

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS AND POLITICS.

THE late political campaign in Toledo affords one of the most instructive lessons tending to show the real difficulty that confronts us in solving the problem of governing ourselves. In short, it is our bondage to commercialism.

So completely are we in servitude to the thing called business and its customs, that the stoutest heart well-nigh quails as one comes to see clearly the causes that chain the people in economic bondage.

The trouble is not, as is popularly believed, with the thing called "corrupt politics." The root of the whole matter lies in the business corruption that persistently injects itself into our politics, our religion and our life, often corrupting the very fountain of justice itself, so that to a very great extent the thing we call government has been controlled by capital — been bought and run for revenue. On this point Mr. John Jay Chapman says:

At the very moment when the enthusiasm of the nation had been exhausted in a heroic war, which left the Republican party managers in charge of the ark of the covenant, the best intellect of the country was drawn from public affairs and devoted to trade. The name of king was never freighted with more power than the name of party in the United States. The change of motive power behind party organization from principle to money was silently effected during the thirty years which followed the war. There was a steady degradation in public life, a steady failure of character, a steady decline of decency. Only quite recently has the rule of money become complete, and there are reasons for believing that the climax is past.

The country finds in the recent independent movement in Toledo sound reason for believing that the people are at last tired of being governed by cash, and the toilers, at least, have taken a stand in favor of governing themselves. The enthusiastic thousands assembled at our meetings proved that the crack of the whip that places party above principle no longer strikes terror to the hearts of men who are born free and have come through that citadel of liberty, the free school. They understand that a degree of freedom that means nothing to a man but liberty to exist on a crust and live the life of a dog is not liberty in any just sense, and that to be contented with such conditions of life is treason to the republic wherein we are all equals before the law, and a blasphemy of Almighty God, who is the father of us all and who through His divine Son has said, "A new commandment I give you, that ye love one another even as I have loved you."

BUSINESS METHODS AND THE PRESS.

This is the doctrine of equal opportunities for all and special privileges to none; and for interpreting these words to mean just what they say I was stigmatized throughout the campaign by all of the partisan press as a dangerous man.

The average party organ is perhaps the most instructive example of the corrupting influence of business methods to be found in our social system to-day. A professed distributor of intelligence, its news columns are distorted with falsehoods and cunningly devised statements intended to mislead; a professed teacher, the influence that directs its policy is worked from behind the scenes by a business house, a corporation or a self-seeking clique, and its editorials are freighted with sophistries justifying, under specious names, nearly every species of robbery and extortion. It must stand for the god of "Business Interests" at all hazards. The political machine is only the ignoble go-between.

The local party organs sought to make it appear that their antagonism was directed to me personally, but the people were not so easily gulled. It was the principles of human liberty that I stood for that the party organs feared. They tried to make an example of one who had the effrontery to stand for the rights of the common people against the rights of a political machine. A well-trained politician always puts the collar on when it is presented to him. My offense consisted in violating this sacred tradition, and so they found it convenient to ignore the fact that practically all labor, organized and unorganized, in Toledo had indorsed the principles for which I had stood in the mayor's office during the previous two years. There was little or no quarrel between the newspapers over political questions, but all three turned their guns on the Independent candidate.

Alarmed with the thought that through the Independent movement the people might find a larger degree of liberty, the partisan press forgot that there is "honor even among thieves," and, with shameless effrontery, slandered the fair name of the city, stating that it was run by gamblers and prostitutes; that during my term in office the number of saloons had increased from 600 to 840; that crime was increasing; that the police were inefficient, and intimating pretty strongly that I was in league with most of the disreputables.

These charges were all answered in the common-sense of every person acquainted with the facts; but specific answers were directed to each of the allegations. We showed from the books of the county auditor that the number of saloons in the city had been 589 in the December preceding my inauguration, and was 581 in December, 1898; we showed that open gambling had been suppressed, and further that crime had greatly decreased; that the police were vigilant and that we had as orderly a city of its size as could be found in America. An extract from an article prepared

at this time from the records of the police department will doubtless be found interesting:

During the past ten years there were 42,450 persons arrested by the Toledo police, an average of 4,245 per year; during the year 1889 there were 3,950 arrests; during 1896 there were 4,938 arrests; during last year there were 3,432 arrests, 518 less than ten years ago, when the city was half its present size.

Look at a few of the figures of arrests for the class of misdemeanors involving violence, licentiousness and intrusion upon the rights of others for the years 1890 and 1898. Remember that Toledo has increased 92 per cent. in population in these eight years, and that the figures for 1890 should be approximately doubled to give the real ratio between the disorder of the first-named year and that of the last:

Charge.	1890.	1898.
Drunkenness	992	326
Disturbance	734	335
Drunk and disorderly	382	154
Abusing family	79	33
Resisting officer	43	12
Indecent exposure	35	3
Reckless driving	18	1
Insulting females	15	4
Shooting in city limits	6	2
Total	<u>2,304</u>	<u>870</u>

To keep up with this old-time record, Toledo should have had about 4,000 such violations of law and decency, instead of 870.

But, say the advocates of jail morality, this low record is due to police leniency; the police wink at violations.

Is this true? It is either an ignorant or a deliberate lie. One rarely sees a drunken man on the streets of Toledo. Still rarer is the sight of a disorderly drunken man. One never sees a case of police outrage on a citizen, and the spectacle of resistance to an officer is so uncommon that, perhaps, not twenty citizens of Toledo have witnessed it during the last two years.

This is the testimony of every common-sense individual, either residing in or visiting Toledo.

But there is another class of charges under which the number of arrests may

serve as indications of the relative leniency or vigilance of the police. These are the three charges, suspicion, safe-keeping and suspicious person. The suspicious person is one who has committed a crime at some previous time, and is found in a locality or under particular circumstances where and when he ought not to be. The person "suspicioned" may possibly be connected with some crime or misdemeanor. The person taken in for "safe-keeping" may be any one of a number of things, and is worth holding a few days to await developments. There may be few among these who are liable to punishment, but lest no guilty man escape it is for the best interests of society that, when circumstances are unfavorable, these persons be gathered into the fold. With an honestly organized and sanely administered police force, an increase in the number of arrests on these charges is an indisputable evidence of police vigilance. The number of these arrests has grown from 537 in 1890, to 936 in 1898. Allowing for the increase in the population, the ratio is about the same. Allowing for the marvelous diminution in the volume of misdemeanors and crimes, the figures constitute an unanswerable argument in favor of the efficiency and watchfulness of the present police force.

I further answered specifically, lest some credulous persons might take silence for admission, that I did not know a half-dozen saloonkeepers in the city and that I had never, even by implication, entered into any agreement with any one for the purpose of "easing up" on the enforcement of any law or ordinance.

Did the attacks cease? Not at all. With never a mention of the *respectable thieves* who were seeking to get control of the city, the papers kept crying "Stop thief!" at the Independent movement. Their attacks increased in number, and in venom. The two most striking examples of partisan journalism kept whipping themselves into a fury as the days dwindled toward election, and the last issues were the most flagrant of all.

I do not believe that permanent injury can be done the cause of truth by such campaigns of wholesale lying and slander, though unquestionably much transient harm is done; there are many people who read only the partisan papers, and these are as hopelessly shut out from a knowledge of the truth as if they were in the heart of Africa.

EITHER PARTY, SO IT STANDS FOR "BUSINESS."

From the time of my first introduction into public life, I have sought to fix the attention of the people upon the principles that determine government, on measures, not men. The subject of public ownership of a lighting plant came up last spring. Our contract expires at the end of the present year, and I asked the council to let the people vote on the question of owning our own plant, provided it could be had without a bond issue. I offered then, and do now, to provide a construction company that will complete a plant for us and take its pay in the saving that we make between what it is now costing us and what it will cost under municipal ownership. The board of aldermen, by a vote of eight to seven, refused to let the people vote on this reasonable proposition. There was no politics in this vote, for the majority was made up of four democrats and four republicans.

You see it is not corrupt politics that is troubling us; it is corrupt business, and business never disturbs the relation between the political parties. Said a business man, who testified before a Senate investigating committee: "It costs us a good deal for campaign expenses." "What political party do you usually contribute to?" was the next question. "In republican districts to the republicans, and in democratic to the democrats," was the reply.

The fact is that a legislative body to-day is like a raft in the middle of the ocean. It is attacked on all sides by men who desire special favors and are willing to pay for them. The shrewd agents of franchise-grabbing corporations take advantage of every weak point, and obstruct, by every technicality devised by law, any reform that would subtract from their employer's profits.

In the strong words of Prof. George D. Herron:

Organized money menaces the integrity and perpetuity of every existing government. It is causing the peoples international to question, as never

before, the utility of government; they are beginning to distinguish between government and the nation, between legalism and law, between power and liberty.

From St. Petersburg to the plains of the Dakotas, toilers and producers are asking why they should toil to produce billions to support governments which are the instruments of the privileged classes to further exploit them. They are asking why they must support navies, armies and parasitic legislatures to protect them from each other, when they are in reality brothers and need no such protection. The idea of government as fraternal co-operation, as brotherhood, as friendship, is the living dynamite that is getting underneath the thrones of the Old World, and underneath the legislatures of our American money lords. * * * Any genuine religion must be a science of righteous politics,—a science of individual liberty. It is a Hegelian principle, as well as the substance of Hebrew social philosophy, that the political life of the nation is the final revelation of the moral worth and living power of religion. The real religious creed of the people, the unmistakable evidence of what they actually believe, is their politics.

THE SENSELESS CLAMOR FOR A BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION.

Politics is not a matter of business alone; it concerns the home, and the intellectual and moral life of a city.

I do not think that people ordinarily mean what they say when they declare that they are in favor of a "business administration" of the affairs of a city, state or nation. They do not take in the meaning of the word in all of its modern significance. So far as I am able to interpret it without any particular reference to dictionary definitions, a "business administration" of affairs is such an administration as will get the "best bargain," is such an administration as will make profit—in short, is such an administration as will get something for nothing. I think it will be generally conceded that this is a fair statement of the case. To attain what is known as business success to-day, one must make profit, and I do not understand this to be any part of the purpose of organization known as government. We can imagine a government living wholly to itself. We talk freely of a government of the people, for and by the people, as Lincoln put it, though on account of the injection of the business idea into every conception

of life we really have little understanding of what is meant by the words; but I think all will readily see that a government living within itself would have no place to which it could look for profit; and, therefore, in such a condition of affairs what we now understand as a business administration would be an impossibility, as there would be no one to make profit from. Indeed, I am of the opinion that the injection of the business idea into government is the cause of much of our social distress to-day. I do not see how what is known as a business training can help in preparing a man to serve as a public official. The whole idea of business is based upon the thought of individual success. Everything else must be subservient to that one idea. It is true we have, or think we have, a certain code of ethics governing our business transactions, our relations with one another, and this code we attempt to enforce by various forms of law, but our laws, our ethics and our morals are pretty generally suited to the prevailing idea of the necessity and importance of individual success. When I say success, all know what I mean. I need not define the word. We hear two men chatting in a hotel or on the street; they are talking of some one who has made a success; we know at once what the man has done; we have no need to ask; he has made money.

The most superficial student of municipal life will admit, I think, that it is no part of the legitimate work of a city to devote itself to money-making, and as money-making is the only purpose of a business life, is the sole reason for carrying on all of our manufactories, mills, workshops, stores, mines and commerce from top to bottom, is to make profit, make money, we see that a "business administration" is just the thing that we do not want in the affairs of a city.

THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE MANAGER.

It is sometimes thoughtlessly said that the successful management of a city requires the same kind of ability that is

required for the successful management of the affairs of a large private corporation. Nothing could be further from the truth. The very purpose of the existence of a large corporation is antagonistic to everything that is best in a lofty municipal ideal. The affairs of a municipality should be conducted in the interest of all of the people of that municipality, and the aim and ambition of every public official from top to bottom should be so to administer the responsibilities of his office as to contribute to the social welfare, to the well-being, to the comfort and happiness of all.

The mayor should have a broad — shall I say big? — conception of the responsibilities and privileges of his office. Truly *the interest of all* should be his constant study; how to direct, to lead, to guide the various departments of municipal life so as to bring them to co-operate, to pull together, for the benefit of the whole people; how to get such conceptions of liberty and freedom, of civic pride, of loyalty and patriotism before the people as to bring them to unite their efforts for the common good. This should be his constant study and care. Carrying out the thought suggested here, I have said to the Police Department in Toledo: "Your duty or the duty of a good police officer is to use your best endeavor to make it easy for the people to do right and hard for them to do wrong." A patrolman can often serve his city better by saving the city the necessity of arresting one of its citizens than by dragging him a culprit to prison, thus disgracing the man and degrading his family.

To arouse, to awaken, to stimulate the social conscience in the people, the sense of social dependence upon one another, to present anew, as often as possible, the old truth that "no man liveth to himself," that a successful administration of each of the various departments of the city depends upon the intelligent co-operation of every other department, and to inspire the public officials with the spirit of emulation and ambition to serve rather than the

ignoble jealousy and strife that arise from the *boss* conception of government — these are the purposes that should inspire the chief executive of a city.

Let us contrast these ideals with the qualifications required for an ideal manager of a large money-making corporation. I do not think that our captains of industry, or, indeed, that any so-called successful business man, would agree that the qualifications I have enumerated as desirable in a mayor are at all essential to the successful management of a business corporation. Most will agree that a city should be managed in the interest of all of the people, all of the inhabitants. The corporation, on the other hand, operates the railroad or the factory not at all in the interest of all concerned, of the workers and patrons, but solely in the interest of the owners; the operatives or employees being mere instruments or cogs in the wheels of the machine that is run to make profit for the stockholders. Up to date it has not been considered, nor is it now, any part of the duties of a business manager of a large corporation to look after the welfare of the families and dependents of the employees and patrons. It is his business, as I have been told repeatedly by managers, to make dividends, and dividends are made out of people; and as the labor market is and always will be, under existing conditions, overstocked, the *interest of all*, which should be the whole concern of the mayor and of a city government, is no part whatever of the concern of the managers of a business corporation. In saying this I have no thought or intention of saying hard things of managers of business corporations. I am such a manager myself. I am simply stating a fact with reference to the purpose of business. It is carried on with the one idea of getting profit; and while a manager here and there may be inspired with humane and kindly motives, and incidentally, as far as he can, may look after the welfare of those under his charge, it is not, as I have said, any legitimate part of his work. The work of a profit-getting corporation is, therefore, distinctly different and

distinctively sordid — it is using human beings for what can be made out of them — while the work of a public official is or should be spiritual and ennobling in the highest and best sense.

The real purpose of the work of the public official is so to administer as to contribute to the good of the whole community, and he should find his greatest recompense in the fact that service brings its own reward. The inspiration of the private manager is found alone in the cash compensation, and this is increased in proportion to his usefulness as a dividend-producing machine. This is the reason that, while to a certain extent, the same kind of skill may come in play either in administering public or private functions, we find that there is the thing called honor attached to positions of trust in public life that is hardly known with respect to private positions of apparently greater importance. The life of the private manager is without noble purpose; it is almost without inspiration. I think private officials in charge of large properties are very few who do not at times feel a sense of shame and ignominy; feel, indeed, that they themselves are slaves to a tyrannical and unholy system largely of their own creation, the one purpose of which is to use their cleverness to convert the talents of their fellow-men into profit for private owners; indeed, many private managers have told me as much as I have here stated, and more, and all over this country those may be found who are looking and longing for some way of escape from the industrial bondage of the system in which they are caught.

NO COMMON GROUND FOR COMPARISON.

There is no common ground for comparison between serving the public for the good of all and serving a private corporation for the good of the capitalist. This idea of making comparison between the management of the affairs of a city and the management of the affairs of a private corporation has led to much confusion, and to the failure to understand the difference between the

two classes of service may be attributed many of the shortcomings of municipal administration. The individual seeking his own good or the private manager seeking the good of the few whom he serves according to the narrow conception of the day, pursues a line of study that is antagonistic to any growth or development calculated to fit him for the public service. With him it is individual salvation first, last and all of the time, and, if on special occasions he makes a demonstration of so-called patriotism or loyalty or love of country, as a good business man, his first thought should be to see how his demonstration or exhibition can be arranged so as to bring most certainly a substantial return in increased profits. If he consents to serve his fellow-men even temporarily, it is because he believes he will get a larger reward in return, and if he for one moment loses sight of this idea he is at once pronounced a failure as a business man and business manager.

A SUMMING-UP OF THE ADVANTAGES OF A BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION.

The vigorous words of Dr. C. W. Wooldridge sum up the situation in an admirable way:

Business men's government! Who are the business men? Not the men who sow and plow and reap the harvests. Not the men who carve the wood, or forge the iron, or mine the ore, or tan the leather, nor the men who handle the lever that pulls the throttle of the engines that move the mighty machinery of our times; not even those who oversee and direct the workings of this machinery; all of these are hirelings, or slavish supplicants for a job. No refuge can save the hireling and slave from the danger of want and the fear of the grave.

But who are the business men? Not they who do any useful thing in all the world, that is labor, which they despise and turn over to hirelings. These are the business men: They who buy that for which they have no need in order to sell it again at a profit to those who must use it. They who, looking to their neighbor, and not to nature, for their sustenance have for the law of their being that they must take more than they give or perish, and forget that, in taking more than they give they require others to give more than they take, and perish by that same law.

They who hold cities in bondage and lay taxes upon their people for the privilege of using their own strength and their own skill, their own tools and their own materials before they build a schoolhouse, or pave a street, or dig a sewer, or do any manner of public work for their convenience or need — these are business men; and without business men's government they could not thus hold the energies of great cities subject to their nod and make them do, for their enrichment, one day's work per year for twenty years for every twenty days' work they do for themselves in any one year, collecting it from themselves in taxes, all for no service rendered, except to unlock for the occasion the fetters with which business men's government has fettered them.

They who bribe councils and legislatures to give them franchises to enrich themselves at the expense of the people for services which the people might better do for themselves at cost, but are, by business men's government forbidden — these too are business men, and it is through business men's government that they do these things.

They who have so shaped the financial system of the world that nothing may be bought or sold or exchanged, without paying tribute to those whose only service it is to paralyze the energies of mankind — these are business men, and by business men's government they have done this.

Jefferson declared that to secure to the people their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, was the purpose for which governments were instituted among men, and that when government shall fail to accomplish that purpose it is the right and duty of the people to alter or abolish it; but business men's government is the antithesis of this; its purpose, in the language of its advocates, is to protect property and to enforce its prerogatives, and before this purpose the rights of man are as dust before the gale.

Jefferson thought and said that for the preservation of liberty a revolution about once in ten years was necessary. A very crude, unsafe and unsatisfactory way of accomplishing that end. But certainly it is true that through all history, all the efforts of business men's government have tended to the overthrow of liberty and the establishment of despotism.

From time to time men have risen in revolt against business men's government; these have been the epochs when patriotism has kindled the fires of revolution, when heroes have fought and died that freedom might live — heroes whose names, when success has crowned their efforts, have been handed down for the admiration and example of future generations; but where business men's government has been strong enough to crush them they have sunk as rebels and criminals into dishonored graves. At the time of the American Revolution nearly all the business men were tories, who would have hanged Jefferson and Washington if they could.

Business men's government is worse than war, pestilence and famine; for war, pestilence and famine are but a few of the evils which business men's government creates. Lest it might be thought that this statement is an exaggeration of rhetoric, let me refer to what Julian Hawthorne, only two years ago, wrote of the famine in India. You all remember the horrible pictures in the magazines at that time of men, women and children, with their skeleton arms, legs and hips, heads and necks, their staring ribs and their swollen abdomens, the seal of death upon them — 20,000,000 was Julian Hawthorne's estimate of the number of deaths which that famine would cause — but Julian Hawthorne, himself an adherent and supporter of business men's government, wrote to warn the hand of pity to send no food to the hungry and dying. "Send no grain to India," he said, "send money, for if you send grain it will disturb the course of trade. Every grain merchant in India will immediately lock up his stores, and unless you are prepared from the very outset to feed the whole 80,000,000 of people in the famine district, which is impossible, you will only make a bad matter worse. Send money; there is grain enough in India to feed all the hungry, but the starving cannot buy it." Thus he advised the world to try with money to satisfy the insatiable greed of the fat buniahs who had all the grain in India locked up in their stores, and could set what price they pleased on it, whom he described loading this precious grain on camels before the eyes of the dying, reduced by hunger to that extremity that they could neither stand nor speak, but only with hollow eyes watch the food as it was carried out of their sight, into regions where the famine was not quite so bitter, where there was something left that the buniahs could sell it for, before they had stripped the country clean and left its people like these, dying of hunger in their nakedness. "Send no grain, send money, lest you disturb the course of trade." If government had existed there for the purpose of protecting the lives of the people, even though the intelligence of the administration had been no higher than that of a newborn babe, they would have known that the thing to do was to seize every bushel of grain in India and distribute it in rations, and the pitying world would very gladly have made up any deficiency; but that would not have been business men's government. Business men's government prevailed there as it prevails here, and the idea and practice of business men's government is, never disturb the course of trade. Thus in India, where, to horrify the world, missionaries have held up the picture of the car of Juggernaut crushing the life out of a few fanatical devotees who have thrown themselves beneath the wheels. The course of trade crushes the life out of 20,000,000 in a single season, and the business world approves, and business men's government warns a pitying world not to interfere. And yet,

among a people devoted to business, as the American people are, business men must govern, business men's government must prevail; and establish pure democracy and freedom as often as you may, with the certainty of the recurring seasons business men's governments will put despotism, degradation and death again on the throne. Nearly 2,000 years ago one to whom the world has ever since accorded divine honors, told business men that they made the place where they did business a den of robbers.

Property in excess of personal needs must lose its value — not be taken away from those who hold it, but lose its value because none shall be so poor that they need to buy the use of it. Government by and for the people must secure them in their right to life, liberty and happiness by helping those who need, to create for themselves the things they need.

EXPLOITING THE PEOPLE BY CRIMINAL LABOR.

In many places in this country we can find that the business idea has gotten into the administration of public affairs to such an extent that city, county and prison managers are pointing to the fact that they "make money" out of their criminal classes; they point to this fact with pride, with no thought of a sense of shame that such a condition ought to induce. Just a few days ago I stood on the rear end of an observation car on a railway in the State of Texas; the train moved very slowly along through a group of seventy-five convicts of the state, who were employed in ballasting the track of this privately owned railroad. On either side of this track there were a number of guards, each armed with a Winchester and several revolvers hanging in his belt. As the train moved along I was within a few feet of the faces of many of these men; nearly all were young men, and as I looked upon them and thought, "These are American citizens," and then turned my eyes to the walking arsenal represented by the guard who stood over them, I could not but involuntarily exclaim, "In God's name, if this be civilization, what sort of a condition would we find where anarchy prevailed?" Upon inquiry I learned that these men are furnished by the State of Texas to work for private owners

at forty cents a day. All will admit that with the present cost of living in these United States, it is impossible for a free man to live a decently human life and sustain a family on forty cents a day; but by this very act the State of Texas sets the pace, makes the wages of its free men. We have only to carry out this principle far enough until we shall have filled the place of every free laborer with a convict, for in doing the work with convict labor we leave no work to be done with free labor, and therefore make it impossible for a man to get employment until he first becomes a criminal. Yet so abjectly do we worship our system, so much are we given to mere idolatry of everything that we call American, that we blind ourselves to the defects of a plan of government that is surely destined to overthrow itself unless there shall be radical reform. The State of Texas is not unique in this infamy. The State of Ohio is doing the same thing, differing only in degree; our convicts are employed within prison walls to make private profit for private contractors, and the contractor pays a trifle more to the state for their service than is paid for the Texas convict. This evil is the outgrowth and direct result of our monstrous conception of the purposes of life in the thing we call business.

The notions about business success, with which we are saturated from our early youth, blind us to most of the possibilities of this life. Two modern business men were on shipboard when a big storm came up; there was great excitement and fear that the vessel would be wrecked. One of them came pacing down the deck in a great state of alarm, and his fellow-traveler, who was quietly smoking a cigar, inquired what was the matter. "Why, don't you hear? The captain says there is no hope, the ship must be lost!" Placing his thumb in the armholes of his vest, his friend calmly inquired, "What do we care? We don't own the ship."

FELLOWSHIP INSTEAD OF BUSINESS.

I am not trying to picture my fellow-man of the business world as a monster or as an unnatural human being; I am simply doing my best to portray him as he is, doing my best to present the facts as they are, fully believing that when people come to see clearly both the hideousness and hopelessness of our modern conceptions of business, they will only be too eager to turn from a system that is constantly degrading human life, and devote their talents to providing a plan that will exalt it. I think it will be a long step in advance when we can drop the word business out of its ordinary association with the administration of the affairs of a city, and instead of clamoring for a "business administration," ask for a scientific administration; an administration that will consider the rights of the weakest child in the city as being equally important with those of the greatest and wisest man. A scientific administration will be an administration of justice, and a just administration will take away from life in the city of to-day all of the hideous phases that make existence a curse and life an intolerable burden to thousands upon thousands of the American people. Indeed, it is due to our failure to govern justly that we are now brought face to face with questions of the greatest moment in our cities, not only affecting the life of the city and nation, but even leading thoughtful people to question whether the thing we call civilization itself is much longer to endure.

"Fellowship," says William Morris, "is life, and the lack of fellowship is death." Let me ask you to consider calmly for a moment what the average fortunate workingman (and by that I mean the man who has a job) knows about fellowship in any just sense? Take the case of thousands upon thousands who are working for \$1 and \$1.50 a day, and who, with the casual work they obtain, are only able with the most careful economy to meet the daily expenses of life. The man who comes home at night without ambition enough left within him to scrape the mortar

off his shoes or from under his finger nails — what, I say, does such a man know of fellowship? And if he seeks fellowship in the only social centre that we provide for him, in the saloon, instead of seeking to make opportunities for men to live better lives, we exhaust our energy in fulminations against the saloon evil, in attempts to enact laws to coerce people into living righteous lives that we make impossible by a business system that makes the many continually mere objects to be plundered for the benefit of the cunning and clever few. Sometimes it almost seems to me as if the thing we call government had, in many respects, been deliberately planned in cold blood to plunder those who are unable to fight for themselves.

SOMETHING BETTER WANTED.

I have dwelt at length on this subject for the purpose of emphasizing that the thing above all which we do *not* want in connection with the affairs of a city is a business administration. It is no part of the legitimate work of a city, state or nation to make money, to convert men, women and little children into profit; but the business idea has seized upon us and so thoroughly blinded us to any spiritual conception of the purposes of life that we are doing this very thing daily and hourly in all of our cities. The business idea has brought us the infamy of the system of fines, through which in our police courts we extract from the poorest and most wretched of our citizens tribute to carry on the work of further despoiling them of their liberties. Hundreds and thousands of cases occur annually in this country where men and women are driven into pauperism and crime because they are denied the God-given right to work and they have no other resources. Denied the right to work, they are denied the right to beg, and for the mere asking for bread many an American citizen has been dragged a culprit to prison; the business idea carried further, he is fined \$5 or \$10 and costs and sent to the workhouse or prison to work at from forty

to sixty cents a day, while his dependent family is driven into pauperism; and then the managers of our prisons, wholly unconscious of the part they are playing in the infamy, point with pride to the fact that the prison or workhouse has been self-sustaining or even has made money. The further we can keep the business idea away from the city government, the better it will be for the people. The purposes of business are directly opposed to the purposes of governmental administration, and it is because this new conception is taking hold upon our life that I feel optimistic in regard to our American cities. The true conception, that there can be no prosperity for some that does not mean opportunity for at least some prosperity for all, is taking hold upon our people, and in the cities particularly they are making a concerted movement looking toward a scientific administration for the good of all.

AN INSTANCE OF SCIENTIFIC ADMINISTRATION.

I had the pleasure of visiting the city of Boston last winter. In Mayor Quincy we find an official who regards his place as a means of enhancing the social welfare of the community, with no thought of building up individual prestige. Mayor Quincy is comparatively a young man, just forty, but he has shown a degree of wisdom and lofty purpose in connection with the administration of the municipality of Boston unparalleled, I think, in the experience of American cities. Evidently he has not surrendered to the business idea, for idealism and imagination form a large part of his programme. Though elected as a partisan, he has stood closely by the spirit of the civil service law, and is clearly of too large calibre as a man to be anxious about the loyalty of subordinates. The city of Boston has, perhaps, made greater advances in municipal Socialism than any American city. The iniquitous system of doing the public work of the city by contract to the lowest bidder has been abolished, and instead the

work is done by the day-labor plan, with a minimum rate of \$2 for a nine-hour day. The great city recognizes the fact that it is impossible for a man to be a good citizen unless he receives enough from his toil to enable him to live decently.

Mayor Quincy has led the people of Boston into a recognition of this truth of social obligation and responsibility, and during the last few years they have established free baths where nearly two million people last year obeyed the injunction to "wash and be clean." Boston also owns its own municipal printing plant and a municipal electric repair department. The city provides music for the parks in summer; provided, last summer, a week's outing for 14,000 children; gave a series of orchestral concerts at Music Hall during the winter, and made an appropriation of \$2,500 for public lectures on topics of popular interest, the lectures to be delivered in various schoolhouses of the city.

Every act of this kind, as I have said before, is in direct opposition to the business idea, but it is in strict harmony with the awakening spirit of liberty — a spirit that is manifesting itself in the increasing discontent of the great masses with a conception of life so narrow that it provides a plan for only a small portion to live in comfort, and even these must live at the expense of the lives of their fellows. This sort of a programme will not do for Americans. Let us have a scientific administration rather than a business administration. The New Time is already here, and we are soon to see the day when business will be transformed — when the good of all, the welfare of the whole body politic shall be the inspiration that sings us to our work; when the sordid idea of administering and grinding, of turning every act of life into a profit-getting device shall have disappeared; when the motto of St. Simon, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," shall have supplanted the business maxim of, From each according to his necessity, to each according to his greed. This is the new conception, the new patriotism that is inspiring the heart of the waiting people with a new hope.

NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTION.

One important essential to the establishment of free government under our system is the absolute destruction of party machines, and there is one way to accomplish this that is easily within the reach of workingmen of this country, and that is through entire independent political action.

The great political parties in this country have been without a moral issue for the last quarter of a century. A great hullabaloo has been raised every now and then over some question that has been dragged into prominence and which party leaders have made a great effort to prove was important, but the chief importance of most of the questions that have formed the issue between the parties has been their value as an agency to fool the people, to rally them to the call of party machines in order that they might be in a convenient position to be plundered.

We hear much about "loyalty to the administration;" the question of "imperialism and expansion" will be pushed to the front; it is even quite likely, as in the campaign of '96, there may be much florid excitement over the "money question," and there will probably be much pronounced "condemnation of trusts" in general terms, without any proposed remedy. But it is not a question of endorsing the administration, or what to do with the Philippines, or the question of our foreign relations that is disturbing the average workingman and farmer in the country to-day; it is, on the contrary, the question of what the future may have in store for *him*. The peculiar kind of money or what our monetary system may be, is of little interest to these. They know by bitter experience that from day to day it is a life and death struggle to get enough of any kind to keep soul and body together. The debt-ridden thousands of our people, and the other thousands who are too poor to be able to get into debt, are eagerly looking for a new social order that shall lift them out of the perpetual bondage in which their lives have sunk through the iniquities and crimes of our competitive social order.

THE TWO OLD PARTIES ALIKE.

But no realization of this new state appears in the promises of the two great parties. They do not differ in their moral purposes. One is as bad as the other, and both are against the best interests of the greatest number. They are greedy for spoils and plunder. They do not care for social conditions. They do not seek to improve society. They foster nothing so much as place-getting. There is a constant evasion of real issues in the platforms and in the resolutions of public assemblages. No mention is made of the appalling condition of distress which exists among the masses in our cities. Not a word is said about the throngs of unemployed men and women, who are tramping the well-beaten road to beggary and crime. Everywhere in the public utterances of party leaders we hear a soothing and pleasant optimism that is wholly unsupported by the facts of our everyday life.

In partisan politics we have the worst expression of the evils of our competitive life. First, it is a "fight between partisans," who pretend to hate one another in order that they may make tools of the people. After the contest between the parties is decided, then the "fight" is carried on between the victors over the question of who are to have the post-office and revenue office, who are to have the other offices, and so the never-ending struggle goes on.

The basis of partisan politics is the machine. It is formed by, or in the interest of, those who want to "get something out of politics." Its engineers run it for one purpose only — and that is to win. No public need, no urgent problem of humanity, is permitted to interfere with this purpose: the spoilsmen must have the offices. Says James Bryce, in "The American Commonwealth":

The class of professional politicians was the first crop which the spoils system -- the system of using public offices as private plunder -- bore. It is these spoilsmen who have depraved and distorted the mechanism of politics. It is they who pack the primaries and run the conventions, so as to destroy

the freedom of popular choice; it is they who contrive and execute the election frauds which disgrace some states and cities, repeating and ballot-stuffing, obstruction of the polls and fraudulent countings in * * *. The civil service is not in America, and cannot under the system of rotation become, a career. Place-hunting is the career; and an office is not a public trust, but a means of requiting party services, and also a source whence party funds may be raised for election purposes. * * * Politics has become a gainful profession, like stock-broking, the dry-goods trade, or the getting up of companies. Republicans and Democrats have certainly war cries, organizations, interests enlisted in their support. But those interests are in the main the interests of getting or keeping the patronage of the government.

A political machine is a joint-stock corporation run for the benefit of the directors or managers. Where is the business man that would take stock and pay good money for it and have any faith in a business corporation operated on such a basis? And yet all know that this is the truth. The dividends are the spoils; no spoils and no party. There is no difference between Hannaism, Crokerism and Plattism — they all mean bossism. Political bosses are uncrowned kings who have held dominion over our people, and the almighty dollar has been the political sceptre that has threatened the very citadel of our liberties.

THE BOSS SYSTEM DOOMED.

But these monarchs are to be dethroned; already their pedestals are tottering to a fall, and the destruction of this iniquitous system of enslaving the people through party bosses is to be brought about through independent political action. Through the Initiative and Referendum the people are to do their legislating; through the amendment of the bribery laws, punishing only the bribe-giver, we are to put an end to the rule of commercialism in politics; and through voting for "principle before party," through voting in our respective localities for men rather than for money and for measures even before men, the American people are to realize their emancipation.

The only way to prevent bossism is to cultivate the spirit of independence in every voter. As long as men say "My party, right or wrong," politics will be controlled by bosses. Even the small Socialist party which exists in a few cities is as much troubled by bossism as any other, because it lays more emphasis on adherence to party than on devotion to principle.

The independent vote is the factor that is always feared by the selfish business man and the politician; it is through independent action in our politics that we are to make progress.

The municipal election in Toledo is invaluable to the American people as an object lesson that the power is with them, that they are not dependent upon party bosses or party machines; that whenever and wherever the rule of money and corrupt men becomes odious, they have the power within themselves to throw it off.

Very little can be done by changing parties, or organizing new ones, until the common conception of life is elevated. So long as the "party" idea dominates us, and our chief endeavor is to get our men in and the other men out, every election will be a source of disappointment. As for an independent party, the history of the nation is crowded thick with such attempts. About forty such organizations have sprung into being, with a result of almost invariable failure. We must conceive of politics as the science of doing good through government, and then machine politics will become as extinct as chattel slavery. When men have so divorced themselves from party fealty that they are ready to ally themselves at any time in free associations, for the purpose of supporting a principle, just as the soldiers of a volunteer army enlist for a campaign, and on its conclusion are mustered out and go back into the general citizenship, unfettered by any chain — when we reach a voting citizenship such as this, any needed reform will be within our reach.

I have been criticized somewhat freely by members of the sev-

eral reform parties for the attitude just outlined. They have not shaken my judgment, nor can they. To one of these I recently replied as follows:

TOLEDO, O., July 22, 1899.

MY DEAR FRIEND.—If you are a Christian, I think you will repudiate the idea of party in toto. I believe in *all* of the people, and in a programme or plan of government broad enough to involve the welfare of all. The very idea of party is in the interest of the few. The purpose of party machines is to capture the functions of government (the offices) and operate them for the benefit of the party, that is, so as to keep the machine intact; and no man can hold office and stay in a party who will not conduct his office in the interest of the party first. The only charge laid at my door by the Republicans was that I did not conduct my office in a way calculated to keep up the organization. Had I been in the Democratic party, they would have made the same criticism.

The fundamental principle that keeps party spirit alive is selfish; its intent is to succeed by shutting out from any possibility of success a large percentage of the people. The common people understand this, and have given up all hope of any relief to come through or from political parties. Relief must come through political action, but it must come in spite of, rather than because of, parties. No party ever did or ever can reform itself. The only hope of the people is in absolute independent political action, not always an independent movement, but independent voting. Voting for principle before party will destroy parties and save the people. We must organize, but it must be for educational rather than for party purposes. When the people become educated, when they understand that ours is a wrong social system, that the competitive system is a denial of brotherhood, is unchristian and unscientific, they will lay off the chains that bind them. The power is with the people, but they must be brought to see and understand that men are brothers and that they can never hope for peace through war (competition). I am happy to say that I believe competition has failed; that we are now in an era of combination (trusts), and that we are rapidly passing to co-operation, which will lead to brotherhood, the kingdom of heaven on earth.

Very sincerely yours,
S. M. JONES.

WHAT THE AGGRESSIVE NON-PARTISAN CAN DO.

It is, of course, unjust and unwise, to denounce and anathematize indiscriminately those who belong to either of the two

parties. It is the general ignorance and indifference of the people which should be blamed, not the individuals alone who manage the party machinery. The rank and file of the two great parties must be reached and educated, and whatever method will soonest accomplish this, is the wisest method to adopt. Until the majority of voters have a clearer understanding of their duties as citizens and of the sanctity of the ballot, political parties, no matter what their names and principles may be, are bound to be ruled by place-hunters and schemers.

The party candidate should be made to place himself. Whenever a politician stands upon a public platform asking for your votes and influence, ask him to define his position on the real issues of our times. Ask him how he proposes to give work to the unemployed, and how he intends to prevent little children from working in factories. Ask him what he has done in favor of the eight-hour day and the abolition of the contract system. Ask him to declare his views on municipal ownership of electric light, telephones, gas and street railways. Compel him to state whether or not he upholds an industrial system which breeds the twin curses of competition and monopoly.

Don't let him escape the point by assuring you of his loyalty to the Stars and Stripes. Loyalty too often covers a multitude of sins. There is a sort of boisterous lip loyalty which is very conspicuous at election time; and there are plenty of politicians who are willing to get rich for their country's sake. Inquire into his record. If he has voted always for party, and never for principle, he is not worthy to receive an intelligent citizen's vote. If he can give no answer to your questions except to assure you he has always been faithful to his party, then he is a common heeler, and has no business to aspire to public office.

The disruption of the machine is a task that rests largely with the workers, for the business world is either passive in the face of its aggression, or, as is often the case, a sharer in its acts and

its plunder. In the words of W. E. H. Lecky, in his "Democracy and Liberty,"—

There is one thing which is worse than corruption. It is *acquiescence in corruption*. No feature of American life strikes a stranger so powerfully as the extraordinary indifference, partly cynicism and partly good nature, with which notorious frauds and notorious corruption in the sphere of politics are viewed by American public opinion.

There is nothing, I think, altogether like this to be found in any other great country. It is something wholly different from the political torpor which is common in half-developed nations and corrupt despotisms, and it is curiously unlike the state of feeling which exists in the French republic. Flagrant instances of corruption have been disclosed in France since 1870, but French public opinion never fails promptly to resent and to punish them. In America, notorious profligacy in public life and in the administration of public funds seems to excite little more than a disdainful smile.

A striking confirmation of this judgment is to be found in the following words, credited by Prof. Andrew D. White, to a city business man:

We have thought this thing over, and we find that it pays better to neglect our city affairs than to attend to them; that we can make more money in the time required for the full discharge of our political duties than the politicians can steal from us on account of our not discharging them.

REMEDIAL MAKESHIFTS PROFFERED.

Whatever our statesmen may think to the contrary, it is clear that the question of right social relations is the next great problem that must be solved by the American people. Public officials and would-be political leaders very much prefer to talk about the Philippines, about revenue and protection and increasing the standing army, but the poverty question cannot be kept down much longer.

We have all the race problems that we can attend to at home. The average American "white man's burden" is heavy enough, without putting any islands on top of the load. Before we start to export civilization, we should manufacture a better brand.

If a laborer's family were faint from lack of food, he would be a fool to go to the store and buy a package of fire-crackers and a dozen sky-rockets. And so, when millions of our useful workers are only a day's march from starvation, it seems like a foolish expenditure of money to vote hundreds of millions for a petty foreign war.

Hunger cannot be appeased with glory and military grandeur. Our first duty as a nation is to the people within our own borders, who find themselves to-day up against the stone wall of hard times. They are the taxpayers, the producers, the people without whom the republic could not exist. They are men and women altogether human, not chattels nor machines.

There is a conception among business men that tinkering with the tariff, or finance, will give us good government; but I am fully convinced that our trouble is only incidentally a trouble of either tariff or finance.

Neither high tariff nor free trade, neither free silver nor single gold standard, can bring us prosperity so long as this competitive struggle is allowed to continue, and so long as a few giants of wealth are permitted to monopolize the means of employment. Free trade means simply that our industrial battle is open to the world, and contestants in other countries may take a hand in it. Protection means only that the fight is limited to our own citizens, and no foreigner may take part without handicapping himself by the payment of a tax. But the unnatural fight goes on in either case. So far as the working people are concerned, protection does not protect them, and free trade does not make them free. The whole question of tariff or no tariff is a problem for employers only, and does not deserve the attention of the great bulk of our people who work for wages.

What does our "protection to American labor" amount to when our American laborers are denied even the right to work? How much "protection" did the miners of Hazleton receive?

The working people are not protected from hunger, or cold, or from cut-downs, or lock-outs, or exorbitant rents, or from any evil that poverty creates. The barring out of foreign competition simply leaves the market in the control of a few trusts, which are operated to enrich the handful of people inside of them and to impoverish the millions of people outside of them.

It is now a well-known fact that we can produce goods cheaper than Germany or England, and that America is steadily wresting from England the doubtful honor of being the "workshop of the world;" so that the politicians who promise to protect us from the "pauper labor of Europe" by a high tariff are either insincere or else have no conception of the present industrial situation. No raising or lowering or abolition of the tariff would have the slightest effect upon the condition of our wage-earners, and it is time for the whole tariff question to be ruled out of order.

As to our monetary system, the real question is not what sort of money to use, but how to get it properly distributed. The free coinage of silver would likely improve conditions for a short time, but only until our money-lords adjusted their methods of appropriation. No matter whether gold, silver, paper or clam shells is the currency, so long as business is a battle between the weak and the strong, the money will go to the strong. There is poverty in gold countries, and there is poverty in silver countries. There is poverty where there is high tariff, and there is poverty where there is free trade.

THE GROWING UNREST.

None of these makeshifts will do. The great commoner, Abraham Lincoln, said, "You can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time," and the great masses of the people of this country are coming through that bulwark of our democracy, the public schools, and through their own bitter ex-

perience in gaining a livelihood, to such a degree of intelligence that they will not much longer submit to a system that is using them as mere instruments of profit for the benefit of the cunning few.

Every year the people are growing more impatient at the enormous burden of class legislation and unfair legal decisions which they have had to carry. Patience with politicians of the capitalistic stripe has ceased to be a virtue. The time is not far distant when the cause of humanity will become practical politics, when the principles of love and industrial freedom will become the inspiration of a great movement. Such a movement will sweep the country like a whirlwind and carry everything before it, creating a political revolution unequalled in American history. Whether it will take form as an old party reborn, cleansed, educated and inspired, or a new one created for a new purpose, is impossible to foresee. The name and genealogy of it are of little consequence,—the main thing is the work it will accomplish.

When Nansen, the explorer, found himself running short of food for his dogs in the Arctic regions, he killed the weakest dog and fed his flesh to the others. At first they refused to eat their fellow-comrade, but starvation soon brought them to it, and once they had tasted the meat they seemed to enjoy it better than other food; so with the strength they had gained by feeding in this way, they pulled the sledges until the supply was exhausted, and the knife was applied to another dog. Every thoughtful man knows that it is no great stretch of imagination to say that Nansen's policy with his dogs is being carried out in modern industry to-day. Men and women and even little children are being ground up into increased gain for the profit-gatherers in a hundred ways by legalized and respectablized means. But the American people are not going to stand and wait to be killed and eaten one by one like Nansen's dogs. As George D. Herron, the prophet of a better day, has well said:

“ The sin that is destroying American souls is that of ignorance, apathy and indifference concerning the political and economic evils that are eating out the heart of the nation and making every man guilty of his brother’s blood. The evangelist who really wants to save American souls from spiritual death and not get success for himself and approval for his doctrines, will set about arousing these souls against the national evils that darken and destroy.”

POLITICAL BETTERMENT AND PUBLIC OWNERSHIP LINKED
TOGETHER.

The purification of politics and the public ownership of industries must and will go hand in hand. The complex and contradictory jumble of decisions which we call legislation and law will be reduced to order and simplicity by public ownership. Law will no longer be a tangled network which none but the rich can escape. When the conflict between capitalistic interests is ended, law will become simple enough to be taught in the public schools.

To quote from Rev. Charles H. Vail:

Industrial democracy would greatly simplify legislation. What is the nature of legislation to-day? If you examine our statute books you will find that nine-tenths of the legislation concerns private property, as represented by instruments of production. Look at the laws enacted at any session of our legislatures and you will note that they deal chiefly with private interests. Study the records of our courts and note how continually the railways figure in law suits. Now, compare the privately owned railways with the publicly owned post-office. The postal law is simple and concise, and we seldom hear of a law-suit connected with this service. We see by this comparison how public ownership would simplify government. The abolition of the private ownership in the instruments of production would remove all these laws from our records.

Private ownership of capital is not only the chief cause of legislation, but also of litigation. Abolish private capital and most of the litigation of the courts would disappear. Under socialism law-making would be reduced to a minimum. The chief cause of the endless laws under which we groan to-day is individualism,—the rule of private employers and private proprietors.

GREAT FORCES MOVING UPWARD.

There is a great evolutionary force in the world which overmasters the selfish schemes of cliques and individuals. The earth is rolling up into the sunlight of a better day, and no tiny threads of prejudice and greed can hold it down.

All we have to do is to co-operate with the divine spirit of progress. We merely have to tend the machinery, see that the fires are kept burning, the engine well oiled, keep a firm hand on the lever and a sharp look ahead. In spite of the swarm of politicians that cling to office, like barnacles to a ship, in spite of the noisy prominence in Congress and legislatures of incompetent bribe-takers, and in spite of the silence, and, too often, the apathy of honest men, this period of corruption and class rule is bound to terminate before the twentieth century is out of its cradle.

We know that by and by a better day will come,
When hate and strife shall die and each man own his home;
When "mine" and "thine" are ours, and every law is good,
And all are pure as flowers in one grand brotherhood.

No one can number and realize all the elevating and purifying influences that are aiding the growth of civilization to-day. Sympathy is everywhere sending out the green shoots of a new life; and we have a tenderer, more considerate feeling for the unfortunate and the poor. Even the songs of our theaters show a degree of sympathy and tenderness which a few centuries ago was not to be found in the hymns sung in the churches. We have societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and to children. We have fresh-air funds, and orphans' homes, and houses of refuge, and newsboys' clubs, and scores of societies for the amelioration of human evils and misfortunes. There never was a time when there was so much family affection, and so many homes that would be perfectly happy if the fear of poverty were

but removed. Our whole system of teaching children, in the public and high schools, tends more and more to make them humane and bright-minded. Corporal punishment, both in the home and in the school, is, comparatively speaking, almost abolished. The harsh, rough school teachers of forty and fifty years ago, whose method of teaching was a word and a blow, have been superseded by gentle-mannered young ladies, who endeavor to rule their pupils by kindness.

Now, all life is one, whether in the home, school, shop or polling booth; and our piratical politics cannot escape the uplifting forces that are at work, any more than snowdrift can outlive the warmth of the summer sun. Private ownership of government is as certain to be abolished as private ownership of railroads.

THE REAL WEALTH OF A NATION.

“The wealth of a nation,” said John Ruskin, “may be estimated by the number of happy souls that are employed in making useful things.” This is the way we shall measure our wealth in the future; not by the number of millionaires and billionaires, plutocrats and aristocrats, but by the degree of equality of opportunity that we have made possible under our government, by the extent to which we have manifested our love for our fellow men by providing means for them to live in a manner becoming self-respecting citizens of a free republic. Said Whitman, the prophet of democracy:

Come, I will make the continent indissoluble,
 I will make the most splendid race the sun ever shone upon;
 I will make divine magnetic lands,
 With the love of comrades,
 With the life-long love of comrades.
 I will plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers of America,
 and along the shores of the great lakes, and all over the prairies,
 I will make inseparable cities, with their arms about each other's necks,
 By the love of comrades,
 By the manly love of comrades.

I have an abiding faith in what Lincoln called "the common people." I think they are always right when they have an opportunity to express their honest convictions. They are often made the tools of designing and unscrupulous men, and for a time they may seemingly go off with "false gods," but in the long run, and the short run, too, for the matter of that, I believe that the great mass of the people are right; that the great majority of them are honest and their purposes are pure; and above all, they desire that justice shall be done in what they call government.

WHO ARE REALLY DANGEROUS MEN.

It is not pleasant to be counted among the disreputable, to be classed as "a demagogue" and "a dangerous man," to feel that one is ostracised from those who call themselves the "best people;" and to me it is a great grief to feel that I am misunderstood by those whom I believe to be as earnest in the search for truth as I. But there is comfort in the reflection that men at whose feet I would count it an honor to sit have been called demagogues, and that in our own history the very brightest and best were so characterized; such, according to some, were Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln and Wendell Phillips. The mild-mannered and gentle-spirited Sumner was clubbed in his seat in the United States Senate by the fiery Brooks, and William Lloyd Garrison, an absolute non-resistant (who, by the way, Lincoln said was the man who actually brought about the freedom of the slaves), was dragged at a rope's end through Boston's streets by a mob dressed in broadcloth. His statue now adorns Commonwealth avenue, where, the other day, I read on it this inscription:

"I will not excuse, I will not evade, I will not equivocate, I will not yield a single inch, and I will be heard."

Garrison was pleading for the black slaves, I am pleading for my fellow-men, doomed to a servitude no less galling, and I plead for

such a degree of liberty as will grant to every man in this country the right to work and the right to live the life of a freeman. I ask nothing more than equal opportunities for all men, and I will be satisfied with nothing less.

To realize this better government, I believe we must rely wholly and solely upon the divine power of love, upon the spirit of pure patriotism so aroused in the human breast that it will not see the slightest wrong done to the weakest child in all of our glorious country.

To aid in bringing about conditions that will make these things possible and secure for the toilers who produce all and have so little, a more just share in the fruit of their labors, is the ambition, the inspiration, and shall be the purpose of the remaining years of my life.

Longfellow beautifully expresses my thought and position in these lines:

I am strong

In faith and hope and charity;
For I have written the things I see,
The things that have been and shall be,
Conscious of right nor fearing wrong;
Because I am in love with Love,
And the sole thing I hate is Hate;
For Hate is death, and Love is life,
A peace and splendor from above;
And Hate a never ending strife,
A smoke, a blackness from the abyss,
Where unclean serpents coil and hiss!
Love is the Holy Ghost within,
Hate the unpardonable sin!
Who preaches otherwise than this
Betrays his Master with a kiss!