

had some experience of that kind myself, and I want to spare him that experience if I can.

Before introducing him I wish to express the gratitude which the Fairview Jefferson club feels for the kindly interest in this meeting that has been manifested by so many. I also wish to express the thanks of the club to the Monroe club of St. Joe, Mo., which has kindly lent us this tent. We needed it because we have not enough shade here for such a large meeting; and then, too, I thought Tom would feel at home in a tent (laughter and applause). I should like to stand before you, the members of this Fairview Jefferson club, which has worked so diligently in the preparation of this celebration; but the large crowd—the crowd larger than we anticipated — has compelled them to devote themselves to the care of those who have come. Therefore, I cannot stand them up here and show you the ones to whom you are indebted for this programme to-day.

I am glad, my friends, on this occasion to present a man who is worthy to discuss public questions in your presence. A man who in public office has given an exhibition of those characteristics that make the ideal public servant. When by your partiality I was permitted to study public questions at the national capitol, I became acquainted with Mr. Johnson. He entered congress at the same time and served during the same period. He has since then become the chief executive of a great city, and I have found that whether he spoke for the people as their representative in the national Congress or acted for them as the mayor of a city, he was the same plain, honest man. I am glad that we have a man who furnishes a type of an official that we might well wish was more numerous in our nation. A man who has the brain to see, a man who has the courage to do, a man who has devoted himself to the betterment of government and to the securing of great reforms. My friends, I am glad that Ohio can present to the nation the example of an incorruptible and fearless public official, who can neither be driven by threats nor bought by money to turn from the path of duty. (Voice: "Amen!") That's right. The nearest church to this ground is a Methodist church, and the word "amen" is a familiar one. I take great pleasure in presenting to this audience the Hon. Tom L. Johnson, of the United States. (Continued applause.)

TOM L. JOHNSON'S SPEECH.

Mr. Bryan, my fellow-citizens, ladies and gentlemen: I am far from home,

and in a strange country in a way. From our home place by the great expanse of waters, I was suddenly transferred into your green fields; and I realized when I saw the native turf here and the rolling ground, what a great place it must have been for the Indians of old times, and how naturally they must have resented our driving them out of such a fair land as this. But all feelings of strangeness have passed away. When I came into this tent this afternoon, I felt at once so much at home that now I can almost imagine myself in an Ohio campaign, with Mr. Bryan helping us, as he always has, to win our battles.

This is Independence Day! We have listened to that great document, the Declaration of Independence. Its principles of equal rights for all and special privileges for none, are of universal application, from the smallest local government to the widest scope of national government. It has often been discussed wisely and well, but there is just one thought that I want to call your attention to. One of the many gems in that old paper is the declaration that governments are instituted among men to secure certain rights for all. Let me ask you to emphasize the word "secure." You will notice it is not a declaration that grants rights—not a declaration that gives rights from above; it is a declaration that secures rights. It recognizes the truth that every man, woman and child has these rights from the fact that they were born on this earth. They are rights which spring from within and go out; they do not come down to us from any social contract, nor from any king or potentate. My friends, that to me is the thought that is greatest in that paper, the thought that it is the duty of government to secure to men the rights that they possess by nature. Governments are instituted among men for that purpose.

Now, the inquiry is this: Has our government been administered in the interest of securing these rights to men, or is there some ingenious way, some underhand trick, some device that is not always seen, something that is hidden below the surface, by which the sacred rights that the government should secure to all have been deferred and kept away from the many, and, instead, certain privileges and advantages have been vested in the few? I make the charge that most of our laws do this.

There are laws that we make to govern our cities and States and nation, laws for making certain great improvements, laws for punishing crimes, which carry out the spirit of the Declaration of Independence; but most of

the time of your legislative bodies, whether the national assembly, the State legislatures, or your city councils, most of their time is spent, with the aid of the ingenuity of the shrewdest, most corrupt and best paid set of men on earth, in devising plans for creating law-made privileges at the expense of all of the people for the benefit of the privileged monopolists of this country. (Applause.)

I cannot imagine that it is in the interest of all the people, and that we are securing their rights, when we build great navies and organize great armies. So-called statesmen tell us these are to protect us from the outside world, but they use them to enslave people who have as much right to be free as we have. (Applause.)

I don't believe when in the quiet of a room in Washington, somewhere in the capitol, or in a hotel, a number of men who control the destinies of this country by representing—not the Republican masses, but the Republican machinery—when they concoct bills to subsidize great ship lines now owned by wealthy people who are enjoying other great privileges, I don't believe when they propose thus to take your money to subsidize ship lines, that they intend to secure to us rights. Such laws are intended to rob us of rights.

I do not believe that State legislatures, when they make tax laws under which farmers and home owners and mechanics and men owning small shops pay five times as heavy taxes as are paid by the great steam railroad corporations of the State—I cannot believe that that is in the interest of securing rights. In the state of Ohio we have a great railroad interest which is in partnership with certain leaders in the Republican party, certain men who use the Republican party and its machinery to protect the railroads from paying their fair share of taxes. My friends, the greatest privilege that the steam railroads, and the street railroads, and other monopoly interests in the State of Ohio—the greatest privilege they own, is the privilege of making other people who live in Ohio pay their taxes.

Similar evils are perpetuated by our city legislative bodies. You will find that the time of all these bodies is taken up largely in serving the interests of privileged people. They are especially guarded and protected, and not always I am sorry to say by Republican legislative bodies. Some of our so-called Democratic bodies have been guilty.

Don't imagine that I accuse Republicans alone. I am not here to plead in the interest of corrupt Democrats and

against corrupt Republicans. In Ohio we condemn them both alike. We have a plan there of fighting dishonest Democrats harder even than we fight Republicans. Not long ago, a year ago last March, a certain bill came before the Ohio legislature. The Democratic party in convention assembled had declared against the renewal of street railway franchises without first submitting the ordinance to a vote of the people. The matter came before the Republican legislature in the form of a bill to grant the streets of Cincinnati by a 44-year street car franchise to Senator Foraker and his friends. That bill was pushed through as a party measure, though there were nine Republican members of that legislature who bolted. The party whip was held over them, but they had the honesty and courage to vote against their party on this monopoly proposition. We honored those nine Republicans by mentioning them in our meetings and telling our people they could trust men of that kind no matter what party they belonged to. On the other hand, there were eight so-called Democrats who voted with Senator Foraker and his party machine for the enactment of that grant of 44 years. They did this though their own party had declared against it. We Democrats went out on the stump against those recreant Democrats; and I am glad to be able to say, both as a warning to other recreant Democrats, and as a word of cheer, that they have all been buried in their political graves never to rise again. (Applause.) There is more glory to us in the defeat of one traitor in our own midst than there is in the defeat of any number of Republicans. We are not responsible for the fidelity of Republicans; we are responsible for the fidelity of Democrats. Our motto is: "Clear our own skirts." Ohio people know now that when we make a declaration in our party platform, we intend to live up to it. By following this policy we may lose an election now and again; but when we win an election the people will have a guarantee that we will practice what we preach. And that, my friends, is everything. (Applause.)

I believe the great problem in this country—you may not be quite so much interested in it, you who are farmers may not yet think that it interests you—but the great problem in this country is how to govern cities. When you have equal rights in cities you will soon have equal rights everywhere. Cities are growing larger. They are constantly including a greater proportion of our population. And in these growing cities we find that we are to-day breeding

the Huns and Vandals who may destroy our civilization. How to conquer the Huns and Vandals, that is the great problem.

But this problem is not to be solved by restriction. It is not to be solved by mere laws to prevent men who live in cities from doing certain things. You can by restrictive statutes so hamper a city as to destroy its liberties; but you cannot by restrictive statutes make it pure and clean. The only way to solve the municipal problem, which is the great problem of modern civilization, is to give to cities full liberty to govern themselves, liberty to make their own local rules and regulations. Give them a system of home rule that will allow them to do wrong, and then by their blunders they may learn how to do right. (Applause.)

The principles of the Declaration of Independence, local self government and equal rights for all with special privileges for none, apply to city government. For the true unit of all government in modern times is the municipality. In my own city of Cleveland we are trying to apply those principles of the Declaration of Independence. Supported by a majority of the people, we are striving to secure for all the people of our municipality equal rights. This is the kind of practical work which needs most to be done at the present time. If our municipalities—our villages, towns and cities—are governed in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of Independence, all our governments will be beneficially affected, even up to the highest. The whole problem of democratic government in general is to be solved through local self-government.

This fact is coming into recognition. The true unit of government is the municipality. Let there be no special privileges there, and there will soon be no special privileges at all. This was the feeling which led me into Cleveland politics something more than two years ago. It has been an uphill fight from the beginning. It is an uphill fight still. It will be an uphill fight in the future. Whoever supposes that the plutocrats will yield without a fight, and a succession of fights, is mistaken. But we have made gains in Cleveland. The enemy has been beaten at some points and is on the defensive at all points.

The mission of the Democratic party is to solve the municipal problem. This is because the party of Lincoln has degenerated. It no longer serves the masses. It is guided and controlled by leaders who are under the influence of classes that own all the great privileges

and monopolies of the country. It has come to be like a magnet to those classes. They are attracted to it, not because they believe in Republican doctrine, for they don't; but because they believe that the Republican leaders can be trusted to protect their monopoly interests. Now, the Democratic mission is to arouse the plain people of the land of all parties against this combination of Republican leadership and monopoly greed.

Let the Democratic party be true and fair with the present questions that interest the common people, and, step by step and point by point raise new questions in the interest of all the people—let it rise to the occasion, and though its speakers may not be able to make their speeches from the end of gorgeous palace cars, though they may have to depend upon the shade of trees and the shelter of tents, they will win. Convince the plain people that their destiny can be trusted in the hands of the Democratic party, and I think we shall be able sometime to celebrate Independence day, not by pointing out the mistakes of the opposing party, but by showing that this is in fact a government instituted among men for the purpose of securing to each equal rights. You cannot bring on that time by mere declarations. You cannot do it by constitutions. You have got to do it by fostering the love of liberty in the hearts of all the people. After you have done that, liberty is secure. (Applause.)

In Cleveland we have tried to bring on the day of equal rights and no privileges by securing control of our public service accommodations and by equalizing taxation. Our water service was already within the city's management, but it was pestered with the spoils system. We have successfully established the merit system there, and business principles now govern the Cleveland water supply. The street car service cannot yet be treated like the water service, but we are far on the way toward 3-cent fares, which will give the people their car rides cheaper and let water out of corporation stock. We should have had a 3-cent fare system in operation before now if Republican leaders had not obstructed this good work even to the extent of demoralizing the municipal system of the whole State of Ohio. By that revolutionary means, also, they prevented our attempts to adjust taxation on a fair basis. At present the monopolists pay taxes on low valuations—as low as 10 per cent. of true value—while unprivileged people like mechanics, merchants and farmers, pay on 60 per cent. of true value, or more. But the obstruct-

tions thrown in the way have not defeated us. The people were behind us if the Republican leaders were not. And now we are going on in our work of getting a municipal lighting system along with our water system, of establishing a 3-cent fare street car system, and of establishing equality of taxation.

As the monopolists have resisted us so far by means of Republican legislatures, we have had to carry our local fight into the State at large. We have learned that cities cannot be governed by the principles of the Declaration of Independence so long as beneficiaries of local special privileges can frustrate local movements through legislatures and political bosses. We are trying to secure the right of local self-government.

I have no unkind feelings toward Republicans. I could not have. Without the votes of Republicans in Cleveland and in Ohio we could win no elections. They say that in Cleveland some Republicans have got the bad habit of voting our way. It is not because we call them hard names. I have every feeling of affection for men of all parties who love liberty and fair play. But I say this to you, that the Republican managers today have allied themselves with privileged monopolies in return for campaign funds. From the party of Lincoln down to the party of Mark Hanna has been an awful descent. (Applause.)

I have no ill will for Senator Hanna. Personally he is a nice man. In business he lives up to his agreements. But his public record must be condemned. In our campaign last fall Senator Hanna put it out as his key-note that Republicans should "stand pat." Now, think of that! Think of that as the political key note for an intelligent community. "Stand pat"! Do you know what that means? Why, to "stand pat" is the highest and biggest play of the professional gambler in our great American game of draw poker. He holds five cards. They may make the best or they may make the poorest hand in the deck. Holding them up close to him he says: "I stand pat," which means he doesn't need any better cards, or wants you to think he doesn't. Let the other players guess what he has. It is a game of bluff. That was Senator Hanna's game in Ohio politics. That was his key-note in a great campaign where men and women were interested in vital questions—"stand pat"! Think of the fall from the days of Abraham Lincoln. When he played the game of life they call politics, he did not "stand pat." He didn't hold five cards and bluff you to guess. He played his hand open on the

table before him where everybody could see it. Lincoln, probably, never knew what a pat hand was. Oh, my Republican friends of Nebraska, isn't it a fall from the Republicanism of Lincoln to the Republicanism of Hanna? Think of Abraham Lincoln, humanity-loving Lincoln, with his open hands, and then of Mark Hanna with his "pat hands." (Laughter and applause.)

One word in closing. This is my first visit to your beautiful country. This is the first time I have stopped in your State, though I have passed through it before. I hope it will not be my last visit. And I hope above all that our friend, Mr. Bryan, who has traveled and spoken so much all over the United States, will long be spared to continue his good work. I hope that the people of this country will continue to love and honor him as I love and honor him and you here this afternoon. My friends, I thank you for your attention. Good-by.

#### TO A PAIR OF LOVERS.

If you only love each other,  
Never will your love be blessed.  
Those who love the world together  
Love each other best.  
—The Whim.

Advertisement Manager of Great Newspaper (to clerk)—Jones, take down an advertisement as I dictate it, and then send it up. Ready? All right—

"Wanted—A man for a pleasant indoor position; short hours, light work, no experience necessary; place permanent; salary, £1,000 a year.—Apply, in own handwriting, to Millionaire, 'Great Daily' office."

Jones—I have it down, sir, and will send it to the printers at once.

Advertisement Manager (a week later)—Jones, how many answers were received from that advertisement?

Clerk—Eighteen thousand.

Advertisement Manager (an hour later)—Good morning, sir. What can we do for you?

Seedy Individual—What do you charge for an advertisement for a situation wanted?

Advertisement Manager—Our charges are high—half a crown a line; but you must remember the vast number of people we reach. Why, sir, from one single advertisement inserted last week there were received 18,000 answers.—Star.

Speaking of Rockefeller's gift to the University of Nebraska, there are some cranks, and possibly a few others, who are not thoroughly well assured of the propriety of a State university accepting gifts.

The old universities are mostly down on their knees at the feet of Mammon begging his favor. If they are not grinding Mammon's ax, it is simply because Mammon happens not to have an ax to grind at the moment.

The State universities, in theory at least, are free. It might be worth while to keep them free, for the Lord only knows what is coming to pass.—Life.

The dodging of the plain truth about human brotherhood furnishes the reason why it has always been so difficult to draw the line, in churches and societies and colonies and nations and races, between our precious clique and the rest of the wicked world. There is no such line. "Class-consciousness" is the nightmare of a cramped intellect and an overfed prejudice. The truth shall make you free from all such uncomfortable sensations.—The Straight Edge, of New York.

Newport was once a fairly respectable city. Look at it now! Breathitt county was settled by decent folks, and its eccentricities of conduct are due to nothing but isolation. When too much society can result in a modern Newport, and too little in a Breathitt, how easy seems the road to the bow-wows!—Life.

"Well," said the New Yorker, tauntingly, "you don't see any grass growing in our streets."

"That's so," replied the Philadelphian; "clever scheme of yours."

"What's that?"

"To keep tearing your streets up so the grass can't grow."—Philadelphia Press.

## BOOKS

### THE WONDERFUL RECORD OF A SINGLE SESSION.

"You nominated me for a seat in Congress notwithstanding I besought you not to do so." Thus begins the letter of confession and thanks which Gerrit Smith addressed to his constituents in the counties of Oswego and Madison, New York, on the 5th of November, 1852. He goes on to speak of his age, of his habits formed for private life, of his shrinking from public life. Then he tells them with evident sincerity that he would be glad to resign before taking his seat, but that he feels bound by their generosity, because knowing his political creed they had yet elected him by a large majority.

As if to offer the voters a final opportunity to pass judgment upon him, he proceeds in this remarkable letter