

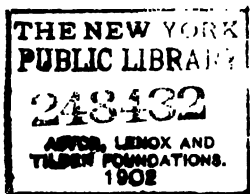
The Coming Democracy

By Orlando J. Smith



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The Coming Democracy

I.

A RECORD OF OFFICIAL CORRUPTION UNEQUALED IN ANY OTHER LAND OR TIME.

WE hear much in these times, and in this Republic, of the failures of Democracy. In fact, there are some manifestations here of a reaction against Democracy.

Many of our people have lost faith in the aspirations and ideals cherished universally in the youth of the Republic; a very large number look upon universal suffrage as a failure; and even those most passionately devoted to the principles of Democracy are greatly dissatisfied with the condition and results of popular government in these later days.

The reasons for these changes in public sentiment, and for the great anxiety concerning the future of free government, are apparent in the fact that public business is transacted with much less efficiency, economy and integrity than is pri-

vate business, and that corruption or profligacy is manifest in nearly all branches of the public service.

The management of our cities is usually wasteful and unintelligent, frequently corrupt, and sometimes criminal. Public franchises of great value have been granted for inadequate considerations, and sometimes without compensation. Public officials have been convicted of bribery and of other forms of corruption, and systems have been disclosed by which large numbers have participated in the profits of the meanest forms of vice.

In the state governments the influence of the lobby, in antagonism to the interests of the people, is always felt, and is frequently dominant. The king of the lobby is sometimes the most important man in the state. He holds a position of profit and dignity; he rules the legislature and controls the governor, and even the courts have been known to obey his will.

The history of the national government for more than thirty years has been in the main a record of the granting of special privileges, immunities and subsidies to the strong, and against the interests of the mass of the people—of land grants and money grants to great corporations; of special taxes for the benefit of favored interests; of special deposits of the public funds

in privileged banks, and of secret arrangements by which financial syndicates have made unfair profits in placing the issues of government bonds.

It is a record of favoritism, profligacy and corruption which has been unequaled in any other land or time.

II.

THE ASSUMPTION THAT OUR PEOPLE HAVE
DEGENERATED CANNOT YET BE GRANTED.

IT has been frequently suggested, in explanation of these remarkable developments, that the American people have degenerated, and are suffering from the decay of patriotism and public spirit. This theory is seriously entertained by many men of intelligence.

“It is a philosophical principle,” they assert, “that a government is as good or as bad as the people who make or tolerate it. A corrupt state, a plutocracy, a despotism, can exist only by the consent of the people.

“Our government is corrupt in all its parts. The people could change it if they would. That they do not change it is evidence that they are satisfied with it. The source of the decay of the state is in the degeneracy of the people who tolerate it.”

This theory should not be lightly accepted, nor lightly denied. Races and nations do reach inevitably a point where progress ceases and decadence begins. It is not impossible that

we are approaching that period in our affairs, though there are many reasons for doubting this conclusion.

The degeneracy of a people is probably never revealed in one phase only of their activities. It has not been claimed that our people are suffering from decay in any quality save in public spirit. In all other respects the American people rank at this time as being active, enterprising, daring, quick-witted and aspiring in a marked degree.

Nor is it likely that the decline of patriotism and public spirit would become manifest among us in a brief period. It is now only thirty-five years since the close of our civil war. In the life of a race, this interval is a short one.

It may be doubted that men have shown in any contest more of the spirit of sacrifice, or greater endurance, tenacity and patriotism, than the American people displayed during that conflict. It is not possible that the children of the men of 1861-5 have in so short a time become degenerate in public spirit.

Neither is it true literally that a government is always exactly as good or as bad as the people who make or tolerate it. It cannot be asserted that *the people* make a government unless the state be in itself a true Democracy—a government which responds promptly and

completely in all of its parts to the will of the people.

In a state so organized the government would reflect the good and evil, the strength and weakness, of its people:

Civilization has not yet developed that perfect form of Democracy. Control of the state by the people is still hampered by constitutional barriers, and by the survival of many forms of despotism and privilege. It is true that the right of revolution always exists, but this right is rarely exercised save under gross and long-continued provocation.

It must be admitted, on the other hand, that our spoils system is nearly as old as our government, and that it has grown and strengthened under our toleration. It is possible also that the strife for wealth, in which we have been engaged so fiercely in these later times, has dulled somewhat the public conscience.

Upon the whole, however, it would appear that our people have not borne misgovernment, in its more flagrant forms, long enough to indicate a serious decline in public spirit. We are a patient people. Our endurance has not yet been stretched to its full limit.

III.

THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY CAN BE SOUND, AND ITS MACHINERY UNSOUND.

IF, however, the present debased condition of public affairs is the fruitage of Democracy, the result of trusting the people too far in the control of the state, then it will be impossible to claim that Democracy has been a complete success, or to deny that in many important respects it has been a failure.

Before this conclusion can be granted, we must give full consideration to the fact that our system is not the only possible form of Democracy.

As there are good and bad steam engines, reapers and automobiles, good and bad methods of farming, good and bad systems of charity, codes of justice and forms of religion, so there may be good and bad systems of Democratic government.

As religion may be perverted, so Democracy may be perverted. A Democratic government can assume many varying forms, some of which will be good and some bad.

A chain is as strong only as its weakest link. A great machine may be a failure through a defect in its most insignificant part. The weak link does not prove that the chain cannot be made strong; nor the defect in the machine that it must be a failure.

The principle of Democracy is one thing, and the machinery by which Democracy can be put into practical use is another thing. The principle may be sound, and the machinery unsound.

Things are not always true to their names. A government may be called Democratic, and yet not be really Democratic.

We are sixteen millions of voters. One million, perhaps, are interested, through spoils or privilege, or the expectancy of such favors, in bad government. The other fifteen millions are interested in good government.

The disinterested voters almost universally denounce hotly the evil tendencies and developments in public affairs. Even those intrenched in political favor rarely defend more than their own special form of privilege. The attitude of the disinterested people is not that of content or of approbation; it is the attitude of indignation against oppression, and of rage because of their own helplessness. For helpless they are, or seem to be.

Subtle systems of oppression have been de-

veloped which defy the people. Apparently these systems are growing stronger, and the people weaker.

A Democracy is a state which is ruled by a majority of its own people. A state in which fifteen millions of disinterested voters are ruled by one million of mercenary voters is apparently not a real Democracy; something must be wrong with its machinery; some link must be defective, some wires crossed, or some wheel misplaced.

Let us now go down to the foundations of our system of Democratic government to ascertain if there be not some flaw or defect in its construction.

IV.

THE DENIALS OF FREEDOM IN OUR ORGANIC LAW—IN FORBIDDING CHANGE THE FATHERS FORBADE PROGRESS.

OUR form of government was devised by the most courageous group of reformers and patriots of whom we have any record—the great figures of our revolutionary and constructive period from 1776 to 1789.

They had disestablished the church, abolished the throne and the last vestige of hereditary privilege, and asserted the equal rights of all men in tones and terms which will kindle the hearts of free men forever.

The fathers of our Republic reformed or abolished everything that in their view called for change. They broke up the established order from its foundations and built a new structure. Having finished their work, they incorporated in the organic law provisions which have made change difficult and almost impossible.

The fetters which they placed in the organic

law are called the checks and balances of the constitution—the two houses of congress, the one representing the people, the other the states; the veto of the executive; a president with more power during his term of office than any constitutional monarch, and a supreme court holding for life. These are the conservative influences in the constitution intended to prevent change without due consideration.

But progress is change, and in forbidding change the fathers forbade progress. In providing against the possibility of mistakes they fixed in our political system the greatest possible error—the inability to correct a mistake.

They feared reaction—that the people might even go back to king-rule. They did not see that in forbidding the people to go backward they restricted them from going forward.

They lived in a simple age. They had no conception of the possibilities of steam, of the modern corporation, of the combinations of great capital, or of our later methods of political organization. When the constitution was ratified the largest city in America contained only 33,131 persons.

Why should we not have the right to make mistakes? Are we not educated by our errors? Even the fathers stumbled. Their constitution guaranteed the African slave trade against in-

terference prior to the year 1808. It sanctioned chattel slavery, and commanded the return of fugitive slaves from free states. It left in doubt the question whether the federal compact formed an indissoluble union or a partnership of states which could be dissolved at the will of any of the partners.

Never perhaps have a people paid a heavier penalty in money and blood for an error than the American people paid in our civil war, which came inevitably to right these mistakes in the constitution.

The errors in the constitution are due to simple and natural causes. The constitution was a compromise between rival states, and compromises usually deviate from justice.

The small states were jealous of the larger ones; hence they demanded, and were granted, equal representation in the senate. The slave states were afraid of the free states; hence the provisions concerning the return of fugitive slaves and the inviolability of the slave trade. Many of the states were doubtful of the success of the compact; hence the failure to deny the right of secession, or to affirm that the Union could not be dissolved.

The electoral college was in theory a plan by which a number of high-minded and disinterested men, chosen by the people, should meet

and elect the president. In practice it is a plan by which a number of men, nominated by party conventions in the different states, are chosen to execute the will of a national party convention, expressed many months before the election.

The fathers did the best that they could under great difficulties. They did not look upon their work as a finality. They provided, as they believed, ample means of changing the constitution. No man can see far into the future. They assumed that those who were to come after them would be as quick to detect a wrong, and as prompt in overturning it, as they had been.

They could not have imagined that they and their work would become in time the objects of almost superstitious reverence, or that the minds of great lawyers, judges, publicists and statesmen would be confused for more than a hundred years between questions of right, justice and reason on the one hand, and questions of constitutionality on the other hand.

V.

THE MINORITY CAN DEFEAT THE MAJORITY,
AND THE GOVERNMENT CAN DEFY THE
PEOPLE.

THE errors in establishing slavery and in failing to define the meaning of the Federal Union have been righted. But other errors, some perhaps as serious and menacing, remain in the constitution, and are yet to be righted.

The constitution provides that each state shall have two representatives in the United States senate. Under the working of this rule one voter in Nevada has the same representation in the senate as have one hundred and thirty-three voters in New York.

The complicated electoral college system has more than once defeated the will of the people. General Jackson, in 1824, received 50,551 more votes than Mr. John Quincy Adams, who became president. Mr. Tilden, in 1876, received 250,935 more votes than Mr. Hayes, who was inaugurated. Mr. Cleveland, in 1888, received 98,017 more votes than Mr. Harrison, who was

elected. If Mr. Bryan, in 1896, had received 30,000 more votes in certain close states, he would have defeated Mr. McKinley, who had a plurality of more than 600,000 of the popular vote.

The house of representatives is the feature of our national government which responds the most perfectly to the will of the people, and is therefore the most Democratic. It is fresh from the people, being chosen once in two years, and its representation is based upon population.

It has doubtless never happened that the party with the largest vote in the country has failed to secure thereby the largest vote in the house. It brings always the latest mandate from the people. The other branches of the government, when in harmony with the people, must also be in accord with the house.

During the past twenty-five years—that is, from the 4th day of March, 1875, to the 4th day of March, 1900—both the president and the senate have been in political accord with the house for seven years only, and one or both have been at issue with the house for eighteen years.

In other words, in only seven years in the last quarter of a century has the government of the United States responded to the will of the people.

More than this. During the last twenty-five years the Democratic party has had a majority in the house for sixteen years, and the Republican party for nine years. During only two of the sixteen years in which the Democratic party had control of the house, did it also have control of the senate and the presidency.

The country was Democratic for sixteen years out of twenty-five, and yet the Democrats secured control of the national government for only two years out of sixteen, one-eighth of the time.

And this is not all. During the two years out of sixteen in which, under the constitution, the party in the majority was able to control the legislative and executive branches of the government, one of the chief measures adopted by the Democratic party, the income tax law, was overthrown by a decision of the supreme court, a body wholly independent of the people.

We have discovered upon a very brief investigation that, under our constitution, the people of Nevada have a representation in the senate more than one hundred times greater in proportion to population than the people of New York; that the minority may defeat the majority in a presidential election, and that the government as a whole has been in harmony

with the people in only seven years of the last quarter of a century.

These facts dispel the illusion that ours is a real Democracy, "a government of the people, by the people and for the people." It is a government which, as a rule, denies and defies the people; it is a defective and perverted Democracy.

VI.

THE CUMBROUS, COMPLICATED AND IRRESPONSIVE NATURE OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

THE constitution worked satisfactorily in the beginning. The two houses of congress were small in membership, and hence the better able to transact business; the population of the country was not great, the public patronage was insignificant, and the constitution was too young to be an object of reverence to statesmen and to the people; nor had it become, through the increase of states and the growth of great permanent parties, difficult to change.

The constitution went into effect in 1789. Ten important amendments were added in 1791, one was ratified in 1798 and another in 1804. From 1804 to the present time there has been no change in the constitution, save the amendments resulting from our civil war.

The constitution established a Republic upon the model of the English constitutional monarchy.

Our president may be called an elective king,

chosen for four years. He may be impeached with great difficulty, and only for treason or other crime. What could be done if the president should become a physical wreck, or mentally deranged, is an unsolved problem.

He fills the vacancies in the supreme court, the members of which hold office for life, and sit in judgment even upon the acts of congress. He is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He conducts all negotiations with foreign powers.

He cannot declare war, but his powers are so broad that he can conduct affairs to the point where war cannot be avoided. He appoints directly, or through his subordinates, nearly all of the officers and employés of the national government. He may veto an act of congress.

He is the chief executive, the head of the nation, and conducts all of its business and supervises all of its vast interests, subject only to the constitution and the laws of congress.

The senate was modeled upon the English house of lords. The members of the senate hold office for six years. It was designed as a conservative force to check hasty legislation.

The house of representatives was modeled upon the English commons.

A law of congress must be the joint act of both houses, with the approval of the presi-

dent, or it must receive the vote of two-thirds of both houses, in case of the veto of the president.

Even the joint act of the legislative and executive branches of the government may be nullified by the supreme court. From its decision there is no appeal.

As the legislative and executive branches of the government are seldom in full accord, measures of public policy upon which the people are seriously divided rarely come to a settlement.

The cumbrous nature of our government is well illustrated by the silver issue. Silver was demonetized in 1873, either secretly and corruptly, accidentally, or by honest intention and design. Each theory has its supporters.

We have nothing to do here with the merits of the controversy. It is plain, however, that the issue could not have lasted for twenty-seven years if our government had been efficient and responsive.

In a government free to act, the issue could have been made clear, and would have been settled, in the beginning of the controversy. If silver had been demonetized secretly and corruptly, the secrecy could have been exposed and the corruption punished; if accidentally, the error could have been rectified, and if de-

liberately and of design, the action could have been vindicated and confirmed.

All of the recriminations and misunderstandings, and the injury to business and property, resulting from the prolonged agitation of the silver question, can be attributed to the checks and balances of the constitution.

VII.

POWER MUST ABIDE SOMEWHERE—DENIED TO THE PEOPLE, AND RESTRICTED IN CONGRESS, IT HAS BEEN ABSORBED BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE inability of congress to act, or to carry out the will of the voters, has discredited that body with the people, many of whom look upon its sittings as an infliction, and its discussions as useless. It must be admitted that the powerlessness of congress has had an unfavorable effect upon the moral tone of that body. Measures have been advanced without serious purpose, knowing that they would lead to nothing.

Congress cannot advance in power and influence when power and influence are denied to that body.

The presidency, on the other hand, in its inception a place of vast influence and dignity, growing constantly in independence and power, has appealed more to the admiration and respect of the people.

We have grown up to the point where the administration is looked upon, in a large de-

gree, as the government, and congress as a body to be tolerated when it is in harmony with, or subservient to, the president, and to be denounced as a contentious and obstructive force when it is at issue with him.

The theory has even been advanced of late that criticism of the president is not only in bad taste, but that it is unpatriotic, disloyal, and may even be treasonable.

In recent years a president spoke of the fact that he should soon "have congress on his hands," as if congress were an annoying or a troublesome body. The remark was resented at the time by the members of congress and by many of the people.

More recently, however, since the outbreak of the war with Spain, the majority in congress, with the support of many members of the party in opposition to the president, have shown great eagerness to confer extraordinary powers upon the president, and to leave interests and questions of great importance to his discretion. In the last two years, congress has made important advances in the line of abdicating its powers to the president.

For our good the fathers made change in the government difficult. They feared a reaction in favor of monarchy. But monarchy is a fact, and not a name. Monarchy is government by

one man; the placing of too much power in the hands of one man.

The chief of a state may call himself Protector, Friend of the People or President, and yet be really a monarch.

Despotism usually assumes the cloak of benevolence. Bigots have burned the few to save the souls of the many. The despot is almost invariably, in his own mind, the chosen instrument of God.

Power must abide somewhere. If it be denied to the people, then it must be exercised by those in office who are, for the time at least, beyond the reach of the people.

The constitution confers upon the president extraordinary and arbitrary powers, which custom and usage have strengthened.

The power denied to the people by the constitution, or conferred upon their representatives in congress under restrictions which nullify it in the main, has been gradually absorbed by the president.

The slow, clumsy and obstructive methods of two large legislative bodies, frequently out of harmony with each other, have often forced upon the president responsibility which he would doubtless have avoided.

His action in each case of this nature has become a precedent for his successors, and upon

these precedents has been built the present mighty fabric of the presidential prerogative.

The presidency has been described as the greatest office on earth. It probably is the most powerful place in the world. The president is the head of his party, as well as the head of the state. He has the disposal of two hundred thousand places, many of them being of much profit and honor.

This vast patronage gives to the president more power than is granted to any king, kaiser or czar. Through it he is generally able to hold in subjection the members of his own party in congress, and to coerce the legislative branches of the government into compliance with his will.

The fathers built a structure which they intended to guard and protect our freedom. But the plan involved a denial of our freedom. Freedom ceases to be freedom when guards and limitations and checks and balances are set about it.

The structure of the fathers, designed to prevent a reaction in favor of monarchy, has re-established the one-man power which they aimed most earnestly to destroy forever.

VIII.

IN ENGLAND THE CONSTITUTION IS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE—THE GOVERNMENT RESPONDS PROMPTLY TO THE PEOPLE.

THE governmental growth of the two great English-speaking nations has been in almost exactly opposite directions throughout the century now closing.

In England the constitution is unwritten; it is the will of the people. Every act of parliament which conforms with the principles of English jurisprudence becomes a part of the constitution.

No political institution in England is entrenched behind the constitution. The question of constitutionality is never raised there. The constitution being simply the will of the people, the mandate of the majority is always constitutional.

In England the government—which is the ministry, made up of the ablest men of the party in power for the time—when it finds itself in conflict with the commons, or has reason to suspect that it may not be in accord with

the people, dissolves parliament and makes an appeal to the people, an issue which is decided within a few weeks.

The will of the people is the chronometer by which the public policy of England is regulated.

If the appeal results in the vindication of the ministry, it remains in power; it has secured a new lease of life, a new grant of authority from the source of all political power.

If the election results in the defeat of the ministry, that body at once resigns, and the queen sends for the leader of the now triumphant opposition and requests him to form a new ministry and assume control of the government.

The history of England for a hundred years is a record of almost unceasing progress, of one reform measure following another—the abolition of slavery, the repeal of the corn laws, the franchise bill, the disestablishment of the church in Ireland, the removal of the political disabilities of the Jews, the enfranchisement of the Catholics, and the broadening and extension of the suffrage.

Ancient abuses which, under a less responsive government, would yield only to violence, are melting away.

In England the prerogatives of the throne

have been persistently infringed upon and reduced until it has been shorn of almost the last vestige of real political power. In America the presidency has grown and strengthened until the president may almost say, as did the Grand Monarque, "I am the state."

In England majorities are effective; here they are frequently powerless.

The history of England for the century is a story of the curtailment or of the abolition of privilege; the recent history of America is a record of the growth of privilege.

The English government, as it has drawn near to the people, has become less corrupt; our government, as it has diverged from the people, has become more corrupt.

In England the system of government, which responds promptly to the will of the people, is free and natural. Progress under it is normal and gradual on the lines of evolution. Here progress, restrained and hindered by the checks and balances, long baffled and delayed by circumlocution, is unnatural, and its failure invites discontent and anarchy.

Indeed we have made but one progressive movement of great importance in a hundred years—the abolition of slavery—and that came through civil war.

America has the forms, but is lacking in the

fact, of Democracy. England has the forms of monarchy and the essential fact of Democracy—that the voice of the people can be expressed quickly and effectively whenever an issue of importance is reached, and that their will is supreme and final.

We have been considering here the England at home; the England which recognizes the dignity, freedom and sovereignty of its own people—Democratic England, and not that Imperial England which, as these words are written, is engaged in an effort to subjugate a brave people in South Africa, devoted equally with the English to freedom and independence.

IX.

OUR GOVERNMENT IS A TRAIN BEHIND TIME,
A CLOCK WHICH SELDOM STRIKES THE HOUR,
A SHIP WHICH DISOBEYS ITS CAPTAIN.

THE checks and balances bar the people from the present control of the government. We are under the rule mainly of the dead.

We are shorn of power to meet the issues and emergencies of our own time. Our government is based on the theory, practically, that the men of the past only are able to govern wisely the people of the present.

Our government is a train usually behind time, a clock which seldom strikes the hour, a ship which rarely yields obedience to its captain.

The fathers gave us freedom without the ability to use it. We may swim, but we must not go near the water; we may walk, but we must not use our legs.

Inactivity begets vice, decay and death. The checks and balances which forbid activity in public affairs on the line of public policy produce the boodler and the spoilsman.

Our government is rotten from the lack of wholesome use, and because the moral and mental activities of the people have little influence upon it.

This composite race of ours is not defective in energy, ingenuity, zeal or sagacity. As a rule, our people do not fail in their undertakings.

We have failed in public affairs because the checks and balances forbid the use of our faculties. Could we expect to produce great painters or inventors if our laws or systems should practically forbid improvement in art or invention?

It is unsafe in a Republic to place barriers in the way of the execution of the people's will. It is unwise to give to the senate, the president and the supreme court the power to baffle the people.

The checks and balances are a source of actual danger, as well as of corruption and decay. An unchangeable government invites revolt.

We may have another issue over an electoral count, such as that of 1877, or a question of the magnitude of slavery may grow out of the overshadowing combinations of capital which now darken our horizon. What assurances have we that our slow-moving, irresponsible government would be equal to such an emergency?

A free government should not be built in fear and distrust of the people. There is no conservatism more wholesome than that of free and enlightened men.

A free state should respond to the living, not to the dead. The living should carry the responsibility of their own time; the people of the present should rule in the present, and the people of the future should rule in the future.

The fathers are dead. They are worthy of all the credit and honor we have bestowed, or shall yet bestow, upon them. But we should honor them poorly by setting up the claim of infallibility for them or for their work, or by tolerating for their sakes the outrages and wrongs which are the fruitage of their errors.

Patriotism did not die with the fathers, nor did integrity and wisdom go with them to their honored graves.

X.

THE NATURAL CROPS OF AN IRRESPONSIVE
AND UNPROGRESSIVE REPUBLIC ARE PATRON-
AGE, PRIVILEGE AND CORRUPTION.

WE may now understand why ours is the only country in the world in which political parties are maintained principally for spoils, and become permanent organizations for the distribution of patronage.

The fixed and unchangeable nature of the government leads to the formation of fixed and unchangeable parties.

The complexities of the government make action on the line of public policies and measures difficult and almost impracticable.

As a field which will rarely produce grain or grass, or other useful things, is in time abandoned to weeds and thistles, so our government, which rarely responds to the will of the people, which becomes effective and progressive after long intervals only, and then usually by accident or violence, has been abandoned mainly to its natural crops.

The natural crops of an irresponsible and unprogressive Republic are patronage, privilege and corruption. These are the weeds and thistles, the snakes and vampires, the things harmful, hideous and venomous, which grow in the barren uplands and stagnant swamps of the spurious Democracy which defies the people.

It is natural that the state which claims to be a Democracy, and yet is not a true Democracy, should become more corrupt than the state which makes no pretense of consulting the will of the people. For the latter is more sincere and honest than the former; it does not pretend to grant rights which are really withheld.

Moreover, there must be fixed and unchanging responsibility back of a despotism, which does not abide with the ruling powers in a defective Democracy.

A despot is the defender of his own privileges and of the privileges of his class; but it is not to his interest to have his rule discredited by the debauchery of the public service. An inert Democracy, on the other hand, becomes the prey of countless schemers who seek private advantage.

XI.

OUR ARMIES OF SPOILS, AS ZEALOUS, ASPIRING AND INVINCIBLE AS THE LEGIONS UNDER NAPOLEON AT FRIEDLAND.

THE political party, as it exists to-day in the United States, is a remarkable growth. The people are ruled by parties, and parties are permanent organizations ruled by men who make a business of politics. The organization of these interested men who rule a party in its various branches is called the machine because of the perfection of its mechanism.

Given 200,000 men in federal offices, at least 200,000 more in state, city, county and other local offices, and at least 600,000 more who are living in the expectancy of office, and we may comprehend the power of the machine.

An active, well-disciplined army of 400,000 to 500,000 men makes up the Republican machine, and about the same number composes the Democratic machine. Every man in these armies is inspired by present earnings or the hope of future rewards or promotions. These

rewards are dazzling to the imagination of the party workers.

The private in the ranks looks forward to advancement, and if he be competent and ambitious he can see before him a brilliant career of profit, distinction and glory—committee work, a small chairmanship, a small office, recognition by a city or state leader, a seat in the legislature or the board of aldermen, elevation to a city or state office, maybe to congress, a governorship, a senatorship, an ambassadorship, a cabinet place, even the presidency itself.

Napoleon in his zenith at Friedland did not have a more zealous, loyal and aspiring army to support him than has each of our political parties in its corps of eager placemen and aspirants to place.

The machine maintains the management of its party through its control of the primaries and nominating conventions. Captains of precincts, colonels of counties, generals of cities and states, field marshals of the nation, lead their well-disciplined hosts to the conflict.

He who would figure in public affairs must work with one organization or the other, accept its tests and submit to its discipline. A revolt from party is rarely forgiven, and only after a long period of penance.

Theoretically there is no reason why the

tariff question should enter into a municipal contest in Indiana, or the silver issue into the local elections of Philadelphia or Chicago. It is plain that local issues should enter into local elections, state issues into state elections and national issues into national elections.

We do not inquire about the political principles of the officers of a bank before opening an account there; nor do we probe into the political views of employés and tradesmen before hiring or dealing with them; nor do we care whether a physician is of our party before engaging him.

Passengers on a train do not care whether the man on the engine is a protectionist or a free-trader, a Republican, a Democrat or a Socialist. All they care to know is that he is a competent engineer.

We intrust our money, our health and our lives constantly to men who differ with us in party faith, but the business affairs of our county or city we will not confide to those who disagree with us in politics.

This distinction between the conduct of our public and private interests is not made of free choice by the voter who has no interest in machine politics. He finds that generally only two local tickets are presented to his choice, one by the Republican and the other by the

Democratic machine. Each of these tickets is made up by the local political organization, which controls the primaries and all of the other machinery of politics.

Sometimes reform movements are organized, and in rare cases they are successful, but they are always short-lived, yielding to the superior skill, determination and discipline of the machine organizations, as an undisciplined mob must always yield to well-organized and experienced troops.

The mass of voters outside of the machines are as powerless against the political organizations as are the men in civil life in Germany against the imperial army of the kaiser.

The evils of our form of Democracy, which responds so slowly and imperfectly to the will of the people, which defies the people more frequently than it yields to them, may be traced in the profligacy and corruption existing in all the branches of our Republic, national, state and local; in the organization of invincible and permanent political parties devoted to the distribution of honors, perquisites, privileges and patronage, and in the helplessness of the people under the most exasperating, subtle and formidable systems of oppression.

XII.

UNITY, SIMPLICITY AND RESPONSIBILITY—NO
HUMAN ORGANIZATION HAS EVER PROSPERED
UNDER A DOUBLE-HEADED MANAGEMENT.

FOR the present we shall confine our comments upon the problem of governmental reform to the cities, using for purposes of illustration the city of New York, the largest municipality in the country.

The fatal complexities in the national government have been copied in the municipal governments. A city is ruled by two, three or four conflicting heads or powers.

Many pages would be required even to epitomize the extraordinary complexities of the present government of the city of New York. There are 260,000 words in its charter. Power is diffused among the mayor, the heads of departments more or less independent, a municipal legislature with two houses, the borough governments and various commissions.

The real problem of municipal government is nothing more than a question of business on a large scale.

Is it difficult or impossible to handle business on a large scale efficiently and honestly?

The answer must be that the larger the *private* business enterprise, the more complete is its division of labor, the more perfect its machinery in its minor details as well as in its important parts, and the more satisfactory its results.

Let us now seek information in the school of experience. Our ways of handling the public business are more than a hundred years old, while the methods of handling private business are up to date. The old ways have failed; the new ways are successful. We must investigate the new methods.

We shall discover that the new methods are all practically included in one simple machine—the corporation.

The corporation is the most successful form of organization that has yet been devised for the management of large and permanent business enterprises. It has been misused, as all human institutions and combinations have been and will be. Sometimes it has become the instrument of monopoly and oppression, which is an evidence of its strength as well as of its evil tendencies. It makes no pretensions to philanthropy, or to public spirit. It has no motive save profit.

As a rule, the corporation works with the utmost efficiency, economy and faithfulness in the interest of its stockholders. In some cases the shareholders in the majority have oppressed or wronged those in the minority. This rarely happens, however, in corporations of substance, and it is rendered difficult by a system of proportional representation which safeguards the interests of the minority, and which is growing in favor and increasing in use.

The corporation is built upon the theory that there is but one interest to be considered—the interest of the stockholders. Experience has determined that this interest is best served by placing the management of the corporation in the hands of a small board of directors, consisting rarely of more than fifteen persons, and more frequently of three, five or seven, elected annually by the shareholders.

This board adopts, alters or amends the by-laws of the corporation and elects its officers, who are also, in the more progressive corporations, removable at the will of the directors. The board is the supreme official force in the corporation.

The stockholders delegate all of their powers, it will be observed, to one board. If two boards were authorized, they would frequently be in conflict, and the efficiency of the corporation be impaired.

A second governing board in a corporation would be as useless as a second captain of a ship, or a second commander of an army.

A double-headed management is unfitted for a corporation, ship, army, city or state, and for every form of human organization.

Even in a partnership one of the partners must lead. Each family must have a head; if the man be incapable, the woman must command.

Political power, to be effective, must rest in one body of men.

If the interests of a corporation were controlled by two boards, an executive elected for four years, and a supreme council holding for life, it would of necessity become an inefficient, a helpless, and perhaps also a corrupt, organization. It is true that this is the form of government in our Republic, and imitated in our states and cities, but it has been in no case successful.

The one board in the corporation is composed of a small number of men, for the reason that a body consisting of a large number of men cannot transact business promptly or thoroughly.

The one small board is elected annually that its members may be in touch with, and closely responsible to, the stockholders.

The perfection of the corporation as a busi-

ness machine is due to its unity, simplicity and responsibility.

One board rules. It is large enough to represent varying interests and to secure diversity of opinion and counsel, but it is not so large as to be cumbrous.

The one small board is as free as any representative body can be, and yet it is held to a close accountability to its shareholders through the annual election.

In its more perfect organization, this board is representative of the minority as well as of the majority interests among stockholders, each interest having representation in proportion to its holdings of shares.

XIII.

THE FREE MAN'S BALLOT—ONE VOTE FOR ONE CAUSE AND FOR ONE CANDIDATE.

IN considering the question of reforming the government of the city of New York, we cannot ignore the experience of the corporation, the only machine that has ever yet handled business on a large scale with almost perfect success.

We shall doubtless discover that the main points in the machinery of a sound government, as in the machinery of a successful business enterprise, are unity, simplicity and responsibility.

Let us now inquire whether the simple machinery of the business corporation may not fit the needs of municipal government.

We may assume for the time that each voter bears the same relation to the city of New York that the holder of one share of stock bears to a private corporation.

Mention has been made herein of the fact that proportional representation has been growing in favor with the more progressive corporations.

Proportional representation provides, in a corporation with five directors, that one-fifth of the shares may elect one director, two-fifths two directors, and so on. In a corporation with fifteen directors, one-fifteenth of the shares may elect one director, and five-fifteenths of the shares five directors.

A very short and simple charter from the legislature of the state of New York would confer upon the voters of the city of New York the right to manage and control their municipal affairs in accordance with their desires and interests.

The machinery of city government so granted, if it were based upon the experience of the most successful corporations, would provide that the city should be ruled by a small board of trustees, say fifteen in number, elected once a year, under a scientific system of proportional representation.

This board would be authorized to enact all laws, rules and regulations needful for the government of the city, to elect its chief executive and other officers, to define their duties, and to remove them at its will.

The board of fifteen trustees should be elected from the whole city—from the city “at large” as we sometimes say—and not from districts.

There are various forms of ballots under dif-

ferent systems of proportional representation, but it happens fortunately that the simplest is the most effective. Its simplicity is so perfect, and its effectiveness so remarkable, as will be shown later, that it may well be designated the Free Man's Ballot.

This is a copy of the Free Man's Ballot, for the Republican party, as it may be voted in any election in the city of New York, under the new charter, placing the government of the city in the hands of a board of fifteen trustees:

REPUBLICAN TICKET.

For Trustee, City of New York,

Official Instructions.

The voter must WRITE in the preceding blank space the ONE name of his choice.

He is free to vote for any citizen of New York City.

If he fails to write a name, his vote will count for his party or cause only.

If he cannot write, or if he be disabled, he may bring a friend who will be permitted to write the name for him at the polls.

Other tickets will be headed with the names of other parties, causes or measures—as “Democratic Ticket,” “Good Government Ticket,” “Police Reform Ticket” and “Anti-Ramapo Ticket.” An official party emblem, or picture, may be used also, if desired.

With the Free Man’s Ballot the voter expresses first his choice of the party, cause or measure for which his vote shall be counted, and second his choice of candidates for the office of trustee.

We may now consider the practical working of the new system.

Let us assume that there are 600,000 voters in the city of New York. As there are fifteen trustees to be elected, a party, cause or organization for the promotion of a principle or measure, will elect one trustee if it have the support of 40,000 voters—one-fifteenth of the whole number—two trustees if it have 80,000 voters, and so on.

The election officers, upon the closing of the polls, will count first the heads of the ballots, to determine how many votes have been cast for each party or cause. Let us assume that this count results, in the whole city, as follows :

Democratic (Tammany Hall)	239,000
Independent Democratic.....	43,000
Republican.....	147,000
Good Government.....	74,000
Police Reform	53,000
Anti-Ramapo	35,000
Scattering.....	9,000
Total	600,000

Since 40,000 votes are required as the full quota to elect one trustee, it now appears that the Tammany Hall Democrats have elected five trustees, with 39,000 votes in excess.

The Independent Democrats have elected one trustee, with 3,000 votes in excess.

The Republicans have elected three trustees, with 27,000 votes in excess.

The Good Government party has elected one trustee, with 34,000 votes in excess.

The Police Reformers have elected one trustee, with 13,000 votes in excess.

The Anti-Ramapo party has elected no trustee, but it has a surplus vote of 35,000.

The scattering have wasted 9,000 votes.

Eleven trustees have now been chosen on full quotas. Four more must be distributed where they rightly belong.

It is evident that these should go in equity to the four parties having the largest surplus vote—one to the Tammany Hall Democrats,

with 39,000 votes in excess, one to the Anti-Ramapo party, with 35,000 surplus votes, one to the Good Government party, with 34,000 votes in excess, and one to the Republicans, with 27,000 votes in excess.

The board of trustees will now stand as follows:

Tammany Hall	6
Independent Democratic.....	1
Republican.....	4
Good Government.....	2
Police Reform.....	1
Anti-Ramapo.....	1
	<hr/>
Total.....	15

Each party, or cause, is now represented in the board of trustees in nearly exact proportion to its voting strength.

This vote having determined that six men on the Tammany Hall ticket have been elected, the completion of the count of the Tammany Hall ballots will determine the six names thereon that have received the highest votes, and these will therefore be chosen trustees, as will the one man having the highest vote on the Independent Democratic ticket, the four men having the highest votes on the Republican ticket, and so on.

It will be the duty of the election officials to

certify the vote cast for all of the candidates, chosen and unchosen, on all of the ballots, as a matter of publicity, and for another important reason:

If any candidate chosen should fail to qualify as a trustee, or should resign, die or become disqualified during his term of office, he should be succeeded by the candidate on the same ticket who received the highest vote given on that ticket to a candidate who was unchosen. This would provide a just means of succession in the case of a vacancy, without the expense or trouble of holding a special election.

XIV.

THE VOTER MAKES HIS OWN NOMINATION—
BOSSISM IS ABOLISHED AND POLITICAL MA-
CHINES ARE BROKEN.

THE man who enters into the isolation of the election booth to prepare the Free Man's Ballot is as free as the law can make him from every form of dictation, coercion and intimidation.

He is to express his choice in two forms, which embrace the whole of a voter's will—first, in declaring the party, cause or measures which he approves; and, second, in naming the man of his choice to execute his will.

He can choose in freedom a ballot headed by the name of the party or cause of his choice, and his own mind must furnish the name of his candidate.

No caucus, primary or convention can control him who votes with the Free Man's Ballot. He names his own man; he makes his own nomination.

Heelers, bosses and the manipulators of the party machines can plead, advise and urge, but

they can no longer dictate. Their vocation is gone, their scepters are broken, their power has departed, and they must soon

“Fold their tents, like the Arabs,
And as silently steal away.”

The legal complications in which they were intrenched, the spurious and rotten forms of Democracy which produced them, have been swept away. No power shall henceforth, in the city of New York, prevent the free expression of the people's will, or the complete responsibility of those who are chosen to execute it.

Party organizations and conventions we shall still have, but since the power of naming candidates has ceased to exist, the conventions must confine themselves to the legitimate work of formulating principles and measures, and the organizations must work chiefly for the advancement of these ideas and policies.

We can conceive that the organization of a party will, under the new order, respectfully recommend to its voters a long list of the strongest and most popular men in its ranks as being worthy of consideration for the important office of trustee of the city of New York.

Instead of attempting to dictate nominations, the new party leaders will probably search the

city for able and sincere men whose names will give prestige to their cause, and we may be sure that no man with a following of much consequence will be overlooked, since *the voter is free to go outside of the list for his candidate.*

A party or cause will now be judged—first, by its declaration of principles and policies; and, second, by the character of the men commended, not nominated, for office.

It can no longer be said, as of old, that the platform is good, but the men are bad, or that the men are good, but the principles are bad. The men are of the same kind as the measures, and the measures match the men.

The office will now literally seek the man, and not the man the office. The men named in advance as available will be in no sense nominees, nor even, in a literal sense, candidates. They will be named because of the presumption that the use of their names will strengthen the cause for which each one will stand.

To be named under such circumstances will be a public honor, to be defeated with other good men will be no discredit, to be elected will be a distinction.

Slander, detraction and personal animosities will disappear in the main in political campaigns, since there will be no nominees or pronounced candidates to become the targets of

envy or malice. The strife will no longer be over the question whether this man or that man shall triumph, but whether this measure or that policy shall prevail.

We will no longer be wild clans following a chieftain, but sober men pondering over the public good. Partisan feuds and meanness will disappear, and politics will become a noble strife between rival measures for the common welfare.

Parties will be constantly advancing and forming anew as issues move and change, in response to altered conditions, to the lessons of experience, and to the increased intelligence and higher public spirit of the people. Men will no longer *belong* to parties; parties will belong to men.

The people will be profoundly interested constantly in the questions: What is practicable? What is reasonable? What is just and fair?

We will begin to understand that this city is *our* city, that its beauty, order, wholesomeness is our glory, and its uncleanness is our shame.

A man to be chosen trustee must have a very considerable following—at the lowest, perhaps, ten to twenty thousand votes. It will seldom happen that an insignificant or incompetent man can secure such a vote in competition with the best men in the city.

The most popular man in a cause will receive the largest vote on his party ticket, the second in popularity will receive the second vote, and so on. Every election will determine definitely the leadership of the different political bodies in the city. The people will name their leaders, reaffirm them, or change them, in freedom.

The leader of the party in the majority will probably be chosen as mayor of the city by the board of trustees. The leaders of the parties in the minority will also occupy places of honor and responsibility.

Each leader will strive to retain and to increase the esteem and the good will of his followers, and it is unlikely that he will succeed, under the free conditions which will prevail, if he be not sincere, honest, strong and able.

The people will find out whose actions are equal to his promises, who is alert in emergencies, who can be trusted. In freedom, they will not tolerate false or incompetent leadership. We shall have a new and better order of men in public life.

XV.

TREACHERY IS THAT OFFENSE WHICH RANKS A
LITTLE LOWER IN THE MINDS OF MEN THAN
ANY OTHER CRIME.

“**W**HY should we assume that the men
elected as trustees through the
Free Man's Ballot will be inspired
by higher motives than those who are chosen
for representative positions under present sys-
tems? Is it not in the nature of things that
men will abuse, or turn to their own advan-
tage, the power that may be given to them?”

We should bear in mind that under present
systems the men chosen to office are under
no mandate to represent the whole people, or
to advance measures only. They are chosen to
represent their party, and *party* has grown to
mean a machine to gather patronage and spoils.

Candidates are named by the machine; they
are expected to serve the machine, and they are
seldom faithless to this trust.

More than five thousand men have filled the
office of presidential elector in the United
States, all of whom were free to cast their

votes as they pleased. If an elector chosen on the Democratic ticket should vote for a Republican candidate, he would violate no law; he could even claim with truth that it was the intention of the framers of the constitution to give perfect freedom of choice to the presidential electors.

Each of the electors has been under a moral obligation, however, to vote for the candidate of his party. Not one of the five thousand ever violated this obligation.

It may be said also of the thousands who have been sent to congress, of more than a hundred thousand who have served in the state legislatures and filled other representative positions, and of the millions who have been elected to other offices, that rarely has one been treacherous to the *party* that chose him.

Those who were instructed by their party to support certain measures have obeyed their instructions, those who were chosen to represent moneyed interests have been true to those interests, and those who have been named by a boss have been faithful to the boss.

Faithlessness and treachery are qualities abhorrent to all sorts and conditions of men. Even criminals are usually faithful to their accomplices. Many a burglar has served a long term in prison, and murderers have gone to the scaf-

fold, rather than purchase freedom, or even life itself, through the betrayal of a comrade.

Treachery is that offense which ranks a little lower in the minds of men than any other crime.

We may now assume that men elected to office, under the new order, in which they are chosen as the representatives of a cause, will be faithful to their trust.

The honor which prevails among politicians and spoilsmen, and which is not lacking even among criminals, will surely be found in the higher grade of men who will come to the front.

Harmony will be established which was lacking under the old systems. Men of character who hold public office under present conditions suffer much humiliation in the conflict between two inclinations—the one to be faithful to the party which has elevated them to office, and the other to serve singly the public interest.

There will be no such conflict in the minds of men chosen under the new order. It will be apparent, after we have adopted honest systems, that practically all men will desire honest government, and the representative who should, under such circumstances, betray his constituency, and also violate the principles of common honesty, would be a man of exceptional baseness.

It is now apparent that we have lost faith in Democracy without reason, and also that we have lost faith unnecessarily in human nature.

As we go deeper into the matter we discover that even the politicians, against whom we rail and complain, have been less faithless than we had supposed, and that they are really the victims of the evil systems which have corrupted them.

XVI.

IN ANSWER TO THE CHARGE THAT THE PEOPLE ARE UNPATRIOTIC, UNTRUSTWORTHY OR CORRUPT.

“**A**H,” says the Doubter, “you are an optimist, and don’t know mankind. You think that men are honest and intelligent, and that your little ballot trick will transform the rotten politics of New York, turn vice into virtue and ignorance into intelligence. I tell you the government of New York is corrupt because the people are corrupt, it is ignorant because the people are ignorant, and it is dishonest because the people are dishonest.

“If you can devise a scheme that will make the people honest and intelligent, then you can have honest and intelligent government, but no change in the way of voting can bring about such a result.”

This interruption will justify us in halting to inquire whether men are really so bad as some men would have us believe. The habit of speaking with contempt of the people has grown among us in a marked manner in these

later times. The term "people" usually means, in this connection, the wage-earners who have saved little or nothing, all who live from hand to mouth, the poor people, the "rabble."

The one who deplores most the benighted and immoral condition of his fellow men, is usually in comfortable circumstances. From a place of ease and security, where temptation does not assail him, he looks down with some censoriousness upon his less fortunate brethren.

One fact is plain—the poor people have not corrupted the city or the state. Some of them have been corrupted, but these have not been the source of corruption, and their share in the plunder has been very small. At the most they have been only insignificant and silent partners in the schemes of public dishonesty. And those of the poor who have been corrupted are but a small part of the whole body.

His country is more, as a rule, to the poor man than to the rich man. Few poor men have ever voluntarily expatriated themselves; it is not the poor who have lost faith in their country. The rich man has many interests, many things in which he can take pride; the poor man has little of which he is very proud save his country. He believes, however hard his luck has been, that he is a joint owner in the best and greatest country in the world.

He is intensely patriotic. He loves his country with a passionate devotion. Its flag thrills him; its national airs quicken his blood. He believes that, if the sacrifice need be, he could even die for his country.

Indeed, within the last forty years, four hundred thousand Americans, and nearly all poor men, have laid their lives, "the last full measure of their devotion," upon the altar of their country. If our country were in peril, a million poor men would volunteer in a week to face death in its defense.

We are trusting to the honesty and intelligence of the poor and ignorant every day of our lives—in the trains, on the streets, in all the minute ramifications of work and trade, in places of pleasure, even in our sleep.

If we are on the point of suffocation from fire, a poor man, a stranger to us, risks his life to save ours. It is his trade.

Who are the engineers, the firemen, the watchmen, the lonely sentinels, the life-savers on dangerous coasts, the alert men all over the world, who are always on a strain to help and save us, and who so often give their lives for the sake of duty and honor?

They are poor men, and often they are very ignorant; men to whom Fate has denied favor

and opportunity, but whose souls are as white and clean as the soul of any king.

The greatest and most generous philanthropists are found among the very poor, who give all they have in surplus, and reduce their bread and meat, to help those who are poorer still. Go, ye proud givers, whose bounty is trumpeted to the ends of the earth, and learn what philanthropy really is from the poor and humble, who pay in sacrifice for the privilege of helpfulness!

We shall not find the best examples of heroism and valor on the red fields where men slay and are slain, but down rather among the poor, where men and women fight with stout hearts every day and hour of their forlorn lives against the black hosts of Humiliation and Want and Disease and Uncertainty and Despair.

It is poverty and want and privation that bring out the kindly, generous, brave and fraternal qualities in man; and it is riches and power and ambition that blight these noblest fruits of human life.

And who are we who can look with such scorn upon the poor and the ignorant? There is not a man among us whose antecedents do not run back in the dim past to a naked savage, and not one in a hundred whose family history may not be summed up, as Lincoln

said with proud humility of his own, in "the short and simple annals of the poor."

Know, ye proud and haughty ones, that a child of your blood shall one day be in rags and tatters, scorned as you scorn these; and that the children of these humble souls shall rise to high places, for the great and noble may come, and usually do come, from the loins of the poor!

XVII.

HONEST SYSTEMS PRODUCE HONEST RESULTS,
RIGHT SYSTEMS RIGHT RESULTS, AND WRONG
SYSTEMS WRONG RESULTS.

THERE are more rich men in the city of New York than in any other city of the world. Most of them have made their own fortunes. They are men of practical minds, of good courage for a fight, and very resourceful in securing their aims. They are familiar with large undertakings, and are unaccustomed to failure.

These men are, as a rule, scornful of the corruption and profligacy in the present government of the city of New York. Some of them have been outraged and wronged by it. They grumble and complain against it; they denounce it; they desire to see it reformed.

Now, if the system of government in the city is one that admits of reform, if the rottenness be not seated in the system itself, and hence ineradicable save by reforming the system, why do not these powerful men join and produce a good government based on the old system?

Their resources are unlimited; they can command the press and the orators; every pulpit will support them; business interests will rally around them, and the important educational and social influences will follow them. If the city can be redeemed, why do not *they* assume the responsibility in the case, and cease placing it upon the poor and the ignorant?

They fail to do this because it is impossible. Neither money, nor intelligence, nor unselfish interests, nor patriotism, can reform the government of the city of New York, or of any other government equally cumbrous and complicated.

The fault is not in the indifference, nor in the dishonesty, of the people; it lies in the complexities which are at war with all sound methods of business organization.

No one prefers bad government, save its beneficiaries.

All sane men are naturally honest, and prefer right ways to wrong ways. The man of feeble honesty is swerved by a slight interest, while the man of sturdy honesty is unmoved by a great interest.

A liar will tell the truth unless it be to his interest to lie. A million times and more has a stranger paused on a country road, or amid the throngs of a great city, and asked to be

directed on the right course. He has applied to all kinds of men, women and children; to all colors and races; to beggars, tramps, liars, thieves, marauders and murderers, and never once has he been deceived unless it was to the interest of his informant to deceive him.

An honest man cannot turn a clean furrow with a dull plow. A rascal can turn a clean furrow with a sharp plow.

A bad implement cannot produce a good result, even in the hands of a good man. A good implement produces a good result in the hands of either a good or a bad man.

So also honest systems produce honest results, right systems right results, and wrong systems wrong results.

The right system of government for the city of New York will be as a sharp plow that turns a clean furrow, as a good implement that does good work. It will be an honest system bringing honest results.

XVIII.

THE DEFIANCE OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE
PRODUCES THE REVOLUTIONIST AND THE
ANARCHIST.

THE board of trustees chosen through the Free Man's Ballot will have the task of organizing the city of New York, in all of its departments and machinery, upon a businesslike basis. This will be a heavy, but by no means an impossible, undertaking.

The board will succeed if it be given freedom to act, to correct promptly its own errors, and to apply the lessons of experience.

It will fail in so far as it is hampered and baffled by limitations of its own power in municipal affairs through legislative and constitutional prohibitions and complications.

There is one right way, and there are many wrong ways, of doing everything. The right way can be found only in freedom.

So long as the legislature in Albany shall continue to usurp the power of determining what policies and methods are best for the city of New York, the government of the city will be defective.

The people of the city should be the untrammelled guardians of their own interests. It by no means follows that the policies which would be best for New York would also be best for Buffalo, or that both of these cities, if set free, would follow exactly parallel lines of development.

The American theory of local self-government—that the people of the village shall control the affairs of the village, the people of the county the affairs of the county, the people of the city the affairs of the city, and the people of the state the affairs of the state—is sound, businesslike and Democratic.

The board of trustees, chosen under the improved system of voting, will doubtless find in the great and successful private business enterprises its best examples for imitation in the reformation of the city.

Their experiences will demonstrate how much authority may safely be given to the executive department, what standards of fitness and capacity should be applied to employes, by what methods advancement may be given justly to the meritorious and security to the competent, and how partisan tests and personal favoritism may be eliminated from the public service.

A thousand lessons are to be learned, but

there is no lesson that patience and common sense cannot master.

There will be the conflict of opposing theories and policies. It is in the nature of men to divide into two great bodies, the progressive and the non-progressive. The advance of the progressives are the radicals who lead sometimes in the right and at other times in the wrong direction.

The great body of the progressives move steadily on the line of least resistance, making an improvement here and lopping off an abuse there. They seldom move rapidly, but their course is forward, and their record is the history of a nation.

The body of the non-progressives does not move, but is moved. It yields slowly to pressure. Its weight tests the value of progressive measures. The rear-guard of the conservatives are the enemies of progress, the men who doubt all things new. They are "as rocks in running water."

These phases of public sentiment will be reflected in the political organizations of the city which has been set free. The names of national parties will probably disappear in city politics, or take on a new and local meaning, since national questions will have little bearing on city issues.

Small and hopeless parties, which have heretofore expressed the discontent of the people under a political system which made them helpless, will doubtless cease to exist in municipal contests.

The political contests in the city will be serious battles over measures of progress, in which few voters will be disposed to fire a shot in the air by voting with a hopeless minority.

The apprehension that the people, if set free, will take up with impracticable and incendiary ideas, is baseless. It is the suppression of the people, the defiance of the will of the people, that produces the revolutionist and the anarchist.

The mass of men are conservative. If given freedom, they will move slowly and cautiously; but the denial of freedom maddens them.

The dangers of anarchy are infinitely greater in the state that denies than in the one that yields to the people.

XIX.

THE NATION WHICH CONFIDES ITS GOVERNMENT
TO FOUR ANTAGONISTIC POWERS IS NOT A
DEMOCRACY—IT IS AN ANARCHY.

THE form of corporate organization that is best adapted to the needs of private business enterprises of importance is the same in New York, in Illinois, in California, and indeed throughout the civilized world; and experience has shown that this organization is fitted to the needs of the largest and most complicated undertakings as well as to small and simple ones.

So we may assume that the form of organization best suited to the transaction of the public business would be the same, in its main features, in all parts of our country, and in all of the divisions of our government—alike in the village, the township, the county, the city, the state and the nation.

The governing board might be named the board of trustees, directors, managers, aldermen, councilmen, commissioners, representatives, congressmen, senators or governors, and

it might consist of three, five, seven, fifteen, twenty-five, or even of a greater number of members. A small board would meet the requirements of a village, and a larger board of a city, or of a state.

The question will arise whether a very large board, or congress, would be required for the management of the business of the general government.

The suggestion will doubtless be made that the affairs of the nation are too vast and important to be intrusted to a small number of men. It should be borne in mind, however, that the executive efficiency of a body of men does not increase with numbers.

A large body is forced, almost invariably, to abdicate its main powers to a smaller central force, or executive committee, chosen from its own number, or to one man, as our national house of representatives, being overgrown and unwieldy, has been compelled to confer extraordinary authority upon its speaker, and as the national government has abdicated its powers, in a large degree, in favor of the president.

The business of the state cannot be transacted by the whole people in mass. We must authorize others to act for us. If we delegate our powers to a body composed of a very large number of persons, then the large body, being

unwieldy, must re-delegate our powers to a smaller body.

There should be no re-delegation of our general powers; they should be confided to a body that can act, that is within itself competent and effective.

If we delegate our powers to three different bodies and one man—to a house, a senate, a supreme court and a president—we may know that the four will be always inharmonious, and often in conflict, and that the public business will suffer in consequence.

Let the reader assume for the moment that he is the possessor of property of great value and of interests of much complexity, and that he is compelled to be absent from the country for a long period. He must authorize another, or others, to act for him. What arrangement of his affairs would he make?

Would he authorize one firm of lawyers to act for two years, and another firm of older lawyers to act for a longer period, and yet another firm of very old lawyers to act permanently, and one more lawyer to act for four years? And would he endeavor to give almost equal powers to each of his four representatives, so that there could be little or no progress if all were not in accord?

Having created this form of entanglement,

and having placed his interests beyond his control, would he expect to find his property in good condition upon his return?

The reader will doubtless answer that the man who should think seriously of relinquishing the control of his own affairs in favor of four conflicting agencies would be a proper subject for a commission in lunacy.

Let us assert again that our governmental affairs are purely business affairs—the business affairs of the whole people—and that they never will be handled correctly save upon those natural lines which have proved to be successful in private business.

To set up four independent and conflicting agencies to manage the public business is as irrational as it would be to set up four firms of lawyers to manage one's private business.

To place the public business beyond the control of the people for four, six, ten or twenty years is as unwise as it would be to surrender the control of one's private affairs for a like period.

Moreover, a divided responsibility can easily be shirked. The president can lay blame upon congress, the house upon the senate, the senate upon the house, and both houses upon the president, and these three united may place the responsibility upon the supreme court.

Each of these four powers may toss the responsibility back and forth, elude it, hide it and escape from it.

The nation which confides its government to four inharmonious and antagonistic powers is not a Democracy. It is an Anarchy.

Our people need not live in fear of the Anarchy that *may* come, for Anarchy exists, and has long existed. It is enthroned in the constitution.

XX.

GOVERNMENT ON A BUSINESSLIKE BASIS—THE ELECTION AN APPEAL TO THE REASON AND CONSCIENCE OF THE VOTER.

OPPPOSITION may be anticipated to annual elections. The theory that the elections, under the present order, have been too frequent has many supporters, while the proposition to lengthen the presidential term to six years, making the incumbent ineligible to re-election, has been received with some favor.

Both of these suggestions are undemocratic, and are born in that distrust of the people which has been growing rapidly in these later times.

It has indeed become the fashion, among those who are sometimes called the better classes, to deplore elections in general as a menace to business, and as an evil which should be made infrequent or even abolished.

To lengthen the term of the presidency would increase the powers of that office, which are now too great, and would make it still more

independent of the people, and hence more monarchical.

To make the president ineligible to re-election would involve the assumption that the people are incompetent to pass upon his merits, and that he would be a better president if he knew that the people could never declare at the polls a judgment upon his administration.

The principle underlying these theories is not the principle of Democracy, which trusts in the people; it is the principle of absolutism, of autocracy, which distrusts the people.

The plan to lengthen the term of the presidency, and to make that office more independent of the people, would be a long stride in the direction of monarchy, toward which we have been of late drifting.

Those who are opposed to frequent elections are generally in good circumstances, and many of them are interested in corporations. Odd as it may appear, none of them is opposed to annual elections in corporations, and it is not likely that one could be found who would favor the lengthening of the term of the presidency of a corporation in which he is a shareholder to six years, and rendering its occupant ineligible to re-election.

"As a stockholder," one of these would say, "I desire to pass judgment frequently upon the

officials who represent me. If their administration merits my approval, I want to give them a vote of confidence; if it meets with my disapproval, I should certainly be permitted to vote to turn them out.

“The officers of our corporation should know that it is their duty to serve the stockholders. If elections were held infrequently, the officials would grow too independent and careless of the interests of the shareholders. They might do great injury to the corporation, while the stockholders would have no means of redress.

“As for the suggestion that the president of our corporation should be elected for a term of six years, and be ineligible to re-election, it is too unreasonable for serious discussion. He might be incompetent, or dishonest, or otherwise unfit, through every day of the six years. Think for a moment of the condition of a corporation in such a hole as that!

“In our corporation we are guided by common sense. We elect a board of directors once a year. That isn't much trouble. No more time is consumed in voting than in going to church on a Sunday.

“If the directors have done well, we re-elect them; if they have done poorly, or if we desire a change of policy, we choose new men. The directors elect the president, or manager. They

try to get the best man in the country for that office. They elect him for one year, but they reserve the right to dismiss him at any time if he does not suit. He usually does suit, for the directors are very particular in their choice. They cannot afford to make a mistake.

“To make our chief executive officer ineligible to re-election would be unwise and unjust. If he is fitted for the place, we couldn’t afford to turn him out, and it would be unfair to him to be dismissed. Such a suggestion could only be made by a man who has no comprehension of what business really is.

“The corporation which would deny to its stockholders the right to confirm or set aside its officials through frequent elections, or hamper its board of directors in the full control of its business, would inevitably go to destruction.”

The stockholder’s statement is sound. No exception can be taken to it. We should not, however, ignore the fact that this Republic is a corporation also, in which each voter holds one share of stock, and that it is to the interest of these public shareholders that the affairs of the nation should be run upon business principles.

If given the power to act, through the Free Man’s Ballot, they would elect a competent

board, or congress, to represent them; they would desire that their congress should elect the most capable man in the country to be chief executive, and they would insist that he should be kept in office so long as he continued to be efficient and in harmony with the majority, and that he should be removed upon the termination of his usefulness.

It would be important also that these public stockholders should express their will in annual elections, and that their representatives should render an account of their stewardship once a year.

The time consumed in voting at the public ballot box is no longer than is required at the polls of the private corporation.

And it is probable that, having once established free, natural and businesslike conditions in our relations to public affairs, the great excitement and violent recriminations, the maneuvering and parading and rallying, as if we were divided into hostile armies fighting for supremacy, will disappear in political campaigns.

There are many reasons for believing that, in the new and better order, appeals will be made to the reason and conscience, rather than to the passions and prejudices, of men.

The voter's responsibility will be greatly increased. He will vote directly for and against

measures. He will comprehend the shame of not understanding measures. He will seek reasons for his choice.

The question of candidates being left to the free choice of each voter at the ballot box, the issue in each contest will be joined upon principles and policies. The campaign will be a comprehensive discussion of measures. Its trend will be to the education and enlightenment of the people, rather than to their degradation.

XXI.

CORRUPTION AND MISGOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON ARE DUE LARGELY TO THE PRESSURE OF SELFISH LOCAL INTERESTS.

UNDER the Free Man's Ballot there would be no "close" states or districts to induce the expenditure of vast sums of money, or to invite bribery, corruption and intimidation. The congress would be chosen from the whole country, as we have shown that the board of trustees in New York would be chosen from the whole city. No state, district or community would be more "doubtful," in the old sense, than another.

The proposal to dispense with state and district representation in Washington will arouse opposition. We cherish old customs and systems, even if they be useless or wrong.

A member of congress, under our present system, is compelled to give more attention to the peculiar interests of his own constituents than to the interests of the whole people. The peculiar interests of one constituency, so far as legislation is concerned, are usually in conflict with the interests of the whole people.

Special interests are almost invariably dishonest interests.

The public interest requires that public buildings should be located where they are really needed, and that expenditures for this purpose should be fair and reasonable. Local interest would secure a granite postoffice in every village.

The public interest demands that river and harbor improvements should be made in the interest of the whole country, and upon the plans of broad-minded and disinterested engineers and experts. Local interest has frequently secured appropriations for useless purposes. The aggregate of these expenditures is large.

Taxes for the protection of infant industries, if they be justifiable, should be so levied as to confer the most benefit and to impose the least injury upon the whole people. Local interest is greedy for taxes which will give it an unfair advantage.

The early settlers in the timbered regions had what they called "logrollings." The task of rolling logs was too heavy for one man, so he invited his neighbors to help him, thereby incurring an obligation to help them under similar circumstances. If he had invited twenty men, he was in honor bound to give one day's work to each of the twenty.

The pressure of local interests has forced our congressmen to organize a similar system, which they have also named "logrolling." One member with a local bill goes to a hundred or more members and promises that he will vote for their bills if they will vote for his. This obligation often forces him to vote for bad and corrupt bills.

A large part of the misgovernment in Washington is due to the pressure of mean and selfish local interests.

Local representation should for this reason alone, if for no other, be abolished. We should seek only that which is for the common good, rather than an advantage for our locality at the expense of the whole people.

It will be claimed that the people require local representatives in Washington to secure information from the departments, to attend to pension claims, land claims, and so forth.

Our lawmakers should not bring the pressure of their positions to bear on the departments, nor should they ask favors of public officials. He who accepts favors must pay for them.

We should be done with the system by which the statesmen who formulate the laws and policies of the nation are forced to be in Washington the errand boys of their constituents.

Local representation is much more imperfect

than it appears to be. It takes an average of 20,121 Democratic votes to elect a member of the lower house in the present congress from the South, while an average of 98,922 Republican votes is required to elect a member of the house from the same section.

On the other hand, the Republican senators from the North represent an average of 106,093 votes, while the Democratic senators from the North represent an average of 2,185,050 votes.

These inequalities run through the whole system of local representation. The Republicans of twelve states, and the Democrats of fifteen states, have not a single representative in either house of the present congress. The minority in these twenty-seven states are not only without representation in congress, but are actually misrepresented there.

XXII.

THE SYSTEM OF SETTING UP ONE MAN TO
RUN AGAINST ANOTHER FOR OFFICE—THE
IMPERIAL POWER OF THE SALOON.

THE privilege of voting for a long list of candidates for office—sometimes for twenty or thirty men on one ticket—is prized by many voters. But no man should deceive himself with the thought that he is really voting for the men of his choice. He votes for his party's choice, and only in rare cases has he had any influence in making the nominations. He is compelled to accept the judgment of his party leaders.

An able and honest private citizen would decline, if the privilege were offered to him, to name off-hand a list of twenty men to fill as many important offices. He would realize that he should know all about the men, and understand fully the nature of the offices, before undertaking such a task.

We must delegate the power to fill the executive and clerical offices. At present we delegate this power to the politicians who make the nominations.

With the Free Man's Ballot we would delegate the power to competent boards—to men with the ability to understand the public needs, and the fitness of a man for a place, and who would be directly responsible to the people for their public acts.

The Free Man's Ballot emancipates the voter and simplifies his task. He is now to name for himself in a village election the one man whom he prefers to represent him in the village government. And so in other elections he names the man of his choice to represent him in the government of his county, city, state or nation.

The present system of setting up one man to run against another for office will be found, upon investigation, to be a bad system.

At present men are usually nominated for local offices because they are, in the language of politics, "good mixers." A "good mixer" is one who can be all things to all men—a drinker among drinkers, a scoffer among scoffers and a psalm-singer among psalm-singers. He is the friend of the farmer, he is devoted to the interests of the workingman, the saloon-keeper can depend upon him, and he is deeply interested in all popular forms of religion.

The "good mixer" has exceptional talents, but they are not of a nature which indicates that he is well qualified to be a treasurer, or

sheriff, or alderman, or judge, or mayor, or member of the legislature, or of congress. The men best fitted for these places would probably be poor "mixers."

The word "politician" does not always confer honor upon him to whom it is applied. It is frequently a term of reproach.

Why should the world "politician," meaning a man who is engaged in public affairs, or who aspires to office, be a term of reproach if our political systems are correct and honest?

The word "politician" is a word without honor because, under our present systems, the man who aspires to office must coax and flatter and fawn upon the people.

He is in a race against one other man. He must get more votes than his opponent, or at least maintain his party vote. And hence he becomes everybody's friend, and haunts the saloons in his quest for votes, and consorts with the professional "vote-getters," who are often of the most disreputable element in the community.

The drinking saloon is at present the most powerful institution in the politics of the country. It controls the government of our cities. It is frequently in the majority in a city's board of aldermen. It holds the balance of power in nearly all of the states. It can

change the complexion of congress, and it can, by using all of its strength in support of one of the great parties, elect the candidate of its choice to the presidency.

In comparatively few districts in the United States does either of the two important political parties dare to nominate for office a man who is objectionable to the saloon.

The extraordinary power of the saloon in politics is due to the strife between candidates. It is intrenched in the system which forces candidates to be or to pose as drinking men, and to implore the aid of the saloon. It will cease to exist with the other forms of rottenness pertaining to machine politics, when the Free Man's Ballot has rendered the machine powerless.

XXIII.

THE NEEDS OF DEMOCRACY WILL PRODUCE IN
FREEDOM SINCERE AND POWERFUL MEN TO
SERVE THE PEOPLE.

IN the congress chosen through the Free Man's Ballot each party or cause would be represented in proportion to its voting strength. If the congress should consist of twenty-five members, and if the majority party should poll fourteen-twenty-fifths of the whole vote, it would have fourteen members of congress, while the minority party, assuming that there was but one, would have the remaining eleven members. The fourteen men having the highest votes on the majority ticket, and the eleven with the highest votes on the minority ticket, would be elected.

Under these conditions distinguished men only could be chosen for congress. We may imagine that the people of the East would vote, as a rule, for the most prominent men representing their cause in that section, and the voters of the South, the Southwest, the Pacific Coast, and of the different divisions of the

Middle West, would vote for their strongest men.

The result would be that the more important sections would be represented by their best men. Each would be the free choice of a very large number—probably in no case of less than three hundred thousand—voters.

We may confidently assume that the congress so chosen would rank in dignity, integrity and forcefulness with any other assemblage the world has known.

The supply of men is ample for all emergencies. A war produces great soldiers and generals, an inventive period develops the ingenious, and a commercial age produces men of business capacity. So also other times and needs produce painters and poets and dreamers of noble dreams, and orators whose words thrill for a thousand years, and thinkers and martyrs and saviors.

And so will the needs of Democracy—when we shall have established a real Democracy—produce sincere and powerful men who will use nobly the trust that is confided to them.

At least we should be done with false pretenses. We should admit that our vast system of complex government, which persistently defeats the will of the people, is not a Democracy,

and that we have no right to judge Democracy by its counterfeit presentation. And we should go further and declare that, before condemning Democracy, we will establish a real Democracy and give it a fair trial.

Under our evil forms of Democracy, we shall go from bad to worse. Our cities shall become more depraved, our politics more corrupt, our houses of congress more feeble, our presidency more kinglike, and our national government more than ever the prey of shameless private interests.

There can be no reform under our present system of Democracy, for the system is itself rotten. We have been trying to build reforms upon foundations of mud and quicksand, and we have failed.

Let us go down to the rock. Let us set men free, and then trust them. Let us open to mankind the control of the state, and give to them freedom to act, to construct, to advance, to err even, having also the ability to correct an error. Let us be done with this creeping, cowardly distrust of ourselves. Why should we, the people, be afraid of the people?

Even if we admit a distinction of classes, why should the superior class be afraid of the common people? The common people ask nothing of the state save that it shall be honest and

just. They ask for no subsidies, bounties, privileges, special taxes or exemptions. They have little hope even of small offices.

In freedom they will act in accordance with their own interests, but these interests run counter to the interest of no honest man.

XXIV.

ONCE IN FORTY OR FIFTY YEARS A FREE PEOPLE MUST AROUSE THEMSELVES, OR THE MORAL MAN WOULD DIE.

LET us give way for a moment to the spokesman of Organized Politics:

“It is well to talk about what ought to be and might be, but you should understand that the task of changing the constitution is not an easy one.

“The constitution of the United States can be amended only by a vote of two-thirds of both houses of congress, or by a convention called on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states; in either case the amendments so formulated would become valid only after being ratified by the legislatures of, or conventions in, three-fourths of the states.

“Your so-called reform can only be brought about through the cordial support of the politicians whom it would supplant.

“That support can never be secured. They will not vote themselves out of office and out of influence. The politicians will stand by the

constitution. It suits them; and without their consent it will not be changed. We have prospered under it for more than a hundred years, and it will probably last for two or three centuries more, at least."

If the politicians prove, in the final test, to be stronger than the people, then it is true that the constitution cannot be changed.

That issue is yet to be decided, and the fact should not be ignored that the disinterested are overwhelmingly in the majority. A great majority can change the constitution.

The claim that matters ought not to be, and cannot be, changed is always loudest just before they are changed. Thrones and other institutions of privilege are eulogized most, and seem to be strongest, the day before they fall.

That which is vehemently declared to be impossible nearly always happens.

The cause of right and justice is never hopeless. When things grow bad enough, reform comes, not because we will it and desire it, but because it must come—because the forces of evil have grown strong enough to invite their own destruction.

On the second day of December, 1859, a country boy in the West happened to be in a throng of people who were discussing an event of tragic interest, for it was the day that John

Brown was hanged. The boy heard the comments of a great number, and his heart was sick, for he thought that John Brown deserved some sympathy, at least in the North, and he heard no voice that did not speak bitterly of the grim old man who had died for other men that day.

Sixteen months later the North rose almost as one man, singing,

“ John Brown’s body lies a-mouldering in the grave ;
His soul is marching on.”

The boy heard these lines sung a thousand times afterward—by marching columns, in camps and trenches and prison pens, from the throats of great masses of men with faces illumined by a wonderful light, in hours of triumph and times of disaster, and once as he marched with a division of soldiers past the spot in Virginia where John Brown was hanged.

It seemed as if the soul of John Brown had entered into the soul of the army. The boy wondered, and he has never ceased wondering—for he and the writer of these words are one—at the mighty change.

When bad grows to be wholly bad, and evil to be rotten, then a change comes quickly.

Once in forty or fifty years a free people must arouse themselves, must have a moral

awakening, a moral renovation, or the moral man would die.

The constitution will be changed when the people are aroused. They have wrongs enough to awaken them. There are ample signs of day-break. The last laggard will soon be awake. And when the people are aroused, the placemen who would baffle them, the interests that would stay them, will be as the dry grass before the prairie fire.

Reform will come; the evil features in the constitution will die. Only two questions—Will reform be bloodless? and Will it be thorough?—need really disturb us.

XXV.

THE TRUSTS ARE BUILT ON THE ROCK OF ECONOMY—THE POWER OF COMBINED WEALTH IS YET IN ITS INFANCY.

NEW and startling economic conditions press upon us. The power of private wealth, which has been great in all stages of civilization, has now become the chief factor in human affairs. It dictates in large measure the internal and foreign policies of nations.

Our own country has obeyed for a third of a century almost every mandate of private capital, while England is now waging—as the civilized world, apart from the Imperialistic party in England, sincerely believes—a cruel and an unnecessary war in South Africa, in the interest of a few rich mining corporations.

It is evident also that private capital is only now beginning to learn the more important lessons in the art of organization. The power of combined wealth is yet in its infancy. The mind cannot grasp the full meaning of what its force will be in its maturity.

The ways of Nature seem upon the surface to be cruel. Why should Power and Strength be the pets of Nature? Why should she lay tribute upon the weak for the benefit of the strong, rather than upon the strong for the benefit of the weak?

On the other hand, if Nature should patronize the weak and discourage the strong, would we not in time begin to breed weakness, and become a race of paupers, dependent wholly upon the benevolence of Nature?

Perhaps it is the purpose of Nature—if we may attribute purpose to anything so infinite and absolute as Nature—to produce real men, strong, upright and brave men. Perhaps she gives power to the few that she may rouse the spirit and elevate the thought and courage of the many. It would be a poor world in which there were no trials, difficulties or obstacles to overcome.

We may also hope, and even believe, that Nature has presented no evil that has no remedy, no difficulty that cannot be surmounted. If this be so, it is plain that we should spend no time in whining over things that are wrong, but that we should go to work to set them right.

Howsoever these things may be, the increasing volume and power of private capital have

been developed and are moving forward upon natural lines. Human greed is a motive in the movement, but greed would be in this case powerless if it were not in harmony with natural conditions.

The trusts and other combinations of capital are successful in the main because of the economies produced by organization and consolidation. The system that saves money and labor will always defeat the system that is wasteful of either. Nature abhors waste.

The first man with a hoe was able to do the work of ten men who used their fingers. The hoe was a temporary curse to the nine men whom it supplanted, but it became a blessing to the race of men.

It is a fact that nearly all reforms and improvements do more harm than good at the start. Pulling a tooth is more painful for the time than was its previous aching. Our emancipated slaves were more wretched in freedom at the beginning than they had been in bondage.

It is so ordered by Nature, and doubtless well ordered, that for all things man must pay a price, and for good things a great price. Even freedom has its responsibilities and penalties.

Labor-saving machinery has come at a cruel

cost. It has ruined and crushed the hopes and hearts of many, but in the end it is a blessing to mankind in general. For its victims there is no consolation save in religion, or in the thought that they are the martyrs of human progress.

In a better stage of civilization, such as we may conceive to be possible in the future, there may be an acknowledgment that such unfortunates are the creditors of society as legitimately as those who hold the bonds of the nation.

The trusts also are labor-saving machines. They are built on the rock of economy. A trust combines five, twenty or fifty concerns, and reduces expenses by discharging superfluous employés, and by closing poorly equipped or badly located houses or mills.

It uses the best machinery, methods and processes. It usually improves its product while increasing its earnings.

Two or three small houses may refuse to go into the trust. They would be independent; they prefer the old ways. Soon they feel the pinch of hard competition. The trust can undersell them; perhaps it can furnish a better product. It has a more complete organization; it covers more strategic points; it has more money; it is in alliance with other great interests; it can control experts and inventors; it

may secure better rates from the railroads, or even favors from the government.

The small houses that refused to yield must yield. They will be fortunate if they can still make good terms.

Sometimes an important house refuses to go into a trust. This usually delays the combination for the time. Some of the earlier trusts made imperfect combinations, leaving large houses outside. The results were unsatisfactory. The cost of fighting the strong houses neutralized the gains of consolidation. Now capital will not back the trust that does not monopolize all of the more important concerns in one branch of industry.

XXVI.

ALL OF THE INDUSTRIES FITTED BY THEIR
NATURE FOR COMBINATION WILL BE FORCED
INTO THE TRUSTS.

A FORCE stronger even than greed is driving a vast number of industries into combination. This force is competition. Free and unrestricted competition prevents extortion, reduces profit to moderate proportions, and sometimes destroys it wholly.

Free competition is often destructive to large concerns. If two important railroads, reaching the same points, were to bid against each other for all traffic, both would be ruined. The largest enterprises are impelled by the fear of loss, quite as much as by the hope of gain, to guard against the destructive influences of competition.

A bare subsistence is not profit. A fair return for labor, ability, thought or genius is not profit. Profit is defined as "acquisition without expenditure." Undue profit may be called extortion, which is secured rarely, save through some form of combination or monopoly.

Since competition is the deadly enemy of extortion, it is evident that Nature abhors all extortion as well as all waste. Here is a gleam of light. Perhaps Nature's ways are not such bad ways, after all. True, the monopolists have profits of vast magnitude. But they are of this generation, and a generation is a brief time in the life of a race.

The very large industries, such as the railroads, can usually agree upon rates or a division of business. Not so, however, with the manufacturing and commercial houses. With these competition grows fierce, and, in accordance with its nature, consumes profit. Practically all of them will be forced in time to choose between bankruptcy and combination.

Nearly all of the important commercial, manufacturing and transportation industries of the country are well fitted by their nature for combination.

We may confidently assume that all of these industries, which are not otherwise protected by monopoly, will inevitably be driven by the force of competition, or by the advantages of economy, into the trusts.

The trusts will manufacture all goods of importance, transport them to the markets and sell them to the public. The small retail houses in the larger towns and cities will in the main

constitution. It suits them; and without their consent it will not be changed. We have prospered under it for more than a hundred years, and it will probably last for two or three centuries more, at least."

If the politicians prove, in the final test, to be stronger than the people, then it is true that the constitution cannot be changed.

That issue is yet to be decided, and the fact should not be ignored that the disinterested are overwhelmingly in the majority. A great majority can change the constitution.

The claim that matters ought not to be, and cannot be, changed is always loudest just before they are changed. Thrones and other institutions of privilege are eulogized most, and seem to be strongest, the day before they fall.

That which is vehemently declared to be impossible nearly always happens.

The cause of right and justice is never hopeless. When things grow bad enough, reform comes, not because we will it and desire it, but because it must come—because the forces of evil have grown strong enough to invite their own destruction.

On the second day of December, 1859, a country boy in the West happened to be in a throng of people who were discussing an event of tragic interest, for it was the day that John

Brown was hanged. The boy heard the comments of a great number, and his heart was sick, for he thought that John Brown deserved some sympathy, at least in the North, and he heard no voice that did not speak bitterly of the grim old man who had died for other men that day.

Sixteen months later the North rose almost as one man, singing,

“ John Brown’s body lies a-mouldering in the grave ;
His soul is marching on.”

The boy heard these lines sung a thousand times afterward—by marching columns, in camps and trenches and prison pens, from the throats of great masses of men with faces illumined by a wonderful light, in hours of triumph and times of disaster, and once as he marched with a division of soldiers past the spot in Virginia where John Brown was hanged.

It seemed as if the soul of John Brown had entered into the soul of the army. The boy wondered, and he has never ceased wondering—for he and the writer of these words are one—at the mighty change.

When bad grows to be wholly bad, and evil to be rotten, then a change comes quickly.

Once in forty or fifty years a free people must arouse themselves, must have a moral

awakening, a moral renovation, or the moral man would die.

The constitution will be changed when the people are aroused. They have wrongs enough to awaken them. There are ample signs of day-break. The last laggard will soon be awake. And when the people are aroused, the placemen who would baffle them, the interests that would stay them, will be as the dry grass before the prairie fire.

Reform will come; the evil features in the constitution will die. Only two questions—Will reform be bloodless? and Will it be thorough?—need really disturb us.

XXV.

THE TRUSTS ARE BUILT ON THE ROCK OF ECONOMY—THE POWER OF COMBINED WEALTH IS YET IN ITS INFANCY.

NEW and startling economic conditions press upon us. The power of private wealth, which has been great in all stages of civilization, has now become the chief factor in human affairs. It dictates in large measure the internal and foreign policies of nations.

Our own country has obeyed for a third of a century almost every mandate of private capital, while England is now waging—as the civilized world, apart from the Imperialistic party in England, sincerely believes—a cruel and an unnecessary war in South Africa, in the interest of a few rich mining corporations.

It is evident also that private capital is only now beginning to learn the more important lessons in the art of organization. The power of combined wealth is yet in its infancy. The mind cannot grasp the full meaning of what its force will be in its maturity.

The ways of Nature seem upon the surface to be cruel. Why should Power and Strength be the pets of Nature? Why should she lay tribute upon the weak for the benefit of the strong, rather than upon the strong for the benefit of the weak?

On the other hand, if Nature should patronize the weak and discourage the strong, would we not in time begin to breed weakness, and become a race of paupers, dependent wholly upon the benevolence of Nature?

Perhaps it is the purpose of Nature—if we may attribute purpose to anything so infinite and absolute as Nature—to produce real men, strong, upright and brave men. Perhaps she gives power to the few that she may rouse the spirit and elevate the thought and courage of the many. It would be a poor world in which there were no trials, difficulties or obstacles to overcome.

We may also hope, and even believe, that Nature has presented no evil that has no remedy, no difficulty that cannot be surmounted. If this be so, it is plain that we should spend no time in whining over things that are wrong, but that we should go to work to set them right.

Howsoever these things may be, the increasing volume and power of private capital have

been developed and are moving forward upon natural lines. Human greed is a motive in the movement, but greed would be in this case powerless if it were not in harmony with natural conditions.

The trusts and other combinations of capital are successful in the main because of the economies produced by organization and consolidation. The system that saves money and labor will always defeat the system that is wasteful of either. Nature abhors waste.

The first man with a hoe was able to do the work of ten men who used their fingers. The hoe was a temporary curse to the nine men whom it supplanted, but it became a blessing to the race of men.

It is a fact that nearly all reforms and improvements do more harm than good at the start. Pulling a tooth is more painful for the time than was its previous aching. Our emancipated slaves were more wretched in freedom at the beginning than they had been in bondage.

It is so ordered by Nature, and doubtless well ordered, that for all things man must pay a price, and for good things a great price. Even freedom has its responsibilities and penalties.

Labor-saving machinery has come at a cruel

XXVIII.

THE GREAT CORPORATION IS FOREVER AT THE
ZENITH OF ITS POWERS, SERENE IN IMPE-
RIAL STRENGTH AND IMMORTAL LIFE.

BUT legal obstacles and adverse public sentiment must be reckoned with. Our complex and imperfect forms of government, state and national, are to be subjected to a strain such as they have not known before.

Panaceas are to be presented which will change the laws of Nature. Politicians are to write platforms denouncing the evils of the great aggregations of capital, while they hold in their pockets the retaining fees of the trusts. Constitutional amendments are to be proposed with the expectation that they will be rejected. Promises are to be made by both political parties to be broken, and laws are to be enacted which the lawmakers know will be ineffective.

The trusts are to engage nearly all of the great lawyers in the different states to soothe and pacify legislators, to tie knots and dig holes and pitfalls and weave complications in statutes,

and to confuse judges with time-worn precedents and moldy authorities.

The money of the trusts is to flow like water in all of the capitals of the country, and a wave of prosperity is to encompass those who do the corrupt work of the industrial combinations.

Great constitutional questions are again to be considered and argued, and reconsidered and reargued, in all of the states and in Washington. Decisions are to be made and reversed, and to be reaffirmed and reversed again. The judges are to be of as many minds as the people.

The great court in Washington is to sit in solemn judgment to determine finally the meaning of the constitution of the United States in regard to trusts; and, as the authors of the constitution were all dead before the first trust was thought of, we can conceive that the judges will arrive at a clear conclusion with some difficulty.

The legislation and judicial rulings in one state will be in conflict with the laws and decisions in other states. This jumble in laws and conflict in authorities will give comfort to the magnates of the trusts.

Some state will doubtless prohibit the business of the trusts within its borders. It will discover that the product of one or more of the trusts is vital to its people. It will be com-

pelled to recede from its position, and the trusts will score a point.

The final victory may seem to be in doubt for a long time. An advantage will be gained here and lost there, but the result will be at no time in doubt. The power of combined capital will of necessity be stronger than the people, acting under a complicated and an irresponsible system of government.

It is doubtful that a government could be devised which would be more perfectly fitted to the needs of organized capital than our own.

The important moneyed interests act through the corporation. The corporation is long-lived. It dies not; it is of the immortals. It is never in a hurry. We mortals must hurry, for tomorrow we die.

The great corporation is patient, serene in imperial strength and immortal life. Men may worry for it, but the corporation never worries. Men may wear themselves out in its service; other men can be had to fill their places.

New blood flows constantly into the arteries of the corporation; it is perpetually at the zenith of its powers. It can act as swiftly as the lightning, or it can wait for many years.

Our slow, cumbrous, torpid government is the helpless prey of the alert powers which represent financial interests. Let us interpret,

if we can, the thoughts of the great Moneyed Interest, in connection with the trust problem:

“Let us see. Public sentiment is against us; it is always against us. Some of our people think that we are to have more trouble this time than ever before. Very likely.

“Our fighting power is good. In fact, we haven't yet begun to fight. The little affrays we've had up to this time have been only skirmishes. When we call out our big guns and reserves, then there'll be real fighting.

“We shall be on hand in every presidential contest. A president cannot be elected who will go back on us completely.

“We shall concentrate our forces in the ‘close’ states. We must keep a sharp eye on the senate from this time on. We must have men there who can be relied on. No senatorial contest shall be neglected. The senators hold for six years. By paying particular attention to the senatorial elections, we can control that body for a long time.

“Then there is the supreme court. We must use our influence to get conservative and safe men appointed to fill vacancies.

“The constitution is a wonderful document. How human wisdom could have devised anything so perfect passes my comprehension. It protects great interests thoroughly. It gives the

people time to cool off and get tired when they are in the wrong. Why, they have voted against us about two-thirds of the time for the last thirty years, but they haven't disturbed us in the least.

"There were famous demagogues back there in the seventies, who threatened us. They're all dead now, or senile. But we're still hearty, thank you! We're fully five times as big and strong as we were then, and are growing every day. We're not worrying. The constitution gives us plenty of time. And the courts give us more time.

"There's another great principle—that the supreme court shall define the meaning of the laws and the constitution. What a check that is upon hasty and improper legislation!

"The constitution couldn't possibly be explicit on every point, so it authorized a court, whose members hold office for life, to decide what the constitution could, would or should have meant. Popular clamor has no effect on this court. Its decisions stand, unless they are reversed by the court itself. They become as much a part of the constitution as the original instrument.

"If you want to know what the constitution really is, you'll not get much information out of the original copy, with the formal amend-

ments. You'll have to go through the fourteen thousand (or maybe it's fourteen hundred) volumes of the decisions of the supreme court. When you've got all of these rulings clearly fixed in your mind, then you'll begin to understand the constitution.

“ We have usually found the courts, and especially the big courts, fair and conservative. If we doubt them, then our lawyers can tangle things up so as to prevent a decision for from three to fifteen years. We have frequently delayed matters long enough to let a bad judge die.

“ It amuses me to see the people assemble in great conventions, and solemnly impeach us, and declare that whereas and wherefore, and therefore be it resolved that they are going to reduce our powers and impair our influence. And I suppose they'd do it if it weren't for the surpassing wisdom and foresight of the men who made the constitution. As it is, we expect to be alive and prosperous long after the last one of these grumblers and anarchists has died of old age.”

XXIX.

THE ISSUE OF COMBINED WEALTH PRESSES UPON AND MENACES US—THE LINE OF CLASSES.

THE trusts are developing in harmony with the laws of Nature which work in favor of economy and of business operations on a large scale. It is not likely, therefore, that human wisdom could devise a law that would change the irresistible tendency of business toward the larger scale of operations, and serve at the same time the permanent interests of the people.

Statute law may retard, but it cannot destroy, the operation of natural law. We can dam a river, but in time it will overflow our obstruction.

Three facts are now plain:

1. The securing of effective legislation to repress the formation and development of the trusts, and of other dangerous aggregations of capital, is practically hopeless under our slow and complicated systems of government.

2. Even if such legislation should be secured, it would be of doubtful value, since the natural

law works in favor of business operations on a large scale.

3. If the trusts are permitted to develop in freedom, the unification of the great moneyed interests of the country into one organization or federation of capital, of a magnitude heretofore undreamed of, will follow. It will dominate our public affairs, and establish a far-reaching and consuming system of oppression intolerable to a free people.

Mankind are prone to overestimate the historic importance of the ordinary events and issues of their own time and country. The near object is larger to our senses than the far one. The hill that bounds our village seems taller to us than the Rockies or the Alps.

On the other hand, the importance of a really great issue is usually underestimated. Our optimism leads us to believe that it is not really so remarkable or so threatening as it appears to be.

Doubtless no man in France could have anticipated the full magnitude of the Terror, while the suggestion of the possibility of civil war in the United States over the question of slavery was lightly considered prior to the summer of 1860, and even after the conflict had begun there were wise men who were

sure that it would not last more than ninety days.

Crises of great importance in the affairs of a nation do not come frequently, yet there is no absolute exemption from them. The seriousness of our own impending issues may be overestimated by most of us, or it may be underestimated.

Certain it is that there are unusual forebodings of evil in the minds of the people. And there have been some signs of a coming conflict. Blood has been shed in warfare between organized labor and organized capital.

The line between classes grows sharper and clearer, and each class distrusts and fears the other. The two prominent political parties are gradually becoming adjusted in the North to the line of classes—the one representing the contented, the well-to-do and the rich, while the other stands for the discontented and the poor.

The capitalistic interests have had reasons to be well satisfied with the government up to the present time. It has served them well.

Yet it is plain that, when the line of classes has adjusted itself more completely to the line of political parties—and there is no reason to doubt that this will ultimately be accomplished—the well-to-do and the rich will be in a hope-

less minority, for the discontented greatly outnumber the contented.

Our government is slow and irresponsible, but it will yield in time to overwhelming and long-repeated majorities. If it should go completely into the hands of the discontented, as it almost certainly will go in time, then *they* might intrench themselves behind the checks and balances of the constitution, and defy the popular will, if it should turn against them, for a long period.

Then they might deride the evils of hasty and improper legislation, and applaud the system which enables a political party once completely in power to perpetuate its rule long after it has been repudiated by the people.

The strengthening of the line of classes is perhaps the most menacing feature of our political life. It threatens to assume the proportions of a bitter and prolonged feud, in which one class will seek to triumph over and humiliate the other, the questions of right and wrong being kept mainly in the background.

The overwhelming majority of men of all classes want nothing but justice. They differ in their views of methods, but what they believe to be right they maintain.

The menace of a conflict between classes can be avoided only by the reformation and recon-

struction of our defective systems of government, and by the application of natural remedies to the evils of the industrial aggregations which have grown up in harmony with natural law.

XXX.

THE PEOPLE ARE STRONGER THAN THE TRUSTS
—THE WEAK MUST FOREVER GIVE WAY TO
THE STRONG.

“**B**UT what could an honest and efficient government do?” we are asked. “You say that the trusts are developing on natural lines; that business operations on a large scale are more economical and perfect than operations on a small scale, and you even justify the trust people by saying that some of them are forced into the combinations to save their profits, which would otherwise disappear.

“If these things are true, what should the most perfect government that could be devised do, except to legalize the trusts, justify them, and then let them alone? And if they should develop, upon natural lines, in the further evolution of business operations on a large scale, into one trust, or one federation of trusts, should not this also be legalized and justified by the government?”

An honest and efficient government should

not legalize an organization in private hands of the proportions which the trusts will inevitably assume, because in doing so it would establish within the state a private interest which would become more powerful than the state, and which would enable the few who own it to oppress the many who have no interest in it.

A just government should deal justly with the combinations of capital and with the people. It should say to the Federation of Trusts:

“You have developed upon natural economic lines. You have demonstrated the great utility of business operations on a large scale, which will be in the end a blessing to the people. You have developed great enterprises and great power. It will be evident in time that, regardless of your motives, you have rendered a service to mankind.

“But the power which you possess is too great to remain in private hands. You have discovered a principle in Nature by which you could make the people your slaves. This you shall not do.

“You have demonstrated the power of combined capital. But there is a combination of capital stronger than yours. It is the combination of the capital of all the people, as represented in their government.

“Your enterprises shall become the property of the people, to be run by them in their interest, and in your interest, for you also are of the people.

“Your evolution, which has been in harmony with natural law, has not reached its completion in you. Back in your infancy you said to the very weak: ‘Give way to me, for I am the stronger! Nature loves the strong and despises the weak. Give way to me!’ And they gave way. You said again and again to your weaker members, and to the people: ‘Give way to me, ye feeble ones! I am the chosen of Nature. I alone am in harmony with Nature, for I am mighty and powerful. Give way; give way!’ And they gave way.

“You have grown to vast proportions. You stride the earth. Alexander and Cæsar and Napoleon dreamed of no such conquests as you have made. You have grown insolent and arrogant, for insolence and arrogance grow out of unbridled power.

“But Nature’s cycle is incomplete in you. The People, who are stronger than you, say to you: ‘Give way, for *you* are weak. You thought that you were strong, but you are weak. We are stronger than any other earthly force. You thought that you could defeat and enslave us. You are very feeble, and you have

dreamed foolish dreams. Give way to the stronger; give way to the People!’

“The people will pay for your property. They will deal more justly with you than you have sometimes dealt with them. The people are so rich, now that they begin to understand their resources and powers, that they will make no reprisals on you, nor will they haggle with you.

“Assume no longer that you are the favorite of Nature, who has no favorites. Nature raises up the strong to try them. She produces inequalities in human affairs to arouse the courage, the resourcefulness and the manhood of the people. Those who think not, feel not, care not, go on to the destruction that they have earned.

“But these people here are not yet ripe for destruction. They have in their veins the blood of the picked free men of the earth—of the strong, the aspiring and the daring, who left the Old World to improve their conditions, and who founded a free nation based upon the immortal truth of the equality of human rights. You cannot deceive them; you cannot enslave them.

“They are the descendants of those who gave their blood freely to establish, and again to maintain, this Republic. Did you think in

your folly that they could be undone by the growth of commerce, by the tricks of the counting-house, by the shrewd games of barter and trade?

“ You have been as a child playing with fire. Know that the authors of schemes against the well-being of the people, such as you have been hatching, are sometimes consumed in violence. Be thankful that the people have grown wiser and cooler. Go forth now in your shriveled pride, and rejoice that they have not dealt more harshly with you! ”

XXXI.

IN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO DISTRUST AN EXPANSION OF THE FREEDOM AND POWERS OF THE PEOPLE.

THAT any form of government, however perfect, could handle efficiently and honestly a large business enterprise, such as the railroad system of the country, will be disputed.

It can be said in answer that many of the states of Europe do own and operate successfully the railroads within their borders.

Under public ownership the transportation business would be simplified in important particulars. The problems of competition, including agreements and pools with rival lines, which are now a heavy burden upon the strongest railroad men in the country, who are compelled to give their main attention to the pacification of the discontented or to the crushing of the weak, would disappear.

And so also the legal broils in which so many railroads are engaged would cease to exist, as would the lobbies to promote or defeat legisla-

tion, and the elaborate organizations to prune and avoid taxes.

The business enterprises which are now conducted by the nation, or by local communities, in the interest of the people, are by no means wholly failures. It is a significant fact that our government in its different branches has succeeded better in the management of undertakings which might have been left to private enterprise than in its purely public functions.

The postoffice is fairly well conducted, and in view of the fact that it is managed largely as a political machine, is remarkably successful. The fire departments of the cities are usually handled with the utmost efficiency, while the failures and scandals in the public school system of the country are few, in proportion to its magnitude.

If these things can be under governments which are usually inefficient and corrupt, we may hope for far better results under governments which will be capable and honest.

Moreover, we have at present many very important enterprises, of the nature of savings banks—corporations without stockholders or owners—that are managed usually with much efficiency and fidelity by boards of trustees, in the interest of the depositors or other bene-

ficiaries. These are really public business enterprises.

The thoughtless might say that the intricate business of banking could not be managed by and for the public. Yet the savings banks are run in the public interest and under public control. In nearly all of the states, the officials of the savings banks have no proprietary interest in these institutions. These officers handle with fidelity *over two thousand million dollars* of the people's money.

There are more than five million depositors in the savings banks of the United States, each one of whom is a witness that business enterprises of magnitude can be run successfully under public management, and purely for the benefit of the people.

None of the human material required for the perfect organization of business—the engineers, inventors, adepts and men of executive ability and commanding force—would be lacking under public ownership.

These are the men who really manage the great business enterprises now under private control, and to whose superior skill and ability the greatest corporations in the country constantly defer.

These resourceful men, under present conditions, are frequently compelled to divide their

honors with the sons and other kinsmen of the owners, as Von Moltke was forced, in the Franco-German war, to share his honors with the scions of the royal house of Prussia.

Under public ownership of the public utilities, these men of great genius for practical business, who are now little known outside of their own circles, will become well known to the people; they will be famous, and the names of some of them may even be immortal.

The forces of competition will still be at work in the public enterprises—the competition of men in the public service who desire to improve their fortunes, to excel, to win an honorable position, to stand well with their fellows.

The spirit of emulation which leads men to hazard their lives for the sake of honorable mention, of promotion or of duty, in the military branch of the public service, will not be lacking, under free and natural conditions, in its civil divisions.

XXXII.

THE COMING AGE OF HONESTY AND JUSTICE—
THOSE WHO SERVE THE PUBLIC WILL SERVE
FAITHFULLY.

THE resourcefulness, shrewdness and self-seeking of large masses of private capital will alone be lacking in public enterprises. Let us not underestimate the power of human interest, of human selfishness.

Have we, however, any sound reason for assuming that the interest of the whole people, each one having a small holding, will be less effective than the interest of a small number with great holdings?

It will be said that the small number have greater powers of concentration than the large number, as a hundred men can move more quickly and co-operate more effectively than a million. But the few must act, in this case, through the machinery of the corporation, and the people must adopt the same mechanism.

The private capitalists must delegate their powers to a small board; the congress of the

nation must also authorize a small board to manage the public industries. We have no reason to assume that this board, representing the whole people, will not be as swift, resourceful, alert and forceful as the board chosen by the capitalists.

Human interest, human selfishness and all other motives, good and bad, which work for success, including human ambition and hope and pride and unselfishness and love, will be actively enlisted in the public enterprises. The heart of each man, woman and child will swell with satisfaction and pride in the joint ownership of great wealth, and in the joint control of vast power.

"This line of rails," each one will say, "this noble bridge, this imposing building, all of these vast and perfect industries, are mine as much as they are any one's. A million servants wait upon me. They may be found in every nook and corner of the land, and even of the whole world, seeking to provide for my wants and pleasures. A thousand palaces are mine. My carriages await me wherever I go; my ships sail for me from every port.

"Do I desire that my servants shall be dull, or negligent, or treacherous, or dishonest? By no means. I will tolerate none of these, for this is the age of honesty and justice, when

men must earn what they get, and they who serve must serve faithfully.

“I am so rich and powerful that I envy no man, and yet no man envies me, for my brethren also are rich and powerful. They serve me no more than I serve them. The poorest among us is rich and strong, and those of greater fitness and capacity are still richer and stronger in accordance with their merits. For justice has solved all things. Ah, the world is sweet and fair since justice has come!”

XXXIII.

BEFORE THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY A CITY IN AMERICA WILL HAVE A POPULATION OF TWENTY MILLIONS.

THE future historian who shall write the story of these times will doubtless discover the most important phase of our American civilization in the enormous growth of private wealth, and in the corresponding expansion of private business enterprise.

We may also anticipate that, as he passes on to a later period, he will discover that the splendors of private wealth were but as a faint prophecy of the greater splendors of our public wealth, and that the achievements of private business enterprise were even small compared with the achievements of public business enterprise.

Nowhere perhaps will public enterprise have a fairer field of development than in the city of the future, the city of civilization.

Let us return to the city of New York, to consider its possibilities. Here, as in all other towns and cities, we find a grave problem in

the private ownership of the urban land, which has grown to be enormously valuable through the growth of population.

The people in mass, through their aggregation, have produced the excessive value of the land.

The private ownership of land has always been recognized by us. The title to a large part of the land goes back to the government itself, which sold the public domain to individuals. Titles have passed in innumerable cases, the "unearned increment" has been secured by persons now dead, and by others who have sold their holdings, and are no longer landholders.

Only in rare cases have the present owners secured exorbitant "unearned increment;" many are even holding land which is worth less than it cost them.

It is plain, under the circumstances, that the confiscation of the land, through taxation or otherwise, would be an act of injustice. But it is evident also that the system by which values earned by the public are appropriated by individuals should be placed, as Lincoln said of slavery in 1858, "in the course of ultimate extinction."

The cities have not yet reached their full growth; they have only begun to grow. Be-

fore the end of the twentieth century there will be a city in America with a population of twenty millions, and many other cities of enormous size. There are tracts of land now of little value upon which great masses of people will yet live, and which will be much increased in value thereby.

It would be difficult to find on Manhattan island at the present time an acre of land within eight miles of the Battery that could be bought for less than \$100,000. The average value is more than double that figure. There are large areas that are worth \$500,000 an acre, and there are tracts of no small proportions that are worth \$1,000,000 an acre, and there are still other plots that are worth from \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000 an acre.

These values are unnatural and artificial, the result of a great congestion of population and business, which adequate systems of transportation will relieve. They will shrivel in time, and under the power of public enterprise, to more natural proportions.

The development of our great cities is obstructed at present by state legislation, the interests back of the state being usually out of harmony with, and sometimes hostile to, the interests of the city.

The metropolis must in time be set free from

all external interferences with its local affairs. This emancipation can be accomplished completely through the formation of a metropolitan state which will include the region within say fifty miles of the heart of the present city of New York, embracing portions of the states of New Jersey and Connecticut—a district large enough to include within its boundaries the whole of the possible future growth of the city.

The boundaries of the city may be the same as the boundaries of the state, or a number of separate towns and cities may be organized, their varying interests being harmonized through the government of the metropolitan state. We shall assume for the present, and for the sake of clearness only, that the state and the city will be one.

XXXIV.

THE CITY OF THE FUTURE—ON THE FACE OF THIS PLANET THERE IS ROOM FOR ALL.

THE city should build, from time to time, such systems of swift transit as are required to open homes and opportunities for its increasing population. These lines will reach out into the regions of cheap land.

The city should condemn and purchase the cheap land contiguous to each line as it is built or opened, paying the price it was worth before the public enterprise shall have enhanced it. This will be just and fair. The owners will get what their land is worth. The whole people will get the increased value which the whole people have produced, and the full benefits of the public enterprise.

The land so acquired will be laid out upon scientific principles for the use of the people. The most expert landscape architects and civil and sanitary engineers will be employed to produce plans as nearly perfect as human thought, learning and experience can devise.

Certain streets will be yielded to business,

with reasonable restrictions. Districts adapted to manufacturing will be assigned to that use, ample facilities being furnished for power and transportation. The streets designed for separate residences will be protected for that purpose. Other streets will be given to apartments, to clubs and to co-operative homes.

The people will be supplied with water, electric currents, telephones, light and heat, through the public service, at cost, or at a figure little above cost. The advantages of private co-operation and public combination will be fully utilized.

Drudgery will be reduced to meager proportions. The mother in the household will be released from exhausting toil and from many petty cares. Waste will be extinguished, and perhaps menial service will disappear, those who have been servants ascending to a better plane in life.

The new district will be planned upon the lines of economy, utility, beauty and wholesomeness. It will supply the maximum of comfort with the minimum of labor. Its death rate will be as low as science can reduce it.

The title to the land will remain forever in the public. The occupant will pay a reasonable ground-rent for a plot. He will own and

construct his own building, which he may sell, subject to the ground-rent, as leaseholds are now sold. The expense of owning a home will be the cost of a house. The number of home-owners will be greatly increased.

The revenue from the land will in time pay for the land, for its improvement, and for the system of rapid transit to it; and at a later time it will yield a large and permanent income to the city. Other districts will be developed in the same way. The superior advantages of the suburbs will draw the people out of the old city. Its tenements will be forsaken; its fire-traps and its slums will be abandoned.

The city, through its control of the public utilities, and through co-operation with the national government, which will now be the owner and master of the great industries of general importance, will be able to regulate the location of the more important business plants, each industry being given that place which will be best fitted for its uses, its employés having homes in the same neighborhood, that there may be no waste of time and money in traveling to and from work.

The center of this vast field of activity will possibly drift in time from Manhattan island. Barring two natural obstacles, the Palisades and the great Hackensack swamp, the land to

the westward, in New Jersey, will be the broader field for development.

That part of the United States lying to the east of the Hudson river—including the present city of New York, a part of the state of New York and all of New England—contains only one-eighth of the population of the United States.

It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the future growth of the metropolis of the Atlantic seaboard, if unobstructed, will be mainly to the west of the Hudson, drawn thither by the advantages of closer communication with the larger part of the country.

The city will fill and drain the Hackensack swamp, which is now the breeding ground of malaria and mosquitoes, making that region sanitary and wholesome. It will develop the Palisades, locating on its lofty plateau, doubtless, the noblest park in the world.

The district within fifty miles of the heart of the present city of New York contains, exclusive of the surface of the ocean, bays and rivers, more than three million acres. If one-third of this area be given to parks, streets and business purposes, there are left two million acres for homes, an average allowance of half an acre—a plot eight times the size of the present

standard city lot in New York—to 4,000,000 families, or 20,000,000 people.

It is evident that there is no insurmountable reason, even here in this center of dense population, for abnormal land values, or for the crowding of the people. On the face of this planet there is room for all.

Through its income from the public utilities which it will own, and the land which it will develop, the city will in time become self-supporting. Taxes will be abolished. Later its enormous earnings will force a reduction on the charges it will make for public services. Perhaps travel on its lines of transit will become free.

It will found gymnasiums, baths, schools, art galleries and libraries for the people. It will condemn the land in the old city, which has fallen to a more natural value, and open it for the palaces of business, education and pleasure. It will become in time the owner, by purchase, of all the land within its limits.

The city will be clean, wholesome and beautiful. Its architecture will be noble and inspiring. It will be a fit abiding place for the men and women of the Twentieth Century.

XXXV.

PUBLIC ENTERPRISE WILL REBUILD OLD CITIES
AND CONSTRUCT NEW ONES FOR THE
PEOPLE.

NEW YORK is so cut into by bays and broad streams that its growth outward has been difficult. Other cities will find the transit problem, and hence the land question, less complicated.

Chicago has vast tracts of cheap land near her which could be made accessible by comprehensive systems of transportation. Much of this adjacent land is better adapted for homes and places of business than the present site of the city, which is, in the main, flat and wet.

Indeed the older parts of cities, being located usually upon rivers and harbors, and frequently upon swampy ground, are not noted for wholesomeness. In some cases these districts were badly planned in the beginning, or they grew up without a plan, the streets being narrow and crooked, the buildings old, inconvenient, combustible and insanitary. The fire that

sweeps over such a district is usually regarded as a public advantage.

Even in the new western cities which were well planned in the beginning, and in which the buildings are comparatively modern in design, there are few fireproof structures.

Apparently we are approaching a period in the growth of our cities similar to that reached by the early settler when he found that he had outgrown his log-cabin days, and, impelled by the spirit of progress, faced the problem of building a better home. Sometimes he abandoned the old site, which was located frequently on low ground, near a spring, moving to a more elevated and wholesome spot.

So our cities should be rebuilt. The present sites will, in some cases, be forsaken, and public enterprise will plan and build new cities better fitted than the old for civilized people.

The old city, for the advantages of transportation, was located on the water. The systems of transportation having changed, we now have important cities remote from navigable waters, even on arid plains and in the mountains. The interior cities of the future will be near the central points in population, the sources of production, and the seats of mechanical power.

Public enterprise will plan and build a perfect modern city in the neighborhood of Niagara

Falls, which will utilize fully the vast power of that cataract. The city of Buffalo, if set free, will accomplish this task. There are many sites fit for great cities in the West and South that are now practically uninhabited.

That which, in our commercial development, has heretofore been left largely to chance and accident will become subject to order and design.

The seats of the various industries will be carefully planned, due consideration being given to their relations to raw materials, to transportation and markets.

Their plants will be as nearly perfect as human intelligence can make them. Their products will be turned out with the maximum of economy. They will be honest products, true to their names and brands, there being no motive for dishonesty.

We will produce more cheaply than ever before, and with ever-increasing economy. Cheapness, which has sometimes been harmful, will become wholly beneficial, for extortion will have disappeared.

XXXVI.

THE PEOPLE WILL NOT SEEK REFUGE FROM OLD
FORMS OF OPPRESSION IN NEW FORMS OF
DESPOTISM.

AGAIN we are interrupted:
“Are you not now advancing on the
line of the Socialists, who would have
the state absorb all industries, and become the
employer of all of the people, assigning each
man to the task for which, in its judgment, he
would be best fitted?”

Those who are called Socialists hold many
varying views. Our inquirer has stated cor-
rectly the policy favored by the extreme sec-
tion. This plan of action would abolish human
freedom.

The system that would organize society into
a great industrial army, each member being
assigned to his place by a superior power,
would be a system of despotism, and a very
deplorable system of despotism, notwithstand-
ing the benevolent intentions of those who
propose it.

The people will not seek refuge from old

forms of oppression in new forms of despotism. They will seek immunity from all systems which limit man's freedom to move, aspire or act as he pleases, so long as he infringes upon the rights of no other man.

When the Coming Democracy shall have arrived, our people will be more free, rather than less free, than they now are. Each man will choose in freedom his vocation. He may work in the public service or in the field of private enterprise. He may toil for himself or for another. He will be the more free in having better opportunities, and in the ability to secure the full results of his own labor.

The state should acquire for the public benefit only those industries and things which are clearly monopolizable in their nature, and notably the urban and suburban land, and the property of the great trusts. The industries open to free competition should be in no sense interfered with by the state. They should be encouraged and maintained.

Free competition, as has already been shown, prevents extortion. Under free competition men get only what they earn. It is a powerful stimulus to industry, enterprise, invention and all forms of progress. It is a regulator of inconceivable value in human affairs.

It is the policy of the trusts to wage an

aggressive warfare upon free competition, and to subjugate industries which, under free and natural conditions, would respond to the influence of competition.

The state should pursue the opposite policy. It should restore to freedom all industries that are in their nature competitive.

Many industries now moving hopelessly toward absorption by monopoly may be saved from this fate. We may conceive that another step in the evolution of the "great store" may restore it to the influence of competition. A city may build immense market-houses. One may be for the book market, another for the shoe market, another for the hat market, and others for millinery, clothing, furniture, and so forth.

Spaces in the book market would be leased to dealers who would display and sell their goods in free competition with each other. In such case the advantages of the great emporium, of the large scale in business, could be maintained without destroying the small industries, and by bringing the latter under the closer influence of competition. And what would be practicable in the book industry would be practicable in other industries.

It is possible also that many small manufacturing industries, now likely to be monopo-

lized, could be saved by the construction of large and convenient power houses, in which each could rent a space fitted for its needs.

The decentralization of industries should be encouraged by the state whenever such a movement is in harmony with natural law.

XXXVII.

EXTORTION AND MONOPOLY WILL CEASE—MAN
WILL GET WHAT HE EARNS ; NO MORE AND
NO LESS.

UNDER the Coming Democracy public and private enterprise will work together harmoniously, profit being wholly eliminated in the one, and deprived of the possibility of extortion in the other. No unfair tribute will be exacted between the producer and the consumer.

The old systems by which exchange levies many forms of extortion and unnecessary charges, in handling goods, will disappear. Commerce will become free; exchanges will be for full and perfect value received.

The product of the farmer's acre will exchange for its complete equivalent in the fruits of other men's toil, while all other forms of human industry will exchange for their equivalents.

Equity in exchange will stimulate man's endeavor to the highest.

Cheapness will be the result of improved

methods, and not of the oppression of labor. Back of all honest systems of production and exchange there is but one thing—that is labor.

In the final analysis of commerce, man has nothing to sell but labor, and he can buy nothing but labor. Potatoes and paintings, bread and books, are only labor prepared for the market.

Under the better systems there will be no impediment to the free exchange of labor, the only commodity that man can really buy or sell. In this free market there will be no incentive to “bull” labor or to “bear” labor.

The relative value of labor will be determined, as of old, by its quality. Intelligent labor will be worth more than ignorant labor. The labor of one who can paint a great picture, or manage a large industry, will be worth much more than the labor of him who can only lift or pull or dig.

All of the advantages of machinery, of improved methods, of the large scale in business, of economy in exchange, will go, as they should go in fairness, to labor—to the whole people, for all of us who are not drones are laborers. Each man will get what he fairly earns; he is entitled to no more, he should receive no less.

Overgrown fortunes will disappear with the systems of extortion and monopoly which have produced them. Poverty will also disappear, save as the result of indolence, or of physical or mental misfortune.

XXXVIII.

WE SHALL NO LONGER TRANSMIT CARE AND
FEAR TO OUR UNBORN CHILDREN—PEACE,
FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

THE standard of comfort will be greatly advanced among the plain people, as the earning power of their labor increases. They will live no longer in vile tenements and hovels. They will aspire to better things.

The man now called poor will acquire a comfortable home, with a bath, and good beds, and tidy furniture, and even a piano—for these things will be marvelously cheap. He and his folks will be well-clothed. Rags and tatters will go to the junkshops. His hours of labor will no longer be exhausting. His spine will not be curved by toil at forty. He may stand as straight as any other man, and he need fear no man.

Travel will be very cheap when the public railways and steamship lines are run at cost. It has been estimated that the actual cost of transporting passengers from New York to

Chicago, when the railroads are unified under public control, need not be more than two dollars for each passenger.

Those who are now poor will be able to see something of the great world of which before they have only heard. Even the common people shall have their vacations. They shall visit their kindred, even in far places, and grasp the hands of the old friends from whom they have been long separated.

The men and women of the wide prairies and plains shall journey to the East to see the beauties and wonders of its cities, to breathe the sweet air of its mountains, to behold the majesty of the sea. They shall go on even to Europe, to see old things with new eyes, to revel in the verdure of England, and in the quaintness of the Old World life.

The plain people of the East shall travel to the great West to know and understand the larger and stronger part of the nation, to wonder at its fertility, and to marvel over its great cities, some of which have grown up within the memory of men now living. They shall be lifted to high elevations in the Rockies, and descend to the valleys of our western coast, where they shall behold fruits and forests which transcend the growths of any other land.

And all shall be refreshed and broadened by new sights, new experiences and new thoughts.

Private wealth shall be less ostentatious, but the public wealth will be substantial, useful and imposing. Even now, under the old conditions, there is no man in New York rich enough to own a park equal to the public parks, a library equal to the public libraries, or an art gallery equal to the public collections of art.

In the better future we shall realize the folly of being the slaves of the useless things we own—of useless books, useless furniture, useless bric-a-brac, useless rooms, useless horses, useless houses and useless lands. These useless things require useless servants, and the useless servants require more useless help to wait on them. The rich are the victims of their own accumulation of things.

The best people of the future will live simply, and live well. They will refuse to be the slaves of things. Ostentation and elaborate adornment will be the hallmarks of the vulgar. But some of the manifestations of the public wealth will be impressive and even magnificent.

The public parks, arches, fountains, roadways and buildings will be the realizations of the dreams of the greatest engineers, architects

and artists of the world. The public service will be elaborate and farreaching. The public wealth will be the wealth of all and of each of the people, and its utilities will be the servants of all and of each. And in this state of affairs no reasonable man will mourn the absence of enormous private fortunes.

Business having become honest and just, we shall now have small practice in lying and in deception.

The dread of poverty, the fear of want, the anxieties connected with the problem of living in comfort, or of living at all, which beset us in youth and follow us to the grave, shall pass away.

We shall no longer transmit care and fear to our unborn children. We shall taste of the joys of real peace, of real freedom and of real independence.

Our children shall grow taller and stronger. Their lungs shall have more power, their voices more resonance, their eyes more light. We shall begin to grow a noble race.

We shall mount to higher and better planes. We shall aspire to be foremost in maintaining peace, and in all of the arts, courtesies and equities of civilization. We shall excel Rome in her days of triumph, and Britain in the maximum of her glory. We shall expand

through setting free and employing the energies of our whole people. We shall build an empire more powerful and magnificent than a conqueror has ever dreamed of—the first Kingdom of Honesty, the first Empire of Justice!

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