



THE SOCIAL NOTE IN THE AMERICAN ESSAY
WITH REFERENCE TO AMERICAN LIFE
(1900-1915)

by

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PREFACE

The essay has always fascinated me by the opportunity it offers for the expression of personal opinion. Accordingly, when I came to select a subject for a thesis I was attracted to this field, which is so extensive that I have been obliged to confine myself to one phase. Personal preference again influenced me and I selected the social note in the American essay from 1900 to 1915. Although there are many essays on social problems in other lands, I have found it necessary to narrow my subject still farther by considering only those essays bearing directly on the social life in the United States either through national or universal relations. To illustrate my principle, I have omitted studies of life in Germany but included studies of German militarism when related to the policy of the United States. By virtue of their application to all people I have devoted considerable space to a discussion of the problems of capital and labor,

of war and peace, of education and kindred subjects.

In so doing I have attempted to point out the various lines of interest and to show a few of the tendencies.

My observations are based on approximately three hundred and fifty essays which I have read for the purpose of this paper. Some have been issued in book form. Others have appeared in magazines. I have used the Atlantic Monthly most extensively, but I have also read essays in The Century, The Independent, The Outlook, Harper's Weekly, Everybody's, Good Housekeeping, Collier's, The World's Work, and The Review of Reviews.

In the appendix I have placed an alphabetical list of the essays read and also one of the essayists.

In brief, the plan of my thesis is this: to give a short introductory sketch of the essay and its place in American letters, and then to proceed to a discussion of the outstanding questions of the day. I have divided the real body of my thesis into two parts, the first dealing with questions primarily of national interest and the second with those of universal importance. In the conclusion I have tried to show some of

the underlying factors which have directly influenced
the attitude of American essayists.

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THE SOCIAL NOTE IN THE AMERICAN ESSAY
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INTRODUCTION

Since the days of Montaigne the essay has furnished an opportunity for delightful relaxation from technical exactness on the part of the authors and from painful attention on the part of the reader. A light, half-whimsical, personal touch has been regarded as the distinguishing feature of the essay and has led men like Edmund Gosse to define it as "a form of literature which deals in an easy, cursory way with the external conditions of a subject and, in strictness, with that subject only as it affects the writer." Mr. Gosse adds further: "It should always be the brief and light result of experience and profound meditation." On the basis of Mr. Gosse's definition many essays here included would not be recognized as such

but other authorities, not so decidedly literary, give a broader definition. The International Encyclopedia recognizes several types, namely, the personal (just defined); the didactic, "an interesting popularizer of knowledge;" and the type which includes ethical or social teachings, didactic in a spiritual sense, inspirational, perhaps.

Mr. Gosse thought that the essay might die of exhaustion of interest or that it might survive in the modified form of accidental journalism. Undoubtedly the journalistic essay is rapidly increasing in importance and occupying a relatively larger place than it has done heretofore. Particularly is this true of the essay which deals with questions of sociological import. The tendency is toward concrete illustration from contemporary American life and a discussion of general problems with a specific application to the United States. As a result many of the essays upon which this study is based are not literary in the strictest sense of the term, for the thought is almost invariably the primary object. The literary style, however, is generally excellent.

A new type of essay seems to be appearing. Not personal in the old sense, it frequently gives the personal opinion of the author; not strictly journalistic, it deals with questions brought forward by current events; not professedly literary, it is characterized by a good straightforward style. The distinction between this type of essay and the special article is rather difficult in some instances but the essay has a certain reflective quality and a breadth which the other does not possess. The essay has a permanent interest, the special article a passing one. However, the line is not always distinct, and has not been vigorously drawn in this study. This new type of essay, perhaps Mr. Gosse's "modified form of accidental journalism," is invaluable to the reading public of the United States. It may be a vital factor in forming public opinion for it furnishes an opportunity for thoughtful but informal discussion of various matters of genuine importance. Questions of civic reform, of international law, of militarism, of education, may be appropriately discussed by men whose opinions are valuable but who have neither

time nor preparation for an exhaustive treatment of their subjects. On the other hand, the essay may be a brief popular treatment of an intricate problem by an expert, but intended for the general reader. In either case the thought is the centre of interest and is important in itself. Here lies the value of the essay and here lies the guarantee of its future. A vast majority of the essays which are serious if not profound discussions of life in its social relations, belong to this type of essay.

In this brief introduction, the essay has been defined, and the appearance of a new type suggested. We are now ready to proceed to a discussion of the problems of this thesis.

PART I**PROBLEMS NATIONAL IN SCOPE**

CHAPTER I

THE AMERICANS: CHARACTERISTICS AND IDEALS

The American people, as we of the United States are known to call ourselves, have developed with surprising rapidity. In less than a hundred and fifty years we have risen from a group of rebellious colonies to a world power. Much of this development must be ascribed to the peculiarly favorable geographic and economic features of the country, but more to the endurance and idealism of our forefathers. Our citizens have come from all parts of Europe but the Anglo-Saxon strain dominates our racial stock. Partly on account of our extensive territory and partly on account of our numerous immigrants some doubt has been expressed as to whether we may develop a racial type distinctly American in its physical and mental traits. The study of the American people with

the purpose of discovering their peculiar characteristics, has been a productive field for the essayists. The majority of them seem agreed that there is an American type and devote themselves to a presentation of its characteristics.

What is this American type and how did it develop? We must go back to the stern Puritan Fathers in whose eyes the fear of the Lord was foremost and the way of righteousness the only path for mankind. Henry Van ¹Dyke, in company with others, points back to these people with their New England consciences, as the ones who originally stamped our nation with a high ideal of duty and honor. It is generally recognized that the majority of the immigrants also, particularly in the past, have come to work out their ideals and in them the Americans have been blessed with a people of great ²moral strength and integrity. Frederick J. Turner

1. Essays in Application
2. The Significance of the Frontier in American History

emphasizes the importance of the frontier in shaping American life. Through it, foreign races were welded together; through it, institutions were made democratic, for class distinctions were virtually impossible where everyone had a chance to be independent. So much for the historical development of the American type.

What are the peculiar characteristics of this American? In The American As He Is, Nicholas Murray Butler describes the citizen of the United States in two ways; as apart from his government and as a political type. He asserts that the American as a political type is distinct. The unity of views about fundamental questions of government is peculiarly characteristic and remarkable, for owing to the size of the country and to the numerous units of government, most of the problems are inevitably intricate. This solidarity President Butler ascribes to the pre-dominance of the Anglo-Saxon strain, to constant interstate migration, to extensive interstate commerce,

and to the federal constitution. He goes further when he says that unity is still more firmly established by the fact that the President and the Supreme Court are the direct representatives of the people as a whole. Through these influences, the typical American citizen, however he may have opposed a policy before its adoption, acquiesces in the will of the majority and may even help in carrying out a program he previously fought. This willingness to yield one's individual preference is one of the factors making for the cooperation which President Butler describes. Under the other head, The American Apart from his Government, the author gives a rather gratifying picture. He, the citizen of the United States, is vigorous, industrious, self-reliant, entirely confident of his own ability to succeed. He is trustworthy in business. He is Christian. He is actuated by idealism, however much that may seem to be buried beneath a materialistic attitude. But the picture is not all bright. The American does not have enough respect for the law, and this weakening of the law-abiding spirit

is a menace to our civilization.

While most of the essayists agree on the virtues of the new American, there is a great diversity of opinion as to his weaknesses. H. D. Sedgwick, Jr., for instance, deplores the intensity of our devotion to industry. To it, he feels, we are giving too much of our vital energy. Our lives are so centered about it that our judgment is warped. We shrink from looking facts squarely in the face. We are weakly sentimental, for we are unwilling to acknowledge the true position that we hold. Instead, we ~~hold~~ our idealistic theories while we repudiate them by clinging by word of mouth to our deeds. We deceive ourselves into believing that we do wisely and honestly things which are absolutely inconsistent with righteousness. None are so blind as those who will not see, and this is the explanation of our snug self-satisfaction. We live without thinking. The solution, if we are to survive as a noble people, is to stop our mad rush long enough to work out a philosophy of life and to discipline ourselves by attempting to apply it. Such, in

3. Certain Aspects of America; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XC, p. 5.

considerable detail, is Mr. Sedgwick's position. It
is typical of others. Samuel McCord Crothers humor-
ously yet truly suggests that people have a tendency
to ignore facts in favor of "logical" or pleasant be-
liefs by some such evasion as "humanly speaking."⁴
Thus he ascribes to human nature the weakness which
Mr. Sedgwick censures in the American people.

The American love for vainglory and publicity is another source of anxiety to the thinkers of our land. In an interesting little essay, Publicomania, Henry Van Dyke shows that in American society there is a regrettable desire to come before the public eye. The passion for newspaper mention, the eagerness to attract attention, the willingness to sacrifice comfort and well-being to make an impression, are tendencies which threaten to undermine our sense of proportion and our scale of values. They are the forerunners of a loss of moral stamina and must be checked if we are to realize our ambition and preserve a

4. Humanly Speaking

national life based on idealism. Closely akin to this "publicomania" is our craving for change, for fashion. Mary Moss in Machine Made Human Beings sees our individuality being crushed out. We are growing woefully alike. We are contented to have only the latest---not the best---in styles, in drama, in literature. Our passion for being up to date and abreast of the times has become excessive. We are losing in personality---we are becoming "machine made human beings." She thinks that our hope lies in the immigrants, who possess the valuable qualities of liking things for their intrinsic worth and of forming their independent judgments. She is not alone in this analysis of one of our weaknesses. Henry Van Dyke, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, H. D. Sedgwick Jr., Agnes Repplier, all indicate that the American lacks the poise and discerning judgment he should have. There is a consciousness that all is not well; that, in

5. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIV, p. 264.

spite of our phenomenal industrial development, in spite of our celebrated educational aspirations, in spite of our high sounding humanitarianism, we fall far too short in the application of our doctrines to our lives and satisfy ourselves with husks, not substance.

But this discontent is really the promise of the future and the very essayists who give utterance to their fears are nevertheless optimistic for the future. With delightful humor Mr. Crothers suggests that just now we are thrown off our balance by the increase in our social obligations and therefore need "a receivership" while re-arranging our affairs. Back of the whimsical suggestion is a real truth. The realization of man's duty to society, the conception of social justice, of applied Christianity, have all raised our ideals and standards more rapidly than we have been able to improve our environment and methods. It is this situation which has justified our faith in the future, and in this faith we find the ideals of our nation embodied.

Could we realize all the expectations of the essayists, the United States would become the real Utopia for the world. Culture in America will be distinctive, prophesied Benjamin Ide Wheeler.⁶ It will be universal, not the possession of the few. It will be democratic, not aristocratic. It will exist, not for itself~~s~~ but for humanity. The cultured Americans will have become "not knowers only, but doers of the doctrine." Barrett Wendell in Liberty, Union, and Democracy finds in the past the peculiar elements which have grounded our nation on idealism. Alone of recorded nations, ours has sprung from unhampered growth into established historical tradition of pre-revolutionary idealism. The heritage of our past, with its examples of heroism and righteousness is rich enough to inspire us with a determination to keep our record unblemished.

6. A National Type of Culture; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCII, p. 74.

In Essays in Application, Henry Van Dyke writes on The Heritage of American Ideals. The first is the ideal of manhood, of giving an equal opportunity to all, of having human sympathy and the discernment which sees in every man a fellow creature. The ideal of the American man holds up for our emulation a man strong and courageous, honorable and wise, capable of gaining his own ends but subordinating his own interests to the highest standards of justice and honor. The second ideal is that of self-government, not a passionate, fluctuating mob-rule but the steady, poised guidance of a people schooled in self-control and guided by wisdom. This type of self-government is to be made possible by universal education and by the inculcation of high ideals of citizenship and service, in the youth of our land. The process is slow but the outcome sure. The third ideal is that of American glory and influence; one which inevitably arouses the enthusiasm of our citizens, for who can think of the protectorate over Cuba or the indemnity returned to China without justifiable pride?

It is this determination to place justice above legality, sincere diplomacy above subterfuge, to do right because it is the right, which has been the keynote of our national life, though we have too frequently failed to live up to the best that we know.

The ideal of democracy, in which each is recognized at his true worth and given justice, is claimed as American made. So, too, the ideal of universal education through which each may be cultured, is regarded as peculiarly American. These, many believe, are America's contribution to the civilization of the world. Since the treatment of these ideals is extensive and the application universal, they may be more fittingly discussed in separate chapters.⁷

To summarize this chapter: There is a feeling that an American type does exist; that it is marred by many superficial weaknesses and by lack

7. See below, Part II, Chapters III and IV.

of poise, but ennobled by moral soundness and a high conception of duty. Finally, our ideals are worthy of faithful adherence and must be maintained.

CHAPTER II

RACE PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED STATES

The United States has occupied a unique position in regard to its racial elements. No other country has had to cope with its greatest problems, the immigrant and the negro; for, no other country has had such an unlimited amount of free land, such vast undeveloped resources, such a steady influx of foreign blood; and no other country has attempted to maintain on an equality two races with such a disparity in ability and attainment as that which exists between the whites and the negroes. The question of Chinese and Japanese exclusion might also be included in an enumeration of the race problems of the United States, but thus far it seems to be regarded as a matter for diplomatic negotiation between the respective nations. The problem of the Indian is nearing a solution, but the others are

yet unsolved. The United States has a stupendous task before it in its effort to harmonize the numerous racial elements of its population.

The Indian has ceased to be the troublesome factor he once was, and the prejudice against him is not so strong. The government has assumed a paternalistic attitude and by the reservation system practically segregated the race. Today, however, with the loss of tribal government the Indian race is losing its identity and is becoming absorbed into American life. From colonial times the Indian has been a fascinating figure. Now, even in the field of the essay he has been more or less idealized and romanticized. Discussions of Indian art, culture, folklore, and music may be found in many magazines, but they are not within the scope of this paper. On the other hand, there are comparatively few essays dealing with the definite problems of the Indian. Bishop Talbot in My People of the Plains, discussed the relation of The Red Man and Uncle Sam. The reservation system, although it has undoubtedly protected the Indians, has retarded

their assimilation with the Anglo-Saxons of the United States. Charles M. Harvey thinks that the end of tribal government for the Indian has come. He has been fairly well treated by the United States. He has been educated and provided for economically. As the reservations are broken up into allotments and the farms are subdivided, the Indian is passing out from under the detailed supervision of the government and mingling with his fellow citizens unreservedly. However, though much of the prejudice is gone, the uneducated Indian still requires considerable protection. In spite of this it is nevertheless evident that the Indian problem is disappearing.

Immigration is one of the greatest problems which the United States is facing. Merely from a standpoint of numbers, previous to the Great War, conditions were becoming acute. Now, the many nationalities, perhaps with smoldering hatred of each other, perhaps with unquenched loyalty to the home land, have added to the complexity of the situation.

8. The Red Man's Last Roll Call; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVII.

Here a surprising fact must be noted. Although there is a free and full editorial discussion of immigration there is comparatively little serious comment in the field of the essay. There is enough, however, to show that sentiment is divided upon the subject. Some resent the coming of the immigrant as an intrusion, feeling that he demands too much, that he drags down the level of our culture, that he is too selfish in his aspirations, and that he is too presumptuous in his claim to American citizenship. This is approximately the position assumed by Agnes Repplier in her essay, The Modest Immigrant.⁹ Some deplore the coming of the immigrant for economic reasons. They feel that, since our free land is gone, there is no longer the previous opportunity to make good independently. Some believe in unrestricted immigration, influenced, perhaps, by the traditional conception of the United States as the land of freedom and promise, or perhaps, convinced by logic which they deem unanswerable. In

9. Atlantic Monthly, vol. CXVI, p. 303.

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Our Immigrants and Ourselves, Kate Holloday Claghorn states that the cry against the immigrants is not justifiable. Many of the usual objections she considers unsound. In the first place, the immigrant is necessary to our industrial system. He furnishes the essential raw labor. In the second place, he is law-abiding and docile; if he is accorded the right treatment. The fault lies, not with the immigrant, but with the native American who refuses to take his leadership seriously. The immigration problem would solve itself, were we willing to furnish good guidance. This is the position of Mary Antin, Steiner, and Roberts. Some, probably the majority of our writers, believe in immigration restricted according to race, ability, or numbers. This is the program advocated by Robert De Courcy Ward in one of his essays, Immigration and

¹¹ the South. Immigrants are needed, for, the South wants a new and larger labor supply on account of the present rapid industrial development, and also

10. Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVI.

11. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVI, p. 611.

on account of dissatisfaction with the negro. Discrimination, he insists, should be used in selecting the immigrants, only those from the better classes should be admitted, such as the Northern Italians, together with a few unskilled laborers. Unlimited immigration should not be allowed.

It is generally agreed that the United States has failed to meet the immigration problem as it should. Foreign settlements have been allowed to spring up and entrench themselves. "Speech Islands" have formed where English is an unknown tongue. The hyphenated American has appeared and has called forth numerous essays from men of note. Roosevelt and Wilson alike have deplored the existing situation and an agitation for pure Americanism has been started. The immigrant has not received adequate protection from fraud, and from confidence games. Frances A. Kellor ¹² discusses the Immigrant Woman, who is subjected to all sorts of dangers from the time she

12. Atlantic Monthly, vol. C, p. 401; vol. CI, p. 246.

leaves her native village. The immigrant women constitute the main source of supply of domestic workers in the cities. This training in the homes of native Americans means the rapid assimilation of these women. How satisfactory the result, depends upon the attitude of the American women themselves.

More objection is made to some races than to others. The Germans, Scandinavians, and Irish are well received. The writers give them credit for ability and character. Most of the Italians, and the Slavs are not so graciously received. In fact the people from southeastern Europe are all too frequently regarded as riff-raff. The Jews, who have been more fairly treated in America than elsewhere, are not placed on an equality with the Teutonic peoples.

Edwin J. Kuh places the responsibility for this social disability largely with the Jew, although he recognizes race prejudices as important factors. The solution, he thinks, lies in the self-elevation of the race, in better physical development, in better education, in judicious intermarriage and ethi-

cal living.

The attitude of American writers toward immigration is fundamentally the same. "Human need" is the stock argument of those who advocate unrestricted immigration and of those who oppose it. All are seeking the greatest good for the greatest number. To attain this end most completely it may be, many believe it now is, necessary to restrict further immigration while relieving the congested districts and assimilating the foreigners now with us.

The problem of the negro is the longest standing and most acute of all our racial differences. The situation has been intensified by the feeling of distrust between north and south; it has been further intensified by the distrust between the races as races, by the feeling of superiority or disdain on the one hand, and the feeling of humility or resentment on the other. Almost every point of view has been taken by the essayists,

from that of the historical essay dealing with the Reconstruction period to the personal one discussing The Joys of Being a Negro. In the earliest years of the century the negro was not thought of as a human being as much as an obstacle in the white man's path. Today sentiment has changed. An increasing effort is being made, by both races and by both sections of the country, to solve the racial problems with mutual advantage to black and white. In spite of this unity of purpose there is the widest diversity of opinion.

The historical approach is made by Thomas Nelson Page, who, in his essay on The Southern People During Reconstruction, holds that the negro problem of today is affected by the Reconstruction Period, in which the friendly relation between former slaves and masters was changed to one of bitter opposition. The method of reconstruction was disastrous. The best class of whites, who had previously guided the negroes, felt constrained to band together

13. Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVIII, p.289.

er against them. Such a feeling may have been unwarranted but it existed and was acted upon. The negroes lost their habit of industry, learned to expect a living without work, and to wield the ballot without possessing the proper judgment. The Freedmen's Bureau, he concludes, did some good but more damage, for it perverted the minds of the negroes and aroused the hostility of the erstwhile friendly whites. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, himself a negro, takes substantially the same position. Naturally he is inclined to excuse the negroes and to condemn the white men for not giving them the right kind of a start.

Other essayists have seemingly assumed that this explanation of the situation is true, but not all regard it as adequate. Andrew Sledd ¹⁵ thinks that the North has ignored the fact that the negro

14. The Freedmen's Bureau; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVII, p. 354.

15. The Negro: Another View; Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XC, p. 165.

belongs to an inferior race and has consequently demanded that the South give him more than he deserved. On the other hand, perhaps on account of this inferiority, the southern whites have failed to recognize that the negro, by virtue of his humanity, possesses certain inalienable rights. Not the Reconstruction alone, but the superiority of one race over the other, and the loss of the human touch between them are responsible for the mutual distrust of today. Alfred Holt Stone¹⁶ finds the mulatto a factor in the race problem. His point is that we have confused the mulatto and negro types. The full blooded negro is not progressive; his inferiority to the white race is marked. The mulatto, with white blood in his veins, has done the things attributed to the negro. If we would solve the negro question we must make this distinction. Booker T. Washington does not agree with this attitude but sees in industrial education a way by means of which the blackest of the negroes may become self-respecting, self-supporting members of society.

16. The Mulatto Factor in the Race Problem;
Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCI, p. 658.

Certain abuses to which the negroes have been subjected are frequently condemned by the writers of this period (1900-1915). The notorious practice of lynching is severely censured by Clarence H. Poe. Yet, he finds an explanation of it in the ignorance of the negroes and the defective administration of justice in the courts. There is a general conviction that lynching, although it may keep the negroes intimidated, prevents the development of self-respect and utterly destroys the possibility of a friendly relation between the two races. Andrew ¹⁷ Sledd severely arraigns lynching as absolutely criminal, whatever the provocation, upon the ground that it debases the manhood of the perpetrators, fails to attain its end, and demoralizes the negroes.

Disfranchisement of the negroes is a most point. Some southerners believe that it is justifiable on the ground of self-protection. They argue that the ignorance of the negroes, the ease with

17. The Negro: Another View; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XC, p. 65.

which they are influenced politically, the insolence which they sometimes display, make it imperative for the whites to control the government by stratagem when numbers fail. Archibald H. Grimke ¹⁸ condemns the practice for several reasons which are characteristic of those generally advanced especially by northerners. Disfranchisement decitizenizes the negro and leaves him rebellious; it is harmful to the South because it makes her black labor discontented and probably uneducated, therefore inefficient. It hurts the United States as a whole because it leaves a large part poorly developed; finally, if carried out in full, it would provoke sectional feeling for the South would have undue representation in Congress.

On the part of both North and South there is a growing conviction that the negro has not been given the right kind of an opportunity. The preju-

18. Why Disfranchisement Fails; Atlantic
Monthly, vol. XCIV. p. 72.

dice and ignorance of the North have retarded the adjustment of the situation in the South where prejudice, bitterness and ignorance had already made matters complicated. With the realization of this truth has arisen a new effort to do justice to all parties and a new spirit of fellowship and cooperation. In a measure the movement crystallized around Booker T. Washington, who devoted his life to the education, especially the industrial education, of his people. Through his honesty and modesty he was able to do much to develop a spirit of helpfulness which will ultimately work out a solution for the difficulties. How much has been accomplished and how much remains to be done, can be estimated from Mr. Washington's essay, The Fruits of

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Industrial Training. In it he said that the people of the South favor higher and industrial training for negroes who must do the manual work of the South for many years to come. Industrial training gives

19. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCII, p. 453.

the negro opportunity to make progress and at the same time benefits the country as well. He concluded by saying that there is a great need for more industrial schools. But not all the negroes believe that the industrial school is such a panacea. The leader of the opposing faction, Mr. DuBois, in an essay, On
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the Training of Black Men objects to the emphasis frequently placed on making the negro a laborer. His idea is that the negro must be encouraged and aided in working out his future economically and intellectually. He must not brood on the wrongs of the past, nor must he be expected to submit to the wrongs of the present. The negro college is doing much to solve the problem by giving the negroes an entrance into a nobler, fuller life, and by equipping men and women to go out and bring help to their own folk. The great trouble lies in the white man's prejudice. He is unwilling to recognize worth in a "darky" or to acknowledge that the negro may possibly have power to make a

20. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XC, p. 289.

contribution to the world. This prejudice must be overcome, the negro must be able to win recognition as a man, before a solution will be secured for the socalled negro problem. It will last, Mr. DuBois asserts, as long as injustice lasts. The southern people themselves are realizing that the negro has not been fairly treated. An essay, Black and White in the South,²¹ written by a southern woman, voices this view. The negro question is one of humanity first, she insists. The individual relations between negroes and whites are usually good but there is no feeling of responsibility between the whites as a class and the negroes as a class. This is the center of the trouble. The white people will look out for and protect negroes whom they have known personally but remain indifferent to the rest. The negroes are more severely treated in the courts than the whites. On trains, and, in fact, in all public places, though they pay the same money they are

21. Outlook; vol. CVI, p. 538.

accorded poorer accomodations than the white people. No distinction is made between the most refined and the most uncultured. Such a state of affairs is un-
just. Thomas Wentworth Higginson takes a more ex-
treme position upon this subject than many writers
are willing to accept. The keynote of his attitude
is, "The negro is intensely human." If this fact is
once recognized a solution is possible. Education
and opportunity are the gateways out. He catches a
vision of the future in which the negro shall have
attained to an intellectual and social equality with
the whites, and "marriage may come to be founded,
not on the color of the skin but upon the common
courtesies of life and upon genuine sympathies of
heart and mind."

Through such free discussion of the differ-
ent phases of the problem there is the hope of a bet-
ter adjustment. Men have taken the question serious-
ly and have worked upon it carefully. The essays do
not possess lightness of touch but they are import-
ant contributions to our literary life.

22. Intensely Human; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. XCIII, p. 588.

One significant fact revealed in these essays concerning the various race problems of the United States, is that the writers are not content with portraying conditions but are constantly seeking to better them. Protection for the immigrant, education for the negro, safeguards for the American people, all find advocates among our essayists. The underlying note seems to be that America, to remain the land of promise, must see that justice is given to every individual regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. It is characteristic of the United States that the arguments most frequently advanced are based on idealistic considerations and stress the human side. Idealism is popular and in turn helps elevate our practices.

CHAPTER III ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

The essays dealing with questions of economic or industrial import have unquestionably belonged to that sober, severe sort described by William Dean Howells. The majority of those here discussed are practically journalistic, but they have found their way into literary magazines and are numerous enough to demand attention in a survey of the social note in the American essay.

Since 1900 there has been a growing conviction that the United States is assuming a different place in the industrial world and entering upon a new era of economic development. Brooks Adams was among the first to point out the changing conditions. He does not shrink from expressing himself freely though his opinion is at variance with the tradi-

23. The New Industrial Revolution; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVII, p. 157

tional belief of our nation. According to his view, the United States has forged ahead until it has obtained the ascendancy in the industrial world, at the expense of the other nations. Our nation crowding back all Europe, and a struggle, either military or commercial, is inevitable, for this is a war to the death. By means of the trusts, consolidation, and economic efficiency the United States has secured the upper hand. In this new era the idealism of the past will vanish, for it has not been due so much to noble sentiment and a sense of justice as to the ease with which we could afford to be generous. Now, to use his own words, "In this stern struggle for life, affections, traditions, and beliefs count as naught."

There is a surprisingly large number of essays dealing with very specific questions. Although not strictly literary, they serve to indicate the range of subject-matter covered by our essayists. For instance, Frederick W. Coburn discusses the Telephone

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Development in the United States. The question of monopoly enters even here, for the author condemns independent lines because they increase the expense and lower the service. He considers one big company the best method of management, and views with pleasure the financial downfall of the small industrial independent companies. A totally different phase of industrial life is discussed by Mary Applewhite Bacon in the Problem of the Southern Cotton Mill.

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The South has been free from the congestion of New England in the past; but, with her sudden industrial expansion, particularly in the cotton mills, bad working conditions have developed. The hours are too long, the workers are not adequately protected, the women and children are being worn out. Improvement is needed everywhere but conditions are not so bad in the quaint old hill villages as in the big cities. It is a far

24. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVI, p. 644.

25. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIX, p. 224

cry from this to Henry Holt's discussion of The Commercialization of Literature.²⁶ He deplores the fact that our literature has been so sadly commercialized that publicity, not worth, is the basis of success. At present publishing cannot deserve the name of "profession." Insurance, even, is given considerable attention.²⁷ Francis G. Lowell thinks that the mutual life insurance companies waste the money and at the same time give the owners no control of their funds. He feels that advantage is taken of the ignorance of the public and that the remedy lies in greater publicity and the elimination of agents.

Charles W. Bullock discusses Life Insurance and Speculation.²⁸ As he sees it, the greatest evils of the past and some of the danger of the future are due to the participation of the larger companies in Wall Street speculation, a course which all too easily may undermine the worth and stability

26. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVI, p. 577.

27. Mutual Life Insurance Companies; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIX, p. 51.

28. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVII.

of a company. Not content with pointing out the evils, Mr. Bullock suggests several means of reform, such as limiting the size of companies; standardizing policies, abolishing deferred dividends and kindred practices; enacting---and enforcing---legislation adequate to regulate the companies. Industrial Securities as Investments²⁹ is the subject of an essay by Charles Conant, setting forth the fact that the value of an investment varies as the particular security.

The economic development due to the reclamation of the desert by irrigation; the increased business activity due to more accessible markets and better transportation; the increased productivity of manufacturing establishments, due to the adoption of efficiency methods, have all received consideration by the essayists. What these writers have discussed in detail with reference to specific cases, Joseph Husband has treated in an impressionistic way in his group of essays entitled America at Work. He makes us feel the bustling activity, the nervous tension,

29. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVII.

the magnitude of business enterprises, the interlaced interests, the wear and tear and fascination of it all. We become a part of our pulsating business life with its vast interests, its responsibility for the welfare of millions, and its confidence of ultimate success.

Two phases of our economic life have been-- and are---subjects for heated discussions. They are commercialism and "big business," i.e., trusts and monopolies. Their existence is freely recognized.

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Charles J. Bullock attributes the concentration of banking interests largely to the growth of gigantic industrial corporations which demand extremely large

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loans. Louis D. Brandeis states that our nation is becoming a nation of employees through the development of gigantic industrial plants. President Hadley of Yale sees a cleavage developing between the votes and property-holders. David Starr Jordan con-

30. Concentration of Banking Interests;

Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCII, p. 182.

31. Our New Peopage: Discretionary Pensions; Independent, vol. LXXIII, p. 187

demns the interlocking directorate which tends to become a nation within a nation and, through control of finance, can even direct the policy of a nation. In short, it is generally recognized that powerful business organizations are gaining a more complete control of our country; that the directors are becoming the 'money barons' of our day and may be considered as holding about the same position as the feudal lords of the medieval period.

On the whole, a hostile attitude has been assumed toward both. An undefined feeling exists that they are incompatible with the American doctrine of equality of opportunity and democracy. But defenders arise to champion the unpopular objects of attack. Edward Atkinson sees in commercialism America's opportunity for advancement. "It is not of the Devil," he says, "but rather a civilizing and uplifting force which has made possible our present civilization." He also states that it

32. Commercialism; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. XC, p. 517.

should be encouraged, not condemned, for its abuses will be overcome and its good endure. The people of the United States have shown a tendency to regard temporary maladjustments as inherent evils. His conclusion is that the United States has become and will remain a world power only as the people develop commercialism (and suppress Militarism). Objections to commercialism per se are not so rife, although numerous writers feel that the people of the United States have blunted their finer instincts by too intense absorption in business.

The objections arise in connection with some of the outgrowths of our commercialistic tendencies, particularly the development of trusts and monopolies. While opportunities seemed unlimited and one man's success did not mean another man's failure, the public encouraged the development of large corporations; but when the small independent dealer began to suffer from competition with the larger establishment, public sentiment began to change. The reaction became

so strong that a plea for justice to the corporations
has been raised. Gilbert Holland Montague believes
that there is a growing tendency to censure, in trust
business, policies which have heretofore been accept-
ed without question. He seems to feel that unfair dis-
crimination has been made against large corporations,
and justifies understanding in competition ~~in~~ locali-
ties and factors agreements as an innocent means of
competition for both little and big establishments.

That some may go to the wall does not affect the sit-
uation in his opinion, for, he concludes, "no one
has an inherent right not to be defeated." Moreover,
conditions could not be remedied by eliminating com-
petition for matters would only be made worse, were
the independent dealer to have a monopoly of his own
town. Another essayist of note, Henry Lee Higginson,
champions the cause of the corporations. In brief,
his position is as follows: Combination in this age

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33. The Ethics of Trust Competition; Atlantic
Monthly, vol. XCV, p. 414.

34. Justice to the Corporations; Atlantic
Monthly, vol. CI, p. 9.

is inevitable and desirable. The great combinations have pioneered and sacrificed; having taken the risks, they deserve the rewards, and have as much right to take their profits as the farmer has to sell for \$100 per acre land bought for \$1.25. People are really independent, the corporations do not really change their position. There is money to be invested and kept in circulation, and confidence must be maintained to assure prosperity. Therefore, it is neither necessary nor expedient to attack the corporations as has been done. Unfair business dealings should not go unpunished but the officials, not the stockholders, should be held responsible. The methods not the corporation should be attacked, thereby eliminating the evil practices while maintaining economic security.

These writers seem to be convinced that the trusts and corporations are legitimate organizations engaged in legitimate business; that their absorption

34. Justice to the Corporations; Atlantic Monthly, vol. CI, p. 9.

of, or crowding out of small independent firms is justifiable. The tendency toward monopoly does not seem to impress them as undesirable or dangerous.

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William E. Borah, on the other hand, deplores this tendency as a menace to our nation. Our industrial growth has been marvelous and natural. Combinations have followed cooperation to such an alarming extent that now, "Monopoly is at war with our democratic institutions. The conflict is inevitable." He holds the legislatures and Congress responsible for the strength of monopoly and attributes the former indifference of the people to a feeling on their part that the matter is purely economic. Working along this line, he sees hope of a change: "When we, as a people, understand that this is not a question of economics alone, but that institutions and citizenship are involved; when we understand that monopoly undermines government and establishes and enthrones classes, demoralizes and destroys citizenship; eats away

35. The War with Monopoly; Independent,
vol. LXXIV, p. 525.

the sturdy virtues of men and women, then, and not until then, will we deal with the matter successfully.....If we are worthy of them (our fathers who believed that business prosperity not founded on justice was worse than no prosperity at all) we will apply the same rule and restore justice, let the cost be what it may."

There seems to be an increasing tendency to subject all business enterprises to a severe test, not as to their money making power alone, but as to their social effect upon the nation as well. It is noticeable that the values are being measured in social results; that the accumulation of wealth and power is seen to be a social burden if secured at the expense of justice and humanity.

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CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The people of the United States have always been proud of their form of government. For many years the eagle screamed at every opportunity and "our government" was eulogized on every occasion. During the past few years, however, though our loyalty is as firm as ever, wholesome criticism has made its appearance. The constitution, which has been lauded as the greatest in the world, is now seen to possess defects. Our system of checks and balances is found to be cumbersome; our citizens stand forth as voters ignorant of the true value of the measures and men upon which they are deciding. Our government machinery is faulty, our executive over-worked, our legislatures too easily swayed by considerations of popularity, our courts too conservative, too favorable to vested interests. These are

the most common criticisms made in the essays read on these subjects.

The constitution itself has been freely criticised on the ground that conditions have changed so materially since its adoption, that it no longer fulfills its purpose adequately. George Sutherland views this tendency to criticise with alarm, for he considers the constitution the soul of our Union and agitation against it dangerous. In his opinion we can avoid chaos only by preserving and honoring our constitution without alteration, for that might mean to undermine it. Moreover, he does not believe that it needs changing, but considers the slow system of amendment salutary. William Everett also is opposed to the amendment of the constitution but in the administration of it. Alfred Pearce Dennis,

36. What Shall We Do With The Constitution;
Independent, vol. LXXIII, p. 1003.

37. The United States Senate; Atlantic
Monthly, vol. XCVII.

38. Our Changing Constitution; Atlantic
Monthly, vol. XCVI, p. 525.

without commenting on its significance, presents an analysis of the change which has taken place in the constitution. He points out that the interpretations given today would not have been accepted in the past and suggests that the explanation is found in the logic of personality. The unfolding of our national life has involved three processes: first, new meanings have been written into fundamental law by judicial interpretation; second, the field of government action has been enlarged by the unrebuted exercise of doubtful powers by the executive and legislative branches; third, new rules and conceptions of governmental duties have been introduced into the constitutional system through the spontaneous outworkings of our political genius. Thus without losing continuity or influence almost unconsciously the constitution has been adapted to the needs of the time.

The legislative bodies have been another source of anxiety. There is a feeling that they are not entirely to blame for the bad condition of

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things. Samuel P. Orth, for instance, gives this trenchant explanation, "Local or private bills are the weeds in our legislative garden." Believing that our legislatures are overwhelmed by these numerous and generally unimportant measures, he would remedy matters by expanding local autonomy and by creating administrative boards with more power and more definite responsibility. G. W. Alger, also, finds special local legislation responsible for objectionable features of our government, especially for executive aggression. As he sees it, our law-making machinery has broken down because it has been clogged with special legislation. Then we have turned to the executive, either president or governor, and have placed upon him the responsibility of meeting general public requirements, and of taking the initiative in securing good laws and

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39. Special Legislation; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. XCVII.

40. Executive Aggression; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. CII, p. 577.

in ignoring bad ones. Apropos of this, he suggests that some of our lawlessness, which is becoming a source of alarm, is due to inefficient lawmaking. He concludes that the only way to get rid of executive despotism and to recall democracy is to free the legislative bodies of special lawmaking, that they may have time for careful consideration of genuinely important issues. The Senate is also an object of concern. During this period (1900-1915) the agitation for direct election of United States senators has been prominent and various attempts to rout special privilege from Congressional halls have been made. William Everett in the essay mentioned before, charges the Senate with arrogance and lack of courtesy toward the President and various governmental bodies. One cause of trouble he ascribes to too long tenure in office. Although most of these essayists have been severely critical, one is constantly impressed with the fact that they are more than satisfied with the system itself. Their eagerness to maintain our government in all its glory of justice

and righteousness only adds keenness to their censure.

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Franklin H. Giddings gives a sociological explanation for the increased power of the central government. His position is substantially this: "Extremely heterogeneous populations invariably do one or the other of two things: they evolve a highly centralized and powerful government or they fall into social and moral anarchy." The United States receives yearly thousands of foreigners having different ideals and characteristics; our population is constantly growing more heterogeneous. As a result, "Our present tendency in the United States is toward anarchy in all those fields of human interest which we have not yet brought under the iron hand of our central government." In fact, it is the price "we must pay for our idealistic attempt to mingle in one political aggregate, first antagonistic races, and secondly, the most miscellaneous assortment of nationalities, standards of living, moral and political traditions, temperaments and opinions, ever nominally combined

41. Social Pressure and Moral Weather;

Independent, vol. LXXIII, p. 1069.

as a single people."

This close relationship between the government and the people is generally recognized. William Everett excused the Senate for certain faults, saying that no stream could rise higher than its source, and that, as a result, so long as illegitimate measures are resorted to in private, corruption will crop out in the government. Henry

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Van Dyke states the case the other way around, saying that a ruler does not and cannot exist entirely apart from his people; that, if they are truly alert and honorable corruption will not be found in high places. Samuel P. Orth declares that our government is "as sound as the commonsense of the people and as weak as the impulses of the masses." Their ultimate judgment of right and wrong is sound; but in lesser activities ours is essentially a government by impulse. The betterment of our government lies in en-

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43. Government by Impulse; Atlantic Monthly, vol. C, p. 1.

42. The Powers That Be; in Essays in Application, p. 104.

creased self-control; in making impulses amenable to reason. The one lasting foundation of self-government is the fundamental saneness of human nature. Although human nature is doubtlessly sane, much of it is uneducated. This is regarded as particularly true of the immigrants, who may thus exert an undreamed of influence on our form of government, who, indeed, if Mr. Geddings is correct in his statements, are even now responsible for our tendency toward increased centralization. Some feel that this demands restricted immigration, but others, with more faith in human nature in general, trust in it and education to overcome ignorance and prejudice. Edwin Burritt Smith,⁴⁴ encouraged by the success of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago stated briefly but forcefully the general opinion of democratic writers when he said, "Self government is fundamental; good government is incidental."

44. The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago;
Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXV.

Constitutionally we are a self governing people. In addition, however, to our constitutional provisions there has arisen a system peculiar to the American people,---the party system with all of its ramifications. Intended at first to facilitate the choice of representatives it has developed into powerful organizations, until now the party system has been recognized by law through attempts made to regulate it. In discussing The Significance of Political Parties,⁴⁵ Andrew C. McLaughlin says that the party system and the natural psychological trend of organization are inevitable; that parties seek homogeneity in their own ranks, even at the expense of vital issues.⁴⁶ Rollo Ogden felt that the powers of the national committee were being tremendously augmented by virtue of the national chairman's control of party rewards and campaign funds. In other words, as

45. Atlantic Monthly, vol. CI, p. 145.

46. New Powers of the National Committee;
Atlantic Monthly, vol. XXXIX, p. 76.

the organization is perfected, the leaders and "inside ring" have the power, and free choice is taken away from the average citizen.

One of the attendant evils of this phase of politics, but with a local application, is the party boss. He has been the centre of attack for reformers; the demoralizing effect, which he has exerted upon his district, and the stratagems to which he has resorted, have been severely condemned. For a time the censure was almost always purely personal. Later, however, men began to see that the boss was not entirely to blame, began to realize that he, too, was a product of the times. Among these writers is
47 Francis C. Lowell who attributes the existence of the American boss to the universal need of elaborate and expensive political machinery, to the undue importance given by the American system to those who operate it, and to the confusion caused by conducting local elections upon national party lines.

47. The American Boss; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. LXXXVI,

At present the party system seems essential. Mr. McLaughlin declares that there is no chance of its disappearance. Our only course is to control it as best we can. It is not democratic but conditions could be worse. Bad as the spoils system is, it is a better way to finance the parties than would be large contributions from secret sources. He thinks that some day we may discover a way to manage the party system and then we shall democratize and constitutionalize it. Such is his hope for the future. Charles A. Conant regards the old party lines as no longer vital. While both of the large parties are concentrating their efforts on maintaining their supremacy by conciliating the greatest possible numbers, they will not be factors in our development. If they follow out their tendencies, the Republicans toward imperialism and the Democrats toward state socialism, they will again become vital agents in shaping our national life and policies.

48. The Future of Political Parties; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVIII, p. 365.

During the past fifteen years there has been an aroused interest in political reform. The initiative and referendum have been advocated and opposed. The recall of judges has been championed as a means of letting the people rule, and condemned as a lowering of governmental standards. The direct election of United States Senators in the first decade of the century was a popular subject for discussion. The length of the presidential tenure is occasionally introduced. The establishment of various administrative boards, the idea of state government by commission, the best methods of avoiding dilettanteism in our official circles, of eliminating graft and waste,---all these have furnished subjects for our essayists to discuss seriously. But, after all has been said in regard to these specific reforms, the final conclusion seems to be that the worth of any reform measure depends upon the integrity and alertness of the people themselves.

John J. Chapman⁴⁹ says that the only solution of our

49. Between Elections; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. LXXXV, p. 26.

corrupt political troubles is the truth about men and politics; that our present troubles are not due to poor machinery nearly so much as to the softness and indifference of the voters. We need to increase our efforts and learn the truth whether we like it or not. In about the same connection Theodore Roosevelt holds those who demand or accept impossible promises equally guilty with those who make them. Both are unworthy because they lessen the confidence in a promise once given and make insincerity a means of success.

Various methods have been resorted to to arouse the interest of the people in political conditions. Some have advocated the direct primary in order to give every voter an opportunity to register his vote unhampered. Others have urged the formation of civic leagues to keep the people alert. Among these is Edwin Burritt Smith, ⁵¹ who advocates a muni-

50. Promise and Performance in The Strenuous Life, p. 119.

51. The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXV.

cipal voters league, similar to the one at Chicago, self-perpetuating and non-partisan. Such a league should and usually does, publish without comment the facts about the candidates, and leaves the voter to own make up his mind.

In spite of the numerous objections raised to our political system and practices, the belief endures that the American people can be trusted, that ultimately solutions will be found for our problems, that graft will be eliminated and that we will truly have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

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CHAPTER V

SOCIAL LIFE AND PROBLEMS

In a study of social movements the questions of the direction in which we are traveling and of our power to direct our own course are of vital importance. If, after all the years of struggling the world is not improving today there is little incentive left for attempting to better conditions. Most of the writers agree with Henry VanDyke that the world is undoubtedly growing better, as is shown by a quickened public conscience, a greater respect for human life, and a higher standard of morality. Men who have sociological training seem most confident of social advancement, yet expect a very slow rate

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52. Is the World Growing Better? in Essays in Application, p. 1.

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of progress. John Burroughs is deeply impressed with the helplessness of man. He recognizes the fact that only in man is adaptation to environment a matter of thought. Climate, race, age, geology, all these have helped and are helping today to mould him and his destiny. The Cosmic Mind, the Universal Intelligence, determines and shapes the forms of the Universe. It is true that man has a certain mastery over nature, but how limited and imperfect it is. Our power of will carries us but a little way against the tendencies of race. Therefore, Burroughs seems to believe, we can have little control of our destiny. The evolutionary process is slow; we may retard or yet accelerate the movement slightly, in the long run, the advancement made by our unaided efforts will be negligible. Nature, not man, will work the transformation. At the same time, for his spirit-

53. Nature and Animal Life; Atlantic Monthly, -vol. C, p. 223.

ual well-being man must keep struggling to attain a
higher plane. George Edward Woodberry has caught a
vision of the future which dignifies the lowliest
task or thought of today. The race mind has eternal
reality. It alone remains stable. The highest a-
chievement of any nation or people is to give up its
distinctive quality to have it taken over by human-
ity as a universal belief or feeling. The suffering
vicariously endured to make a great contribution
and the sacrifice of a people's peculiar character-
istic for humanity's sake, he regards as the great-
est duty and the greatest consolation of mankind.

Elizabeth Bisland gives the key-note to one
phase of our age in her delightful essay, The Time
Spirit of the Twentieth Century. She has a fine ac-
count of the superficiality and austerity of the
eighteenth century; of the intense emotional reac-

54. Man and the Race in The Torch.

55. The Time Spirit of the Twentieth Cen-
tury; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVII, p.15.

tion of the nineteenth, with its cry, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity;" and of the humbled mood of the twentieth, with its disillusionments and its two ideals of patriotism and duty. No longer fired with enthusiasm and hope of realizing immediately the social ideals of the nineteenth, the twentieth century, slightly sceptical of its ability to change conditions materially, has settled down on a more attainable end and is content to start movements which may bear fruit in later years. Some writers feel that the American people have gone too far in this direction and that they have abandoned too much. Bliss Perry⁵⁶ is disturbed by the extent to which the majority of Americans have carried the tendency to be indifferent about matters of vital importance. He feels that men are born to be optimists, and to take an interest in life. If they grow cynical and indifferent something is surely wrong, and he thinks that the Americans are developing

56. Indifferentism; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCII,
p. 329.

both of these tendencies. He notes that too great stimuli produce a reaction and suggests that this may be the explanation of the indifferentism of the Americans. Of one thing he is confident, that we must learn to live simply and calmly, we must train ourselves to keep a fresh serene, outlook on life. Charles E. Hesselgrave, a clergyman, is keenly sensitive to this indifferentism also. In The Failure of Smith he charges a certain class of prosperous, comfortably situated citizens with being a burden to society, because he believes that they have become indifferent to the church, to politics, to social welfare, in short to everything save their own pleasure. He would consider their elimination a blessing to society. There seems to be a feeling that the growing apathy of the American public must be overcome and consequently some agitation for social reform along this line is being made.

57. Independent, vol. LXXIV, p. 1184.

Another and contrasting phrase of the century
is brought out by Gerald Stanley Lee who calls this
the "machine age." He repudiates the idea that it is
a period without sentiment or feeling and maintains
that it is full of poetry. A poet he defines as a man
who loves his work, who is impelled by an ideal, whether
he be sailor, inventor, or machinist, and poetry is
"the discovering of connections." Now, this is an age
in which the creative minds are largely devoting them-
selves to the perfection of machinery, inventions, and
scientific investigations, all of which have not in the
past been recognized as possessing spiritual qualities.
This attitude, he regards as unwarranted, for idealism
is actuating the workers and making their work a spir-
itual creation. It is simply a new application of en-
nobling motives to another sphere of human endeavor so
that all must recognize its dignity and poetry.

58. The Poetry of the Machine Age; Atlantic
Monthly, vol. LXXXV, p. 756.

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David Starr Jordan points out the existing social unrest and links it with progress. Self-satisfaction is stagnation or worse; therefore the restlessness of the majority of the people is an encouraging sign. "All triumph," to quote exactly, "is relative. The welfare of the people, the welfare of the world are replacing the old motives of party victory!" If this be so, we may well be optimistic, no matter how many wrongs are not yet righted. This restlessness has borne fruit even now. William Jewett Tucker believes that in the recently developed social conscience we have a new force with transforming power, that our hitherto unconscious efforts to help humanity will now be consciously directed. He already sees a change in our conception of things. In the past the struggle with monopoly has occupied the social conscience but we are realizing that other phases of life are also demanding our attention. Efforts to humanize industry

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59. Unrest and Progress; Independent, vol. LXXIII
p. 310.

60. The Progress of the Social Conscience; Atlantic Monthly, vol. CXVI, p. 289.

have already been made with partially successful results. The plea for charity in behalf of the poor has changed to a demand for justice, as we have realized that injustice is one of the main causes of poverty. Mr. Tucker believes that the entrance of woman into civic life has done much to reinforce the social conscience and to inaugurate the needed reforms. In an article entitled The Welfare War,⁶¹ Robert W. Bruère alludes to the awakened social conscience as an uplifting force but says that its energy is dissipated and social advancement retarded by the conflicting views as to the best methods of improvement.

The agitation against the social evils of our country has grown in importance. It has been directed against many conditions and abuses but reforms come so slowly that only a beginning has been made. Nevertheless, the earnest discussion of definite social questions is doing much to encourage the people themselves to grapple with the problems which confront them.

61. Harper's Monthly Magazine, vol. CXXIII.

One of the more prominent social problems facing the American public today and one receiving considerable attention from the essayists, is crime. There seems to be a growing lawlessness and an increase in the number of serious offenders. Many writers have deplored the fact that the man who has defrauded people in great speculations has not been so severely punished as the poor man who has committed a lesser offense. Another type of offender has been happily designated as the "criminaloid" by Edward Alsworth Ross.⁶² The criminaloid is he "who sins new sins against society with immunity." The key to his character is not evil impulse but moral insensitivity and suffering or retardation for which he is responsible, does not affect him. He flourishes until the growth of morality in society as a whole, to which he is responsive, overtakes the growth of opportunity to prey. In coping with this type of character

62. The Criminaloid; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. XCIX, p. 44.

public censure is an immense asset according to Mr.

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Ross. He adds that it is a fallacy that sinners should be chastised only by their betters. The impelling motive in social reform is not self interest but to 'put down iniquity,' and the disapprobation of one's inferiors even may be a restraining influence.

The sinner who commits offenses against the moral law while observing the technicalities of criminal law is the real peril to society. We need, says Mr. Ross, to face the issues and "the repression of the vicious is not more important than the repression of sinners."

The need of a reform in our criminal law is generally recognized. Mr. Ross states repeatedly that our old regulative system is falling to pieces. George W. Alter 64
insists that a reform in the criminal law of the United States is essential. Much of our lawless tendency and the accompanying disrespect for the law he

63. The Galling of Sinners; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. XCIX, p. 500.

64. Criminal Law Reform; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. XCVII.

charges to the emphasis which has been placed on technicalities. The very fact that decisions have been based on trivial technicalities and not on the merits of a case has developed a feeling that justice is not to be found in the courts and has consequently encouraged both crime and lynching. However he does not lose hope. His explanation of this discouraging condition is encouraging in itself. We created a criminal law which was the most humane in the world, but while avoiding one error we fell into another. "Instead of a system which over-protected the state we have erected one which over-protects the individual." In our efforts to give the accused a fair show we have made it comparatively easy for subtle criminals to avoid their just punishments. An aroused public conscience will, he believes, hasten a reform which can make the law respectable and respected because efficient and just; when that condition obtains the people will naturally become law-abiding.

The treatment of recognized criminals is demanding more and more attention. With the new concept-

ion of the purpose of imprisonment, the idea of reformation instead of retaliation, a conviction has developed that the old methods are at complete variance with the new purpose. Consequently, the essayists have been quick to seize upon theories and experiments in the new science of penology. The criticism of existing conditions has been severe. A short suggestive essay, Prison Life,⁶⁵ written by a prisoner himself, gives an excellent epitome of the general attitude toward prisons and prison management. The author bases his observations on conditions at the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island but they hold for most of the prisons in the United States. His first criticism is that the penal system does not work a reformation in the men who, as a matter of fact, become more embittered against society on account of the unjust treatment given them. He asks the object of imprisonment: If it is to protect society no effort is made to see that such a change has been ef-

65. Outlook, vol. CV, p. 846.

fected before the prisoner is released; if it is to effect a reformation in the prisoner, no encouragement is offered; if it is to punish the offender that end is attained but the effect is harmful to society. He concludes that the majority of first offenders might be made useful members of society if intelligent efforts were made to reach them soon after their imprisonment. As it is now, the convicts are turned out penniless and hopeless and with little chance to make good. The truth of such criticism has been felt and numerous attempts to solve the problem have been made. Two of the efforts which have been frequently discussed are those made in the Colorado state penitentiary and at Great Meadows, New York. The former has won considerable fame through its honor system in connection with road construction in the mountains. The Great Meadow farm is another shining example of an effective honor system by means of which criminals are being reclaimed to society. Frank Marshall White in an appreciative essay⁶⁶ contrasts the

66. Great Meadows and Sing Sing; Outlook,
vol. CV, p. 846.

morale of the prisoners at Sing Sing and Great Meadows. At Sing Sing the prisoners were abused and rebellious, ready to pit themselves against society; at Great Meadows over ninety-nine percent had proved faithful to their trust and were awaiting their release with the expectation of becoming respected, self-supporting citizens. Of course it is admitted that offenders who are mentally deficient cannot be reached in this way, but they are now regarded as subjects for medical treatment who are not entirely responsible for their deeds.

Many other social reforms have attracted wide attention. The juvenile court movement, shorter working hours for women, minimum wage scales, workingmen's compensation acts, industrial insurance, mothers' pensions, have all demanded and received serious consideration from prominent writers and the reading public. At the same time much effort has been expended in giving publicity to bad conditions ^{now} existing.

Abram I. Elkus, Consel for the Merchants Association of New York in 1913, contributed a typical essay of this condemnatory type to the Independent⁶⁷ in which he set forth the worst evils then found in a majority of the factories. These were five in number, namely: the danger of factory fires in congested buildings; accidents due to exposed machinery, inadequate lighting, ignorance or carelessness; industrial poisoning and disease; glare and heat with exposure; too long working hours, especially for women, attended, as is too frequently the case, with additional home work. After listing these dangers so specifically, Mr. Elkus points out that such abuses are detrimental to the state in as much as they lower the standard of living, cheapen human life, and debilitate our citizenship by sapping the strength of the mothers of our commonwealth. He rejoices that equity as well as 'thus saith the letter of the law,' is now recognized as a governing principle and quotes

67. Vol. LXXIV, p. 737.

approvingly this sentence from a United States Judge, "What we know as men we cannot be ignorant of as judges."

Closely connected with these questions of factory conditions are the problems of child labor and sweat shops. Mary Alden Hopkins gives a vivid picture of the combination of these two evils in which she points out that many children who should be an asset to the state are so stunted in their development that they either die in their youth or become public charges. Judge Lindsey and George Creel have summed up in one essay the gist of the whole matter. In an attempt to get at the cause of child labor they have given this admirable summary of the more important explanations: "The economist argues from wage schedules, the trade unionist from lack of organization, the socialist from the ferocities of competi-

68. Children in Bondage; Good Housekeeping,

June, 1913.

69. Why Do Children Toil? Good Housekeeping,

August 1913, p. 169.

tion, the politician from unwise and unjust laws, the preacher from godlessness and the educationalist from a faulty school system which exalts books above life. "Is it not possible," they ask, "that the answer does not lie in one but in all and that the evil does not spring from a tap root but from a vast and intricate spread of roots?" Their conclusion can best be stated in their own words: "May it not be agreed, then, that child labor is not an isolated evil, that it is not a problem to be solved by sole consideration of ways and means for getting the little ones out of the factories, mills, streets, and stores or by leveling furious accusations against parents, church, and school? Involuntary poverty underlies child labor just as it underlies all our national ills. Involuntary poverty proceeds from seizure of special privileges by the few at the expense of the many. The presence of these inequalities in our laws and lives puts a premium upon greed and cruelty and rapacity and places a penalty upon the good and the fine and the fraternal. Out of them pours an acid

that corrodes our entire national life, scarring honor and honesty and generosity, burning mother love and father love and making existence a fever."

The questions peculiar to city life have not received as much attention as one would naturally expect. The housing problem, particularly in the poorer districts, is one of the more important problems. Bur-

⁷⁰ton J. Hendrick in discussing the tenement condition in New York declared it to be the worst in the world.

Yet he found the immigrants and tenement dwellers eager for improvement. Agitation, legal regulation, and an adequate system of inspection would, he believes, soon transform existing conditions. The securing of pure food, especially pure milk for babies, is another vital question for city people, and has received very serious consideration. Hollis Godfrey points out its great importance in an essay, The City and its Milk Supply contributed to the Atlantic Monthly. The

70. A Great Municipal Reform; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCII, p. 665.

71. Vol. C, p. 252.

need of little children for play grounds, together with the dangers of the street form another issue of vast significance. Marguerite Merington shows how demoralizing life on a city street must be to a child, and how imperative the need is for wholesome sports if society is to hold to an upgrade course. Commercialized amusement for adults is also receiving consideration. In this connection particularly the church is being called upon to assume a greater responsibility.

72

Henry Van Dyke, while appreciating the difficulties which the city church must encounter, is certain that the church must strengthen its position, must meet the needs of the people and in some way increase the influence of religion in its sphere. Charles Stetzke advocates the institutional church. He feels that the city church's great weakness is inefficiency, which can and should be overcome by putting the church on a business basis and employing special experts.

72. The Church in the City in Essays in Application, p. 172.

The cry, "back to the farm," which has been raised during the last few years, is characteristic of a certain class of essays dealing with our rural life but not so much importance is attached to it as to a consideration of the problems facing the people now on the farms. Although there have been numerous articles on the increasingly large number of abandoned farms, according to L. H. Bailey,⁷³ editor of Country Life in America, there has been more agitation than the situation really warrants; for, even in New England, where conditions were most acute, the farm homes are being maintained. The 'away from the farm' tendency is being counter-acted, in the opinion of C. J. Colden,⁷⁴ who believes that city life is inferior to modern farm life. It is now possible for farmers to have the city conveniences which they need and at the same time to avoid the city annoyances. A growing realization of

73. The Abandoned Farms; Country Life in America, 1902.

74. The Fat Side of the Farm; Independent, vol. LXXIII, p. 126.

the possibility, together with education and proper recreation, will keep many more young people on the farm. Other essayists disagree with this assumption.

75

An editorial in the Nation well illustrates the difference. Accordingly to it, there is fallacy as well as truth in the view that farm life is being made more attractive than city life. The fallacy lies in this; that while conveniences make country life "more endurable" they increase the lure of the city where there are a greater number. Horace Plunkett is quoted as believing that rural life has actually been rendered more distasteful through the introduction of urban pleasures and conveniences. The editor seems to feel that the suggested remedies are usually superficial and that, if they are to prove adequate, they must go deeper. They must arise from the feelings of the masses rather than from the efforts of "uplifters." This change will probably come, if it does come, as a result of economic pressure. On the other hand, Rob-

75. Country Life Problems, Nov. 18, 1909.

76

ert W. Bruère believes that country life has undergone a transformation. Unlike many writers, he attributes the change largely to an awakened, vitalized church, to the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and other Christian institutions which have in various places made successful attempts to meet the needs of the community socially, intellectually, economically and spiritually.

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E. P. Pressey also thinks that a change is occurring but believes that it is due to a new conception of the dignity of human labor, to an improved social life, and to a broader rural education. Charles W.

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Harger finds an explanation of improved rural conditions in the application of scientific methods which, he says, have revolutionized farm life. A larger number of young men are constantly choosing agriculture as a profession, a most encouraging note for the future of farming sections. The advance, ac-

77. The Country Problem; Independent, vol. LXXIII,
p. 1308.

78. The New Farming Generation in Essays for
College English.

76. The Rural Reformation in Essays for Col-
lege English.

cording to Mr. Harger, is being made by the younger generation who, convinced of the worth and feasibility of new methods, are making farm life attractive.

The country town is usually associated with the rural rather than with the urban community. Its importance in our national life is being more clearly realized. In a serious series of essays Mr. Harger discusses its significance in this connection. The country banker, he considers, has and deserves to have a secure place in the life of the community. The banker himself is an important figure for he helps to initiate new enterprises, carries over others, helps the farmer at harvest time, and performs other services of a similar nature which do much to make his own community prosperous. Nationally also, the country banks has his responsibility for the great banking concerns depend largely on the small country banks for a knowledge 79 of the temper and feeling of the people as a whole.

79. The Country Banker; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. CI, p. 174.

So too, the country editor is essential to a sound national life, but his service is naturally somewhat different. He is in closer touch with the people of his community than any city editor can possibly be. He is a social factor, a political power. More than that, he is at the foundation of journalism and the soundness of public opinion over the country depends to a large extent upon the integrity and wisdom of

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the country editor. The country store is another institution which Mr. Harger considers an essential element in our democracy, for mail order houses and big city establishments can never take the place of an efficiently managed store in a little country town.

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Frank Farrington sees in the country store an opportunity for alert young men to become independent and at the same time to be of real service in building up the social life of the land.

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80. The Country Editor of Today; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIX, p. 89.

81. The Country Store; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCV, p. 91.

82. The Country Store: An Opportunity, Independent, vol. LXXIII, p. 762.

Day by day the American people seem to realize more fully the existing need for a more closely unified community life. Many of the social evils and political abuses of our day are attributed to the indifference and ignorance of the American people who have drifted apart as communities have grown too large for general personal contact. With a realization of this weakness has come an agitation for a greater socialization.

Theodore Roosevelt has advocated a greater civic helpfulness, particularly on the part of such socializing agencies as the Young Men's Christian Association, settlement houses and traveling libraries. More characteristic of a later phase of the movement, however,
⁸³ is the demand for a civic centre. Woodrow Wilson has an admirable sketch of its growth and significance. The civic centre has developed spontaneously in response to a felt need; it is essential to community life, especially in a democracy where common feeling

83. The Social Centre: A Means of Common Understanding in Essays for College English.

is essentially important to free government. Conference always modifies and improves thought, and the participation of the people in such discussions will make the solution of great problems easier. Adjustment is essential to liberty and enlightened control must take the place of management. Faith in the people is justified when they show themselves responsible to this demand made upon them in the name of good government. The social centre movement is such a response and as such is fundamentally American.

This is Mr. Wilson's appraisal of the movement. Judge

84

Lindsey and George Creel urge its importance in overcoming the social evils and see it in another aspect, see it in conflict with special privilege. They point out that our "invisible government," i.e., special privilege, has shown marked opposition to the use of public school buildings at night as social centres.

Why? Because they fear "the gathering of people together, for such gatherings inevitably tend to the

84. Why Do Children Toil? Good Housekeeping,

August 1913, p. 169.

discussion of rights and wrongs, the nucleation of public sentiment and speedy assertion by the masses of their strength."

In connection with this serious consideration of vital problems by the people themselves the integrity of the press becomes more and more imperative.

85 Rollo Ogden recognizes the growing importance of journalism, and believes that the press as a whole is honest; that it can be kept so because it is absolutely dependent upon subscribers and advertisers for its existence. It should represent the body of opinion in the community and has the opportunity to be a great power for progress, if it is fearless. It is precisely

86 in this particular that Brooke Fisher feels that in part the press is failing. Its dependence upon subscribers and advertisers has become servile. It is commercialized and indulges in platitudes, not real

85. Some Aspects of Journalism; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVIII.

86. The Newspaper Industry; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXIX, p. 745.

issues; placates the people by harmless attacks; and devotes its energy to keeping the circulation at top-notch. Originally, he admits, the editor of a newspaper led in the formation of public opinion, but now too frequently, news is discredited as mere "newspaper talk," and as a result the community suffers. He concludes with a strong plea for sound, sincere newspapers to give the facts to the people and to encourage a free discussion of vital issues.

Many writers have been disheartened by the social unrest and the preponderance of unfavorable criticism. George W. Alger feels that we have gone too far in this direction, that the attacks have been made against individuals rather than the system. Now he believes there is danger of our being hardened in our sins and is positive that today we need recognition of merit and constructive instead of destructive criticism. But many others see this discontent in a

87. The Literature of Exposure; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVI, p. 210.

different light. With his customary cheerfulness

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Samuel McChord Crothers suggests that we are sometimes needlessly discouraged. We have so much done for us, we are so impressed by the great needs yet unmet, that we see the weak points and fail to appreciate the strong. He makes a still more comfort-

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ing suggestion when he calls the social agitation of our day "a new aspect of our pioneer spirit," which comes not from demagogues but from our idealistic youth who have no wilderness to tame. The Right Reverend Chauncey B. Brewster, Bishop of Connecticut

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in 1912, is no less optimistic. "We are," he says, "coming to a more organic conception of society.... Human life, however, in thus becoming more organically social, is not going to be less truly personal... It is to be hoped and reasonably to be expected that the further process, the evolutionary correlation of

89. To The Old School Citizen in Humanity
Speaking.

90. Moving ---Whither? Independent, vol. LXXIII,
p. 124.

88. The Spoiled Children of Civilization,
in Humanity Speaking.

social elements into a more consciously and explicitly organic whole will not be mainly through governmental authority repressing personality but through wholesome liberty of development wherein personality shall find fullest realization in social relations." Then he catches a vision of the future with this principle applied to our life. "It would mean," he writes, "the free play of personality in its diversity of gifts and powers.....It would mean for organized labor less of tyrannous compulsion and more large minded leadership. Capital and labor would recognize their mutual interests and work together to solve their problems.....this may be seen as a dim outline of the kingdom of God. Nothing else than that rules of God's righteousness can suffice. It involves social relationship.... It is a kingdom of persons. It alone affords deep foundation and high sanction for the democratic ideal in the equal solemnity of all human lives, notwithstanding any inequality in natural endowment or outward future."

CHAPTER VI INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The United States has lived unto itself to a greater extent than any other nation of equal prominence. With the passing of the years, however, it has come into increasingly close contact with foreign countries. Through commercial and diplomatic relations its interests have been so closely linked with the welfare and conduct of other nations that it can no longer hold aloof. The realization that the isolated life of the past is no longer possible has been accompanied by numerous discussions as to what the attitude and policy of the United States should be for the future. H. D. Sedgwick takes a position which is

91. Nations and the Decalogue; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXV, p. 577.

characteristic of the idealistic tendency of the American people. He believes that nations are bound by the same moral laws which bind men individually; that no nation can ultimately succeed unless it places righteousness above material well-being and seeming progress. He recognizes the difficulties which the United States, or any nation, in fact, must encounter in striving to carry out this policy under existing conditions. As a solution he suggests a world federation with the obliteration of national lines. The nations, he believes, have served their purpose; they have brought about the organization of humanity and their work is done. Our present need, which cannot be met for many, many years to come, is a world society with universal sympathy and cooperation, with the old national patriotism transformed into humanitarianism. Mr. Sedgwick would have the United States embrace this program as its own and conduct its international negotiations so as to advance its adoption.

The relation of the United States to other countries is a popular subject for our essayists. As we grow more cosmopolitan our horizon widens and we see that foreign nations are real factors in our national life. It follows naturally that we have developed a keen interest in a study of our peculiar relations with the various countries. In The Estranging

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Sea Agnes Repplier calls attention to the readiness of Americans to consider and frequently to accept the ideas of other nations. As we grow away from our provincialism we lose our self-complacency and are ready to give serious consideration to the benefits we may derive from a study of other lands. As a result our chief interest is not in the countries themselves but in the enlightenment we may gain for our own guidance. For instance, the decreasing birth rate in France has been used by American writers to warn their people of the danger of race suicide. The English Courts have been held up for emulation in America for the purpose

92. Americans and Others.

of changing our judicial attitude so that equity would outweigh technicality and the "law's delay" cease to be proverbial. Germany, too, has served us in much the same way. American writers have frequently turned there for illustrations of wisely constructed social reforms and for examples of efficient school administration. But our lessons are not all on the points which we are desired to emulate. Mistaken policies of foreign countries have been pointed out that we may avoid their errors---the militarism of the Fatherland was severely criticized and designated as a peril which we must avoid, long before the Great War began. Our relations with England have been unique. Thomas Wentworth Higginson believed that the old prejudice aroused by the rebellion of the colonies has been entirely outgrown by both parties so that now the relationship is sympathetic. Much unnecessary difference of opinion exists on ~~the~~ ac-

93. English and American Cousins; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIII, p. 184.

count of ignorance on both sides but the feeling of kinship predominates. The similarity in tastes, the common literature and language, furnish the essayists with many profitable themes. It is characteristic of our new self-consciousness that we see all these countries chiefly in relation to our national life.

The Panama Canal has done much to bring us into diplomatic relations with many European nations and has brought up new questions of policy. What treatment the United States should accord England and other foreign nations as well, is the subject of Elihu Root's able essay, The Panama Canal A Sacred Trust.⁹⁴ He calls our attention to the fact that in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty the United States assumed obligations looking to the future; that England, relying upon our integrity, gave up claims to the supposed eastern terminus of the canal. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty also declares for absolute equality of treatment of

94, Independent, vol. LXXIV, p. 285.

all nations, including the United States. Any subterfuge, such as the coasting trade plea, is belittling to our nation. "We must," concludes Mr. Root, "put ourselves under the same rule, submit the question to arbitration, or sully our record as sincere advocates for the principle of arbitration."

In recent years our relations with Japan have been rather delicate. The situation has been made more acute by the intensity and diversity of feeling among our own citizens. Hamilton Holt blames the American people for any strained relations which may exist between the two countries. He asserts that Japan has lived up to her treaty of friendship and trust with the United States but that the latter has failed to keep this same trust. To prove his last point he calls attention to the fact that we have interfered with her home politics and have offered her an open affront by unjustly discriminating against

95. Straining An Historical Friendship;
Independent, vol. LXXIV, p. 975.

her emigrants to California. He feels that we are in danger, and justly so, of losing her confidence and friendship on account of a "flimsy whim of a reckless race prejudice." James D. Phelan, who was mayor of San Francisco from 1896 to 1902, disagrees entirely with Mr. Holt, declaring that "the Japanese will not go and will not be absorbed. There is the problem."⁹⁶ He believes that they lower the standard of living and drive out the native Americans. They are not necessarily inferior but they are manifestly undesirable. Their exclusion, he contends, is neither an insult nor injustice, in as much as they are not seeking an asylum and bring with them the danger of race war.

The relation between the United States and the Philippines and Japan's real or possible relation to the two, have been the subject for wild speculation, but articles by such men as James S. Leroy have done much to bring about a quiet, intelligent consideration of the proposition. Mr. Leroy is confident that there⁹⁷

96. The Japanese Question from a California

Standpoint; Independent, vol. LXXIV, p. 1439.

97. Japan and the Philippine Islands; Atlantic
Monthly, vol. XCIX, p. 24.

is no danger now of an alliance between Japan and the Philippines. The latter vastly prefer the United States and have secretly feared that she might negotiate about them with Japan. He goes on to say that if, in the future, the Philippines want to make an alliance with Japan the United States will have no real ground for opposition, inasmuch as cooperation is what we want and need.

This discussion brings up the whole question of the attitude of the United States toward colonial possessions and there are nearly as many opinions as there are writers. Alleyne Ireland, ⁹⁸ special commissioner from the University of Chicago in 1902, was of the opinion that the United States had egregiously mismanaged in the Philippines, owing to narrow home politics and crass ignorance. The United States has looked at the Islands from her own viewpoint instead of theirs. As a result the government there has ~~seen~~ the drawbacks but not the benefits of a democra-

98. The United States in the Philippines;

Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIV, p. 577.

tic form of government. He considers the people unfit for self government and therefore does not favor the independence of the Islands, thus virtually binding the United States to a policy of colonial possessions. James S. Leroy finds an explanation for the unfavorable political conditions in the Islands' inheritance from the Spanish, who broke down the tribal form of government and transformed it into a domineering aristocracy. The spirit of bossism has always existed there and, although the Filipinos are seeking something better, bossism will continue until a good substitute can be found. In the meantime education is a great leaven working toward democracy. Mr. Leroy in another essay insists that the Philippine problem is a human problem; that one of the first steps forward must be the overcoming of race prejudice, which is largely unfounded and wholly unjustifiable, and, finally, that we must culti-

99. Our Spanish Inheritance in the Philippines; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCV, p. 340.

100. Race Prejudice in the Philippines; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XC, p. 100.

vate human sympathy and avoid the antagonism of spiritual and material interests. Charles A. Conant believes that the Americans need to arouse the Filipinos from the apathy due to indifference or uselessness of interest. The introduction of education is a partial solution but the economic future of the Philippines depends ultimately upon the United States which will be recompensed for its efforts in having such valuable possessions. It is evident that Mr. Conant favors a colonial policy on the part of the United States. Many writers, however, do not believe it consistent for the United States to pursue such a policy of colonial expansion. Richard Olney regarded the purchase of the Philippines as a serious mistake because it was out of harmony with our avowed belief in self government. Bliss Perry is convinced that

101. The Economic Future of the Philippines;

Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXIX, p. 366.

102. Growth of our Foreign Policy; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXV.

103. On Keeping the Fourth of July; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XC, p. 1.

to live up to its principles and ideals of democracy, the United States must promise ultimate independence to the Filipinos.

During the period of political revolution and civil war in Mexico, attended as it has been with loss and annoyance to foreign interests, a vigorous discussion of the duty of the United States has proceeded. Some, like Colonel Roosevelt, have advocated interference. Others favor non-intervention as a matter of principle or as an expedient course that the confidence of the South American countries may be retained. Increased importance is constantly being attached to the maintenance of mutually friendly relations between the United States and the other American republics. John W. Foster¹⁰⁴ recognized the progress we have made in this direction through our honest diplomatic relations and the evidence of our good intentions. He considered the Pan-American Conference an excellent means for increasing the good feeling but at the same time he

104. Pan-American Diplomacy; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXIX, p. 482.

insisted that our policy of justice has been, and will continue to be the great factor, in creating and maintaining their confidence in us. Although this essay was written some time before the situation became so perplexing in Mexico, it remains typical of the most popular thought on the subject.

Following the outbreak of the Great War the Mexican question gave place to a consideration of the best policy for the United States to pursue in view of the upheaval in Europe. What course the United States should follow in its diplomatic relations with the warring nations has been a most point. Some writers have asserted that it should have voiced its protest against the infringement of The Hague treaties and the disregarding of the neutrality of Belgium by joining forces with the allies. Others have criticised what they term the "uncertain, aimless course" which diplomatic affairs have taken. Still others have commended warmly the policy of strict neutrality and slowness to take offense, which has been vexatious to some.

In spite of the divergence of opinion as to what the United States should do in given instances all are united on what the general character of our diplomacy should be. Francis C. Lowell rejoices in the fact that our diplomats are men of character and ability, men who are in sympathy with the idealistic tendency of our international dealings. One of the strong points of the American diplomats, he believes, is his habit of appealing to the people, thus giving proof of our democratic convictions and also increasing the good feeling between nations. In discussing The Right and Wrong of the Monroe Doctrine, Charles F. Dole gives some of the distinguishing characteristics of the American ideal of diplomacy. The diplomacy of the United States must be based upon justice to both parties; unfair advantages for the United States must not be considered. He applies this idea to the Monroe Doctrine, the substance of which was originally, he believes, opposed to the establishment of mon-

105. American Diplomacy; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVII.

106. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCV, p. 567.

archies in America and to the aggression of European powers. Since neither of these dangers now exists, he sees no ground on which the United States can continue to hold the Monroe Doctrine and at the same time be true to its ideals. There is absolutely no excuse for the suggestion that the United States exert a suzerainty over all the American nations, for such a course would be imperialistic and in flat opposition to human freedom and American ideals. The ideal of diplomacy is in brief one of openness, frankness and good will, actuated by a desire for justice to all parties and special privileges to none. It is upon this basis of good faith that the United States has obtained recognition and won the confidence of the world as to its honorable intentions and fair dealings.

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PART II.**PROBLEMS UNIVERSAL IN SCOPE**

CHAPTER I

CAPITAL AND LABOR

With the passing of the frontier and the growth of the great commercial organizations, the relation between capital and labor has assumed a new and vital importance in the minds of the American people. The social value of wealth, the legitimate uses to which capital may be put, the responsibility which it should assume, are a few of the questions which arise on the one hand. On the other, such questions as the value of labor to society, the rights of the workers, the recompense which should be labor's due, the debt of society to labor, come up for consideration. But the most perplexing question of all is how to maintain, under the new economic conditions, the old social solidarity which hitherto has characterized our democracy and prevented the development

of fixed classes. As class lines become more distinct the opportunity for personal contact lessens, and, as a result, there is an absense of that sympathetic human relation which makes for amicable adjustment of differences. This point is particularly emphasized by Hayes Robbins ¹⁰⁷ who believes that the personal factor will always be important, that even with the advent of corporations it cannot entirely disappear, and that if recognized and utilized it will help solve many problems. A willingness to work together for justice lessens the danger of disruption, and personal contact of capital and labor will foster such a spirit. Therefore, Mr. Robbins believes, we do not need to discover a new panacea but only to "re-discover each other."

Perhaps some such idea of giving an insight into the problems and temptations of the two classes has led to the discussion of each alone. But underneath and more fundamental than these problems arising from class distinctions are those of absolute

107. The Personal Factor in the Labor Problem;
Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIX, p. 729.

right or wrong which go to the very foundation of our economic system. In the first place, does anyone have a right to property? Some contend that government ownership is the only just arrangement. However, Henry

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Van Dyke voices the common sentiment when he says that the right to property is recognized by Christianity, if the property is acquired justly. J. Lawrence

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Laughlin feels that hostility toward large fortunes is not decreasing but that this attitude is partly due to prejudice. He considers discrimination essential to sound judgment for, as he indicates, wealth may be honestly acquired and dishonorably spent, and vice versa. In the second place, how should wealth be distributed? This question has attracted much attention, especially on account of the agitation by writers of

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a socialistic tendency. Thomas Nixon Carver pre-

108. Property and Theft, in Essays in Application, p. 183.

109. Large Fortunes; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVI, p. 40.

110. How Ought Wealth to be Distributed?; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVII.

sents the three theories of the distribution of wealth, which he designates: the aristocratic, favoring a certain group; the socialistic, basing distribution upon need; and the democratic or liberalistic, basing distribution upon productivity, usefulness or worth. He considers the last best because service would be made the basis of distribution. In order to safeguard the rights of all he would have a standard set for survival, close all harmful and parasitic industries by law, and then let individuals, not officials, determine the reward for service.

The harmful effects of corporation business, of concentrated capital, have been so frequently pointed out that some essayists have been impelled to show the extenuating circumstances and others call our attention to genuine benefits. Such a writer is Henry A. Stimson who pleads that the millionaire is not entirely to blame for his disregard of human rights. When power is given it is difficult not to

III. The Millionaire's Peril; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. XCIV, p. 830.

use it selfishly. More than that, the millionaire on the board of directors has his conscience suppressed, for he is not acting as an individual. Having entered into a competitive struggle without personal responsibility, his moral sense becomes confused and blunted.

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Edward Absworth Ross recognizes the truth of Mr. Stimson's diagnosis of the effects of no personal responsibility, and calls it 'sinning by syndicate.' He believes that men are improving in their personal relations but that the control of business and industry is becoming impersonal. The effect of the latter tendency is most disastrous because corporate sinning, more than any other sinning, alienates social classes. He would overcome the anonymity of the corporation by fixing on the directors themselves personal responsibility for their corporate sinning. One of the writers who would have us realize the value of the capitalist

112. Sinning by Syndicate; Atlantic Monthly,

vol. C, p. 530.

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class is Charles A. Conant. He desires that we recognize the services performed by the perfected mechanism of modern finance, especially the use of negotiable securities which represent a large part of the public wealth, make possible big industrial undertakings, and hence lower the cost of production. Such investment of wealth he regards as one of the most potent factors in the progress of modern society.

The rights of labor are receiving increased attention, partly through an aroused public conscience and partly through the efforts of organized labor. It is regarded as one of the signs of material advancement in our civilization that the average man, the working man, is receiving more consideration than in the past. At the same time he is being exploited as never before, owing, no doubt, to our excessively rapid economic development. The situation, as usually portrayed, is this: The rights of labor are theoretical-

113. The World's Wealth in Negotiable Securities; Atlantic Monthly, vol. CI, p. 97.

ly recognized and practically ignored. George W. Alger¹¹⁴ gives a typical survey of the anomaly. "The principal difference between the working people and the courts lies in the marked tendency of the courts to guarantee to the workman an academic and theoretical liberty which he does not want, by denying him industrial rights to which he thinks he is ethically entitled." This is the whole situation---the workman feels that he has been given counterfeit, not real liberty. Mr. Alger ascribes the workers' discontent with the law to the fact that it guarantees individual and not social or industrial freedom. The labor program, Mr. Alger believes, resolves itself into a demand for recognition and protection, and, at the same time, creation by law of the workers' economic rights.

The place and value of labor unions have been subjects for bitter dissension but unionism is

114. Some Equivocal Rights of Labor; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVII,

now generally accepted and more attention is being given to the justness of their demands. The 'closed shop' and strikes are two of the principles which have been most scathingly criticized. Yet even they have found defenders who insist that the 'closed shop' is essential to the welfare of the laboring class as a whole; and that the strike is the only weapon which labor can wield against strongly entrenched capital. The 'closed shop' plan seems to be more thoroughly disliked from an economic viewpoint than any other demands of the union. Charles J. Bullock ¹¹⁵ declares that the acceptance of the closed shop would lead to a revolution in our law and economic policy. Labor has no more right to govern a man's course than capital has; and if a man is not allowed to sell his labor himself only the government should dictate. "The closed shop," concludes Mr. Bullock, "tends to be monopolistic and is mani-

115. The Closed Shop; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. XCIV, p. 433.

festly unfair to 'scab' labor, even though it may sometimes be essential to the life of a union. The preferential system, whereby, other things being equal, a union man is given preference to a non-union man, seems to be the most popular solution yet offered.

Movements to improve the industrial and social conditions of the laboring classes are manifold, and American writers are doing much to create a stronger public sentiment favoring the immediate adoption of certain reforms and improvements. The pension system is among the most popular of these measures and has received serious consideration by many of our most prominent men. Louis D. Brandeis ¹¹⁶ declares that our nation is becoming a nation of employees and that, consequently, we must make provision for incapacitated and superannuated wage-earners. Their contribution to society entitles them to consideration, and a pension is the most practical means of giving them their due. Mr. Brandeis severely denounces the usual

116. Our New Peonage: Discretionary Pensions;
Independent, vol. LXXIII, p. 187.

voluntary pension system on the ground that it creates a kind of peonage by making the employee absolutely dependent upon the will or whim of the employer and by placing him in a position where he cannot leave without losing all. Such a condition is undermining industrial liberty. Mr. Brandeis, however, presents a constructive plan also. "Every pension system," he states, "should be contributory and cooperative... Upon these general lines consistent with individual liberty and industrial democracy, the American pension system should be developed."

It is encouraging to note that there is a movement on the part of the employers to meet these needs of labor. Ida M. Tarbell¹¹⁷ has made a study of these attempts and in a series of articles, The Golden Rule in Business, has summed up the results of her observations. "It is hardly too much to say," she writes, "that these new industrial ideas are produc-

117. The Golden Rule in Business; American Magazine.

ing an entirely new type of employer; one who is almost as much of an educator as he is a maker of things; almost as much a friend of men as he is a 'boss.' How to keep men and women well and happy is part of his business."

The outlook for the future seems propitious. Even in the growing influence of wealth Thomas Wentworth Higginson finds proof of progress. The aristocracy of wealth is supplanting that of birth. It includes more people and will have its day, only to give place to a more 'democratic aristocracy.' Such is Mr. Higginson's interpretation of a condition which has been a source of great anxiety to many.

William Allen White believes that the base of our civilization on which we must rise or fall is the practical Christian living of the people in their daily lives. Our aggrandizement of wealth will not

118. The Aristocracy of the Dollar; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIII, p. 506.

119. The Golden Rule; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVI, p. 433.

be overcome until the prosperous deal honestly with the poor. And this is the basis upon which clear-sighted men are basing the solution of the problem of capital and labor.

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CHAPTER II THE FAMILY

Formerly the family could be separately studied but today it is inextricably connected with life in its most varied aspects. The industrial and social changes which are transforming our national life are exerting a powerful, but not necessarily beneficial influence upon the home. The entrance of women into economic life, the increased cost and higher standard of living, and the longer period required for professional training have all played their part in making the family an object of serious study.

Many believe that these changes are undermining family life and, therefore, are a menace to society as a whole. Winston Churchill,¹²⁰ in discuss-

120. Our Common Sense Marriages; Good House-keeping, July, 1913, p. 53.

sing Our Common Sense Marriages, asserts that the root of the trouble lies in a materialistic view of life, both on the part of the man whose ambitions are financial and on the part of the woman whose ambitions are social. Worldly wisdom has been too much with us. According to the commonly accepted view, "Every young man and woman should know, if they have been 'sensibly' brought up or if they have acquired worldly wisdom from a contemplation of those who have 'got on' in life, that married happiness consists in being somewhat better off than one's neighbors; in having fewer children; fewer responsibilities and more money, more luxuries and automobiles." In addition to this desire to be free from the responsibility of children and to enjoy a luxurious life is the wish cherished by others to avoid even the responsibility of matrimony, the man preferring to maintain the freedom of his bachelor quarters and the woman preferring to retain her independence or perhaps her profession.

It is in connection with women of the latter class that the feminist movement is receiving the most attention. Many conservative writers seem to believe that a serious mistake is being made, that the women are turning aside from the noblest course.

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Agnes Repplier censures them, saying that they are contenting themselves with petty triumphs instead of seeking the great ends of life. Again she condemns the radical feminist assertion that man is the inferior on the ground that such a suggestion is unfounded, and that it is worse than useless. The movement of women, as a class, from the home is decidedly unpopular. Some of the writers attribute this attitude to prejudice, others to keen insight into attendant evils, and still others to an intuitive belief that woman's place is in the home.

Activities which center around the home are more popular. The club woman's work is being recog-

121. Aut Caesar Aut Nihil in In The Dozy Hours.

122. A Curious Contention in In The Dozy Hours.

seem
nized in many ways. Writers eager to approve any work
of social betterment, such as a city beautiful cam-
paign, or a pure food fair, and the magazines abound
in articles on the clubwomen's achievements along these
lines. Even the suffrage question is discussed mainly
from the viewpoint of the family. Its advocates urge
its adoption on the ground that, through the mother's
increased knowledge of public life and through the
improved social conditions due to her vote, the fam-
ily life would be made happier and safer. The oppon-
ents of woman suffrage condemn it on the ground that
it could not accomplish these reforms; or that women
should not be expected to assume the responsibilities
of suffrage when they have that special and nobler
work in home, the rearing of children and the train-
ing of good citizens for the coming generation. This
last is the position assumed by Lyman Abbott in his
essay, Why Women Do Not Want the Suffrage. Elizabeth

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McCracken is opposed to suffrage on the ground ~~that~~

123. Woman Suffrage in the Tenements; Atlantic
Monthly, vol. XCIV p. 750.

that, in the tenements at least, the women are so over burdened that they cannot take time for politics.

Thus, the suffrage question, also, is discussed in its relation to the family and family life.

In a study of the American family one is impressed by the prevalence of divorce. This tendency toward legal separation has alarmed many people. Some see in its rapid increase the disintegration of the home and the consequent demoralization of society.

Others regard it as the result of less rigorous religious beliefs and a general lowering of spiritual standards. Still others believe that it is due to the new economic status of woman who can now support herself and is, therefore, free to live her own life.

The maintenance of a home and the rearing of a family are two questions kept constantly before the public; for there is a growing realization that fewer people are marrying, that marriages occur later in life and that the birth rate is decreasing. The last seems to be the subject of greatest anxiety and comes up most frequently for discussion. Ethel Wadsworth

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Cartland charges the native born American women of the old stock with failing to do their share in building up the race. The average number in a family, two children, she condemns as far too low. The cause of this deplorable condition she finds in the selfishness, laziness, fear, and love of pleasure which distract the attention of women and lure them from their duty. The excuse that women need this wider, freer existence she dismisses with the trenchant remark that their lives may be wider---but are undoubtedly shallower. She makes a strong plea for consecrated mothers who will welcome their responsibilities and desire as large families as are consistent with health and vitality. Theodore Roosevelt strikes the same note when he says that Americans need to realize that they are shirking their duty in rearing small families. He feels that our nation's

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124. Childless Americans; Outlook, vol. CV,
p. 585.

125. Twisted Eugenics; Outlook, vol. CVI,
p. 30.

welfare depends on the people's realization of their neglect in this particular and on their willingness to assume the responsibilities of parenthood; for, one cause of race deterioration may be traced to a low birth rate among the best educated classes. He sees a second danger also, namely, that other races will inevitably dominate unless we do our part in building up the race both in numbers and character.

The training of children is a problem of recognized moment, especially as child psychology is better understood. One of the primary needs here is voiced by Ella Wheeler Wilcox when she states that the importance of parenthood is unrealized, that neither fathers nor mothers appreciate fully the great responsibilities which they have assumed. So common are these essays which point out the failures of the parents and their duty to their children, and those which emphasize the rights and privileges of childhood

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126. The High Calling of Fatherhood and The High Calling of Motherhood in The New Common-sense.

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that Agnes Repplier half satirically writes in behalf of parents, urging that their importance should also be recognized and valued. Nevertheless, there seems to be a general feeling that conditions in the family are not what they should be. Anna C. Rogers points out a number of reasons why American mothers fail. The American mother fails, she believes, because she does not use her mind enough, because she does not keep a close comradeship with her children, because she leaves them with ignorant nurse girls and to unsuitable amusements; and the failure continues from generation to generation because the mother fails to instill in her daughter the dignity of motherhood and in her son the responsibility of citizenship.

Eugenics is a phase of a family conservation

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movement. Theodore Roosevelt advocates it freely, with only the reservation that it should never be

127. In Behalf of Parents in In Dozy Hours.

128'. Twisted Eugenics.

made to encourage men to value life above all else.

Charles Sheldon, also, is an ardent supporter of the eugenic movement and has written much to popularize it.

All in all, the family is no longer regarded as independent of outside influences; it is now seen and realized that such questions as eugenics, divorce, city conditions, business and social ideals, all enter into the very fiber of family life and that no one can avoid meeting these problems who assumes the responsibility of a home. There is a serious need of a greater sense of responsibility, yet we may hope for and expect an improved family life.

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CHAPTER III

PEACE AND WAR

Previous to the outbreak of the "Great War" the American magazines were full of articles by prominent writers discussing the probability of unbroken peace, the menace of militarism, and the advisability of a non-militaristic policy for the United States.

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In 1912 David Starr Jordan wrote that war was becoming impossible on account of its increasing deadliness and costliness. The following year in discuss-

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ing The Impossible War he still held the same conclusion. "What shall we say," he asked, "of the Great War of Europe, ever threatening, ever impending, and which never comes. Humanly speaking, it is

129. Foreclosing the Mortgage on War in War and Waste.

130. Independent, vol. LXXIV, p. 467.

impossible; not in the physical sense of course for with weak, reckless and godless men nothing evil is impossible.....But accident aside, we shall expect no war." Why? Because the risks are too great, the expense too enormous, and the common man, who now has a word to say, is being educated against war.

Time has proved his opinion wrong.

The growing conviction that war was soon to be a thing of the past did not prevent a free and rather full discussion of its favorable and unfavorable effects. However, not even its champions have endorsed it without qualification. Theodore Roosevelt¹³¹ insists that war must not be condemned simply because it is war but that one must look to the motives actuating the participants and to the effect of the struggle..

Godwin Smith answers the argument that war is a moral tonic, a quality which the great American

131. The Peace of Righteousness; Outlook,
vol. CV, p. 917.

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psychologist and philosopher, William James, recognized in its favor. "War," he says, "is not justifiable as a moral medicine. It brutalizes instead." He bases his conclusion upon the effect of pitting man against man; on the hatred engendered toward the enemy; on the placing of power above righteousness. In the face of such effects, the increased patriotism, grown out of increased hatred; the greater daring grown out of constant exposure to danger; and the chastened spirit of the people won through loss and suffering; all of these together cannot begin to turn the balance in favor of war. The 'moral argument' has received little but condemnation in America.

The real cost of war is another phase of the problem which is attracting much attention. David 133 Starr Jordan emphasizes the cost in men. War, in his opinion, always means waste, and the highest

132. War as a Moral Medicine; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVI, p. 735.

133. War and Waste.

price must be paid in men, particularly in a strong man. Society, therefore, suffers, for the strongest instead of the weakest are destroyed by war. Charles

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W. Bullock, while not disagreeing with President Jordan, writes from a different viewpoint. After calling attention to the fact that war entails moral, political, and social costs, he takes up the economic cost for especial consideration. National debts, he explains, were invented when war imperatively demanded more money. He shows further that, although neither in Europe or America is taxation the entire cost of war, the greater proportion of taxes go to armament. Nor is economy possible under the present system. He believes that if the people knew the cause of heavy taxation war would lose in favor.

The fear of war leading, as it does, to militarism is recognized as a source of great expense and danger. David Starr Jordan ¹³⁵ declares that this

134. The Cost of War; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCV,
p. 433.

135. The Perennial Bogy of War in War and Waste.

bogy of war is frightening us into unjustifiable expenditures for military purposes. Only enlightened public opinion can free us from this unfounded fear. Before the European war began President Jordan's position was typical of the general belief. Today the militaristic tendency seems to be unqualifiedly condemned by almost all of our writers, but many of them feel that the United States must make more adequate preparation for defense. ¹³⁶ Theodore Roosevelt presents the usual argument of the preparedness advocates. He says that while preparedness does not always insure peace, it does tend to avert war; and also, that "at present adequate preparedness against war offers to our nation its sole guarantee against wrong and aggression."

A theory of war as based on something else than political aggrandizement appears to be winning favor. Brooks Adams ¹³⁷ says the theory that war is only an

136. America---On Guard; Everybody's, January 1915, p. 120.

137. Reciprocity or the Alternative; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVIII, p. 143.

extreme phase of economic competition is gaining recognition. The United States has suddenly become economically supreme. It has hemmed in all Europe and, therefore, a permanent equilibrium will not be secured until the United States is recognized or overthrown. It must fight or compromise on reciprocity. A year or so later when the agitation for peace and arbitration and peace ideas ~~were~~ strong, Mr. Adams carried his theory still farther. Human destiny, he maintains, has been wrought out through war. People have deceived themselves about peace. It is really enervating. Arbitration will never work when the moot point is of sufficient importance. The United States must face the facts. Its economic supremacy makes it a rival of the whole world. It can arm and so be ready, or it can elect peace and leave the future to chance. But, if it is determined to hold its present economic position, war is inevitable. Such is Mr.

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138. Economic Conditions for Future Defense;
Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCII, p. 632.

Adams' belief and upon it he would have our nation plan its course.

While such theories of the necessity or inevitability of war are gaining influence there is a counter-movement which presents a more optimistic and ennobling conception of mankind. When such theories as the economic necessity of war are pressed back far enough, it becomes evident that they are founded on the belief that man is supremely selfish; that the satisfaction of his own needs and desires is the one aim of his life. Such a position is not in harmony with a belief in the spiritual nature of man. If it be correct the effort to improve the world is futile and the agitation for peace a mere waste of energy. However, there are many men who have a different interpretation of life and who find a different explanation for war. William James says that "men are born with warlike instincts, that they

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139. Remarks at a Peace Banquet; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIV, p. 845.

love the glamor of war, the excitement, the movement, and the conflict. The real cause of war is, in his opinion, the fact that "the people want war. It is the final bouquet of life's fireworks." War is not inevitable, he believes, but no radical cure is possible, for the love of fighting is instinctive and the admiration for war has been instilled in our minds for centuries. We must use preventive medicine, he concludes, we must create a sentiment against brute force, we must build up precedents for peace, educate in all people a sense of responsibility and make reason stronger.

In working out this educational program many different measures have been suggested. Samuel T. Dut^{ton}
140 describes the work done by such organizations as the Japan Society, the Scandinavian Society and the Pan-American Society, all of which are working to create more sympathetic and intelligent relations

140. The Federation of Peace; Independent,
vol. LXXIV, p. 183.

among the different countries. He advocates the federation of these various forces with the hope that their work might thus be made more extensive and more effective.

Arbitration is another method of settling difficulties without resort to arms, a method which is gaining a foothold according to Benjamin F. Trueblood.¹⁴¹ He sees three stages in its development: first, theoretical justification; second, application to real causes and cases, by the United States and Mexico for instance; third, organization into a permanent and complete system which shall bring within its scope the whole range of international differences and conflicts. When this stage is reached, war, though not impossible,¹⁴² will be under the ban. William H. Taft regards arbitration as the first step toward permanent peace. He does not believe that the world will be free from war for years to come but he does believe progress

141. The Hague Conferences and the Future of Arbitration.

142. The Problem of International Peace; Independent, vol. LXXIII, p. 649.

is being made, and The Hague Tribunal is important as a precedent in starting a substitute for war. Its success depends upon the willingness of the nations to submit questions of vital importance to the Court and then to abide by its decision, for a court of arbitration cannot be made a significant factor in international life, unless real risks are taken.

A third scheme, to work in connection with arbitration, has found many advocates, including Hamilton Holt, editor of the Independent. The proposed measure is a league to enforce peace. President A. Lawrence Lowell ¹⁴³ defends this as the only feasible plan to be seen at the present time, although he admits that it is crude and incomplete. The plan, briefly stated, is that all nations which are willing to enter a league should elect from their number a governing body to which all should be responsible; that, in case of trouble, the combined strength of

143. A League to Enforce Peace; Atlantic Monthly, September 1915, p. 392.

their armies should be placed at the disposal of the wronged member of the league; and finally, that these nations should submit all of their difficulties to arbitration.

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R. L. Bridgman believes that world peace can only come through world organization, which in turn must grow out of the essential unity of man. He feels that progress is being made even now through laws and treaties whereby mankind is recognized as a created whole. Through international organizations, especially through a Universal Peace Congress, he would have the world effect some such organization as the United States has. Then, militarism could and would be destroyed by having a world executive, judiciary and legislature which would obliterate national lines.

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Henry S. Pritchett believes the chief value

144. The World Organization Secures World Peace; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCIV, p. 349.
145. The Power that Makes for Peace; Atlantic Monthly, vol. C, p. 31.

of these peace movements is their success in arousing the public conscience. He discredits the idea that war can be made so dangerous that men will not engage in it or that peace may be brought in by force, because both theories fail to take account of our racial history and of the fighting instinct in man. There are no short cuts to peace. In his opinion, as in the opinion of all of our sanest minds, peace must come through universal education, through loftier ideals and juster relations between men and between nations.

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CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

Education is of unfailing interest in the United States. Only one other subject, democracy, can claim as much attention. Usually the two are spoken of in the same breath for they are considered equally essential in our nation. In discussing democracy and education Vida D. Scudder¹⁴⁶ says that our working people are virtually shut out from our intellectual life. They need to have an opportunity to develop their personality, for in a democracy each member should realize the dignity of his own and his neighbor's position. In order to promote the common life it is important to live the life in common, and this can only be done when all the people have the oppor-

146. Democracy and Education; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXIX, p. 816.

tunity to acquire a real education.

The necessity of a thorough education is universally recognized. The value of our present system and the qualities of a more ideal one are subjects for earnest thought and vigorous criticism. Our present methods are regarded as extremely faulty. In the light of late study our satisfaction in our schools has given place to a belief in their inadequacy. The complaints are two-fold. On the one hand it is said that our school system fails to take cognizance of the personality of the pupil, that the brilliant student is held back, the backward student pushed along, so that neither receives the training he needs. The curriculum also is assailed. It is too dogmatic, too remote from the needs of the day. Judge Ben Lindsay even goes so far as to attribute the reign of special privilege in part at least to our uninteresting schools which fail to educate in citizenship. On the other hand, the cry is raised that they attempt too much

147. Why Children Toil; Good Housekeeping.

and accomplish too little; that in our efforts to make school life attractive we have made it too easy; that we have encouraged a superficial view of life; that we have given only a smattering of knowledge.

This criticism of the curriculum is the subject of a half-humorous, half-satirical essay by Winifred Kirk-

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land, in which she complains that pupils in public schools today do not know their arithmetic, geography, and history as well as they did in the past. Dean

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L.B.R. Briggs also doubts the efficacy of our present system. The elective system has its good features, he admits, but he fears that through its use there is danger of undermining intellectual vigor. A quotation from Professor Grandgent: "The curse of modern education is multiplicity of subjects and painless methods," sums up his objection to our present school system and is representative of much criticism made against it.

148. An Educational Fantasy.

149. Old-Fashioned Doubts About New-Fashioned Education; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVI.

There are numerous other aspects of our educational system which are condemned. The inadequate salaries, the unjust demands and the extra work which exhaust the teacher's vitality are all deplored. Martha Baker Bunn in a humorous essay, The Meditation of an Ex-School Committee Woman, makes a plea for more consideration for the teacher who is so harrassed by the multiplicity of regular and extra duties that her health and well-being suffer. It is more and more fully realized that the pupils, and therefore society, suffer from being under over-wrought teachers. As a result a movement has been started to improve the teachers' condition, both for their own sakes, and for the purpose of attracting more proficient, capable instructors. The idea of a pension system has come in response to this need. Henry S. Pritchett urges the

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150. The Meditations of an EX-School Committee Woman; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVI, p.12

151. A Pension System for Public Schools; Independent, vol: LXXIV, p. 617.

adoption of such a system upon two grounds, namely, that a larger social justice demands it and that efficient public schools require it. The formation of a system would, he states, involve many details which would have to be worked out by experts but he believes that half of the pension should be paid by the recipient and half by the state.

The question of sex instruction is another phase of education which has recently come before the public. The question is still unsettled but the majority of the writers seem to favor its introduction, though they disagree as to the best method. H. D.

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Sedgwick feels that there has been a gap in our educational system, for the second of the two commandments, "Thou Shalt Live," and "Thou Shalt Multiply" has been shamefully ignored, although it could be made a great educational factor. He would have the instruction given in the home; but others, feeling that the parents have neglected to perform this

152. A Gap in Education.

duty, urge that the schools assume the responsibility of this additional teaching.

What the ideal school should be and the relative merit of different types of education have long attracted the attention of many writers. Charles W.

¹⁵³
Eliot says that there is no universal type of 'the school' in the United States. Then he outlines broadly the things which the school should accomplish for society and the child. It should harmonize the utilitarian and humanistic ideals, discipline children in service, broaden the social life of the child and react favorably on the home. For the child it should develop the habit of strenuous undivided attention, the habit of observation and reading, train the reason and strengthen the sentiments of family love, respect for the law, love of freedom and reverence for truth. This, in the opinion of Dr. Eliot, should be the goal of the schools' endeavor. But not every one

153. The School; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCII,
p. 577.

would charge the school with these manifold duties.

H. Addington Bruce ¹⁵⁴ thinks that some failures have been laid at the door of the school which should have been charged to the home life. The school does not have the child during his first seven years, his most impressionable period, and our real need is for a more careful home training. If we expect to hold the school responsible for character as well as intellectual development, it would be well for formal education to begin earlier.

The determination to make an elementary education universal in the United States has been accompanied in late years by a conviction that it is necessary to offer many different types of training in order to reach all the people. J. Lawrence Laughlin ¹⁵⁵ would have higher commercial education provided for the benefit of those who go into business, but he would have it made cultural. He feels that in a de-

154. New Theories in Education; Outlook, vol. CVI,
p. 144.

155. Higher Commercial Education; Atlantic
Monthly, vol. LXXXIX, p. 677.

mocracy everyone should have the opportunity to develop, but that we have failed to apply this principle to our schools, which hitherto have trained only for the old professions and for teaching. His position is quite characteristic of that usually assumed.

The demand for industrial education is no less in-

sistent. Paul H. Hanus presents the arguments most frequently advanced by its advocates: The United States needs industrial schools, which could not fail to be a benefit to society, for the manufacturers need skilled labor and the workman an opportunity to develop "industrial intelligence," skill, and a sense of responsibility. Our industrial success hitherto has been due to our resources, but we are approaching the time when we must use them more intelligently to keep up our record. Our great need is a school of mechanical industry, separate from the general high school and modelled slightly after the German pattern with provision for specialization and continuation

I56. Industrial Education; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. CI, p. 60.

work. In the Middle West the agitation for efficient agricultural colleges has been strong. It is generally recognized that they are of special value in training the rural population along scientific and social lines with results vastly beneficial to society as a whole.¹⁵⁷ This is the point which Whitman H. Jordan emphasized in his discussion of the agriculture college.

Some writer's view with alarm this tendency toward specialized, definite industrial training.¹⁵⁸ This position is very well stated by Irving Babbitt. He fears that in our zeal for scientific education we are forgetting the importance of the cultural, that we are drifting too far from the Greek and Latin in spirit, and that we are making literature a pastime instead of a real vocation. Above all he is afraid that we are losing the spirit of the college, the spirit of general culture by the introduction of in-

157. The Agriculture College.

158. The Humanities; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXIX, p. 770.

dustrial subjects which in a way represent the "at-
tacks of the world." President W. Charles Thwing
virtually agrees with Mr. Babbit, though he discusses
the problem from a purely collegiate viewpoint. The
college, he says, can and should raise the standards
of intellectual work among the students; a much needed
improvement in his opinion, for he believes that there
is an intellectual decline due to the fact that "our
^{is} generation materialistic in its ordinary conceptions
and ideals. In its deepest convictions the generation
is nobly idealistic....(but) this materialistic mood
manifests itself in the number of college men who en-
ter business." This belief seems to have been much
more common formerly than now for today many view the
increasing number of college trained business men as
a one of the most satisfactory evidences of a higher
educational level in our country.

159. What More Can Higher Education Do For
America; Independent, vol. LXXIII,
p. 268.

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Eugene Davenport has grasped the most advanced thought of the day when he declares that our education must be both vocational and liberal, that our high schools must give more attention to those who do not complete the courses or go on to college. He says again that our ideal is to teach all men all things in one place. Our ideas of professional and industrial ranks must be entirely changed. Education must be made universal so that no individual may have 161 an unfair ascendancy over others. Martha Baker Dunn makes the same point that every one should be educated to the full degree of his individual ability. Nor is any education complete, she insists, if it fails to offer a fundamental philosophy of life. The belief seems to be prevalent that the American schools have not met this need and that the American people are therefore lacking in poise. It may well be that David 162 Starr Jordan had this particular defect in mind

161. Education; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVI,
p. 345.

162. The Voice of the Scholar; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. XCII, p. 32.

160. Education for Efficiency, in Essays in College English.

when he wrote, "The greatest need of popular government is the University. The greatest need of education is democracy." The people in this democracy are deficient in exact knowledge, and in thorough training. The scholar, the educated man, must meet this need and the popular government must, in turn, keep the scholar in close touch with life, for our nation can only achieve greatness by combining the greatest degree of freedom and self-government with an intelligent populace. Education, universal and thorough, is particularly essential to our well-being.

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CHAPTER V

DEMOCRACY

The American essay is permeated with the doctrine of democracy. The writers dealing primarily with industrial life use it as the touchstone for discovering or establishing the value of their various propositions. Those dealing with social conditions test their reforms and analyses by it. Those discussing political and governmental measures make it their goal of achievement. But the discussion is not always confined to such incidental mention or correlated with some other definite subject, for democracy in and for itself is a favorite theme with all Americans.

"What constitutes democracy?", is a question which many of our essayists have attempted to answer.

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George Edward Woodberry says that democracy is

163. Democracy in Heart of Man.

found only where there is equality, a recognition of the equal worth of human souls, most keenly realized through individual relations; liberty, the opportunity to realize one's best self, most easily secured through suffrage; and finally, fraternity, that sympathy expressing itself in efforts to help others, best developed through education. Nicholas Murray

¹⁶⁴ Butler gives little different view of the subject. True democracy, he believes, demands equality of opportunity and then recognition according to merit.

The relation between democracy and socialism is occasionally touched upon. In the essay just referred to President Butler contrasts the purpose of the two. Democracy strives to give each individual an equal chance. Socialism fails in trying to substitute exploitation of 'one by all' for the exploitation of 'all by one'. John Bates Clark ¹⁶⁵ also points out cer-

164. True and False Democracy.

165. Education and the Socialistic Movement;
Atlantic Monthly, vol. CII, p. 433.

tain weaknesses in socialism which democracy avoids. The fraternity which socialism demands is not equal to that which democracy desires for it is based on 'leveling down' rather than on 'raising up' humanity. It would tend to discourage invention, destroy competition and initiative. Under a socialistic program it would be difficult to enlarge capital and too great an impetus would be given to an increase in population. Democracy, however, he believes, can meet these needs, bring equality of opportunity, encourage initiative and, in short, work out the manifold problems which society faces today.

A belief in democracy is ultimately based upon confidence in human nature. Even in the United States there has been a tendency to distrust the people themselves. Thomas Wentworth Higginson,¹⁶⁶ who had an unfailing confidence in the people, considered

166. The Cowardice of Culture; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVI, p. 481.

culture cowardly in distrusting the advance of the masses. The many, he believes, may know more than the few and he is sure that common sense is common. He recognizes the many weaknesses of the average man but nevertheless he thinks that the leaders must come up from among the common people. Henry Van Dyke would have the leaders, the ruling class, selected on inherent ability and on character, but he would have such a democracy safeguarded by universal education.

H. D. Sedgwick in discussing The Mob Spirit in Literature 168 traces the process whereby the mob will pass

away. As greater reliance is placed upon experience of the few, as an increased willingness to accept authority develops, the mob will be lifted up into an educated, intelligent citizenship. Gerald Stanley Lee 169

167. Ruling Classes in a Democracy in Essays in Application, p. 36.

168. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCVI, p. 9.

169. The Dominance of the Crowd; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXVI.

has more confidence in the masses. This is the age of the crowd, he asserts, the age of a crowd civilization, and all of our problems must be worked out on this basis. From this time henceforth he is sure that the common people, with their virtues and vices, will be the determining factor in our civilization. The crowd is here to stay, but it can and will develop. It can be made beautiful, but only by the master-man, the leaders, who are in sympathy with it and who have the ability to unite it with the ideal crowd world.

The belief in democracy has not prevented a wholesome criticism of its workings in the United States. Indeed, it seems to have led to a widespread dissatisfaction with the shortcoming of our actual democracy. William H. Allen voices the common complaints when he says that America's three greatest legacies, religion, education, and democracy, are her

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170. A National Fund for Efficient Democracy;
Atlantic Monthly, vol. CII, p. 454.

three greatest disappointments. Church, school, and government are without a social program that embraces the aims and technique of these three legacies, and he therefore concludes that the real source of our trouble is a disappointing democracy. He advocates municipal research, purposive education, as the best method of improving conditions; and for democracy, auto-interpretation, and auto-study, and auto-
¹⁷¹ suggestion. Woodrow Wilson also feels that democracy has been more successful in the development of ideals than in the organization of practical methods of administration. Our form has been and is inefficient, he frankly admits, and like all the writers, he relies upon education for ultimate improvement.

That our democracy is more of a name and an ideal than an established fact is being reluctantly acknowledged as we are confronted with the vanishing opportunity of the average man and the development of class distinctions. Many explanations have been offer-

171. Democracy and Efficiency; Atlantic Monthly,
vol. LXXXVII, p. 289.

ed but none of greater value than that given by Vida D. Scudder. In a series of essays she discusses the relation between real democracy and our own brand. Our trouble is, in her opinion, that we have no spiritual democracy.¹⁷² We praise it loudly and shut our eyes to our failures. The privileged exalt justice; the poor, not having it, exalt generosity. Thus each fails to understand the other. If we are to have a permanent, valuable democracy we must bridge this gap, we must develop the common life. The only lasting type is a spiritual democracy and it depends ultimately upon the attitude of the average man in private life. She also discusses "Democracy and the Church,¹⁷³ showing that in the past the church has been associated with authority and aristocracy rather than with the souls of the people. Christianity and democ-

172. A Hidden Weakness in Democracy; Atlantic Monthly, vol. LXXXIX, p. 638.

173. Atlantic Monthly, vol. XC, p. 521.

racy are, she says, closely united and will work out many problems in the course of time. Meanwhile, the gap between manual workers and "intellectuals" can be bridged only by sound genuine social relations on the part of individuals.¹⁷⁴ We must overcome the mere physical distance that separates rich and poor. We must overcome the tension of American life. We must make the opportunity to live the common life. The real need of today, she is convinced, is "readiness for social sacrifice in the name of democracy."

Frederick J. Turner likewise believes that democracy is endangered by changing conditions in our national life, particularly by the disappearance of free land and of the primitive state of society in the west. Our cherished hope of a true democracy can only be realized by using our industrial achievement for the common good.

174. Democracy and Society; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XC, p. 348.

175. Contributions of the West to American Democracy; Atlantic Monthly, vol. XCI, p. 83.

CONCLUSION

Recent American essays cover a wide range of subject matter. Even in the limited field of the social essay with reference to American life one finds a great diversity of material, such a great diversity that it is difficult to find any unity in them. Immigration, the conservation of natural resources, the dangers of city life, the problems of the rural community, the place of corporations, the need of industrial reform, all these have come up in their own names and in various guises. They seem to be independent. Yet, immigration has furnished the labor which has made possible the rapid exploitation of our natural resources. The dangers of the city have been increased by the development of factories and the consequent crowding of the tenements. Part of the rural problem has been to overcome the lure of the city.

And the need of industrial reform has come with the new industrial conditions over the land. It is evident, then, that these problems are really inseparable, that they are only different threads in our industrial fabric. One point may be noted here, namely that the discussions are rarely abstract. Usually they deal with definite aspects of specific problems—not "Woman Suffrage," for instance, but Woman Suffrage in the Tenements; not "Immigration," but Immigration and the South. In a word, the abstract themes are considered in concrete relation to American life.

American life has many varied aspects and at first thought it may seem that the essays would naturally be as diversified as the subject-matter. However, this is not the case. Certain underlying conceptions have exerted a unifying influence upon them, so that one is able to perceive that they are the result of ideas and convictions held in common by the American people. These beliefs are frequently not stated in explicit terms, but the acceptance of them is taken for granted and made the basis of the discussion.

whether it be the danger of riches, the menace of unemployment or the rights of the negro.

Before all else is the conviction that effort, properly expended, is fruitful, that errors can be rectified and mistakes avoided. This is the foundation of American optimism. This is the explanation of the serenity with which American writers criticise the existing social order and present plans for reform. The second great conception is the belief in the brotherhood of man. Theoretically, the Americans declare that all men are created equal, and the agitation for social justice for the workingman, the demand for just treatment for the negro, and the insistence on the protection of the immigrant show that they are attempting to put their theory into practice. This belief in the spiritual equality of man is fundamental and out of it grow the two great distinguishing ideals of the United States, universal education and democracy. If everyone has the right to develop his personality to the utmost and if the dignity of one

man's life may be as great as that of any other man's it is obviously necessary that all have the same opportunity for expression and development. It is equally obvious that universal education and democracy are the best methods of attaining these ends. Finally, having placed life upon this basis and having measured our results by their success in realizing these ideals, the American people have placed righteousness above all else. It is true that they have failed in given instances, that they have basely taken advantage of the weakness of others, but for the most part they have stood staunchly by their principles and made sacrifices for them. The demand for education and true democracy is not the result of a desire for the economic reward but is the result of our passion for righteousness. This is the ultimate goal of our individual and national ambition.

Since idealism has been such a factor in our life it is entirely natural that the essays of this period (1900-1915) should reflect its presence. Even

when no direct allusion is made to these ideals their presence is felt, and is more forceful because it is thus assumed. The accomplishments of the past are viewed from the standpoint of the ideal; the efforts of the present are judged by the same standard; and the plans for the future are considered in the same light. The difference between the actual and the ideal is the cause of much of the criticism which finds expression in the essays. This is the method by which the American people are avoiding stagnation or retrogression. Keeping their ideals ever before them, they press onward toward that state which they can only approximate, in which every individual will be rated at his true worth, in which justice and righteousness shall everywhere prevail---a perfect society.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF ESSAYISTS AND ESSAYS

Abbott, Lyman.

Why Women Do Not Want the Suffrage.

Adams, Brooks.

Economic Conditions for Future Defense.

The New Industrial Revolution.

Reciprocity or the Alternative.

Alden, Henry Mills.

The Scope of the First Class American Magazine.

Alger, George W.

Criminal Law Reform.

Executive Aggression.

Generosity and Corruption.

The Literature of Exposure.

Moral Overstrain.

Some Equivocal Rights of Labor.

Unfinished Commercial Crime.

Allen, William H.

A National Fund for "Efficient Democracy."

Anderson, G. W.

Politics and the Public Schools.

Anonymous.

The American Magazine.

Black and White in the South.

The Causes of Pennsylvania's Ills.

Country Life Problems.

The Perplexities of a College President.

Prison Life.

Atkinson, Fred W.

The Educational Problem in the Philippines.

Atkinson, Edward.

Commercialism.

Babbitt, Irving.

The Humanities.

Bacon, Mary Applewhite.

The Problem of the Southern Cotton Mill.

Bailey, L. H.

The Abandoned Farms.

Evolution: The Quest for Truth.

Bisland, Elizabeth.

The Time Spirit of the Twentieth Century.

Borah, William E.

The War with Monopoly.

Bourne, Randolph S.

The Older Generation.

Brandeis, Louis D.

Our New Peonage: Discretionary Pensions.

Brewster, Chauncey B.

Moving---Whether?

Bridgman, Raymond L.

Civic Righteousness Via Percentages.

The New Tariff Era.

World Organization Secures World Peace.

A World Legislature.

Briggs, L. B. R.

College Honor.

Old-Fashioned Doubts About New-Fashioned Education.

Bruce, H. Addington.

New Theories in Education.

Bruere, Robert W.

The Rural Reformation.

The Welfare War.

Bullock, J. Charles.

The Closed Shop.

The Concentration of Banking Interests.

The Cost of War.

Life Insurance and Speculation.

Burroughs, John.

Nature and Animal Life.

Butler, Nicholas Murray.

The American as a Political Type.

The American Apart from his Government.

True and False Democracy.

Cartland, Ethel Wadsworth.

Childless Americans.

Carver, T. N.

How Ought Wealth to be Distributed?

Chapman, John J.

Between Elections.

Chittenden, H. M.

Questions for Pacifists.

Churchill, Winston.

Our Commonsense Marriages.

Claghorn, Kate Holloday.

Our Immigrants and Ourselves.

Clark, John Bates.

Education and the Socialistic Movement.

Recollections of the Twentieth Century.

Coburn, Frederick W.

Telephone Development in the United States.

Colden, C. J.

The Fat Side of the Farm.

Conant, Charles A.

The Economic Future of the Philippines.

The Future of Political Parties.

The Growth of Public Expenditures.

Industrial Securities as Investments.

Wall Street and the Country.

The World's Wealth in Negotiable Securities.

Creel, George.

Colorado: A Grin and a Grimace.

Crothers, Samuel McChord.

The American Temperament.

How to Know the Fallacies.

Humanly Speaking.

In the Hands of a Receiver.

Protective Coloring in the Educational World.

The Spoiled Children of Civilization.

To the Old School Citizen.

Davenport, Eugene.

Education for Efficiency.

Dennis, Alfred Pearce.

Our Changing Constitution.

Dix, Dorothy.

The Handicap of Sex.

Dixon, Frank Haigh.

Railroad Accidents.

Dole, Charles F.

The Right and Wrong of the Monroe Doctrine.

DuBois, W. E. Burghardt.

The Freedman's Bureau.

On the Training of Black Men.

Dunn, Martha Baker.

Concerning Temperance and Judgment to Come.

Education.

The Meditations of an Ex-School Committee Woman.

Dutton, Samuel T.

The Federation of Peace.

Elkus, Abram I.

Working Conditions in Factories.

Elliott, Charles W.

The School.

Everett, William.

The United States Senate.

Farrington, Frank.

The Country Store: An Opportunity.

Fisher, Brooke.

The Newspaper Industry.

Flagg, Charles Noël.

Art Education for Men.

Foster, John W.

Pan-American Diplomacy.

Foster, William T.

An Indictment of Intercollegiate Athletics.

Giddings, Franklin H.

Social Pressure and Moral Weather.

Godfrey, Hollis.

The City and its Milk Supply.

Grimke, Archibald H.

Why Disfranchisement is Bad.

Hadley, Arthur T.

 Privilege vs. Democracy.

Hanna, Matthew E.

 Public Education in Cuba.

 The First Year of Cuban Self-Government.

Hanus, Paul H.

 Industrial Education.

Harger, Charles Moreau.

 The Country Banker.

 The Country Editor of Today.

 The Country Store.

 The New Farming Generation.

 State Rule by Commission.

Harrison, Henry Sydnor.

 Poor America.

Hartt, Rollin Lynde.

 The Amusement Park.

 The City at Night.

 The Home of Burlesque.

Harvey, Charles M.

 The Red Man's Last Roll Call.

Hendrick, Burton J.

A Great Municipal Reform.

Herts, A. Minnie.

The Children's Educational Theatre.

Hesselgrave, Charles E.

The Failure of Smith.

Higginson, Henry Lee.

Justice to the Corporations.

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth.

American Audiences.

The Aristocracy of the Dollar.

The Cowardice of Culture.

English and American Cousins.

Intensely Human.

Hollis, Ira N.

Intercollegiate Athletics.

Holt, Hamilton.

Straining an Historical Friendship.

Holt, Henry.

Commercialization of Literature.

Hopkins, Mary Alden.

Children in Bondage.

Howe, Frederic C.

The End of an Economic Cycle.

Howe, Frederic C. and Marie Jennie.

Pensioning the Widow and Fatherless.

Hyde, William DeWitt.

The Cardinal Virtues.

The New Ethics.

Reform in Theological Education.

Ireland, Alleyne.

The United States in the Philippines.

James, William.

Remarks at a Peace Banquet.

Jordan, David Starr.

Foreclosing the Mortgage on War.

The Higher Politics in War and Waste.

The Interlocking Directorate.

The Impossible War.

Taxing the Cost of Living.

Unrest and Progress.

The Voice of the Scholar.

War and Waste.

Jordan, Whitman H.

The Agricultural College.

Kellor, Frances A.

The Immigrant Woman.

The Nation's New Front Door.

The Protection of Immigrant Women.

Kirkland, Winifred.

An Educational Fantasy.

Kuh, Edwin J.

The Social Disability of the Jew.

Kimball, Arthur Reed.

The New Provincialism.

Laughlin, J. Lawrence.

Business and Democracy.

Higher Commercial Education.

Large Fortunes.

Lee, Gerald Stanley.

The Dominance of the Crowd.

Making the Crowd Beautiful.

The Poetry of the Machine Age.

LeRoy, James A.

Japan and the Philippine Islands.

Our Spanish Inheritance in the Philippines.

Race Prejudice in the Philippines.

Lindsey, Ben (and George Creel).

Why Do Children Toil?

Lowell, A. Lawrence.

A League to Enforce Peace.

Lowell, Francis C.

The American Boss.

American Diplomacy.

Mutual Life Insurance.

McCracken, Elizabeth.

The Book in the Tenement.

The Play and the Gallery.

Woman Suffrage in the Tenements.

McLaughlin, Andrew C.

The Significance of Political Parties.

Merington, Marguerite.

Ethics of the Street: A Protest.

Metcalf, James S.

Is the Theatre Worth While?

Montague, Gilbert Holland.

The Ethics of Trust Competition.

Moss, Mary.

Machine Made Human Beings.

Nourse, G. F.

Attracting Intelligent Farmers.

Moyes, Alexander D.

Commercial Panics Past and Future.

Ogden, Rollo.

The Disarmament Trust.

New Powers of the National Committee.

The Press and Foreign News.

Some Aspects of Journalism.

Olney, Richard.

Growth of Our Foreign Policy.

Orth, Samuel P.

Government by Impulse.

Special Legislation.

Page, Thomas Nelson.

The Southern People During Reconstruction.

Palmer, George Herbert.

The Ideal Teacher.

Peabody, Francis Greenwood.

This Younger Generation.

Perry, Bliss.

College Professors and the Public.

Indifferentism.

On Keeping the Fourth of July.

Phelan, James D.

The Japanese Question from a California Viewpoint

Poe, Clarence H.

Lynching: A Southern View.

Pressy, E. P.

The Country Problem.

Pritchett, Henry S.

The Organization of Higher Education.

A Pension System for Public Schools.

The Power that Makes for Peace.

Shall the University Become a Business Corporation?

Redfield, William C.

Our Growing Foreign Commerce.

Repllier, Agnes.

A Curious Contention.

A Question of Politeness.

Aut Caesar Aut Nullus.

The Estranging Sea.

The Girl Graduate.

In Behalf of Parents.

The Nervous Strain.

The Mission of Humor.

The Modest Immigrant.

Rice, Richard, Jr.

The Educational Value of Co-Education.

Robbins, Hayes.

The Personal Factor in the Labor Problem.

Roger, Anna A.

Why American Mothers Fail.

Roosevelt, Theodore.

America on Guard.

The American Boy.

Among Reformers.

The Best and the Good.

Character and Success.

Civic Helpfulness.

Conservation of National Resources.

The Eighth and Ninth Commandments in Politics.

Fellow-Feeling as a Political Factor.

Latitude and Longitude among Reformers.

The Peace of Righteousness.

Promise and Performance.

Twisted Eugenics.

Root, Elihu.

The Panama Canal a Sacred Trust.

Ripley, W. Z.

Races in the United States.

Ross, Edward Alsworth.

The Criminaloid.

The Grilling of Sinners.

New Varieties of Sin.

The Rules of the Game.

Sinning by Syndicate.

Salmon, Lucy M.

Recent Progress in the Study of Domestic Science.

Scudder, Vida D.

Democracy and the Church.

Democracy and Education.

Democracy and Society.

A Hidden Weakness in Our Democracy.

Ill-Gotten Gifts to Colleges.

Sedgwick, H. D.

The American of 1961.

Certain Aspects of America.

A Gap in Education.

The Mob-Spirit in Literature.

Nations and the Decalogue.

The New American Type.

Shedd, Andrew.

The Negro: Another View.

Smith, Edwin Burritt.

Municipal Self-Government: Council and Mayor.

The Next Step in Municipal Reform.

The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago.

Smith, Goldwin.

War as a Moral Medicine.

Stelzle, Charles.

Curing Sick Churches.

Stimson, Henry A.

The Millionare's Peril.

The Small Business as a School of Manhood.

Stone, Alfred Holt.

The Mulatto Factor in the Race Problem.

Strunsky, Simon.

War Notes from a Newspaper Desk.

Sumner, William Graham.

Scientific Attitude of Mind.

Sutherland, George.

What Shall We Do With the Constitution?

Taft, William Howard.

The Problem of International Peace.

Thwing, Charles F.

What More Can Higher Education Do For America?

Trueblood, Benjamin F.

The Hague Conferences and the Future of Arbitration.

Tucker, William Jewett.

The Progress of the Social Conscience.

Turner, Frederick J.

Contributions of the West to American Democracy.

The Significance of the Frontier in American History.

Van Dyke, Henry.

Books, Literature and the People.

Christianity and Current Literature.

The Church in the City.

The Creative Ideal of Education.

The Flood of Books.

The Heritage of American Ideals.

Is the World Growing Better?

The Powers That Be.

Property and Theft.

Publicomania.

Ruling Classes in a Democracy.

The School of Life.

Ward, Robert De Courcy.

Immigration and the South.

Washington, Booker T.

The Fruits of Industrial Training.

Wendell, Barrett.

American Nationality.

Wheeler, Benjamin Ide.

A National Type of Culture.

White, Frank Marshall.

Great Meadows and Sing Sing.

White, William Allen.

The Golden Rule.

Wilcox, Ella Wheeler.

Commonsense Ideals in Marriage.

The High Calling of Fatherhood.

The High Calling of Motherhood.

Wilson, Edward E.

The Joys of Being a Negro.

Wilson, Woodrow.

Democracy and Efficiency.

The Ideals of America.

The Reconstruction of the Southern States.

The Social Centre: A Means of Common Understanding.

Winston, Ambrose P.

The Trade Union and the Superior Workman.

Woodberry, George Edward.

Democracy.

Man and the Race.

The Ride.