suggest it cannot see that this would be highly unjust, since men have very different needs and wants. Communism is far more just, since it would give to everybody according to his needs, but this is altogether too generous. Society could not stand such generosity.

The next is a higher form of equality: social rather than economic; that is to say, all citizens will be equally dependent on the commonwealth and independent of each other. It was for this *social* equality that the cry burst out in the eighteenth century, no longer a barren phrase, an abstraction of jurists and philosophers, but a fiery, living force, taking possession of the hearts of men. It has sunk deep into the soul of our century and entered into all the master spirits of the age.

We have already seen that the most invidious powers of the prosperous classes now are these two: that the giving or the withholding of employment is a matter of arbitrary favor and that they have the right to arbitrarily discharge their employées. These will be two immense gains: security during good behavior and the right of all to demand suitable—not a particular—employment on demand. That disposes of the objection that we shall all be dependent on political bosses. There will be no spoils, hence no standing parties, or rather factions, hence no “bosses.”

France is the classical land of equality. At the Polytechnic School in Paris, the pupils are unaware of the bursars' names which are known only to a committee, pledged by honor to secrecy—such is the delicacy of the spirit of equality. This is the terrible stumbling-block of socialism in England. Dr. Arnold observed of France that there, “well-dressed men and women converse familiarly with persons of the lowest rank,” as something that shocked him; we know how servile “tuft-hunters” at Oxford are to their “noble” fellow-students, and that a physician who has ever held out his hand for guineas cannot possibly hope to take a place among peers of the realm; that, as is said, “talents lose twenty-five per cent. in value on reaching England.” But—a most happy omen for us!—we are still better off here than in France. We are not yet, and it is to be hoped, will never be, divided into these two sorry classes, as everywhere in Europe: gentlemen, with decent clothes, who are expected to give tips on all occasions, and the balance who expect to get tips.

But the most important as well as by far the most practicable form of equality, undoubtedly, is the last, that of the coordination of equal corporate bodies. It is impossible, that there can be equality between all individuals, in their productive capacity, and yet this is the equality that is most prized and most valuable. It can, however, be secured by having all useful citizens gathered into trades-unions—for lack of a better term—all, however distinctly unlike, ranking as equals, on account of the equally essential services which each renders, and these, perhaps, consolidated into “estates of the realm.” The confidence enjoyed by the most eminent thinker, since no one can know or judge of everything, is analogous to that which in a measure he in turn accords to the humblest intelligence on subjects best understood by the latter. This “in a measure” drops away when we come to corporate bodies. There is a public utility in the humblest offices of public bodies, not a whit less truly than in the loftiest functions of government, and whatever difference in dignity may exist as some might fancy is more than made up by the preponderance of numbers, necessarily to be found in the former. Every citizen’s dignity and equality is then secured by his membership in one of these bodies.

With the attainment of rational equality we can at last frankly deny the so-called “rights of man” in theory, as we must do, if society is ever to be the arbiter of its own destiny, and as the “rights” have practically always been denied. They have only made it easier for unscrupulousness to accomplish its personal aggrandizement. Social duties take the place of personal rights. I may choose my own station, but its duties do not depend upon my liking, or upon that of any other person; they are the appurtenances of the station, and “these duties are my rights.” We may yet come back to the medieval ideal of the “freedom” of the various functions.

It is noteworthy as showing the trend of individual minds that not alone has Mallock broached this idea of “estates of the realm,” but Felix Adler has suggested that, instead of having our legislatures and boards of aldermen elected as at present, they should be composed of representatives of the various business, working, and farming classes, each group to decide with authority on all matters, especially concerning their own interests.

Equality is thus by no means, anything like monotony of external conditions, but simply harmony, cessation of conflict, the sign of health. The fact that a single healthy human body exists is a

warrant for a future healthy human society. Man will surely enter the gate that the flaming sword so long has guarded.

15. The weightiest objection of educated minds to Nationalism seems to be what one of our foremost novelists once expressed to the present writer in these words: "I might accept your socialism, if the fear did not haunt me that your collective authority would crush out all individuality."

This, if valid, would surely in my eyes be an insuperable objection. While I detest Individualism, I hold Individuality—that is, the sum of all the qualities which differentiate me from others—most sacred. It is not what entitles us to the divine regard, but it is that which enables us to serve our country and humanity, and to wipe it out would, indeed, be a calamity, greater even to society than to ourselves. Equality in enjoyment as I have defined it, is a most sacred thing, but equality in production would be deplorable—actually deplorable.

Individuality—in which is included ability, talents, genius—will, indeed, be needed much more by the Nationalist commonwealth than by the present social order. In all cooperative production a single brain must be the responsible head which governs and guides those who perform the mechanical processes and manual dexterities. And so Nationalism, while it has no use for Mallock's "ability," to watch the market, will need intelligence to control, over a much larger field, the whole course of labor from start to finish, and appoint to each worker his suitable part in the division of labor.

Yes, Nationalism will give to nature's inequality its heaven-born right: high place, not high pay. This is the question of modern democracy: how to find and utilize nature's aristocracy, always existing, and of it form a hierarchy, according to capacity in each generation, ignoring all other claims as illegitimate. A sound, stable democracy must run on lines opposed to a dead-level communism.

To do this, individuality must have a basis and a stimulus; Nationalism furnishes both, thus doing entirely away with the objection.

The basis we have already shown: Independence and Leisure, principally the former, which in itself is the very essence of individuality. If a class of men have an independent living, their individual-

ities are almost sure to assert themselves, even if other conditions are not particularly favorable. But if not, then alas! then individuality is their curse. For that reason, what high spirits now crushed, poisoned and perverted! What heaven-sent capacity now repressed and frozen that should have rejoiced the world! What progress in science, arts, inventions, letters, and thoughts we might have had!

And now as to the other condition of individuality: incentives? Can any one who seriously reflects on what has been said, doubt that Nationalism will far surpass the present order in furnishing these? Ah, some will quote from what has been said above: "no high pay." Yes, that is the saddest part of our age, that money rewards have come to be the chief and only incentive. But then it was not always so. Phidias and Michael Angelo surely never thought of money; the golden calf has been made our god only by this Satanic individualism. When this is overthrown, the old incentives will regain their ascendancy over noble minds: the joys of creative genius, social distinction and the honor of directing affairs—and these the Nationalist commonwealth will furnish on a scale never before known; besides this, I am sure that the gifted will have all the material enjoyments they will care for. Yes, ability will be exalted to a degree hitherto unheard of. In particular, Nationalism will take care that the *elite* of the children of the people gain access to the highest prizes, therein imitating the church of the Middle Ages, which searched for and fostered talent in the poor, with the result that genius of the highest order commonly sprang from the people, in spite of the weight on its wings.

But what the objectors especially have in mind is an idea that the central authority will control every action of every member. This is nothing but an absurd misapprehension, which should be already cleared up by what has been said above on the co-ordination of the corporate bodies, and which will become still more evident in the following chapter. Only this much here, that there will at the *very utmost* be as much "authority" as now, only private control will have changed into public control. As to the term "authority," applied to individuality: Is it not a fact that authority, in the sense of restraint, is frequently *blessed*, is indeed the very first condition for the development of individuality?

The following quotation from Fiske is even more applicable to our typical self-made employer, and the typical nationalist administrator,

respectively, than to those of whom he speaks: "The primitive type is the man with an enormous sense of his own importance, easily roused to paroxysms of anger, brooking no contradictions, domineering over all within his reach. The modern man is the type of mild personality, shunning the appearance of self-assertion, slow to anger, patient of contradiction, unwilling to make trouble."

In all respects, I think, our favored country surpasses all nations in the conditions for successfully inaugurating Nationalism—except one. We have one weak spot: our colored population. They *must* attain to social equality. Nationalism cannot exist with a class of helots. Much patient toil is required on both sides to attain to that equality. It seems worth while to suggest to the most elevated and educated of the colored race, that they can do much to that end, perhaps far more than all the rest of the race. If they, or but a few of them, will furnish to the world instances of great intellectual and moral worth, a very great step will have been taken toward a change of sentiment toward the whole race. It is impossible to say how much the colored people owe simply to the fact that a Douglass or a Bruce have issued from them. But if, instead of cultivating politics, they will try to find out if there is among them a literary or scientific genius, or if—what is open to them all—they should in a future epidemic, say, of yellow fever, manifest the spirit of self-sacrifice, the whole race will be sensibly lifted up. Such is the power of individuality.

Sir James Stephen, in his book, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, gives vent to this observation: "It is a question whether the rapid production of an immense multitude of common-place, self-satisfied and essentially slight people in America is an exploit which the whole world need fall down and worship." This is the judgment of a superficial observer. It is in our generation becoming clearer and clearer, that the opposite characteristic is fast taking possession of the hearts and minds of the American people, of both the toiling masses and the leaders of conscience, that is to say, that "the bond that binds us together" is becoming remarkably strengthened, and that consciousness of this fact will soon distinguish us among the people of the earth.

CHAPTER III.

CONTRADICTIONS.

"I see no reason why progress in the moral world should be so slow, or the return for moral efforts so pitifully small. If the Church would address her efforts, not in persuading men to adopt a certain set of opinions, but to adopt certain habits of life, she would find the work of conversion easy and rapid."

W. H. H. MURRAY.

16. The above words indicate, I am sure, a radically mistaken philosophy. As we shall see in other chapters, and have already partly seen, there is ample reason why "progress in the moral world is so slow." What we are here concerned with is the assumption that habits of life are independent of and can be divorced from opinions. This chapter will call attention to the *intellectual* changes which will follow the economic changes, or which already are to some extent, taking place, for our intellect, reason, is intimately concerned with institutions, manners and moral convictions. This will conclude our *data* of Ethics. In other words, so far we have treated of the nature of morality, and of the soil; now we shall speak of the atmosphere.

When a gardener takes charge of a young plant, the first thing he considers is the atmospheric conditions which its nature demands: whether it can stand the open air or must be placed inside a hot-house, whether it does or does not crave sunshine; we may even imagine plants that thrive by getting sunshine through a red or a blue glass. Our intellect acts as the atmospheric medium to morality. True, no development of intellect makes a man moral. Morality has to do with appetites, passions, *feelings*, but it makes all the difference in the world, whether the facts of our environment act on our feelings through an intellect that interprets them correctly or falsely. Many a warm-hearted man has had his benevolence stifled by looking on misery through Malthusian spectacles — being confused by the sophistries of Malthus.

Man has not yet, as Huxley says, "discovered his true place in Nature." A philosopher from a higher planet, if he saw our present predicament, would laugh at our awkwardness if he did not think our situation too tragical. It is well known that what we really see is not, say, a house, but the small reversed picture of the house, drawn on

the retina of the eye ; but every child learns instinctively in infancy to follow the rays of the picture to their true source and then to grasp mentally this source : the house itself in its true position and dimensions.

The same thing has happened to us in all our relations to the physical world ; experience has everywhere had to come to our aid. The apparent, when no acquired *data* existed for directing our judgment, has differed widely from, and often been the direct opposite of, the real. The deliverance of sight, we saw, would be inverted but for an experience, which we simply do not remember. But the more remote and obscure the relations of the known to the unknown, the more instruction do we require. Thus no one of us would ever think of accounting for the revolution of our earth, were we not taught the true explanation. And so with the paradox of the earth's support and its shape. The appearance is, that it is supported and that it is flat ; that the reality is the very reverse we learn from scientific experience.

Now we are in a similar predicament as to our social surroundings, and we are, unfortunately, confirmed in it by the fact that we are living in a transition period from one organic order to another, which fact veils to us the real state of affairs and this predicament is precisely analogous to the one our forefathers were in under the Ptolemaic system, when the appearance was, and when they believed, that the earth was the centre of the solar system. For our intellect likewise turns our relation to society upside down, makes us fully believe the reverse of the reality. Here as elsewhere things are not what they appear to be, but are precisely very frequently what they seem *not* to be.

It is natural evolution that again here will come to our assistance ; it will give us a correct conception of our environment, reverse the picture for us in our mind ; and how ? By leading us in our progress to a socialist *regime* into such glaring contradictions, that we shall have no peace of mind, before we rectify our conception, and bring ourselves into true relations with the fact of our environment. It is the various false conceptions we now cherish, and the contradictions, or logical absurdities, into which they lead us that will occupy us in this chapter.

Herbert Spencer and his school furnish us with the clearest exposition of the general form of these false conceptions, of this reversed

picture. "The State is now regarded as existing only for the sake of the individual." In other words, the individual is the centre of the social order just as the earth was formerly supposed to be the centre of the solar system, and the State, society and every higher unity, is secondary. Prof. Sumner's book "What Social classes Owe to Each Other," is from beginning to end an essay on social isolation, inculcating that the only relation between individuals is a cash account; in other words, it is an ingenious attempt to adjust the universe to a perspective, obtained by standing on one's head. There is in the essay one sentence that might stand for its motto: "The State is to me only the All-of-us," the intellectual fallacy of which will be evident to everybody, the moment we utter simply one word: posterity. Whatever else the State is for, it is clear that its function extends to caring for posterity, a function which no individual can perform. At this stage we surely must see, that Prof. Sumner is not nearly so profound a philosopher as Pascal, who defined the State as the social unit, composed of our ancestors, us the living, and our posterity.

We pass now to the special consideration of these false conceptions, each worse than the preceding; and shall see, how the contradictions into which they lead us will make us reverse them.

17. The first false conception of our social relations can be expressed by the saying: "the State, least governed is best governed." But it is important that the reader at the start should know wherein I affirm the falsity lies. It is not that I insist that the State, most governed, is best governed. I affirm that they are blind to a *fact* — that we are now at least as much governed as in the past, and shall be forever. A society cannot exist without government, and the more developed society is, the more of government must we have. Now, government is either by private individuals or by public authority; here it is that "more" or "less" come in, and what is said in the above phrase by those who think "government" abominable, is really, that a million private authorities are better than one public authority. Thus interpreted into correct language most of them will probably repudiate it.

We know very well by this time how this false conception origin-

ated—that it is a historical growth. First there was the feudal society, rich, flexible, varied, thoroughly harmonious, a compact coherent society, perfectly realizing the essential condition of an organism—concurrence to a common end; but “its head of gold kept out of sight like awkward feet of clay its humble industrial basis.” By and by the feet of clay protruded more and more, while the head of gold retreated; of the feet certain individuals attained prominence, made themselves in time private masters and became at last jealous of the head, the central authority. They created such a public sentiment, that their followers exulted in the degradation of that central authority, the “tyrant,” and called this “liberty,” forgetful of the chains their private masters had put upon them.

The consequences—the contradictions—have meanwhile developed themselves. It is as if these private masters had stumbled into power like a Caliban, had become blindly possessed of the secrets of Prospero, and did not know how to use them. At a distance of six centuries industrialism is still destitute of a logical and coherent ideal, and has so far developed without any guidance or guardianship at all, of which, however, it now more and more feels its need. For it has resulted in a miserable mal-adjustment everywhere. The feet become more and more conscious that they stand in need of the central authority—and perhaps it is not such a terrible “tyrant” after all.

Indeed, everyone now feels that there is a most pernicious mal-distribution of energies, due mainly to the fact that no practical systematic attempt has yet been made to estimate the real needs of the social organism and to distribute its forces in accordance therewith. As has been well said, “the theoretical estimate has been made by many sets of people, according to many principles; the practical direction is continued by others, in accordance with customs, habits, traditions, convenience, sentimentalism, prejudice, fashion—everything except the principles of organic adjustment, alone serviceable.”*

And look at the miserable mal-adjustment which is caused by this mal-distribution. On one hand millions, crushed down by their burden of constant toil that ends only with death; on the other thousands whose forces waste in enforced idleness. Here men and women whose hair have become prematurely gray from nervous strain and with skin prematurely wrinkled from bodily exertion, and there men and women, weary from *ennui*, because they have nothing to do.

*The Value of Life—anonymous.

Here minds strained by too heavy responsibilities, and there minds cruelly cramped by far too narrow duties. Energies that vainly seek employment and work that much needs to be done, and yet is left undone, because there is no one to do it. On the one hand mankind slaving like working-bees and yet starving in the midst of the riches they have created, on the other unwieldy, fat drones, unable to enjoy. What a waste of power, all due to the impotence of the central authority! For people come now more and more to see, that this authority need not be a tyrant at all, but is precisely what they make it. That its proper name is not so much "government" at all, with the function of restraining, but rather *administration*, since what they need is a Guide, a Director, a Regulator.

Because of the impotence of this authority, the regular evolution of life is now so often thwarted, its hopes disappointed, its character degraded. How many of our youths dream ambitious dreams of what they will do and achieve as men, and when they have reached forty years, are exceedingly happy if they become sure of a decent living, by uninterrupted drudgery, for the rest of their life. How many parents now pinch themselves, in order to enable their children to pass through our grammar schools, our high schools and our universities, who, when they are fitted to be servants of society, are abandoned by the state, which, as it cannot utilize their attainments, leaves them positively worse off than before their education—their culture become their curse. Think of the multitude of criminals; the worst of these were once innocent children as we all were; it was thoroughly known that the very atmosphere they breathed was saturated with filth and vice, and that it would be a miracle if they did not grow up into vicious men; yet the State left them—had to leave them—in their vice till it was compelled to grasp them with its iron hand and thrust them into the penitentiaries.

Only a very few words are here needed to illustrate the further point, that our private masters are not merely poor substitutes for a public authority, but that self-interest leads them to enrich themselves at the expense of the community, turns them into scoundrels who manipulate demand and supply, and under the cover of law gamble in the necessaries of life, something which the feudal society made a heinous crime, as indeed it is. Gambling is the very antithesis of society. Oil and corn and pork, all the great staples of the country, the stocks of our great railroads, and steamship and manufacturing

companies and mines are all monopolized by gamblers who wear the mask of business, unsettling values and paralysing society's productive agencies. And it is too well known, though too little reflected on, that our employers, finding it to their interests under the present system to have always a reserve army of needy operatives at hand, have been for years instrumental in bringing hosts of foreign laborers into the country and thus positively been the creators of our pauperism.

18. This false conception of government has been mentioned first, because, however mischievous, it is yet the least mischievous of all, and, again, because it is the first to be undergoing rectification in our days. The reversed conception is what I call *True Democracy*.

It is a trite saying, that the civilized world is persistently and with accelerating steps marching towards democracy. But what is meant by that term, and where shall we find its embodiment? That our country is as yet a pure democracy, is of course, arrant nonsense. A fable says, that once upon a time a farmer called his fowls together, to consult with them. Seating himself in the chair, he said: "The question for discussion is with what sauce will you be eaten?" After a pause an old rooster at the edge of the crowd gave vent to the general sentiment by the remark: "But, Mr. Chairman, we do not want to be eaten." "The remark is entirely irrelevant; please confine yourselves to the question," was the response. The moral of which is, that a democracy, i. e. political freedom, is out of the question as long as economic freedom does not prevail. And yet a democracy does not mean a state where public authority is exercised by the counting of heads. This is not simply to oppose one opinion to another, but to call attention to a *fact*: that we have in our midst bodies where the democracy of the future is being exemplified before our very eyes, to wit, Trade-Unions.

A century or so ago, all social classes were everywhere pronounced theoretically equal and free. That is to say, labor was to be considered a ware, on equal footing with other commodities, and the workers were to be equally free to dispose of their ware as merchants were of theirs. But it was soon seen, and especially felt by the workingmen, that this was a very illusory equality indeed. The

theory that then began to be believed by everybody, that the individual was the centre, and that self-interest was the highest law, was first perceived by them, to be a fallacy, not at all because they were wiser or more intelligent than others, but because they were the first to feel the pinch of the contradiction. They perceived that the man whose "ware" was inseparable from himself, and who, therefore, could not sell it without selling himself body and soul, was on a very different footing from sellers of other wares, and that the only way of effecting some real equality was to renounce the theory of the autonomy of the individual — and thus our modern trades-unions were formed.

Of course it soon became clear to others who did not yet feel the pinch, that the policy which the unions pursued was often distinct from, and sometimes the reverse of, the line of conduct which the self-interest of any individual member would have led him to follow. Economists agreed, that each one would accept work at a low rate rather than insist on a general rise by striking. But precisely this the unions did accomplish and they put an effective pressure on employers. Then the unions were pronounced "tyrannical bodies which enforced a blind obedience from their miserable members" and economists posed as defenders of the "liberty" of the individual citizen, and called the leaders unscrupulous, deluding agitators. Time reversed this judgment also. More and more has public opinion had its eyes opened and come round to the side of the unionists, till at last it has decided against those who taught that "we must not interfere with a man in driving his own bargain;" it has come to see that "freedom of contract" is an illusion, in cases where there are children or even adults on one side, and rich employers on the other.

The leaders of organized workingmen have the satisfaction of knowing that they were far more clear-seeing in their way than our greatest philosophers, and that this will eventually be admitted by all.

These unions, and all organizations of labor proceed on these two principles: first, that direction of social affairs belongs to the capable, and, secondly, that all citizens must participate in that direction by their intelligent co-operation. Each of these principles, by itself, is but a half-truth, and like all half-truths, highly dangerous; but united they voice a splendid truth and precisely define true democracy — the democracy which without a doubt is destined to be adopted by all

civilized nations. These unions repudiate the fallacy that "the society least governed is best governed." They know that some members are wiser than others; they critically and thoughtfully sift out their natural leaders and guides; and, having found them, thrust their whole collective power into their hands to be retained as long as they prove true, and so to say grapple them to their hearts with links of steel, following them "as captains whom they trust." But mark this: "as long as they prove true," for *strict responsibility* is the very essence of the system.

Now we may be sure, that even long before socialism is inaugurated the majority of our people will have become convinced that the more complex society is, the more is administration needed; and that the necessity for social adjustment imperatively requires that the administration be confined to the hands of the collectivity. The socialist republic, then, will most likely copy the model which the trade-unions have worked out; it will cause the administrators to be elected from *below*, that is to say, will make the ordinary workmen select their own foremen, these foremen elect their superintendents, and so on to the chief of departments. Perhaps it will improve on the model by placing the dismissal of these officers in the hands, not of the electors, but of their immediate superiors. In other words it will enforce responsibility by means of the *veto* of the superiors.* The directing class will thereby be sure of possessing the good will of inferiors, equals, and superiors. It will, moreover, exalt ability and answer the question: how shall we secure our Able Men? It will put the round men into round holes and square men into square holes, and everyone will be aware of the fact.

19. We now come to the second false conception, one worse than the first, blindness to another fact. If you explain nationalism to the average business man, and come to its essence: that it proposes to make him a public functionary, he gets indignant at the very idea. Yet the fact is, he is and has always been, a public functionary, but has not been aware of the fact. A druggist will not for a moment doubt that his business is entirely a private affair of his own, that he

*For details see *The Co-operative Commonwealth*.

can say, carelessly: "Ah, we are out of this thing just now," that he can open and close his store at any time he pleases, unmindful of the convenience and the necessities of his customers; while, in sober truth, he keeps his store, because society, or a section of it, has a use for it. In spite of all his protests, he is performing a social function, and therefore it is his bounden duty to perform it properly. He may choose his function, but the duties of it are not of his choosing. As with this, so precisely with all other occupations, without exception: with butchers, bakers, tailors, they are what and where they are, only because society, or some of its parts, requires them to perform those duties in that place; if they are not wanted they soon get notice to leave.

There are some cases of which I cannot help mentioning one, which shows very curiously how little business men are affected by the *fact* that they are public servants, and especially how little this fact is as yet appreciated by the general public: this is the case of transportation companies, that admittedly are *quasi*-public servants. As is well-known, the *Old Colony R. R. Co.*, transports passengers between Boston and New York, partly by boat. Most of my readers may also know, that in the summer—when, of course, by reason of the heavy travel, the cost of the service must be considerably less than during the remainder of the year—the fare is actually \$1 more than in winter months. Thus, instead of serving the public, instead of transporting them as safely and cheaply as possible, which is evidently the reason of its existence, this *quasi*-public corporation (very "quasi" indeed) seems to think its function is to fleece the public. If there were a healthy, a *conscious* Public Opinion, this company would very soon be put into the pillory for such an outrage.

This has already led us into the expected contradiction, *i. e.*, logical absurdity. Whole classes of our population have felt the pinch of this assumption, and have for some time stood open-mouthed, wondering what it was that pinched, and only of late have some been bold enough to speak out. This contradiction is couched in the well-known phrase: "Have I not a right to do what I please with my own?" My own what? Not the function—that, as we saw, has been entirely overlooked—but the mere incidental of the function: the profits. On these the stress has been laid to such an extent, that our largest industries are now "owned" by men who have nothing at all to do and know nothing whatever of the function. These "owners"

are shareholders and bondholders, who live ignorant of the nature even of their possessions, and leave managers to screw down their workmen, satisfied so long as they receive the dividends. Nothing is therefore more common even with large concerns, when receipts fall off, than to recoup the loss out of wages rather than to economize on dividends. One day a hundred porters and signal-men were discharged from a large railroad, in order to effect a saving of \$325,000 a year in expenses. These industrious men and their families were turned into the street, rather than deduct *five cents* in dividends on every \$500 share. No wonder it set folks to thinking so that some of them blurted out: "But this railroad is not *your own*. We are your business partners." They had really nearly touched the right spot. If they had gone a little deeper down they would have seen that it is the function that is material, and that it is social. They would then have further seen, that the case is really stronger than they had put it; that the persons who only pocket the profits and have no share in the function, are interlopers in the concern; that those who do the business are really the exclusive business-partners. When society becomes conscious of this *fact*, it will say to the present "owners:" "Have you any human relation to your 'property' at all? Do you come together at your meetings to consider how best to administer it for the public good, how to turn out the most useful and genuine articles, how to compass the welfare of the men engaged in it? If not, you are doing nothing or worse than nothing with it, you are using your legal powers to aggrandize yourselves at the cost of others, you are preventing others from using them better, you are by just so much strangling the life of the people. Begone!"

Here we have already reversed the picture: in the Coöperative Commonwealth all will be public functionaries, and all our labors, past and present, will be looked upon as *public functions*. Instead of considering "profits" as the more important, and function secondary, we shall place function first, and make remuneration incidental, in accordance with the *facts*.

A far-reaching reversal of our social valuations will follow this change in our point of view. Every candid man will frankly admit that there is at present a stigma, a social ostracism, attached to manual labor, or when regarded as honorable it is yet looked upon as a hardship. This is not at all because of the disagreeable nature of the work; we all know that, without losing caste, a physician performs,

as a matter of course, the nastiest, coarsest, and most malodorous duties, akin to scavenging. Why is it then? Because all manual work and disagreeable, nasty occupations, as such, are now hampered by the consciousness of being performed only for *a living's sake*: hence they are left to the poorest classes of people and hence, again, they are so badly paid. We may all know, if we will but do a little thinking, that the reason why the professions are especially honored is, that they have a *quasi*-public character, and are not done or are not supposed to be done altogether for pay.

This depreciation of labor has been most deplorable and has vitiated all our social relations. But now suppose all labors become acknowledged public functions! Is it not clear that a function which in any way furthers the welfare of the social organism will become just as respectable as any other—that, in other words, all useful labors, as such, *will be equally honored*. Surely the function of a coal-heaver will bring him as truly into relation with the social organism as that of the chief of the state, since coal-heaving is quite as necessary as are his functions. I have no hesitation in predicting, that the nasty labors, when they cease to be done for a living, but on the contrary, are performed in a sacrificing spirit, will be honored accordingly.

Of course the remuneration is now the very first consideration, most frequently the sole one. It cannot possibly be otherwise, so long as social arrangements compel us to place self-interest first. But is it not just as easy to understand, that for the same reasons, when a living has become the secured provision which society makes for us to enable us to carry on our functions, remuneration will retire into the background?

What a wonderful influence this change will have on the training of our youths! Our common schools necessarily minister to our regard for “business” and speculation and our depreciation of manual labor. The agitation for manual training in our schools is, of course, an excellent one, but so long as this industrial system lasts, it can only result, at the utmost, merely in making skilled workmen out of the children of our working-classes. When, on the other hand, all social functions are on an equal footing, manual training will show its splendid effects on *all* our children. For it is a branch of instruction in which all young folks, of both sexes, take an interest; in the schools of Paris, experience shows that the pupils begrudge the time they cannot spend in the workshops, and frequently pass hours out of school-time over

their iron and wood work. Manual training is destined to incite to voluntary activity thousands upon thousands of children that otherwise would be accounted dull and stupid, and will be the principal means of enabling them and their teachers to find out and choose the careers for which they are really fitted. But, as we shall now see, that career will not then be what it now generally: it will not have for its object, to get the better of one's fellow-men.

20. At length we have reached the third false conception, and indeed, by far the worst. For this is not simply blindness to a fact, but it is the enthronement of a *lie*! I mean the *Struggle for Life*, which Herbert Spencer glorifies as "the most universal, the most controlling and comprehensive generalization." Granted, that it applies to the animal world and savages, it does not apply — was never intended to apply — to civilized men; but here it is replaced by its very opposite (the fact to which they are blind): that we are evidently intended to work in harmony, in order to struggle *against nature*. This struggle for existence is in theory what competition is in practice — indeed it would be a great gain for correct reasoning, if we could always substitute the former for the latter, since, when Nationalists speak of destroying competition, their opponents like to insinuate, that at the same time they will do away with whatever of emulation there is in competition. Only such confusion of terms can account for the fact, that political economists speak of competition as being "what gravitation is in the mechanism of the heavens." Let it then be clearly understood, that when we want to destroy competition, it is this *struggle for life*, for existence, we want to abolish forever, while we desire to foster *emulation*. We say that labor, still under bondage to competition — simply because its rational sight is not yet recovered — is tragical; that restless men making war upon each other with convulsive energy, as if driven by galvanism, tearing asunder mountains, is a sad spectacle! This theory of a struggle for life is satanic, is anti-social and in the highest degree wasteful. These are some of the contradictions into which it leads us.

It is *satanic*, nothing less than *atheistic*. If you once allow, that the struggle for existence is the all-prevailing law, even throughout

humanity, you will have to admit the pitiless logic of Haeckel that "only the idealist scholar who closes his eye to the real truth can any longer tell the fable of the moral ordering of the world." But then we also must admit, that there was a good deal of truth in Robespierre's saying that "atheism is aristocratic: from refusing to admit a controlling order on earth is but a step to denying order in heaven," for none but "aristocrats," comfortable people, can rest satisfied with the doctrine, that selfishness is beneficent in human activity. It deprives virtue of all reality beyond convention. It is a doctrine of the pit, and has been bringing hell to earth in large instalments for a good many years. And the human heart feels—even before its intellectual sight is recovered—that the relation which systematically allows the unsuccessful to go to the wall is not human. The right to take advantage of another's misfortunes no longer satisfies us. What a change in our conception of life in that respect has occurred since political economy was in its zenith, thirty years ago; when capitalists consciously and greedily sacrificed the national welfare to the accumulation of "national" wealth, and some even deplored high wages as a calamity! Then there was a bowing of knees to Baal, to Mammon! Now we have at last set our faces resolutely the other way; and many scorn to claim anything, not duly earned, and feel themselves not degraded by doing work useful to society, however menial.

Of course the struggle for existence is *anti-social*. Its very definition is to advance oneself *at the cost of others*, to elbow others aside. When one comes to feel it, it degrades and warps whatever is human within one. It is a dark, bitter desolating civil war, more cruel and keen than that decided by bullets from a barricade, when all the furniture is pawned and sold, when famine and misery besiege the home—a war in which they fight over wealth, produced by joint exertions. And the worst is that it destroys the moral wealth of the nation faster than its material wealth; it tends to make men bitter, suspicious, and cruel; it turns neighbor against neighbor.

This alone shows that competition is terribly *wasteful*. It does not produce or help to produce anything. But when a piece of wise work—according to Ruskin "so much sustenance"—has been produced, then some one comes along and "cozens" the producer out of it. We have had a striking example in the West Shore R. R., built in order to share the fleecings of the Hudson River R. R. If a thorough analysis could be made, it would be found what immense

losses have been sustained by the people of this country from competition between railroads and telegraph companies; and these are small compared with what they will be in the immediate future, when competition sets in for division of profits in localities (in the west) where ample facilities now exist. What a loss to the community where rival companies earn dividends! Two or more offices in each town where one is ample; two distinct staffs of officers, operators and line men to be maintained, and repairs on two separate, parallel lines. But people's eyes will soon be opened, especially since the prophecy which socialists made long ago, that competition necessarily results in monopoly is fast being fully felt along the whole line. Competition, struggle for life, is a standing contradiction. The Co-operative Commonwealth will be the true embodiment of *Emulation*—the very reverse of the Struggle for Existence; it is the generous desire to see who can best serve the community; this the source of all that is great in human endeavor and of all that is excellent in human achievement. Men can never dispense with it and the best communities will never be without it.

Here Mallock steps in and weaves a remarkable web of sophisms, tending to prove, that the working masses and emulation are perfect strangers. He says in his *Social Equality*: "But for the wealthy classes wealth would never be produced by labor." "Inequality, so far from being an accidental evil of civilization, is the efficient cause of its development and of its present maintenance." "If wealth did not exist for the wealthy, it would not exist at all. If they were not pleased with fine ceilings, fine gilding, harmoniously colored walls, we should not have them. To hold it up to him as a prize to which, as a laborer, he has any right to, or which, as a laborer, he could ever possibly possess, is simply to delude him."

Please note, that this is a very different function of wealth from that discussed in a previous chapter. There Mallock claimed, that the wealthy classes furnished the "ability," needed for the *production* of wealth; here he insists, that if these classes did not graciously consent to consume wealth, it would not be *consumed*, and hence not produced, for the laboring classes have no desire for anything but the mere necessities of life. In other words, civilization can be kept up to its present level only on the condition, that we maintain our present plutocracy.

But was it then the rich that brought Athens to its artistic and

intellectual height, or was it the body of its citizens? Was it the rich during the Middle Ages that produced a Raphael and a Michael Angelo? It is evident that, however well Mallock may be familiar with the aristocracy of his country, he knows nothing of the *elite* of the workingmen of Great Britain, and still less, if that be possible, of the organized wage-earners of America.

No student can fail to notice the remarkable change that the last century has created in the Anglo-Saxon working classes; it is the simple truth to say, that it has made them the intellectual and moral leaders of progress. Let it be admitted, that theretofore our laborers could not be led to work by anything but hunger, and that they did not care for anything but the satisfaction of their coarsest necessities. All this is radically changed, their whole character is altered. The desires at first implanted into them with difficulty have now taken root, and having so long been schooled in producing wealth for others, they are now in a condition to desire it and to produce it for themselves.

But contemplate them in the Co-operative Commonwealth. All the trades of the country will then centre in trades-unions, extending from ocean to ocean; our whole land will be dotted over with small towns, each the centre of a special industry and under the control of a union — for by that time our people will surely return from our huge, overgrown cities back to the country. These towns will possess all the resources of civilization. Here it is that emulation will show itself in its most splendid form, as corporate pride; every trade and every town will try to surpass every other.

21. At length we have arrived at what, as a *datum* of Ethics, is of cardinal importance, the outcome of the preceding intellectual rectification of our views of Public Authority, of our functions and their inter-relation.

In religious speculations it has often been observed, that two selves seem to be at war in us, each of which loves what the other hates, and hates what the other loves — our lower self and our higher self. We know that the latter is certainly more ourself than the former, and yet we cannot say, that the lower is not ourself, and when we enter the lists against it, it is in our own breast that we lay our lance at rest.

This higher self, our true, our real self, indeed, is *our social self*: our self as member of society; for—and this is the important *datum*—*it is only as a member of society that the individual is at all real.*

This is not mere rhetoric or a metaphysical illusion. You may reply that surely it is a fact, that individuals make society, that they are real by themselves, and would remain real, if every form of society were destroyed. No, that is precisely not a *fact*. Take a Frenchman. True, he may leave his own country, come over here and here remain the same Frenchman he was before. True, also, that he may be conceived to remain what he now is, if all his countrymen were suddenly annihilated. But reflect a moment. Consider that this Frenchman was born into a certain French family; afterwards he was educated in a French school of some kind or other; finally he was sent into the world to make his living or his fortune—a French world, please observe, of a higher or a lower character. Suppose you now try to perform the feat of abstracting from our Frenchman all that he derives from his family, from his teachers and comrades, from the station that he fills in manhood; abstract his “sameness” with others, that which he has in common with others, either all other Frenchmen, or those of his own class—what is left? Will you please point out the residuum. Can you grasp it? Do not for a moment suppose that I affirm that nothing remains. It will be evident in the following that I not merely do not deny, but that I assert with emphasis that something of the highest importance, of almost exclusive importance, remains; but I say that this residuum has never existed *by itself*; that if you take away all he possesses as a member of the French nation, he ceases to be a Frenchman, and more than that he ceases to be a man, he ceases to be; you take him clear away from the world of reality. Instead, therefore, of saying, as Spencer’s school does, that the individual is real, and society abstract, the fact is that society is the real, and the individual the abstract.

But again you insist that there certainly was a time when there was no society of any kind, when therefore individuals must have existed by themselves. Again, I say, facts contradict you. Go as far back as history can trace man, and you find him living in the social state; and if Darwin is right, then this social man descended from a social animal and thus society was never made by individual men, but has all the time been prior to them.

Your instincts are stronger and better than your so-called "principles." You see the state serenely ignore these thin theories of "advanced thinkers" like so many cobwebs and do things which these theories condemn, and the people morally approve. And when a national crisis occurs, the claims of individualism are contemptuously brushed aside, the heart of the nation beats loudly in the breast of every one of her members and its safety is held far superior to our individual lives.*

Our other "self," our lower "self," our false "self"—though our private self as opposed to our social self—is really not ourself, but only *of* ourself; that is to say it consists in the impulses, derived from our animal origin, and constitutes what theologians call "original sin;" in some of us this lower "self" is an active enemy of right, in others simply a more or less opposing drag. I am morally realized, when I refuse to identify myself with this private self, when the whole knowingly wills itself in me, when I consciously develop the common life of all in myself. That is why, supposing myself absolutely alone in the world, there would be no morality at all, and nothing whatever for me to live for, and why the pure individualist is no member at all, but a parasitical excrescence.

This *datum* seems to me perhaps the most important of all. It, in itself, accounts for Family, Society and the moral sentiments. The "social self" accounts for our *Personality*; it accounts for *Conscience* as being the objective mind, self-conscious in the individual, the voice of the whole in the breast of each citizen, the utterance of the public spirit of the race in each social self, and I here suggest that this "social self" may, when we come to Religion, help us considerably in clearing the atmosphere, for the mischief there is the intellectual muddle into which the word "personal" gets us when we apply it to God and Immortality.

22. In the three chapters, now concluded, we have, I think, the true *data of ethics*, thereby meaning the facts, and all the facts, that concur to constitute and develop Morality, whether "absolute" or "relative." It follows, that both Herbert Spencer's "*data*" and

*Many fruitful thoughts on this subject will be found in *Ethical Studies* by F. H. Bradley.

"ethics" are false. If we gather the former into three groups, it seems to me that this becomes apparent.

The basis of all his sociological speculations is his division of human affairs into war and industrialism. He coolly assumes, first, an unchanging warlike state, and following thereupon, a similarly unchanging industrial state. This involves to my mind a bundle of absurdities. It is evident, that mankind must, to some extent, have been "industrial" from the very beginning, for how else could they have existed? Some individuals, clearly, must have been producers. But the worst absurdity is to consider an industrial state synonymous with a "sphere of contract," yet this state according to Spencer starts with catching game or fish in common: "benefits received proportionate to services rendered; *without this there can be no sociological division of labor*"—this dictum with one stroke wipes out slavery, serfdom and the wage-system. He, further, writes as if the environments of mankind were stationery, and evolution consisted in more and more adapting man to this environment. "The superior man is he whose faculties are best adjusted to the social requirements,"—a judgment which would make Judas Iscariot far superior to Jesus. It would, indeed, be much more correct to say, that evolution consists in more and more adjusting the social state to human nature.

The next *datum* of his is couched in some such involved, stilted sentence, as this: "all along furtherance of individual lives has been the ultimate end; when the aggregate is no longer in danger, the first object of pursuit, the welfare of units, no longer needing to be postponed, becomes the immediate object of pursuit." From many similar statements it is clear that Spencer teaches nothing less than this: that as evolution progresses, the bond between the individual and society is loosened. This is nothing but an enormous piece of dogmatism; if historic facts contradict it, so much evidently the worse for the facts.

Lastly, a *datum* of "cardinal importance" is, that "conduct should be such as will produce a consciousness as much pleasurable and as little painful as may be," and that "men of different races, men of the same race, and even the same man at different periods have different standards of happiness." This is so, because according to Spencer, pleasure and pain, or the surplus of pleasure over pain "to somebody and somewhere," is the end of moral action, the standard

of morality, and hence the motive to it. This I deny. I say, that the motive to morality is different from the end of it. Next, I say that the end of morality must be objective, but pleasure is subjective; that it must be an end to us as men, but pleasure is least distinctively human and shared by the beasts.

But Spencer's Ethics takes in the beasts. "The conduct with which Ethics deals is a part of conduct at large," and "there is a supposable formula for the activities of each species (of animals) which, could it be drawn out, would constitute a system of morality, (*sic*) for that species." It may be added, that, to assimilate the moral man still more to animals he makes the side-remark: "The equilibrium reached at death * * * is, of course, the final state which the evolution of the highest man has in common with all lower evolution." Is thus his *Data of Ethics* not rather "*Data of Selfishness*," or "*Data of Animal Well-being in Man?*"

The *Data* of these chapters, on the other hand, are these:

Full-fledged moral ideas did not come down from heaven and if they had, they could not have been perceived, much less applied by man, but they are a growth, conditioned by man's social and especially, industrial relations, each stage developing morality up to a certain point, so that men at the end of Antiquity and of the Middle Ages were morally as much adjusted as they could be to their respective social requirements. There has been a constant evolution of these relations, and now we are on the threshold of their final development; hence our present uncomfortable feeling; the social organism may at present be said to be in its teething period; think of the heart-burning there must be within the bud, when the full-blown rose is forming! What anxieties, what agitations, what asperities among the atoms!

The fundamental motive to morality is the inborn inclination to obedience in man. He must at all times obey something; he cannot obey what he knows to be a lie, nor what is lower than himself; he has, further, our innate inclination to obey the Order of the Kosmos, Universal Reason—and this becomes conscience in his own breast. Pleasure never can tell us which is the higher, which the lower function, but at the most, whether the function is well performed or not. From this it follows that morality concerns man only and all men.

As we progress, we find that we are more and more closely united to Society, and at last all will come to acknowledge, that our true self is our social self.

Finally, the end of morals is morality itself—righteousness, i. e. from one point of view: Self-realization, the development of our social self; from the other: intensest Unity with our kind, the Organic Unity of men. And this, the *summum bonum*, does not end with the death of the individual.

Now at last we are in a position to determine from these *data* the future development of morality in its two grand divisions of *Duty and Love*.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

PUBLISHER'S PAGE.

The *Detroit Free Press*, speaking of "Caesar's Column," says: "Another knight has come into the list to shiver a lance against the social, economic and political abuses which endanger the civilization of the world. It must be said in his favor that he does not carry a lady's scarf upon his helmet, but seems to fight as in a holy war, with a thorough appreciation of the seriousness of the conflict and a devoted determination to win in the cause of right if it be permitted him so to do. * * * The story is interestingly devised and strongly told. It is not the work of a pessimist or an anarchist, but rather of a preacher who sees the dangers that all thoughtful men see in our time, and, appreciating the importance to humanity of maintaining what is good in existing systems, utters his warning as a sacred duty."

With the issue of April 24, the TWENTIETH CENTURY begins an Economic Symposium by leading representatives of the various schools of thought, discussing unsettled problems. This symposium is to be followed by a similar one on the great problems in Religion, Ethics, and Scientific Philosophy. "Hear the Other Side,"—the motto of the *Twentieth Century*, has made it the most popular radical and reform journal. May it always live up to that motto! By the bye, the name, "Twentieth Century," was evidently suggested by Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and is an indication of its attitude of *looking forward* to the discernable time when the pressing problems of the present day may be settled.

The *Trades Journal* of Pittsburg, Pa., is the official organ of the United Miner's of America, and is doing good work for "Nationalism" and advanced reform. It has an able staff of correspondents and costs one (1) dollar per year.

I ADVERTISE,
Increase in size—
My store;
I stop my "ad,"
My trade is bad—
That's sure.

—[*Brockton Shoe.*]

One of the best and most interesting of the eclectic periodicals is CURRENT LITERATURE. Those who wish to take in at a glance the best of the literary matter of the day can not do better than to subscribe for CURRENT LITERATURE.

Never extend sympathy to a man with the small pox. He hates dreadfully to be pitted.—[*Binghampton Leader.*]

The sale of "LOOKING BACKWARD" in Great Britain is remarkably large and in this country the booksellers report a continued demand for the book. No one who pretends to keep up with the times can afford to fail to give Mr. Bellamy's volume a careful reading. For sale by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Little Girl (De Fashion Flat)—Is that my new brother? Ain't he cute? Did the angels bring him? Mamma—Yes, my dear. "Did they have flaming swords?" "N-o. Why?" "I don't see how they got past the janitor."—[*New York Weekly.*]

As a medium for advertisements the NATIONALIST holds a peculiar position. Its subscribers take the magazine because they feel they must have it and the wise advertiser will see to it that the merits of his goods are well set forth in its pages.

"Dearest Laura, don't cry so! If everything else vanishes we shall yet have left to us memory!" "Ah, dearest Emma, then perhaps you will remember that I lent you \$5 two years ago!"—[*Fliegende Blatter.*]

THE TRUE COMMONWEALTH, a paper devoted to the advancement of Nationalism, will be issued monthly from Washington, D. C. It has an able corps of editors and contributors and will undoubtedly take high rank among periodicals of its class.

PUBLISHER'S PAGE.

A will written on parchment 5000 years ago has just been "discovered in Egypt. Now look out for some enterprising lawyer who will persuade the Pharaoh family to club together and send him to Cairo to look after their interests.—[*Springfield Union*.

Rev. Mr. Choker—Has your congregation raised your salary lately, Bro. Thirdly?

Bro. Thirdly (from the country)—No, sir; it seldom raises more than half of it in any given year.—[*Munsiey's Weekly*.

Use the Emerson pianos.

"Mamma," said a little girl as they draggled along in the rain without an umbrella, "how old is General Greeley?" "Old enough to know better," snapped the mother as she thought of the fair weather predictions in the morning papers.—[*Washington Star*.

Read the Arena for May.

Says an Englishman who has been travelling in this country: "The most amazing thing about New-Englanders is the fact that on all great festal occasions they are sad, almost gloomy, while on their annual fast day they are uproariously joyful."

Blair's cameras are the best.

"Let me see," mused a sedately appearing man, who was tightly jammed against the dashboard rail, to the one on his left, "have we been introduced?"

"I think not. May name is Taylor."

"Ah! and mine is Porter. Mr. Taylor, you are throwing time away in trying to reach my watch. It is an old one, and out of repair, and would not bring you \$2."—[*Chat*.

Agents wanted to canvass for T. V. Powderly's "Thirty Years of Labor."

It may be interesting to chess players to know the origin of the word "checkmate." According to Notes and Queries, it is literally the Arabic "es sheik imat," the sheik (king) is dying.

Oliver Ditson & Co., Boston, always have on hand all the latest and most popular music.

A Presbyterian congregation at Forest Grove, Ohio, has struck oil. A small plot of ground on which stands the parsonage has been leased on a royalty and \$2000 bonus. An acre, on which are located the sheds in which teams are quartered during Sunday service, is also leased for \$500 and one-eighth royalty.

Don't expect an advertisement to bear fruit in one night. You can't eat enough in a week to last you a year, and the *Building Advocate* don't believe that you can advertise on that plan, either. People who advertise only once in three months forget that most folks cannot remember anything longer than about seven days. If you can arouse curiosity by an advertisement it is a great point gained. The fair sex don't hold all the curiosity in the world. Quitting advertising in dull times is like tearing out a dam because the water is low.—[*Building Advocate*.

A good idea will bear repetition. But the wise advertisement writer will not let this fact blind him to the public's fondness for novelty. The classics often go unread, while the trashy novels of the day meet with a large demand, simply for the reason that the latter are new.—[*Printers Ink*.

Some one has calculated that it takes sound thirty-two and one-half hours to go around the world. This suggests an interesting experiment. Some morning get up early and go out upon the back stoop and yell. Then attend to your regular duties that day and the next, and when the afternoon of the next day comes, go home and stand on your front stoop and hear the yell which you let out the day before come back to you after its trip around the world.—[*Albany Express*.

Mr. Lancaster, of Webster, who sells butter in this market, tells this story: He was ploughing last fall, when he lost his pocket-book. A long search did not restore it. Winter passed and snow piled deep upon the ploughed land. The other day he traversed the same field, and in the furrow, where the water ran in rivulets, was found the pocket-book in good condition, money all safe and papers restorable.—[*Lewiston Journal*.

LIST OF SECRETARIES.

(Alphabetically by States.)

| | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--|
| ARKANSAS. | | |
| BURKE SPRINGS. | ..... | William Kluge. |
| CALIFORNIA. | | |
| ANAHEIM. | ..... | (Farmers) C. P. Kellogg. |
| AVALON. | ..... | A. B. Burdick. |
| BEUNA PARK. | ..... |  |
| CARPENTERS. | ..... |  |
| CLEAR WATER. | ..... | F. A. Atwater. |
| COMPTON. | ..... | Wm. H. Wright. |
| DOWNNEY. | ..... | C. E. Eberle. |
| ENCINITAS. | ..... | T. W. Cozens. |
| FLORENCE. | ..... | Geo. D. Seele. |
| FRESNO. | ..... | G. F. Alexander. |
| FULLERTON. | ..... | J. B. Mullen. |
| HEALDSBURGH. | ..... | W. F. Bagley. |
| KAWAIAH. | ..... | Louise Kedstone, Three Rivers. |
| LONG BEACH. | ..... | Chas. F. Bixby. |
| LORESBURG. | ..... | W. B. Ewing. |
| LOS ANGELES. | Club 1, | Mrs. J. T. Coan, 1017 Temple Street. |
| | Club 2, | Mrs. M. E. Bennett, 48 Water Street. |
| | Club 3, | B. Loewy, 36 West 5th Street. |
| | Club 4, | Mrs. H. Morris, 513 S. Main Street. |
| | Club 5, | Henry Harrison, P. O. Box 656. |
| | Second Ward Club, | B. A. Stephens. |
| | Eighth Ward Club, | H. E. Whitford. |
| LOS GATOS. | ..... | N. Philbrick. |
| NATIONAL CITY. | ..... | W. E. Henck. |
| NORWALK. | ..... | E. E. Dolland. |
| OAKLAND. | ..... | Harriet F. Stevens, Snell Seminary. |
| OCEANSIDE. | ..... | Col. G. Thistleton. |
| OCEAN VIEW. | ..... | Harry A. Sully. |
| ORANGE. | ..... | Charles Baker. |
| PASADENA. | ..... | L. H. Banister. |
| PETALUMA. | ..... | Philly Cowen. |
| POMONA. | ..... | W. O. Post. |
| RIVERSIDE. | ..... | Dr. John Hall. |
| SAN DIEGO. | ..... | Mrs. Mary A. White, 1433 First Street. |
| SAN FRANCISCO. | Club 1, | Anna H. F. Haskell, 712 Greenwich Street. |
| | Club 2, | Job Harriman, 889 Market Street. |
| | Club 3, | German American. |
| SAN JOSE. | Club 1, | Mrs. M. E. Barker. |
| | Club 2, | L. A. Talcott. |
| SANTA ANA. | ..... | J. P. Lesley. |
| SANTA CRUZ. | ..... | W. C. Lewis, P. O. Drawer E. |
| SAN MATEO. | ..... | L. F. M. Keen. |
| SANTA MONICA. | ..... | Mary A. Gulberson. |
| STOCKTON. | ..... |  |
| SUMMERLAND. | ..... | Mrs. Norcross. |
| VENTURA. | ..... | B. A. Breaky. |
| WEST PARK. | ..... |  |
| COLORADO. | | |
| DENVER. | Club 1, | Arthur Cheesewright. |
| | Club 2, | E. E. Elliott, Box 3741. |
| CONNECTICUT. | | |
| HARTFORD. | ..... | Miss Ella Ormsby, P. O. Box. 88. |
| NEW HAVEN. | ..... | Mrs. S. Hewitt Lane, 214 Hallock Avenue. |
| BRIDGEPORT. | ..... |  |
| ILLINOIS. | | |
| CHICAGO. | Club 1, | Corinne S. Brown, Woodlawn Park, Ill. |
| | Club 2, | Dr. H. Augusta Kimball, 3430 Indiana Avenue. |
| IOWA. | | |
| DES MOINES. | ..... | Mrs. S. Gillette. |
| IOWA FALLS. | ..... | J. H. Fleming. |
| LEHIGH. | ..... | O. Tyson. |
| MARYLAND. | | |
| BALTIMORE. | ..... | G. Lloyd Rogers, c-o Mrs. E. Marshall Knell, 919 North Avenue. |

MASSACHUSETTS.
BOSTON. Club 1, . . . J. Ransom Bridge, 110 Tremont Street.
Club 2, . . . (South End), Miss Jessie Forsyth, 80 State Street.
Club 3, . . . (Bunker Hill), Dr. Joseph Williams, 15 Monument Sq.,
Charlestown.
Club 4, . . . T. W. Curtis, 31 Upton Street.
FALL RIVER.
LYNN. John T. Broderick, 41 Commercial Street.
SOMERVILLE. Lizzie G. Knapp, 28 School St.
SALEM. Wm. H. Gove.
WALTHAM.

MICHIGAN.
BLISSFIELD.
DETROIT. John F. Duncan, 279 Third St.
DOWAGIAC. G. W. Haynes.
FLUSHING. W. E. Hough.
LANSING. M. L. Miner, 231 Washington St.
MUSKEGON. M. G. Averill.

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MINNEAPOLIS. Club 1, . . . Mrs. Kate Buffington Davis.
Club 2, . . . D. Fishmann, 806 6th Street, South.
Club 3, . . . (Young Folks.) Mr. Johnson, "Normanna" office.
ST. PAUL. Harvey Y. Russell.

MISSOURI.
KANSAS CITY. David B. Paige, care "Modern Thought,"
ST. LOUIS. G. H. Scheel, 300 South 14th Street.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
PORTSMOUTH. Robert C. Rich.

NEW JERSEY.
NEW BRUNSWICK.

NEW YORK.
ALBANY. W. S. McClure, 70 State Street.
BROOKLYN. Club 1, . . . G. F. H. Walsh, 177 Montagne St.
Club 2, . . . Mrs. A. A. Winham, 291 So. 1st St.
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Club 2, . . . C. G. Hiller, 724 East 146th Street.
Club 3, . . . Henry G. Reed, 185 Waverly Place.
Club 4, . . . Washington Heights.—E. J. Nieuwland, 10th Ave., near
157th Street.
Club 5, . . . (East Side), A. F. Grab, 175 East 92d Street.
Club 6, . . . (West Side), George Moore, 238 West 132d Street.
Club 7, . . . Dr. John J. Plunkett, 67 West 35th Street.
Club 8, . . . Richard E. Resler, 181 Broadway.
Club 9, . . . Stanbury Noree, 2349 Third Avenue.
Club 10, . . . Dr. Charles J. Whybrow, 218 West 21st Street.
ROCHESTER. H. Perry Blodgett, 21 Concord Avenue.

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BANBORN. Vernon Shaw.
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CINCINNATI. Miss Sarah M. Siewers, Newport, Ky.
CLEVELAND. W. Shurtleff, f Meyers Ave.
COLUMBUS. Charles F. Kipp, 363 Conklin Street.

OREGON.
COQUILLE City. H. H. Nichols.
CONVALLS, Benton Co. M. R. Hogue.

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The Nationalist Educational Association, having been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts, with a capital stock of \$10,000, consisting of 400 shares at \$25 a share, for the purpose of publishing the Nationalist Magazine and disseminating the doctrines of Nationalism in various other ways, it has been decided by the Committee having the matter in charge that it is for the best interests of the Cause that the stock should be diffused as much as possible among the different Clubs. It has, therefore, been decided to offer 250 shares outside of Boston, and it is hoped that each Club will take one or more shares as a Club. It has also been decided that no individual, on account of the small number of these shares, ought to be allotted more than four. Money must accompany subscriptions to the stock, and the same will be returned, if for any reason no stock should be allotted to the subscriber; since, if subscriptions for more than 250 shares are received within 90 days, the allotments will be made as the Committee having the matter in charge think for the best interests of the Cause.

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BOSTON, MASS.

"THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THEREBY THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY."—*Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*

JUN 9 1890

THE

NATIONALIST

Birth of Industrial Coöperation *Edward Glenfaun Spencer*

The Dismal Science *Edward L. Starck*

Ambition the Ruling Incentive *William H. Randall*

The Southern Question *C. C. Hogue*

The Mask of Hypocrisy *Stansbury Norse*

Nationalism and Personal Liberty *Henry S. Griffith*

Our Destiny (Continued) *Laurence Gronlund*

Editorial Notes

Attitude of the Press *J. Foster Biscoe*

News of the Movement *Cyrus F. Willard*

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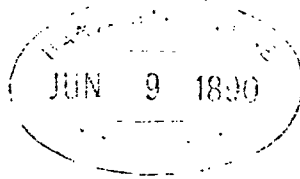
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EDWARD BELLAMY, PRESIDENT.

EDWARD S. HUNTINGTON, Secretary.





THE NATIONALIST.

VOL. II.

JUNE, 1890.

No. 7

BIRTH OF INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

The last decade of the nineteenth century seems destined to pass into history as a time of great agitation and change in the social and industrial life of the civilized world. Conservative men who, a few years ago, would have sneered at the suggestion of a social revolution, are not now so confident, and seem more concerned that the onrushing tide should be directed into legitimate channels than that its progress should be arrested, and the danger incurred of a more violent outbreak at a not very remote period. In this country, where the population is small compared with the vast territorial area and its enormous wealth of resources, such sharp extremes of poverty and wealth as are everywhere apparent, are infallible symptoms of a disease which is rapidly undermining our social and industrial constitution and threatening the very life of the Union. The evil is aggravated in our case by the lack of a serious and patriotic spirit in our national legislation. There is no prospect of relief from the suicidal system of prohibitory protection and kindred evils so long as the affairs of the nation are administered by men whose patriotism does not extend beyond blind devotion to party on the one hand, and wide-awake devotion to personal considerations on the other. Within the period since the close of the administration of President Arthur each of the great parties has exposed us to severe criticism from foreign students of our political and social life, and our national pride is not augmented by the reflection that the criticism has been both just and temperate, in view of the extremely discreditable character of the circumstances which called it forth.

Again, the tales of suffering and oppression which come to us almost daily from the centres of the coal and iron industries. are

doubly significant when viewed in their relations to the extraordinary promises made by stump orators during the recent presidential campaign to the labor employed in these industries. Only the most ignorant or fatuous will assume that such wide disparity between what is promised and what is actually realized will long escape the attention of those most deeply concerned, and on no point is history more emphatic than on that which teaches how bitterly and how completely a community of toilers will retaliate upon those by whom it discovers its confidence to have been outraged.

It was a similar condition of the industrial affairs of Great Britain out of which arose a movement which afterwards assumed the character and proportions of the English Co-operative Societies. No one of the many historians of these societies has given the details of this movement to the world, because they are known only to the two survivors of the parent organization, Mr. E. T. Craig of London, the well-known writer on Political and Social Economy, and Mr. John W. Ashton of Providence, Rhode Island, whose letters and lectures on this subject have been received with marked favor in this country.

The various forces which combined to evolve the co-operative idea were stimulated by those changes in the condition of the productive classes which followed the application of machinery to the production of wealth. The most conspicuous of these changes was the employment of women and children who, with the new means of production at hand, were able to supplant the male hand-loom weavers. Violent opposition to the new factory system manifested itself in a variety of forms, notably that of the Luddite machine breakers, and hanging these violators of the public peace did not improve matters. The terrible corn-laws were in operation with no Carlyle until forty years later to raise his voice against this homicidal species of protective tariff and warn the Conservative Party of England what treasuries of bitter indignation this corn-tariff was laying up against them in every honest English heart.

The employment of women and children in the mills, many of the children not more than seven or eight years of age, was fast lowering the standard of health among the working classes and producing a condition of ignorance and degradation unparalleled in the history of any civilized race. This state of affairs attracted the attention of philanthropists in different parts of the kingdom and various measures for reducing the hours of labor in mills and mines were proposed to

parliament, and their authors added to the list of victims of the Circumlocution Office and the Philosophy of How-not-to-do-it.

When, in 1795, Robert Owen became principal owner and manager of the New Lanark mills, built by Richard Arkwright and David Dale of Glasgow, he found himself at the head of a working population of about two thousand souls conspicuously ignorant and degraded. The majority were women and children, the latter taken from the almshouses of London and Glasgow.

Owen is reputed to have said that never in his experience with the worst types of poverty and ignorance had he found a community so stunted in body, warped in intellect, and degraded in morals. Owen's management was based upon his conviction that the character of society is determined largely by the nature of the circumstances governing the growth of the individual. His successful management of the Chorlton Twist Mills in Lancashire had demonstrated his ability to transform the intellectual and moral standards, and to increase the productive powers of a working community by the application of this principle. The problem of New Lanark was one of complete transformation. Owen found the working day ranging from twelve to fourteen hours in length. He reduced it, first to eleven, afterwards to ten. He improved the dwellings of the operatives, and, in improved physical conditions, laid the foundation for mental aspiration. He established schools and other sources of intellectual nourishment. He opened a large store of general supplies and admitted every purchaser as a shareholder and joint director, thus introducing a co-operative system of distribution. In ten years New Lanark was changed from a social problem to a social fact. Where, formerly, poverty and filth, with their inevitable accompaniment of immorality, had run riot, cleanliness, order, and social morality prevailed. The dividends paid to stockholders were larger than ever before, and were not paid out of the capital. But, with characteristic greed, the stockholders forbade Owen's expending any of the profits of the corporation in the work of improving the condition of its help.

"What has this to do with the management of cotton mills?" they demanded. Owen replied that it was by that method that he was able to secure to them larger dividends than were paid by any corporation in Europe. The stockholders were not convinced. Owen was firm in his position of principal owner, a quarrel ensued which resulted in the mills being turned over to the auctioneer. To the astonishment

of the retiring stockholders the entire plant was sold to Owen at the price of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. After that Owen's improvements went on without interruption. His books were kept open to the inspection of visitors who sought to be convinced that a fair profit could be realized from a business conducted in so unprecedented a fashion. Visitors were both numerous and critical, for Owen's community had become the talk of Europe. Among these investigators were incredulous manufacturers, savans from the Continent, and conspicuously the Czar Nicholas of Russia who, with a retinue of twelve nobles, devoted three weeks to a study of Owen's experiment.

In the meantime Owen had been propagating his doctrines through the medium of numerous lectures in London and other large cities, and through articles inserted, at enormous expense, in the London Times. These attracted the attention of a number of young men, whose meeting-place in the public sitting-room of a Manchester tavern had become the scene of numerous debates upon the proposed schemes for reducing the hours of labor in the mills, and for extending the opportunities for education.

These young men adopted the ideas of Robert Owen and twelve of them afterwards engaged a small room near the Rochdale Road in Salford, where they assembled to discuss the social theories of Owen and to study the principles of Political Economy. A member was appointed to lecture each week, and the membership was rapidly augmented from kindred elements attracted to the meetings as auditors. This was in the year 1828 and that room was the cradle of industrial co-operation.

The purpose of the society finally took shape in the organization of an evening school offering to the working men of the city instruction in the elementary branches of knowledge and the principles of Political Economy, a previously debated plan for a co-operative store having been abandoned.

To the evening school was also attached a Sunday School in Political Economy. The classes were instructed by members of the society, each of whom taught what he could without remuneration. Special classes were formed in Chemistry, Botany, Geology, Latin, Music and Free-hand Drawing. The rapidly increasing attendance at these classes soon overcrowded the limited quarters of the school, and in 1832, it was removed to a handsome lecture-hall with class-rooms

adjoining, built for the society by Joseph Smith, a prosperous master plumber who had become an enthusiast on the subject of social reform. This building erected at a cost of eight hundred pounds, stood in George-street, Salford, and was dignified with the name of the Social Institute.

Branch societies were organized, and missionaries appointed to different parts of the kingdom. The society turned its attention to the needs of the suffering in Ireland and, in 1831, a branch of the Social Institute was organized at Ralahine, County Clare, then the scene of violent insurrection and murder. Peace, order, and contentment attended this experiment, and the change was acknowledged in the House of Commons by the Hon. E. G. Stanhope, Secretary for Ireland. Of course the movement was exposed to the ignorance and bigotry of the age which vented themselves in ridicule and persecution from press and pulpit, and in attacks upon individual members. Joseph Smith, who erected the Social Institute, was boycotted, financially ruined, and obliged to emigrate to the United States, where he died at the age of eighty.

E. T. Craig, for his prominent part in the experiment at Ralahine, was deprived of a legacy. Others were dismissed by their employers for participation in the work of the Institute. The *Manchester Times* attacked the school in the following terms :

“ There are a number of young men in Salford who have organized what they call a Co-operative School. Of all visionary fools who have imposed themselves upon the world at one time or another these would-be reformers have no peers ancient or modern. They advocate Free Trade, the reduction of the hours of labor, and free public schools. Next they want public libraries, next public parks with flower-gardens and fish-ponds, and a half holiday Saturdays to enable them to enjoy these luxuries. Who ever heard such nonsense? They would tear the books, pull up the flowers, and stone the fishes for their ignorant amusement,” etc., etc.

The editor of this journal afterwards manifested deep interest in this school of “visionary fools” and rendered valuable service. The society soon outgrew its quarters in the Social Institute and a larger hall was rented where meetings were held, and the school conducted until its removal to the Hall of Science in Camp Field, Salford. This building contained a hall with a seating capacity of over two thousand, as well as a library and class rooms. It was afterwards presented to

the city by the co-operators as the foundation of the first public library in Manchester. The lectures of the society were attended by working men from Bolton, Rochdale, Oldham, and all points within a radius of twenty-five miles from Manchester. It was found expedient to establish branches at all these places. The branch at Newton Heath, near Rochdale, was attended by the Rochdale weavers, five of whom had attended the Salford school from the beginning.

Several of these weavers, animated by the instruction and stimulated by the example of their teachers at the Manchester school, began the world-famous experiment in Toad Lane, Rochdale. They began by contributing two pence (4 cents) a week from their scant wages. When the joint capital reached the sum of one pound a committee was appointed to invest it in provisions at wholesale prices. They distributed the provisions and added the two and a half shillings of profit to the capital. When they had amassed capital to the amount of twenty-eight pounds they opened the store in Toad Lane, sold their goods at market prices, and paid to each customer a margin of profits in certificates of stock. True to this principle and to their determination to buy nothing on credit, and sell nothing on trust, they have exchanged the ridicule of the Toad Lane rabble for the wondering admiration of the industrial world. That sickly plant, struggling for existence in the gloom and dirt of Toad Lane has grown into a flourishing oak, drawing nourishment from a thousand sources, and putting forth branches in every direction. Its fruits are the stately warehouses of London, Glasgow, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne and other large cities; a bank whose transactions amount to £16,000,000 sterling a year; and twelve hundred stores yielding an annual profit of £3,000,000 to its workingmen stockholders.

In tracing the history of this prodigy of industrial reform to its primitive sources, nothing is detracted from the energy and perseverance of the Rochdale weavers who fostered its childhood and carried it successfully through some of the most precarious stages of its growth to maturity. The aim of this paper is to point to New Lanark as the historical birthplace of the movement, and to the Co-operative School of Manchester as the nursery in which its infancy was nourished, and from which it was committed to the care of the Rochdale weavers, five of whom walked nine miles to attend the first Manchester School.

The two survivors of the Manchester pioneers have already been mentioned in this article. Mr. E. T. Craig, now a veteran of nearly

ninety years, was a young journalist of twenty-four at the opening of the Salford school in 1828.

Mr. John W. Ashton who, with his brother William, taught music and drawing, was the youngest member of the society. He emigrated to this country, and was conspicuous in the agitation to secure the passage of the ten hour bill in Rhode Island forty years ago. He was boycotted in Pawtucket as he had been in Manchester, but survives to see the ten hour law a fact in Rhode Island, though a tardy one, and to furnish the material for this paper in the hope of securing, from future historians of the co-operative movement, a just acknowledgment of the claims of the Manchester School.

Mr. Craig has been engaged for some time upon a history of the rise and progress of Industrial Co-operation, which will contain a more detailed account of the early struggles of the movement than is within the limits of this paper.

EDWARD GLENFAUN SPENCER.

THE DISMAL SCIENCE.

Although it was a belief in the supernatural, or in religion, that helped the smart minority, at the earliest stage of human society, to inaugurate a system of oppression and of exploitation of the simple-minded majority, yet we must not look upon Theism as the only factor, which is responsible for the existence of those outrageous economic inequities, under which we are now suffering. Science began to take a hand in it as soon as it succeeded in advancing itself to a position wherefrom its influence could be of service to the potentates and the ruling classes generally. This, of course, required considerable time, and at the beginning it had to practice much of that vulgar deception and trickery, characteristic of theology, before it had gained its independence and recognition. Alchemy, astrology, and other mystic arts, belong to that period, and were not only a means for making a comfortable living, but frequently helped to attain social influence, importance, and power. The voice of science, though, began to gain gradually in importance, the more she professed her independ-

ence, and insisted that her results and conclusions were free from prejudice, by being based upon nothing but facts and reason. In course of time, learned men organized themselves, and university professors were frequently consulted by their governments on various matters. This importance, however, was not always obtained by honesty of purpose and love of truth. Scientific men saw the opportunity and utilized it by couching their investigations in an obsolete and obscure language hardly known to themselves, and by indulging in sophistry for the sake of covering their shortcomings and emptiness, and of hiding their true object. They began to invent and to cultivate new sciences, especially those from which they could expect good, profitable returns, as treating of the interests of governing classes. Jurisprudence, the science of Criminal Laws, of Civil Rights, of Finance, of Diplomacy, were successfully launched at the time when an intellectual calm reigned in the heads of the ignorant and credulous majority. The potentates welcomed the inventions, as strengthening their position, and were not parsimonious in rewarding their studious allies, making them occasionally participants at the helm, and letting them have a direct share in the spoil, in proportion to the weight and importance of their sayings. The last in this series of the evolution of scientific mushrooms or of spurious sciences was Political Economy, or the Dismal Science, as Carlyle very fittingly nicknamed it. The genuineness of the former sciences was never questioned and their spuriousness was never noticed, because, as their respective subject matter was well defined and admitted comparatively few variations in its formal manifestations, their theory was never in any striking disaccord with the existing reality, which was easily accessible to everybody's observation and verification. But with the Dismal Science the case was altogether different. In the first place its subject-matter was immense, inexhaustible, and it admitted such a variety of forms, seemingly contradicting each other under modified conditions, that conclusions and principles arrived at from one set of data would not hold good, or would be even completely upset, when confronted by another array of facts, or when applied under modified conditions. In the second place, the reality itself has always been such a subversion of justice, rationality, and nature's unwritten laws, that it had defied the efforts of an army of learned men, who were studying it since Adam Smith in the interest of the ruling classes and of the government, who supplied them with funds and means for the prosecution

of their pseudo scientific investigations. It is an incontrovertible fact, that Political Economy has not yet arrived at a single truth, which can be demonstrated and accepted as an axiom. And it would be a wonder if it had, as the existing economic injustice cannot present anything except lies and a disorder kept in constant agitation by selfishness, greed, imposition, and oppression. How can we expect to discover laws or establish principles respecting a state of affairs which has been brought about by the unchecked ambition of a few self-conceited egotists, and retained through millenia with modifications dictated by individual whim and the increased depravity of the ruling classes? To try to generalise about such a state would be as futile as to attempt to build a science of playing a certain game of cards from studying the methods employed by professional card-cheats and tricksters. Or it would be just as well to endeavor to expose as a scientific orderly whole the distribution of wealth, resulting from a successful attack of a gang of highwaymen on a train of coaches, loaded with money, baggage, and passengers carrying costly jewelry with them. All that could be deemed within the domain of a scientific inquiry in these two cases, would be to demonstrate the objectionability of both proceedings if there was any doubt concerning that point, and to condemn them as unfair, dishonest, and outrageous. Fortunately, without requiring any scientific proof, we are sufficiently advanced to see that. Political economy, however, has not done even so much, and has utterly failed to see the facts in their proper light, or rather it was dishonest enough to try to explain economic inequities by pseudo scientific reasons. As a matter of course, governments and capital have rewarded her professors for this servility and have established hundreds of chairs at various colleges and universities all over the world for the propagation of this shameless scientific humbug. With all such facilities at her disposal, the orthodox or the capitalistic political economy has admirably succeeded in making people believe her lies, and her nonsensical theories are so generally admitted in our days, that even such liberal-minded and clear-headed men as Carl Marx and E. Duclriz were unable to emancipate their reasoning powers from her influence, as, otherwise, they would never have written what they have concerning capital and distribution of wealth. To any unprejudiced mind the fallacies and erroneous views of political economy will become obvious if it take the trouble to compare the definitions given of principal notions,

such as profit, interest, wages and so on, with their true meaning in practice. As to the laws regulating them, the Dismal Science invents these without troubling herself much about how far they are supported by or agree with reality, or rather, it affects not to see what every man of sound judgment cannot help seeing. But the most convincing proof of this spuriousness of the whole science of political economy is to be found in this quite unique and ludicrous fact, that utterly contradictory propositions are alike advocated and defended by men, who recognize each other as belonging to the same orthodox school. Remember that the propositions I speak of are not secondary ones, but include the very principles and have reference to the fundamentals, upon which the whole structure rests. What would be thought of the science of mathematics, if one set of arithmeticians insisted that division increased a quantity, and the other affirmed that it decreased it? This is exactly the case with political economy. To every one that preaches that protection protects, you can find an opponent who is very positive that protection does not protect. The same is true about all other principal questions, as the contract system versus day labor; exportations of precious metals or hoarding them at home; government initiative or private enterprise; and so on. After mathematicians had discovered decimal fractions, they saw that the old definition of division would not fit this new notation, and therefore found means to modify the definition so that it would cover all cases, and thus they have retained for their science its integrity and unity. With political economy nothing of this kind could happen, for it never was a science, and never can be one, as it has no self-evident principle from which it could start and upon which it could be based. As a description of existing economic inequity it would be useless; as an attempt at justifying by sophistry the plundering of the ignorant majority by an unscrupulous minority it is dishonorable, and must be expelled from the sisterhood of real truth-seeking and truth-loving sciences.

If sufficient space were at my disposal I would expose in a more thorough manner the fallacy of every proposition of political economy, in order to fully convince the reader of the correctness of my views. This being out of the question in a magazine article I must conclude with the promise of prodding two or three of the principal errors at some other time.

EDWARD L. STARCK.

AMBITION THE RULING INCENTIVE.

Of the many criticisms that have been made of Mr. Bellamy's popular work, "Looking Backward," the general tenor has been that it does away with free competition and the perfect liberty of action of the people, through which it is claimed, has come the development of the 19th century; and that to restrict in any way this liberty of action would be to retrograde and set back the hands upon the dial of progress, and produce a condition of arrested development highly injurious to humanity.

Several reviewers have hinted that there is not enough of the good things of life for every one to have abundance, and that to make any thing like an equal distribution, would bring down the whole community to a state of penury, which would prohibit culture and the graces and refinement of our highest social states. Hence for the world's good, some must be elevated much above their fellows, as examples and teachers, while different grades of poverty must always exist as now. We say some have *hinted* this. Of course they would not directly make it an argument for continuing our present system. It is rather advanced for the purpose of showing that things are about as good as they can be, and that it is best to let well enough alone; or at least only to try to improve as we can through general education, in a very gradual sort of a way.

Now I do not at all pretend that there is nothing in these criticisms. Where there is smoke there must be some fire. But truth I hold is not usually in extremes, and I believe it can be made pretty clear that after all it is not the restraints upon liberty of action (which have constantly increased as man emerged from barbarous to more civilized states) that constitutes a weakness in Mr. Bellamy's system, so much as the fact that it does not take into sufficient account one of the greatest motives of human action, which is ambition.

It is ambition which leads the young to resolve to gain place and power. What youth has not thrilled with the acts of our heroes of the War of the Rebellion, and felt the desire to emulate them? Is it not ambition that has made our millionaires? In every walk of life the

stimulation of hope to gain the so-called prizes of success has nerved the arm and steadied the thought to more continued effort. Granted that the prizes when once obtained are but empty bubbles; granted that it is a comparatively low motive of action; yet the world has not arrived at a point where duty is supreme. It is hard to rise each day, perchance before daylight, to buckle on again and again our armor and fight life's battles as they must be fought in order to obtain the prize; and it needs all of ambition and of duty as a spur. We have many times recalled the letter of a suicide, found near his lifeless body: "Tired of buttoning and unbuttoning." His ambition quenched, what was there to live for? He lay down and gave up the struggle.

Mr. Bellamy's admirable system is alluring, it is spiritual, but in some respects beyond the present development of mankind. However, its main features I conceive are practicable now; it only remains for us to believe in them, and make them a part of our daily life. When we have acquired faith, then is the battle won.

Personally I have faith in government supervision and control of industries, in co-operation in labor and in the army of labor, but not in the doing away of money. I do not believe in granting each member of the community an equal amount of supply tickets no matter what his ability or position. Money should be disbursed by government according to the nature of the labor or service performed, and great skill and ability should command great wages. With government ownership of all lands, mines, factories, etc., there would be nothing to fear from millionaires.

The thing desirable for all is *equal opportunity*, so that the skilled or unskilled, the educated or uneducated, the wise or the stupid shall have a chance to do their best and shall be remunerated according to their service by pecuniary compensation and advancement in the ranks of labor and official rank. Probably twenty per cent. of the population under this system would hold some official position — as teachers, guides, directors, and heads of the various departments; and official rank should be recognized by increased emoluments, in addition to the increased respect which would belong to the station. The prize of place and power would be, as now, a stimulus to exertion and the dream of ambition. Absolute equality, except of opportunity, is a chimera, it never did exist and never will. The ranks of labor should be graded and remunerated according to skill and ability; the lowest getting a minimum, sufficient for his needs but not enough to take away

the incentive for greater skill and exertion. And here let me state that I do not believe that in a peaceful, well regulated community there could ever be any lack of such things as are necessary for the well-being of man. We have to-day sufficient for all; it is only that it is not properly distributed; and an economic condition, in which all, or nearly all, would do their share of the world's work, would soon make the earth teem with abundance and blossom with beauty.

Our present system takes no thought of human needs, beyond the advantage flowing to the individual. In practice it is the old adage of "each for himself, and the devil take the hindmost." The new system would not permit extreme wealth to the detriment of any; and, when once started, it could be worked out in a practical way for all the affairs of life. Some one may ask, for example, how about authors and poets; to-day they are enabled to sell their works and make the most they can from them; how would these fare under our new system? We answer, the proper officers or inspectors would determine such as had merit enough for government to buy and publish, but if one's work were rejected it might still be possible to have the authorities publish it at cost, and have it sold at government repositories, the author being credited with the proceeds. If an author should not be successful enough to find readers then he would need to turn his attention to such work as would bring him remuneration. We think that compulsory education for the young should contemplate not only effective drill in the branch of labor or pursuit to be followed in after life, but also in all analogous branches, so that one would be equipped for more than one occupation or position — permitting, if one department was crowded, transfer to another, so that at all times there might be work and remuneration for all.

Of course this system implies the right of holding personal property, but not of trading in it as a business for money making; as government would sell at or near cost of production there would not be much opportunity for that. It would also recognize the right to live without working in the army of labor if one had means to do so. The time is fast approaching when it seems as if there must be some economic change. The wise will forestall action, perchance revolution or even anarchy, by helping to evolve a new and more suitable system for the people's needs.

WM. H. RANDALL.

THE SOUTHERN QUESTION.

The race problem is one of the weightiest pressing upon us for immediate attention, and appears to me to be a serious obstacle to the growth of nationalism in the South. The Southern whites have for generations been trained in the school of Calhoun, and are not only wrapped up in the *laissez faire* theory, but are thoroughly opposed to every extension of national control. For our movement to meet with any degree of success among this class, it will be necessary for us to magnify the state and municipal control, in which we thoroughly believe. Another difficulty with this class is the confusion existing in the minds of so many between Socialism and Nationalism. Associated with the former are all their fears of the negro. Few in the North understand the real situation in the South. At the close of the war, I think that the great majority accepted the issue of the war honestly, but by no means with a good grace. To expect the latter would be asking too much of human nature. The plans of the Republican leaders to capture the South politically for their party, led to the enfranchisement of the negro, to the military occupation of the South, and to the overrunning of it by the swarm of spoilsmen known there as carpet-baggers. These last were, with a few noble exceptions, shrewd and thoroughly selfish rascals, who incited the poor negroes against their late masters, so that they themselves might control them the more thoroughly and easily. Then followed a period of shameless plundering of a helpless people, stricken to the earth by the misfortunes of a long and bloody war. After a time, rendered desperate by their distress and guided by the counsels of headstrong and violent men, they rid themselves of their oppressors, but in a thoroughly bad way which can not be justified even by extremity. These measures have covered their perpetrators with a load of infamy, and have placed upon the South a curse that she can not afford to bear, and from which there seems no immediate relief. The plea that the case was desperate and that no other means of relief existed, is not sufficient, nor do I believe it true.

Space forbids an argument on this point, but it is safe to assert that

there is always a just and honest course open, and that no community can afford any other.

As to the present outlook. How can the South give the negro his full rights and still preserve honest and economical administration of public affairs! I believe the majority of Southern whites desire this. I propose:

First—That the general government undertake the improvement of the vast, and exceedingly fertile plain of the lower Mississippi bottoms, for the benefit of the negro, who will be healthy and hearty there, though in its malarial atmosphere whites can hardly live, much less work. Cut this section into two or three independent states. This opening will drain from the other Southern states enough negroes to leave in each a balance in favor of the whites.

Second—To provide in each state an executive officer, who shall be elected by the minority and shall have the veto power in race legislation only. This will prevent injurious legislation and though it may prove subject to some abuse it can only be of the obstructive kind, and in the main must prove beneficial.

Third—Apply the system of minority representation. This would give to each party representation in proportion to the number of votes cast. The details of this proposition have been very carefully worked out by some of our most conservative and able men, and there are no real difficulties in the way of its success. The close balance which this would afford between the parties would be an additional safeguard against vicious legislation.

The first proposition is my own, the second was thoroughly successful in the old Roman state, and the third has the support of some of the best minds in the world.

The only reason it has not been adopted is because the politicians are afraid of it, and because it has not been thoroughly presented to the people.

The experiment is worth trying, and if successful, the spectre of race war will be forever laid in this fair land. C. C. HOGUE.

THE MASK OF HYPOCRISY.

It is a matter of surprise to one who recognizes the greatness of the elder Garrison, and the magnificent achievement of which he was the apostle, that his son should be among those who raise their voices against a plan which has in it everything that is good and cannot possibly comprehend very much that is evil. *The Arena* for April last contains an article which, coming as it does from the pen of a Garrison, is destined to make an impression which may be lasting in the minds of many, and which, while it cannot prevent, may possibly delay, the accomplishment of our proposed reforms.

The author of *The Mask of Tyranny* begins with a statement which is a reflection upon Mr. Bellamy, although perhaps not intentionally so. For instance, "the novelist in spite of himself was forced to assume the role of a reformer." Mr. Bellamy distinctly states in his article, *How I came to write Looking Backward*, that, although he began his work with the simple thought of making an addition to his fictional literary productions, he became possessed of facts and ideas which brought home to him the terrible state of the working classes and fully convinced him of the necessity of immediate reform. And further, that it was with *regret* that he retained in his work, for the purpose of making it acceptable to the general public, even the narrow thread of fiction upon which it hangs. Thus it will be seen that the novelist is deliberately and not, "in spite of himself," a reformer.

The sophistries of the capitalistic class are always upon the lines of the absolute necessity of *competitive* production and distribution, and to this sort of political economy William Lloyd Garrison stands committed. To justify his cause, he quotes David A. Wells, "whose leaning is entirely away from state socialism," and who "declares that society has practically abandoned—and from the very necessity of the case has got to abandon, unless it proposes to war against progress and civilization—the prohibition of industrial concentrations and combinations. * * * To the producer the question of importance is: How can competition be restricted to an extent sufficient to prevent injurious successes? To the consumer, how can combination be restricted so as to secure its advantages and at the same time curb its abuses?"

This whole paragraph is a misstatement. Society has not practically abandoned, nor does it mean to abandon, even at the expense of a

war against progress and civilization (so called), the prohibition of such industrial concentrations and combinations as are known to us now. The very force and success of the present movement goes to show that the one great question now agitating society is how such combinations of capital and concentrations of industry shall be abrogated. To the producer the question is not how can competition be restricted "to an extent sufficient to prevent injurious successes," but, how can competition be done away with, so as to perfect successes? The question to the consumer is not, "how can combination be restricted so as to secure its advantages and at the same time curb its abuses," but, how can combination be regulated so as to secure its advantages and prevent all abuses?

To this form of the question Mr. Garrison's own quotation "Nationalize all industry" is a sufficient answer. Statistics have been piled upon statistics proving the existence of a criminal oppression upon the part of the capitalistic class. To these statistics the opponents of the nationalistic movement furnish no answer. While accusing us of attempting to carry out a dream, although we are daily pounding them with hard facts, they themselves base nine-tenths of their objections to the movement upon what may be termed sentimental cavillings.

While the capitalistic class controls every legislature and even Congress itself, what comfort may be derived from such sentences as this: "The effort of Nationalism aims at an equal human condition through law. Were such equality attainable, who can compute its cost?" Given the possibility who cares for the cost? The *result* is what we aim at—cost what it may.

In 1880 there were 180,000 children employed in the industries of this country. The number must now be near 200,000. Does Mr. Garrison see how their individuality is becoming developed?

While the present system may develop the individualism of such men as Rockefeller, Jay Gould, A. T. Stewart, the Vanderbilts and numerous others, who, numbering 25,000 out of 65,000,000, own one half of the United States, how can it possibly develop the individuality of the child ten years of age, crowded in poorly ventilated factories, worked ten hours a day, refused all education, denied even the bare necessities of life, stunted in growth, warped in intellectuality, bred in filth, nurtured in ignorance, and graduated in crime? While the system may have its advantages in offering to a few the opportunity of amassing immense fortunes, does it not withhold from the vast major-

ity everything but the bare hope of such a chance? It is true that men who are actuated *entirely* by the love of gain are rare, and we are thankful that it is so. But will Mr. Garrison deny that a great republic whose history contains names illustrious as are found in this, can produce the necessary administrators to conduct its business from a pure love of country? Whence came our Washington, our great orators and statesmen, our Lincoln, our generals of the late war? Did the love of lucre prompt such men? And equally pertinent is the question, — why are our legislative bodies tainted with corrupt practices. Is not this the legitimate outcome of the rule of capital?

It is perfectly true that, "The genius to grasp opportunities and to co-ordinate masses of material and armies of men in harmonious production cannot be commanded by popular vote." No such plan is advocated by us. The genius, will, however, be found, because unhampered by any restrictions, its own worth, the opportunity for its usefulness, and the honor which will be its reward, will bring it to the fore.

Thomas G. Shearman, in an article in *The Forum* of November 1889, shows clearly that the monopolists are, by manipulating the legislative power, causing taxation to be so regulated that, while the rich, who have everything in their favor for the further accumulation of wealth, are deprived of from 3 to 10 per cent. only of their incomes, the poor are robbed of from 75 to 90 per cent. of their earnings. The census of 1880, as any one with a pencil and a piece of paper may determine, proves also that while the producer, known as the laboring man, earns on an average \$720 per year, he receives only about \$346, leaving in the new value which has been created, a margin for the employer of about \$374 to each man he employs.

To quote again from Mr. Garrison's article—"The earth groans with plenty. The fields yield abundant harvests of grain, and cunning machinery multiplies the product of the loom. Yet men and women starve and freeze, because the natural right of exchange under free competition is denied by law. They huddle together in cities, and barely exist because the ranks of the wage-earners are crowded, while all around are bountiful and unused acres, the original source of wealth, and rendered almost as inaccessible to them by monopoly as the planet Mars is by nature,"—And when, I add, at the rate at which the monopolists have lessened in number and increased in power during the last half century, under "conditions of freedom"—freedom for

competition — we see nothing before us but the full accomplishment of their purposes, i. e., the enslavement of the rest of their fellow-men, is it to be wondered at that Mr. Garrison's objections to Nationalism sound shallow and present to the minds of thinking men and women the excuses of a temporizer and not the ringing utterances of one in favor of reform. With words from his own pen will I answer him. "Is it not better to attempt the equality of opportunity, which is practical, leaving resulting conditions to the law of nature, which is manifestly beyond our control?" Exactly. This is Nationalism, pure and simple, Mr. Garrison. We want *equality* of opportunity — not opportunity for the rich and no chance at all for the poor. Thanks, for having stated our position so neatly!

Where is the equality of opportunity as shown in the present state of society? While capital holds in its hands all the land and the machinery which is the tool of the workman, and denies him the right to use them except upon its own terms, how can a man rise above his fellows except by trampling upon their rights and ignoring their kinship? While the cost of advanced education is such as to bar all but the sons of the wealthy from obtaining it, how may the laborer rise to equality with him who has the capital to acquire it? Even education has become a "Trust."

In the same number of *The Arena* from which I am quoting there are six articles upon "White Child Slavery," and any one of them should call to the cheek of Mr. Garrison the blush of shame for having advocated the continuance of a system which makes such crimes possible,—any one of them may be considered a refutation of his assertion that "Competition at least deserves to be heard in its own defense." The day for listening to its defense is passed, the task for us now is to pass sentence upon it.

Mr. Garrison has done us the favor to head his article "The Mask of Tyranny," thus giving it a sensational title which will attract the attention of many who otherwise might pass it by, and the notice which it causes brings with it, as a natural sequence, the refutation of his absurdities. "Consider," cries this alarmist, "for a moment, the placing of all natural industries in the hands of the government which heaps up millions of depreciated silver dollars just to benefit a few millionaires. With the same reason it might buy cotton or coal to hoard."

Could anything be more ridiculous? Could anything show greater

ignorance of the nationalist's position? Our argument is that these opportunities should *not* be placed in the hands of a government with power to buy and hoard, but that the government should simply act as the agent of the people in the operation of the industries, working them to their fullest capacity and giving the whole people the benefit thereof at the smallest possible advance upon the cost price.

To the advocates of nationalism, it seems strange that its opponents are blind to the fact that government, as at present conducted, is not a government of the people, and that no better solution of our problem has ever been offered than that presented by Mr. Bellamy. *The Mask of Tyranny* implies that the people, when they have fully obtained the power which is their absolute right, and of which they are now deprived by the immense strength of the monopolists, will not use that power for their own good. This is amusing. Given a government which is fully and completely one of the people for the people, how can there be any tyranny? Will it be a tyranny of the people over themselves? The reverse has become an axiom, and the ideal republic can be nothing more or less than nationalism in its full fruition.

With fervor Mr. Garrison exclaims, "What records do human governments present to sustain their right to the assumption of further responsibilities? In all history, wherever they have undertaken to meddle with the industrial functions, disaster has followed. The clumsy feet of legislation mark a pathway of woe. In despotic governments the people have been impoverished and fertile fields forced into sterility. In partial republics,—for no real republic has ever yet existed,—the governing power has acted on crude and havoc-making theories of commerce and finance."

Could there be a more perfect exposition of the state of affairs which nationalism desires to eradicate? Could there be a more complete arraignment of the government which nationalism desires to amend? And should we hesitate, when human governments present such a record of their worthlessness up to the present day, to attempt the establishment of a better system?

The attempted candor of Mr. Garrison, although heading his article, *The Mask of Tyranny*, — (an inscription which shows his bias and is calculated to awaken antagonism at the very start) — is to be commended. But when he claims that the new order proposes to substitute one tyranny for another, or, to use stronger words, a despotism for a tyranny, he has either closed his eyes to the truth, or he must be

very dull of comprehension. As I have said before, it is not a part of the scheme that the present form of government should remain, and the triumph of nationalism will be the death blow to the politician.

Mr. Garrison's argument, that the worker needs to be protected from governmental interference in his behalf, is very much like telling a man who has been bitten by a mad dog that it is wrong for any one to chain up the rabid animal. If allowed to run at large this beast will destroy many lives and cause much suffering, but who can tell what *might* happen if it were deprived of its liberty.

It is very kind of Mr. Garrison to say that it is a merit of the nationalist agitation that "it creates discussion on matters of vital and social interest," but it is not a sufficiently broad statement of the facts. Nationalism is not a new creature springing into full life and form from the brain of any man. It had its birth in the contest between King John and the barons; it crept when England, under Cromwell, destroyed the belief in the divine right of kings; it toddled upon its feet when Washington took his seat in the presidential chair; it grew strong upon the blood of the French revolution; it will reach its full manhood in the fruition of the new commonwealth. In the words of Gronlund: "One man with faith is worth nine hundred and ninety-nine with interests." It is for the reader to determine whether he will regard simply his interests or the Brotherhood of Humanity.

STANSBURY NORSE.

NATIONALISM AND PERSONAL LIBERTY.

That nationalism will give the death-blow to personal liberty seems to be a wide-spread delusion and furnishes the chief argument of its opponents. This class of thinkers evidently believe that the advocates of nationalism are advocates of universal slavery, whereas the champions of that system believe that personal liberty would, by its means, be augmented rather than curtailed; and to those who see and understand its ultimate results, this is an evident fact.

Personal liberty, as understood and advocated by Jefferson, was true democracy and in its day suitable to the requirements of society; but with the great changes which have taken place during the last century in our social and industrial system, this theory, when applied to our present conditions, appears ridiculous. Whoever tries to reconcile the two is liable to find himself the laughing-stock of the clear-headed advocates of liberty.

The difference between the state of society at that time and the present is so great that the idea of supposing that a principle which was applicable to the then state of society would be adequate to our modern conditions appears absurd. The economist who claims that our discontent is due to the fact that the ideas of Jefferson have been deviated from, makes a great mistake. It is obvious that conditions have progressed while the laws of Jefferson have remained the same. It is of no use to try to "put new wine into old bottles," — to oppose progress because it necessitates a departure from the maxims laid down by an eminent economist of a century ago. The ideas which met the requirements of those times are utterly unsuitable to our times, after a century's remarkable revolution in social and industrial conditions. As well might it be claimed that the best way to make the journey from Monticello to Philadelphia is to go "horse back," or the most convenient way of baking brown bread is by the use of the old brick oven, as that the best laws for us are those of our great-grandfathers. Indeed to us it does seem a settled fact that not until we make a change of system to suit the requirements of our altered conditions will it be possible to enjoy that liberty which was so dear to the author of the Declaration of Independence.

There were no great manufacturing cities in those days — no large towns except a few centres of foreign trade; there were but a few

small villages where the coarse products of a rude manufactory were exchanged. The people were mostly farmers and depended upon that pursuit for subsistence. There were no telegraphs or telephones; no railroad connections between the different sections of the country. There was no steam engine with its marvellous achievements. There were no great capitalists fattening on the productions of thousands of laborers whose very existence depended upon the will of their masters; no great chartered corporations which, by the conditions of the men they employed, held a rod over them as unrelenting as the lash of the Southern planter over his slave. In short, the little farms of those days were worlds of themselves, raising nearly all the necessaries of the owner; combining the hemp-field, the woollen-factory and the mill; and requiring or even admitting, in the rude development of industry, but little connection with the outside world.

It is obvious that, in such a state of society, "that would be the best government which governed least;" that the people's liberties would be best guaranteed under individualism; and that "centralization" might well be feared, because it would place the seat of power far out of the reach of knowledge of the governed. A law or constitution robbing the farmers of their most cherished liberties might be put in force before the scattering subjects ever heard of it.

But look at our condition today. There is no more time or space between the Atlantic and the Pacific, Dacotah and Texas, than in those days between neighbor and neighbor. Personal liberty has produced capitalists who hold the destinies of thousands of their fellow-men in the hollow of their hands. We have been reduced to a system of man depending upon man for his subsistence, and not one of the masses can assert his rights to liberty without jeopardizing his means of subsistence. Every one is dependent upon some one else. The merchant upon his patrons, the editor upon his readers, but more directly and slavishly the laborer upon his employer. And unless these sacrifice their liberty to the flattery of the masters, they know they are liable to be driven from their homes, their friends, and the environments of their earlier years. And this wretched state of society is lost sight of in our eagerness to protect the "personal liberty" of some fortunate or unscrupulous little king, who has succeeded in establishing his kingdom upon the misfortunes of his fellow-men.

Our government seems to have fallen a victim to these false

teachers. When a man or company of men applies for a charter by which it virtually becomes the owner of those whom it employs, we hear nothing about centralization; but when these slaves ask the government for protection against the money-kings or the corporations it has chartered, a wail of indignation is heard — *liberty is in danger*.

We have reached that amusing but ridiculous state of politics where slavery is upheld in the sacred name of freedom. This liberty of ours must be protected, though it fasten the shackles on ten thousand others, and these, if they complain, are to be pacified with the shallow reply: "You have the same right. You have the same privilege of amassing your millions. Every man has been guaranteed his liberty in this country, even to the extent of rising to a position of tutelege over the lives of his fellow men. Then why this commotion? Why groan under this blessed system? Be still; practice economy and prosper."

Are we saying too much when we affirm that personal liberty can never be enjoyed under our present social organization? Is it not evident that this liberty, so much prized by all, can never be secured to all until our conditions are changed; until the means of subsistence are placed in the hands of all; until our social system is sundered from the selfishness of private gain and the possibility of manipulation by capitalists; until co-operation becomes recognized as the supreme law of the social state?

HENRY S. GRIFFITH.

OUR DESTINY.

CHAPTER IV.

DUTY.

“Free-will does not consist in doing any other thing but what nature, left to its own tendencies, would have accomplished; but it consists in doing this in the name of Universal Order and voluntarily.”

THEO. JONFFROY.

23. Moral ideals have not yet grown feebler than electricity in moulding the destinies of man. Would that I had the eloquence to show them in all their attractiveness, importance, and power, and thus move men's hearts and rouse their energies to realize them in a glow of defiance of obstacles.

For it is the greatest misfortune of our time, that there is so little appreciation of true morality. How many there are who look upon it as silly twaddle! The first Napoleon stands for a large, influential group of able, practical intellects, who see in it something only for bibs and tuckers and stupid folks, and these classes commit this deplorable mistake mainly because they do not know better. And nearly all the rest believe in it in a merely sentimental way, as something of no really practical import to themselves.

Herbert Spencer has done one good service. By the title of his book, *Data of Ethics*, he has impressed a great number of people with the right idea, that in order to understand what Ethics is we must first study its *data*, that is to say — for “*data*” in plain English means *facts* — that morality is founded on facts.

It is the influence of these facts on morality, that is: of Emulation, Democracy, Public Functions, Abundance, Freedom, and Leisure, and of the Collective Conscience, that we shall in the following pages examine. But certain other facts, enumerated in Chapter 4, give us an idea of its real nature. We saw, then, in the first place that morality is an offspring of the Empire of necessity, of *benevolent* necessity.

This is the remarkable and cheering fact, that so far it is Natural Evolution alone that will have directed our destiny. What a marvelous spectacle, that with all our struggles in the dark, with even good and noble men proceeding on cross purposes we shall have come to our

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goal; that an innumerable multitude of human beings, amidst discords, without concert and even consciousness, have conveyed and concurred in the same general development, believing they were merely following their personal impulses! That morality, as a product of evolution, implies that it is something the universe through untold ages has been laboring to bring forth; and which therefore has a value, proportionate to the tremendous efforts it has cost. It has been worked out by infinite pain, the sweat and blood of generations, yet is given to us by free grace, in love, as a sacred trust.

That by itself, makes morality a transcendent, tremendous reality, something of priceless value.

But this by no means implies a denial of free-will. I affirm that free-will is a blessed fact, too. Necessity or Order may be said to be the father of morality, and free-will its mother. Free-will is subordinate, complementary to, limited by the order in the world; the latter defines our aim in life, the end for which we all have been put into the world; but this end must be accomplished through us and by us. Free-will thus — as was first announced by the French philosopher, Jonffroy, sixty years ago — consists in co-operating, *consciously* and *voluntarily*, with the Order of the Kosmos.

The essence of morality then is *the conscious and voluntary co-operation toward the brotherhood and fellowship of man*. That makes morality the most important thing in life, the main business for us all; the only thing worth living for, and dying for, *the prize of life*. But every other sort is a sham morality.

Again, morality is more than a law.

It itself is a fact.

A fact is something to which the whole universe must submit. A law says, "You ought, and if you do not, you must bear the penalty." As has been said: "It may be questioned whether the laws of nature, the law of gravitation, for example, is properly called a 'law' at all; it is simply a statement of a fact, regular, constant, invariable, if you please, but only a fact." Gravitation means, do this, and that other thing will invariably follow. This makes it a fact; and precisely in the same way morality is a fact.

This has been denied by the same writer, above quoted. In a volume of lectures* it is said:

"We believe, that the conditions of social welfare and prosperity, the sources of peace-

* *Biblical Religion*, by Wm. M. Salter.

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and satisfaction for each individual soul, are fixed. We know the law that makes this marvel of order which we see in this outward world. How simple and yet how far-reaching is the law of gravitation! But the law that would turn this chaos of human life into a cosmos we do not know. It differs from the law of gravitation very plainly in this, that *it does not act necessarily*; if it did, we should have already an order here comparable to that we see in the material world. But we have to discover it, and after we shall discover it, we shall have to give it the free consent of our wills."

Is there really the difference suggested? Why is it, that the "law" of gravitation acts "necessarily?" Is it not, because in our solar systems the requisite conditions are all the time present? But take another force, that of expansion—does that act constantly? No, it is at times latent, but it acts "necessarily" and immediately, whenever the fit conditions arise; yet surely, it is as much a fact, or "law" as gravitation. Precisely so it is with morality. Mr. Salter should have said that gravitation is constantly active, but that morality will not be a fully active force, before the conditions appear—thus it will act equally "necessarily."

It is to this lack of faith in morality that modern Pessimism is due.

There is really a striking parallel between our times and the decline of the Roman Republic—arising from the fact that that age was like ours, a transition period between one organic social order and another. The Romans had ceased to believe anything; all affairs were conducted solely with a view to self-indulgence. There were the most startling contrasts of enormous wealth and selfish luxury in the few, and abject poverty among the masses. Lowest down were sixty million slaves, hardly considered as human beings; above them were found the vast majority of free citizens, brutal, ignorant, dependent on the rich, and who at night, after a day's attendance on their patrons, crept up to their wretched quarters in the sixth and seventh stories of the huge lodging houses in imperial Rome. Far above them were the wealthy classes, debauched, ostentatious, dragging out a weary monotonous life, the most virtuous of whom could reach no greater height than glorifying suicide and whose other literature was most vicious and degraded.*

The principal difference between now and then lies almost exclusively in the superiority of our despised wage-workers over Rome's free citizens.

But is it not remarkable that as Pessimism reigned then so it has raised its head in our times; and that it is just the cultured and fortu-

*Canon Farrler in his *History of Christianity*.

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nate classes — whose personal morality is unexceptionable—that accept it and thereby condemn their civilization.

This rise and spread of pessimism in our days is a *fact* that must be explained, and its explanation is naturally identical with the reason for its existence among the Romans. True, it seems more startling in our days, on account of the jubilant chorus caused by railroads, telegraphs, and universal suffrage; but the note of desolation and despair has the same meaning, that like the ancient civilization, our own is hollow at the core. “There is a despondent feeling that Providence has dishonored his acceptance and become a bankrupt as regards his promise to pay.” *

This simply comes from a narrow view of the whole process. Men do not see beyond their horizon; they fail to see that this, like the Roman decline, is but a necessary transition period, and suppose that our established order is the very summit of the evolution. Such seems also to be the opinion of Haeckell who, as we have seen, concludes that the moral ordering of the world is a “fable,” finds nothing but “the selfish, pitiless, and immoral character of the whole contest everywhere,” and declares that “the ceaseless, terrible struggle for existence gives the real impulse to the blind course of the world.”

As soon as one can be convinced of the tremendous change which Nationalism will accomplish, then all pessimism will disappear like pestilent vapor.

We must for that purpose have a classification of the duties and virtues, that, on the one hand, does not run into infinite detail, and on the other is not merely a simple affirmation of general principles. Morality is the bond that binds itself to society. If we lay emphasis on self we have self-restraining morality or *Duty* with conscience as the active power, expressed in these three obligations: *Be industrious, be loyal, be straight.*

If emphasis is laid on SOCIETY, we have self-expanding morality, or LOVE, with the affections, as the active powers divided into *Love* between the sexes, between parent and child; sympathy between “masters” and “servants,” or for our fellowmen, and sacrifice for the social welfare.

It is worth while to observe that, in this view, self becomes an integral part of morality, and should be cultivated rather than suppressed. A true philosophy teaches us that we cannot get away from

*Archdeacon Farrer, in his *History of Christianity*.

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our self any more than we can jump out of our own shadow, and now we see that if we could we should not at all profit by it. Under no ideal refinement of our nature could we ever habitually desire for others anything but what we would wish for ourselves. Our moral notions would, in fact, be destroyed not improved, if we could possibly repress our personal instincts.

Let us recall our definition of conscience. In French that word means both our "conscience" and consciousness. That there is a close connection between these two ideas all admit. I take conscience to be: the Order of the Kosmos, of the whole, *conscious in each personality*, in each social life.

To this classification it will be objected that we have omitted Personal Ethics, to wit: *Purity, Temperance, and Honor?* I say that they, *in themselves*, are not duties or virtues, are not moral at all, since they have no tendency whatsoever to unite men organically. But they are raised into the moral sphere, if they are cultivated as a means to make us more efficient moral agents; they even, as we shall see in the next chapter, acquire an eminent moral value, if joined to the affections.

Truthfulness shows in a remarkable manner the all-importance of the social element. *Not all truth is sacred*, whatever the scientific, the positivist mind may say. Speaking the truth is held to be the ultimate basis of morality, yet only a certain kind of truth we respect, and it is social considerations that determine our choice. When a villain asks us the way to his victim we think it right to tell him a lie; we hide to our friends the true conditions of health, if the truth would hasten their death; we do not reveal secrets which should be preserved, even when lying alone will preserve them, showing that we are aware that not all truths are sacred; that their sacredness depends not on themselves, but on their object; whether they contribute to social welfare or not. Suppose a man with a purely intellectual love of truth who acts like a calculating machine, and tells the truth on all occasions: he may be the greatest living scoundrel. Leslie Stephen considers the use of judicial oaths to be due to an imperfect respect for truth; I should say it proves our acknowledgment of the *social value of truth*.

Unfortunately, Purity, Temperance and Honor, altogether too often remain exclusively personal; in that case they become simply part of our miserable *conventional morality*, and this is in truth the highest *immorality*: the exact opposite of true morality. While the latter

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intends and works to realize a perfect society and fellowship among men; the former divides them into cliques on the false lines of pride and property; this *unites* us with our fellowmen, that *actually separates us from them*.

Conventional morality is true Pharisaiism. I have not the least doubt, that if Jesus should now walk in the flesh among us, he would denounce our self-righteous Christians as fiercely as ever he did the Pharisees of old. He would, I apprehend, tell our "better citizens," men who have never known what real temptation means, and who think themselves far superior to a poor devil who has been sorely tempted every hour of his waking life: You deem yourself infinitely more respectable than the inmates of your prisons and would think yourself insulted to be compared to them. I tell you, that some of these have had their ideals to which they have tried faithfully to live up, that with all their faults they have loved the beautiful, the good, and the true; they have withstood temptation once, they have manfully conquered it the second time, but fell perhaps at the third assault. You, my dear sir, who have never had a wish to be better than you are, and have always been supremely selfish, are infinitely inferior to such a man. Yet, fool! you fancy that God applauds such a decent piece of respectability as you! Go, you whited sepulchre!—your so-called virtues are reptile virtues—varnished vices!"

Ah! I can fancy some—a few at least—of our rich people, at all events here and there a young, generous, thoughtful son or daughter of such who, in these days of moral awakening, are roused by their conscience and haunted by the thought: "Can it be that we rich people are robbers? Have we any right to the position we occupy?" If they go to their pastors with their doubts, they surely will get no satisfaction there, or they will have their doubts lulled to sleep, for our \$5000 ministers, whether Baptists, Episcopalians, or Roman Catholics, are with very, very few exceptions, unfaithful ministers whose only function seems to be to *drug* the world's conscience. It cannot but be, however, in spite of this drugging, that at their balls and midnight suppers some of them cannot fail to see in the look and attitude of the haggard faces in the street a claim upon them and to have the thought branded into their brains: "We are rioting on stolen goods."

Heretofore such rich people have had their excuses. They were blind to the actual facts, and no one opened their eyes. But now the

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fullness of the truth is dawning upon them and upon the world. Now you come to see that if you leave a boy or girl in squalor and misery, so imbedded in criminality that you might lay your hands on each one and say that if not rescued by a miracle he or she will inevitably become a thief and a murderer, you rich people are answerable for their crimes! *You are the real thieves and murderers*, and if you do not acknowledge it, it were better a millstone were hanged around your neck and you cast into the sea!

Well, it is wonderful, how quickly the world of late has progressed in the quickening of the moral sense. Fifty years ago the working classes themselves and their best friends, did not see any wrong whatever in the wage-system. Now the Bishops of the Episcopal church issue a pastoral, denouncing that system, with its principle that labor is a merchandise, as un-Christian and immoral. Yes, look upon this vast toiling population, often tramping from place to place, thrice blessed when it gets into a squalid corner of a workshop or factory, and allowed to pursue an eternal monotonous operation for eleven hours a day, so situated, that it cannot employ itself, crouching at the feet of another class, from whom it gets only a supply of insults and mockery and a crown of thorns for the brow of despised humanity. The worst of the present system, as already said, but cannot be too often repeated, is by no means that it makes some rich and leaves others poor, but that by placing one class in the power of another class, to be used as *means* to *its ends*, it destroys all truly human relations between them.

That is conventional morality: materialism triumphant, an overpowering lust of mammon, virtue reduced to the *caput mortuum* of self-interest, a low theory of life, a lost ideal of heroism.

There are "Christians" amongst us who have exemplified the highest degree of Purity, Temperance, and Honor, and at the same time entirely disregarded the social self, held aloof from humanity, and looked upon the world as a defilement. We have seen them expel from their communion members who had entered the Union Army to fight against slavery, but they never expelled stockbrokers or speculators; oh, no! if Jesus were here with his scourge, I am sure he would flog every one of them out of the temple. They have faithfully copied the example of Joseph, the great Hebrew minister of finance, who, having secured a large store of corn, permanently reduced the Egyptians to bondage by fixing a 20% tax on the industrial classes.

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If this is so with "moral" men, no wonder the ordinary worldling hardly understands that society even can have different aims. But soon these things will be burnt as a scroll in the fierce heat of the Eternal!

Let it be distinctly known that the man who cultivates Purity, Temperance, and Honor in pride of individuality, that he may stand aloof from common humanity and be considered better than others, is a nauseous, loathsome Pharisee.

25. No, Providence has not become bankrupt, but Satan has, apparently, been permitted temporarily to resign. Not at all the old-fashioned devil, nor the mocking Mephistophiles, however. There are in Boston two busts by T. J. Gould: one representing Jesus, the other Satan. On looking at the latter some must say to themselves: "Surely I meet frequently with such a face as this; its chief expression is precisely what marks the faces of so and so, our most enterprising and successful business men." That is to say the expression is, not malevolent, but supremely selfish, that of a man going straight at his end without a thought of others, perfectly indifferent to their feelings, and whether he hurts them or not, with at most a sneer for their weakness. This is the spirit that rules affairs at present and has ruled them for the last century, which indisputably, during that period has, under Providence, contributed materially to progress, and done a work that had to be done and for which such a spirit was best fitted. It is the spirit that animates practically all our successful business men, and now has full control of even the church, in all its branches—of which, however, the evangelical is the most immoral, as it, with Pharisean zeal, makes morals consist in paltry and shabby personal aspirations.

The most horrible work of this Satanic spirit is that it makes society tempt us all wrongly. Nothing can be conceived more devilish than this; it and Pharisaism are the two very worst phases of modern morals. To be sure, none of us is, of course, compelled to become a thief and a swindler, but that is a small favor. Think of it, and let it sink deep into your heart: that society which ought to throw her powerful motives into the scale of right, *actually does constantly and*

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persistently tempt all her members into evil ways. What father is not horrified at knowing his pure, innocent daughter tempted, whatever faith he has in her virtue!

And this is a fact. All our relations in life can furnish examples and the following pages will call attention to some of the most revolting. The conception of life as a competitive race makes property the sole thing worth a man's pursuit, and the most commendable; by producing for profit, I am made to consider whether each stroke will *pay*; whether I had not better samp this and hurry over that; I grudge every stroke of the tool. Commercial men cannot afford to be strictly honest; by having their labor miserably remunerated women are tempted to prostitution. But in the face of this terrible fact it is truly wonderful, how many good people there are in the world. This is something that ought to greatly encourage us and strengthen our faith in man's destiny. Satan is defeated by the very fact that, under the existing circumstances, men are *as good as they are*.

The very worst of the social temptations is, that wealth has become the great social power, and it is here that wealth is injurious. It is not that the purple and fine linen of Dives caused Lazarus to be in rags, for that is not true of the modern rich man — the reverse indeed is rather the truth. What makes him a dangerous social growth is that, by controlling the heap of wealth of which all others need and *must have* a share, he exercises a double pressure on the needy who serve him either with hand or head: by picking out the favored ones, and by dictating his own terms. It is thus through the distribution of his money that he gets his dangerous power — the monopoly of what all want makes his power so fatal. He parts with his cheque, and he gets all nice things: adulation, professional skill, paragraphs in newspapers, the disposal of places. He spends, and has the world at his feet in the spending; he can hardly help saving, and his savings increase like a rolling mass of snow, without effort.

This results in an indiscriminate respect for wealth. No one would bear an extra burden of business to have a cellar of choice wines for one's own drinking, or would be lying awake of nights devising means of getting richer, to provide one's wife with a carriage — it is the increased social distinction, the *eclat* of the wines and carriages that has the strong motive power. This deference can always be had by accumulating property and this can be accomplished by one of very mediocre attainments, if he possess cheek and cunning.

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This power of "lording it" over others is surely an evil and the desire for it a low desire, filling the one with vanity and an overbearing spirit, the other with servility, envy, and a smothered hatred, and dividing the nation against itself. It is not in human nature to be just and humane when robbed of life's fundamental conditions. The rich man's sympathies are naturally seared; he comes to think that other people exist solely for his benefit and that they are of an inferior order, fit only for labor. It is one of the ugly sides of human nature that we treat our needy brothers with contumely; it needs the most exalted nature under the highest civilization to think of acting otherwise.

How much worse is it then when riches have been acquired—as in our days they to a greater or less extent are in nine cases out of ten—by speculation, that is to say by pure gambling. That is the greatest proof of the dominion of Satan, that the churches are everywhere in his service, that all they are now witnesses to, is "the principles of property," no matter how acquired. It is notorious that ministers, as often as they can spare a few dollars, put them into margins and stocks. Henry Ward Beecher declared, before a legislative committee, that cornering food-products—a crime in the Middle Ages—is a legitimate business. And Washington Gladden, a man with some very noble impulses, must undoubtedly have some speculators in his congregation since he can write: "Speculation, when it hoards the necessaries of life may often be a heartless and injurious business; it may, on the other hand, have beneficent results equalizing the pressure of demand and supply. Society can have no quarrel with them." Well, I apprehend, a moral Collective Conscience will by and by have some quarrel with scoundrels who gamble in the necessaries of life by manipulating demand and supply.

Meanwhile no provision whatever is made for those writers and thinkers who are doing the very highest work which man on earth can do for his fellows. Even these, the large majority of them, the moneybag uses for his ends, pays for his purposes, hiring them as formerly soldiers of fortune were hired, all the time despising them, since they have not the sense to make money. And on the small minority, the very highest minds, the prophets in Israel, the most terrible probation is put merely in order to live, to vegetate rather and do their work, yet patient under insults and mockeries and the crown of thorns that is put upon them, "for they know not what they do." They are in many cases even refused the poor privilege of earning

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their living by manual labor because they dare to attack the system. Of course society is full to the brim of hypocrisies and insincerities in the spiritual sphere as of evils and injustice in the social. But had there been provision for the modest wages of these workers in payment for their proper work, the world would have been far beyond our present stage in thought, letters, and conceptions of life, and the kingdom of heaven might have been here.

Instead of that kingdom where the strongest, healthiest, most perfectly organized, one of finest physique, largest brain, most developed intelligence and best morals would be the leaders, this Satanic competition protects, flatters, and fosters those in every way unworthy. Why! to use a hypothesis, effectually employed by St. Simon 70 years ago: Suppose a hundred of the most "prominent" individuals in each department of industry and the professions disappear in one night from our country, does not everybody know that this so far from being a loss would be a positive gain to our country's interests?

Let this thought sink deeply into our minds: that the established order tempts us all to despise labor, to encourage disloyalty, dishonesty and impurities of every sort.

26. We pass now to the great moral obligations and shall inquire first, how the established order affects them and, next, how nationalism will influence them. Our wage-earners, undoubtedly, will think it quite superfluous to address to them the precept: "Be industrious!" as they will say that they are quite as industrious as anybody ought to be, toiling as they do eleven hours a day for a mere living. To be "industrious," however, involves more than being active; it includes devoting all our thoughts to our work, making that work as artistic as it admits of and particularly being careful that nothing is wasted; there is good authority for the statement, that the question of success or failure of many a large establishment depends, solely, on this one matter of waste. That our wage-earners are often deficient in these secondary matters is true, beyond any question; but it is just as true, that they have at present no motive to be anything else. Consider simply how productive work is now depreciated, and how the non-productive industries—the mere incidents of production—are en-

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dowed with a far higher social rank than the productive ones. It would really be comical, if it were not truly tragical. Look and see how a mere trader or speculator, who requires no skill, no apprenticeship, and but a very low order of intellect, not alone absorbs wealth far more rapidly but enjoys a far superior esteem than the thoroughly trained mechanical producer. It is enough to make devils laugh, to see the poor mechanic look up to the trader as almost a superior being, and yet is a fellow who only handles his product.

This is completely to reverse the proper order by honoring the least worthy and deteriorating and degrading the truly meritorious. Why, it is monstrous, that venders of goods, those who merely carry goods from one place to another, are able to earn twice as much in half the time as the producers, and besides this to make immense fortunes at the expense of the consumers. And to think that this is not alone tolerated but acquiesced in without a suspicion of those who suffer most that anything is wrong, because these shrewd distributors of wealth have used every available form of deception, misrepresentation, and strategy, to create the belief that they — they who often are nothing but parasites — are the most important of all the social elements. So potent has been their influence, that any protest by the well-wishers of the wage-earners has only to be by them labelled "Socialism," and their victims immediately assent.

It cannot be difficult to see that this has had a most mischievous tendency to depreciate productive industry itself. It has prevented the intellectual and moral elevation of producers, directly deteriorating the quality and diminishing the quantity of wealth produced — and moreover, has drawn the best minds away from productive labor to waste their time in trade and speculation, perfectly barren of inspiring sentiments. Indeed if we go down to the bottom of the matter, we shall find that, because industry always has been and is the foundation of society, all the empires of the past have failed from the slight regard paid to it. Athens alone among the Greek States rose at all superior to the pride which contemned it, and she had her reward in the glory she gained for all time. But on account of the prejudice shown by the Hebrew race, it was dispersed, nor could all the skill of Roman administration avert the decay wrought by its disdain both of agricultural and artisan labor.

Consider further the motives which the worker has for being in the true sense industrious, and the motives he has for being otherwise,

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and, if you are fair, you will admit that the latter far overbalance the former. Remember only that our workmen have on an average but \$7 a week, that a man seldom has constant employment—that even sober and industrious wage-earners in our most favored states cannot make both ends meet without the wages of their children, can you wonder, is it anything but human nature that our jails never want occupants? When you know that girls get only three dollars a week, and must pay for board, room, washing, and clothing, and — why not? — a bit of finery, I ask you, my pharisaic sir, is it anything but human nature if she submits to the temptation of a young fellow of your class?

I have not a particle of doubt that our present trade-unions will be the skeletons of the future Social Order. That is to say, all useful citizens of the future Nationalist Commonwealth will form themselves into a number of corporate bodies— let us simply for convenience sake call them “Trade-Unions.” We shall thus have all social activities of whatsoever kind performed by such unions of butchers, bakers, tailors, and likewise of teachers, judges and physicians, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Every active man will join some union, so that “scabs” will be unknown. Each of these unions will be on a perfect equality with every other union, and each perform its function in perfect liberty and determine for itself all the details of the work as to how many hours a day its members will work, whether it shall be day or night work and the ratios in which to distribute remuneration. The only control to which they, in the nature of things, must submit—or rather not control—is that of the central administration which, as the general manager, will from the statistics of the previous year fix the number, say, of coats to be made the current year and distribute the amount among the various tailor-unions; this central administration further as a matter of necessity, in conjunction with the representatives of the unions determines the remuneration to be paid for the work and the consequent price of the products, since this is a public question.

With wages surely double those paid at present and the hours of labor at least reduced to six hours—to which extent without the least doubt, the Nationalist Republic immediately will and safely can, improve the condition of the workers; with work suitable, and therefore pleasant, and subject only to rules which every member has had a hand in framing (in the rare cases where the majority has been

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overbearing and unjust there will undoubtedly be opportunity for redress from the collectivity as arbitrator or judge) with uninterrupted labor, for with no overproduction, there will be no crises, as there will be no strikes or lockouts—for to strike means to starve—will the workmen of the future not be like a new being? The shoemaker, the baker, or the weaver who now sees no horizon beyond the wall of the little cell in which he lives, and in which the tedium and monotony of his occupation might well lead *him* to ask “Is life worth living?” will under nationalism breathe quite a different atmosphere and, from thoughts and feelings that accompany the work, indefinitely increase the energy, ingenuity, and painstaking bestowed upon it. That is simply the natural difference between occupation, looked upon subjectively as an elementary need, essential to human life, and objectively as the discharge of a needed social function.

The picture will be still far brighter, if we let our imagination riot among the far-reaching changes which will result secondarily from such a state of affairs—among which is one, once alluded to, which will surely be started the moment Nationalism triumphs, and which will vastly stimulate sympathy and emulation and through them industry—and that is the return of the population from our cities back into the country. No one can now perceive a limit to the increase of cities like London, New York, and Boston, yet there must be a limit, for it is an expansion highly detrimental to social interests. Under the established order there can be no halt, because evolution needs the large cities in order to effect the coming change, and bring the nation to self-consciousness.

But with the advent of the large corporate industrial bodies, each pursuing a different industry or branch of it, each of which will naturally make a chosen nook or corner of our country the seat of it, we shall have the Greek “cities” of old resurrected, but on a far higher plane. These same bodies will of course construct and administer the municipal organizations, and make them the most perfect of social organisms. We shall thus have small towns everywhere, each comprising all the vast benefits of our present metropolitan cities, but without their horrible evils; each with every appurtenance of educational and æsthetical apparatus. What a wonderful moral influence will issue from them. All will know themselves as indispensable, integral, and equivalent parts of the whole whose conduct has a

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collective bearing. This world will thus no longer be the empire of the devil, but a true *Civitas Dei*—City of God.

The established order makes us despise labor and respect "business." Nationalism will strongly incite us all to industry.

27. "Be loyal," is really, in plain words, the same as "be obedient," but our commonplaces about "liberty" have had the effect of raising in ordinary minds a strong presumption against obeying any body—though by a natural rebound the further consequence has been to induce people to obey the first one who claims this allegiance with sufficient self-confidence. It is curious that our evolution-moralists do not mention obedience at all as one of the virtues; yet in sober truth, it is and must remain the very basis of Morality.

Moreover, to obey a *real* superior is a great blessing, essential to achieving anything great. As has been said, "Command and Obedience stand at the very entrance to life. The tacit assumption that it is a degradation to give one's will to that of another is the root of all evil." To regard subordination as a humiliation is surely a mark, not of spirit, but of a base disposition, subversive of everything worth having in life.

In any society that wishes to start at a certain point command and obedience necessarily ensue. Whenever the aim is not personal but common to all, the best man is readily found. In scientific, literary, and philosophic societies whose aim is the truth, we know the best men are soon known. When all pursue the same inquiries and are animated by the same aims, those whose knowledge is most extensive are at once recognized, appointed to posts of honor, and loyally revered. When, on the other hand, the object is self-interest, there is no hope of finding the man, or of his being revered when found.

Whether obedience is rightful or wrongful depends entirely upon who it is that commands. We saw in the previous chapter that the two important principles of trades-unions are: that direction of affairs belongs to the capable, and that all subordinates should intelligently co-operate. No one pretends that our wage-earners do that; they are virtually still in a *quasi*-servile state, and in no sense a source of public opinion. They have no effective choice of those to whom

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they must submit; at the utmost they can, to a limited extent, choose "masters." No wonder they hate the very word obedience, and that loyalty has almost died out amongst them, for they know subordination only in its harshest form; remember that such a skilled and intelligent body of operators as telegraphers were compelled a few years ago to sign a pledge not to enter the Knights of Labor organization.

It is very curious that Spencer and all evolution-moralists cannot see beyond this transition-period and "contracts." They evidently cannot get over the idea that these two categories are to be crystalized for all eternity. "As civilization advances, status passing into contract"—and then it stops as if in a *cul-de-sac*. No, be sure "contract" is, like the times in which we are living, a transitory arrangement, a connecting link so to say, between the status of the Middle Ages, *Status by birth*, and that of the future, *Status by function*. Every contract confers authority upon one of the parties. The power of a French minister of the Interior over an immense number of subordinates is formidable and produces inequality in its harshest and least sympathetic form; to say that it supersedes obedience is a poor kind of irony. The power of particular persons over their neighbors has never in any age of the world been so well defined and so easily and safely exerted as at present. Moreover it ought to be noted, that contracts are in their very nature immoral. Whenever two make a contract, it is implied, if not expected, that it will prove onerous to one of the parties; that one will "get the better" of the other of the parties; the meaning of the contract then is, that the party that is ruined or, at least, not fairly remunerated for his expense or labor, must nevertheless stick to it. Well, there can be no doubt that we shall return to status; that is to say as we formerly had status, fixed by birth, we shall have status determined by *capacity*.

No well-informed and frank man can pretend that our employers are the most capable. There is probably not a single manufacturing establishment, mercantile or banking house, where the chief is not inferior in intellect and mental breadth to several of his subordinates. It is inevitable, as we saw, under our present system which immensely narrows the horizon of the successful "self-made" man. Thus all obedience is now positively immoral. For the case is not mended, even, by the chief being the ablest of all, since he now is moved by

self-interest and not by social interest. Loyalty to a selfish individuality is immoral; loyalty to society is moral precisely because the latter is moved by an ideal. And if we take so able a wretch as Napoleon whose genius ministered only to selfish vanity and created in him a sentiment of "aloofness" to the social organism — to be loyal to such an individual is criminal. Such genius is Satanic and ought to be swept from humanity's workshops very much as a carpenter sweeps out into oblivion the shavings that encumber his work.

There is then at present no foundation for, no motive whatever to loyalty, but this nationalism will entirely reverse. A change indeed will be effected by the mere fact that those who now are the wage-workers will — not become the ruling class — but will have their influence greatly increased. Now there is fortunately in that class an ingrained reverence for mental superiority, in many cases even for superiority that is but half-genuine. That is a characteristic which our Carnegies and Weedens and our half-educated, self-made men cannot understand, and hence they rave about "Asiatic despotism" as often as they speak of labor organizations. It is a reverence they themselves are generally strangers to; they have a horror of trusting freely a qualified man to do a definite work, a feeling rarely found among our artisans, who, on the contrary, show a great readiness to accept personal leaders. That is the way the workingmen of both Anglo-Saxon countries have gone about their affairs, the way they have made their organizations powerful and themselves respected. That is how they put in practice their two principles of rule of capacity and responsibility — in other words realized Democracy.

Evolution seems to me clearly to point to this as the political model for the Nationalist Republic; and the formation of loyalty and obedience.

Since all useful citizens become public functionaries, each will really in his place perform his share of the government, for what is the "government" of a nation, but performing the work of a nation? But the distinctive feature of "Democracy" which we now emphasize will be that all the administrators will be elected *from below*. I claim this is the only sure way of getting in a manner, satisfactory to all, ability at the head of affairs. Remember that it is *sine qua non* that the initial voters shall enjoy perfect independence and security. Think of such arguments as these: Are such men not, in the first place, all

things considered, the most competent to elect their immediate foremen? Do they not know the qualifications of their comrades, who are the candidates, and at the same time, the duties of him who is to oversee them? And are they not, also, they who are most interested in having over them both the ablest and the most just man? By having the operatives *elect* their foremen, the foremen their superintendent, the superintendents their superiors and so on up to the chief of department we surely secure this one thing, that *each officer has the good will of those under him*. And, on the other hand, if we entrust the *dismissal* of every officer to his immediate superior who is responsible for the performance of the duties by that officer, and therefore must have the power of dismissing or rejecting him, if unfit, we ensure the efficiency of the administrator, and *the good will of superiors*. Can there be a doubt that by such a scheme ability will necessarily gravitate towards the highest posts? At any rate, it must be admitted that such a plan is the only one that never yet has been tried. It conforms to the nature of true ability—a different thing entirely from the “ability” of our self-made men. True merit, we have seen, is invariably modest, needs to be pushed forward and have its opportunities created, and to lean upon the judgment of others, while it is out of its element in struggling against others and against obstacles.

Ah, if you able men in these United States could only get a glimpse of the working of a co-operative commonwealth with all its consequences you would, I am sure, merely from honorable ambition, embrace nationalism to a man, and give it a tremendous impetus. Why, plenty of men will in that social order become great by the mere grandeur of the work which will be given them to do. The future has a field for great and heroic leaders of men, such as the past cannot show, a field all the grander and loftier both morally and intellectually because it will consist in the free leadership of intelligent wills, because it will be the embodiment of fully developed units.

We shall have no more scrambles for the insignia of power by manipulating primaries or caucuses, that incapacity may fill its own pockets or air its own vanity. The future chief will not be a human tool to be dictated to, but a man of the people's choice, *who leads*; he will be continually initiating, devising, suggesting. He will never force, never be forced; he will sometimes create opinion on which alone he rests for strength by honestly forcing the conviction that he

is right. Consent will then give him a far higher power than any material force now does.

It has been said, that if the Black Prince were living he would change his motto "Ich dien" (I serve) to "Je paie" (I pay); the motto will yet once more come to honor.

Here are two social systems, the future democracy, inspired by workingmen, and the present republic, modelled by middlemen. Workingmen are distinguished by breadth of view, power of combination, social spirit, and loyalty to leaders. Middlemen, big and small, are absorbed in petty details, harrassed by ceaseless competition, and narrowly practical. That is what often makes our strikes so bitter, that employers cannot conceive that any one seriously prefers combined strength to independent helplessness.

The established order incites to disloyalty; nationalism will tempt to manly obedience.

28. Be straight, "*integer*." A man of integrity is the very essence of duty, and here it is we fail most completely. Of course some regard for truth is implied in the simplest social state, and without some measure of honesty we could not get along at all. The special necessity for confidence in the mutual relations of human beings develops to some extent the sense of honor and the other special necessity, that anything which is done or made should really be what it purports to be, develops to some extent integrity in work, or honesty. Only the third branch of truth: reality in knowledge, brought about by the necessity of understanding the real world with which we are in incessant relation, has been fully attained, because it does not come into collision with our interests.

Since all our social relations are one sole web of conspiracy to tempt us, it is no wonder that life is a mass of dishonesties. Business life tempts us to be untruthful; at all events is on a footing of enmity with openness, requiring as it does secrecy, and in certain cases deception. Everywhere we meet with temptation to lying, which comes next to, and very near to, compulsion. Scarcely a transaction is ever consummated without some form of deception being practised. The ability to "drive a bargain" is nothing else but a certain species

of cunning in making facts appear different from what they are, whereby customers are beguiled into paying more than its value for an article. Taking society as it actually is, everyone expects everyone else to practise a certain amount of deception, and one failing to do so would be adjudged possessed scarcely of the full complement of "wits." The *suppressio veri* is fully employed, the impression prevailing that no wrong is done, unless a positive falsehood is resorted to, though surely it is the effect, not the form, that is material. Even Herbert Spencer, the apostle of individualism, informs us that "as the law of the animal creation is 'eat or be eaten,' so of the trading community it may be said its motto is 'cheat or be cheated.'" Men in different occupations, men naturally conscientious who manifestly chafe under the degradation they submit to, have one and all expressed the sad belief that it is impossible to carry on trade with strict rectitude. The scrupulously honest must go to the wall. "And nobody seems ashamed of these things; they are not only tolerated but actually defended." Spencer sums up the investment in these words: "Illicit practices of every form and shade from venial deception up to all but direct theft may be brought up to the higher grades of our commercial world."

"Liable to prompt dismissal as the assistants in our stores are for non-success in selling; gaining higher positions as they do in proportion to the quantities of goods they dispose of profitably; applauded, certainly not reprovèd, for any dishonest tricks, these young people often display a scarcely credible demoralization and speak almost continuous falsehoods. Whatever is needed to effect a sale must be said." "Any fool can speak the truth." It is said that the universal practice is to make goods up in lengths shorter than they profess to be. Silk is "weighted" with soap or sugar. Manufacturers get designs by making workmen steal them—that is a very common offence. Insensibly, almost irresistibly, men are thrust into trade-immorality. We will say, some utterly unconscientious trader is the first to introduce some new form of fraud. The more upright merchants are continually tempted to adopt this questionable device which those around them are practising; the greater the number that yields the more unequal the battle. The pressure of competition becomes more and more severe—finally they are compelled to follow the unscrupulous leader. Is it not startling—is it not enough to condemn this present to know that generous, upright men, of fine moral nature are *compell-*

ed to imitate the greatest knaves in the trade, at the risk of bankruptcy?

It is told of a draper in England who carried his conscience into his shop that he refused to commit the current frauds of his trade, whereby his business became so unremunerative that twice he became a bankrupt, so that he actually by his bankruptcies inflicted more evils upon others than he would have inflicted upon his customers by committing the usual trade-dishonesties.

Spencer asks: "What are 'accommodation bills' but practically forgeries?" And what a frightful commentary could not be made on the legal, commercial rule *caveat emptor!* "You must assume that he who sells you a thing is a scoundrel."

And, yet there is no good reason to assume that the trading classes are intrinsically worse than others. We all continually fall into such temptations as are open to us. Few classes, if any, are free from immoralities that are as great as the above, relatively to temptation.

Take politics. Everyone admits that they are carried on by systematic corruption. But one phenomenon really surpasses all the rest. What can be more brazen and shameful — is the trade of the harlot more demoralizing? — than to see a society like Tammany-Hall, formed for the express purpose of grasping public offices for its members — an office-broking concern — openly showing itself off to the public, and presenting itself as a type of "democracy?"

This lack of integrity naturally affects our men of talent and genius, and makes them degenerate into mere instruments of narrow personal interests; hence our scientists are satisfied with superficial conceptions, our artists indulge in unprincipled creations, to achieve a rapid and ephemeral popularity; our inventors care nothing for important inventions, and give their time to nothing but lucrative pursuits — melancholy results indeed, deprived of all moral value, and which have a still worse influence on men of second-rate abilities. Selfishness perverts and paralyzes the most eminent powers.

Whenever a private enterprise is now broached, none asks whether the work is wanted, or will be useful to the community, or a means of healthy life to the enterprising individual, or whether it is honest, can be carried on without being defiled, or even whether he likes it, no but *does it pay?* And, observe, it is our comfortable classes that ask this "professional" question. If it does not promise so and so much per cent. on capital, it is dropped. "Yet clearly," as has been

said, "it would be a better paying thing, with but one per cent., if it would make one happy, with helpers around one contented, children growing up under healthy conditions and producing genuine and useful articles, than with ten per cent. with jangling and wrangling, over-worked, and sad faces around us, and dirty, deceptive stuff produced.

To conclude the indictment: our whole mercantile and financial class is nothing but a criminal class in regard to the bulk of their incomes and fortunes. Our "best people" reek with dishonesties. The hordes of stock and share-mongers (including ministers of the gospel) are the criminal classes *par excellence* in our modern society. Every man and woman among us is continually tempted by our social arrangements to be dishonest. Should not one with a healthy mind do all he can to overthrow such a system?

Now let nationalism reverse the conditions of society. Make it, in the first place, *man's interest to be honest*. When the work of anybody is no longer a tribute to physical necessity, but a glad performance of social office, when a few hours of agreeable effort daily will secure all necessaries, decencies, and comforts, why should any rational man want to steal, or cheat, or rob? Why should anybody want to make a living by crime when he can far more easily make it by honest effort?

Next, let *wealth cease to be a social power* — as it will when everyone has an assured income, for it is precisely such a power because others need a part of it. No one will care to be wealthy, when his wealth can only be eaten and drunk and enjoyed by himself and his friends, when it cannot tempt others to be his servants.

And, lastly, *make all work a social function* — this is the most important of all and all-comprehensive. When a butcher is assured of a decent living — not as a *quid pro quo*, but as a means enabling him to perform his function — when his maintenance in old age and the future of his children are guaranteed, when he knows that in the innumerable circles where he figures as a consumer his interests are taken care of, then be sure he will soon learn in his work to give society the first consideration, then he will devote himself entirely to *furnish his customers with good meat at fair prices*. It is nothing but human nature. Then we shall have the motives at work which ruled "when all England awoke every morning and went to its work with a prayer."

29. All things human have an ideal, a soul, in them. The soul of our established order is that brute-god, Mammon, the modern Satan, and he has made wealth our ideal. He must be dethroned, and a spirit-god put in his place; the New Ideal be realized. And it will be done, for *the "ought" in us is prophetic of a perfect society and a perfect morality.*

The distinction between the New Ideal and Conventional Ethics is as radical as between the Copernican and the old Ptolemaic. Conventional Morality takes the individual man as its centre, and by so doing all active men push and snatch and compete to get the most from each other, "cozen their neighbors" and keep them apart. This sort of morality never yet worked out a beautiful, blessed, and happy life, and it never failed more signally than in our days.

The new ideals recognize a new centre: society, for each man's thought's and activities; it does not ignore the individual by any means; it will precisely realize the highest kind and best in quality of individual welfare; moreover, it only explains "that dim sense of a compelling ought,—a true race-instinct—that always bound man to do what he did not choose and what he could not see would benefit him at all."

Then we shall act, not from duty, but from spontaneity.

Mr. Salter says in his *Ethical Religion*: "The wide earth might be a scene of justice tomorrow, and every city of our land transformed into a City of the Light, if men and women would wake with tomorrow's sun to will the good which now lies like a half-formed vision in their minds."

I believe this a great mistake. I think no "willing" can do what unripe conditions forbid. The co-existence of the perfect man and an imperfect society is impossible. There must be congruity between the conduct of each member of society and others. "If all recognize only the law of the strongest, one whose nature does not allow him to inflict pain goes to the wall, and truthfulness brings ruin among a treacherous people, as Spencer truly says.

But by and by the lower attributes of our nature will one by one be degraded in estimation and the emphasis will fall on higher qualities, and so our admiration for and emulation of the moneyed man will disappear. Man's Hell was once physical inferiority; soon it will be stupidity, moral obliquity, and a selfish animal existence. There will be a gradual creation or discovery of common interests, common

pleasures and sources of enjoyment, resolving a seeming conflict into real unanimity of interests, and effecting the magic transformation of exclusively self-regarding into social impulses.

What men and women should do on waking tomorrow, is resolve to *help along the birth of new conditions*, and thus go to work. They can be assured of success. The obstacles to be overcome are but superficial, the inertia, thoughtlessness of men and the promptings of the present Satanic social system. But the Order of the Kosmos, the powerful undercurrent is on their side, and the instinct of "ought to do," now proved identical with "*will be*," should convert even our pessimists into optimists.

Meanwhile it is well to ponder these sound and noble words of Jouffroy:

"The man who has least accomplished his destiny, the greater a mind the most immoral man, has yet fulfilled it to some extent, has exercised to a certain degree his human personality; and on leaving the world, however bad he may have lived, he is quite another being than on entering it, he is now a being like unto God, even with the crimes committed. He has deliberated, chosen, has deceived himself, but he has exercised his noble faculties; he was a thing, he is a person. *Life is useless to nobody*. It is with an immense indulgence that we ought to judge our fellows as God himself judges us."

In closing, let me observe that duty, or justice as I might have called it, however important, is not the vital part of morality: Love is the essence. Duty is the fibre of the tree, not the pith; the foundation, not the house. They who consider duty everything are like a man so intent upon sinking the foundation of his house to the greatest possible depth, that he at last finds his ostentatious labor swallowed up of quicksands.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

VALEDICTORY.

Farewells are not necessarily sad. They may be the bright bridges of hope projected from a pleasant present towards a pleasant future. Now the last year has been the most useful and the happiest in my life, yet in this case the saying of Farewell to the nationalist public in my capacity as Editor-in-chief of this magazine is an act not only untinged with regret, but warmly colored with gladness, for I am satisfied that it is greatly to the advantage of the cause. Stepping back into the ranks, so to speak, and becoming an assistant-editor, I now introduce my successor, John Storer Cobb. Of his abilities I need not speak. I will simply say that if the Nationalists of the First Club and of other clubs put into practice the fundamental principles of our faith—co-operation—and stand by Mr. Cobb as they should, this magazine may soon be raised into a mighty power for righteousness. It has already, I believe, made some mark upon the times. I feel certain that in the future the mark thus made will be deepened.

HENRY AUSTIN.

With great regret has the foregoing been inserted, and with great regret will it be read. Every attempt has been made to induce Mr. Austin to remain at the helm, but without avail, and his reasons for retiring are such that it would have been sheer ingratitude not to have relieved him somewhat of the strain upon his time and energy. To start a magazine under circumstances such as those under which THE NATIONALIST was commenced, to maintain it at a constantly heightening standard of merit, and at the end of a year, to relinquish it free from pecuniary obligations, is an achievement for which all who are interested in the cause must be grateful to him who has accomplished it. The hardest work has been done by him who has safely conducted the enterprise through its first year, and we wish that the leader could have retained his position a little longer, so as to reap some of the results of his labors. To succeed him is not an easy task. The work of the successor is indeed the more difficult as his ability was the more pronounced. But he remains with us to give us the benefit of his advice and help, and therefore we hope to continue in the path that he has shown us, and make our magazine such as he and all who take an interest in it desire that it should be.

NATIONALIZATION IN FRANCE.

An important industry has just been nationalized in France. Just after the war with Germany, among the expedients adopted to bring in a much needed revenue was the laying of a tax on matches. It was so easily evaded, however, that it yielded a comparatively slight return, and the industry was therefore made a government monopoly and farmed out to a single company, which paid 17,000,000 francs annually for the privilege, and made a profit of about 4,000,000 francs a year. The government has just determined to do the manufacturing itself, and has bought out the company's plants, patents, stock, etc., for 5,342,000 francs. It is estimated that the annual expenses will be 3,890,171 francs and the receipts 25,000,000, leaving a net profit of 21,109,829 francs. Much complaint has been made of the quality of the matches made by the company, but, with the industry carried on by the government, first-class products are assured. The public will also benefit by freedom from the danger arising from the extensive handling of white phosphorus that would ensue on a free manufacture of matches. White phosphorus is highly poisonous, giving off, while being handled, vapors which are fatal to the health of the workers, destroy the nervous force, cause a decay of the nasal cartilage as well as a loosening and falling out of the teeth, and induce a loss of the muscular power of the jaws. A casual statement of this fact, made by a deputy in the National Assembly, was what determined the vote in favor of nationalizing the industry. Of course, from the anarchistic Spencerian standpoint, this is a flagrant violation of "the rights of the individual," and the government is interfering in the sphere of commerce by taking into its own hands a business that otherwise would become a menace to public health and safety. But, to an unsophisticated mind, it appears to be the broadest common sense for a people to unite in protecting workmen who would otherwise be defenseless against the rapacity of a few of their fellow-beings, who, for the sake of personal gain, would take advantage of their necessities and compel them to work under conditions destructive to health and life. The public, as a whole, thus gains by securing better industrial conditions for a body of workers who form an integral portion of itself. It also secures a better product and diverts to the entire community the profits that formerly went into the pockets of a few individuals.

A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

The idea of establishing a national university at Washington, embodied in a bill recently presented by Senator Edmunds, is an admirable one. In certain respects, the national capital would offer advantages, in the way of higher educational facilities, that could not be encountered elsewhere in the country. The broadening influences coming from contact with persons from all parts of the nation, such as would be obtained at Washington, are

important considerations. One of the great advantages of the German system of study, under which the student never spends his time at one university, but usually attends at least two or three in the course of the years devoted to study, is the knowledge that he thus obtains of various sections of his country. One of the evils of pursuing studies exclusively in one place is the spirit of provincialism which it encourages. Study in the national capital would tend to promote a broader patriotism and remove sectional prejudices. Objection has been made that the power of such an institution might be used for political purposes. But there ought to be little difficulty in the formulation of a plan which should secure the conduct of the university on an absolutely non-partisan and purely educational basis. The foremost universities in the world, those of Germany, are government institutions, and nowhere else does a greater freedom of instruction prevail. The Berlin university, for instance, includes in its faculty many of the most distinguished scholars and scientists in the world. Every professor and instructor is a member of the Prussian civil service, but he feels himself perfectly free to teach that which he believes to be the truth. There are professors who teach socialistic ideas, and others who, like Professor Virchow, take an active part in politics and vehemently oppose the tendencies of the government. But there is not the slightest disposition on the part of the government to interfere with a free expression of views on the part of the professors. Indeed, it is the almost universal experience that far greater freedom of opinion is tolerated in institutions of learning belonging to the entire people, and conducted in their interest through their governmental organizations, than in those dependent upon private aid for their support and carried on under private auspices. To say that we cannot do as well as Germany does is to confess the inferiority of republican institutions — something which patriotic and intelligent Americans are hardly prepared to admit. We believe that a republican form of government is capable of being made the most efficient form of government for promoting the welfare of the people in all things. To that end it is only necessary to make it in practice, as well as in theory, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY.

“Individual responsibility” is the shibboleth of those who, as individualists, lift up their voices against the tendencies of nationalism. “You can accomplish no good under a plan that does not take the individual into account,” they say, and they think that thereby they point out the fatal defect of our structure. On the contrary, individual responsibility is just what nationalism promotes, and what the present system discourages to the utmost, and even makes well nigh impossible. We cannot make the individual responsible for society, which is composed of him and his fellows, without making society responsible for the individual. The individual

cannot hope to better himself, unless society at large is in a condition to enable him to do it. This accounts for the fact that the young Indians who have been educated in the East and return to their people full of high resolves, almost invariably degenerate, owing to the degrading influences by which they are surrounded. When we, for instance, form a part of a community which mainly obtains its livelihood by means of some pursuit injurious to the welfare of the race we cannot help sharing the responsibility for the evil thereby wrought, however much we may morally disapprove of it. The people of a town where the manufacture of murderous implements is carried on, and who profit thereby, are morally responsible for the lives that may be destroyed by those implements. To attempt to improve the condition of humanity by confining our efforts to the improvement of individuals is like an attempt to reform the sanitary conditions of a pestilence-stricken city by merely cleaning the houses and paying no attention to the causes which make the houses unclean and unhealthy; not attempting to reform the inadequate sewerage system or drain the swamps of the surrounding country that fill the air with germs of disease. The fundamental error of the individualistic philosophy is that it attempts to perform its task by grasping the lever at the short end.

A MUNICIPALIZED INDUSTRY.

Every now and then we come unexpectedly across some branch of industry that is most efficiently carried on under public auspices; either by municipality, state, or nation. In these we find the germs of the nationalistic idea and their success practically demonstrates its feasibility on a general scale. We find, for instance, that the city of Boston manufactures its own brooms that are used in sweeping the streets. The city of New Bedford has recently adopted the same plan with gratifying success. It appears that one of the members of the New Bedford board of public works asked one day: "What's the use of paying 65 cents apiece for these brooms, when we can manufacture them for less than 30 cents each?" This proved to be the case, and so the work was taken in hand. The brooms are manufactured by permanent employees of the city. They cost, as was claimed at the outset, less than 30 cents each. Not only are the brooms made by the city more cheaply, but they are better than those that private dealers had furnished, for a decided improvement was at once made in their manufacture. Those that had formerly been purchased for more than double the cost of those made by the city were useless when once worn down. But the board of public works adopted a process under which the worn-out brooms were not thrown away, but were made as good as new at a cost of not over ten cents. Not only are the hand-brooms thus made by the city, but even the large street-sweeping machines are repaired at the city yard, instead of being supplied with new reeds by private parties, as before. From the point of view of the "private enterprise" and "individual initiative"

people, of course all this is very wrong, and the city ought to be compelled to go on paying profits to private individuals for work which it can do itself at less than half the cost! But does not the fact that an important improvement and economy in manufacture was effected at the outset give the lie to the claim that in industries carried on under public auspices an incentive to improvement will cease and no new inventions could be expected. It may be remembered that it was in the municipal gas-works of England that nearly all the important economies in the utilization of residues were effected, conferring an inestimable benefit upon the world in the shape of new dye-stuffs, perfumes, and other remarkable chemical products. To minds unprejudiced by selfish theories the question will naturally occur: If a board of public officials can carry on an industry with such efficiency and economy, why may not the principle be extended to other forms of industry with equal benefit to the public, which profits by the important saving thus effected?

CONCERNING HOURS OF LABOR.

The Nationalist Club of Boston at a recent meeting expressed its sympathy with the eight hour movement in highly suggestive terms. It declared that it "favored the enactment of such laws as tend to shorten the hours of labor, thereby promoting the educational opportunities of the individual." It is a point especially noteworthy about nationalism that its founders never lose sight of the individual, whom ancient socialism has so often been accused of seeking to merge in the mass. It is also a noteworthy point that the Nationalist Club does not commit itself to the advocacy of any specific number of hours for a legal work-day. Such a course would, indeed, be unscientific, for with the great changes in material conditions yet to be brought about by new inventions, it is impossible to decide off-hand just what number of hours would be required for the production of all that is necessary or desirable. Six hours is now the established work-time in the Patent Office and some students of economics think five would be enough. Surely the demand for eight is reasonable; indeed, it is almost pitiful to think that workingmen are now demanding only the re-enforcement of the very same law in regard to the hours of labor which was in vogue at the building of Solomon's temple for, if we may believe masonic authority, the masonic gauge of twenty-four inches represents the three legal divisions of the day—eight hours for sleep, eight for devotion and recreation, and eight for work. Is it to be allowed much longer that Man, the worker to-day, should not be the equal, at least, of Man, the worker, in the days of the wise king?

THE MUSIC OF THE FUTURE.

Premier Salisbury has an ear for music—that is, for the music of the future. Not that of Wagner, though Wagner's is in a measure a symbolic prelude—but the music

to which Lord Salisbury has his ear attuned is that chorus of co-operation, which in England is called socialism and here in its most radical, yet most reasonable form, is termed nationalism. Lord Salisbury recently said in public that it is too late to allege as a sufficiency against any measure that it is socialistic, for socialism has crept into the government and now every new proposition must be examined on its merits, its emanation from the socialist camp being no proof of its badness. This is, indeed, a great step ahead. When England's tory premier can make such an admission, the cause of the people there, as here, is considerably more than half won.

A PLUCKY TOWN.

Danvers, the little town whose cause was championed last year and this by the nationalists in the legislative fight, does not propose to be strangled by our Massachusetts octopus, the electric-light and gas corporations. The Evening Record of May 21st says that the town will continue operating its plant, until compelled to stop by process of law, the citizens intimating their readiness to fight the question right up to the U. S. Supreme Court. We are glad the octopus is pressing the people so hard. Two or three years more of this and the conscienceless corporations will have created so many nationalists in this state that nationalism will unquestionably hold the balance of power between the two regular parties.

FLEECING THE PUBLIC.

The shareholders in the great Bay State gas deal in and around Boston received for every \$1000 subscribed to the original deal a \$1000 5 per cent. second mortgage bond, \$500 in stock, and a cash dividend of \$30, with about 33 per cent. of the face value of the trust certificates remaining to be distributed. It is stated that on the final division, the total amount will reach \$185 for every \$100 originally invested, or a profit of 85 per cent. ! This is the result of a mere deal; investors having done nothing whatever to earn their good fortune. The local companies were bought up at a high valuation, and then capitalized at an excessive figure, with no improvement of service whatever to compensate for the enormously increased amount upon which gas-takers must pay a profit. This is the way the public is fleeced by "private enterprise." We wonder how long it will stand it. The Massachusetts legislature still continues to authorize enormous waterings of stock like this, and refuses to take any steps looking towards reform. In thus permitting such impositions upon the people, whose interests it is bound to protect, and not betray, it is false to its trust.

THE ELECTRIC CARS.

Nothing more than a walk in the city of Boston is needed to convince any unprejudiced, thinking person of the advantages to be derived from the application of the nationalistic theory to the municipal control of our public thoroughfares. We will not

now say anything of the general condition of our streets—a condition which renders them an eyesore, a danger, and a source of general discomfort to those who are compelled to use them. Attention will be directed solely to the electric cars which are permitted to traverse the highways at a rate of speed which is a constant menace to the limbs and lives of all who employ any other means of locomotion. The killing of a respected citizen did cause a temporary modification of the order regulating the speed with which they were allowed to travel, and induced us to think that possibly our municipal authorities did recognize the fact that the ordinary traveller had some rights which were entitled to respect. But as soon as the excitement caused by this fatality had subsided, the speed was allowed to be increased, and now our “city fathers” have gone so far in the manifestation of their disregard, if not contempt, for the rights of their children, that in order to prevent our having, by any possibility, a better and a safer system, they have, for a number of years, surrendered the roadways of our city entirely into the hands of the company which provides these cars. It is safe to say that no such iniquity could obtain if the people had the proper control of their municipal affairs. When they do take these matters into their own hands, we may rest assured that no means of rapid transit will be permitted which is not altogether cut off from direct communication with the avenues of ordinary traffic.

LABOR DEMONSTRATIONS.

Considerable surprise has been manifested because the recent meetings, in large numbers, of laborers in Europe have been quietly and peaceably conducted. A calm and judicial survey of the situation will show, however, that there is no just cause for astonishment at the orderly character of these demonstrations. It is simply owing to the fact that the various governments took the wise resolution of not interfering with them. It is not from the hard handed sons of physical toil, any more than from the devotees of intellectual pursuits, that tumult and disorder is to be feared. Industry is the sure antidote of turbulence. The virtues of a people will be always found to dominate in what is called the middle class, that is those who have regular occupation. The vices will be found active in the unemployed. It matters not whether it be the pampered rich or the famished poor—he who lives an idle life because, without work, he is furnished with ample means to support life and minister to his pleasures, or he who is compelled to be idle, and is deprived of the necessities of life, because he is shut out from the avenues of remunerative occupation—in these two classes will be found the only dangerous elements of society. Whenever the workers have assembled, in numbers, however great, to discuss matters relating to their condition, and disturbance has arisen, it will be found that this disorder has been inaugurated by the agents of the ruling powers. Then we read of collisions between

the police or the military and the mob, the latter term, being nine times out of ten, more applicable to the legalized disturbers of the meeting and creators of the disorder, than to the peaceable citizens, who have, by resisting an unwarrantable interference with their rights, simply shown that they were men. People who are managing their own affairs without interference are never disorderly, and when *all* the people are so engaged disorder of all kinds must cease, because its elements will have been wiped out. No place can then be found for him who will not work, and work will always be at hand for him who seeks it. The idle rich and the idle poor will be recognized as equally valueless in the social economy, and laziness will be utterly banished, for it is not in human nature to be lazy where one's occupation is congenial. We need not then be surprised that thirty or forty thousand of the army of industry can meet in Hyde Park, London, or in any other place, without creating disturbance. Some day they will combine in still larger numbers, and going to the root of the matter which calls them together, they will take the reins of government into their own hands, and by the application of the principles of universal brotherhood will exterminate idleness and her daughter vice together with her associates misery and wretchedness, and will inaugurate the era of peace, happiness, and plenty for all the inhabitants of this beautiful but outraged world.

AN UNCONSCIOUS HUMORIST.

President Sprague of the Massachusetts senate, in an after-dinner speech recently said that nationalism, socialism and anarchism were the principal elements that threatened the country's peace. Mr. Sprague appears to be an unconscious humorist in his classification of such diverse tendencies in the same category. He might as well say that two of the greatest causes of crime are temperance and drunkenness. But like many other public men, he evidently did not know the nature of the things he was talking about. If he did, Mr. Sprague would know that the principal element that threatens the country's peace is the license given to private interests to prey upon the public for their own profit, a license which he himself has assisted in maintaining by his own votes and speeches in the Massachusetts senate. He would also know that such a condition is anarchistic.

ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

J. FOSTER BISCOE, EDITOR.

Last month we let loose, in the *Attitude of the Press*, a menagerie of capitalistic newspapers. Our readers, we presume, enjoyed with us the general bedlam which their antagonistic statements created. One especially savage animal noticed was so vicious that his head and his tail quarreled. The *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, said: "Enterprises that can properly be conducted by private capital the government had better let alone. Those things in which the public are concerned should be regulated, but this is as far as the nation under our system should go," and ended the paragraph: "In matters of this kind there could not be a worse, more odious, and oppressive monopoly than a government supervision. This properly belongs to despotism, but never to a government of the people." In other words a government of the people should never regulate; only kings and monarchs in their despotic authority can do so. Who owns the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*? The writer of this article relies certainly upon stupendous ignorance on the part of its readers. "Does any mortal suppose that if the government of the United States had assumed control of the telegraph system, even twenty years ago, any considerable improvement would have been made? No one. A government moves in ruts." England has a postal telegraph system which is the pride of the country and furnishes cheaper and more expeditious service than we receive, but, being controlled by the government, of course no considerable improvement has been made since its introduction and probably all this efficiency and promptitude is accomplished with the simple appliances of a quarter of a century ago. We are told that in any industry conducted by the people for their common interest, — "There is no incentive to the exercise of inventive genius." Our lighthouse system is managed by the government; so of course there has been no improvement in it. The lights that flash out upon the stormy ocean are tallow candles. If a vessel is driven upon the rocks or founders among the breakers there are no modern appliances for rendering assistance to the distressed crew, for this matter is managed by the government. Our fire departments still trundle round the hand-tubs, excited men rush half a mile for a ladder that's too short, because forsooth the putting out of fires is a matter of municipal control. Highways and bridges are constructed by the people. Once private individuals constructed turnpikes for private gain; then we had good roads, but now, since the maintenance of our highways has been undertaken by the people it is dangerous to travel on them. Education is a business. One in which both the people and private individuals engage. Parents are left at liberty to choose between public and private methods of education. This choice has been left open to them in this country for a hundred years. As a result there has, of course, been a plain decrease in the popularity of the public school system and there is danger of its becoming obsolete because of the growing eagerness of parents to send their children to private schools.

The hostility of some of these exponents of capitalistic ideas is strangely expressed. A paragraph from the *New York Herald*, in its caution as to the disastrous effect of too much discussion of this subject sounds very much like the attitude of the southern press before the war, when it sounded the alarm that it would be dangerous to the permanency of their peculiar institution to discuss the right of the negro to freedom. The *New York Herald* says: "You cannot go on preaching and enacting State Socialism forever in any country, and least of all in the United States, without making an inconvenient multitude of converts who will reduce the doctrine to practise in their own way." To state it in another way the advocacy of the substitution of industrial co-operation in place of competition may excite a dangerous interest in countries where the masses of the people are ignorant, but in the most enlightened countries on the globe, where intelligence is the most widely spread, and the working of economic laws is a matter of intelligent interest to every citizen, such an advocacy of the substitution of industrial co-operation for competition will make "an inconvenient multitude of converts." We think it will.

The World.

"If the disproportion, which now impoverishes the worker and unduly enriches the employer, is ever to be corrected it must be through forces set in motion by working men themselves, and while theorists and novelists dream of a Utopian State in which the government shall be the sole capitalist and the only employer, practical men are searching for a device which shall exactly reverse that process and make capitalists of all men who choose to be so." A general recognition that there is a disproportion which now "impoverishes the worker and unduly enriches the employer" is the first step towards a better condition. The consciousness of such an unjust disproportion is marking all economic discussions. Political economists have swung from the consideration of production to the question of equitable distribution. Those who have looked so long for industrial reform can surely take courage from this fact. The writer in *The World* tries to stigmatize as simple theorists and novelists those who advocate that the government should be the sole capitalist and the only employer, and he urges what he terms the exact reverse, namely a device which will make capitalists of all men who choose to be so; and that the change must be brought about by the working men themselves. Now, if government is anything in this country, it is the people regulating their own affairs and where the idle and capitalist class is proportionately so small it is substantially the working men themselves. Is it therefore so contrary to the proposition of this writer to advocate making the government the sole capitalist? Would not the working men, by that very means, become the capitalists, reaching the desired result in the most scientific and common-sense manner? Thus doing it through that democratic form of organization which they, the people—then all working men—established one hundred years ago, and which has slipped out of their control into the hands of a small capitalist class within the memory of the present generation.

COMMENTS UPON NATIONALISM.

"The Nationalist movement is a very extraordinary thing, but we believe it is a very hopeful and promising development. The worst that can be said of it by any one familiar with the social changes of the past five centuries, is that it is a long way off—a far mountain peak on the blue horizon of time. It cannot be denied that the system proposed, if it were possible to establish it, would abolish the worst evils of the world and promote human happiness in a measure never realized before. No one who does not hold his selfish interest above the common good of mankind, could be found to lay a straw in the path of this coming reform."

"There is an aspect of Nationalism which is not open to debate. That is its significance as a protest against the existing order of society—a protest against a system which makes it possible for one man to raise his children in luxury while another cannot keep starvation away from his baby's crib. The extremes of poverty and wealth are getting more and more appalling. The growth of the power of organized capital, of monopoly, is more threatening every year. It is imposing conditions upon the world which cannot and will not always be tamely borne. The heart and brain of this enlightened age will some time find a way to a better state of things. Perhaps Nationalism is the golden key."—[*The Enterprise, Kearney, Neb.*]

"Nationalism is a social movement for social recognition. It appeals to no class, no race, no religion. It appeals to men and women. It is not a perfected scheme for the reformation of society. It is the voice, not of one, but of a good many, crying in the streets, in the homes, in public and private.—Prepare better conditions for man, make his path straight. Nationalism has set thousands of hearts beating for something better."—[*Lansing Sentinel.*]

"There are some indications that Nationalism will take a leading place among the social reform movements of the next few years. It is based on the idea that all property, service, enterprises and operations which involve the public welfare should be managed and controlled by the government as the agent or trustee of the public. Singularly enough, the idea has gained its earliest and strongest foothold in two American cities, separated by the width of the continent, viz:—Boston and San Francisco.—[*Indianapolis Journal.*]

MUNICIPAL LIGHTING.

The town of Danvers by the energetic action of its citizens, is doing noble work for the other towns of this commonwealth in persisting in its determination to settle its right to furnish its inhabitants with domestic illuminating service.

Attorney General Waterman has given to the House of Representatives, by its request, an opinion on the legality of towns and cities establishing plants for gas or electric lighting and for selling light and power therefrom to citizens, in which he says, as to towns: 'I can find no law or statute by which towns have been authorized to enter into business of a commercial or private nature, such as requires an investment of capital and the employment or particular application of skilled labor, or scientific knowledge therein.' It would be quite as interesting if the Attorney General would say whether he finds any law to prevent towns doing these things. Perhaps some person or persons will bring this matter before the court, and Danvers is the place for them to begin. It will require a fine legal distinction to decide that a town may provide itself and its inhabitants with water for all purposes, and may not manufacture gas or generate electricity to light its streets. However, it may be that judges, as well as legislators, lawyers and editors, can be found to do almost any unfair and unjust thing at the beck and nod of corporations."—[*The Danvers Mirror*.

PATERNALISM.

"If one of our forefathers were to come back to earth, he would at once be struck with the portentous growth of enormous fortunes. In his youth a man possessing \$10,000 was considered well to do. If \$20,000 he was rich, and a fortune of \$500,000 was thought of as we think of the distance of some of the stars. That the rich are growing richer, no one has the hardihood to deny. That the poor are growing poorer is testified to by the writings of eminent professors who aver that greater degradation and squallor exists in poor localities yearly. The eminent ex-president, Woolsey, once said that if there comes no alteration in the condition of the dependent classes it will be difficult to choose between the two evils, poverty and riches.

The other day I patted the head of a little boy in a mission school which I had the honor to conduct, and asked him how long he had to work in the mill, each day. He replied ten and one-half hours. Just think of that. Yet thousands of brawny men do not labor one half so long nor one half so hard. Do you call it a free country in which such things exist? I call a country of the free that which provides for the young children and protects them.

Then industrial disturbances are occurring all about us. Strikes take place. The prices of the necessaries of life rise and nobody is benefitted, and the issue is not determined by right or wrong, but by which side can hold out the longer. A lubberly public looks indifferently on, the judges say, 'fight it out.' I think the state should adopt arbitration between employer and employee. She ought to become a parent to the child. She ought to prevent us from being overburdened by excessive labor and also to interpose in the interests of adults whose wages are lessened by competition of child labor. The state must find a remedy for cornering in the market. The character of legislators must be raised. Paternal government by the state is much to be desired."—[*Doctor Wayland of Philadelphia*.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

CYRUS F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

In detailing the News of the Movement, as it is necessarily given in this department in brief detached paragraphs, it is impossible to portray adequately the great movement of Nationalism which is sweeping over the United States. It is encouraging for us all to look back one year and see what has been accomplished. At the time the first number of the Nationalist was issued there were just seven clubs in existence. To-day it is an impossibility to state just how many there are. We have received information at this office of the organization of one hundred and twenty-seven. These are located in twenty-seven states. It had been determined to wait until the majority of the states had organized before organizing a National League of Nationalist Clubs; but we have now virtually two-thirds of that number and the formation of the league cannot long be delayed. It is most encouraging to a Nationalist to see how our movement is forcing the discussion of our ideas to the front, in the press, the magazines and on the platform. In the promulgation of new ideas there are three stages; condemnation, ridicule and acceptance. We have almost passed the second stage. The movement is of such an all-embracing character that it is attracting all the other movements into it until they are all merged in one vast irresistible force. Prominent members and leading officers of the Farmers Alliance, the Knights of Labor, Woman's Suffrage and the great Trade Union movement, are rapidly becoming Nationalists. Many of the capitalists who have secretly favored Nationalism for some time, are now openly advocating it. A noteworthy example coming after that of President Blackstone of the Chicago and Alton railroad, is that of James T. Furber, General Manager of the Boston and Maine railroad, the largest system in New England. He openly advocated the nationalization of railroads before a meeting of the New England Railroads Clerks' Association, and has done so many times in conversation. The motive actuating him is his children's future, which he thinks is not secure under our present system. So could be cited many other examples of individuals who are favoring Nationalism. The movement itself is in a very healthy condition, and the enthusiasm which manifests itself in the untiring advocacy of the ideas of Nationalism will ere long receive its reward. The exceptional facilities which the editor of this department enjoys, observing the spread and the depth of this movement warrant him in stating his belief that before five years have passed away the telegraph and railroads will be nationalized and one important step of Nationalism taken by the people.

CALIFORNIA. It is impossible to give in detail all the news about the 55 clubs now organized in this State. Probably the most thoroughly alive part of California is

LOS ANGELES which organized 33 clubs out of the total number. Much of its activity is due to the existence of the *California Nationalist* which helped by the movement now in turn helps the movement. The clubs intend to start a co-operative company and publish a new paper that will, they say, "be a credit to the cause." May 10, a procession and demonstration of 1,500 organized workers was held under the auspices of the Nationalist clubs of this city. In the procession besides cigarmakers, carpenters, bakers, tailors, printers, bricklayers, stone-cutters, iron-moulders, painters, plasterers and barbers, were two co-operative associations. The meeting was in favor of the eight hour movement and resolutions favoring eight hours were passed. The clubs now propose to strike hands with the Farmers Alliance. The seven clubs meet weekly and perfect harmony prevails. They are now engaged in perfecting organization, including the "Initiative,"

"Referendum," "Imperative Mandate," and "Minority Representation." The meetings each week are well attended and many fine addresses are made.

OAKLAND: On the 24th of April the Nationalist Club of Oakland celebrated its first anniversary by a meeting in Hamilton Hall. The exercises consisted of a review of the year's work, an address by Mr. Cator and vocal and instrumental music. The hall was beautifully decorated with flowers, flags and a portrait of Mr. Edward Bellamy, and the large audience was very enthusiastic. Mrs. Stevens, the secretary, writes: "We look back with gratitude upon the almost miraculous spread of Nationalistic ideas within the past year and we are full of hope for the future. Our club numbers over one hundred members and our meetings are always well attended."

This club which meets weekly has adopted a laudable plan in setting aside occasionally one evening devoted entirely to women. At the last meeting of this sort, Mrs. Mason read an admirable paper by Mrs. Richardson on Child Labor. The condition of the children employed in the English factories, and the legislation for their protection was first reviewed. Turning to America, we find that in 1880 children between ten and fifteen years of age constituted 44 per cent. of the factory working force in Massachusetts. The paper continued with a full examination of the results on health, morals and reproductive power of this robbery of the cradle. The writer recommended the passing of a stringent school law which would make it impossible to employ those under seventeen years of age. The women of America should join hands to save their children, and, through them, the coming generation.

OCEAN VIEW: The club recently held a rousing ratification meeting. At the meeting, May 2, the following officers were elected to serve for the following year: President, Clarence R. Sperry; vice-president, Mrs. Florence M. Sully; recording secretary, Mrs. Julia Hale; corresponding secretary, Col. G. Thistleton; treasurer, Mrs. Lizzie Joy; executive committee, Mrs. Minnie Perry, Mrs. Thos. Curry and Messrs. D. A. Smith and John Taylor.

SACRAMENTO: This club has had explained to it by Mr. Alfred McCrow of Victoria Colony, Australia, the workings of the Australian ballot system as well as a clear account of the methods used in running and operating the railroads of that district by the government for the benefit of the people. His address was closely listened to by the audience and clearly proved the practicability of the principles of Nationalism, which advocates government control of railways and transportation. There were present a number of people to whom most of the Nationalistic principles were new, and for their benefit the corresponding secretary read the lecture of Edward Bellamy which appeared in the April number of *THE NATIONALIST*.

Perhaps as clear an idea of the character of the movement in California will be obtained from reading the titles of the different addresses which were given in various towns and cities in the state. Cahuenga, W. C. Owen on Co-operation before the Township Producers Union. (Through this Union farmers have been able to ship in large quantities east, and have sold produce for which heretofore they have had no market, in New York, Chicago and other eastern points.)

Clearwater, A. R. Street and Mrs. E. A. Kingsbury, both at Los Angeles, on Nationalism. Compton, Mrs. Anna F. Smith, on Nationalism. Fresno, Mr. M. A. Morgan, Proportional Representation. Long Beach, Mr. F. H. Smith, Knavery in Office, and also Nationalism in Bulgaria. Norwalk, Rev. R. M. Webster, Nationalism. W. C. Owen, Principles of Organization. H. G. Wilshire, Condition of the Farmer. Pasadena, Rev. R. M. Webster, Nationalism or Private Property. Pomona, Mr. Ralph E. Hoyt, National Co-operation. San Jose, Mrs. M. E. Barker, Nationalism. Rev. D. A. Dryden, Brotherhood of Co-operation. San Francisco, Club No. 2, J. Harriman, The Governmental Control of monopolized industries Necessary for the Benefit of the People. Santa Ana, W. C. Owen, Poverty Must Go, Mrs. W. L. Alex, Finances of the Nation. Ventura, Anna F. Smith, Nationalism. Stockton, W. J. Colville, Nationalism.

Since last issue clubs have been formed in Lodi, Bloomfield, Santa Rosa, Alameda, Gilroy, San Rafael, Sacramento, Guernville and Occidental, while clubs are in contemplation in Cahuenga, Santa Barbara, Santa Paula and Whittier.

CONNECTICUT. HARTFORD: Our chief work the past winter has been a course of six lectures; "Social Ills," by Thomas G. Shearman was so satisfactory to *The Times* that it gave a full report. Laurence Gronlund on "Nationalism," introduced by Rev. Prof. Graham Taylor, was listened to by a much more sympathetic audience, but received little newspaper notice. Louis Post, on "The Single Tax," with his bright way of putting things created enthusiasm even among those who may never behold "the cat." Through the courtesy of the press we were able to advertise Rev. W. D. P. Bliss quite extensively, and Rev. Floyd Tompkins, a member of the club and rector of our largest church, Christ Church, introduced him. The audience was not large but included Theological Seminary and Trinity professors and students, clergymen and business men, and the echoes of Mr. Bliss' earnest words have by no means died away. *The Courant* gave a most complimentary and unusual notice of the lecture, and as one effect of it Prof. Taylor of the Theological Seminary promises a class in Christian Socialism next winter. We took care in our notices of Mr. Bliss' coming to always mention the fact that he was editor of *The Dawn*, so that the public might see that name often. We put *The Dawn* on sale in a news room and advertised that fact in the dailies, and freely and often in *The Examiner*; this has resulted in a considerable sale of *The Dawn*. Hugo Bilgrim, a Philadelphia manufacturer, on "Capital Profits" gave the substance of a paper which had been read before the American Economic Association. It was a profound mathematical showing of how much of our trouble comes from usury taking. This drew profound looking people who listened breathlessly. Mary A. Livermore, on "Woman Suffrage," was intended to get the Equal Rights people into full sympathy with this movement. Of course she was most eloquent, and the Equal Rights Club secretary, being one of *The Times* staff, gave verbatim report in that paper.

The most enduring part of our work is the distribution of hundreds of copies of Bellamy's "Nationalism or Plutocracy," and the giving away of samples of *The Dawn* and THE NATIONALIST which has secured many subscribers. We have placed THE NATIONALIST in three news rooms and book stores, each month collecting the unsold copies to give away. We have also supplied these to some reading rooms.

J. H. Hale, a member of this club, who went as grange master to the California Grange convention, has given us a talk on Kaweah colony whose management he approves.

At our anniversary supper March 4th, W. L. Cheney furnished music and there were readings by members.

The Prohibition club had a little party last month to which were invited delegates from the Equal Rights club, the Trade-unions and the Nationalist club, to give 20 minute papers, after which the editor of *The Connecticut Home* spoke to prove that Prohibition was the greatest issue of all. It was well for those who desire good to meet and try to understand one another, and good abstracts of the papers were published in *The Home*, attracting wide attention.

We meet regularly in Unity parlors the 2nd and 4th Monday evenings of each month.

At the last meeting of the Nationalist club a letter from Nationalist club No. 1 of Washington containing resolutions in favor of the collection of statistics of industrial education by the labor bureau was read. An article in *The Woman's Tribune* on Senator Stanford's banking bill led to a discussion of banks and finance. Mr. Bellow read an article favoring the extension of public ownership, written by E. P. Howells, the learned author of "Our Heredity from God." Mr. Howells seems to have grown toward Nationalism within a few weeks. A. H. Crosby gave a synopsis of Professor Ely's first lecture at the Theological Seminary. "Similar Cases," a very humorous poem from the April NATIONALIST, dedicated to Gen. Walker, N. P. Gilman and other opponents was received with applause. Victor Hugo's democratic and pitying words beginning "Sacrifice to the mob, O Poet." were read; after which Miss Ormsby remarked on our great ground for hope for the cause of the people since W. D. Howells has written for them his greatest work, "A Hazard of New Fortunes" which she said at once assures his position as the greatest of American novelists both as artist, humorist and humanitarian. Hamlin Garland's article on Howells' latest books in the *New England Magazine* for May was also read.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. WASHINGTON: The Washington Nationalist Club is systematising the work of their agitation meetings in a manner that we would do well to copy. They are devoting special meetings to reviews of the social movement throughout the world, members dividing the work, each taking a separate country as his speciality. Thus, at the last meeting of the Washington Club Mr. Schmidt reviewed the social movement in England, dealing with the whole question of labor organization, the growth of the Social Democratic Federation and the influence which German thought and methods have had upon England. Messrs. Spier and Hinton followed with a resume of events in America, and Messrs. Heideman and Georgii gave what appear, from the report in *The Craftsman*, to have been most admirable epitomes of the progress of events in Germany, France, Holland and Belgium. Such reports are invaluable, inasmuch as, without such guidance, the daily panorama of events spread before their eyes by the press despatches is to the masses a mere blur of color, the continuity and mutual inter-dependence of the events chronicled being lost sight of altogether. If our local clubs would be energetic enough to take this matter up, the quickened interest in meetings would almost take their breath away, and none would be benefited more than those who undertook the office of chroniclers.—[*California Nationalist*.

INDIANA. GREENCASTLE: A Nationalist Club was formed in this city May 2, with a charter membership of twenty. The club is made up of citizens and students of the De Pauw University and may be depended upon for doing its share in the coming fight against social and industrial evils. Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists and men of varied professions all unite harmoniously in the one great question that overshadows, and would settle, all others. Sessions of the club are to be held every two weeks, and at our next meeting papers are to be read by several of our members. The Nationalist Magazine is taken here and it is doing excellent missionary work. It is the intention to place one copy in the University library so that the students may become informed on this subject. The following officers of the club have been elected for the coming year: President, Capt. E. T. Chaffee; 1st vice-president, A. R. Priest; 2nd vice-president, Dr. H. H. Morrison; secretary, A. D. Dorsett; assistant secretary, R. G. Dukes; treasurer, Jos. H. Timmons; advisory committee, Dr. H. H. Morrison, A. R. Priest, Rev. Samuel Longden.

IOWA. IOWA FALLS: We organized with ten members and have added four in a month. Meetings are held weekly and our programme consists of essays and discussions. Some of the subjects treated in discussions have awakened much interest, especially the last one which was on the Bennett Educational Law. J. H. Randall of Chicago, has been engaged to deliver a lecture on Nationalism, May 21st, when we look for many additions to our club. The Bellamy club, a social club, has adjourned until October. At our last meeting the following officers were elected: Dr. J. W. Angell, president; O. J. Lawson, vice-president; J. H. Flemming, secretary. Iowa is awaking! When Nationalism is understood here it will become epidemic.

KANSAS. ESKRIDGE: The *Star* in a recent issue says: "Out of Edward Bellamy's book 'Looking Backward' is growing a strong national movement. All over the country men and women are meeting to discuss the great idea therein put forth—the nationalization of industry and the brotherhood of man. In some places where the subject is not well understood meetings are held for discussion and investigation. Such a meeting will be held next Tuesday evening at eight o'clock, at the residence of Dr. Culp. Come and investigate."

MARYLAND. BALTIMORE: The club was fully organized April 29th, twenty members present signing the roll. Constitution and declaration of principles of the Boston Club were adopted. The following officers were elected: President, Joseph Knell; vice-president, Miss M. Foster; recording secretary, G. L. Rogers; corresponding secretary, Dr. E. Marshall Knell; treasurer, E. Wollman. Secretary writes "Our number is not many but we are all enthusiastic and the professions are well represented."

MASSACHUSETTS. BOSTON: The annual meeting of The Nationalist Club was held May 14th. Five new members were admitted and four proposed. Among those admitted were Linn Boyd Porter, novelist, better known to the public as Albert Ross; and Rev.

Frederick A. Hinckley, of Florence, Mass. The treasurer submitted his annual report which showed that the club, although virtually carrying the movement and all the expenses connected with its three large offices, was now out of debt and had over \$100 in the bank. The Advisory Committee reported, as is its custom from month to month. The report was to the effect that it had considered the question of issuing a petition in favor of the nationalization of railroads, eight hours, proposition of a lecture by Henry Holiday, the English artist, as well as the issuing of a series of articles on various subjects to be written by well known persons. The Advisory Committee also reported a resolution to be adopted favoring the endeavor to enact laws making eight hours a legal working day. The report of the committee was accepted and laid over till after the election of officers. The following officers were elected: President, Dr. W. L. Faxon; 1st vice-president, J. Foster Biscoe; 2nd vice-president, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore; secretary, Captain E. S. Huntington; assistant secretary, Mrs. Martha M. Avery; treasurer, J. Pickering Putnam; advisory committee, George D. Ayers, Miss Anne Whitney, Mrs. Emily J. F. Newhall, William H. Randall and Charles E. Bowers. A vote of thanks was passed for the services of retiring officers. A life-sized portrait of Edward Bellamy was presented to the club by the artist, Mrs. E. S. Remick, for which the club showed its appreciation by a unanimous vote of thanks. President Ayers in laying down his office made a short speech of thanks to his past associates in office and introduced the new president, Dr. W. L. Faxon, who accepted the honor with a few brief remarks, and then called up the business which was laid over. The eight hour resolution was discussed, and the meeting then adjourned until Monday evening, May 19th. At the meeting on that date, after much discussion, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, as an expression of sympathy with the eight hour movement, the First Nationalist Club of Boston declares the conservation of human energy of the greatest economic importance. Therefore, we heartily approve the enactment of such laws as tend to shorten the hours of labor, thereby increasing the educational opportunities of the individual.

This resolution will be sent to every Nationalist Club throughout the country, as its adoption by the first club of Boston, in whose ranks are many conservative members, is very significant.

As one of the Masons present remarked, it is curious that workingmen are now agitating to secure the very same law regarding hours of labor which was in force at the building of Solomon's Temple, as proved by the Masonic gauge of 24 inches, representing the legal divisions of the day. A resolution was passed appointing a committee of five to confer with the other Nationalist clubs of Boston for the purpose of thoroughly organizing the city.

The Second Nationalist Club held a meeting in Twilight Hall, corner of Hollis street, May 19th. Rev. James Yeams of South Boston, who is an honorary member of the club, delivered an address, and President Lelia Robinson Sawtelle made a few concluding remarks. A programme of music was enjoyed, with Miss Packard of Brockton as soloist and Miss Maud G. Banks as pianist. Recitations by Mr. Nolan were an interesting feature of the evening.

As many of the readers the of magazine have noticed, the National Educational Association has been incorporated under the laws of Mass., with a capital of \$10,000, divided into 400 shares of \$25 each. The officers are, Edward Bellamy, President; Cyrus Field Willard, Treasurer; Edward S. Huntington, Clerk, and Anne Whitney, George D. Ayres, John Storer Cobb, Henry W. Austin and Edward Bellamy as the Board of Directors. At the meeting of the Board of Directors, May 5, at which all the above-named persons were present, Mr. John Storer Cobb was chosen editor, with Edward Bellamy, Henry W. Austin, Cyrus Field Willard, Sylvester Baxter, J. Foster Biscoe and Edward S. Huntington as associate editors. At that meeting plans were also discussed for improving the magazine so as to place it on a level in its own field with any magazine published. Those who desire shares of the stock will have to make haste as applications for them are coming not only from all over the country but also from from far-off Austria.

Haverhill: An interesting and important parlor meeting of the friends of Nationalism was held at the residence of Mrs. L. J. Harding, No. 55 Green Street, May 2nd, to listen to an essay by Mrs. Martha M. Avery, who made the subject for the evening,

"Socialism, in the light of Nationalism." She opened her subject by the lofty quotation from Tennyson:

"Yet, I doubt not, through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

In this is wrapped up all that is embraced in the world's great thought of evolution and advance, really containing the essential meat of the essay.

The meeting was well attended and was very enthusiastic, some who were present remaining for inquiry and discussion until nearly 12 o'clock.

The preliminary steps for the organization of a club were taken, to which there are already 25 members. Mr. J. K. Harris was chosen temporary chairman, and Mrs. L. J. Harding, secretary.

WALTHAM: The first Nationalist Club of Waltham was organized Saturday evening, May 10, in Shepard Hall, where there was a goodly number of the believers of Nationalism assembled. After talk on the subject under consideration by a number of the members of the club which was not only of an instructive nature but highly interesting, the club organized for the ensuing term as follows: President, C. M. Wheaton; vice-president, George Ennis; secretary, J. E. Burke; treasurer, J. W. Wells. The club starts off with a good membership, and if one is able to judge anything by the interest manifested in Nationalism in Waltham there will be a very large club before a great while in our city.

NEBRASKA. NIOBRARA. A Nationalist Club is in process of organization in this city by John F. Lenger.

NEW JERSEY. MENLO PARK: A Nationalist Club of fourteen members was organized here May 1st. It is a curious incident that it was organized in the same house where the first electric light of America was used. The following officers were elected: President, Charles Volkmar; 1st vice-president, Charles Grotjan; 2nd vice-president, Theodore F. Carman; secretary, Mrs. Nettie Volkmar; assistant secretary, J. Marshall Bucknam; treasurer, Alex. C. Litterst. The first evening was spent in a most entertaining and instructive manner listening to a paper by Mrs. A. M. Richardson of Boston with extracts from the magazines, on "Nationalism, its Principles and its Progress." Charles Volkmar, the president, is the well known artist and a born Nationalist. He stands among the masters in art, has been very successful in the salons, and has many medals. He is the brains and genius of a large pottery of his own starting here with a financial partner, the only Art Ceramic Works of America. The treasurer, Mr. Litterst, is a well known wine grower of New Jersey.

NEW BRUNSWICK: A club was formed in this city on April 7th with seventeen charter members. The name of the club is the Central Nationalist Club of New Brunswick. We will be pleased to send you in a few days, printed copy of objects. The regular meetings will be held the first Wednesday evening in the month. We also meet as a branch once a week on Monday evening. The officers are as follows: President, Julius Heidenfeld; vice-president, Geo. W. Wilmot; secretary, Thomas M. Anderson; treasurer, John W. Helm; librarian, Joseph R. Holland.

OHIO. COLUMBUS: Secretary Chas. F. Kipp writes most enthusiastically and says that the Nationalistic "pot" is boiling in the centre of the Buckeye state. Massachusetts and even California must look out for their laurels or Ohio will yet get ahead of them. On Sunday Dr. Washington Gladden in his sermon said "that the laboring men had a right to work for Nationalism by peaceable methods; it must be considered and discussed, and many philanthropic people and others not laboring men are seriously thinking about it." He made an earnest plea for the eight-hour movement and better advantages. Rev. Francis E. Marsten discussed the subject of "The Church and Nationalism" at Broad Street Presbyterian Church. He described the spiritual unity of the early Christians and the practical plans they adopted to illustrate their devotion to religion and the brotherhood of man in Christ. He said Nationalism teaches social and industrial equality, co-operation, universal education and the control of business by the government, and spoke strongly in its favor. The last meeting of the Nationalist Club was presided over by Rev. George P. Bethel, who read the declaration of principles of the club, comment-

ing thereon, for the benefit of visitors in attendance. Captain L. H. Webster was the chief speaker and announced as his text, "We are coming." Col. Harris, Dr. Carr, J. R. Mitchell, Rev. George P. Mitchell and many others spoke with enthusiasm. Letters are being received by the secretary from different parts of the state requesting the Columbus Club to call a state conference of Nationalists and Christian Socialists to meet in Columbus the coming Fourth of July. A meeting of some of the citizens of the North side will be held soon at 193 W. Fourth avenue to organize a club. All Ohio readers of THE NATIONALIST are requested to communicate with the Secretary of Columbus Club No. 1, Charles F. Kipp, 365 Conklin street.

A large meeting of the citizens of the East End, this city, was held on the afternoon of May 18, and proceeded to organize the Lyndall Nationalists' Guild. Several addresses were delivered by eloquent speakers and great enthusiasm prevailed. The leading thinkers in business and professional circles of the East End of Columbus are taking hold of the progressive movement.

PENNSYLVANIA. PHILADELPHIA: Club number two was formed May 12th under favorable circumstances, a mass meeting being held at Resteins Hall at which local speakers were enthusiastically received. Nineteen names were secured for charter members. There is reason to believe that the club will have a rapid and steady growth. The following officers were elected: President, Charles H. Parker; vice-president, Jacob Davidson; financial secretary and treasurer, A. M. Goodwin; recording and corresponding secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes.

A very good meeting of the First Nationalist Club was held on May 2nd, about 75 persons being present. Mr. E. H. Sanborn read an excellent paper entitled "Child Labor in Pennsylvania," which based on facts, clearly demonstrated the grand result of Nationalism applied to the industries. A discussion followed the reading of the paper which was replete with interest. The meeting adjourned and the impression left on the hearts and minds of the members was that we are on the upward path and would continue to be there.

WASHINGTON. TACOMA: There has been little or nothing of interest to report until recently. A week or two ago the Club adopted a set of resolutions to the United States Senate drawn up by the Minneapolis Club, praying that matters be allowed to take the regular course of business in the case of the mortgages upon the Central and Union Pacific railroads. It was also decided to seek the indorsement of similar minded organizations such as the Knights of Labor. The committee who have this in charge have not yet completed their work but have made some good steps toward the same. Resolutions were also drawn up to be presented to the City Council praying for municipal control of light, water and street railway plants. These were also to be indorsed by other organizations who believe as we do. An independent (citizens') ticket has been formed recently to run at the coming May city election, and one of its plans is that the city shall own and operate the above mentioned plants. The prime organizers of this ticket are much interested in Nationalism, and we hope to win them over. The Club has now enrolled fifty-two members, but not all are active. The meetings average in attendance twenty or thereabouts. A few ladies are enlisted as members. At their meetings an original article is generally read by some member, together with selections read by some one from current sociological literature. The members are looking forward to brighter things as the Club has obtained permanent quarters in conjunction with the Tacoma Theosophical Society; and together with them they will open their rooms every evening as a free reading room where reform literature of all sorts may be found. There is but one club here whose President is the Rev. W. E. Copeland, pastor of the Unitarian church, and the Secretary is James G. Dudley.

NATIONALIST CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES.

LIST OF SECRETARIES.

(Alphabetically by States.)

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| ARKANSAS. | | |
| BURKE SPRINGS. | | William Kluge. |
| CALIFORNIA. | | |
| ALAMEDA. | | (Farmers) C. P. Kellogg. |
| ANAHEIM. | | A. B. Burdick. |
| AVALON. | | Kate B. Bedstone. |
| BLOOMFIELD. | | |
| BUENA PARK. | | |
| CARPENTERIA. | | F. A. Atwater. |
| CLEAR WATER. | | Wm. H. Wright. |
| COMPTON. | | C. E. Eberle. |
| DOWNNEY. | | T. W. Cozens |
| ENCINITAS. | | Geo. D. Seels. |
| FLORENCE. | | G. F. Alexander. |
| FRESNO. | | J. B. Mullen. |
| FULLERTON. | | |
| GILROY. | | |
| GUERNVILLE. | | |
| HEALDSBURGH. | | W. F. Bagley. |
| KAWEAH. | | Louise Redstone, Three Rivers. |
| LODI. | | |
| LONG BEACH. | | Mr. Bailie. |
| LORDBURG. | | W. B. Ewing. |
| LOS ANGELES. | Club 1, | Mrs. J. T. Coan, 1017 Temple Street. |
| | Club 2, | Mrs. M. E. Bennett, 43 Water Street. |
| | Club 3, | B. Loewy, 36 West 5th Street. |
| | Club 4, | Mrs. H. Morris, 513 S. Main Street. |
| | Club 5, | Henry Harrison, P. O. Box 656. |
| | Second Ward Club, | M. S. Wade. |
| | Eighth Ward Club, | H. E. Whitford. |
| LOS GATOS. | | N. Philbrick. |
| NATIONAL CITY. | | W. E. Henck. |
| NORWALK. | | E. E. Dolland. |
| OAKLAND. | | Harriet F. Stevens, Snell Seminary. |
| OCCIDENTAL. | | Oscar Valentine. |
| OCEAN VIEW. | | Col. G. Thistleton. |
| ORANGE. | | Charles Baker. |
| PASADENA. | | L. H. Baulster. |
| PITALUMA. | | Philip Cowen. |
| POMONA. | | W. O. Post. |
| RIVERSIDE. | | A. Martin. |
| SACRAMENTO. | | |
| SAN DIEGO. | | Mrs. Mary A. White, 1423 First Street. |
| SAN FRANCISCO. | Club 1, | Anna H. F. Haskell, 713 Greenwich Street. |
| | Club 2, | Job Harriman, 339 Market Street. |
| | Club 3, | German American. |
| | Club 4, | |
| SAN JOSE. | Club 1, | Mrs. M. E. Barker. |
| | Club 2, | L. A. Talcott. |
| SANTA ANA. | | J. P. Lesley. |
| SANTA CRUZ. | | W. C. Lewis, P. O. Drawer E. |
| SAN MATEO. | | L. F. M. Keen. |
| SAN RAFAEL. | | |
| SANTA MONICA. | | Mary A. Gulberson. |
| SANTA ROSA. | | |
| STOCKTON. | | L. W. Bowdoin. |
| SUMMERLAND. | | Mrs. Norcross. |
| VENTURA. | | B. A. Breaky. |
| WEST PARK. | | |
| COLORADO. | | |
| DENVER. | Club 1, | Arthur Cheeswright. |
| | Club 2, | E. E. Elliott, Box 2741. |
| CONNECTICUT. | | |
| HARTFORD. | | Miss Ella Ormsby, P. O. Box, 83. |
| NEW HAVEN. | | Mrs. S. Hewitt Lane, 33 Bullen Street. |
| BRIDGEPORT. | | |
| ILLINOIS. | | |
| CHICAGO. | Club 1, | Corinne S. Brown, Woodlawn Park, Ill. |
| | Club 2, | Dr. H. Augusta Kimball, 2420 Indiana Avenue. |
| INDIANA. | | |
| GREENCASTLE. | | A. D. Dorsett. |
| IOWA. | | |
| DES MOINES. | | Mrs. S. Gillette. |
| IOWA FALLS. | | J. H. Fleming. |
| LEHIGH. | | O. Tyson. |
| KANSAS. | | |
| CONCORDIA. | | A. A. Carnahan. |
| ELMDALE. | | S. E. Yeoman. |

MARYLAND.
 BALTIMORE. Dr. E. Marshall Knell, 919 North Avenue.

MASSACHUSETTS.
 BOSTON. Club 1. Edward S. Huntington, 77 Boylston Street.
 Club 2. (South End), Miss Jessie Forsyth, 80 State Street.
 Club 3. (Bunker Hill), Dr. Joseph Williams, 15 Monument Sq.,
 Charlestown.
 Club 4. T. W. Curtis, 21 Upton Street.
 FALL RIVER.
 LYNN. John T. Broderick, 41 Commercial Street.
 SOMERVILLE. Lizzie G. Knapp, 28 School St.
 SALEM. Wm. H. Gove.
 WALTHAM. J. E. Burke.

MICHIGAN.
 BLISSFIELD.
 DETROIT. John F. Duncan, 279 Third St.
 DOWAGIAC. G. W. Haynes.
 FLUSHING. W. E. Hough.
 LANSING. A. V. Phister.
 MUSKEGON. M. G. Averill.

MINNESOTA.
 MINNEAPOLIS. Club 1. Mrs. Kate Buffington Davis.
 Club 2. D. Fishmann, 806 6th Street, South.
 Club 3. (Young Folks.) Mr. Johnson, "Normunna" office.
 ST. PAUL. Harvey Y. Russell.

MISSOURI.
 KANSAS CITY. David B. Paige, care "Modern Thought,"
 St. Louis. G. H. Scheel, 300 South 14th Street.

NEBBASKA.
 NIOBRARA
 NEW HAMPSHIRE.
 PORTSMOUTH. Robert C. Rich.

NEW JERSEY.
 MENLO PARK Mrs. Nettie Volkmar.
 NEW BRUNSWICK. Thomas M. Anderson.

NEW YORK.
 ALBANY. W. S. McClure, 70 State Street.
 BROOKLYN. Club 1. O. F. H. Walsh, 177 Montague St.
 Club 2. Mrs. A. A. Winham, 291 So. 1st St.
 NEW YORK CITY. Club 1. W. C. Temple, 575 Madison Avenue.
 Club 2. C. G. Hilley, 724 East 146th Street.
 Club 3. Henry G. Reed, 135 Waverly Place.
 Club 4. Washington Heights.—E. J. Nieuwland, 10th Ave., near
 157th Street.
 Club 5. (East Side), A. F. Grab, 175 East 92d Street.
 Club 6. (West Side), George Moore, 283 West 132d Street.
 Club 7. Dr. John J. Plunkett, 67 West 26th Street.
 Club 8. Richard E. Resler, 1811 Broadway.
 Club 9. Stanbury Norse, 2238 Third Avenue.
 Club 10. Dr. Charles J. Whybrew, 218 West 21st Street.
 ROCHESTER. H. Perry Blodgett, 21 Concord Avenue.
 SOUTH DAYTON. R. L. Shepard.

NORTH DAKOTA.
 SANBORN Vernon Shaw.
 GRAFTON. Otto O. Krogstad.

OHIO.
 CINCINNATI. Miss Sarah M. Siewers, Newport, Ky.
 CLEVELAND. W. Shurtled, c Meyers Ave.
 COLUMBUS. Charles F. Kipp, 365 Conklin Street.

OREGON.
 COQUILLE City. H. H. Nichols.
 CORVALLIS, Benton Co. M. R. Hogue.

PENNSYLVANIA.
 ALLEGHANNEY T. J. Roney, 43 Anderson Street.
 PHILADELPHIA. J. J. Taylor, M. D., 1520 Chestnut Street.
 Club 2 J. Mahlon Barnes, 725 Emily Street.
 STURGEON. Robert McVicker, P. O. Box 57.

RHODE ISLAND.
 PROVIDENCE.

SOUTH DAKOTA.
 MILLBANK. J. C. Knapp.

TENNESSEE.
 CHATTANOOGA. R. H. Barton.

WASHINGTON.
 TACOMA. James G. Dudley, Box 684.

WISCONSIN.
 GLENBEULAH. Clifford Van Alstine.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
 WASHINGTON. Club 1. M. A. Clancy, 1426 Core Cran Street.

THE NATIONALIST.

NEW DEPARTMENTS.

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Readers of THE NATIONALIST frequently write to the editor asking information respecting the aims and purposes of the movement and kindred subjects, or giving their opinions upon certain matters which are engaging the attention of thoughtful people interested in the social condition of mankind. These letters have hitherto, so far as was possible, been answered by mail. It has, however, now become quite impracticable to continue this method of reply, and therefore, with the desire of satisfying what appears to be a demand, and with the view of making THE NATIONALIST as helpful as possible to the seekers after light and truth, two new departments will be opened in the August number.

In one of these departments will be printed the suitable questions and in the other the relevant letters received, and in subsequent numbers will be inserted the answers that may be forwarded by other correspondents. In this manner it is thought that, in many cases, a freer and more general discussion of subjects may be carried on, than can be done by means of the longer and more formal article.

All who wish to avail themselves of either department in the August number, are requested to send their communications to the office, No. 77 Boylston Street, Boston, as soon as possible. They should be as short and concise as possible, written on one side only of the paper, and contain the name and address of the writer, as well as a *nom de piume* in case it is desired that the real name be not printed.

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THE NATIONALIST.

IMPORTANT • ANNOUNCEMENT.

This magazine has advanced both in quality and in size, until this month we present to our readers a number larger than any of its predecessors. But it is impossible to continue this progress, or even to maintain the existing standard, at the present price, a fact which is patent to numerous readers, who have expressed their surprise at the low cost of the magazine. In order to relieve the minds of these—who, being nationalists, are necessarily desirous of paying a fair price for what they receive, and do not wish for anything without an equivalent return—and to ensure the *permanence* of a HIGH CLASS nationalist magazine, it has been decided that, on and after August 1st, 1890, the price shall be 20 cents for a single copy, and two dollars for an annual subscription.

The management, however, considers it right, and indeed only fair, that a slight discrimination be made between members of nationalist clubs and the general public. It has therefore been determined to allow the former a reduction of twenty-five per cent. on all annual subscriptions received through the secretaries of their various clubs. By this means these subscribers will be enabled, at one and the same time, to support the magazine and to augment the revenues of their own clubs.

All existing contracts will, of course, be carried out at the present rate, as well as all which are entered into before the first day of August next. On and after that date no annual subscription will be at less than \$2, except through the secretary of a nationalist club; it will be \$1.50, and the price for single copies will be 20 cents.

"THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THEREBY THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY."—*Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*

THE NATIONALIST

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in a matter of such moment unless they know where the road will lead them.

Now it was to a society in this condition in England that "Looking Backward" came as a revelation. Here we found no empty denunciations, no wild schemes of revenge and spoliation, no foolish expectation that human nature would regenerate itself without a cause, no shirking of the final issue. In place of an obscure aim, we found the veil wholly drawn aside and an image disclosed with which we fell in love at first sight. In place of violence, we found brotherhood, order, and organization. In place of a happy-go-lucky expectation that human nature will somehow reform itself if only we redistribute property, we found a radical change of condition which must remould the human beings subjected to it as surely as effect follows cause. Lastly, we found that our author, instead of ignoring the tendencies exhibited by our existing industries, observes and discriminates, notes where the tendencies are good, where and why they are mischievous, and in the movement already in force shows why the good fails and the evils occur.

Now the first effect of reading that book has been to arouse an enthusiastic feeling of hope for the future of our race—a hope so new, so exhilarating, that even to have experienced such an exaltation seems a thing worth having lived for. The second effect is the irresistible impulse to work, the impossibility of inactivity with so noble an end to strive for. If beauty is capable of inspiring to deeds of courage and endurance, were there ever a beauty so noble, so pure, so radiant, as that which we are now contemplating—humanity united in brotherhood instead of divided by love of money? Who can be a laggard, having once seen this divine image beckoning to him?

Two effects I have referred to—hope and a strong faith showing itself in work. But we must not forget that any faith worthy of the name must rest on well-grounded conviction, not on the credulous, unthinking adoption of what may be only a fanciful and impracticable scheme.

I must assume that those who have honored me by their attendance here this evening are familiar with "Looking Backward," and know some of the objections ordinarily made to the scheme it contains, whether as regards its practicability or its desirability. My desire is to consider our subject to-night from what I believe is in some degree a new point of view—i. e., the influence of nationalism on habits of

life, taste, and art; the latter part of which question is but little discussed in the work whose influence we are considering.

That which has caused it to become an epoch-making book is that, far beyond anything else that has appeared, it has called the attention of the whole educated world to the possibility of abolishing the frightful evils which desolate an immense proportion of the population in every civilized country, and are destructive at once of happiness, health, morals.

By the vividness of the picture which it presents and by the persuasive arguments put into Dr. Leete's mouth, not only has "Looking Backward" attracted and convinced many who had hardly ventured on the study of theoretic writings, but the scheme of social and industrial life depicted has been thought out in so remarkable a manner as to compel the respect of our ablest and most practical men. Even on the subjects of which the book does not treat directly it conveys principles by which these subjects may be followed out by the reader. Such a subject is that of taste and art. It is lightly dwelt on and, while it is by no means ignored, there is nothing to show that the Bostonians of the year 2000 do not possess tastes similar to those of the present day, though these tastes are then shared by the whole community. But if the tastes are not described, the influences at work on them are, and we can form our conclusions. Ethics and resultant habits of life are dealt with more at length, for which reason I will only touch briefly on this part of my subject.

I think it is in Washington Irving's "Knickerbocker" that a Dutchman, landing with some others on a swampy, low shore in Australia, warms with delight at the scene and exclaims: "What a capital place for making dams and dykes."

This is as if one of our true-hearted Christian clergymen, who tackle with courageous faith a neighborhood reeking with drunkenness, vice, squalor, and misery, instead of yearning for the time when these may disappear, were to regard the scene with great satisfaction as a capital place to establish a mission, and to hope that there might always be plenty of such regions because otherwise there would be nothing for the missions to do. Dickens has put the whole philosophy compendiously into the mouth of the beadle in "Dombey & Son," when he is discussing with the pew-opener, the right of the poor to marry.

Surely in any condition of society among mortal beings there must always be occasion enough for unselfish helpfulness, even though there

be no "inferiors" to be visited. There will always be room for sympathy in work, in disappointment, and in sorrow; aye, and in joy, in success, and in tranquil happiness. Those who sincerely desire to diffuse happiness around them will find daily opportunities, even though all the oaths and drunkenness, the vice and crime, the ignorance and filth, the darkness and despair, which disfigure our boasted civilization be forever removed.

Putting aside then the fear that the world will be made too happy, let me turn to the positive aspect of my subject. And first, let me ask what, from the ethical point of view, must be the effect of equality on our habits and thought. It requires some imagination, by which I mean not fancy, but the power of forming a true mental image, to realize the situation. Too many persons transport one condition of nationalism at a time into our existing system with a grotesque result which they dismiss at once as absurd and impracticable. For instance, they protest that equality is impossible. "How can a bricklayer," they ask, "be equal to a poet?" Our critics, be it observed, carefully select their cases. Let me ask, "How can a duke be equal to a poet?" A bricklayer contributes honorably his share of service to his fellow-creatures—a duke contributes nothing. A bricklayer consumes a very modest portion of the good things produced by others in exchange for the large share of work he contributes; a duke consumes a monstrous proportion of all the best that is produced by others, in exchange for the nothing which he contributes. The duke may otherwise be a very worthy person—so may the bricklayer. The bricklayer may be too much at home in the public house in his few spare hours—the duke may be too familiar with the turf and the divorce courts in his many spare hours. If all the living dukes were to die without heirs, the country could be no loser and would be probably be a great gainer; but if all the bricklayers were to die and leave no successors, the effect would be disastrous; and yet, not only does our system place the useless, wealth-consuming idler immeasurably above the honorable worker, but even the poet unless he be very distinguished can hardly expect to be noticed by the duke. Let us then recognize that by the impossibility of equality all that we mean is that great inequalities of education unfit men for companionship on equal terms. Now in Mr. Bellamy's system every one starts with equal education. Every one passes through the same course of varied work in the three years conscription of labor, so that equality of cultivation, experience, and manners is

ensured, and the miserably immoral notion must disappear that work carries a taint of degradation with it, while it is a mark or nobility to live idly on the work of others.

Can meanness go further than to ask a service which we consider it degrading to render? Can anything influence our habits of life and thought more than the abolition of so base a practice? We all admit in theory that we are one flesh and blood, and that moral offences alone degrade, yet we expect our fellow-creatures to do for us what we would refuse to do for others, and consider we are justified therein.

The answer always made to the absurdly crude proposal to divide all property equally among the whole population is, that if we were all made equal by act of parliament on Monday morning, we should all be unequal again by Saturday night. The answer is quite sound. But has it occurred to those who would mark varying amounts and values of work by unequal, material rewards, that the inequality which would on this understanding be equitable in this generation, would be inequitable in the next, unless we adopted the utterly impracticable course of taking away the property acquired by an able and active man at his death in order to divide afresh every generation. Without such a process, the industrious son of an inactive parent would start life at a great disadvantage compared with the lazy son of a diligent father. This consideration ought, I think, to show that differences of material reward must be a wholly unsatisfactory way of recognizing differences of productive power. Personal distinction, the high public estimation, which belongs to those who serve their country well and ably, are, at the present day, the highest rewards, and they are the only ones not susceptible of corruption or of being made engines of injustice against our descendants.

Command and discipline are essential factors in Mr. Bellamy's system, but he believes, and I venture to think with good grounds, that the social equality of all members of the community would result in a very strong feeling against rudeness and hectoring on the one side, or insubordination on the other.

Another profoundly insignificant indication of the excellent effects of equality upon the whole community, is that which concerns marriage, where it is shown that equality of status would remove all temptation to marry except from genuine inclination. The importance of this consideration can be best appreciated by those who have read Francis Fulton's "Hereditary Genius," which exhibits one of the most

interesting developments of the principle of evolution. He makes it clear that mental and moral as well as physical qualities are derived from progenitors. *Natural* selection would here as elsewhere lead to the survival of the fittest; but whether the fittest is the best, depends on what it is to be fit for, on the environment for which the organism is to be fitted. A society subsisting by a healthy and worthy spirit of emulation will inevitably develop and perpetuate the qualities best fitted for success under such wholesome conditions; while a society subsisting by profit, by giving the least and getting the most in every transaction, will with equal certainty develop and perpetuate all those qualities fitted for success in a hostile struggle based upon pure selfishness. Greed, a sharp eye for one's neighbor's weak point, an unswerving determination to take advantage of that weakness, a fertility of resources in making the worthless appear valuable when selling, and in depreciating what is good when buying, these and all the other requisites for piling up profits, have by virtue of that principle of natural selection which, in an environment of slime, develops the crawling and creeping things fittest to thrive in it, made cozening the one conspicuous fine art of the nineteenth century.

But how does this consideration affect marriage? In the most direct manner. The natural selection which, in a pure society of equal status and honorable work, would lead people to marry those who were in person and character most attractive, causes them, under our present system, to consider ways and means, and to incline towards the biggest establishment, the highest rank, or the most successful profit-maker. The Ethel Newcomes of society indicate the fatal influence of our system of inequality on marriage, and ultimately on the race. Natural selection would continually raise our standard of humanity. Naturally, young people, where education was universal, would, in the vast majority of cases, be attracted by beauty, mental and physical. Artificial selection alone can make young people marry money-bags and peerages.

This depraving influence has so neutralized the more wholesome natural impulses that intellectually and physically the standard of humanity is now lower than it was in Athens 23 centuries ago.

I will now proceed to consider the influence of the proposed system on taste — a subject not distinguished by any sharp line from habits of life and thought, and here I am reminded of John Stuart Mill's judgment on the principle which governs taste under the present system.

It would be difficult to estimate too highly Mill's powerful description of the vulgar ostentation which is our miserable substitute for taste in the present day, and I think you will feel how remarkably exact is the contrast predicted by Mr. Bellamy as the result of the social change which he advocates. So long as difference of material possessions exists and represents a difference of social power and distinction, so long will ostentation exist, so long will people surround themselves with finery for the sake of display, instead of beauty for the sake of enjoyment. What Mill well designates as the "silly desire for the appearance of a large expenditure" will under present influences always cause people to rent houses, to wear clothes, and to take what they are pleased to call their pleasures, not because they like any of the things in question, but because it is expected of the class of society to which they belong, or too often because it is a mark of a class of society to which they would like to be thought to belong. The whole system, the whole sentiment is corrupt and the taste bred of the system and sentiment is worthy of them. A glance at our streets and at our costume is sufficient to show how depraved our taste has become, but of this I shall have more to say when I speak of Art. I am now considering not so much artistic taste as practical domestic and social tastes, though here again there is no real line of demarcation between them and art. Simplicity, as Mr. Bellamy shows, must be the result of a system which, by removing the tyranny of snobbery and the silly desire of imitating others for fear of losing social status, sets us free to do what we please, to get a thing because it suits our individual tastes and not because our class of society expects us to get it. Liberated from this servitude there is no more chance of a man surrounding himself with superfluities than there is of a mollusk surrounding itself with a shell larger than it requires.

But there is an important complement to this simplicity of private life and that is the simultaneous development of splendor in public life. The growth of the spirit of brotherhood would give infinitely greater zest to the carrying out of great public works than can exist under the pressure of the present struggle for life. There would be a prospect then of that spirit which produced the Parthenon and the great middle-age cathedrals, but this point brings me so near the question of Art proper that it will tend to the simplification if I take this up now with-

out dropping those questions of taste and habit with which it is so closely allied.

Let us first inquire into the cause of the almost total absence of art in our present life. It is admitted on all hands. It is a matter of constant discussion. There are many clever and some noble works of art produced still, that is to say there are still men who, having from a genuine impulse made art their profession, produce works which possess beauty and sometimes noble thought, but outside these isolated cases, where is the art of our daily life? Whence arises that deadly uniformity, that depressing, all-prevailing dinginess which fills our life so far as its external conditions are concerned? If we walk through our older or our more recent streets, with some scattered exceptions, we look in vain for a glimpse of anything that can charm the eye or refresh the mind. Interminable rows of identical houses all cut down to one common type, or a babel of discordant, incongruous styles. Ornament there is, ghastly ornament, all done to order under heavy penalties, all alike, all representing — what? — the pleasure of the worker in fashioning it? No, it is done by machinery. It represents what is expected of the class of society to which the owners of the houses belong or wish to be thought to belong.

Now look at dress. Here surely there will be more freedom. Cannot the individual assert his personality here? Let us see. Here is a row of cars coming down town full of well-to-do citizens going to their daily avocations; and what is it we see? *All* dressed exactly alike. They must then certainly have found a type of dress so beautiful, so perfect, that they have voluntarily surrendered their individuality as a tribute to perfection. Is it so? These black cut-away coats, these black boots, these cylindrical tubes of trousers, these black top hats: are these the ideals for which all individuality is to be sacrificed? I heard a critic of "Looking Backward" depreciate the orderly organization of the system he describes with the remark that under such a routine people would be like sheep. What are *these* like? Black sheep it would seem. Gloom and the total absence of individuality are the characteristics of our system. And why this deadly uniformity, this total absence of anything to show that the wearers of these clothes, the dwellers in these houses are anything but autocrats, all made to order like the hideous and barbarous things they wear and live in? Are they all alike? Talk to them in their offices and you might almost think they are; but know them intimate-

ly and you find the widest differences. Why, then, cannot they show that they are thinking, rational beings, possessing here and there a stray idea of own? Are they slaves, or what does it all mean? Yes, they are slaves, all working in chains crushed under the tyranny of two relentless molochs, the great god Profit, and the great god Snob. These two have chained up Individuality and trampled her under foot. Beauty they have expelled from society. There are one or two sanctuaries where she is still allowed a refuge, and the very few who are ever allowed by the god Profit, to have a spare hour, occasionally visit her, but if she appears in the street, the god Snob hoots her and tramples on her.

Each has his own weapons and instruments of torture. Some of the victims of Profit suffer so grievously that they dare make a show of resistance. But it is futile and short lived. He has two clubs called Supply and Demand. These he swings about mercilessly and the wretched slaves are soon cowed. Occasionally a feeble protest is made by those who groan under the rule of the god Snob, but he also has two clubs — Respectability and Social Status. At the mere sight of them down go the slaves prostrate before their relentless idol. And meantime poor Individuality is wasting away in prison.

Now, to drop our metaphor, is there any exaggeration in the picture I have sketched? I am confident there is not. Take one of the works of Paul Veronese such as the *Marriage at Cans*, and put the figures into modern costume, and you will then realize the extent to which taste has been depraved by the rapid development of the principle of competition for profit, and the growth of greed for money. That which impresses one most strongly in the study of this subject is the extraordinary vitality of man's love of beauty. Competition for profit existed in the time of the great Venetian painters, but the world was thinly populated then, and with a moderate effort a man could live. Under these conditions the love of beauty still flourished, so hardy is it that it takes long and cruel ill-treatment to suppress it. It continued to flourish, but with less and less vitality, with the increase of populations. The wheat remained but the thistles and the other coarse weeds were crowding it out. Now the weeds have covered the whole field and, though the wheat is still there, it is hidden from the eye, stray blades here and there seldom ripening are all that remain. But it will not always be so; there is still hope for the future. This death of beauty and brotherhood, this

growth of selfish struggle and deadly vulgarity is not necessary. In a state of freedom man loves variety in beauty rather than uniformity of hideousness. He loves affection and good fellowship rather than hate and antagonism.

What then can be done? If the population really exceeded the capacity of the land to feed it—nothing. But this is not so. There is abundance for all. The very same people who talk about over-population in one breath, talk about over-production in the next. Can both be true? No, but the evils which existed in the earlier times in so slight a degree as not to attract much attention, have, with the growth of population, become so rampant that our eyes have been opened to them. We perceive the criminal folly of having in one place heaps of unsold goods, while in another trade is languishing for want of purchasers and crowds of famishing creatures are crying for these very articles. We perceive that it is hopeless to expect that the haphazard system of distribution, which did fairly well when numbers were few and nearly all got a tolerable share, will work when countries are crowded.

But I am forgetting that it is art that I am discussing—the humanity side of the question *will* come to the front. Well, what has been the effect of the free fight for existence on art? Why this, that people's energies are exhausted in the struggle for food, clothing, and shelter. Having got these, one must have more than one's neighbor, there is still no time to think of enjoying life, the class above one must be copied. The successful laborer looks forward to the joy of wearing a shiny black chimney-pot hat. The tradesman on whom the delights of broadcloth and tall hats have begun to pall wears himself out in the hope of some day riding in a carriage, and so on through the whole series. Snobbery is the grinding impulse, profit-making the efficient machine. Sordid struggle for the necessities of life at the bottom of the scale, far more sordid struggle to out-do one's neighbor at the upper end of the scale.

Where do Art and Beauty come in? Where is love of good work found? There is no place for either. *Will it pay* is the one question, not Do I love doing it or is it worth having when done. Beauty! What have we to do with beauty? Will beauty pay? Fashion! That's the point. Everybody is wearing this, everybody is asking for that.

Oh, miserable crawling slaves that we are. The god Profit on one

side, the god Snob on the other ruling us with rods of iron, while Beauty scoffed out of society holds her lonely state in a museum of fine arts. Does anyone deny that this fairly describes our modern treatment of Beauty? Hardly I think, but you will properly ask how will nationalism improve this state of things? It may be true that the severity of the present struggle is unfavorable to art, but will a routine system like Mr. Bellamy's be more favorable? You may eliminate the misery and vice, and this will be a gain, but will you not have substituted a uniformity of discipline with an absence of personal initiative which will be as unlikely as the present system to result in beauty of work and individuality of idea?

This is of course *the* question, and if I believed love of beauty to be an artificial taste, I should have great hesitation in answering it; but I am confident that this is not the case. In my opinion the love for the beautiful is an essential part of our nature; it may be diseased; it may be stunted and suppressed, and crowded out with engrossing cares and anxieties till it is hardly, if at all, perceptible, but to say that human beings naturally prefer ugliness to beauty would be as rational as to say that they prefer pain and sickness to health, misery to happiness.

We are what we are by virtue of all the influences that have operated on us from the remote ages when the primitive germs from which we are descended first possessed a sentient organic existence. We have by an unerring and mighty process been moulded into our present condition by the action of our environment. Between our consciousness and the great enduring facts of nature under whose influence we have come into existence there must be consonance. There must be harmony as between a child and the mother that gave it birth. That quick response of our sentient nature to the great mother Nature is love of beauty, and nothing but transportation to another universe can utterly destroy it. It has been universal and is still found where the foul monsters, Profit and Snobbery, have not established their corrupting rule. Remove these. Let men work in comfort without sordid cares or corrupting motives and they will naturally prefer good to bad work. Add to this the powerful incentive of public esteem and they will work with zest and vigor.

What is called a routine in Mr. Bellamy's system is a simple series of inducements which, by securing to each worker the full credit of his work, gives him the most powerful incentive to distinguish him-

self by the excellence of his work or by the improvements he can effect. The various grades supply an attraction, almost absent in our present system, to legitimate ambition, while the absence of the vulgar class distinctions of wealth and rank, and the leisure allowed to all give opportunity to cultivate, and liberty to enjoy, individual tastes. These last words remind me that I have scarcely touched on one very potent factor among the conditions which affect the healthy growth of art. So far we have only considered the great moral or rather immoral forces Profit, i. e. the love of money which is the root of all evil, and Snobbery, i. e. the servile imitation of the monied classes, which substitutes finery for beauty. These two, by degrading the higher moral and intellectual faculties, sap the vitals of art. But there is yet another condition absolutely essential to the healthy growth of art, namely leisure to cultivate and liberty to enjoy the love of beauty. Art is a plant which requires space, fresh air, and light. Without these you may plant the finest stock in the richest soil, and in time it will wither and perish. I have already alluded to the fact that in earlier times when countries were thinly peopled, art flourished even under the system which now kills it, because the evils inherent in that system were not then fully developed. These evils would, in all probability, have developed themselves in time even with thin populations, but, with the large increase of these, their progress has been accelerated and a new collateral evil has appeared. The crowding and confusion, the extent and intensity of the struggle for existence consequent on the density of the populations has left no room for love of beauty even if the root of that love had not been poisoned. It is a common criticism on the part of those who have given "Looking Backward" a superficial glance, that a life so completely organized would produce a dull monotony; that much of the variety and charm of life would disappear, that uniformity would replace individuality, and that under such conditions art would decay.

I have, I hope, answered much of this already, and shown that individuality has almost disappeared from the daily life of today. To an artist it is inexpressively comical to hear the slaves of the pot hat, and the black coat, talking about their precious individuality and the necessity of cherishing it. But I have so far dealt with the moral forces alone which have ruined individuality and will now indicate how the purely national conditions of the day, the crowding and jostling, the hurry and anxiety, in a word the tremendous pressure

under which we live, are no less fatal to art than the vices of greed and servile fashion. It is only necessary to formulate the above criticism to show that it does not need a moment's examination. If it be true that order and leisure would be inimical to art, then conversely, art would be promoted by disorder and turmoil.

In this case if I wish to produce a great work I had better set up my easel in the middle of a crowded street. The result would be an admirable example of the higgledy-piggledy thing we call art in the nineteenth century. Compare this with the art of the mediæval guilds and you will understand my meaning. These guilds preserved a clear tradition of art, so well understood and studied that one can recognize the prevailing manner of any particular period over a very wide portion of Europe. But the absence of struggle, and competition, and hurry, left each man liberty to develop his own ideas within the tradition he had received, with the result that no two cathedrals in Europe are alike. Along with this marvellous harmony of principle which exhibits the true genius of the age, we find that infinite variety of expression which manifests the true genius of the individual. Compare these noble results with the work of today. Now we either leave the art out altogether and hand our work over to a contractor, or we employ artists who, having no established order, no style reflecting their age—the age is far too busy to be bothered—make a haphazard choice and we get imitation Venetians, imitation Romanesque, imitation Thirteenth-century, imitation classic or some nondescript at which we shudder. This state of things is humiliating. Only those can thoroughly feel how humiliating, who can compare the noble and impressive works which breathe the genuine unaffected spirit of their several ages and countries, with this hodge-podge, this babel of meaningless styles which breathes the spirit of disorder and turmoil.

Art is above all things the offspring of harmony. It is one expression, in form and color, in thought and conception, of that human harmony which we call love. It is to promote this principle that we are striving. A strong faith is needed for such work; happily we find no lack of it, and many who are still doubtful only need that their reason be convinced to glow with the same faith and the same hope that are giving strength and joy to those now toiling in the noblest cause that ever inspired human endeavor—the triumph of love over selfish greed. There be these three, Faith, Hope and Love, but the greatest of these is Love.

HENRY HOLIDAY.

THE MESSAGE.

Read at the banquet given by the staff of The Nationalist, on June 4th, to Capt. Chas. E. Bowers on the occasion of his departure for Europe.

Not with thunder of cannon we send you over the sea,
Soldier of Peace, who once went down in the crimson tide,
Where, in order that Man might be just a little more free,
Thousands of fameless heroes at Gettysburg gladly died.

Not with thunder of cannon, but a music deeper still,
Sounding sweet as a kiss 'way down in the heart's deep sea,
We salute you, Soldier of Peace, and again the cup we fill —
And again, for a health, and a wealth of health, wherever you chance to be.

Oh! not with thunder of cannon — the day of the arméd hand
Is hastening down to its sunset, and now for a waiting world,
Like a soft night sky, the starry flag of a Brotherhood truly grand
Is climbing the mast of human hope, is flapping to be unfurled.

So, take this message along to our brothers over the sea
Who heap gold-honey for others in London's thunderous hive;
We are waiting — we are watching for that glorious time to be,
When the common people of England shall with Hampden's soul revive.

We are waiting to see the toppling of the obsolete House of Lords
Like a house of cards which England built when she was only a child;
We are watching to see the trade-lords who have bound men in harder cords
Lashed out of Humanity's temple that they have so long defiled.

For though Scribe and Pharisee aid the plutocrat all they can,
They can only delay, they cannot stay, the march of the myriad feet,
That shall dance ere long to the song of the liberation of Man,
When the sons of the Carpenter's Son unite, his kingdom to complete.

Then take this message along to our brothers over the sea,
We are keeping the faith, we are fighting the battle of all — and we know
That the world, before we fall, will be just a little more free,
And some of the walls of Caste and of Custom be levelled low.

So, Captain, we send you forth, not leading a "hope forlorn,"
For not in vain did Phillips speak, and Kearney and Lincoln fall;
'Tis now the morning twilight of the People's redemption morn,
As we speed you forth with a charging cheer, and the flag that welcomes all.

HENRY AUSTIN.

CHILD LABOR IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Pennsylvania is a state of marvellous wealth and prosperity. Hundreds of iron furnaces belch forth their fires by day and by night, hundreds of mines dip deep into the earth's rich stores of coal and iron, hundreds of mills send their fabrics to the ends of the earth, the mountains are crowned with mighty forests and the valleys spread out into farms as fair and as fertile as any on the face of the earth. The state is rich and its wealth far exceeds its debts. All this is very pleasant to think upon and when a traveller whirls across the great state and gazes upon the rolling farms, the timbered hills, the mines and factories, and the ever-present evidences of great industries, the picture is as charming as a happy dream, and he who gazes upon it is moved to exclaim: "Surely this is a land of plenty and prosperity." But there is another picture less pleasant to look upon and less known. The fame of Pennsylvania's mines and furnaces goes out to all the world, but the story of the wretched wages of the miners and their terrible struggles for life is best known at home. The yarns, the carpets, and the woolen goods from the mills in Philadelphia go to the East and the West, the North and the South, but they tell only of the skill of the workers and say nothing of the thousands of little toilers who stand all day at the looms and spinning frames. The world reads of the mighty fortunes that have been wrought by the looms or dug from the mines, and the world forgets the ragged miners huddled like cattle in rough shanties, and the weavers who toil all day in the foul air and scanty light or wretchedly built mills. It is only when a culmination of their miseries drives the workers to an uprising against their taskmasters that the world learns anything of the conditions of the wage-earners in Pennsylvania. But the evils exist, day in and day out, year after year. No state in the Union can present so many wealthy employers who once were workers themselves, and yet in no state are the conditions of the laboring classes so bad as they are in Pennsylvania.

It may be true that corporations have no souls, but in the treatment of their servants they certainly exhibit more humanity than is displayed by individual employers, and especially by those who have risen from

the ranks. It would seem as if those who once were workers themselves would as employers be more merciful than those who never had personal experience of the drudgery and slavery of daily toil, but the reverse is the fact. At least I am led to this conclusion by personal observation of the condition of the wageworkers in Philadelphia, where nearly all the employers are individuals, and in New England where corporate bodies are the rule. The peculiar conditions that have enabled hundreds of men in Philadelphia to rise with rapidity from the position of employee to that of employer, seem in many instances to have robbed them of their sentiments of humanity. As a case in point I recall a strike of knit-goods operators three years ago in Philadelphia. The cause was a trifling matter that liberal employers would have adjusted without disturbing the harmony of their mills. Ten firms were involved and 2,000 hands were made idle for weeks, and yet within ten years of that time every man of those ten firms had been a worker at the frame himself.

The woes of the mine-workers have been often told, but there has been hardly a word about the little toilers, and yet the blackest blot upon Pennsylvania's fair name, and upon that of Philadelphia, her greatest city, and the greatest textile centre of the United States, is the slavery of the little toilers of the mills. An incident of the visit of the members of the Pan-American Congress to Philadelphia spread the knowledge of this disgrace to the world as nothing had ever done before. In showing to the Pan-American visitors the extent of the city's industries the committee of citizens conducted the guests through one of the great carpet mills, where about 4,500 operatives were employed. This factory was presented as an exponent of Philadelphia's greatest industry, and as the largest establishment of its kind in the country. Instead of spacious, well-lighted, and well-ventilated buildings, such as they had seen in some parts of New England, the visitors found a miscellaneous collection of tall buildings grouped together with no indication of system, or of thought that the employees would have need of such elements as light and air. But more appalling by far than this flagrant disregard of all the requirements of sanitation was the presence of hundreds of little children in these dark pestilential mills. It was not here and there a child, but the pale faces of the little toilers peered out of every corner and they gathered in groups to gaze at the visitors from the far south. Some of the Pan-Americans patted the little ones on their heads and asked them how old they were

and from children who could not yet have seen ten years of life came the surprising response "twelve years" or "thirteen years." And as they left the foul air of the mills the visitors said: "We have nothing like this in our countries and we have not seen anything so disgraceful anywhere else in the United States."

What these Pan-American gentlemen saw is only what may be seen at any time by the man who can secure admission to any large mill in Philadelphia or, for that matter, anywhere in Pennsylvania. The factories and stores swarm with children, too small to begin in earnest the struggle for existence, too frail to toil like men and too young to be shut away from the outside world in slavery, wretchedness, and wickedness. For many years employers have laughed at the faulty and unenforced laws against the employment of children; even parents have sent their little ones into the factories when they should have sent them to school, and the children of the poor have been without protection either from their parents or from their employers. So far as figures are concerned there is nothing by which to gauge accurately the extent to which young children are employed at day-labor in Pennsylvania. The returns of the Tenth Census upon this point were very defective. The only available figures of any accuracy refer to Philadelphia alone and are now nearly eight years old, while the statistics of the Secretary of Internal Affairs are collected at irregular intervals only. Here is something from the report of the latter for 1886 which show the conditions then existing and indicate, in a measure, the state of affairs at present:

"From the reports of employers, from the knowledge obtained from a personal inspection of mines and factories, and basing our calculations upon a total of 600,000 persons employed in manufactures, mechanics, and mining, we are of the opinion that not less than 75,000 of the persons so employed are children less than fifteen years of age, and of this number fully 12,000 are less than thirteen years of age. The responsibility for the existence of the evil of child labor rests with the state for not more fully providing against it, with parents for hiring their children to labor in mines and factories, and with employers for knowingly accepting the services of children of unlawful age."

The legislation concerning the employment of children in Pennsylvania has been almost farcical in its character and consequently ineffectual in its results. The law in force five years ago prohibited the employment of children less than thirteen years of age in or about any factory, and further provisions made it illegal to employ them between the ages of thirteen and sixteen for a period longer than nine calendar months in any one year. It also prohibited the employment

of such children unless they had attended school for three consecutive months within the same year. In its pretended aim to secure the education of children, and in its effort to keep them out of the mills, this law contained the rudiments of desirable legislation, but as there was no provision for its enforcement, it was of course valueless. Moreover, it did not apply to children employed in and about the coal mines. The feeble effort of the legislature in 1885 to cover this latter defect was little less than barbarous. The elaborate Mine Inspection Laws that were framed in 1885 fixed the limit of age for boys employed in bituminous coal mines at twelve years, and for boys employed about the outside workings at ten years. For anthracite mines these age-limits were fixed respectively at fourteen and twelve years, and the employment of women or girls in or about mines was entirely prohibited. What a mockery of justice and Nineteenth Century civilization were these laws! Is it to be presumed that the employment of a child in a bituminous coal-heap is preferable to the toil of a child in a mill, and therefore the coal-smutted lad can begin his toil three years earlier? Evidently these law-makers thought so!

Again in 1887 the Legislature made a pretence of protecting the child-toilers, and that year there was enacted a little law of scarce a dozen lines, making it unlawful for persons or firms "to employ any child under the age of twelve years to do any work in or about any mill, manufactory, or mine in this Commonwealth." The makers of this law deemed that a fine of \$20 to \$100 was a sufficient punishment for violators, and no provision whatever was made to carry the law into effect. Not one of these laws was worth the paper on which it was printed, and no employer paid attention to them any more than if they had never existed. Those who employed young children continued to do so without molestation, and those who deemed it expedient to add that class of help to their laborers did so with no fear of interference, for the law did not make it anybody's business to interfere.

The first really serious attempt to protect young children from unscrupulous employers and unnatural parents was made by the legislature of 1888-89, and the Factory Inspection Act of May 20, 1889, was a strong move in the right direction although it fell short of the desired end. This law provides that no minor shall be employed in any mercantile or manufacturing industry longer than sixty hours per week, unless for the purpose of making necessary repairs; that no child under twelve years of age shall be employed at all; that no one

under sixteen shall be employed without first placing on file an affidavit of the parent or guardian stating the child's age and place of birth; that in every factory or mercantile establishment where women and children are employed, shall be posted a notice stating the number of hours of labor for each day of the week, and a list of the children under sixteen with their ages; that these establishments shall, if the inspector deem it necessary, provide safe hoisting-shafts and elevator-ways; that automatic shifters for throwing belts on or off shall be provided; that no minor under sixteen years of age shall be allowed to clean machinery while in motion; and that all gearing and belting shall have proper safeguards. There are other provisions designed to promote the health and safety of all employees, but those above cited are all that refer to the children.

To secure the enforcement of the provisions of this act the Governor is authorized to appoint a Factory Inspector, who is allowed for his assistance six deputies, one-half of whom shall be women. The Inspector is given liberal powers and is required to prosecute all violators of the Factory Laws. As no appropriation was made by the Legislature that passed the measure it came near remaining inoperative for two years. Fortunately, however, a man was found who was willing to accept the position of Factory Inspector and trust to the next Legislature for payment of his salary, as well as that of his deputies and the expenses of his office. Early last winter William H. Martin, of Chester, Pa., took charge of the duty and the law is now in full swing and working smoothly. The state is divided into three districts, to each of which are assigned a male and a female deputy inspector. The Factory Laws of the other states have been carefully studied and their operations investigated by Inspector Martin, and the industrial establishments of Pennsylvania are now undergoing a rigid examination by the deputies. As a rule the new law has met with favor from both employer and employee, although not a few manufacturers have cried out that the withdrawal of children from the mills would increase the cost of products through the higher wages paid to the other help.

While the state has gone thus far towards rescuing the children from too early toil and consequent degradation, it has halted at an unfortunate point. The little ones have been rescued from the mills, but their education is still optional with their parents. In an unfortunately large percentage of cases, this means no education at all,

and the children have thus been merely driven from the mills into the streets. Nor have sufficient accommodations been provided for all who would attend school, and the helping hand of the state has even been withheld from the few technical schools within the commonwealth. In the light, however, of previously existing conditions, we should be thankful for the important beginning that has been made and look to future legislatures to continue and complete the reform in which so worthy a start has been made.

EDWARD H. SANBORN.

• A NEW INCENTIVE.

The good work goes bravely on. The fiery cross speeds flashing round the globe everywhere kindling a latent enthusiasm, for it brings just the spark needed to illumine the universal gloom: it points to a common and a possible ideal in the yearning hearts of humanity.

But this ideal—the Intelligent Brotherhood of Man—is to be obtained by no blood-stained victory or by the employment of old-time weapons. Very difficult were it to preach consistently a “warfare of peace,” which seems, indeed, a hopeless contradiction of terms. For our methods, as our principles, are inherently opposed to a competition even of proselytism. Can we not state our position in clearer, more exact terms yet?

The greatest objection to nationalism has appeared to be the lack of “incentive” under the new regime. “Do you think people will work so desperately for the commonwealth as they now do for existence or personal wealth?” is asked convincingly by honest arguers. Have you nothing but the solitary-confinement-cell, with its bread and water affliction, to urge to his utmost your worker, assured of material comfort?” Such plain questions deserve plain answers and it may be of help to have this all-important matter practically considered.

Naturally it is difficult for the worldly, every-day “business man” to conceive a state of society, where money or power, in the abstract or concrete, are not paramount interests. Nor, in an age of money-worship, is it necessary, or perhaps desirable, to convert such a one by arguments of money’s unworth. But it should not be hard for the nationalist to realize the other immediate aims of personal endeavor.

Most of us are instantly taken with the sublime idea of mankind's brotherhood, but unless that idea generates some fruit in our lives, the generous enthusiasm will lose force and die. How can we individually help — not merely co-operate in the great work — but render ourselves, each unit of us, a separate lamp, always ready, trimmed and burning to contribute its gleam to the coming blaze of dawn? For besides the grand universal duty, we have our own individual duty to ourselves — our private personal evolution to work out.

The response would seem to answer the sceptics alluded to above. It embraces the question of Incentive. The plausible objection made by the worldly man: viz., that material necessity is the only sure task-mistress, rests upon the postulate that selfish pride is ineradicably inherent in man. He possibly admits the desirability of a Universal Brotherhood but virtually asks: "How can we proud, selfish men by any means think of such a dream seriously?"

The worldly man is, as usual, in matters of experience, both clear-headed and right. The truth is, selfish pride in any form is entirely incompatible with Universal Brotherhood.

The obvious conclusion will have been anticipated. He or she who would do work for nationalism must live under a banner of two ideals or incentives. Man is psychologically two-fold — he has his emotional and his intellectual nature to feed. "Universal Brotherhood" (the first incentive and grand motto upon the nationalistic banner) probably affects the emotions, and in some, the intellect, but not in the many. The latter are justified in requiring some more tangible evidence that can be approved by their work-a-day intelligence.

Now the intellect is most powerfully affected by hard facts. "By their fruit shall ye know them." If nationalism is seen to affect widely the daily life of its professors, its force will be irresistible. The underlying principle of individual competition is seen to be a "Selfish Pride;" of individual co-operation it is "A Wise Humility." This should be our banner's sub-motto.

Is it hard to conceive of a wise humility as an incentive to personal life-effort? Let the intellect grasp the situation of man. What is this "proper pride" of the day? What are we as units? What do we know? In what proportion and relation do we stand to the works and forces of nature? Why should more money (or power) make me better than my neighbor even if I have also the knowledge of my increased responsibility toward him? The principle of a wise humility

seems well calculated to urge us to acquire "knowledge and understanding" of our world and of ourselves.

With a wise humility as our individual creed and with Universal Brotherhood to sustain us in active co-operation with our fellow-nationalists for confirmation of principles and propagation of executive measures — both sides of our nature will bid fair to be satisfied and worldly objectors neutralized or absorbed.

Humility, when it is real, speaks for itself, as it were, without words. Moses, Socrates, Plato, Jesus Christ, Newton, Buddha — all the greatest propagandists of new ideals — were renowned for meekness and unassuming truth of life. It was their unconscious medium of power. "Spirit" and "fire" in youth and manhood are attractive qualities but they will not be lost under humility. The force that is in mankind is scientifically constant and will inevitably find active expression. It could be under no more desirable control than that of A Wise Humility.

Such thoughts are not stated as new. But they are offered here in the hope of "clearing the ground" and affording a logical and scientific personal basis for the inspiring principles of NATIONALISM.

DOUGLAS ADAM.

INDEPENDENT THINKING AND REFORM.

Independent thinkers have an abiding faith in the omnipotence of right. They believe in the right of all to utter candid thought however unpopular. They claim it for themselves and cheerfully accord it to others. They recognize the fact that it is only through free discussion that we arrive at truth. It is fearless action that pioneers the pathway of progress and extends the dominion of practical right. Be it for all independent thinkers to advance with the brave.

Progress moves by revolution, but though there must be conflict with ignorance and selfish interests, revolution may and should be that of thought and ideas instead of physical warfare. The history of the race is a record of revolutions, and the end is not yet. The condition of rudimental humanity has been, and is, improving, and its destiny is still higher. The achievements thus far have been attained through

the effectual agency of revolution. Reaction may follow action, but each new forward movement passes beyond the last, and thus the race advances. The law is written in destiny, and it is not in the power of man to change it.

The most revolutionary of all reformers was nailed to the cross for his daring words, but those very words were the God-send of the race. So with every independent thinker who declares for the truth, though men may cover him with igominy, and breathe all manner of anathema against his manhood, it avails nothing—the ideas he advances cannot be slain, they will live to triumph and benefit humanity.

Connected with the attributes of the human mind, and its relations with the infinite, exist certain central energies which lie deep—radical and primary forces, unknown to the superficial thinker, which are irresistibly working out for human good, results far more stupendous than any thing known. In this underlying principle is the hope of humanity. Thoughts generated from these forces, acting upon character and moulding it and radiating thence upon human relations and moulding *them*, work the progress of human redemption.

To the independent thinker and worker, these truths are the sustaining power of action. While moving in the cold and cheerless atmosphere of a unbelieving and scoffing world, this abiding faith in the final power of truth over men gives courage to continue in endurance and labor for the right.

M. A. HUNTER.

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CHAPTER V.

LOVE.

"God has divided Man into men, that they
might help each other." SENECA.

30. This is the place where I should especially wish for talents of persuasion, for now we have entered into the region of high morality, and also here the Established Order opposes our best efforts and is unceasingly active in leading us astray. This fact must not be slurred over; at the same time it should be borne in mind that the obstacles are merely superficial, due to man's inertia, thoughtlessness, and ignorance, while the noiseless undercurrent of the Universal Order, Universal Reason, is carrying us irresistibly onward. The agent which the Universal Reason here employs, in order to "*bind self to Society*," is a far mightier one than that considered in the previous chapter. There it was conscience which *restrains* "self"; here it is the affections, which *expand* "self." Conscience does not point to heights of aspiration, but takes cognizance only of what falls below a certain line; the affections stimulate.

Affection: that wonderful guest within the human bosom, the outcome of physical passion — that, surely, is the happiest feat of Evolution! Its first advent, like the first appearance of every pleasurable fact of consciousness, is involved in mystery. It came, we know not whence or why. "It appeared," as has been said, "on the theatre of man's consciousness; he found it pleasant, and was thus encouraged to develop it further." It indeed is a most remarkable and noteworthy fact, which we later shall have to dwell upon, that our loftiest aspirations have the meanest beginnings, and have started from the lowest motives.

Buckle has insisted that there can be no evolution in morality, since moral truths are always the same. "Do good to others, love thy neighbor as thyself; forgive thy enemies; subdue thy passions; honor thy parents" — these and the like, he says, are all the essential moral precepts, and not an iota has been added to them since time immemorial. This, at most, is true only of the intellectual side of morality; but, as we have seen, it is our feelings, our passions that drive the social train for weal or woe; our passions it is that are the horses,

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so to speak — and often very untuly horses — while the intellect, at most, directs like the coachman. Now, we may admit, that there has been no improvement in our practice of Duty or Justice; that there has, perhaps, actually been a decline as the bitter fruit of the prevailing individualism; at the same time we can point to the fact, that the under-current has led us up on hitherto unknown heights of sympathy. Again, to enlighten the intellect, to improve what I have called the “atmosphere” of Morality changes the quality of Morality itself. To discover what is our true destiny, to get the conviction, that a benevolent power has outlined the road for us, that we can progress only by becoming its willing co-operators and that the “ought to do” and “ought to be” in us mean that the ideal sometime “will be,” must necessarily change a weak, vague sentiment, into an active conscious force. Is not that evolution?

And will not this be the greatest evolution of all, when Nationalism will give us convincing reasons for distinguishing between the two forms of Personal Ethics — a distinction as wide apart as heaven is from hell? The one, purity, temperance, and honor, without sacrifice, cultivated simply to become better than others, to hold aloof from common humanity, will be clearly seen to be worthless and worse: a ministration of death, exclusively; but the same personal morality, if in the service of the affections, is most sacred, and a prerequisite to all true morality, for it is our personal affections that give aim and direction to our social sentiments.

Such self-love is the fountain from which the wider forms of human affections flow and on which philanthropy itself is ultimately based. Self is “the chalice that holds the sacramental wine; thus we must take care that this chalice be not soiled or leaky, that the wine be not defiled or wasted.” Purity, temperance, and honor are of immense importance to the social self. When we are bidden to “love our neighbors *as ourselves*,” we have before us a sublime precept which embodies the deepest truth. We must in the first place cherish our own life, for otherwise we could not “live for others”; we must make ourselves pure, since my own life must be precious to me before I can attach much preciousness to the life of others; I must make myself valuable, for if myself is paltry, so is every other self, so are all our selves put together. “If the talk of all men is senseless babble, the united babbling of a million men may out-thunder one, but will be no more sensible.”

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Self-engrossment, in a word, wars against love and sympathy, but self-respect, sense of human dignity, character is the foundation; and it is here that the Established Order shows itself a mighty maelstrom, swallowing up purity, temperance, and honor. The Church knows this and places the "world" on a line with the "devil." Of course, how hard a struggle it often is for the poor man to keep his honor, those never know to whom the regular eating of costly food comes just as easy and natural as breathing; nor can the wealthy lady comprehend how difficult it is for the poor girl to keep her purity, but it is a scandalous fact, that frequently honor and purity are placed in one scale and starvation in the other.

31. Look at the mournful procession of women of the town, created by our wicked social order! For either the woman is pushed toward the pit by her small pay under the wage-system, or she is tempted by the incontinent vagabonds from our middle classes, which this social order keeps unmarried, or both.

In our large manufacturing cities and villages great numbers of operatives of both sexes — more than half of them young women — are gathered together. Here they are thrown in each others' company rather rudely in their work; the boarding houses where most of them spend their nights and Sundays afford them none of the restraints of home; their evenings are wont to find them in the streets and cheap places of amusements. The wages of these operatives, especially of the females, are ludicrously small. They must pay out of it for board and room, washing and clothing. What a pinching life this must be! The moral fruits of this herding together and exposure to strong temptation are a very poor outfit for a happy married life. Most of the present deterioration of family life is due to these industrial conditions, and to the necessary flitting of the operatives from place to place.

The relation of the sexes is certainly the deepest root of human well-being; it is therefore no wonder that women call a chaste man "moral," though, of course it is an almost ridiculously narrow and selfish view of things. It is by the avenue of sexual love that man comes forth from his mere personality and learns to live in another, while

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obeying his most powerful instincts. If a man cannot love, it is looked upon as a moral misfortune, if not as a moral fault; for a man's absence of a beloved form is the finest thing in life missed: he grows selfish, heartless, materialized—this is not a good state for him nor a natural one for society. Instinctively we think of Rome in the age of Augustus. On the other hand, when he does love successfully, it is held that his whole nature has burst out into blossom. That woman's nature—perhaps with very few exceptions—is to love is admitted on all hands.

The chastity of a nation, from any point you look at it, intimately depends upon the fact, that the men marry when young. Nothing is more natural, in our present social order than to look upon marriage without sufficient means of subsistence with horror; or when one's standing in society, or the prospects of children are threatened. Hence a constantly increasing disinclination of men to marry, and the necessary consequence is our frightful prostitution that places us in a more degraded state than that of the cities of the plain. Appetites and passions never exert a controlling and therefore a degrading influence, until they have been rendered fierce by some foolish asceticism or accidental starvation. But as has been said, "reduce the appetites to a famished condition, imprison them as you do a tiger, and of course you infuse into them a tiger's form and ferocity." Normally the natural appetites and passions are a solace and a refreshment to our mental faculties rather than a burden; and normally sexual passions are a source of divine unity and of heavenly innocence and tenderness. The first healthy influence Nationalism will have on sexual love is, that it will enable every loving couple *to marry young*.

Next, Nationalism, by conferring upon woman the *power* of earning her own living at pleasure by *suitable* work, will enable her to refuse to marry for a home or for maintenance. There is a loud complaint of the frequency of divorce, but this is simply the effect of something else. Happily married people do not seek divorce. The trouble is, that the preceding marriage ought never to have been entered into. Unfortunately, our economic system, mark! turns marriage into a commercial institution. Young women form a matrimonial market regulated by demand and supply, and enter into matrimony to gain a support. What our laws allow to be marriage is often a very nasty thing. It is not I, but Henry James, Sen., who says, "the law of every so-called Christian country permits one to sell his daughter—if but

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the clergy gild the transaction — to any unclean wretch whose pecuniary reputation is good. What an annual sacrifice is, in consequence, offered up by Christendom to the merciless moloch of our civilization! What a sacrifice of myriads of innocent young ones! What sort of purity follows? Let our popular newspapers answer, with hints to clandestine commerce, with enigmatic notifications of adulterous meetings and advertisements of abortionists." Our conventional legal marriage, instead of being a means for the highest possible humanization of the parties, becomes a hopeless degradation.

Nationalism, lastly, will greatly elevate the marriage institution itself.

Roman marriage differed from the Greek; Catholic marriage, again, differed radically from the former; these modifications have not come to an end, and all preceding modifications will progressively develop the future.

Marriage is a great end in itself, but is still more important as the grand avenue that leads to the organic unity of all men. The former is the highest possible humanization of the parties; but much more ought we to look upon the domestic life as the miniature of and school for our social life; the filial relation as the source of reverence for ancestry and sympathy with the historic past; the parental as throwing a like enthusiasm into the future; the fraternal as the practising ground for all reciprocal social sentiments.

Marriage must be elevated from its present degraded state, where it is popularly believed that only the legal sanctions keep it in honor and that it is destitute of internal bonds. Yet its bonds are the strongest possible: chaste passion and the most profound friendship. To give these free play we must leave the institution more in woman's keeping and less in man's, make her most answerable for its honor who is most interested in its stability. This, again, is accomplished by Nationalism, by investing the wife with the *potentiality* of economic independence of her husband, to be realized every time she sees fit.

First, then, just as it is in the animal world, the female sex should control the male in all matters pertaining to sex, declining and successfully rejecting the advances of the male, when not reciprocated. Unfortunately, remarks Lester F. Ward, "woman has lost her sceptre and surrendered herself to his control instead of, as she should, ruling him by reason of his passion and the favor which she alone can

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confer." Love abhors nothing more than the license which even our best conventional conjugality permits. Yet it is true, that satisfied affection means aversion; affection in proportion to its tenderness seeks a perpetual gratification, that is, desires to be unsatisfied. Its very life consists in seeking and never accomplishing.

When woman has resumed her sceptre, then, what is very important, the pastimes, recreations, and pleasures will be shared by both; the present separate spheres of recreation tend to render desire for association with each other prurient.

Secondly, marriage ought to be in its essence an interior *friendship*, a profound bosom fellowship between man and woman. No other association can be so intimate as this which causes a complete fusion of two natures in one. It ought to be, but, alas, how rarely it is! It is precisely the absence of this friendship that makes marriage now a failure, in the many cases where everything else conspires to make it a happy relation. The husband really holds his young wife dear, but his love is at bottom nothing but admiration for her various charms, and no sooner does he find her person legally made over to him than this admiration dies out. He should associate her in his affairs, his ideas, his aspirations, make her co-operate, in her sphere, with him in his; their natures are precisely constituted for that purpose: he is a master in specialties, she has aptness for general ideas. To will, to think, to enjoy, to suffer together—that would be true marriage! But, unfortunately, as yet, she *cannot* be his friend. She has not been educated and trained for that. It is the nationalist commonwealth that will train her properly. Later on we have more to say of friendship.

32. Reflect once on this, that love of their own children is something our wage-workers must look upon as a luxury in which they cannot indulge. They are toiling from morning till night, and are then so tired that they must seek rest, so the only time they can hear their children's prattle or romp with them is Sunday. But there is far worse to be told. The horrible fact is, that these children of theirs, as soon as they can find their way in the streets, must become bread-winners. These miserable parents, as we saw, cannot make

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both ends meet, without the labor of their children, and consequently in Massachusetts, where a few weeks' schooling is required by law, the parents are compelled—mark that, ye rich, with hearts in your bosoms!—to evade the law by false swearing in regard to their children's age. Again, as a consequence, small fellows are sent into the world as newsboys and bootblacks at an age when the sons of the rich are still in the nursery.

Again, schooling of nearly all children stops when their faculty of thinking commences to be active. They are positively robbed of the years during which *character* is formed.

Nationalism will radically revolutionize all this: it will relieve all children from being bread-winners; it will place them all from their tender years *till they reach adult age* in the charge and under the eye of the educators, and see that they are properly fed, clothed, and lodged during this whole period. That will mark the advent of the social *regime* and of the conscious evolution of society. As already observed, in spite of the marked improvement in all respects that will immediately take place, too much must not be expected of the generation that effects the change: the full fruits will be gathered by that one which will have enjoyed a nationalist training. And, again, society will not become self-conscious before the material conditions of abundance, freedom, and leisure will have been secured.

The changed method and subjects of education will be of no less importance. "Mercantilism" insensibly pervades our schools, our school-books, the tradition and methods of teaching, so that our training largely ministers to our respect for trade. Manual training will, in addition to the important effects already noted, be an excellent means for securing discipline. Just at the age when boys are apt to be most restless and insubordinate, a little manual work affords vent to their surplus energies and proves a most valuable aid in maintaining discipline.

Since, fortunately, already a considerable interest has been awakened in manual instruction (though of course, it is far from being looked upon in the spirit with which nationalism will invest it) it should be of interest to learn how a pioneer school in Paris of that kind looks, connected with the elementary classes.

The wood-shop is the largest—for school purposes wood-working is the most conducive to the elementary training of the hand. There are twelve carpenters' benches in two rows in the middle of the room,

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each for two boys, working at the same time, and along the wall, near the windows, four turning lathes are placed, each worked by three boys; each boy is employed fifteen minutes at turning while the others look on. The tools employed are the different kind of planes, saws, chisels, etc. The pupils make boxes and small chairs, and are taught to make the different joints, dovetailing, some turning out really creditable work. At the lathe they turn a plain stick into as many as seventy-six different ornamental pieces. The workshop for iron contains twelve vises, and is further provided with a boring machine, an anvil, and a forge. For forging and hammering lead is used, as it demands less muscular force than iron. It has already been noted, but cannot be repeated too often, that the experience is in all the Paris manual-working, of which a few years ago there were no less than 285, that the boys are dissatisfied that they cannot spend more time in them and are rejoiced at being permitted to spend their free time over their work.

We come now to one of the most deplorable defects in our American civilization, and here Nationalism will confer one of its greatest blessings. The disobedience and rudeness of American children to parents and to adults is patent and flagrant; it is the most common experience of men and women in American cities to be insulted by half-grown boys, especially when they are in groups, where, thus, their love of approbation turns them into ruffians.

Nationalism will instill obedience into the minds of all our children. It is, as Prof. Fiske has pointed out, to infancy and especially to its being lengthened to extend over an increasing number of years, that man owes his psychical progress, family, society, and moral ideas. If there is anything that all men agree upon in theory, it is that this period ought to be passed in submission to others, because during it the most durable and beyond all comparison most important impressions are made on the plastic mind. It is acknowledged here, at least, that restraint is a blessing, a requisite to develop the maximum of power. If children were made the equals of adults, the result would be infinitely worse than barbarism; it would be an unimaginable degree of cruelty to the young. It was Franklin who observed that the Chinese, who have a knack of turning everything up side down, have hit on the right relation by making the honors granted to a social benefactor *ascend* to his ancestry, instead of to his posterity.

One of the greatest blessings of the new social order will be that

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children will then find in their teachers helpful friends to assist and guide them through the terribly dangerous period of puberty, when the passions and imagination run riot. The systematic ignorance, now maintained on the most sacred things, is most disastrous to our girls, especially.

But Nationalism will do more than relieve children from being bread-winners and discipline them. There is no doubt that it was until lately the universal American idea, as it was up to 1870 the universal British idea, that parents ought to have full control over their children. Probably few Americans ever reflected that this was a relic of the ancient claim of parents to abandon and kill their children if they saw fit. Undoubtedly the general conviction was a correct one, that it was safer to invest command over children in even the worst parents, than to leave such control entirely unprovided for.

The state has in the course of evolution more and more contested that claim, by forbidding the killing and abandonment of children, and most decidedly by establishing the age of majority when parental authority entirely ceases. Now we are approaching the time when society will take upon itself the entire school-education of children, and it is interesting to note how almost year by year the American mind progresses in that respect.

Not to speak of the cases when parents neglect their responsibilities and when it is fully admitted, that it is a moral crime against the child for the state not to interfere and provide instructive and mental training for it, it is really a contest between family-selfishness and the spirit of modern democracy, protesting against it. Family exclusiveness, often a mere veil for personal selfishness, a sort of aggregate selfishness, is now practically the chief obstacle to the full evolution of our human social nature and is destined to be broken down. The family in our country, to be sure, does not consciously antagonize the social spirit in humanity, but it is still a very rancorous and deep-seated prejudice which profoundly colors our practical ethics. Ah, how often are not the children of "nice" parents taught to shun ragged children, making the latter feel themselves outcasts, as one of the "proprieties," that later in life develop into tragedies. This division into two "camps" is a miserably anti-social one, which fortunately often is being broken down by the child, who feels the family bond irksome and finds its most precious enjoyments and friendships outside the home precincts.

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Under the nationalist *regime*, it will be acknowledged that the education of children is of far more concern and importance to society than to parents. By the parent the child will be considered a *trust*, held in the service of humanity, and its rearing the establishment of an essentially organic relation, which thereby will be enobled far beyond the scope of the most tender personal passion; and filial affection, when the future station of the child will be determined by its capacity, and not by the accident of being born in a certain class, will become an almost ideal sentiment.

No wonder that noble men, like Lester F. Ward, and the author of *God in his World*, think, that if but for a generation the hearts of fathers would be turned towards our children, the nation would be regenerated; but before the chapter closes we shall be convinced, I hope, that more would be required; that nationalism will first have to be acknowledged in principle throughout our industrial system.

33. Our domestic service is one of the most vicious and immoral of relations under the present social order. If a modern servant misconducts himself he is turned out on the spot and another hired as easily as you would call a cab. To refuse him a character may be equivalent to sentencing him to months of suffering; yet it is continually inflicted, without appeal, reflection, or the smallest disturbance of the smooth surface of ordinary life.

One of our more respectable Boston newspapers lately called attention to the fact, that thousands of girls in every large city work on ready-made clothing for the wretchedly low average wages of \$3 a week; that ten hours a day on foot-power sewing machines is so trying as to speedily undermine the physical constitution, and that there are yet many more applicants than can possibly be employed. That, on the other hand, the demand for women for domestic service is far greater than the supply, and goes on moralizing: "of course household service involves a certain sense of personal degradation, besides placing unpleasing checks on freedom of action, but it seems to us that the sewing girl pays very dearly for her privileges; the distinction is largely a sentimental one."

Indeed it is, but we ought to feel very glad and hopeful at the fact

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that sentiment has such a power over American women, and applaud them for it—that shows them to be of royal kin, and places them high above their rich sisters who shamelessly ape foreign class pretensions, even down to decorating their imported “servants” and “footmen” with imported liveries, corrupting us from our original democratic simplicity. This disinclination by women to serve, and be liable to be called to account for every hour of their life, is in obedience to the growing access of the social sentiment: that man is destined for the broadest conceivable unity with his kind. This puerile social *regime*, with its division into free and servile, constantly exerts a debasing influence upon our hearts and minds and keeps us strangers to each other. “Servants” into which our older word “help” has sunk, are the citadel of this *regime* and blight every effort and aspiration towards race-harmony.

There is one respect, though, in which we here still have an immense advantage over Europe, and it is not likely that we shall lose it in the main, now that the nationalist spirit has commenced to take such a hold on our people. We, the people of these United States, do at bottom constitute, and have ever since our Declaration of Independence, constituted, a brotherhood, and the sentiment has become inbred into the marrow of our bones in spite of all corruption and swindling, which after all float only on the surface. But the European cities, especially, are really divided into two classes of men, set apart by a deep chasm, to wit: gentlemen, properly clothed who are expected on all occasions to give tips, and the rest of the population who for the smallest service rendered, expect tips. This abominable system of tipping is a great stumbling block to the growth of a true nationalistic sentiment. The greatest obstacle I see in Great Britain to the growth of nationalism is the snobbishness that obtains there; that reverence is there inculcated for rank and title. There are, however, various facts tending to prove that it is the middle classes, *not* the working classes, that are guilty of this snobbishness. It is fortunate that, in our country, a stupid millionaire may look down, but that we, in general, do not *look up!* It, however, looks bad to see a prominent editor speak of a sense of personal degradation as “mere sentiment.” He who, however honorable, does not blush on looking at a lackey or footman, is a servile mind.

Under Nationalism we undoubtedly shall not be without “helpers” in our private houses—those in the public establishments, will, of

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course, be just as much public functionaries, as the guests who have their wants attended to. But the relations of these private attendants to their principals will be very different from what it is now — it will be a sympathetic, not a pecuniary one. These attendants will attach themselves to our persons because attracted by our personal qualities, and on the condition of being incorporated into our families as members thereof—something like the pages of medieval households— they will hardly accept such positions on other terms. When all enjoy the same high and thorough education, we can have disinterested, respected service—then all will admit that the service is not performed, because they cannot do better things.

34. All the preceding steps lead up to what must be looked upon as the centre of this essay: *Sympathy*—the essence of love, as love is the kernel of morality. Sympathy is the alpha and omega of morality; without sympathy there is absolutely no morality, and by itself sympathy may almost be said to constitute morality. That is so much so that even conjugal love and parental love, however precious in themselves, may be considered essentially as the most potent means for the evolution of sympathy.

This does not imply any gushing sentimentality for men indiscriminately. With Sir James Stephen I never forget, that there are a great many unlovely and many wicked men in the world, and that it is a part of virile morality to meet them with the reverse of affection. I even can sympathize with his contempt for the sentimentalist:—"Do not daub me with your love, sir!" By sympathy I mean that to which indifference is the antithesis. We are each other's keepers, must feel ourselves belonging to a moral universe. Every instance of sympathy is an intuition of race-consciousness: a proof that we are indissolubly linked together. That does not prevent there being a conflict to the death between the good man and the scoundrel—rather the reverse. I sometimes fervently wish I was a spirit, strong enough to take the stock gambler or millionaire whose selfishness is hidden under the flowing drapery of piety, and suspend him as high as the Eiffel-tower to scare him if possible into brotherhood.

Sympathy is truly the alpha and omega of morality: its commence-

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ment and its end. In the first place, it is the original moral force, the mutual attraction which men experienced in the very beginning. On the day when man combined—or rather was driven by his inward force to combine—with his fellows into a society he turned his back on nature and laid the foundation of a new kingdom, that of sympathy; he broke the ban of nature which lays down as its law self-seeking, the struggle for existence, though our “advanced” philosophers are blind to it. As a force it grew more and more, sometimes from the lowest and most selfish motives; thus it is a fact that the practice of killing infants lasted longer than the doing away with the aged simply because infancy was past, and old age was awaiting all. Now we have developed it so far that we generally cannot get along without it; that even they who outrage it in its most vital part, find they cannot do without it—witness the men who betray a trust, in order to secure a fortune; do they not when they get away securely, and reach, say Canada, spend a great portion to secure new prestige, applause and other companionship of human beings, precisely similar to those they have ruined? And whenever we here and there find a man, a selfish philosopher, who entirely cuts himself off from human sympathy, for the purpose of living a merely “cultured” life, cannot we always detect in him that he has thereby become something less than a man, that he has missed the full function of life?

But sympathy is quite a complex phenomenon. There is no feeling so intimately connected with intellect as it is. It will be remembered that morality was compared to a plant in a hot house whose growth depends on the condition of the glass through which comes the sunshine. Well, Intellect is to sympathy what the glass is to the plant. Sympathy cannot arise until vivid mental representations can be made of the state of suffering in others, based upon the experience by each individual of like sufferings in himself. This is the psychological analysis of the golden rule, “Do to others what ye wish they should do unto you,” of our great moral teachers.

This will prove a very helpful suggestion. It will make us understand, that where we now find, or found in olden times defect of sympathy, it is and was simply an intellectual defect; it was nothing else than insensibility; wherever we read of instances of revolting cruelty, it was simply intellectual torpor. Our sensibility is quickened by the same power that implies intellectual progress. As the reason-

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ing faculties become quicker and wider, and the power of observing relations between human beings increases, there is an increase in feeling of humanity, if in nothing else. However licentious, or selfish, then, we may have become, we are fortunately yet more reluctant to inflict pain. The sympathetic man has advanced, having acquired new sensibilities; he is not the same man acting from different motives, but he is a different being with a different set of faculties; and now he cannot develop in the future as a reasonable agent without it.

We have a most instructive and hopeful example of it in our own race. Even but a short century ago mercy by the populace of England to humble offenders, of their own class, was unknown: a shower of brickbats or rotten eggs on the wretches in the pillory was a very common act; hooting the miserable men, tied to a cart's tail, they used to implore the hangman to drive fast to "make him howl." What a remarkable change has now come over the same class, simply on account of a little better treatment of them and a little more instruction! For now it is a common observation that a crowd of the lowest people applaud the chastisement of a ruffian who has maltreated a child. One more suggestive example — if not an instance of sympathy, at least, of a sense of solidarity: A short time ago when a vast procession was going to pass along the Thames embankment in London, they wanted to try an experiment, and so they attached a tag to each of the young noble trees along that thoroughfare, inscribed "These trees are public property;" and though a crowd was present, as hardly ever before, not one of these trees was in the least injured!

To learn what influence Nationalism will have on sympathy we must distinguish between three sorts of sympathy: with pain, with pleasure, and with the thought and purposes of others. I wish to emphasize the fact, that this is a most important division. The first of these, sympathy with pain, is so far the principal one; that is the kind first known, and the one with which we hitherto have been most familiar. "Rejoice with them that do rejoice and weep with them that weep." On first view one would suppose it easier to fulfill the former of these commandments than the latter. Yet this is a mistake. It is in our days much easier for us to weep than rejoice with others. When we witness pain we ourselves feel involuntarily pain and have an impulse to alleviate the pain of the sufferer, just as surely as we do when we experience a blow. Indeed, the word "compassion" has now-a-days come to mean sympathy with suffering, and the word "sympathy"

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itself is rapidly following in the same direction. But we do not like to weep, and there is altogether too much suffering in the world — this is sufficient to check the growth of that sort of sympathy.

It is almost self-evident that sympathy with pleasure has a much more promising future. It is pleasant, ordinarily, to feel that sympathy, and simultaneously, we heighten the enjoyment of the person sympathized with; but, unfortunately, too frequently we are prevented from thus rejoicing with others by those other facts of envy, jealousy, and other forms of ill-will. Is it necessary to subscribe to the terrible doctrine of Bain that “malevolence is intrinsically one of our intensest pleasures?” Is a cat “malevolent” which plays with a mouse? And so we can conceive that men are malevolent who simply are so undeveloped, that they cannot realize the feelings of their victims. Anger, resentment, hatred, envy, instinctive dislike of every kind, are, of course, facts, but there is this fundamental distinction, that the fact, *Sympathy* is instinctive, while the other fact, *Ill-Will*, is always occasioned. The truth is the very opposite of what Mallock affirms, that “Virtue constantly runs counter to our natural impulses.”

And how occasioned? Ah, here it is that the Established Order is most at fault, where it most seems animated by the very spirit of Satan: all the motives furnished by present society systematically discourage sympathy and create ill-will, which nearly all can be explained by and traced to the contravention of social economic laws. How often is it not the case that loving natures become poisoned by their life-experience? Proud natures like, for instance, Dean Swift, become converted into universal gall and at last come to feel hatred for their species. Dislike, and not uncommonly contempt for human nature, is developed in our contact with our fellows by the scorching probation of life, and by the terrible battle for existence in which the contemptible and ignorant survive and succeed. Truly, as there is a holy anger and righteous indignation, so I affirm, there is a *holy envy*, and *righteous jealousy* in the breast of the able, the talented, the industrious on seeing the prosperity of our vulgar fortune-hunters.

And bearing in mind the powerful and persistent temptations of the world, and above all else, that the wicked anti-social doctrine of the struggle for existence is inculcated by our moral teachers, is it not astounding that men have grown so sympathetic? To me the fact that *the majority, under the circumstances, are so good*, and the

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bad not worse than they are, would be a standing miracle, but for the Order in the Kosmos.

Now, is it not easy to see that under Nationalism, on the contrary, sympathy with pleasure will vastly increase? Even Spencer, with his puerile notion of society as a crowd of independent nomads, sees how sympathy will increase "as the moulding and remoulding of man and society into mutual fitness progresses," and this portion is decidedly the most worthy of study of his whole *Data of Ethics*.

He calls attention to the deeper and wider sympathy that will arise from the agencies which excite it becoming more efficient; that is to say the emotional language of facial changes and tones of voice will become more copious and the perception of these signs more delicate and the imagination strengthened, thus identifying the feelings of the sympathizer and the person sympathized with. Next, as pains decrease and pleasures increase, sympathy will come more and more to mean gratification by participation in other's consciousness of enjoyment, and such is the blessed ordering of things that one's enjoyment is not lessened, but on the contrary is strengthened by the simultaneous enjoyment of others. "Each will have in other persons supplementary eyes and ears, warding off evils they cannot perceive for themselves." "Eventually sympathetic pleasures will be spontaneously pursued to the fullest extent."

Under Nationalism, when ability and skill will naturally gravitate towards all positions of influence and everybody be aware of the fact and applaud, we most likely shall have to coin some such word as "*congaudence*," to express our sympathy with others' joy, corresponding to "compassion." In fact I am confident that the masses then will look upon private luxury with far different feelings than now, with approval and applause, for it will be the worthy who will enjoy it, especially the retired heroes and servants of humanity.

Again, when under Nationalism, the chasm now dividing the classes is filled, then we shall have everywhere the sympathy, greater than that with pain, greater than that with pleasure: sympathy with the thoughts and purposes of others—*friendship*. Friendship is the *bouquet* of morality—the distilled flavor of morality. The future moralized society will be constituted of groups of friends, each group formed out of men and women from various callings and departments. We know very little of true friendship now, and it is again the Established Order that is at fault, which is the cause of the

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fact, that we have only cliques. Friendship, being sympathy with thoughts and purposes, of course, demands community of sentiments, but it is equally a law that true friendships are formed out of diversities of character—such diversities as are found in people of various callings. It is thus diversity that creates admiration. We should thus expect model friendships between literary men and workingmen; but they are at present separated by a yawning chasm. We have therefore now comradeships, where the mutual influence is by no means always salutary, while true friendships, with their mutual confidences, always have the moral advantage of conferring personal dignity on the parties. Our hearts are sealed books to all but friends. I like to consider as an ideal friendship the relation of Jesus and John, the latter reclining on his master's bosom, sharing his aspirations and being the only one who follows him to the cross.

Ah, it is true friendships that are needed at this hour, when good men are separated in two camps—those who distrust religion in one, and religious minds repelled by this distrust in the other.

At last, however, we have to consider sympathy in its most important form, in its greatest development. It is not alone the original moral force, but it will become the very end of morality. Sympathy as *the organic unity of men*—this is morality as its own end. Nationalism will carry morality to its greatest pitch by bringing into the consciousness of the citizens of the co-operative commonwealth the doctrine of their organic unity, and by extending the doctrine gradually but surely over every department of human life, as an organic power—with all the momentous consequences it involves. We can imagine how immediately with the advent of Nationalism each citizen will feel the common life pulsating in his individual veins, and become consciously aware of himself as a member of this glorious social commonwealth, and one impulse thrilling through every fibre of the people. Then will be resurrected the intense feeling of *corporate responsibility* which pervaded all the life of ancient society, and the individual no longer depreciated but ennobled beyond all previous conception. Then in a glow of enthusiasm a generation of sustained and rightly guided effort may be inaugurated and will convert this world into a paradise of brothers, drawing the bands of society as closely together as those of a family. Yes, the organic unity of all men is a solemn truth, so much so indeed, that the inhuman wretch who in cold blood hacked his brother to pieces and severed his head for

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the sake of gain is—*your* brother, do I say? is a part of your inmost being, and you will never have peace to all eternity till he is elevated to your own plane.

It was a glorious vision of Jesus to discern the organic unity of man. For unless there is a *real identity* in man the "Inasmuch as ye did it to the least of these ye did it unto me" becomes an absurdity. No one has been heard of who, owing a debt to one man, thought he could pay it to another man who merely was *like* the first, no matter how like.

35. The conclusion of the preceding section, that *the organic unity of man is the end of morality*, is, I think, the most important outcome of ethical speculations; yet this is only one aspect of the moral end, the objective; the other, the subjective aspect, is equally important, and this is *self-sacrifice*, always looked upon as the crown of morals. Yet Herbert Spencer overlooks this entirely, for what he calls "self-sacrifice" is nothing but the common social amenities of life. Real self-sacrifice is risking and, if need be, deliberately sacrificing all that we hold dear in this life, our liberty and personal existence, for a great object. This is humanity in its perfection, to all healthy minds jewelled specimens, strewn like diamonds throughout time and space.

But there is an objection that comes here very natural, which Sir James Stephen has put in these words: "I do not believe that any man ever did, or ever will, as long as men are men, intentionally perform an act of absolute self-sacrifice, i. e. hurt himself, without any reason for doing so."

This is an objection well taken. We must make self-sacrifice reasonable, and *we can make it reasonable*. The datum of the "social" and the "personal self" will help us out and show us that self-sacrifice is at the same time *self-realization*, that is to say, it is sacrifice of the private and realization of the social "self." The two are absolutely identical—a fact of immense practical importance. Just as much as we insisted that personal morality without sacrifice is worthless, is pharisaism, so it should never be forgotten that self-sacrifice, without self-realization, that is without personal morality,

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is moral suicide. We have some very striking examples of this in the world. This is precisely the quality lacking in the nihilists. They have shown themselves heroic, brave, self-sacrificing and devoted to their cause; but because they clearly considered their own selves of no value, despised existence, all sound hearts instinctively feel that their heroism is lacking in moral value.

And history presents us another great warning. I have elsewhere shown, in my "*Ça Ira, or Danton in the French Revolution*," from manuscripts collected in France during the last 25 years, that Danton, far from being the ruffian he has been depicted, was the very best embodiment of the progressive spirit of the revolution, and the only man capable of rendering Napoleon impossible and unnecessary. It was his misfortune, that he frequently said eloquent things that might easily be misconstrued, as when he exclaimed: "May my name be blasted, if but France be free!" This, if name is synonymous with "character," precisely for the reason above stated, was a highly immoral saying. No man has a right, for even the noblest of objects, to sacrifice one's character, one's true self.

Here the Established Order, individualism, shows itself in its meanest shape. It cannot do away with the fact that numbers of men and women are capable of acts of unalloyed self-sacrifice in which there is not a vestige of after-thought tending to self-advantage. We have had in our age the rough miner bidding his mate seize the one chance of escape up the shaft, since the latter is a husband and father; the surgeon sucking diphtheria poison from a dying child's throat and dying himself; and perhaps the most notable of all, the gambler, the true child of the age, sacrificing his life at the fire of the Southern hotel in St. Louis to save the servant girls. Evolution proclaims the certainty that such cases are becoming less and less exceptional. This capacity for sacrifice regardless of self, has been evolving in the long travail of the world and has prospects of vastly greater increase, as its supreme beauty and price are being perceived and valued. But our individualism does all that it can do to depreciate it: it inculcates that *the martyr is nothing but a fool*.

Nationalism, with its doctrine of the organic unity of man, will surely put a supreme value on self-sacrifice. Look at Humboldt and those who have conducted researches about the North pole. Their motives were not want nor avarice nor even ambition; their ruling motives can have been little less than their love of knowledge and the

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ennobling pleasures which attend the purest exercise of the intellectual faculties. They furnished instances of self-sacrifices which undoubtedly will be vastly increased by Nationalism. But something is yet wanting. Why is this "organic unity of man" an object of such supreme importance? It is easy enough to see, that I ought to realize my social self, because the social organism, humanity, is a system of selves, of whose essence myself is an integral part. But why is humanity so supremely valuable?

Undoubtedly the whole becomes lovely and sacred, because of its better parts, because in the general mass of dull and heavy earth there are grains of gold. We love mankind because great and good men have in very truth loved it, and lived and labored and died for it; we love it in the persons of these men. They and that noble band, select company who now do their duty and more, and speak not of it and almost know not of it—they make humanity lovely in our eyes. Underneath many unhandsome exteriors there lie unsuspected such capacities for disinterested action, jubilant self-abandonment, cordial devotion, chaste and generous love, magnanimous friendship and childlike innocence, as surely we have no idea of as yet. But we come back to the point: that my "self" and others' selves are sacred because of humanity. It is humanity *alone*, that makes the sacrifice of these good men valuable. We know what Comte and his disciples, and George Eliot say to us about humanity. They consider the human race as the one august and precious thing in the universe, yet tell us in the same breath that humanity is a being which sometime will entirely disappear from the universe *and leave not a trace behind it.*

Is this issue, then, such a very important one? Is there not altogether too much truth in Mallock's bitter saying that such Humanity "is bestial in its infancy, savage in its youth, impure in its manhood, and as a worthy crown will slipper through dotage to a hopeless and unremembered grave." We have come to the end of morality, and some persons think, that morality is complete in itself. But this last consideration, to me, necessarily, *makes Morality issue in Religion.*

36. I am confident that the conclusion we have now reached as to morality—and to which I believe nationalism will in time lead every-

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body—is a very helpful one, and especially is the true conclusion: this becomes so very evident when compared with the sadly impotent conclusions, not only of Spencer, but of Sidgwick, Leslie Stephen, and John Stuart Mill.

Is it not a most helpless result to come to, for Sidgwick to have to acknowledge, in the concluding portion of his *Methods of Ethics*: “I am unable to construct any systematic answer, deserving of serious consideration, to the question—what is the Ultimate Good?” and to state in another place, that his treatise “proceeds on the assumption that there are several ultimate ends of action which all claim to be rational ends.” And these two lines at the close of Leslie Spencer’s “*Science of Ethics*” are an equally sad commentary on his speculations: “It is a hopeless search—that for some reason binding every man simply as reasonable.”

Still more suggestive than anything else it seems to me, it is that this Established Order gave rise to utilitarianism and that it was a man of the stamp of John S. Mill who championed it. And what shall we think of such reasoning as this: “Each person desires his own happiness or pleasure, thus the general happiness or pleasure must be desirable to the aggregate.” “Every hog desires his own fill, *ergo* the general fill of the pigsty must be desirable to all the hogs.” Is this not precisely his argumentation? and, what! the argumentation of the first teacher of logic!

If anything is assured, it is that we must *not* aim at pleasure,—that must not be slurred over. Take the normally decent and serious man, his notion of perfect happiness is not something straggling, as pleasures in themselves are, but is a unity and a system where particulars subserve a whole. Happiness will not come to you as an incident—and it never is anything but incidental—unless you make yourself a whole, and as you cannot be that in yourself you must become conscious of yourself as a member of a whole, that is identifying your will, your real self, with the ideal—and as a rule what you give is returned with interest, as the general heightening of individual life.

Nationalism will bring to all or nearly all, happiness, and to the few who cannot be happy, the still greater boon, blessedness. Happiness is the state of subjective consciousness which occurs spontaneously when all the powers of the individual are in equilibrium, when thought and sympathies have all an adequate object, when one’s imagination is supplied with a horizon and one’s self esteem with a proper social

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function. Happiness is created like the odor of flowers or the harmony of music, is a delight in life when all faculties are developed to their greatest, and all affections satisfied to their utmost capacity.

In all this the good man properly longs to acquire all good things of this life, chief of which is love; the need of a human soul to our thoughts is so profound, that to thousands its satisfaction suffices for happiness. But may be you will be called upon by incurable disease, by the best welfare of society, to forego it, and all of them. Ethics must require that we should, if asked, forego all pleasure, and then we should do it with our whole heart and willingly—except one. “There is one choicest treasure, which through all self-surrender will remain forever with us, the one that precisely lures to self-sacrifice, which through all denials of self we may to the utmost indulge self”—and that is self-realization which confers *blessedness*.

There *is*, I maintain, a reason “binding every man simply as reasonable”; there is *one* “ultimate good,” *not* “several ultimate ends.” This, however, has two sides, an objective and a subjective: the first the organic unity of men, the other self-realization. This, as function, is the principal part, and happiness or pleasure is an entirely secondary affair: good only to tell *whether function is well, or ill performed*. The reversal of function and measure is due to the old blunder considered in Chapter III, of mistaking appearance for reality. We have considered morality as primarily concerned with individuals, and only secondarily with the race; while the reverse is the reality.

Look at these two pictures. Consider first the thwarted life of a bright, educated, talented man now even, in our blessed country. It is proper to take him as a type, for though very much in the minority, the prosperity of all depends to a great degree on his position. If he is in his right place, and everybody aware of the fact, all is harmony. He commences poor, for the multitude that contain the talents are poor. What sacrifices his parents, who see in their children's advancement compensation for their own miseries, make to get him through the grammar school, high school, college or university! What dreams the young men dream of the great things they will achieve in the next twenty years! Every year how many thousands of such talented youth issue from our various educational institutions, fully equipped to make their mark! Now, is it not a fact, that a practical, well-informed man must contemplate this army with absolute dismay, knowing, as he does, that the supply far exceeds the

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demand? What terrible disappointment awaits these youth! They had much better have remained menials and clod-hoppers, for their culture will be their curse. What, then! is there not work enough in our country waiting to be done? Yes, indeed, but here we meet with the fact which, as things are, makes the most complete system of education abortive. Though our wealth has multiplied many fold since the time of the Edwards and the Henries, yet it is the fact, that able minds have now not nearly the chance of being helped to the high positions which they then had. The great mischief is, that the public authority which hitherto has trained them deserts them, has no use for them. That the administration of affairs is in the hands of private masters with the accompanying social mal-adjustment.

That is just the pitiful fact, that these youths have no choice, but have to go for advancement, for employment, for their mere living to private individuals, and appeal to their private interest, to their *favor*. That immediately disposes of some of the greatest talents and geniuses. We have seen in a former chapter, that it is precisely the mark of the highest genius and greatest talents, that they cannot create their own opportunities, nor sound their own trumpets, even frequently are too shy to appeal to individuals. But let us suppose that they do, and that they obtain employment. In that case they must obey these private individuals and at all times be strictly loyal to their private interests—that is a pre-requisite, inexorably demanded of them, but that I have claimed *is immoral*, and if the employer be, as so often is the case, an inferior person, it is doubly immoral. I am, of course, fully aware, that this immorality does not enter clearly into the consciousness of these young men, but nevertheless they chafe under their position, it dampens all their ardor, they remain subordinates, and when forty, these men who at twenty had such grand dreams must be very happy, if their mere living is secured to them, in return for daily drudgery. And the others, less fortunate, those superior minds who rebel against their fate? Ah, they are on the slippery, steep incline that leads to the social inferno—they either are in the abyss, or perilously suspended above it, scorned by the “prominent” and looked down upon by their comrades. For to be a rebel, to refuse obedience and loyalty to private interests is the greatest possible offence in the eyes of those who hold the reins; hence the “blacklisting” of the brainiest manual workers. Is it any wonder, with talents and ability, thus positively crushed

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down, that we seem a nation, given over to the cult of base-ball and prize-fighting? With the prizes of life handed over to coarse, cheeky, vulgar, and superficial men, and genius neglected, can we wonder that we appear to foreigners "a commonplace and essentially slight people?"*

Then imagine a typical life under Nationalism. *Infant*: It will always be welcome, for each there is "a cover laid at nature's table;" it will never bring anything but sunshine to the home, and never additional cares to the parents; its mother will be instructed in its care and training, yet it will pass its early years joyously in the public *kindergartens*. *Youth*: he and she will pass that most important period of life, in which character is formed, and during which the most decisive crisis occurs, under the constant eye and care of the teacher till adult age, delighted in having their faculties of body and soul, brain and hand developed, being trained in obedience and guided safely through the storms of puberty, all on the same level. *Adult*: flushed with life and useful exertion, he passes his second crisis, that of choosing from among the innumerable possibilities and opportunities that profession and station which is awaiting for him, and for which his capacity, awakened and developed by his mental and manual training, has predestined him. *Friend*: enjoying, now the chasm between the different social activities is filled up, the subtle charms of sympathy with minds supplementary to his own, wherever they are found, and mutually influencing, and emulating with, each other. *Lover*: adding to the profoundest friendship the glowing but chaste forces of passion, purified from every sort of material considerations, and forming the indestructible bond of marriage, now left mainly in woman's keeping. *Citizen*: the round man in the round hole, ability having the leadership, not as a matter of chance, or of personal favor, but as a matter of *right*, with loyal seconders, participating in the government by his function; sure of his place and his due maintenance as long as he performs his duty. *Aged*: a burden no longer to anybody, but enjoying his well-earned pension; living over his life again in his sympathy with the young, realizing what has always been the ideal: that of being each in his circle the sage, the truly wise, the judge, the adviser, and looking confidently forward to another existence, not, however, a mere prolongation, or second volume of this.

*Sir James Fitzjames Stephen.

THE COMING DAY.

The other day we had a curious commentary on the Established Order in the retiring moderator of the Presbyterian assembly praising God that his co-religionists controlled so much of "the Lord's money" — to wit, many hundreds of millions of dollars. The knell of such miserable "order" is sounding, the change will come, society will ere long relieve *every one* of her members from responsibility to material interests which have hitherto degraded human life to the ground, by providing for his physical subsistence and leaving him free to accomplish the true end of his being. It will come.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE COMING DAY.

Lo, on the mountain-top the rising sun
 Is shining now, while yet in darkness lies
 The valley pasture; and the forest sighs
 In longing for the tardy-coming one,
 Eager to feel the flames that have begun
 To tinge with roseate hue the upper skies,
 That soon shall send the glory back to eyes
 Now sleeping where the silent shadows run.
 So unto high born souls the Truth shall come,
 And now o'er all the earth to lowliest minds
 Shall be reflected, and the glorious day
 Shall bring to hearts now cold, and lips now dumb,
 New life and holy love,—the love which binds
 Soul unto soul, and lights Earth's darkest way.

ANNIE LOUISE BRACKENRIDGE.

THE NATIONALIST MAGAZINE,
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EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE FUNCTION OF AN EX-PRESIDENT.

The late Mohonk conference, held in the beginning of June, took hold of the negro question in a manner that cannot be too highly commended. This conference has distinguished itself before by its wise counsels as to the treatment of the Indians by the government. It was the suggestion of ex-President Hayes, who presided over it this year, that it should treat the negro question as of present and more pressing importance. The *Boston Herald* remarks, "it is in such positions as this that ex-President Hayes best avouches a true dignity and demonstrates a general usefulness. There could be no more becoming manner for a man who has been President of the United States to spend the years following his retirement from that office than in this kind of public service." *The Herald* is right. When a man has once filled the highest office in the gift of mankind, he owes mankind, for the rest of his life, the duty of seeking to serve its best interests, and it is to the credit of this ex-President that, from the moment of his retirement, he has appreciated that paramount duty and, without ostentation or officiousness, has sought to fulfill it. He did not reach the top of his development when he became President of the United States. Only lately, he has said "the industrial problem is the next great question since disunion and slavery," and has also remarked, "the present great and growing injustice to the mass of mankind must be brought to an end." When we find that Americans who have occupied the highest position in the country remain so truly in touch with the people, and catch from holding office no taint of aristocracy, exclusiveness, or conservatism, but, on the other hand, become more liberal as they increase in age, it is not only a fact on which we may patriotically congratulate ourselves, regarding it as an outgrowth from the spirit of our republican institutions; but looking at it in the larger way of its relation to the world in general and the ultimate of human destiny, we may count it one of the most hopeful signs, one of the surest tokens, of the dawn of a better day for the whole human race.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE INCOMES OF OUR WHITE SLAVES.

Mr. Wadlin's report on wages in Massachusetts is startling. His investigations cover about two-thirds of the total of persons employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and it appears that nearly half of the men receive less than \$10 a week, more than half of the women less than \$6, and more than a third of the women less than \$5. Making due allowance for beginners, whose work is from inexperience of unequal productive value and who therefore receive trifling payments that bring down the average statistically, the presentment is still so startlingly low a rate of living that it must give pause and call for thought, even on the part of those *laissez faire* economists who do not believe in the gospel of nationalism. It is perhaps safe to say that while wages in this country are relatively the highest in the world, those of the state of Massachusetts are, probably, not bettered, possibly not equalled in any other state, and, at the same time, it is beyond question that, under our present system in this republic, fortunes have been piled up, not by honest industry, but by systematic, corporate fleecing of the public; fortunes of such mountainous magnitude as to make those of the oldest aristocrats of Europe sink by comparison into mole-hills. *The Boston Herald*, which of late seems to have had its eyes thoroughly opened to the dangers that beset us as a people and threaten the stability of our government, remarks on this disparity of condition, that "if eighty per cent. of the male wage-earners and ninety-nine per cent. of the female in this state, earn less than what would be an average income, with the results of production equally divided, and if wages as a whole are higher here than in most of the other states, then it becomes obvious that there must be an enormous sum of money that the wage-earners do not get, left to be divided among the capitalistic class." *The Herald* goes on to say that it seems to be evident that the difficulty which labor reformers have before them is not so much to increase the wages of the small fraction of the class now receiving the largest returns, as it is to better the condition of the hundred thousands of male and female workers in this state and the millions in other states, who, as men, are earning less than \$10 and, as women, less than \$6 a week. The suggestion between the lines here is a wise one which all labor associations would do well to heed. It is wise because it is wise. The attempt to cure an evil in spots is a foolish waste of time. Intelligent investigation must be applied to the whole body of industry and then united effort made all along the line without reference to state lines. The reason why Labor in its struggle with Capital has won so few victories, or has won its victories so slowly, is due to the fact that Capital has practised the art of combination, and Labor has scattered its energies.

THE WORKING OF THE LEAVEN.

It is no doubt widely known that the bill brought before the Committee on Manufactures by the national-

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ists, and argued by some of the ablest of their speakers, was reported adversely by the committee, but perhaps it is not so widely known that the bill was brought before the House in spite of the unanimous adverseness of the committee report and was so ably championed there that it was carried by the magnificent vote of 105 to 34. The Speaker of the House, Mr. Barrett, who is also editor of that old and well-known conservative paper, *The Advertiser*, descending from his chair into the arena of debate, made one of the ablest addresses of his life in behalf of this bill, and one of the nationalists present remarked, that he had not, for a year, heard a better nationalist speech. The fact is, the wise men of both the old parties are beginning to see some of the essential righteousness of this movement and to understand that, being absolutely for the good of the people, the whole people, merchants as well as scholars, tradesmen as well as artisans and laborers, it is bound to be understood by so intelligent a nation as the American, and once understood, is bound to become popular. The leaven works more and more.

PRAISE FROM SIR CHARLES A. DANA.

Fame has many aspects. Perhaps the highest compliment yet paid to Boston was the sneer in one of the head-lines of the *New York Sun*, when it referred to our city as "Bellamyville." That it was a compliment to a good man and a great author goes without saying, but it is really the greatest compliment to Boston, implying as it does, that the just and common-sensible ideas suggested in Bellamy's book have been so readily embraced here as to lend the jest of *The New York Sun* a foundation of truth.

PRACTICAL NATIONALISM.

The *Evening Record* of June 9th contains a highly interesting interview with Mr. John Claffin, head of the great dry goods firm, The H. B. Claffin Co. In regard to the great socialistic step the Claffins have taken by re-organizing their house into a co-operative corporation, with their employees fairly represented as stockholders, Mr. Claffin says: "I know it is a step in the direction of socialism and Mr. Bellamy's idea, but our employees who have taken stock are all intelligent men who can think for themselves, and there is no reason why the experiment should not be successful. We still have all the advantages we enjoyed under the old system, with the added one of having the people in our employ personally interested in our success. The stock was all taken up at the shortest notice. I didn't hope to have over \$6,000,000 taken, but the subscriptions reached \$22,000,000, I cannot say how many firms will follow our example, but I have been in correspondence with fifty houses in different parts of the country in regard to the matter and I am getting letters of inquiry every day. They ask all kinds of questions as to how the

plan works, but I can only ask them to watch and wait. The leaven works more and more.

RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION.

When the president of a great railroad corporation submits an annual report like that of which President Blackstone of the Chicago and Alton is the author, it shows that the leaven of nationalism is working, and that the nationalization of the great modern highways of the country must be much nearer than many people have thought possible. Five years ago language like that from a prominent railway official would not have been imaginable. President Blackstone shows the impracticability of a divided management of railways, in the shape of government control of property remaining in private hands, and declares that the interstate commerce legislation has practically amounted to the confiscation of \$100,000,000 in railway holdings. He therefore openly advocates the thoroughgoing nationalization of the railways by the government purchase of all the lines doing an interstate business. This would amount practically to the national ownership of all the lines in the country, since it has been pointed out that the lines within a state, in collecting and distributing traffic for the interstate lines, do an interstate service. It has been held up as a great bugbear by the opponents of railway nationalization that it would be impracticable, since the purchase of the railways would involve a sum beyond the resources of the nation. But President Blackstone suggests the most natural and practicable step, which would make the task an easy one. That is, the payment for the railways by the issue of bonds bearing interest not exceeding three per cent., with a sinking fund to be created by annually setting aside one per cent. of the net revenue from the system. The issue of these bonds would make no draught on the resources of the country, for they would not increase the net debt since they would have a backing of the great railway property which they represented; a backing as solid as that which the treasury reserve of coin and bullion gives for the national currency. The nationalization of the railways would not only not increase the taxation of the people, but would in reality decrease their burden, since it would inevitably reduce the rates which they would have to pay for transportation. When hard-headed business men seriously advocate railway nationalization, it demonstrates that the subject is no longer a visionary theory, but belongs among the practical problems of the day.

A NATIONAL MESSENGER SERVICE.

There has, of late, been much complaint concerning the unfaithfulness of district-messenger boys, who, instead of delivering invitations to parties, receptions, etc., entrusted to them, have thrown them away. This teaches a lesson as to the superiority of a national service to that performed by profit-seeking corporations. Telegraph messenger boys are usually underpaid

and overworked. There is little incentive to loyalty or fidelity in their relations to their employers, and their young minds are apt to regard their work as more in the service of the corporations than of the patrons of the corporations. If the messages in question had been given to the special-delivery service of the post office the chances against their faithful delivery would have been exceedingly small. The national service inspires fidelity and promptness. While the regulations are strict and the penalties for neglect of duty are both severe and certain of enforcement, the employees are considerably treated. It is a service organized by the people in their own behalf, and its members are instinctively inspired by the feeling that, in serving the nation, they serve that of which they form a part. There can hardly be a better incentive to a good *esprit du corps* than this. With the nationalization of other branches of service there will be developed among their members a sense of reciprocity in their work which will be a more powerful spur to fidelity in duty than exists in the best disciplined of armies to-day.

A LESSON FROM INDIA.

The work of the government in carrying out grand irrigation enterprises in India furnishes an example for our national government in its proposed dealing with the problem of irrigating the arid regions of the far West, where millions of acres can thus be made fertile, and given the capacity to support a vast population. In India the work has been carried on entirely by the government, except in one instance where the work was entrusted to a private corporation with a minimum interest on its capital guaranteed, but this proved so unsatisfactory in its results that it was bought up and placed under the management of the Government Irrigation department. Nearly \$160,000,000 has thus far been expended on the irrigation works, which in 1887-88 yielded a net return of about 3 1-4 per cent. on the outlay, while minor works constructed directly from the revenues of the country make the total net return amount to nearly 6 1-4 per cent. Of 34 different systems, only ten have yielded a profit of more than 4 per cent., but these ten have covered the deficiency arising from works under construction or development with a surplus of nearly \$15,000,000. The direct returns, however, are trifling compared with the benefits received from the value of the crops—which in the year 1887-88 was over \$150,000,000, and more than half of which was entirely due to the irrigation works—as well as from the direct protection afforded in time of drought by the saving of human life, by the avoidance of revenue loss, and of outlay in costly measures of relief. Altogether it is a grand illustration of the superior economy and efficiency of works through national organization over private enterprise.

NATIONALISM AND INVENTION.

The manner in which new inventions are received is enough to daunt the most sanguine inventor under

our present system. Two of the largest fires in New England during the past year, one at Lynn and the other at Boston, on Thanksgiving day, were directly traceable to electric wires inside buildings. Yet a fireproof tubing or conduit has been invented which makes all wires in buildings perfectly safe. But the company owning the invention, (the Interior Electrical Conduit Co.) has been obliged to spend money like water merely to bring this absolutely necessary invention to the attention of the press, the underwriters and the public generally. Who can doubt that if those behind this invention had not had the money to push it, the invention would not be heard of outside a few electricians. A thing of this kind, so essential to public safety, should come to the front at once of its own momentum, and would, under a proper industrial system. Still, some persons (not inventors) tell us that nationalism would discourage invention.

A NATIONALIST AMBASSADOR.

The departure for Europe, on June 7th, of Capt. Chas. E. Bowers, the first president of the first Nationalist Club of Boston and America, and one of the leading men in the movement, is an event that demands editorial notice. Though Captain Bowers has some private business to manage in England, France, and Germany, he will also confer with the foreign leaders of industrial and economic reform, as indicated in Mr. Austin's poem written for the farewell banquet, printed in two of the leading dailies of Boston and reprinted in this number of *THE NATIONALIST* for the benefit of the country at large. The readers of *THE NATIONALIST* may expect from time to time articles of interest from the pen of Capt. Bowers who will probably spend six months abroad.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The attention of our subscribers is called to the notices on the inside pages of the cover of this number. Several have not yet renewed their subscriptions, and from the various letters received, it would appear that this has, in many cases, been the result of forgetfulness. All who wish to renew should do so before August 1st, or the subscription cannot be received, except at the increased price. It is also hoped that our readers will freely make use of the new departments to be opened in the August number. Earnest co-operation is necessary on all hands, in order to make our magazine in every way worthy of the cause of which it is the advocate.

ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

J. FOSTER BISCOE, EDITOR.

Anyone examining the recent periodical literature of England and this country must be struck with the multitude of articles on economic subjects. This activity in discussing industrial questions simply reflects an agitation which is vibrating through every part of the social scale. Political economy is no longer the exclusive heritage of university training. To every workman it has become the question of questions; and nowhere is so much space given to the elucidation of economic theories as in the so-called labor papers. Even the theological magazines, emanating from the seminaries, where a few years ago all the attention of the students was concentrated upon the other world and the way to pass safely from this to that, now have regular departments devoted to the study of social and economic questions and some have so awakened to the intimate relation of religion to the material welfare of man as to establish professorships of sociology. As the agitation which resulted in the establishment of representative government in the place of monarchical and hereditary power was preceded by learned discussions of the principles of justice and liberty, so now this agitation presaging a readjustment of economic relations is attended with a profound and searching study into the foundations of property rights; in fact a reconsideration of all the supposed principles on which our ancestors based the science of political economy. We note a few of the more prominent essays which have been published during the last few months:

On the Natural Inequality of Man. Prof. Huxley. 19th Century, Jan.

Natural Rights and Political Rights. Prof. Huxley. 19th Century, Feb.

A Working Man's Reply to Prof. Huxley. J. D. Christie. 19th Century, March.

Communism. Emil De Laveleye. Contemporary Review, March.

Property. Rt. Hon. Lord Bramwell. 19th Century, March.

Prof. Huxley's Attacks. Michael Flurscheim. 19th Century, April.

On Justice. Herbert Spencer. Popular Science Monthly, May.

Prof. Huxley in his essay has clearly indicated where lies the great political problem of the future. He says: "As a problem of political philosophy government presents three principal aspects. We may ask in whom is the sovereign authority vested? Or by what machinery should that authority be exercised? Or in respect to what matters is its exercise legitimate? The first two of these questions have been discussed by philosophers and fought over by factions from the earliest times. The third question on the other hand has come to the front only in comparatively recent times. But its importance has increased and is increasing rapidly; indeed, at present, it completely overshadows the others. The great problem of modern political philosophy is to determine the province of government."

Lord Bramwell makes a strange confession for an advocate of private property, showing by his statement how the ground has shifted, even in conservative minds, from a question of absolute right in the individual to a question of what is for the common good. "For I confess if it could be shown that the existence of private property was not for the good of the community the institution ought to be abolished." But we boldly deny this assertion, made as if it were axiomatic. "Can any one doubt that if a man's work is for his own benefit he will work harder and better and with more good will and pleasure than if he is working for a number of persons of whom he indeed is one. Can anyone doubt that the sum of their work, their total produce, will be more if each works for himself than if each works for the whole? Suppose we mean to be honest, is it not certain that when we are working for ourselves we have often to make an effort to overcome laziness or a desire for some amusement or pleasure? And would there not be more of this if we worked for others?"

Passing from the discussion of principles to their application, the first problem which is agitating all thinkers is the land question. The books, magazines, and newspaper articles

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it has called out are very numerous. One thing has particularly struck us, namely, that the inevitable trend of such articles is towards land nationalization. Even where the writer says nothing, or so far as we can judge does not even believe in such a conclusion, the facts he cites point to such a result as inevitable. Take the article on the immense desert tracts in our country. The necessity for a great scheme of irrigation, there indicated, involves almost inevitably national ownership. Also the load of debt under which the western farmers are struggling points to an ultimate transfer of credit from individuals to the nation and is to result, we believe, in some system of national ownership similar to that now being advocated for Ireland.

The Land and Its Owners in Past Times. Rev. Dr. Jessop. 19th Century, Feb.

Land Purchase Bill. Contemporary Review, May.

Our Unwatered Empire. Gen. Nelson A. Miles. North American Review, March.

The Mortgage Evil. J. P. Dunn, Jr. Pol. Sc. Quarterly, March.

Western Mortgages. Prof. James Willis Gleed. Forum, March.

Why the Farmer is not Prosperous. C. Wood Davis. Forum, April.

When will the Farmer be Prosperous. C. Wood Davis. Forum, May.

Exhaustion of the Arable Land. C. Wood Davis, Forum, June.

The writer of the last article takes the position that the depression in the agricultural interests of this country is due to excessive production. "Investigations undertaken solely with the view of ascertaining why the farmer is not prosperous, lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the rapid increase of the cultivated area in the United States was the principal cause of the lack of prosperity of the farmers of Canada and Europe as well as of the United States, and that the great reduction in the yearly accretions to such cultivated acreage was a sure presage of the early coming of the time when the farmer will be prosperous." That means the early coming of a time of want for the manufacturing and mining classes. "The adjoining exhibit (a table) covering twenty-two years of greatest expansion in American agriculture, is divided into four periods, the first being seven years, and each of the others five. (the time is from 1867 to 1889). In the seven year period population is found to have increased 18.2 per cent. and the cultivated area 20.2 per cent.; the drafts upon the arable lands in the shape of additions to the acreage in staple crops amounting to 2,724,177 acres per annum, and aggregating 19,069,238 acres. During the second period—five years—population increased 14.2 per cent. and the area under cultivation 42 per cent.; the average annual addition to the cultivated area being no less than 9,525,710 acres and aggregating 47,623,548 acres. The third period shows population increasing a trifle less than 14 per cent., cultivated acres 21.2 per cent.; and an average annual addition to the area in the staple crops of 6,841,661 acres; the aggregate reaching 34,208,307 which was still out of proportion to the increase in population. During the five years ending in 1889 the rate at which population increased was practically the same as in the preceding periods but the rate of increase in cultivated acres was reduced to 8.1 per cent., being but 1.6 per cent. per annum; the average annual increase of the cultivated area shrinking to 3,150,276 acres—little more than half the normal number—and clearly showing the rapid diminution of arable lands."

But for nationalists there is much greater interest in tracing the trend of thought towards the principle in industrial life of national co-operation in place of competition. The three articles to which we call attention are of special interest because unconscious contributions to the cause of nationalism.

The Rights of Public Property. Rev. Dr. William Barry. Forum, April.

Vested interests. Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers. Contemporary Review, June.

Trusts in the United States. R. Donald. Contemporary Review, June.

Professor Rogers speaks plainly. "The doctrine of vested interests is now being rapidly and in my opinion, dangerously extended. It is clear that many who allege vested interests do so on grounds which might be as solidly maintained on behalf of other persons, and other classes, and that unless the principles upon which such demands are to be recognized and admitted are very rigidly and scrupulously defined, society runs no small risk of being impoverished by importunate claimants or arrested in its entire progress. For there is, and I fear there can be, no change in the organization of society, however obvious and urgent it may be proved to be, which will not, in appearance at least, perhaps in reality, imperil some existing advantage."

The writer of the article on Trusts reads them a severe indictment. "They are contrivances to create a monopoly by throttling all competitors. They squeeze the people at both extremes of the commercial scale—grinding down those who furnish the raw material and supply the labor to the lowest limit, and exacting the highest possible price from the consumer. They laugh at public opinion, ride rough-shod over legislative enactments, and baffle the law courts. They bribe newspapers with subsidies, and send members to congress. They have their agents in every legislature and bills are passed in their interests. They tamper with judges, they ally themselves with political leaders, and hire professors of political economy to defend them. But the people are at last awakening to the dangers of trusts and see in them not only an interference with trade but a menace to political liberty."

While many derive the greatest benefit from the study of a theory others of a more practical turn of mind desire to see the application first and then from that to reach the underlying principles. For such we suggest the reading of the following:

Illustrative Studies of Nationalism.

Unconscious Nationalism. Mason A. Green. *New England Review*, February.

Glasgow. A Municipal Study. Albert Shaw. *Century*, March.

Rotterdam and Dutch Workers. Richard Heath. *Contemporary Review*, April.

The United States Life Saving Service. William Wallace Johnson. *New England Magazine*, April.

Public Control of the Telegraph. Bronson C. Keeler. *Forum*, June.

A Penny Post for the Empire. J. Henniker Heaton. 19th Century, June.

The Best Governed City in the World. Julian Ralph. *Harper*, June.

Defences Against Epidemic Diseases. Dr. Cyrus Edson. *Forum*, June.

We refer to the article on Rotterdam as showing the condition of a city where nothing has been done, and as furnishing a striking contrast to the pictures given us of Glasgow and Birmingham. Of Birmingham, England, Julian Ralph says: "To-day it is a city whose people possess the highest and most varied and thorough educational facilities anywhere within reach of all classes. It is a city wherein the difficult problem of the disposal of sewage is believed to have more nearly approached solution than anywhere else. It is a city that builds its own street-railroads, makes and sells its own gas, collects and sells its water supply, raises and sells a great part of the food of its inhabitants, provides them with a free museum, art gallery and art school, gives them swimming and Turkish baths at less than cost, and interests a larger portion of its people in responsibility than any city in the United Kingdom if not in the world. It is above all else a business city, run by business men, on business principles. Mr. J. Thackery Burner, in his history of the city, calls the voters 'the owners of a magnificent estate and partners in vast and lucrative industrial undertakings,' these secured and maintained at moderate cost. They derive benefits possible only under a highly organized and well administered system of communal effort—the truest form of co-operation—a real socialism, self-imposed, self-governed, conducted with the assent and by the efforts of a united community and conducing to the equal advantage of all its members!"

Bronson C. Keeler in his article in *The Forum* on the Public Control of the Telegraph throws into the camp of the telegraph monopoly a bomb loaded with figures and arguments. We feel that space is well taken in quoting some of these. Of the 800,000 miles of telegraph in the world, 500,000 are under state control. Deducting the lines owned by private individuals in the United States, 88 per cent. of the rest is under government control. He says: "The lessons of the table (referring to a table given) is that in mileage, relative number of offices, popular use of the telegraph, and cost of sending a message we are not in advance of leading countries and that we are even behind some of the inferior ones. So far as investigation has been made, the results show that throughout the world the government telegraphs are conducted efficiently, economically, and honestly. The users everywhere are satisfied with the service and there is no country which would any more consider a proposal to sell its lines to a company than the people of the United States would entertain one to transfer their postal department to a private enterprise." Of the English telegraph system he says: "Not only has the business been conducted at a profit, but it has expanded enormously." In the last twenty years the increase in population has been 18 per cent., increase in the number of letters carried 70

per cent., and increase in the number of telegrams 455 per cent. In the United States in the same time, the increase in population has been 50 per cent., and the increase in the number of messages 380 per cent. In the rates of increase of messages to the increase of population the English have beaten us three to one." As Western Union capital stock is so inflated—\$100,000,000 for what \$35,000,000 can reproduce—he advocates the building of government lines between the principal cities and thus forcing that bloated monopoly into an equitable compromise.

Mr. Heaton in his article upon the Penny Post has very much the same opinion to express in regard to the telegraph system of the empire. He says: "Public attention has been attracted to the salient facts of the situation, namely, that a wonderful invention whereby space and time are practically annihilated, and the one great weakness of the empire, resulting from the widely scattered positions of its component parts is removed, has been appropriated for the exclusive profit of a handful of monopolists so that telegraph communication between the home country and the colonies does not exist except for a few wealthy men. Here again, as in the case of postal intercourse with 'Greater Britain' there is no correspondence between the heavy charges enforced and the actual cost of communication, and immense reductions can be made in the tariff with the result of an augmentation of revenue."

While all the other phases of the industrial situation have been discussed there has been no lack of interest during the last six months in that solution of the problem known as Nationalism. We subjoin a few of the more notable articles on this subject.

Nationalism. Laurence Grönlund. *The Arena*, January.

Mr. Bellamy and the New National Party. Francis A. Walker. *Atlantic*, Feb.

Looking Backward Again. Edward Bellamy. *North American Review*, March.

Why I am a Nationalist. Burnett G. Haskell. *20th Century*, May.

Nationalism. Thaddeus B. Wakeman and others. *Open Court*, May.

Nationalism. Prof. Bernard Moses and others. *Overland Monthly*, June.

The Mask of Tyranny. Wm. Lloyd Garrison. *The Arena*, April.

Nationalism. *New York Sun*, May 4th, 1890.

Nationalism and Nationalists. *Boston Herald*, June 15th, 1890.

Nationalistic Socialism. J. Ransom Bridge. *The Arena*, January.

Of all the social questions which are agitating the civilized world that which is demanding an immediate solution is the relation of employer and employee. It is the practical question which every man can see affects his welfare, however blind he may be to the deeper movements such as the transfer to the people of the control of industry and the nationalization of the land. These may be the means of a permanent cure but what he desires is the anesthetic or stimulant for the relief of his immediate condition. Mutual benefit societies, co-operative building associations, people's palaces, and so forth, these assuage somewhat the bitterness of the wage-earner's lot. To its rational betterment he looks for two remedies—the establishment of shorter hours of labor and the recognition of the mutual rights of employers and employees in the settlement of wages. The following are a few of the recent articles on these subjects:

London Polytechnics and People's Palaces. Albert Shaw. *Century*, June.

The Working of the People's Palace. Sir Edmund A. Curry. *19th Century*, Feb.

Industrial Co-operation. David P. Schoss. *Contemporary Review*, April.

Godin's "Social Palace." Laurence Grönlund. *The Arena*, May.

Co-operation in England in 1889. Mary De Morgan. *Westminster Review*, May.

Development of the Labor Movement. Thomas Mann. *19th Century*, May.

Peaceable Settlement of Labor Disputes. R. Spence Watson. *Contemporary Review*, May.

Labor Disputes and the Chamber of Commerce. S. B. Boulton. *19th Century*, June.

Wages of Labor. *Edinburgh Review*, January.

A Plea for Eight Hours. T. V. Powderly. *North American Review*.

The Case for Eight Hours a Day. J. A. Murray Macdonald. *19th Century*, April.

The Eight Hour Question. Francis A. Walker. *Atlantic*, June.

The Social value of the Time gained by the Eight Hour Movement. *Andover Review*, June.

The writer of each of these articles contributes something of value in the discussion

of nationalism, but lack of space prohibits any extended quotations. The editor of *The Andover Review* states the high significance of the eight hour movement. "The Eight Hour Movement represents something beyond previous movements for the reduction of hours of labor. The new time won has a distinct value above that gained by the reduction from fourteen to twelve hours or from twelve to ten. The former reductions meant rest, the relief of the overworked laborer. We assume that the new time will not be used in rest. With some it will doubtless be spent in idleness and dissipation. The result is incident to any gain in personal freedom of leisure, but with the majority of skilled laborers, and especially with the leaders of the labor movement, we believe that the extra time represents intention, and will represent in fact, an advance towards social position and general influence and power. The new time is opportunity." An English workingman, Thomas Mann, states the situation very clearly and what is to be the final outcome. "In every country in Europe there is now either war or the rumors of war between employers and workmen. Not a week, scarcely a day, passes but we witness determined struggles between opposing bodies, the workers demanding better conditions and the employers resisting those demands. This indicates a terrible amount of discontent. From what does it arise? This constant rebellion on the part of the workers is due to the fact that their demands for the necessaries of a human existence are denied them, whilst their power to produce these necessaries is abundant. Men and women starve for want of work while their fellows work fourteen hours a day for a wage that barely supplies them with the commonest food; they huddle together with less than half the house accommodation requisite for healthful conditions and the furniture of tens of thousands of working men's homes is such as would disgrace any decent set of savages, but in this country with a history of a thousand years, with machinery that enables us to make ten suites of furniture where our fathers made one, where we weave a thousand yards of carpet where our fathers would turn out ten, can turn out clothing and boots and shoes as if by magic, we, the workers of great and glorious Britain are deprived of all these things and must take sticks for furniture and crumbs for bread." The end. "The development of the co-operative ideal, when the workers shall include the whole of the able-bodied community and when peace and plenty shall abound as the result of harmonizing the at present antagonistic tendencies of different sections of society."

Such an ideal arouses the opposition of political economists like Gen. Francis A. Walker. Wedded to the past he springs to the defence of industrial war. To him competition is the ideal industrial motive power. He says: "Perfect competition equally exerted on both sides, like the pressure of the atmosphere would result in absolute justice. That would be the ideal economic state in which no one should ever fail to sell his goods or his service in the highest market or to buy the goods or service he required in the cheapest market."

Now, if all sold their goods in the highest market where are the sellers for the lower markets? and, if all buy in the cheapest market, who are the unfortunate purchasers for the dearer markets? The dream of the romancer may be impracticable, but this dream of the political economist is absolutely impossible. Let him sleep and dream again.

But this statement is capable of another interpretation. If every one sells his goods or his service in the highest market, then there is only one market. And if in buying goods or the service he requires every one can do so in the cheapest, then there is only one market for all. This sounds very much like nationalism. Can it be that General Walker's hostility to nationalism is Pickwickian and that he has taken this dramatic way of avowing his belief in its principles?

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

CYRUS F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

[Reports must be received by the 10th of the month to secure insertion in the next following number of the magazine.]

"The leaven is working" is the cry of all nationalists. Truly it is remarkable how the ideas are being passed from one to another. Already it is admitted on all sides that we are the coming force. Nationalism is the topic of conversation in the clubs, at the homes, on the streets, and in the cars. Wherever there are labor troubles, there will be found advocates of nationalism to show the strikers that nationalism is "a more excellent way" out of the present order of injustice. Notably was this the case in Boston where representative nationalists addressed the carpenters who are striking for eight hours and occupied their platform every morning for over two weeks. In Columbus as detailed below, the striking street car men were shown the benefits of nationalism. Thus large bodies of men whom it would be hard to reach if engaged in their regular occupations have heard the glad tidings of a new brotherhood based on economic equality. The disclosure of corruption in the legislatures of Massachusetts, Louisiana and other states is also making many nationalists who see that it is private control of public functions which is the source of the corrupting practices. The organization in the West by the Farmers Alliance and the Knights of Labor of the independent political party with its nationalistic platform is also another indication of how the yeast works. In the East steps are being taken for a political movement with nationalistic tendencies. Everywhere our main object, that is to lighten the labor pangs of the birth of the co-operative commonwealth, is being successful. That there is to be this new birth is denied by few. The main concern now is whether it shall be a peaceful birth or not.

CALIFORNIA: It is impossible until such time as we get a daily or weekly paper of our own to publish all the news that comes from this lively state. Los Angeles seems to be still the centre of the agitation, and there the necessity of the city owning its own water supply is being successfully pushed. Meetings are held continuously by the eight clubs in the city and the persistent work is being felt.

LOS ANGELES. The heat of the summer is upon us, but the interest in nationalism abates not. Mrs. Smith, the state organizer, is still making up nationalist congregations. All the clubs of the city have adopted a uniform constitution and henceforth all important measures will be brought before the nationalists in the mass meetings held under the auspices of the city administrative committee. Every safe-guard is being placed to avoid internal dissensions or the onslaught of the enemy. The citizens of Los Angeles have started the ball rolling for the municipal ownership of the water works, and all the papers are whooping it up strong. Well they could hardly do otherwise knowing that half of the population are nationalists in various stages of conviction. Our paper is a success from the start. If we had had more confidence in ourselves, we might have adopted this plan three months ago instead of making the only blunder to be credited to us, that of accepting the offer of a capitalist to publish a paper for us without having sufficiently investigated the motives that prompted him. A monster picnic of all the clubs in Los Angeles and Orange Counties will be held at Long Beach on the 4th of July, and exercises will be held in the Tabernacle erected by the Chautauqua Society. There, by the waters of the wild Pacific will be preached the doctrine of inter-dependence and the brotherhood of humanity. At the election of officers the Australian ballot was used with the principle of minority representation.

Meetings are held nearly every week in the other towns and cities and lectures delivered which it is impossible to even mention. It is necessary to "boil down" everything to barest notice.

EL CAJON. A club has been organized here with eight names. April 4 an address on the moral and religious aspects of nationalism under the auspices of the newly formed club was delivered by H. J. Stern. Since organizing the membership has grown to the number of sixteen. Mr. J. M. Edminston is president and Mr. Guy Hawley, secretary. El Cajon is a large valley, fifteen miles inland from San Diego and the city's chief agricultural and horticultural district. The raisin grape is grown here especially. Thousands of acres are covered with vineyards. Mr. Stern writes: "There is one church here, of which I have been pastor for three years, but am about to return to the East, probably to my old home, Louisville, Ky., where I will certainly labor for the new gospel of nationalism."

FRESNO. The Fresno Club at its first public meeting had a fine musical programme rendered. The speakers of the occasion were the Hon. T. P. Ryan and Lawyer N. H. Cureton. This club is progressing finely and has now over one hundred members. The members of the club, and notably Mr. G. F. Alexander, are doing some excellent work through the columns of the local press.

GARDEN GROVE. A small but earnest meeting was addressed here, Friday, May 23d, by Messrs. Wilshire and Owen, and a club of fifteen formed. J. W. Hawkins was appointed president; T. O. Wightman and Thos. Jessup, vice-presidents; and E. B. Foote, secretary.

MCCOY'S STATION. An excellent meeting was held here, Friday, May 23d, Mrs. Anna F. Smith being the principal speaker. A club was organized, nineteen signing the roll. D. E. Abrams was appointed president, and Mme. Barra, secretary.

VINELAND. The state organizer, Mrs. Anna F. Smith, attended a most enthusiastic meeting here, the hall being crowded and fully 350 present. Many had come in from Covina, Gladstone, Azusa, and other neighboring towns. The interest manifested was so great that a second meeting had to be held in the evening. A club of twenty-five was formed. President, Rev. Geo. Cannon; vice-president, Mrs. Duall; recording secretary, Mr. Genta. Mrs. Smith will shortly fill engagements at Covina and Azusa.

OAKLAND. A recent meeting of the club was devoted to the young people. Resolutions were adopted endorsing the Rev. Dr. Silcox in the stand he had taken for the emancipation of the race. This club, the pioneer, is still actively engaged in pushing nationalism.

PASADENA. Our club was organized, Oct. 12, 1889, with a charter membership of 20. Since that time we have held meetings every week with but two or three exceptions and now have ninety-four names upon our roll of membership. Rev. R. M. Webster of Long Beach delivered a course of four lectures here, Monday evenings, from April 19th to May 12th inclusive, and the Monday following, Hon. Abbott Kinney explained the Australian system of voting. Social reform is spreading like wild fire on this coast, and if it continues thus for two or three years, nationalism will have become good social orthodoxy.

SAN FRANCISCO. The California Nationalist Club. The club was formed in March. The officers at that time consisted of President Hon. E. D. Wheeler; vice-presidents, Mr. I. N. Thorn, Jerome A. Anderson, M. D.; secretary, Mrs. Sarah B. Gamble; treasurer, Prof. Otto Blaniart. The present secretary is Dr. E. M. Griffith, and treasurer Mr. M. R. Roberts, Jr. The club now has a membership of over five hundred persons. We have twenty-six physicians, several lawyers, authors, artists, teachers and professors of music. The most perfect harmony reigns at our business meetings, and we are all hard at work in teaching the principle of nationalism. We have branch meetings in two different parts of San Francisco, and propose having halls in four other parts of the city during the next month. All nationalists in these localities are invited to join the California club, and when it has a membership of one thousand persons we shall then decide what it is best to do with regard to the formation of new clubs. We have many men and women in our

club who are devoting nearly all their time to the noble cause of nationalism. We are still hopeful that we may elect a nationalist municipal ticket, next November, but realize that it will require almost superhuman effort to accomplish such a result.

In San Diego, San Francisco, and other places, the same move is being made for municipal water works as in Los Angeles.

STOCKTON. The First Nationalist Club of Stockton was formed here Wednesday, May 14th. Officers were elected as follows: President, Dr. A. S. Hudson; vice-president, C. F. Whittaker; secretary, Mrs. R. M. Woods; treasurer, R. Condy; executive committee, P. Aylsworth, W. B. Fyfe, H. R. Starkhouse, Mrs. A. C. Kelsey and M. L. Morrow. The club adopted the Boston declaration of principles with the addition of the following clause: "As government, law and order are absolutely necessary to the existence of society, we will pursue only those methods which are law-abiding. All others will be discountenanced." The meetings will be held on each Tuesday evening, and are not to exceed over one hour and a half, unless by a majority vote of the members. The meetings will be free to the public. The monthly dues are twenty-five cents, and, if a man is married this sum also includes his wife. It is the duty of the executive committee to provide a speaker for each meeting, and music if possible, and to give notice through the newspapers of the subject to be considered. No subject is to be discussed before the club unless it has a direct bearing on nationalism.

WESTMINSTER. H. G. Wilshire organized a Farmers' Nationalist Club here Friday, May 30. President, E. S. House; vice-president, H. G. Howell, second vice-president, G. L. Waters; secretary, A. B. Bonham. Mr. Wilshire also spoke at El Monte.

WHITTIER. Small meeting addressed by Messrs. Wilshire and Owen. A club was formed but only seven signed the roll. President, J. S. McKelvy; vice-president, James Mowat; secretary, Geo. Smith.

New clubs are also reported at Niles and Redondo.

CANADA: TORONTO. The nationalist movement has taken firm hold here and will soon be a power. The secretary writes as follows: "The constitution and principles of the Canadian Nationalist Association are almost identical with yours on the other side of the line. We have only had three or four meetings as yet, but we are very much in earnest and intend having several lectures this coming fall and winter. We are anxious to affiliate with your clubs over there in every way we can. Our officers are as follows: Mr. Hepburn, president; Mr. J. Moore, vice-president; Mr. R. L. Thomson, treasurer; Miss Lucy M. Sanderson, secretary; Mr. Newcombe, auditor.

COLORADO: DENVER. We have a nationalist organization in Denver now numbering fifty members and rapidly increasing.

The Denver Individualist, which is a paper of the 'philosophical' (?) Anarchistic school lately published the following:

"The Denver nationalists are worthy of much praise, because of the freedom of expression allowed to all phases of the social question at their meetings. At the one meeting which I have attended, all, no matter of what school of economics, were welcome to explain their beliefs. What is more generous still, any one, whether he be a disciple of Bellamy or of some other school of thought is permitted to become a member of the club. This is very gratifying, and should the Denver nationalists continue as they have started in, nothing can prevent the growth of interest in the social question in this city."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: WASHINGTON. The annual election resulted in the choice of the following officers: President, Maurice Pechin; vice-president, Ferdinand Schmidt; secretary, M. A. Clancy, 1426 Corcoran Street; treasurer, John Hansen; librarian, Max Georgii; chairmen of committees: On information, C. H. Richardson; on publication, W. W. Townsend; on membership, Max Georgii. Washington is a hard place to create much interest in nationalism—there are too many who, having national places already, are apt to forget those left out in the cold.

The last regular meeting before the summer vacation was held in Nationalist Hall, June 18, when Mr. J. L. McCreery lectured on "Transition Steps in Nationalism."

CONNECTICUT: NEW HAVEN. Sunday afternoon, May 18, George Mansfield the vice-president delivered a very scholarly address at the public meeting of the Nationalist Club. It is designed to have the address published soon in pamphlet form.

On the 25th Mrs. E. Bacon Bond of Taunton, Mass., occupied the platform and delivered a very interesting lecture which was listened to with the closest attention and highly appreciated. When she returns home it is her intention to organize a club in Taunton and with such a worker as Mrs. Bond it ought to flourish.

June 1st, H. H. Lane the president occupied the platform and read a sermon, delivered by Rev. Alexander Kent, at the Church of Our Father, Washington, D. C. The club has numerous petitions in circulation for signatures, asking the Common Council to establish an electric plant to supply electric light for public purposes and to accommodate citizens, thus to relieve both municipality and citizens of their dependence upon the gas and electric monopolies. It is being numerously signed and creating considerable interest among the politicians and others.

HARTFORD. Prof. F. S. Luther of Trinity, a member of the club, lectured Monday evening, May 26th, on the "The Manner in which the Form and Size of the Earth was Determined." He apologized for his subject saying that he had an old-fashioned prejudice in favor of discussing subjects which he understood. However he said, it was not really very inappropriate, for nationalists are accused of wanting the earth and are morally bound to have it in time, so it is well that they understand the shape and extent of their future possessions. There was plenty of suggestiveness throughout the lecture, in the history of the old scientists and their conservative opposers. *The Dawn*, *THE NATIONALIST*, and Bellamy's "Nationalism or Plutocracy" were given away at both meetings and the latter meeting was well reported in several papers.

By far the largest audience we have ever secured came to Unity Hall, Sunday evening, June 8th, to hear a lay sermon by George E. McNeill of Boston, on "Socialism and Working People." Grand organ music and two very effective solos, furnished by the kindness of Prof. K. O. Phelps and Mrs. L. B. Herrick, added no little to the enthusiasm which became too strong for the conventional Sunday, and found expression in subdued murmurs of applause. Mr. McNeill's modest, kindly manner was reassuring to timid ones who ventured in with doubts as to the propriety of it, while his facts and suggestions were helpful to all. Complimentary notices from *The Courant* and *The Post*, a two column report in *The Times* and *The Springfield Homestead's* usual favorable notice in the Hartford correspondence, "aided our little candle" to "throw its beams" a great distance. Withal our first attempt at Sunday service and the addition of musical attraction is most encouraging and it may be that, here as elsewhere, the Sabbath may be the day of all days best suited to the most sacred of all services. Rev. Dr. Graham Taylor of the Theological Seminary says, "I suppose that in the broad meaning of the terms, Nationalism and Christianity are synonymous."

IOWA: DES MOINES. W. F. Jamison who has been a lecturer by profession for thirty years writes, "I address public audiences on the subject of nationalism and find a great interest in every place I have visited, in our principles. Gave lectures on "Looking Backward," and "Looking Forward" in Des Moines, in Capital City Opera House, to a small audience of about 250; and in Neola, Shenandoah, Osceola, Oto, Correctionville, Schaler, Holstein, Sac City, Wall Lake, all in the magnificent, but mortgage-manacled State of Iowa. Was called to deliver addresses in Clearwater, Cooke, Seward, Auburn, and Milford, Nebraska. In Sac City, Iowa, the friends of nationalism invited me to explain our principles to the public. The best people of the beautiful little city are enthusiastically enlisted; a nationalist club had been organized just prior to my visit. A fine opera house was engaged, in which I found seated an elegant audience. The second night a still larger assemblage greeted me.

Some criticisms elicited in Sac City are comical: "Too good to be realized;" "Why not leave these good teachings to the pulpit?" "That is regular free trade democracy." One wealthy farmer came in several miles listening to both addresses. He came forward at the close of the second lecture, shook hands and remarked, "I am disappointed. I have been listening to hear you advocate a division of property." I suppose he slept

sounder that night when he sought his couch, convinced that under nationalism his well-fed cattle would be safer than under the present system. We are perfectly willing that the pulpit should expound nationalism; and, of course, the pulpit is too generous to monopolize the Golden Rule, inasmuch as we cordially extend to it the motive-searching "Diamond Rule," "Feel toward others as you would have others feel toward you."

IOWA FALLS. Mr. J. H. Randall of Chicago, spoke here recently to an audience of about two hundred and fifty on nationalism. Much interest was shown and the meeting was in every way a success. Taking into consideration the size of the place (2500) and the time of year it was a large gathering. Everywhere on the streets to-day people stop members of our club and ask for more light. Our city is contemplating water works and electric lights and the chances are that they will be built on the nationalist plan, viz: municipal control. Mr. Randall goes from here to Lehigh, Fort Dodge, and other places in Iowa, in the interests of nationalism.

KANSAS: TESCOTT. The Nationalist Club of Tescott held a meeting on Monday, May 26th, and formed a permanent organization by electing the following officers: G. A. Barton, president; Rev D. McGurk, first vice-president, and C. E. Pierce, second vice-president; J. E. Hobson, secretary; Miss Una Hobson, treasurer. Owing to the unfavorable weather there were but eighteen present to sign the constitution. We feel confident of a large increase in membership at our next meeting. The club held an enthusiastic meeting on May 26th. At our next meeting Rev. D. McGurk will deliver a lecture on nationalism.

MASSACHUSETTS: HAVERHILL. The club has permanently organized with twenty-two members mostly young and efficient workers in the cause. It is to be called the First Nationalist Club of Haverhill. The officers were chosen to serve until October 1, 1890, and all joining the club before that time to be considered charter members. The officers are president, Mr. J. K. Harris; first vice-president, C. S. Johns; second vice-president, Mrs. C. L. Bean; secretary, Mrs. L. J. Harding; treasurer, Mr. George Elbridge; Advisory Committee, Mr. T. T. Pomeroy. Mr. A. L. Harris, Mrs. J. R. Boynton. The club engaged a hall and held a well attended public meeting at which Mr. H. W. Austin spoke June 20, the male quartette of the city furnishing music.

BOSTON. At the regular monthly meeting of the Nationalist Club, at its headquarters, 77 Boylston Street, June 11, the new president, Dr. Faxon, in the chair, the matter of increasing the number of the advisory committee was considered. It was finally decided to lay the question over for one month. The most important matter was the adoption of a long and emphatic series of resolutions proposed by Sylvester Baxter protesting against the corruption in the Massachusetts Senate. The bill to allow cities and towns control of their own lighting plants has been referred to the next legislature, while an infamous bill to permit gas and electric companies to combine and water their stock was passed. This causes little wonder as one of the members of that committee was on the "little list" of nine senators whose votes it was alleged Senator Fassett promised to deliver for a consideration of \$100,000 to be paid for an elevated railroad charter. The club has lost the services of Capt. Chas. E. Bowers, its first president, and until lately business manager of the magazine. He has gone to Europe to be absent six months on business and pleasure. He took with him letters of introduction to the radical leaders of thought in England, France, Germany, and other countries, and will form connections with these as well as explaining what this new American movement really means. Capt. E. S. Huntington succeeds him as business manager, while Sylvester Baxter fills the vacancy caused by his resignation on the Advisory Committee.

LYNN. The first anniversary of the introduction of nationalism was celebrated by the club, Wednesday evening, June 18. There was a large attendance despite the great heat and much enthusiasm was manifested. An original song "Herald of Truth," written by Corresponding Secretary Broderick, with music by Walter E. Lowe, was sung by Mrs. Lowe. President Carey conducted the exercises and speeches were made by Professor Edward Johnson, J. H. Dwyer, George W. Gilmore, W. P. Conway, John A. O'Keefe

principal of the High School, George R. Peare, and John W. Gibboney. John W. Hutchinson of the famous anti-slavery Hutchinson family, concluded the meeting with a song.

MINNESOTA: MINNEAPOLIS. Have to report continued growth of the nationalist ideas in the Northwest. In Minneapolis some very able addresses have been delivered by Rev. Kristofer Janson and Rev. C. A. Cressy, at different places in the city notably at Bijou Theatre, Labor Temple, and West Hotel. An address on "Child Labor" was delivered in All Soul's Church, on the evening of May 25, by Mrs. Kate Buffington Davis. A local agitation on the question of municipal lighting is assuming practical shape, and there is good reason to suppose in two years time Minneapolis will be saving her taxpayers over a hundred thousand dollars per annum by lighting her own streets.

MISSOURI: ST. LOUIS. The Nationalist Club of this city on Tuesday evening, June 3rd, had the largest meeting since its existence, there being over 100 persons present, to listen to an address by the gifted speaker, Mr. Venier Voldo, of California. Mr. Voldo spoke for nearly two hours on the principles of nationalism, and was frequently interrupted by loud and well earned applause. At the close of the lecture Mr. Voldo's latest book entitled "Our Republican Monarchy" was sold for propaganda. The book gives a full outline of our present system and should be read by all nationalists.

At the next meeting, June 10th, Mrs. Barry-Lake formerly of Philadelphia, and a member of the club of that city, but now residing here, addressed the club. Mrs. Barry-Lake is an avowed nationalist and an able lecturer, who is well known in K. of L. circles as a lecturer and organizer, but being a thinker as well as a speaker she has joined the nationalists, knowing that nationalism is the only movement which is not for its own members, but for the whole human race.

KANSAS CITY. At the annual meeting of the First Nationalist Club of Kansas City Mrs. Ellen W. Gilruth was unanimously elected secretary for the ensuing year. Resolutions were also adopted endorsing Senator Stanford's scheme of issuing money to the farmers, and denouncing the bankers, money changers, and the Associated press. The nationalists in this club are now preparing to open a bazaar on the Bellamy plan, designed to facilitate the interchange of commodities, by the use of labor checks. This scheme is now duly chartered by the state of Missouri.

NEW JERSEY: JERSEY CITY. We organized a club here on June 15th and though small in numbers as yet, we are working for more with fair prospects of success. Mr. E. H. Bearse was elected president. We shall call the club the First Nationalist Club of Jersey City. Edward H. Pratt, 205 Eighth Street, is its secretary.

MENLO PARK. At the business meeting of the club here on June 5th, the constitution and by-laws of the parent club were formally adopted.

NEW YORK: HARLEM. Nationalist Club, No. 9, gave a musical and literary entertainment at the club room, 110, E. 125th Street, Harlem, on June 9th. The concert was a great success, both in the character of the entertainment and that of the audience. The members feel greatly encouraged in the interest shown by the Harlem people, and fully appreciate the help they have given in securing a firm footing for the club both socially and financially. The last lecture for the summer will be given on June 23, by Mr. Stansbury Norse, corresponding secretary of the club, but they will be resumed again in the fall, under still more favorable circumstances than in the past.

OHIO: CINCINNATI. Two thousand circulars, setting forth the ideas and principles of nationalism have been issued by the club to prominent persons in this city. It is anticipated that the result will be an increased membership of the club. The taking of this step is due principally to the energy and pecuniary sacrifice of Mr. Edward Wenning. The club meets the second and fourth Saturdays at Douglass-hall.

COLUMBUS. The recent horse-car strikes have given an excellent opportunity to preach nationalism. Excitement ran high and nearly every one was a nationalist to the extent of

municipalizing street railways, except perhaps the plutocracy. It was first an ordinary strike but after a while it became the people vs. the corporations. The large hall where the club meets was jammed with people to hear a discussion on "How to Keep the Cars Running," which was by municipal ownership and control. This was reported in the news of the strike which every body read and thousands were reached. Nine-tenths of the people are against the road and the nationalists are pushing the movement to have the city council repeal the ordinance granting them the franchise and to have the city take and operate the road. The success of the strike is mostly admitted to be due to the circulation of *Looking Backward* and *THE NATIONALIST*, the influence of Rev. Washington Gladden's lectures on social and economic topics, and to the influence of local nationalist clubs backed by the knowledge that "there are many more clubs just like them in the United States." The secretary says "Had we been thoroughly posted and had the machinery ready at the proper time Columbus would in all probability now have a nationalistic street railway. We have profited by the lesson and hope that other clubs in the future will be better prepared to take advantage of the situation than our two clubs were. This doesn't mean that we have given up the fight by any means."

RHODE ISLAND: PROVIDENCE. A club composed of members thoroughly saturated with the idea that universal co-operation and the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is the only true solution of the labor problem, and that agitation, education, and political action, the means to be employed to bring about this change in the industrial system, a few days before the last state election decided to nominate candidates for the assembly. The ticket was put in the field with no expectation that it would receive so large a support, but with the hope that it would attract attention to the principles upon which the nationalist party is based. This hope has been realized. Two nationalist clubs have been organized and we have been informed that there is a prospect of a third club organizing. The future outlook is very encouraging.

Sunday, June 1st, Club 1, elected the following officers for the ensuing six months: President, H. Bartlett; vice-president, T. Curran; recording secretary, S. H. Davis; corresponding and financial secretary, Franklin Burton; treasurer, A. Guldbransen.

A joint committee of the two clubs sent a communication to the city council protesting against the action of that body in granting to the Narraganset Electric Light Co., the control of subways for twenty-five years and requesting the council to grant the public a hearing upon the subject. The action of the council is severely criticized by the press and petitions have been sent to the mayor requesting him to veto the measure. The mayor returned the order with the veto and the veto was agreed to by a vote of 36 to 0.

THE NATIONALIST.

NEW DEPARTMENTS.

Readers of *THE NATIONALIST* frequently write to the editor asking information respecting the aims and purposes of the movement and kindred subjects, or giving their opinions upon certain matters which are engaging the attention of thoughtful people interested in the social condition of mankind. These letters have hitherto, so far as was possible, been answered by mail. It has, however, now become quite impracticable to continue this method of reply, and therefore, with the desire of satisfying what appears to be a demand, and with the view of making *THE NATIONALIST* as helpful as possible to the seekers after light and truth, two new departments will be opened in the August number.

In one of these departments will be printed the suitable questions and in the other the relevant letters received, and in subsequent numbers will be inserted the answers that may be forwarded by other correspondents. In this manner it is thought that, in many cases, a freer and more general discussion of subjects may be carried on, than can be done by means of the longer and more formal article.

All who wish to avail themselves of either department in the August number, are requested to send their communications to the office, No. 77 Boylston Street, Boston, as soon as possible. They should be as short and concise as possible, written on one side only of the paper, and contain the name and address of the writer, as well as a *nom de plume* in case it is desired that the real name be not printed.

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