

The "baby class" studies the fire department and some elementary matters in the direction of health and cleanliness. The near-by fire station is visited and a special exhibition enjoyed. All manner of interesting things are learned about the men, the apparatus, the horses, the alarm system, causes of fires and how to avoid them.

As one enthusiastic student has written, the water system is "one of the most interesting works to study." "If possible, it is interesting to study it from the faucet in your own house to the crib." A host of instructors help the student of civics. Plumbers, firemen, aldermen, policemen, the health officer and others give instruction. One investigating girl discovered to her astonishment that the plumber understood "the use of civil government in schools." He had said that civics "teaches people to help themselves, so they probably could save the plumber's bill if they only understood how to take care of the kitchen sink."

In such truly practical fashion the home becomes the center. Fire, water, postal and other departments all exist to serve the home and the interests of the home group. In turn, there comes a truer understanding of the mutuality of interests and the interweaving of responsibilities which make up society.—E. G. Routzahn, in *The Chautauquan* for August, 1902.

#### AN EARLY DEMOCRAT.

Extracts from an Argument on United States Citizenship, by Isabella Beecher Hooker, presented with a Memorial from the Connecticut Woman's Suffrage Association to the Constitutional convention assembled in Hartford January 1, 1802.

All fundamental principles have their birth in germ cells of human thought. The main business of all branches of science is to discover these cells, study them, and draw new conclusions from age to age as experience has proved the value of the successive theories when practically applied. The main thoughts underlying a democratic form of government are the freedom of the individual and his duty to society; personal liberty and personal responsibility.

These had their first expression in definite form and practical exemplification in the State of Connecticut, so long ago as 1636, and the agency was Rev. Thomas Hooker—a man born in England in 1586 and who came to this country to join the Massachusetts colony with 100 of his followers in 1635, and left that colony in 1636 with his church to found a new home on the banks of the Connecticut, because of the prevailing aristocratic idea of the Massachusetts colony that "the best part is always the

least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser." These were the words of Winthrop, the distinguished governor of Massachusetts, of whom it was truly said that he was one of the noblest souls that ever lived, transparently brave, strong, high-minded, gentle, unselfish, caring for nothing but the honor of God and the best good of man—a genuinely great man.

Continuing the discussion of the great question whether the people should make the laws and elect the magistrates, or only a select body, Winthrop wrote to Hooker in 1638, affirming the "unwarrantableness and unsafeness of referring matter of council or judicature to the body of the people, because the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wise part is always the lesser. The old law was: Thou shalt bring the matter to the judge."

To which Hooker rejoined "that in respect to matters referred to the judge and the sentence left to his discretion, I ever looked at it as a way which leads directly to tyranny and so to confusion; and must plainly profess if it was in my liberty I should choose neither to live nor to leave my posterity under such a government. Let the judge do according to the sentence of the law. Seek the law at its mouth. The heathen man said by the light of common sense, 'the law is not subject to passion, and therefore ought to have chief rule over rulers themselves.' It is also a truth that council should be sought from councillors. But the question yet is, who those should be. In matters of greater consequence which concern the common good, a general council chosen by all to transact business which concerned all, I conceive most suitable to rule and most safe for the relief of the whole."

To Connecticut belongs the conceded honor of giving the world its first formulated and written Constitution, and the germ of this has lately been discovered and deciphered in a few notes taken from a sermon of Thomas Hooker by one of his parishioners. They are as follows:

Doctrine 1. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance. 2. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore, must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God. 3. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them. Reasons. 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid firstly in the free consent of the people. 2. Because by a free choice the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen and more ready to yield obedience. 3. Because of that duty and engagement of

the people (viz., because they will be in the position of a party to the contract.)

Uses. The lesson taught is threefold. 1. There is matter of thankful acknowledgment in the appreciation of God's faithfulness towards us and the permission of these measures that God doth command and vouchsafe. 2. Of reproof, to dash the counsels of all those who shall oppose. 3. Of exhortation—to persuade us as God hath given us liberty, to take it. And lastly, as God hath spared our lives and given us them in liberty, so to seek the guidance of God, to choose in God and for God.

Of this sermon Rev. Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, one of the greatest preachers and statesmen of this century, says: "It is the earliest known suggestion of a fundamental law enacted, not by royal charter nor by concession from any previously existing government, but by the people themselves, and which not only provides for the free choice of magistrates by the people but also sets the bounds and limitations of the power and place to which each magistrate is called."

Some two years later the Constitution of the State of Connecticut was launched, and of this Constitution a late distinguished historian, Prof. Johnston, of Princeton, has this to say: "It is on the banks of the Connecticut, under the mighty preaching of Thomas Hooker, and in the Constitution to which it gave life, if not form, that we draw the first breath of that atmosphere which is now so familiar to us." And Bancroft says: "They who judge of men by their services to the human race will never cease to honor the memory of Hooker."

#### AFTER ELECTION.

In Cincinnati, November 8, at the Vine Street Congregational church, the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, gave an "After Election" talk, in which he discussed the lessons of the recent Ohio campaign.

The election in Ohio is over. Senator Hanna's indorsement was so overwhelming as to make his nomination for the presidency the logic of events.

The defeat of Mayor Johnson was so complete and decisive as to inspire the prophecy of his enemies that Johnson and his issues are buried forever.

These enemies may be right in believing that the Mayor and his cause have been eliminated from Ohio politics. But until the Mayor himself is convinced of the fact they are not likely to get the full benefit of his demise.

At midnight, after the election, I received a long-distance message from the defeated candidate. There was the same happy ring to his voice. There was that never-failing optimism for which those who know him love him:

"Give the friends my love, and tell them that the next fight will begin to-morrow." Those who are singing requiems over his political grave do not know the man nor the principles which guide him. Senator Hanna declared on the stump that he was a man of "morbid ambition." I know he is a man who holds certain political principles in his heart with all the force of religious conviction. It is no more possible for him to acknowledge defeat for those principles than it would have been for Garrison to have given up the struggle for abolition.

It is not likely that Senator Hanna would dissent from Mayor Johnson's explanation of the result. Senator Hanna, in his canvass, repeated this declaration: "The result of the election in Ohio this fall will absolutely and beyond question of a doubt determine whether the present condition of prosperity in this country is to continue or not." Mayor Johnson says it was this kind of talk, coming from a man who could speak with authority as one of the "captains of industry," and coming at a time when there was almost universal dread of an approaching panic, that led many to ignore local issues in order to prevent the shock which might come through the defeat of a man so prominent in the national councils.

This is an explanation not at all uncomplimentary to Senator Hanna, and if it is correct it justifies Mayor Johnson's hope for next year, which he expressed in the following declaration: "The ultimate success of the principles of the Democratic platform is but postponed by this defeat, and I urge the people of Ohio to begin now the campaign for the election of the next legislature, the selection of which will not involve the election of a United States senator or any other national question, but which can be chosen with reference to the questions of home rule and just taxation in which an overwhelming majority of the people of Ohio now believe."

On the Democratic side it was a "penniless" campaign. On the Republican side nothing was left undone which money could do. The last candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket spent \$10,000 in Cincinnati. Mayor Johnson did not give a penny to the Cincinnati organization. That the use of money would have brought out a large vote, there is no question. That Mayor Johnson could have afforded to have spent the money, there is no doubt.

But he says that if the power of money is to be relied on in elections

no victories can ever be won by the people, for privilege and monopoly can always contribute the largest campaign fund. By the use of money in politics temporary gains may be made. But permanent victories cannot be purchased. They come only through the aroused sentiment and the changed thought of the masses. If Mr. Johnson's ambition had been to become governor, he suffered defeat. If his ambition was to do an educational work certain of bearing fruit in the future, he has not been defeated in his purpose; on the contrary, he has succeeded magnificently. Mayor Johnson believes it is better to make ten converts to a just cause than to get a thousand unreliable votes by the customary methods. The cynicism of the public is so great that many will not believe it possible that any man in politics will do as he has done, namely, to sacrifice his hope of a personal victory for the nobler ambition of advancing among thoughtful men the truth which he believes. The man who takes this course in politics will have to look for his reward, very often, to the silent approval of his conscience, while his enemies jubilate with the blare of horns. But he who believes in the power of truth and the teachableness of the people can well afford to wait; patient in the face of passing defeat, and happy in the confidence of final and abiding victory.

To those who, with a mighty truth in their hearts, can be discouraged by adverse majorities, forgetting both the fickleness of the multitude and the endurance of the truth, the following parallel may be instructive:

In October, 1903, Mark Hanna said: "The insidious doctrine championed by Henry George is as venomous as the fangs of a snake."

In May, 1850, James Gordon Bennett said: "Never in the time of the French revolution and blasphemous atheism was there more malevolence and unblushing wickedness avowed than by this same (William Lloyd) Garrison."

Within two years from the date of Gordon Bennett's utterance the name of the then dominant Whig party was blotted from the pages of American history, and with the largest electoral vote ever cast for a president, the slave party returned to power. The voice of the multitude was Bennett's. But the voice of God was Garrison's. Within 13 years the voice of the people became the voice of God, and Lincoln in his immortal proclamation gave effect to the teachings of Garrison.

The generation that has been on the

eve of great changes, has never been conscious of it. The triumph of abolition did not seem more preposterous to Bennett than the triumph of the Single Tax now seems to Hanna in the flush of victory.

Hanna is the Gordon Bennett, George is the Garrison, and Johnson is the Lincoln of the battle that is now on for industrial freedom. Hanna stands for the ideas that are dominant; Johnson for the truths that are vital. Hearts that know the truth are like the stars that hold serenely to their course, unmindful of the changing clouds.

#### A CITY "FINDING ITSELF."

Extracts from an article in "The World's Work" for October, 1903, by Frederic C. Howe, on the City of Cleveland.

The average community is deficient in the cooperative spirit. Politically, our cities are still looked upon as places in which to live and make a living. Probably Cleveland has come nearer to "finding itself" than any other large city on the continent. It is becoming organized. It is acquiring a capacity for political sacrifice. It is learning to think as a municipality. It has come into possession of belief in itself wholly aside from the spirit which delights in large figures, increased bank clearances and splendid tonnage. It has already developed powers of defense. As time goes on this power will become aggressive as well. . . . Cleveland is a center of political and industrial unrest. It has been looked upon as a Republican center. It is now a Democratic one. For years the Democratic party was moribund. Two years ago Mr. Johnson became a candidate for mayor and was elected. His two-years' term of office ending May 4, 1903, was one of the most strenuous in the annals of American cities. He is not only a Democrat, but probably the leading exponent in America of the philosophy of Henry George. Further than this, he is an advocate of the public ownership of all public utilities, local, State and national, and would include in the programme not only street railway, gas and electric lighting properties, but steam railroad service as well. He has conducted a campaign for the taxation of such utilities at their franchise value, according to the principles of the Ford franchise tax enacted by New York while President Roosevelt was its governor. He has also sought to introduce competing street railway lines on a three-cent fare basis. Further than this, he has aimed to secure, through legislative action, a larger degree of home rule in municipalities, making the city the unit and