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The student paper, the ***Daily Iowan*** (June 12, 1902), carried an account under the headline "Phi Beta Kappa Address; Provincialism. The Cure for Mob Spirit; Professor Josiah Royce of Harvard Discusses International Problems in Scholarly Manner." Attached at end of newspaper transcript.

For another essay on the same topic see "Provincialism Based on a Study of Early Conditions in California," ***Putnam's Magazine***, 7 (1909), 232-240.

PROVINCIALISM

A Plea for Stronger Local Sentiment to Restrain National Heedlessness

By JOSIAH ROYCE*

(Professor of the History of Philosophy, Harvard University)

THE word provincialism, which I have used as my title, has been chosen because it is the best single word that I have been able to find to suggest the group of social tendencies to which I want to call your especial attention. I propose to use this word in a somewhat elastic sense, which I may at once indicate. When we use the word provincialism as a concrete term, speaking of "a provincialism," we mean, I suppose, any social disposition, or custom, or form of speech or of civilization which is especially characteristic of a province. In this sense one speaks of the provincialisms of the local dialect of any English shire, or of any German country district. This use of the term in relation to the dialects of any language is very common. But one may also apply the term to name, not only the peculiarities of a local dialect, but any manners or customs of a given restricted region of a country. One also often employs the word provincialism as an abstract term to name not only the customs or social

unity and that towards local independence of spirit, must henceforth grow together.

Let me first tell you what seem to me to be, in our modern world, and, in particular, in our American world, the principal evils which are to be corrected by a further development of a true provincial spirit, and which cannot be corrected without such a development.

The first of these evils I have already mentioned. It is a defect incidental partly to the nature of our country, but partly also to those world-wide conditions of modern life which make travel, and even a change of home, both attractive and easy to dwellers in the most various parts of the globe. In nearly every one of our American communities, at least in the northern and western regions of our country, there is a rather large proportion of people who either have not grown up where they were born, or who have dwelt in some other place in adult years. I can speak all the more freely regarding this class of our communities, because, in my own community, I myself, as a native of California, now

permanently wills to do so. But the servant of some modern forms of impersonal social organization tends to lose this belief that he has a chance.

Well, this is the second of the evils of the modern world which, as I have said, provincialism tends to counteract. Local spirit, local pride, provincial independence, do indeed influence the individual man precisely because they, too, appeal to his initiative tendencies. But thereby they act so as to render him immune in the presence of the more trivial influences which come from without his community, would otherwise be likely to reduce him to the dead level of the customs of the whole nation. A country district may sometimes seem to a stranger unduly simple in its ways; but certainly it does not become wiser in case, under the influence of city newspapers and of summer boardings, it begins to follow city fashions merely for the sake of imitating. Other things being equal, it is better in proportion as it remains self-possessed—proud of its own traditions, not unwilling indeed to learn, but also quite ready to teach the stranger its own wisdom. And in similar fashion provincial pride helps the individual man to keep his self-respect, even when the forces that work towards industrial consolidation and towards the effacement of individual initiative are besetting his life at every turn. The modern nation (I speak plainly) is tending to become a remorseless mechanism—vast, impersonal, irrational. I look to the province to provide it with a conscience, with caution, with self-criticism and with a true humanity of spirit.

The third of the evils with which a wise provincialism must contend is closely connected with the second. I have spoken of the constant tendency of modern life to the mutual assimilation of various parts of the social order. Now this assimilation may occur slowly and steadily, as in great measure it normally does; or, on the other

may result from the higher social group, the group in which individuality is demanded—these phenomena may lead to permanent social results. As tradition gives such results a constantly more fixed character, one attains to the formation of permanent institutions, in which a wisdom much higher than that of any individual man may get embodied.

It follows that if we are to look for the source of the greatest dangers of popular government, we must expect to find them in the influence of the mob-spirit. Le Bon is right when he says that the problem of the future will become more and more the problem how to escape from the domination of the crowd. Now I do not share Le Bon's pessimism when he holds, as he seems to do, that all popular government necessarily involves the tendency to the prevalence of the mob-spirit. So far as I can see, Le Bon and the pessimist writers who in recent times have laid so much stress upon the dangers of the mob, have ignored or at least have greatly neglected that other social tendency, that tendency to the formation of smaller social groups, which make use of the contrasts of individuals, and which lead to a collective wisdom greater than any individual wisdom.

What I do insist upon is this: That the problem of the future for popular government must involve the higher development, the better organization, the more potent influence of the social groups of the wiser type, and the neutralization through their influence of the power of the mob-spirit. Now the modern forms of the mob-spirit have become so portentous because of a tendency that may be in itself very good, even as may be the result to which it often leads. This tendency is that towards a very wide and inclusive human sympathy, a sympathy which may be as indiscriminating as it often is kindly. Sympathy, however, as one must recollect, is not necessarily an equally kindly tendency. For one may sympathize with any emotion; for instance with the emotions of a cruelly ferocious mob. Sympathy itself is a sort of neutral basis for more rational mental development. The noblest and most useful sympathies may, upon occasion, seem to be justified, because an indiscriminating sympathy makes them plausible. Now modern conditions have certainly tended, as I have said, to the spread of sympathy. All sorts and conditions of men, yes, all sorts and conditions of emotion, however rational or however irrational, this tendency has been hearing in the world of art today, win their expression, charm their audience, get, as we say, their recognition. Never were men so busy as now with the mere eagerness to sympathize, to feel whatever is the lot of any portion of humanity. Now, as I have said, this spread of sympathy, furthered as it is by all the means of the disposal of modern science, so far as that science deals with humanity, is a good thing, just in so far as it is a basis upon which a rational philanthropy and a more intelligent social organization can be founded. But the habit of sympathy dispenses with care and habit of popular excitement comes, it finds its expert in sharing the emotions of the crowd, but often enervated by too frequent indulgence in just such emotion.

Yet, as we have seen, this evil is not, inherent in the very fact of the existence of sympathy. There are social groups that are not subject to the mob-spirit. And now if you ask how such social groups are nowadays to be fostered, to be trained, to be kept alive for the service of the nation, I answer that the place for fostering such groups is the province, for such groups flourish in conditions that arouse local loyalty to one's own community, the willingness to remember one's own ways and ideals, even at the moment when the nation is carried away by some levelling emotion.

I have now reviewed three types of evils against which I think it is the office of provincialism to contend. I should say today that our forces of social consolidation have become so paramount, the resulting problems, conflicts, evils, have been so intensified, that we must flee in the pursuit of the ideal to a new realm. Only this realm is, to my mind, so long as we are speaking of social problems, a realm of real life. It is the realm of the province. There must we flee from the stress of the too vast and problematic life of the nation as a whole. There we must flee, I mean not in the sense of a cowardly and permanent retirement, but in the sense of a search for renewed strength, for a social inspiration, for the salvation of us individual from the overwhelming forces of consolidation. Freedom, I should say, dwells now in the small social group, and has its securest home in the provincial life.

But, you may ask, in what way do I conceive that the wise provincialism of which I speak ought to undertake and carry on its task? How is it to meet the evils of which I have been speaking? In what way is its influence to be exerted against them? And how can the province cultivate its self-consciousness without tending to fall back again into the ancient narrowness from which small communities were so long struggling to escape? How can we keep broad humanity and yet cultivate provincialism?

I answer, of course, in general terms, that the problem of the wholesome provincial consciousness is closely allied to the problem of any individual form of activity. An individual tends to become narrow when he is what we call self-centred. But on the other hand, a wide philanthropy that is not founded upon a personal loyalty of the individual to his own family, and to his own personal duties, is notoriously a worthless abstraction. Precisely so, the province will not serve the nation best by forgetting itself, but by emphasizing loyally its own

not serve the nation best by forgetting itself, but by emphasizing loyally its own duty to the nation, and therefore its right to attend and to cultivate its own unique wisdom.

First, then, a wholesome provincialism is founded upon the thought that while local pride is indeed a praiseworthy accomplishment of every form of social activity, our province, like our own individuality, ought to attend to its own, rather than to any other, boast. And here, as I think, is a matter which is too often forgotten. Everything valuable is, in our present human life, known to us as an ideal before it becomes an attainment, and in view of our human imperfections, remains to the end of our short lives much more a hope and an aspiration than it becomes a present achievement. Just because the true issues of human life are brought to a finish not in time but in eternity, it is necessary that in our temporal existence what is most worthy should appear to us as an ideal, as an Ought that as something that is already in our hands. The better aspect of our social consciousness is always its longing for the improvement of the community.

In the second place, a wise provincialism remembers that it is one thing to seek to make ideal values in some unique sense our own, and it is quite another thing to believe that if they are our own, other people cannot possess such ideal values in their

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the word provincialism as an abstract term to name not only the customs or social tendencies themselves, but that fondness for them, that pride in them, which may make the inhabitants of a province indisposed to conform to the ways of those who come from without, and anxious to follow persistently their own local traditions. But both uses of the term imply, of course, that one first knows what is to be meant by the word, whether it be meant by reference to a State, or even a large section of the country, such as New England, might constitute a province. For me a province shall mean any one part of a national domain which is, geographically and socially, sufficiently unified to feel a true pride in its own ideas and customs and to possess a sense of its distinction from other parts of the country. And by the term provincialism I shall mean, first, the tendency of such a province to possess its own customs and ideals; secondly, the totality of these customs and ideals themselves; and thirdly, that pride and fondness which leads the inhabitants of a province to cherish as their own these traditions, beliefs and aspirations.

You will foresee that I intend to discuss the worth of provincialism, not to consider whether it constitutes a good or an evil element in civilization. You will properly expect me, therefore, to bring provincialism into relation with other social tendencies—such tendencies as patriotism, the larger love of humanity, and the ideals of higher cultivation. These will be the special topics of my address. But all that I have to say will group itself about a single thesis. My thesis is that, in the present stage of the world's civilization, and of the life of our own country, the time has come to emphasize, with a new earnestness and intensity, the positive value, the absolute necessity for our welfare, of a wholesome provincialism, as a saving power to which the world in the near future will need more and more to appeal.

The time was (and not very long ago) when, in our country, we had to contend against very grave evils due to false forms of provincialism. What has been called sectionalism long threatened our national unity. Our Civil War was fought to overcome the life due to such influences. There was, therefore, a time when the virtue of true patriotism had to be founded upon a vigorous condemnation of certain powerful forms of provincialism. And our national educator at that time depended both upon our learning common federal ideals, and upon our looking to foreign lands for the spiritual guidance of older civilizations. Furthermore, not only have these things been so in the past, but similar needs will, of course, be felt in the future. We shall always be required to take counsel of the other nations, in company with whom we are at work upon the task of civilization. Nor have we outgrown our spiritual dependence upon older forms of civilization. In fact, we shall never outgrow a certain inevitable degree of such dependence. Our national unity, moreover, will always require of us a devotion that will transcend in some directions the limits of all our provincial ideas. A common sympathy between the different sections of our country will in the future need a constantly fresh inculcation. Against the evil forms of sectionalism we shall always have to contend. But what I am to emphasize is this: The present state of civilization, both in the world at large and with us in America, is such as to define a new social mission which the province alone, but not the nation, is able to fulfil. For the great modern nation has developed new social dangers. False sectionalism, which disunites, will indeed always remain as great an evil as ever it was. But the modern world has reached a point where it needs, more than ever before, the vigorous development of a highly organized provincial life in order to contend against these new social dangers. Such a life, if wisely guided, will not mean disloyalty to the nation; and it need not mean narrowness of

of such mental tendencies in ourselves, lies in the aid that they give us in becoming loyal to our community, and in assimilating to our own social order the strangers that are within our gates. It is the especial art of colonizing peoples, such as we are, and such as the English are, to be able by devices of this sort rapidly to build up in their own minds a provincial loyalty in a new environment. The French, who are not a colonizing people, seem to possess much less of this tendency. Their hearts remain in the old home. The Chinese seem to lack this same tendency almost altogether. Our own success as possessors of new lands depends upon this, our skill in making the new lands where we come to dwell soon seem to us glorious and unique. I was much impressed some years ago, during a visit to Australia and New Zealand, with the parallel developments in the Australian colonies.

The second modern evil arises from and constitutes one aspect of the levelling tendency of recent civilization. That such a levelling tendency exists most of us recognize; that it is the office of the province to contend against some of the attendant evils of this tendency we less often observe. By the levelling tendency in question I mean the fact that, because of the ease of communication amongst distant places, because of the spread of popular education, and because of the consolidation and of the centralization of industries and of social authorities, we tend all over the nation, and, in some degree, even throughout the civilized world, to read the same daily news, to share the same general ideas, to submit to the same overmastering social forces, to live in the same external fashions, to discourage individuality, and to approach a dead level of harassed mediocrity. One of the most marked of all social tendencies in any age is that towards the mutual assimilation of men in so far as they are in social relations with one another. One of the strongest predispositions is that towards imitation. But our modern conditions have greatly favored the increase of the numbers of people who read the same books and

greatly favored the increase of the numbers of people who read the same books and newspapers, who read the same phrases and who follow the same social fashions, and who thus, in general, imitate one another in constantly more and more ways. The result is a tendency to crush the individual. Furthermore, there are modern economic and industrial developments, too well known to all of you to need any further mention here, which lead to similar results.

The great modern nation expresses today far too much the results of such a process. I speak here merely of tendencies. As you know, they are nowhere unopposed tendencies. Nor do I for an instant pretend to call even those levelling tendencies wholly, or principally, evil. But for the moment I call attention to what are obviously questionable and in some degree are plainly evil aspects of these modern tendencies. Imitation is a good thing. All civilization depends upon it. But there may be a limit to the number of people who ought to imitate precisely the same body of ideas and customs. For imitation is not man's whole business. There ought to be some room left for variety. Modern conditions have often increased too much what one might call the purely mechanical carrying-over of certain ruling social influences. There are certain metropolitan newspapers, for instance, which have far too many readers for the good of the social order in which they circulate. It would be better if the same readers were divided into smaller sections, which read different newspapers, even if these papers were of no higher level. For then there would at least be a greater variety in the sorts of triviality which from day to day occupied their minds.

As for the great masses of people who are nowadays under the domination of the great corporations that employ them, I am here not in the least dwelling upon their economic difficulties. I am pointing out that the lack of initiative in their lives tends to make their spiritual range narrow. They are too little disposed to create their own world. Now every man who gets into a vital relation to God's truth becomes, in his own way, a creator. And if you deprive a man of all incentive to create, you in so far tend to cut him off from God's truth. Or, in more common language, independence of spirit flourishes only when a man at least believes that he has a chance to change his fortunes if he

disposition to individual initiative, but becomes for the time simply unable to assert himself, to think his own thoughts, or even to remember his ordinary habits and principles of conduct. His judgment for the time becomes one with that of the mass. He may not himself observe this fact. Like the hypnotized subject, the member of the excited mob may feel as if he were very independently expressing himself. He may say, "This idea is my own idea," when as a fact the ruling idea is suggested by the leaders of the mob, or even by the accident of the momentary situation. The individual may be led to acts of which he says: "These things are my duty, my sacred privilege, my right," when as a fact the acts in question are forced upon him by the suggestions of the social mass of which at the instant he is merely a helpless member.

The term "mob" means a company of people, who by reason of their sympathies, have for the time being resigned their individual judgments. A mob might be a mob of saints, or of cutthroats, or peasants, or men of science. If it were a mob, it would lack due social wisdom, whatever its membership might be. For the members of the mob are sympathizing rather than criticizing. Their ruling idea then, therefore, is likely to be what Le Bon calls a "massive idea," ideas such as belong to earlier and cruder periods of civilization. Opposed to the mob, in which the good sense of individuals is lost in a blur of emotion, and in a helpless suggestibility—opposed to the mob, I say, is the small company of thoughtful individuals who are taking counsel together. Now our modern life, with its vast unisons of people, with its high development of popular sentiment, with its passive and sympathetic love for knowing and feeling whatever other men know and feel, is subject to the disorders of larger crowds, of more dangerous mobs, than have ever before been brought into sympathetic relations. One great problem of our time, then, is, how to carry on popular government without being at the mercy of the mob-spirit.

without being at the mercy of the mob-spirit. Then, are the men who wisely think and rightly guide? They are, I repeat, the men who take counsel together in small groups, who respect one another's individuality, who meanwhile criticize one another constantly and earnestly, and who suspect whatever the crowd teaches. In such men there need be no lack of sympathy, but there is much besides sympathy. There is individuality, and there is a willingness to doubt both one another and themselves. To such men, and to such groups, popular government ought to be intrusted.

Now these principles are responsible for the explanation of the well-known contrast between these social phenomena which illustrate the wisdom of the enlightened social order, and the phenomena which, on the contrary, often seem such as to make us despair for the moment of the permanent success of popular government. In the rightly constituted social group, where every member feels his own responsibility for his part of the crowd's welfare, which illustrates the wisdom of the enlightened social order, and the phenomena which, on the contrary, often seem such as to make us despair for the moment of the permanent success of popular government. In the rightly constituted social group, where every member feels his own responsibility for his part of the crowd's welfare, which illustrates the wisdom of the enlightened social order, and the phenomena which, on the contrary, often seem such as to make us despair for the moment of the permanent success of popular government. In the rightly constituted social group, where every member feels his own responsibility for his part of the crowd's welfare, which illustrates the wisdom of the enlightened social order, and the phenomena which, on the contrary, often seem such as to make us despair for the moment of the permanent success of popular government.

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own equally unique fashion. A realm of genuinely spiritual individuality is one where each individual has his own unique significance, so that none could take another's place. But for just that very reason all the unique individuals of the truly spiritual order stand in relation to the same universal life, to the same divine whole, in relation to which they win their individuality. Hence all the individuals of the true spiritual order have ideal goods in common, as the very means whereby they can win each his individual place with reference to the possession and the enjoyment of these common goods. Well, it is with provinces as with individuals. The way to win independence is by learning freely from abroad, but by then insisting upon our own interpretation of the common good.

A generation ago the Japanese seemed to most European observers to be entering upon a career of total self-surrender. They seemed to be adopting without stint European customs and ideals. They seemed to be abandoning their own national independence of spirit. Yet those of us who have watched them since, or who have become acquainted with representative Japanese students, know how utterly superficial and illusory that old impression of ours was regarding the dependence, or the extreme imitativeness, or the helpless docility of the modern Japanese man. He has now taught us quite another lesson. With a curious and on the whole not unjustified spiritual willness, he has learned indeed our lesson, but he has given it his own interpretation. You always feel, in intercourse with a Japanese, how unconquerable the spirit of his nation is, how inaccessible the recesses of this spirit! He remained after all these years of free intercourse with Europeans. In your presence and respectful learning, so long as he has reason to think that you have anything to teach him. But he remains as

he has reason to think that you have anything to teach him. But he remains as absolutely his own master with regard to the interpretation, the use, the possession of all spiritual gifts, as if he were the master and you the learner.

And, therefore, thirdly, I say, in developing your provincial spirit, be quite willing to encourage your young men to have relations with other communities. But on the other hand encourage them also to make use of what they thus acquire for the furtherance of the life of their own community. Let them win aid from abroad, but let them also have, so far as possible, an opportunity to use this which they acquire in service at home. We want more of the determination to find, if possible, a place for our youth in their own communities.

Finally, let the province more and more seek its own adornment. Here I speak of a matter that in all our American communities has been until recently far too much neglected. Local pride ought above all to centre, so far as its material objects are concerned, about the determination to give the surroundings of the community nobility, dignity, beauty.

I conclude, then, by urging upon you the fact that the modern nation needs today, as never before, the high development of the life of its individual provinces. Provincialism and only provincialism, can assimilate our foreigners, can neutralize the evils of too great industrial consolidation, can nourish the needed independence with which to resist the influence of the modern forms of the mob-spirit, and can give back to the nation what the nation is in danger of losing—its conscience, its spiritual dignity, its organic life. Let your province be your first social ideal. Cultivate its young men, and keep them near you. Foster provincial independence. Adorn your surroundings with the beauty of art. Serve faithfully your community, that the nation may be saved.

INDIAN DANCES. [From the June Southern Workman]

[From the June Southern Workman] The Omaha is the only dance now practised among the Sioux; the war dance died with the accession of peace; the sun dance has long been frowned upon by the Great Father, and the ghost dance has been perpetually forbidden ever since the trouble springing from it in that unhappy fight at Wounded Knee in the early winter of 1890. But the Omaha, danced frequently upon the reservation, has not been actually forbidden, although the Indian agents in general disapprove of it, and so far as is possible discountenance its perpetuation. It is primarily a social function, with this unequalled disadvantage that it tends toward the continuance of that state of society known to the Indians during their days of barbarity, that it emphasizes uncivilized delights and that it has nothing in common with the civilization toward which we are trying to lead the red man. Every time the Omaha is danced the dancers are drawn more closely to the old lives and the old ways; a reverence for the customs of their ancestors is kindled within them, and whatever refining influences of civilization may have hitherto impressed them are, for the time, utterly forgotten, and eventually much weakened. It is the great social reflection of barbarism, and its influence cannot be good for them.

FIG CULTURE IN CALIFORNIA. A recent bulletin of Dr. Egan of the Department of Agriculture gives some interesting details in regard to the cultivation of figs in this country. The statement is made that the first fig trees in California were brought to this country about a century ago by Franciscan missionaries, and from these came the "mission" figs. Other importations of trees were made from time to time during the latter half of the last century, when, in 1834, the department took the matter in hand, and imported sixty-six varieties from Italy, Spain and France. At the same time the minute insects which aid in the pollination of the flowers, and without which figs cannot be grown on any great scale, were imported. Still later fig trees were imported from Asia Minor, and now Smyrna figs are being grown successfully. In closing the subject the report says that California now produces at least one-half of the entire quantity of dried figs consumed in the United States.

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THE DAILY IOWAN

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VOL. I.

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FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT

GROUND BROKEN FOR NEW MEDICAL BUILDINGS

Large and Able Classes Graduated from the Colleges of Liberal Arts, Law and Dentistry—Splendid Address by President Booker T. Washington—The Prizes and Class Rolls

In the big tent and before thousands of resident and visiting Iowans and their friends, the forty-second annual commencement of the college of liberal arts, the thirty-seventh annual commencement of the college of law, and the twentieth annual commencement of the college of dentistry, took place Wednesday morning.

The address of the occasion was given by President Booker T. Washington, the well known negro educator and philanthropist of the Tuskegee Industrial School. President Washington discussed the race problem of this country and for two hours the immense audience followed the colored orator with applause and enthusiasm. Unlike Senator Tillman, who sees no solution for the race problem, Washington believes that the problem is already working itself out, and, trusting in the freedom and intelligence of the American people he thinks the problem will in the end be adjusted in fairness and for the best interests of both races. In speaking of the Tuskegee school President Washington said:

"For a number of years we have emphasized industrial education in connection with moral and literary training, for the reason that we have believed that in this form of education lay in a very large degree the hope of our race, as well as the opportunity to so blend their lives with the industrial life of the white man in a way to make the two races feel that their interests are identical.

"The problem of self support immediately after the war was the first one which faced our race.

"We are teaching our people through the hundreds of graduates that go out from Tuskegee to put brains, skill and dignity into the common occupations of life; we are teaching them their greatest protection lies in usefulness; we are teaching them to do a common thing in an uncommon manner; to lift labor up out of drudgery and toil into that atmosphere where it becomes beautiful and glorified; we are teaching them that in proportion as they learn to do a thing so well that no one else can improve upon it, in the same proportion will they be recognized as citizens and as men and women.

"Those who would help save mankind should use their influence to keep them on the soil and out of large cities, especially the large cities of the North.

"Already the results that are beginning to show themselves are almost marvelous. Official statistics, for example, show that the colored people already own 1-26 of all the real estate in Virginia.

In Georgia the official records show that the colored people own 1,400,000 acres of land and paid taxes last year upon over \$15,000,000 worth of property. Bear in mind that this is a race that started empty handed and in poverty and ignorance less than 40 years ago. George Kennan, the eminent Russian authority who has recently been in the south, says that the negroes who were freed at about the same time as the Russian serfs, have already outstripped the Russian serfs in progress, notwithstanding that the serfs in Russia were given land by the government and the negroes in the south had to buy their own land.

"You have heard much of the days of reconstruction in the south, but we are bringing about now through the graduates that are going out from our various schools a new era of reconstruction, not the old era that emphasizes politics alone and hatred of the southern white man, but the new era of reconstruction which emphasizes the buying of land, the building of homes, the creating of schools, and the strengthening of the bond of friendship between the two races.

I have heard it stated more than once recently that the relations between the two races in the south are becoming more strained year by year. This statement I cannot endorse. While we are adjusting ourselves to these newer conditions we must not be surprised if now and then there is friction and difficulty that would seem, to the superficial observer a widening of the breach between the two races. If, when a new ship is being launched into the water we hear the cracking of the ropes, the squeaking of timbers we must not become too much alarmed, we must remember that the vessel is settling itself down into the new life which it is to lead.

"My friends, this problem in the South concerns every member of your race in the North and West. In proportion as any individual extends a helping hand to the weak, in the same proportion is he strengthened and made stronger for the duties of life. No member of your race can in the slightest degree harm the meanest member of my race without the proudest and bluest blood in your civilization being degraded. No member of your race can in the slightest degree help up a member of my race without being made nobler and more God-like."

President Confers Degrees

At the close of the address President George E. Mac Lean conferred degrees upon the fol-

lowing graduates from the several colleges:

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PHI BETA KAPPA ADDRESS

PROVINCIALISM THE CURE FOR MOB SPIRIT

Professor Josiah Royce of Harvard Discusses Interesting National Problems in Scholarly Manner

The commencement exercises of the Iowa Alpha of Phi Beta Kappa fraternity were held in the hall of liberal arts Tuesday morning, June 10. The program was opened with a beautiful musical selection by Schmidt's orchestra. Dr. G. T. W. Patrick then introduced Professor Josiah Royce of Harvard, the speaker of the occasion. Professor Royce, chose as the subject of his theme, "Provincialism" and his discourse was one which showed the keenest insight into the sterner problems of our political government.

Using the word as an abstract term to name not only the customs or social tendencies themselves of a province, but that fondness for them, that pride in them which may make the inhabitants of a province indisposed to conform to the ways of those who come from without, and anxious to follow persistently their own local traditions, Professor Royce sees in "provincialism" thus defined, an alleviation or perhaps a cure for the threatening evils in our system of popular government.

The first of these evils is due to the presence of a considerable number of not yet assimilated newcomers in most of our communities and it results in a lack of distinctiveness of community.

The second evil, and this one concerns both nation and province as well, is the increasing levelling tendency of recent civilization, i. e., the tendency toward the discouragement of individuality and the constant approachment of a dead level of harassed mediocrity. "The source of one of the greatest dangers to our popular government," said the Professor, "is in the influence of the mob spirit. Our modern life with its vast unions of people, with its

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THE SENIOR CLASS CIRCUS

POPULAR HIT SCORED BY THE SENIOR CLASS

Thousands Assemble to Watch the Gorgeous Street Parade and Witness the Performances Given by the Senior Class

Unquestionably the biggest affair and the grandest and most unqualified success in the way of a commencement entertainment ever provided by a senior class at Iowa, was the senior circus put on by the class of 1902. Balked in their plans for a class play by the lack of an opera house, the class decided to give a real class circus and though the affair was the largest undertaking ever attempted here its success has been the talk of commencement week. To every member of the class who did his or her part toward helping the matter along is much credit due but for the great success and management of the whole affair the class is indebted to the untiring efforts of Merritt Brackett. Not only did he insure its financial success by his skill and enthusiasm in planning and advertising the circus until popular interest rose to that pitch where a real Barnum tent would not hold the anxious attendants but he took an active part in the main show and did more than his share in contributing to the general entertainment of the evening.

Wm. Barr, chairman of the street parade committee organized his forces at the athletic park for the big street pageant. The cages of roaring wild beasts, two brass bands and the chatter and giggles of the Greek maids mingled with the snorting of Dodo, the giant elephant and the unearthly bellowing of the club-footed camel created a perfect bedlam. Order came out of confusion with a jerk and the grandest and greatest parade in the history of the old and sleepy town of Iowa City, started promptly at 11:30 as advertised. Thousands of people blocked the streets, jostled and pushed each other and crowded out toward the middle of the road, till Dodo in order to get through the crowd had to come off of his dignity and let drive with both hind legs in order to clear a passage.

Colonel W. M. Barr rode at the head of the procession on a beautiful white charger admonishing the farmers to get their horses off the street and look out for the elephant. Manager Brackett with a splendid silk hat, rode in a real automobile. Then came "Weenie Worst" Storck with his flying dutchman outfit, mounted on an auto designed and built for the occasion by the members of the senior class. The parade was fully six blocks long. The "leedle German bandt" dispensed Milwaukee and Anheuser Busch music till they were black in the face. The ladies' band on top of the big red moving van tooted oriental music till it nearly blew Dodo off his feet.

The big rubber necked giraffe

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Phi Beta Kappa Address

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high developments of popular sentiment is subject to the disorders of more dangerous mobs than have ever before been brought into sympathetic relations. This is the third evil. As a crowd, the mob cannot be wise. Sympathy and not judgment rules their action. Opposed to these men we must have the provincialists, the men who take council together in small groups, who respect one another's individuality, who meanwhile criticise one another constantly and earnestly, and who suspect whatever the crowd teaches. From the latter groups come the best good and to them should the popular government be entrusted.

"The modern nation needs today, as never before, the high development of the life of its individual provinces. Provincialism and only provincialism can assimilate our foreigners, can neutralize the evils of great industrial consolidation, can nourish the needed independence with which to resist the influences of the modern forms of the mob spirit, and can give back to the nation what the nation is in danger of losing—its conscience, its spiritual dignity, its organic life. Let your province then be your first social ideal. Cultivate its young men, and keep them near you. Foster provincial independence. Adorn your surroundings with the beauties of art. Serve faithfully your community that the nation may be saved.

The program was closed with a selection by the orchestra.

IOWA LAWS VS. ILLINOIS

The Law Debating League of Iowa Makes Arrangements to Debate Laws of Northwestern University

A temporary debating compact has been closed between the local law debating league and a similar organization of Northwestern university. A debate is provided for, to be held at Chicago, probably some time during the second semester. The permanent compact will be drawn up immediately upon the opening of the university next fall.

Iowa has submitted the same question which the Forum submitted to the Senate: Resolved, that present legislation in opposition to industrial combinations should be limited to statutes providing for and enforcing publicity and prohibiting local or personal discrimination." Northwestern has been given fifteen days to make her choice of sides.

The preliminary debate will be held during the first semester and a hotly fought contest is anticipated. The Hammond Senate's men have chosen the negative of the proposition, leaving the burden of proof upon the Forum.

The marriage of Miss Edna Page '99 and John W. Ham '99 will be solemnized on Wednesday, June 18, at the home of Mrs. S. E. Page on East Iowa avenue. They will make their future home in Schenectady, New York.

The class of 1900 enjoyed an informal reunion in the way of an early morning breakfast Monday, June 2.

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