SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN NOVELS.

By

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A thesis submitted to the Department of English and the Faculty of the Graduate School in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master's Degree.

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While reading in 1912 for my Bachelor's thesis on "A Study of Some Contemporary American Women Novelists", in the University of Utah, I became interested in various phases of American novels. The subject for the present thesis is both an outgrowth of a desire to investigate further the problems presented in the modern novel, and a response to the topic suggested by Professor S. L. Whitcomb in consultation regarding a suitable theme for a thesis. The original plan was to make this paper a "Study of Caste, or Class Distinction", but sufficient material of importance was not obtainable, and that subject itself naturally ran out into wider paths, so the broader sociological topic is the result.

The books selected have been chosen for the material which they contain, regardless of the author's rank, though an effort was made to use standard works. A list was compiled from all available sources and submitted to a number of professors and others who were kind enough to aid in selecting a final list of fifteen. That there may be others which would have illustrated the topics equally well, or perhaps better, the writer knows, but, under the circumstances, the books chosen appeared to be preferable.

In presenting this paper, I present it not as a complete survey, but as a suggestion, a small contribution
to this field of study. Though it doubtless is not the only attempt that has been, or is being, made, it opens a field in the study of American fiction that is fascinating, and, as yet, comparatively undiscovered, judging by responses received from letters sent out attempting to find some similar study. In this thesis, the aim is not scientific treatment, but an exposition, in essay form, of the prevailing problems which have crept into the modern novel, and a brief topical grouping and review of them.

For obvious reasons, it was difficult to secure material. I am indebted to the Library of Congress, the University of Chicago, Columbia University, the Lawrence Public Library and the library of the University of Kansas for suggestions and material.

I wish to thank the following professors at the University of Kansas, for personal help, Professor C.G. Dunlap, Professor B.M. Hopkins, and Professor S.L. Whitcomb especially, for this work has been prepared under his direction.

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN NOVELS.

INTRODUCTION.

It may seem strange to study social questions from novels. The proper place would appear to be in sociological treatises. It is, for those who are educated to the point of appreciating them. Many people, however, prefer to get their economic, sociological and even religious information from life-like characters in fiction rather than from undecorated essays. It is to such the novelist appeals. He is wise, for the demand for such novels is steadily increasing. Never before in our history have social and economic conditions so attracted public attention. Novels, therefore, are not only reflections of the prominence of the problems, but appeals to the prevailing sentiment and thought. The author knows that the greater the circulation, the wider will be the area over which his ideas are spread. So the social reformer, the individual who sees a new problem, or a new way to solve an old one, sugar coats his theory and sends it forth in the form of fiction.

A passing word about the distinction between the essay and the novel. The novel has certain laws of its own. "The four elements of the novel are sometimes, and not incorrectly, said to be plot, character, description, and dialogue--style which some would make a fifth, being a characteristic in another order of division". (Saintsbury). A sociological treatise has certain different laws. It contains data, possibly statistics,
and scientific truths. The sociological novel is a combination of the laws of the novel and of the social treatise. The social matter may appear in it, (1), as the main theme; (2), as a minor theme; (3), as belonging to a particular character or group of characters; (4), as portrayed in the plot (for example, a strike situation); (5), as evidenced in the sentiments of the author.

Between the artistic novel, at one extreme, and the purely scientific sociological treatise, at the other, are many gradations of work, inclining either toward the novel or the essay, according to the relative emphasis on social matters. Charles A. Beard, in the "National Municipal Review" says of Professor Albion W. Small's book, "Between Eras of Capitalism and Democracy" which is a sociological treatment prepared in the barest fiction form, "It would be difficult to find anywhere a more acute analysis of modern industrialism and a surer statement of changed views".

But the form employed by Professor Small is not new. As early as 1515, More's "Utopia", the first original prose story by a known English author, according to Saintsbury, dealing, not with a private life, but with society at large, appeared as the first of the series of fictional social studies, afterward followed by Bacon's "New Atlantis", Butler's "Erewhon", Defoe's "Gulliver's Travels", Bulwer's "Coming Race", and Bellamy's "Looking Backward".

"Euphues", in part a study of English social life, and noted as the earliest purely sociological English novel, preceded a wave of advance in fictional history in the eighteenth century. Pointing out the middle class as the happiest, Defoe presents in
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"Robinson Crusoe" the problem of being contented in one's own class. Even then, there were evidences of restlessness on the part of individuals who thought progress consisted in getting out of their accustomed place. Swift, satirizing society, its scientific movements, politics, partisanship and even its human nature, in "Gulliver's Travels"; Richardson, painting word-pictures of ideal gentlemen, of the problems of the girl's relation to her parents, and marriage, of the caste system, and the relation of the employer and the employee; Fielding and Smollett, depicting satirically picaresque society; Jane Austen, treating problems of provincial society,---this is the coterie of English novelists whose early efforts stimulated later writers to study the problems beneath the surface of society.

But it was in the nineteenth century that the social problem novel began to flower. Russia, probably heading the list with the greatest sociological fiction---which fact is to be expected, for no other nation has been quite so ground down, and has had need for such heroic literary treatment---, boasts the name of Tolstoi, Turgenev, Dostoievsky, and Gorky. Germany has produced Sudermann and Haputmann; Norway, Lie, Ibsen Bjornson; Spain, Valera and Perez Galdos; Italy, Verga and D'Annunzio; France, Zola and Hugo; and England, last, may exhibit with pride such names as Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Eliot, Reade, Meredith, Hardy, Kingsley, Disraeli, Ward and Galsworthy. America has comparatively few names, as yet, to represent her, but her youth and her freedom from many of the old world problems are obvious causes of this condition.

Studies of sociological fiction in English novels have
already been made, possibly the best known being "Social Ideals and English Letters", by Miss Vida B. Scudder. Some twenty years ago, Professor Charles Zueblin, of Chicago University, delivered a series of lectures, which were later printed, on "Social and Economic Fiction", his list being international.

In this present tentative treatment of social problems in American novels, the work is divided into four chapters: the first, treating of the problems of the home and the family; the second, the problems connected with the church as an "American institution; the third, problems of the industrial world; and the fourth, problems of political administration.
CHAPTER I.

THE HOME AND THE FAMILY.
CHAPTER 1.

THE HOME AND THE FAMILY.

The family is the unit of society. Though many of the functions that once were performed by the family are now being performed by other social institutions, it is still one of the very important factors in the progress of the world. Changes in education, religion, industry and politics have caused evidences of disintegrating tendencies in the family and the home as it exists today, and, because of its importance and the sentiment clustering about the ideals of the home, the problems attract the attention of many contemporary writers. If the comparative notice given these problems is an indication of the comparative number of corroding tendencies, then among social diseases, the problem of the home looms large.

The Difficulty of Establishing a Home Today.

One of the early problems in a discussion of the family is the difficulty of establishing a home at the present time. The chief novels studied which give significant matter on this topic are "Good "Americans", "A Certain "ich Man" and "The Jungle". They are scattered over the period from 1900 on. The territory covered extends from New York, the far East, through Chicago, the middle East, to Kansas, representing the West.

"Good "mericans " considers the problem of the difficulty
of establishing a home today due to the false ideas as to standards. Whole-souled, thoroughly American Mrs. Lewiston, our heroine Sybil's aunt, wonders what has become of American men. "They used to be so plentiful. One man says girls expect so much they make up their minds not to try". Mrs. Grantham agrees that American-born, European-educated Sybil Wynne had better marry the Scotch captain, for "Who is there here for her to marry? Whatever she was intended to be by her Maker, shaping and training have not fitted her to be the helpmate of a Good American". The hint this author, as well as other authors, gives, is a fair indication that lack of proper home training is a factor in perpetuating false standards.

If Bob Hendricks had not been compelled to leave poor Molly Culpepper and spend his time and efforts vainly in Chicago trying to get enough to start his little home, both his life and hers would have been different.

The pathetic efforts of Jurgis, the Lithuanian, and Ona to buy a miserable four room house near the stock yards in Chicago, and their tragic attempts to "work harder" in order to keep from losing, not only their dwelling place, but all the money they had invested in really renting, but supposedly buying, from the unscrupulous real estate men, is a picture of the struggles of the immigrant in America and his difficulty in establishing a home and a family.

2. The Jungle.]
Location and Environment of the Home.

In "The Iron Woman", "The Inside of the Cup", and "The Fruit of the Tree", particular attention is given to location and environment of the home. No author seems to think there are problems except in the location of the very poor, and occasionally, of the environment of the very wealthy, families. Between the two extremes, in real life, come many gradations. In actual life, there is a tendency toward the destruction of the home, and toward a nation of flat and hotel dwellers. In none of the novels studied has this been recognized. Kerrick merely hints at it in "The Common Lot". Howells, in "The Rise of Silas Lapham" introduces it incidentally.

If Mrs. Maitland had ever thought of it, doubtless she would have razed her employee's homes, "built on piles, seeming to stand on stilts, with shaky flights of steps running to unpaved sidewalks where pigs, children, hens and the daily tramp of feet from the works had beaten the earth into a hard black surface". Her own home was in this undesirable locality, ugly and unattractive, and she thought nothing of the desires others might have.

Tenements seem to be alike the country over. John Amherst, assistant manager, later the husband of the owner of the mills, longs to suppress the tenements and to cease to rent them out, giving the operatives the opportunity to buy land for themselves.

Both in the village of Bremerton from which John Hodder

1. The Iron Woman.
2. The Fruit of the Tree.
3. The Inside of the Cup.
comes, and in the vicinity of St. John's Church, of which he is the rector, are tenements. Time was when Dalton Street had been a fashionable street, but that time was past. St. John's spire still cast its shadow across the houses of olden times, filled now, not with the best families, as of yore, but with tired working girls, rough men, and miserable women of the streets. The tide had receded, leaving only St. John's, and here still come the fashionably dressed members, owners of the buildings and the bodies and souls of the inhabitants. Small wonder that the church had little meaning to the people of Dalton Street!

Far removed from such squalor, Eldon Parr, financier, gathered his pictures, his antiques, and beautified his home. But his home, in environment, was as sadly lacking as was Dalton Street in location. Indifferent to his children, they had drifted beyond him. Poor, lonely, Eldon Parr. He had made a business success, but he had not one loved one, nor one friend. His home was not a home, it was only a house.

So thought also Blair Maitland. His mother was the owner of the Iron Works. His home, with its old fashioned, dingy furniture, its business-like severity and its office in the dining room, with a mother always planning bridges and estimating contracts, was unendurable. Gladly would he have lived humbly in a daintily furnished home. The atmosphere in which he lived was a forceful factor in his development. Strange that he, as John Amherst and Horace Bentley had not seen the need.
of recreation for the mill children and had not taken them as did they, skating or for long walks into the country where they might play baseball.

Influence of the Wife over the Husband or Vice Versa.

One finds in these works some excellent fictional examples of women who have influenced their husbands: "Good Americans", "A Certain Rich Man", "The Fruit of the Tree", "The Octopus", and "The Inside of the Cup". Of these books, two were written by women and three by men. In two of the five novels, it is the woman who exerts a good influence.

Sybil Gynne\(^1\) has succeeded in marrying herself to Peter Davenant, a rising young lawyer. They, like many other young people, almost go under, because they will not live within their means, though, in justice to him, it must be said that he tried to induce her to be contented and happy in the home he could provide for her, but her inclinations are against his desires and he yields. Such a comment of him uttered, "He has stopped short in his profession" and the corollary unuttered, "due to his wife's influence" is frequent.

John Barclay\(^2\) always was possessed of the ability to gain power. The one great influence for good in his life had been his sweetheart, Ellen Culpepper. "All his boyish life she had nurtured the other self in his soul-the self that might have learned to give and be glad in the giving. When she went, he

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1. Good Americans.
closed his Emerson, opened his trigonometry and put money in his purse.

What a disappointment Bessy ["mherst"] must have been to her husband! He had always been interested in social service and as assistant manager had introduced movements for the benefit of the employees. But his wife was not in sympathy with him. She insisted always on being considered before the business. "One must never ask from women any news but the personal one, any measure of conduct but that of their own pains and pleasures".

Mrs. Wharton merely hints that that relationship existing between the doctor and the manager of the "estmore" mills, through marriage and the wife's influence is the key to the situation concerning some proposed reforms for the betterment of the mill employees.

To meek-eyed Annie Derrick who so easily obliterated herself, her husband owed much. Her love for literature had not separated her from her strictly practical husband's deepest feelings, though it had crushed or kept out that love of fame, money and power which lead him always on. Meeting a crisis, which to others seems right, to him, wrong, he speaks thus of Annie. "He would preserve his integrity. His wife was right, always she had influenced his better side."

Hard hearted, blustering Annixter pays Hilma this compliment. "She made a man of me. I was a machine before, and if another man, woman or child got in my way, I rode 'em down, and

1. The Fruit of the Tree.
2. The Octopus.
3. Ibid.
never dreamed of any one else but myself. Now I'm going to get in and help people and I'm going to keep up to that idea the rest of my natural life. It's all come about because of Hilma. 

Mrs. Constable ---the 'onstable name was worth money--- had encouraged her husband to ally himself with 'ldon Parr, then young and needing only the backing of a good name. She had insisted in having money, driving from her husband's heart the vision of things worth more than gold. He has grown to hate her, has become merely a tool to Parr, and though he realizes his position, is powerless to go back. He comprehends fully it is her fault, knows he knows it, and knows how impossible it is that they can ever hope to go back.

Friction between Husband and Wife.

One of the strongest disintegrating tendencies which is affecting the home is the friction between husband and wife. There are various explanations for it. It may be due to dissatisfaction because of social standards, of financial standing, of the wife's economic independence, of moral standards, of the changing view of the sacredness of the marriage contract, or of the emancipation of woman, either mentally, morally, physically, or spiritually. Naturally the question arises, which is the guilty party, the man or the woman. Perhaps because women have not had the world experience of men, perhaps because they have not yet learned to adapt themselves well, perhaps because they

1. The Inside of the Cup.
have not enough to do to keep their minds occupied, they appear to be the ones who are either dissatisfied, or the reason for men's becoming dissatisfied. From the point of view of the novelists, at least, they are usually the cause.

More powerful than a stinging lash in causing men to work and to sacrifice all for money and power is the love and desire of a woman. Peter ḥavenant\(^1\) is but one example, reminding one of Eliot's famous character, Mr. Lydgate, in "Middlemarch". Mr. Carnifex\(^2\) comment at the opera is pertinent. "What is the matter with so many American men now days that makes them tear and strain and fret to get money at any cost if it is not the chafing, ambitious, dissatisfied women behind them urging them on. We hardly see one happy woman. Most of them are keeping watch on the others to see that they don't get ahead in the race".

Herbert Maitland\(^3\) and his wife had not been happy, "for she jostled him and deafened him and dazed him, so that there was nothing for him to do but to die—to make room for her expanding industry". Yet she had loved him.

"When Amherst and Bessy\(^4\) seemed to be drifting apart, the estrangement between them was regarded by everyone as turning merely on money. " To the greater number of persons considering the question at all, there was, in fact, no other conceivable source of discord, since every known complication could be adjusted by means of the universal lubricant".

But Molly Culpepper\(^5\) 's heart was not aching because of

\(^1\)Good Americans.
\(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)The Iron Woman.
\(^4\)The Fruit of the Tree.
\(^5\)A Certain Rich Man.
money. There had been a time when it did, but she was married, and would gladly have foregone the little fortune that her husband had, had he been a man instead of a moral coward. There was nothing in her nature but what rebelled at any lack of honor, and moral bravery, and to find her own husband had bought her, with a price, what womanly woman could help rebelling!

Though "ugenia did not love her husband, she respected him. She still retained her pride of kin which compelled her to prod her sister-in-law into loving her undeserving husband. To Lottie, one man's sins, no matter who his family, are as other men's. Having wronged her, he had repaid her with marriage, but she did not mistake marriage for morality. Longing for freedom through a divorce, but goaded into living with an erring husband, she represents a type of woman common to American life.

No fear of the divorce was holding Adelle back. When wealthy Adelle Clark, in the process of being finished abroad by "Fussy" Comstock, a character similar to Lady Organ in "The Man From Home", meets Archie Davis, and makes him elope with her, she did not know as much about men as she did when she learned that a husband's principal use was in spending her money. Her money and her little child, through whom she has the first faint rays of an intellectual heart-opening, place her far above the ranks of those who have neither husband, child, nor the means of arranging surroundings to be comfortable and artistic.

1. The Voice of the People.
2. Ibid.
3. Clark's Field.
Friction Between Parents and Children.

The old order changes. No longer is the "American father" the head of his household, except by courtesy, for his children have developed with him, and they are ready to begin where he leaves off, or beyond. With the change in education and social ideals, the child matures earlier, and assumes responsibilities earlier than in any preceding generation. Account for the change in any way one wishes, it is here, and the parents, seemingly, are the slowest to recognize it. People are in the habit of speaking of "the typical second generation", implying that it is a degenerating one. Novelists recognize no such use of the term. Sometimes the second generation is an improvement on the first, and sometimes it is not. Were a study to be made of Alton Parr and his son and daughter, from "The Inside of the Cup", of Nick Burr and his father in "The Voice of the People", of Flint and Victoria, and of Hilary Vane and Austen in "Mr. Crewe's Career", of Magnus Urrick and Lyman in "The Octopus", of Paul Douglas and his children in "The High Calling", of Mrs. Maitland and Blair and of Elizabeth and her mother in "The Iron Man", and of John Barclay and Jeanette, in "A Certain Rich Man", one would find that in four cases, the second generation was an improvement over the first, in three instances the first was the finer, while in two examples, there was no decided difference. The books just mentioned present the problems existing between parents and children, for there is no age limit to the term "children", when used by parents. Some of the authors regard the younger people as simply more assertive. Others interpret
them as being absolutely unwilling to submit to parental restraint. Still others picture them as being dissatisfied with the family circumstances, and willing to use almost any means to escape from having to live always in the same environment.

To be the son of a shiftless, ignorant, poor white Southern farmer; to live in a hovel in a locality where even the negroes had better quarters; to yearn to be some one, educated, respected, perhaps even a lawyer or a judge,—such was Nick Burr.1

While "Idon Parr", lineal descendant of "ing Midas, was amassing wealth, his children were growing away from him. His son, weak-willed, wild, provided with too much money, became entangled with "ate Marcy, and his father pays her off. She was only a fallen woman but she had given the boy the only thoughtfulness he had ever had, and he really loved her. Allison, a capable young woman, but selfish, self-willed, prefers to spend her time away from her father's home, designing gardens for the rich.

Money is the only solace and panacea that Mrs. Maitland 3 ever knew. She had never understood her son and his artistic soul. His life had, until his college days, been barren and small wonder that, wealthy, he overstepped himself, decorating his room with exquisite pictures and expensive rugs, which extravagances his mother could not comprehend. She enjoyed making money to save it for her children, though she was not a miser. When she scolded him for offending her, when he loved Elizabeth seemingly

1. Voice of the People.
2. The Inside of the Cup.
3. The Iron Woman.
in vain, when anything went wrong, his mother consoled him with a check.

There was no open rupture between Victoria Flint and her father as there was between Hilary Vane and "usten. Keen, cosmopolitan Victoria used her eyes and ears, listened to her conscience, though she did not call it that, and differed radically from her father, who was the president of the Northeastern Railroad, able to buy and sell men and machines at will, and who held the view, that, since he was the steward for thousands of individuals, it was his duty to keep expenses down and dividends up, no matter what methods were required to accomplish this.

There was nothing of the snob about Victoria as there was about her mother, who, at her marriage had begun to "rise immediately with the kite-like adaptability of the "merican women for higher altitudes".

Hilary Vane, however, of the old school, counsel for the Northeastern, almost believing in the divine right of imperial railroads to rule, cannot at first understand his son, a struggling lawyer, who refuses to accept a pass given as a retainer, and who dares to stand alone against the skilled counsel with which railroads are always well provided. But the soul of the father is touched, and through the influence of the son who has shown him his mistaken ideas of honor and the place of the railroads, he makes, for such a man, a wonderful sacrifice.

A reverse condition of father and son prevails in a study

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1.Mr. Crewe's Career.
2.Ibid.
3.Ibid.
of "agnus Derrick and Lyman. Magnus, fearless, four-square, till
by circumstances he is forced into conditions which are his moral
undoing; Lyman, interested in politics, diplomatic, with a talent
for intrigue, a veritable genius for putting influential men
under obligations to himself. "Where his father, during his
political career had considered himself only as an exponent of
principles he strove to apply, Lyman saw but the office, his own
personal aggrandizement." He belonged to the new school wherein
objects were attained not by orations before senates and other
assemblies, but by sessions of committeees, caucuses, compromises,
and expedients. It does not need a mind reader to prophesy that
he surrendered his principles and climbed to offices which he
might have attained in a longer time through hard work by the
primrose path.

Paul and Esther Douglas have believed and have taught
their children that lives of honest toil are to be preferred
to riches. When Walter goes to college it grinds his spirit
to wait at table, as he earns his way through, and at length
he resorts to betting on the boat race to pick up a little
money. Incidentally Sheldon comments on the position taken
by the leaders of the university faculty who encourage, rather
than discourage, such habits among the students.

Duties of Parents to Children.

While there is much of dissatisfaction on the part of
children and young people toward their home conditions, which

1. The Octopus.
2. The High Calling.
3. Ibid.
cannot be excused, there are circumstances for which parents are partly responsible. Parents have other duties, just as necessary as providing for the child's physical welfare. Novelists have recognized this, and from different localities have sounded the warning. The need is just as great for the children of the aristocrat as it is for those of the laborer. The country from the Eastern to the Western coast, even in the novels, is awakening.

We have already hinted at the solution Mrs. Burton Harrison offers in better home training for life, especially in the case of wealthy girls. Parents can do much in discouraging snobbishness and the desire for social climbing. If children, as in the case of the Grantham's, are taken to fashionable summer resorts when they are young and their families are just on the fringe of society, and are taught and helped to work their way in; if they grow up with the view, as did superficial young Ainslie, who dislikes exceedingly to be called a New Yorker, for he was born in Paris, educated in England, and spent most of his summers knocking about the continent, that "it is hard to be a good American when one knows only New York, Boston, Washington, a little of Baltimore, and all of Newport," then that attitude toward life is a natural result.

History in the Wright family is being repeated when Sam's Sam, a man, attempting to write plays, and to fashion his own theories of life instead of having them forced upon him,

1. Good Americans.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
rebels against his father's disapproval. Sam's comment is, "I get tired of being disapproved of, especially as I can never understand why it is. I can bear anything but unreasonableness". His comment on his father is the same as his grandfather's was of Sam's father, his son, years ago, when they had that quarrel which is now of thirty years' standing. 'This story is a study of three generations, as is also "Milestones" by Arnold Bennett.

Sheldon believes that while a man has a duty to his state, he has likewise a duty to his sons and daughters. Paul Douglas, zealous in his efforts to cleanse politics, almost loses his own son. Unlike many real parents, he discovers and remedies his mistake before it is too late. An innate desire to live in luxury is found in every woman's heart, but not every one has the opportunity to choose to gratify it. Helen Douglas did, but with it must come a man she could neither love nor respect, a man who would purchase her as he would a beautiful horse or a priceless jewel. Her parents have not erred in their training toward her, and she illustrates, as do the other characters in the book what the author indicates as his purpose, "the value of the average American family training and the final victory of spiritual ideals over natural and physical attractions".

There is hardly need to mention again the apparent failure of Eldon Parr as a father. Many of the other problems which are connected with his name and family are only too clearly an outgrowth of his lack of filial attention and instruction. Neither

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1. *Awakening of Helena Ritchie*.
2. *The High Calling*.
3. *ibid*.
4. *The Inside of the Cup*.
is John Barclay an example of a man who did, in all respects, his duty by his family. He pales into insignificance, wealthy though he is, beside General Ward, the town's poor social reformer. Ward's son is going to marry Barclay's daughter, and the fathers are talking it over. Barclay plans for the future of his fortune. "When the time comes, they'll take the divine responsibility". "Divine tommyrot! What have they done that they should have that thrust upon them like a curse? You would take my boy, my clean hearted, fine souled boy, whom I have taught to fear God and callous his soul with your damned money making?"

Usually, according to the novelist, the attention paid to their children's mental, moral and physical welfare is in inverse ratio to the financial rating. There was one thing Mrs. Maitland forgot in her successful efforts to leave her children a fortune, and that was, her present duty to them. Blair and Nannie remained alone with the old butler-servant, or made their childish friends, envying them their ladylike mothers. It was Mrs. Maitland's duty to perform both a father's and a mother's obligation in providing financially, but it was likewise obligatory to supply them with a maternal atmosphere. She gave them money, plenty of it, and exacted no equivalent, either in scholarship or conduct. And when the inevitable revolt came, she disinherited Blair to make a man of him! In her own heart, as in the heart of many real parents rose the unanswerable question, "Whose fault is it when children fail?"

2. The Iron Woman.
3. Ibid.
But wealthy parents are not the only ones who neglect their duties and their opportunities. Even in religious homes, there are mistakes made. In "The Visioning" by Susan Glaspell, Anne Forrest's father was a minister and a very narrow one. He was really the cause of her going wrong because he starved her affections, humiliated her on every occasion, and after her treatment from him, she hated anything that partook of the name and nature of religion.

Reasons for Men and Women Going Wrong.

Whatever the reason may be in actual life, in fiction there seems to appear but one main reason for those who go wrong. Money is at the root. It may be for what money will purchase, it may be because of economic necessity, it may be because of an abundance of money. At first glance it seems as though this problem need not come necessarily under those of the home and the family, but circumstances and influences in the home are very largely responsible. In "The Awakening of Helena Ritchie", "The Iron Woman" and "The Inside of the Cup", the authors attribute wrong doing to the lack of proper home training. In "The Jungle" and "The Octopus" the novelists attribute the downfall of the characters to economic necessity in the home. In a popular contemporary drama, "Today", the love of luxury by the wife occasions exorbitant financial demands upon the husband, and in order to obtain luxuries for herself, the wife resorts to a house of ill fame. In "The Common Lot" love of power and riches causes the soul of the young architect to
be so commercialized that he sells his talent and himself to the unscrupulous contractor and is a partner in the horrible death met by many in the burning of a fire-trap which he had built. In Tolstoi's "Resurrection", ignorance, and after that, necessity, cause the degradation of Maslova, though there is a note of hope and renewed faith in men and women after the efforts made by Nekhludov, the offender, to regenerate both Maslova and himself by making the most heroic restitution.

To timid, unhappy, eighteen year old Helena, a marriage with Frederick Ritchie, well-bred, wealthy, man of the world, presented an opportunity of perpetual happiness. Later, Helena, no longer the innocent and trusting girl, Lloyd Pryor, attentive, thoughtful and a gentleman, and Frederick, cynical, abusive, and the murderer of his own child form the eternal triangle. The wife of one she cannot love, the sweetheart of one she may not marry, ---one reads between the lines of the tragedy of her life as she goes with Pryor. There is a striking kind of resemblance between Helena and poor unhappy Anna Karenina. Both are much alike in disposition, unhappily married and confronted with the same temptation. There is a marked difference, however, in the results of their blasted lives. Helena has a higher moral standard, casts aside Pryor and works out her own salvation, a re-born soul, while Anna, grown common, becoming tiresome and familiar, having no opportunity to rise above the level to which she has sunk, finally kills herself.

1. Awakening of Helena Ritchie.
Science does not consider such traits and tendencies as strongly hereditary, but something other than mere whims must account when both mother and daughter, honorably married to good men desert their husbands for other men. In Elizabeth's case, the reason was apparent, her own willfulness, and her unwillingness to abide by her act. From what depths of self-abasement must Mrs. Ritchie have come when, as the final resort, she tells her own life story, and sees the anger in her adopted son's eyes, and the involuntary blaze of scorn in Elizabeth's face. A severe measure, to be sure, but her speaking was the solution for the two young lives.

Had Preston Parr been trained differently by his parents, his abundance of money would not so easily have overpowered him. In his relations with Kate Argy he would have done a far nobler thing than his father did by bribing the girl to leave his son, for Preston would have married her, except that loving him, she feared to handicap him, and when he insisted, his father appealed to her good sense, gave her money, and she, disappointed, followed the line of least resistance.

In real life it is difficult to trace so clearly the cause of a girl's wrong doing as it is in the case of Minna Hooven. One's finger points accusingly and justly at the industrial world, and at the men whose efforts to climb to wealth and power over the bodies of men and the broken hearts of women. Deprived of her home through the duplicity of the railroad, of her father,

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1. The Iron Woman.
2. Ibid.
3. The Inside of the Cup.
4. Ibid.
5. The Octopus.
who lost his life defending his land, stranded in a strange city, and starving because of lack of money, the downward step was inevitable.

When Lithuanian Ona, who sewed hams in the packing house, to eke out the family income, was forced to tell her husband that seduction was the price she was compelled to pay for his position and hers, he was beside himself. Mary Turner, in "Within the Law" who was unjustly sentenced to imprisonment and who did not receive her time off for "good behavior," refused to pay the price demanded! Terrible as her statement may seem, there are, in actual life, still, such inhumanities.

Divorce.

In "Changing America" by Edward A. Ross, one finds some interesting and startling facts about the situation in America with regard to divorce. From 1867 to 1886, the number of divorces increased two and a half times as fast as the population. From 1887 to 1906, there was one divorce in every ten marriages. Although the tide of divorce is rising the world over, nowhere is it increasing so fast as in the United States. It is erroneous to suppose that the cause and the cure of the drift toward divorce is to be found in legislation. The tendency of legislation for the past twenty years has been in the direction of greater stringency. The loveless couples of the good old times appear to have been held together by public opinion, religious ordinance, ignorance of a remedy, the expense of divorce, or the wife's economic

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1. The Jungle.
helplessness, rather than by a heroic fidelity to an ideal. In view of the fact that two thirds of the divorces are granted to the wife, it is safe to say that the majority of them would not be sought but for the access of women to the industrial field. The better her prospect of solving the bread and butter question, the oftener the aggrieved wife will pluck up courage to break her fetters and face the world alone. The voice of authority—whether it appeals to precedent, or to Holy Writ is little heeded. No longer is a rigid arrangement able to hedge itself about with a divine sanction. Now as ever, lawmaker and theologian stand ready to bind on hapless persons iron chains—for the callousness of the well-wed to the woes of the mismated passes all belief, but public sentiment is master today; and public sentiment, taking the promotion of happiness as the end of human institutions, flinches from keeping the unhappy locked together when no demonstrable harm will result from breaking the bonds.

This is the fact in life. For a consideration of the views of the novelists, one may turn to "The Inside of the Cup", "The Awakening of Helena Ritchie", and "The Iron Woman".

There was a time in John Hodder's life when it was absolutely impossible for him to remarry a divorced person. When Mrs. Constable pleads with him to remarry her daughter, his answer is, "You have asked the impossible, believing as I do, that there can be no extenuating circumstances. And it is my duty to tell you it is because people today are losing their beliefs that we

1. The Inside of the Cup.
have this lenient attitude toward sacred things. If they still held the conviction that marriage is of God, they would labor to make it a success instead of flying apart at the first sign of what they choose to call incompatibility. But his views change within a year, for to Allison Parr he says, "You are right when you declare it to be a violation of the Spirit for a man and a woman to live together when love does not exist."

There was no question in Helena's mind about her justification for divorce, and when good old conservative Dr. King feels so keenly her position as to answer, "If ever there was cause, you had it", small wonder she could not yet change her point of view. As the forces tighten about her life, the realization of the meaning of things floods her mind. She had seen the time when marriage and morality were synonymous. "To marry her fellow outlaw seemed to promise both shelter and stability. Never mind if he were tired of her, if she must plead with him to keep his word, never mind anything except this, that any one of us may do that which, if done by all, would destroy society." But Helena had no divorce. After fifteen years, Frederick died, and Pryor reluctantly offered to fulfill his promise, stipulating that little orphaned David, for whom she had been caring, should be given up. This is one of the most forceful factors in bringing about her salvation. She had been as a good mother to him, and her heart loved him as it had never loved anyone else. Perhaps Pryor deliberately used this ruse, for unhesitatingly flashed out her choice,

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1. The Inside of the Cup.
2. Awakening of Helena Ritchie.
"David saves you—he will save me"! And the furnace of fire through which she passes when she sees the lad slipping away out of her care as she herself tells the doctors, who brought her the lad, her story, purifies her soul, though it almost breaks her heart as she is forced to confess she can do him no good. The suicide of Sam's Sam because of his hopeless love for her and particularly because he learns that his idol is but clay is the first experience in her life that gave her a dim glimpse of responsibility and questioned her right to happiness. But gradually she straightens the snarls in her life. Years after, her soul opens to Elizabeth. Daughter of a mother who left her husband to elope with another, possessed of an ungovernable temper, quarreling with her lover and marrying on the spur of the moment a previously rejected suitor, realizing within an hour her terrible mistake, and longing for her injured sweetheart—such was Elizabeth's tragic condition. Nothing, she thought, could hold her when she did not wish to be held. To Elizabeth, divorce seemed not only justifiable, but inevitable. To Mrs. Ritchie, seeing through the mist of pain and bitter tears, her one time longing for divorce, has come the sweetness born of anguish, that she is doing right. A real man, worthy in every particular has come into her life, but she loves him too much to wreck his life as she fears she might do, and her advice to Elizabeth is the same she constantly give herself, "I don't want you for your own happiness to do what seems wrong. It seems we ought to take the consequences of our sins".

1. The Awakening of Helena Ritchie.
This last thought of Mrs. Ritchie's brings up an idea which none of the novelists have treated,---the idea of loyalty. There is an innate feeling of loyalty engrained in every life. Marriage does not destroy this; its tendency is to develop it. That seems to be one reason why many of the dissatisfied men and women do not sever their marriage bonds. While there is a question of how much a husband or a wife can endure of ill-treatment or unfaithfulness, the consideration of loyalty to one's plighted troth should be one of the main springs of action or lack of action.

Mrs. Deland does not express so clearly her own views on the divorce problem as does Winston Churchill, for while one sees John Hodder willing to change his former opinion as to the right of the divorced to remarry and hear him promise to bring that view to the people whose lives it may truly help, Mrs. Deland closes her story before the readers know whether Elizabeth followed her advice or not. This appears to be a slight evasion on Mrs. Deland's part.

None of the novels studied happen to deal strongly with the philanderer, but he is often the cause of wrong doing and divorce. Instances of this type occur in "The High Calling", "The Story of Thyrza", by Alice Brown, and "The Visioning" by Susan Glaspell.

1. Awakening of Helena Ritchie.
2. The Inside of the Cup.
3. Awakening of Helena Ritchie.
CHAPTER II.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHURCH.
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PROBLEMS OF THE CHURCH.

The church is one of the most important, as well as one of the oldest, social institutions. It has its own traditions, and commands respect for itself. It would be unfortunate, if, through sham leaders, it should lose its power in an age in which so many social problems have arisen. The present age is full of opportunities for moral and spiritual growth. Whether the church will rise to its tremendous opportunity or whether it will prove itself inadequate, and be swept away or left behind in the progress of mankind, is today an important question. If the church drops out of its position of leadership, which for such long time it has held, it is destined to pass away.

Not only in the church itself, but in books dealing with the church and things religious, is the public deeply interested. In my own city, from the Salt Lake Public Library in the year 1913, 2211 books on religion and the Bible were lent; 2450 on biography, 2791 on social reform, 2567 on geography and travel, 8060 of literature, poetry and the drama, and 90,617 works of fiction. Averaging these figures, that means that one person in every twelve read one book, during the year, dealing with religion or social reform, in addition to the material on such topics gleaned from newspapers and periodicals. The number of religious books may be regarded as a barometer for the rising interest in attention paid to the church and its problems.
Any consideration of the church as a social institution includes or implies the treatment of its leaders, or the clergy. Much of religious feeling, ideals, practices, and sympathies of the church depend upon its leaders. In real life, as well as in novels, the wealthier the church, the more the minister is hedged about with conventional traditions and restrictions. In justice to the men themselves, must this be admitted, else how natural is the tendency to regard the minister as a man apart, acting as no other man of business would. In a sense, the minister is a man apart, hardly recognizing class consciousness, for he comes in most cases, not from among the very wealthy nor from the extremely poor. The chief reward of the ministry has always come to it in the affection and respect of the people. But our age is so drunk with the love of money that anything which does not pay in cash is rather looked down upon. Our newspapers constantly speak of college professors and ministers in a tone of patronizing condescension.

Two American novels, which have been produced in the last ten years, treating mainly of the problems of the minister and the church, are "The Inside of the Cup", and "The Calling of Dan Mathews". It is an interesting fact to note that the author of the latter book is an ordained minister, having left that field to become an author. Possibly the novel might be somewhat autobiographical.
One sees Dan first in his ministerial capacity as a noble, virile, enthusiastic student, believing that he has a message for Corinth. But a sentiment of foreboding hangs over him like a dark cloud. He represents the new type of minister, the one who practices, rather than preaches. Elder Jordan and Judge Strong belong to the old order. When Elder Jordan rebukes Dan for punishing the bully who struck crippled Denny; when Hope Farewell scathingly attacks him for being a minister, "that most useless member of society"; when the ruling class is humiliated at the spectacle of his working without a coat, like an ordinary man, desiring him to have more respect for the cloth, and for them, if he has no regard for himself; when all these incidents happened to him, Dan Mathews kept sweet and smiling. But when he learned why Grace Conner had attempted to take her life; why the town people had refused longer to hire Hope Farewell, and at what cost he should have to hold his position, his heart was deeply troubled. "No man or ordinary intelligence could long be in Memorial Church without learning that it was ruled by a ring as truly as any body politic was ever so ruled. He understood too clearly that his position depended upon "the bosses" then in control".

On one hand lay easy, well worn paths of obedience to tradition, policies and doctrines of Memorial Church and its denominational leaders. On the other, lay harder and less frequented ways—, truthfulness to himself and his own convictions. Would he, lowering his individual standard of righteousness, wave the banner of his employers, preaching,
not the things he believed to be the teachings of Jesus, but the things to meet the approval of his church rulers. Dan Mathews was no weakling. Neither could he bow himself to kiss the rod. He could not turn from the church and his chosen profession without the same certainty that had led him into it. He must stay and preach the things he felt. But there came a time when a more insistent voice from within called him to leave and seek his life work elsewhere.

When John Hodder left Bremerton to become the rector of St. John's, he was an orthodox Episcopal clergyman, sincere, dogmatic, and conservative. He had been called because St. John's wanted a man who was not tinged with socialism and other new and dangerous ideas so common among the clergy. But with a fashionable church situated in a poor neighborhood, overgrown with poverty and vice, and with his wealthy parishioners, indifferent to the conditions around the church, Hodder could not idly preach merely doctrine. Investigating for himself, he encountered the problems which confronted men and women; the meaning of the church to the people of Dalton Street; the relation of Park Street to Dalton Street; the propinquity of the tenements and St. John's; the problems of the working classes; - and he felt that the church was failing to do its duty. Older, wiser men than he have discovered the same problems, and have run against the same stone wall which confronted him when he began to find the relationship existing between all these conditions. Being

1. The Calling of Dan Mathews.
2. The Inside of the Cup.
dissatisfied with the attitude of his church, it is his duty to wake the lethargic members, and wake them he does, so successfully that his chief financial supporter, who had always been, and who always expected to be, the guiding hand in the controlling of St. John's, withdraws his support and his presence, and is successful in stopping the clergyman's salary. Hodder is no coward. The same problem confronts him that faced Dan Mathews. Shall he leave the church or shall he remain in it? He has received the sanction of the bishop and the unqualified support of the less wealthy members of the church. Receiving no salary, he remains, though the author is wise enough to close his novel before enough time has elapsed to test the accuracy of Eldon Parr's prophecy of financial failure for his church.

This novel is really a discourse in the form of fiction on religious themes, a plea for the restoration of the Holy Spirit in religion. It has for its theme the emancipation of a strongly religious clergyman from the orthodox, authoritative, literal view of Christianity to modern, freer translation of Christianity into present living conditions. It is a plea for religious individualism as opposed to the organization of the church. It calls for a democratic church which shall be the source of all righteous forces in the community. Churchill does not advocate a change from capitalistic system, but merely makes the church Christian and spiritual, and then, as such, the church, being composed of regenerated men and women, shall

1. The Inside of the Cup.
2. The Calling of Dan Mathews.
become the influence that shall take away the Mammonistic ideal prevailing in the world today with the consequent Mammonistic practices, and shall substitute the ideal of Christian service and unselfishness. So far as religion is concerned, he is pleading that it shall be practical and vital and not merely a fossilized institution.

In Margaret Deland's "John Ward, Preacher", John Ward is portrayed as a man of iron character and Puritanic ideal who sacrifices even his wife to the demands placed upon him by his congregation. In Sheldon's "The Crucifixion of Phillip Strong", the clergyman spends his life vainly to bring about a change in the attitude of his church toward the things of life which are most vital. Here too, the wife is little else than a servant to her husband's ideals. In English fiction, Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "Robert Ellsmere" is a study of the clergyman and his problems. Lyman Abbott, an American minister of fifty years' experience, and Bouck White, a Socialist minister, not so well known, are among the many American clergymen who have written of the minister's problems in both novel and essay form.

The Church and Social Classes.

One hears passionate protest against the use of the hateful word "class" in America. But the hateful part is not the word, but the thing. A class is a body of men who are so similar in their work, their duties and privileges, their manner of life and enjoyment, that a common interest, common conception
of life, and common moral ideals are developed and cement the individuals.

"America is tending to be divided into two classes—those who have only their labor and self respect to live by, and those who, owning land and capital, control the labor of others. The interests and sentiments of these two distinct sections of the community are not only different but mutually repellant. The churches have hitherto appealed to the self respect and self satisfaction of those who possess, or expect to possess, land and capital. There is an identity of nature between Christianity and democracy; they both unlock the hidden springs of spiritual energy within every individual breast. If this be so, there is a tragic irony in the tradition of the churches which have held out longer than any other human institution against the spirit of democracy. Religion to this day has been less touched by that spirit than any other human interest.

Not only in "The Inside of the Cup" and "The Calling of Dan Mathews" but also in "The Crucifixion of Phillip Strong", does one discover the relation of the church to the poor. Other organizations may conceivably be indifferent when confronted with the chronic or acute poverty of the cities. The church cannot. But the church can assume an attitude toward those whom it is helping that grinds the proudest spirit. It is a fact that the church is more kindly disposed toward the wealthy. The church had little meaning to the people of Dalton Street. At its very door St. John's had the wicked, the poor, the feeble, the helpless,

1. The Inside of the Cup.
the hungry and the sick, and it was doing nothing. Nay, more than that, it was making it harder, for the classes on Dalton Street had brown up with hatred toward the institution which is a thorn in the flesh, which flies the flag of the pirate, rather than the flag of the cross. Instead of bringing them a message of health and salvation, the church sapped the strength and rubbed the bloom from their lives, for was it not supported and controlled by wealthy men whose incomes came with the sweat of their faces, the labor of their hands, and even the shame of their lives, for Dalton Street was the abode of many Magdalenes? ¹

When Grace Conner, an outcast because of the slander of the church members, was compelled to resort to suicide after having lived in unspeakable surroundings, and still remained a pure girl, Dan Mathews, ² minister, began to have an inkling of the attitude of his church toward the poor in general.

And when Phillip Strong, after his speeches in the laborers' meetings succeeds in having some of them attend his church, he sees clearly in what regard his members hold them. Standing four square for what he deems Christ-like, he is finally driven from his church by his wealthy members.

There is a reciprocal relation between the attitude of the poor toward the church. The laboring man sees the church controlled by the same factor that controls his narrow, pitiful, meagre life; he sees the men who employ him, pay him starvation wages, work him unreasonable hours, occupying the prominent

¹ ⁴ The Calling of Dan Mathews.
² ⁵ Ibid.
³ The Crucifixion of Phillip Strong.
positions in the church and paying the preacher's salary, and incidentally prescribing the kind of message he may deliver, and small wonder that he thinks the church and capital are leagued together against him. Sometimes he is right. When a wealthy church controls property and makes part of its income by renting miserable tenements and worse to poor unfortunates as do some of the most prominent churches in America today, what else can he think?

When Hodder meets Garvin who demands if he comes from "Parr's church", and continues, "He owns it and runs it, the same as he does everything else in this town," when he hears Kate Marcy tell of the subterfuges Francis Ferguson and other large department store men use to hire clerks cheaply; when he discovers "there never was a law that Nelson Langmaid couldn't drive a horse and carriage through"; when he learns that Plimpton is half owner of Harrod's Hotel in Walton Street; and when he comprehends what cast Horace Bentley from St. John's, his heart goes out in pity for the poor whose lives the church might touch, and for the rich whose hearts the church has never touched.

Why the church should appear to be more of a luxury to the wealthy and a necessity to the poor, -for it is, even though they hold out against it because of the abuses in it-is a question. Perhaps the fact that the founder of the Christian church came, not to the wealthy, but to the poor, and that the poor conceive Him as more sympathetic, is partly the answer. But membership in the church seems to stamp a man as being of the elite and the

1 The Inside of the Cup.
elect as nothing else. And any function with which the church can be connected is regarded as that much more ceremonial and elevating. The average woman would shrink to consummate her marriage vows before the justice of the peace, though that is legally as binding as the most fashionable wedding service in the most aristocratic church. Francis Ferguson who conducted the department store, felt that his position on the vestry gave him that social standing his ambition included, but which his being in retail trade prevented. If he had not been chosen on the vestry of St. John's, he and his wife would probably have become members of some other church where their social aspirations would have been realized.

"Don Parr's character proves, as the author intends it to prove, that a man may gain the whole world and lose his own life. Having placed a money value on almost everything, his life becomes so small that everything which cannot be expressed in dollars and cents has no place in it. If now and then from the depths come flashes of longing for less material satisfactions, they are bought with purchaseable substitutes. Art is the easiest and most natural. The owner of the picture knows he never could have painted it, and yet his having paid for it makes him feel as if he had had a share in creating it. Paying the salary of saints without having to be a saint one's self seems to give one credit for the existence of saints. Hearing collects and rubrics talked about makes one feel he is a Christian without having to be one,
and voting for the election of missionary officials gives one a sense of profound interest in the salvation of the world without the necessity of rendering any personal service or even giving much money. If one doubts whether a man can lose his soul to such an extent, let him consider Mr. Rockefeller's opinion in the year 1913. "We shall be happy to feel that the church has kept singular pace with the world industrially and socially, particularly in our own country. Worldly attractions have increased its burden of work, but they have not halted its progress. We should all be thankful". Then remember that this is the Mr. Rockefeller who is interested in the mines at Calumet!

Eldon Parr was brutally right. Bishop Spaulding, late Episcopalian bishop of Utah says, "Profits, rent and interest support organized religion in the United States, and not wages. Capital controls the tools of worship and the entrepreneurs who operate them, just as it controls the tools of industry and the men, skilled and unskilled, who direct them. Working men are with startling rapidity becoming informed of the fact, and as they learn it, will lose confidence and interest in the church. The church will never really win the toilers---and they constitute the great majority of human lives, each one of which, on Christian principles, has infinite worth---until she becomes the champion of the poor, rather than the almoner of the rich".

The Church and Social Problems.

In modern life the relation between church and state has grown looser, the reverence for the church has sensibly waned,
and other intellectual and spiritual forces have risen by her side and successfully claimed part of the field which she formerly held alone. Our age is turning more and more away from the old time habit of trusting to intelligent beings other than man. The help we once expected from invisible agencies we are now demanding with the enthusiasm of a new faith in our fellow mortals. Among the morally intelligent, religion is accordingly ceasing to be regarded as a merely private concern- ment. The individual is looking to society to deliver him from sin and suffering, and the society he looks to, is nothing less than the nation to which he belongs. Only ecclesiastical institutions quicken religious emotion and clarify insight to the degree that drives men, filled with the splendor of new visions, into the desert and then back again into the slums of the city, with plans thought out and purposes and policy fixed and featured.

Amid the general anarchy, against the coarse vice and brutality of the barbarians, herself harried by the rapacity of the nobles and weakened by the ignorance and barbarism of her own clergy, the church in the early centuries did what she could, but a thorough social reconstruction was impossible. In modern life her power is broken by the prevalent doubt and apostasy, and the current of materialism and mammonism is now too great to be stemmed. So found John Hodder. Many claim that the church has reconstructed the world, that it has lifted woman to equality and companionship with man, secured the sanctity and stability of marriage, changed parental despotism  

1. The Inside of the Cup.
to parental service, eliminated the abandonment of children and blood revenge; that it has abolished slavery, mitigated war, covered all lands with a network of charities to uplift the poor and fallen, fostered the institutions of education, aided the progress of civil liberty and social justice and diffused a softening tenderness throughout human life. It has helped to do all these things and more. The influence of Christianity in taming selfishness and stimulating the sympathetic affections, in creating a resolute sense of duty, a staunch love of liberty and independence, an irresistible hunger for justice and a belief in the rights of the poor, has been so subtle and penetrating that no one can possibly trace its effect. But its work has only begun.

Though the novels merely hint at some of the different kinds of work needed by the community and taken up by the church, there are suggestions which the reader feels are the author's own personal sentiments. McCrae's and Hodder's fruitless attempts to introduce the laboring classes into the church services through the amusements and recreations provided for them in the church parlors, and Parr's and Plimpton's ideas of an institutional church in connection with St. John's, as well as the social innovations which are being introduced into some of the large churches now being built in America for the benefit of the social life of their own members, all show the direction in which the minds of men are running. Since the individual looks

1. The Inside of the Cup.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
to society for help, it is the church's duty to be the foremost agent. Today there are relatively few church members who realize that it is a crying wrong to hold land idle for speculation in cities where men's lungs are overgrown with tuberculosis bacilli for lack of air; few who realize that it is a flat denial of Christianity to take advantage of the needs of their fellowmen to buy labor cheaply or sell goods dearly. If one is right in contending that the churches of a country are to be judged as centres for the moral education of the nation, then American churches have committed an almost fatal blunder in holding aloof from politics and economic reform. While the church is rendering some service today in opposing child labor and the sweatshop system which are among the culminating atrocities of the wages system, its conscience has not at all awakened to the wrongfulness of the wages system as a whole, on which our industry rests. In general, the church has often rendered valuable aid by joining the advanced public in its protest against some single intolerable evil, but it has accepted as inevitable the general social system under which the world lives at the time, and has not undertaken any thoroughgoing social reconstruction in accordance with Christian principles.

The church has always stood for service and sacrifice. Its object was to help. The organized church is a great social institution, deeply rooted in the common life of humanity, and if all other human life about it suffers through some permanent evil, the church is bound to suffer with it. This is the stake of the church in the social crisis. If society continues to
is integrate and decay, the church will be carried down with it. If the church can rally such moral forces that injustice will be overcome and fresh red blood will course in a sounder social organism, it will itself rise to higher liberty and life.

The church has never had such an opportunity as that offered by the present time. The nation is awakening morally. There is a growing ideal of service which is forcing itself into every movement which has its roots in the church. Not only in religion, but in legislation is there an expanding of the humanitarian spirit, evidenced by laws providing for the safety of employees, for maximum hours and minimum wages, for the prevention of white slavery, and for the abolishing of intoxicating liquors. The course of social justice has needed only the backing of organized religion or order to sweep away the entrenched iniquity of ages. For that iniquity, although the support it received was disguised, has often hitherto been upheld and sustained by the churches. The potential efficiency of the church in affecting public opinion and custom is incalculable, and if the church directed its full available force against any social wrong, there is probably nothing that could stand up against it.
CHAPTER III.

PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRY.
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The American Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the French Revolution in 1789 marked the birth of modern democracy. About the same time, however, another revolution set in beside which these great events were puny. In 1769, Watts harnessed the expansive power of steam for human use. The weary hum of the hand spindle and the pounding of the hand loom could cease. But a long drawn wail of misery followed wherever the power-machine came. 't swept the bread from men's tables, and the pride from their hearts. Hitherto each master of a handicraft, with his family and a few apprentices about him, had plied his trade in his home, owner of his simple tools and master of his profits. His workmen ate at his table, married his daughters, and hoped to become masters themselves when their time of education was over. Men had not the hope of millions to lure them, nor the fear of poverty to haunt them. With the arrival of the power machine, the old economic order tottered and fell. Two classes were created and a wise gulf separated them: the employer, whose hands were white and whose power was great; the wage earner, who lived in a cottage and could, only in rare and constantly fewer instances, hope to own a great shop with its costly machinery. Thus went the old independence and approximate equality of the old life. The organization of workers led to
the organization of employers, which union gives to this class almost a monopoly of control. Being much fewer in numbers, this coherency results in giving the capitalist increased financial, political and social power.

The novelists reflect this power in various ways. Frequently it is evidenced by a possession of greater command over politics. Through the mighty influence wielded by the Pacific and Southwestern, and because of its promise to back him for governor of California, Lyman Derrick sold himself as a member of the railroad commission. Without the power of a great organization behind him, one man could not accomplish all these things. "Shelgrim owns the courts. He has the railroad commission in his pocket, he keeps a million dollar lobby at Sacramento every minute of the time the legislature is in session; he has his own men on the floor of the U.S. Senate. As for the Interstate Commerce Commission--it's the greatest Punch and Judy show on earth. There never was and never will be, a railroad commission not in the pay of the P. and S.W."

Often the power of the capitalists is manifested in their control over newspapers. Norris is one author whose characters denounce the press as being but a tool of the powers that be. When the editor of the paper tells Magnus that he needs ten thousand dollars to enlarge his paper--which is a polite way of saying he has received from somewhere the facts of Magnus' bribery of delegates,--and, after receiving the money,

1. The Octopus.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
sells Magnus out at the opportune moment when he is being attacked by the railroad, who furnished the information? Annister's account of Dyke's hold-up never found its way into the paper, for after "You and your gang drove Dyke from his job because he wouldn't work for starvation wages, you raised your freight rates and robbed him of all he had, you ruined him and drove him to fill himself with whiskey, and you are now going to hound him over the state, and bring him to the gallows at San Quentin", he ended with, "That's my version of the affair, but it would be worth your subsidy from the P. and S. W. to print".

Such a combination of men and capital possesses the power to back any proposition with wealth and legal talent. The railroad has a great number of tentacles, stretching forth in every direction, feeling the public pulse and ready to throttle the public throat. "If there is anything to be done in which the P. and S. W. doesn't wish to appear, it's S. Behrman who does it. If the freight rates are to be adjusted, if there's a judge to be bought, a jury to be bribed, an election to be jobbed, it's S. Behrman".

Congestion of Population of Wage-Earners.

One of the inevitable results of the concentration of industry resulting from the industrial revolution has been a congestion of population in the large cities. This has resulted in a tremendous increase in real estate values, rentals, cost

1. The Octopus.
2. Ibid.
of living, etc., consequently the wage earning classes of the poorer laborers have been forced into congested districts. This has brought in its train numerous social problems, such as housing perplexities, the problem of rearing children on the street, the lack of play grounds, the lack of social centres, and the importance of the saloon and the public dance halls as social centres.

Mr. Jacob A. Riis has observed that the housing problem is a transportation problem. That may be true for the middle classes, but for the workingman, the housing problem is rather a wage problem. One is but one of many working girls whose earnings do not permit of such extravagances as street car rides. Little Vilimas and Mikalojus, who sold papers all day, and then were forced to spend half their earnings on the street car, soon learned to save their money by hiding from the conductor— for morning and evening the cars were so crowded with working men that it was impossible for all the fares to be collected. Sinclair has shown the reason why the slum dwellers do not move to the suburbs. They cannot, for they are the hardest worked, and the poorest paid of any of the working class.

The problem of rearing children on the streets has been touched upon by Sinclair, Churchill, Herrick and Mrs. Deland and has been previously discussed in Chapter 1 under "The environment and location of the home". The vicious results of such methods of living are apparent without any description.

1. The Jungle.
2. Ibid.
Society is beginning to understand that the working masses are in need of social centres other than the saloon and the public dance hall. As illustrated in "The Jungle", the workman, returning from the factory or stock yards finds a home without any comforts, damp, unattractive and filthy. He stands in need of exhilaration, he must have something to make the prospects of the morrow tolerable. His social instinct can find satisfaction only in the saloon; he has no other place to meet his companions. When Dyke, dismissed, disgraced, degraded, flings himself into the saloon to drown his grief in drink, "in that moment they contemplated the slow sinking, the inevitable collapse and submerging of one of their companions, the wreck of a career, the ruin of an individual; an honest man, strong, fearless, upright, struck down by a colossal power, perverted by an evil influence, reeling to his ruin". It is to cope with just such situations as these and similar ones presented in "The Inside of the Cup", and "Clark's Field" that society is organizing social settlements with day nurseries, kindergartens, playgrounds for children, meeting places for young people, and educational facilities for those who are ambitious. It is trying to do for people living under abnormal conditions what these people under normal conditions ought to do for themselves.

The problem of the unemployed, though it enters the novels incidentally is one of vital importance. There are various causes for such conditions, and they may be divided into personal and impersonal causes. Under personal causes are sickness, old age

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1. The Octopus.
inefficiency, injury, lack of proper training, and race. As impersonal causes, one finds the following factors to be important: seasonal employment, the increased use of machinery, business depression, and capitalistic production. "The Jungle" illustrates cases of unemployment due to almost all of these causes. In "Clark's Field", and "The Octopus" several examples are cited, for which capitalistic production is responsible. In "The Inside of the Cup" and "The Calling of Dan Mathews" both Garvin and Hope Farewell are unable to secure employment because of the actions of so-called Christian individuals.

Relation of Capital to Labor.

The nineteenth century witnessed the birth of a new class alignment. With the invention of machinery, and the utilization of water and steam power, came enormous productive ability. The Malthusian checks were lifted and the population, increasing at a surprising rate, and being largely composed of the poorer people, became a permanent labor population. Class consciousness led to the formation of labor unions which, beginning in a crude form, have developed into highly organized bodies. The purpose of these organizations was primarily to insist upon, and to secure, the rights of labor in the productive and distributive processes. As previously discussed, the change from the individual scale to the social scale involved a transformation into ownership and wage earning classes. There is increasing bitterness between employer and employee, which is everywhere evidenced by a tightening of lines and increased solidarity on the part of each. Each side has attempted to
secure passage of laws favorable to itself. Time was when the capitalist lived in the town and knew his men by name as did Jackson Powers.\footnote{1} That time has almost passed. Today absentee landlordism is quite the rule. Adelle Clark\footnote{2} and Bessy Westmore\footnote{3} are good instances of this phase of the question, while Mrs. Maitland\footnote{4} and "The Lady"\footnote{5} are sterling examples of those who dwelt near their employees.

Between the employer and the employee there are certain rights possessed by, and duties demanded of, each.\footnote{6} The most frequent problems confronting them, both in real life, and as portrayed in the novel, relate to questions of wages, hours of labor, conditions of labor and unions, with their attendant considerations of strikes, boycotts, lockouts and blacklists.

The novel of our study dealing most in detail with this problem is "The Fruit of the Tree". The author gives a vivid picture of the mills with the cards too close together, the cotton dust filling the air and the worker's lungs, the lack of ventilation and cleanliness, and presents her ideas of solution by having Amherst attempt to carry out the plan. He pleads for a re-adjustment between the company and the "hands", asks for a suppression of the tenements, the company store; the enlarging of the floor space for reasons other than increasing revenue, the building of a park, and an athletic field, the establishing of a library, dispensary, and emergency hospital, and absolute cleanliness and improved ventilation. To attain these ends is the

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] The Common Lot.
\item[2.] Clark's Field.
\item[3.] The Fruit of the Tree.
\item[4.] The Iron Woman.
\item[5.] The Broken Wall.
\item[6.] The Fruit of the Tree.
\end{itemize}}
duty of the employers.

In spite of her seeming masculinity, Mrs. Maitland managed her mills well. There occurred no labor disputes, no strikes, and a hint of her personal relation is given in her greater solicitude for the injured than for herself, in the accident. A skillful touch of the author imparts the fact that the owner was planning a hospital for the works. There was no absentee landlordism here as in Colorado today.

In the mad rush for success, corporations and individuals alike usually fail to do justice to their employees. Dyke was an efficient railroad engineer, who did not belong to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—an added advantage in the railroad's opinion, who stood by his train when the strike came, who was offered a watch by the company for his faithfulness, but said he preferred justice and fair treatment, and who, not long after, had his wages cut along with men who had been blacklisted. In answer to his request for an explanation, they told him it would not be fair to discriminate in favor of one man. Is he a fictional character merely, or the living prototype of thousands of employees?

Jurgis was a stock yard man instead of an engineer. A big strong emigrant, he came to America and went to work in Packingtown. He could not at first adapt himself to the strange conditions in the plant, but very soon, he discovered why the men worked harder and harder— the speeding process was just beginning to reach its height. When his poor old father had to pay his "boss" a third of his wages in order to get a job, Jurgis had

1. The Iron Woman.
2. The Octopus.
3. The Jungle.
still further insight. He learned how the plant discouraged unions, how it employed "spotters", taught unskilled labor the work and then turned them out, knowing that if a strike should come, there would be others now who could step in and fill the vacant places. But this was not the worst. A man who was one minute late was docked an hour, and this was economical for he was made to work the hour. If he came ahead of time, he got no pay for that, though often the boss would start them up fifteen minutes before the whistle. And this same custom they carried over to the end of the day. They were not paid for "broken time". Every day was a sort of lottery, a struggle between the bosses and the men, the former trying to rush a job through, the latter trying to stretch it out. Jurgis blamed the bosses for this, though it was not their fault, for the packers kept them frightened, and when one was in danger of falling behind the standard, what was easier than making the "gang work awhile for the church". They explained this to Jurgis—how old man Jones was great on missions and such things, and so whenever they were doing some particularly disagreeable job, they would wink and say, "Now we're working for the church".

In the hurry and bustle of the working world, woman has had to take her place. With the introduction of the machine and of the factory system the personal training and the physical strength of the workingman lost their importance in the process of production. The machine required deftness rather than strength. The slender fingers of women and children sufficed for it, and

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The Jungle.
they were cheaper than men. So men were forced out of work by the competition of their own wives and children and saw their loved ones wilt and die under the relentless drag of the machine. The saying that "a man's foes shall be they of his own household" received a new application. Other things being equal, the capitalist who employs women secures a distinct advantage over his competitor who employs men. But should the home be sacrificed for the advantage of individuals? With the increase of woman labor in mills, factories and stores, there is a most evil effect upon the home. Such labor decreases the physical fitness of women to be wives and mothers, it tends to postpone or discourage marriage, it increases women's self reliance and independence, which is a reason for the increasing number of divorces, and it tends to lower wages and to displace men who are the normal providers for, and the protectors of, the home. Ona and Marija represent types of women factory workers who simply could not keep up the pace. One died, the other went into a house of ill fame. Ate Marcy is only too perfect a representative of the tens of thousands of clerks who are obliged, in order to live, to supplement their earnings with the wages of immorality.

While woman labor is bad, child labor is infinitely worse. Economically, morally and in every other way, child labor is one of the heaviest curses upon the working class and society. Originating as a last and desperate resort in the effort to augment the insufficient income of the head of the proletarian family, child

1. The Jungle.
labor has proved in the hands of the capitalist one of the most effective methods for cutting the wages of the adult workers. Capitalism holds the workers in the grip of a vicious circle, the poverty of the wage earning father sends his child to the factory, and the competition of the child in the factory increases the father's poverty, and makes it ever harder for him to dispense with the scanty additional earnings of the child. There is no need to dwell on the moral cost of child labor to the working class. Labor robs the child of all joys and privileges of childhood, cripples his body, dwarfs his mind, takes the very life out of him, and threatens to develop a generation of dull, cheerless, and resistless workers. Stanislovas is but one of myriads of children whose childish hearts and bodies and souls have been blasted by the necessity for them to toil.

Problem of Rapidly Acquired and Inherited Wealth.

Today men are beginning to ask the question, has a man the right to amass untold wealth? Heretofore, riches in a part of the people and poverty in the others has been accepted as a law as unchangeable as the law of gravitation or the movement of the planets. The right of one man, of a few men to gather together most of the wealth of the community was conceded, provided it was obtained honestly. That is, a man must not shoot his neighbor and take his farm, he should not go out in the night and by force take greenbacks from another's pocket or purse. He must

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1. The Jungle.
not forge a note to secure money belonging to another. But he might employ men, women, even children at starvation wages, and under dangerous and insanitary conditions and thus murderously acquire wealth. He might, by his power and influence, make laws in favor of his business and against the welfare of humanity, and thus by force, take property away from another. A man may still be independently rich, provided he accomplish it honestly. "Honesty" is a relative term, and what may be deemed honest today may tomorrow, be recognized as barbarous and dishonest.

John Barclay represents the enterprising twentieth century financier. Living a generation later, in a middle western, rather than a far eastern town, in charge of mills instead of a paint establishment, he is the modern Silas Lapham. As a boy, John was the social leader in spite of every one. He lent his money, traded and bargained, always gaining. In answer to a protest, his response was,---and it was characteristic--"If I don't get it, some one else will. I'm no charitable institution". Money and power flowed toward him. He was no mere Mammon worshipper. He had a natural aptitude for succeeding and he delighted in accomplishing things. He loved power. After Ellen Gulpepper's death, what little spark of common kindness there might have been in his heart was crushed out. Whatever he attempted, succeeded. General Ward said of him"He seems to have too little faith in God and too much in the ability of John Barclay. If I could

2. Ibid.
maintain such a faith in God as he maintains in money, I could raise the dead". The years pass. Barclay is grown, and is recognized as one of the money leaders of the country. He had Bemis put on the judiciary committee, and through him changed a railroad assessment law, secured the passage of a law permitting his elevator company to cheat the farmers, and prevented the passage of a half dozen laws restricting the powers of the railroads. He had taken advantage of his best friends, had sold his girlhood friend into marriage, broken his mother's heart, dulled his wife's affections, blunted his daughter's love for him, and still he pushed on. And then his wife died. He had bought a railroad that day, three thousand miles long. He had bought a man's soul in a distant city,—a man whom he did not even know by name, but the soul was thrown in, in the bargain; he had bought a woman's body whose face he had never seen, and that went as part of another trade he was making and he did not even know they had thrown it in. But with all his wealth and power, he could not buy one tear, not one little miserable tear, to moisten his grief dried heart.

And his world was a chaos. Nowhere was there peace or rest. The months' experience since his wife's death had eaten into his heart. No one could help him. His God-fearing mother had spent her life trying to make him a worthy man, and had failed. But her influence, and that of his wife and his daughter, and his courageous friend, General Ward, social reformer, had not been

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1A Certain Rich Man.
2Ibid.
in vain. Through the darkness of a sleepless night, there came to him the vision of the man he had been and the man he might have been, and as it came to him that he was a miserable offender and the other life was the right life, he was filled with unutterable joy. "And when, fired with the earnest desire to make restitution, he restores to all the money he has wrongfully taken, the change in his life is complete. But the crowning act and the closing act, is the giving of his life to rescue from drowning a fallen woman, the reproach of the town.

When, in the twinkling of an eye, the "Titanic," received her death blow she carried down with her a man whose share of the world's wealth totalled one hundred million dollars. By the laws of the state of New York, this vast estate passed to his son, a lad of twenty years. By custom, people have come to believe that the inheritance of a hundred million is not to be questioned. But why should one young man, a mere boy, who has never earned a dollar in his life, who does not know the meaning of toil, who produced not a single dollar of the millions he inherited, be given such enormous wealth, while in the streets of his city thousands of men, women and children live in want, in need, and in distress? Society is slowly coming to realize that no man has the right to live by the blood of other men, and it is slowly, by inheritance and income tax laws, making the inheritors of vast fortunes give back to the state part of the wealth that was created by society and belongs to the people.

The problem of inheritance finds expression in the novels of Herrick, White, Mrs. Deland and Mrs. Wharton. "Clark's Field" is
the study of a field adjoining Boston, the title to which was not clear but which was finally quieted in Adelle. The girl-the only heir who could be found,--is educated at an enormous expense, travels extensively in Europe and at length returns, married.

Good Judge Orcutt has often questioned whether Adelle had legally and morally a right to that property, which by its unearned increment had grown into a factory settlement, and by the toiling lives of thousands made possible a forty thousand dollar a year education for a girl whose life, save for that inheritance, would have been as the worker's own. "A Certain Rich Man" has already been noticed. In Blair Maitland's case one finds an example of the youth of the wealthy who, having never earned a dollar, does not appreciate the privileges and the responsibilities which accompany the possession of riches. John "mherst has decided views as to the ownership of property and money, and his heart is filled with concern over the money which belongs legally to Bessy estmore and to Cicely and later, to him. When it finally reaches him, however, he uses it as one would expect him to, in accordance with the highest knowledge of the rights and necessities of others.

Public Service.

The doctrine of "laissez faire", proclaimed by Adam Smith and his followers at the close of the eighteenth century as the ideal system, and so forcibly expressed in the notorious retort of Vanderbilt, has lost much of its charm for the American people.

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1. The Iron Woman.
2. The Fruit of the Tree.
The right and duty of the government to interfere with the conduct of natural monopolies, such as the railroads, steamship lines, telegraph and telephone lines has been firmly fixed in American jurisprudence. Nor has the field of private industry remained immune from governmental interference. Today, more than ever before in the history of the country, private industry is being subjected to surveillance and gradually encroaching regulation. The future of such a movement cannot be forecast, but it is safe to say that a new era of industrial righteousness has dawned. The right of the public to healthful labor conditions, to pure food and pure drugs, to safety appliances, to sanitary conditions in factories producing for public consumption, is without question save on the part of employers. More and more even private industry is coming to be held as a service of public trust, the obligations of which can only be discharged in accordance with the rights and claims of the welfare of the community.

Throughout the novels, one finds reflections of this awakening public conscience. In "A Certain Rich Man", John Barclay's own wife is a victim of the polluted water which is good enough for the town to drink. The strongest protest in a single novel comes from "The Jungle". Swarms of flies hung over a certain area, from which came a strange fetid odor, and then the residents quietly explained that this was "made" land, formerly the dumping ground of the city garbage system. A little beyond was a great hole which in summer festered, reeking with the drainings of the
soil; in winter some one cut the ice from it and sold it to the people of the city. The insanitary conditions of the laborers' houses, with no cesspools, no sewers,—small wonder that each family paid its toll to tuberculosis. The city had a law against using buildings as lodging houses unless they were licensed for the purpose and provided with proper windows, stairways, and fire escapes; but here in a paint room reached only by an enclosed chute, a room without a single window and with only one door, a hundred men were crowded upon mattresses on the floor.

The explanation of the various methods of food adulteration as given in "The Jungle" should be an eye opener to the American people. While these methods may not all be practiced at the same factory, it behooves individuals to watch closely the food they purchase and insist on proper laws and their enforcement. Since the book is a protest against the adulteration of foods, the author naturally has made his material as striking as possible. The milk was watered and doctored with formaldehyde; the tea, coffee, sugar and flour had been treated with aniline dyes; but the meat was the unspeakable. Diseased, wounded, and dead animals, were received as healthy, living beasts. They were prepared as others, scattered throughout the good carcasses, and sold. The government inspector felt in the animals' necks for tuberculosis. He did not have the manner of a man who was worked to death, and was apparently not haunted by the fact that a hog might get by him before he had finished his testing.

1. The Jungle.
Every part of the pig except the squeal was used, worked up into some new combination or other by clever men, aided by artificial colorings.

Destructive criticism, however, is not the only field into which the authors venture. Varying with the problems presented, the author's ideas for the alleviation and eradication of abuses are expressed through the mouth of some characters or character in the novel. These characters are chosen from different walks of life, and a brief mention of some of them may be of interest.

Paul Douglas learns before election the attitude of the machine whose agents attempt to bribe and then to threaten him. He finds his way blocked in every effort for honest reforms of the old, corrupt party devices. People besought him to leave the corporations alone. Old friends deserted him. The forces on the side of liquor and gambling, men who make their living by appointment to little political jobs, and plunderers of the treasury who live without any visible means of support except what they boldly steal from contracts of public works—all are after peace, the peace of those who are let alone to rob the state, degrade politics, enthrone injustice, keep the party in power, and re-elect themselves. Through all this, even to the failure of his bills for the good of the people, he stands four square for what he believes to be right. In Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People," Mr. Stockman is a similar character. He, knowing the paths, which are making the town famous, are nothing

1. The High Calling.
but a pestiferous hole, informs the people, and instead of getting their support, loses his influence with them, his place as medical inspector, and is branded forever as an enemy of the people.

1 Judge Orcutt was disliked by all the lawyers and trust companies which had the least tendencies toward smooth dealings. In the case of Adelle, he was in no hurry to appoint her aunt as guardian, and investigated until he found that the schemes of the capitalists were directed against the unsuspecting woman and the innocent child. At Adelle's return from Europe, he is the only one who gives her any advice at all as to her duty to society and when she finally realizes that she is merely the property holder for thousands of men and women who have made wealth for her, he is who suggests the municipal market, public baths, and model tenements. In Herrick's "The Common Lot", he has for his social reformer a young doctor who is trying in his poverty to work among the poor, refusing to sell them drugs without attempting to cure the disease. Horace Bentley's position with regard to the children of the slums has already been noted. General Ward's position with relation to John Barclay was one of the factors which induced Barclay to give up the life which he had led so long.

The fact that nearly every novel studied has one character who stands out pre-eminently as a reformer suggests that there may be a need for a reconstruction of society, and that there

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1. Clark's Field.
2. The Inside of the Cup.
are fundamental ideas taking hold of men's minds as to the
necessary and the right thing to do. The charity worker may bring
temporary relief to a few hundred poor, a mere atom in the
world of poverty, but he cannot check poverty. The moral crusader
may save the souls of some fallen men and women, but as long
as the conditions which drive them into vice exist unchanged,
he cannot stamp out vice and crime. The political reformer
may succeed in a certain campaign and defeat the corrupt boss,
or divorce the legislature from the corrupting lobby, but the
next campaign will find a new boss at the head of his party and
a new host of capitalist agents in control of the legislature
as long as the industrial conditions which breed corruption
in politics continue.
CHAPTER IV.

PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION.
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PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION.

No matter whether they do or do not approve of what is going on, candid commentators on American politics will probably agree that the political development of the country has entered upon new and critical phases. Fifteen or twenty years ago, public opinion was rather sordid, decidedly materialistic, and complacent. Political appeals were made chiefly to private selfish interests. Political action was judged largely as it was supposed to affect wages of profits. Today the people are aroused, not only over every charge that public office has been used for personal reward, but even over questions, such as direct nominations, which involve the principle of making public officers responsible to the popular will. They find not only the matter of railway rates a subject of common interest, but the whole problem of the control of public utilities; they have no longer merely the welfare of the manufacturers to consider, but the welfare of the farmer and the laborer. The rapidity and the extent of this alteration in American politics has palpably been the result of the gross excesses committed by the beneficiaries of the old order. If the responsible managers of large industries of the country and their political allies lost public confidence, it was because of their own flagrant misdeeds. The ill-will of public opinion could be stirred up against them, because they
had unscrupulously violated the laws, and abused their opportunities. An era of political and business "muck raking" has developed and still endures, the object of which was not a clear-headed patient diagnosis of the country's political business malady, but an arousing of the American conscience against malfeasance in high places. The better public opinion of the country has become convinced of the existence of flagrant abuses in connection with its political and economic management. It has begun to understand that these abuses have been rendered possible as a result of an alliance between an over-grown business system and a superannuated political system.

Not only public minded officials and social reformers, but novelists also, have become concerned with the problems. The novelists dwell in, and their works treat of, different localities of our great country. Ellen Glasgow and Winston Churchill write of the far east, Sinclair, of Chicago, William Allen White, of the middle west, and Frank Norris, of California.

Corruption in Securing Office.

Theodore Roosevelt says "The three influences I consider most dangerous to the perpetuity of American institutions are: corruption in politics and business alike, lawless violence, and mendacity. There are certain matters which should never be treated as party matters, and foremost among these is the vital virtue of honesty".

As securing office is the first step in the upward climb of politics, so it offers the first opportunities for corruption.
One of the problems which has long confronted honest citizens is that of the buying of votes. Judging by the interest aroused by it in the novels, the problem is as important as it is long standing. In the novels there are various methods of buying votes. One may purchase with money, which, though often done, is not so refined as obtaining by promises of future jobs. The latter is the more common way. Lyman Derrick was thus rewarded. Lige Bemis made the rounds of Sycamore Ridge, promising to bestow anything from the state treasurership to the wardenship of the penitentiary. Nick Burr was roundly scored because he appointed men to office who were sure to vote for his opponent at the next election. When Humphrey Crewe failed to get the nomination he was not surprised. Lithuanian Jurgis was taken, with a host of other foreigners, into the back room of a saloon, shown where to mark the ballot and given two silver dollars. The problem of the immigrant and his relation to politics is a mighty one, and "The Jungle" handles it more in detail than any other novel obtainable dealing at all with the subject. Another illicit practice in securing office is the use and the abuse of the campaign funds. Scully and Barclay are the two extremes in managing campaign funds.

Another powerful factor in enabling an individual or a party to secure office corruptly is that of the press. In spite of widely heralded prodigies of costly journalistic enterprise, good live news is deliberately being suppressed or distorted.

1. The Octopus. 5. The Jungle.
4. Mr. Crewe's Career.
The apostasy of the daily press may be caused by three economic developments: 1, the supplanting of editor-owners by capitalist-owners; 2, the growth of newspaper advertising; 3, the evolution of the "kept" newspaper. This topic will be further considered under the topic "The influence of large organizations of wealth on legislatures and judiciary" with special reference to the press.

Politically, Americans should be literally self controlled, and not by outsiders. They must be controlled by themselves, and not by political "bosses", or by the direct or indirect use of wealth, and least of all, by a combination between political bossism and big business. "Bossism" is not another term for leadership. It is necessary and desirable that there should be leaders, but it is unnecessary and undesirable that there should be "bosses". The leader leads the people, the "boss" drives the people. The leader gets his hold by open appeal to the reason and conscience of his followers; the "boss" keeps his hold by manipulation, by intrigues. The leader wars on the crook and seeks to drive him from power; the "boss" too often protects the crook and seeks to profit by his existence. Leadership is carried on in the open light of day, "bossism" derives its main strength from what is done under cover of darkness. Scully is a typical example of a big city "boss", Job Braden of the small town boss.

In spite of the attempts made and the precautions taken to guard against election frauds, they do exist. If, after reading "The Jungle", "The Voice of the People", and "The Octopus", one thinks such incidents are the productions of overworked imagina-

1. The Jungle.
2. Mr. Crewe's Career.
tions, let him refer to the conditions during and following the election of 1914 in Terre Haute, Indiana, or the present situation in Adams County in Ohio.

The naturalization of foreigners offers opportunities to unscrupulous men. Jurgis had a half day off on full pay to get his naturalization papers; he saw the sights of the city at the company's expense, took an oath of which he did not understand a word, and was told that he was now a citizen of the Republic and the equal of the president himself. When, later, he wanted a holiday to get married, he could not get it, and as for a holiday with pay, what wrought that miracle, Heaven only knew!

Betraying Public Trust.

The second step downward, after having used corrupt means of securing an office, is in betraying the public trust. The object of the government is the welfare of the people. The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens. One of the fundamental necessities in a representative government like that of United States, is to make certain that the men to whom the people delegate their power shall serve the people, and not advance themselves nor special interests. There are some ugly words used in this connection, the first of which is "graft". When an individual uses his office to make money or to gain power for himself, either by sub-letting contracts, collecting money from a lower class, or

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1. The Jungle.
getting a rebate of any kind, or in a dozen and one other dishonest ways, he may be justly accused of graft. Sinclair has a vivid picture of such a network of criminals. "The leaders and organizers were maintained by the business men directly,—aldermen and legislators by means of bribes, party officials out of the campaigning funds, lobbyists and corporation lawyers in the form of salaries, contractors by means of jobs, labor union leaders by subsidies, and newspaper proprietors and editors by advertisements. The rank and file were either foisted upon the city, or else lived off the populace directly. "there was the police department, and the fire and water departments; and the whole balance of the civil list; and for the horde who could find no room in these, there was the world of vice and crime. The law forbade Sunday drinking. This delivered the saloon keepers into the hand of the police. "It was the same with the 'madame', the gambling house keeper, the pool room man, and with any other man or woman who had a means of getting 'graft' and was willing to pay over a share of it. All of these agencies were leagued in blood brotherhood with the politicians and the police. On election day all these powers of vice and crime were one power; they could tell within one per cent what the vote of their district would be, and they could change it at an hour's notice." ¹

Another unpleasant word, and a way of betraying public trust, is "bribery". There are so-called refined ways of accomplishing this, also. There is bribery of, and bribery by, public
officials. The commonest methods of payment are in money, and favors, usually jobs or passes. Mary Turner bought a temporary restraining order from the Supreme Court, saying, "The gambling houses do, the race track men do, the railroad does, so why shouldn't I? Having all the money necessary, I can buy all the law I want!" In "The Jungle" the street car system bought the city council, but the price was not made public. It might have been a mere coincidence that Railroad Room and Governor's Room were always the same ones, next to each other and with a door between but it was certainly foresight that saw to it that the legislators all travelled to the capital on passes provided by the Northeastern. Another common form of bribery is found when the railroads send passes as retainers to rising young lawyers. But Austen Vane was not to be caught in such a trap as that. Still a different ruse is in bribing the editors and proprietors of newspapers, with passes and advertising, as illustrated in "Mr. Crewe's Career", and "The Octopus". The power of a promise of a job has already been mentioned.

Though the public has not yet come to call the "Pork Barrel" an agent of bribery, that is what it actually is. When an individual works for, and succeeds in obtaining an appropriation of public money to please the public desire for a new, and perhaps unnecessary court house or bridge, he is supporting a popular, versus a right, means, and is taking advantage of a shrewd act to be re-elected, and is buying votes at the expense of the government rather than at his own.

1. Within The Law.
2. Mr. Crewe's Career.
3. Ibid.
Influence of Large Organizations of Wealth on Legislatures and Judiciary.

There are corporations in America which prosper by bribing legislators just as they prosper by swindling the public. There are also corrupt men, who, in legislatures and other bodies, try to blackmail corporations and individuals as well. In Illinois there was recently discovered the existence of a combination of legislators who blackmailed not only wealthy corporations but poor fishermen along a certain river, forcing them to pay to prevent legislation which would have interfered with their business. But the influence of individuals against large corporations is nil compared with the influence of organizations of wealth in securing laws favorable to their interest, or in breaking down laws unfavorable to them.

The railroad may stand as a type, probably, of the most formidable organization which exerts powerful influence on legislatures and judiciaries. Because of the railroad's peculiar function and the amount of territory which it touches, it possesses its own distinctly individual methods of attack. One of the strongest of its allies is the daily press. In earlier newspaper history the dissemination of news was the main purpose. Now days the dissemination of news and the purveyance of publicity are two distinct functions carried on by the same agency. The purveyance of publicity is becoming the main concern of the newspaper, and threatens to overshadow the news. The wise owner, however, still attempts to maintain the beautiful and impressive appearance of running a journal to influence public opinion, to purify politics and to elevate public morals. In
addition to giving the news. Being largely dependent upon his advertising, the editor tends to grant immunity to his advertisers. Formerly readers who understood why accidents and labor troubles never occurred in department stores, why dramatic criticisms were so lenient and the reviews of books from publishers who advertised were so good natured, could still expect ungloved freedom in dealing with gas, electric, railroad and banking companies. But these companies, in self defense, have taken to advertising, and a wise precaution for them it is.

When a Northeastern railroad train carelessly ran down

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_Leb Meader_, not a word crept into the town paper. When _Austen Vane_ won the suit for damages, the columns of the local journal devoted the first column space to an essay on national flowers and had another front page article on the sizes of the hats worn by great men. "Ill natured people accounted for the matter by the gratitude of political candidates, and the fact that the editor and his wife, his maid servant, and his man servant travelled on pink mileage books which could only be had for love, not money". One little country paper lost its head because it lauded the people's candidate, and Flint's command to his secretary was brief but pointed. "Take away their passes and advertising".

Frequently corporations control newspapers not only through their advertising, but because they own them. The "kept" newspaper wields a powerful influence in favor of the corporation which controls it, for in addition to "killing" news, the

1. Mr. Crewe's Career.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
paper distorts it, which is often worse. Newspapers are subject to the tendency of diverse business to become tied together by cross investments of their owners, and naturally when shares of newspaper lie in the safe deposit box with gas, telephone and pipe-line stock, a tenderness for those collateral interests is likely to affect news columns. In his "Changing America", Edward A. Ross says, "On the desk of every editor and sub-editor of a newspaper run by a capitalist promoter under prison sentence, lay a list of sixteen corporations in which the owner was interested. This was to remind them not to print anything damaging to those corporations. These corporations were referred by the editors as 'Sacred Cows'. Frequently railroad companies, public service companies, gas trusts, traction companies, tax systems, party systems and the man higher up, form the "sacred cows" for the newspaper. When the press is silent on matters concerning the foregoing interests which should be given to the public, it is mightily influencing public opinion, as it did in "The Octopus". Frequently through the press, and later—at the primaries—, the railroad is able to influence the public by indicating the right choice of men.

If this be an accurate picture of conditions of trust and railroad rule, it is hardly much wonder the people were willing to try the most drastic methods of reform. "They own our homes, our legislatures; they own the ballot box, they own the courts; they swindle a nation out of a hundred millions and call it financiering; they levy a blackmail and call it commerce; they corrupt a legislature and call it politics; they bribe a judge
and call it law; they hire blacklegs to carry out their plans and call it organization; they prostitute the honor of a state and call it competition."

The steel corporations and the stockyard organizations have their thumbs on the votes of their employees, for, say they, if our candidates are elected, the plant will go on at full time; if not, we must shut down or possibly run only half time. The men know their duty to their employers, and they also realize the importance of this situation to themselves. What man could exercise his own freedom of will in such a case? Even a foreigner such as Jurgis could understand such logic. The power of the railroad lobby is well illustrated in "The Octopus" and "Mr. Crewe's Career".

With increasing rapidity and solidity are such organizations as the National Employer's Association ingratiating themselves into the affairs of the public. They are well able to advertise, to hire good speakers and splendidly equipped to fight to have laws declared unconstitutional or to delay the laws in their own interests. A typical instance of the effectiveness of organization of the employers and manufacturers was seen in the case of the Republican National Convention in Chicago in 1908. The Labor advocates, led by Samuel Gompers, were endeavoring to get the platform committee to incorporate an anti-injunction plank in the platform. The agents of the National Employers' Association on the ground set the wires to work, and in the space of a few hours the platform committee was in receipt of twenty thousand telegrams from merchants all over the country.

1. The Octopus.
warning them to leave the plank out. It is needless to say that
the plank favoring labor did not appear in the platform.

As another striking example of the same thing, and as a
familiar example especially to the people of Kansas, consider
the case of the brewers and their constant interference. Backed
by unlimited capital, possessed of great influence through their
wealth, they are making untiring efforts to break down the laws
or to evade them. Their pamphlets are scattered broadcast, frequently
accomplishing the purpose of appealing to, and changing public
sentiment. Their wealth is at the command of saloon keepers who
are compelled to pay fines, their influence is used to aid the
bootlegger and the "blind tiger." Their every aim is to violate
the wishes of the people.

The Duty of the People in Regard to Politics.

In the last eight or ten years, there has been a tremendous
upheaval in the public conscience as to the evils in politics. It
has required sane, quiet, thoughtful effort to work out a solution,
so that the will of the people, so that the intent and the educated
desire of the people, shall be definitely fixed and established
by law; so that the people's wishes shall not be broken or
perverted by the meddling of thwarting influences.

The first duty of every good citizen is to elect efficient
men. If people fail to do this, they will have for their officers
such men as 'Lige Bemis,' and Pat Callahan. But it is not enough
to have good laws on the books. Adequate machinery must be provided

2. The Jungle.
for their enforcement. Probably one of the most serious defects in political administration in this country lies in the non-enforcement of laws. To a large extent, this is due to the fact that proper officials have not been chosen, or that officials have been negligent in their duty, or have even betrayed their trust. But one of the reasons for failure of the laws to reach the problems which they seek to correct is the fact that no adequate machinery of administration exists. A law prescribing or forbidding railroads to charge more than a reasonable rate for freight or passengers and relying on the legal arm of the law to enforce it, would be almost a useless weight on the statute books. But with a permanent Interstate Commerce Commission, it becomes one of the most effective laws. This is an illustration of the commission idea which is being employed more and more, finally strengthened by the introduction of the recall and the referendum.

"American citizens cannot afford to limit a campaign against corruption to those of certain social standing. Laws are needed which shall entirely prohibit the corporation corrupting the servants of the public and betraying the rights of the public. Theodore Roosevelt says"I believe that the great issue now before the public is the doing away with special privilege in all its forms; doing away with the power of the big corporations to control legislation in their interest and to interfere in politics in order to secure privileges to which they are not entitled". An essential factor in such a campaign is an aroused social conscience which will unsparingly
condemn dishonesty in every form and in every man. It is not the people who inveigh only against corruption in wealthy men who hope to end all corruption. It is the men who insist on honesty, who strive to bring about a condition when honesty shall be accepted as a matter of course throughout our nation, and when the conscience of the community, the popular spirit in the community, will not tolerate an individual who is dishonest either in business or in politics. One way, and practically the only way, to bring about the millenium in politics is for every individual to take a personal interest in politics. The city, the state, the country, may have devoted, strong minded leaders, they may each and all have the proper laws on the books, they may have all the machinery, but after all, the first test of a democracy depends on the vigilance of the integrity and the unselfish devotion of the men and women of the rank and file. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty". 
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