

fictories of monopoly now invoke this sentiment against restraining legislation. It is a mockery of Jefferson to first violate his injunction by the granting of special rights and privileges to a favored few and then attempt to use his words in opposition to restraining legislation.

It is true that Jefferson was opposed to legislation which would hamper the individual in the development of his powers, but no man pointed out more clearly than Jefferson that one man's rights end where the rights of another begin. No one has a right to injure another in his person or in his property, and according to Jefferson's philosophy government is organized by the people to protect each individual in the enjoyment of his natural rights, and a government founded upon Jeffersonian principles and administered according to the maxims of Jefferson could never tolerate a private monopoly. While Jefferson believed that legislation might be carried so far as to discourage rather than encourage individual effort, he always insisted that it should be carried far enough to restrain any hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury.

Another Jeffersonian doctrine which is being misinterpreted today is his protest against paternalism. He favored the encouragement of individual effort and opposed the undertaking by the government of work which the individual could do better. His words have been invoked against what is described as public ownership. In applying any man's language to conditions arising after his death, it is necessary to know not only what he said, but the reason for what he said. Nothing is more unfair than to employ words in such a way as to defeat the reasons which lie back of the language used. Jefferson's aim was to protect the rights of the individual and to give him the maximum of stimulus. A private monopoly, such as public ownership is intended to prevent, does not enlarge the sphere of the individual or inspire him to high endeavor. The actual effect of a private monopoly is just the reverse and wherever the principle of private monopoly enters, the government must operate the monopoly, or violate all of the principles taught by Jefferson.

For instance, in the city of Chicago has been won the most notable victory achieved thus far in the United States for the cause of municipal ownership, and Judge Dunne, who led the democratic forces to victory on this platform, was one of the organizers of the Jefferson club under whose auspices this banquet is given. Can anyone be so ignorant of the aims, arguments and principles of Jefferson as to quote him in support of a corporation which monopolizes the highways of this great city? Can anyone believe that he would subordinate his objections to monopoly in order to defend the right of a few monopolists to reap an enormous profit from the use of streets made valuable, not by the capitalists but by the people of Chicago? If Jefferson was loath to endorse a patent which gave a man a limited monopoly of a thing which he actually invented, would he be likely to favor the giving of a permanent monopoly to men who invent nothing except new methods of evading taxation or of corrupting councils? Nothing is more consistent with the support of Jeffersonian principles than the ownership and operation by the public of every industry which is in its nature a monopoly. Where competition is impossible, the benefits of monopoly must accrue to the whole people, not to a few. I am glad that in the city of Chicago the democratic platform was broad enough to include not only the public ownership of the street car lines, but the public ownership of lighting plants and telephone systems—the Chicago water system, I believe, has for many years been owned by the city. The natural results of private monopoly are, first, extortion

as to the price of the product; second, oppression as to the labor employed in production; third, reduction in the price of raw material; fourth, deterioration in the quality of the products, and fifth, the corruption of the power which attempts to regulate monopoly in the interest of the public. When the English parliament grants a franchise for a private water plant or lighting plant, it generally fixes a maximum income, and requires a reduction of rates when the maximum is reached, but in this country the advocates of monopoly are bold enough to resist all limitation and to demand a free hand for those who are in control of the quasi-public corporations. In the matter of water plants, the cities have made great progress, but a small percentage of the water plants being now owned by private corporations. The taking over of the lighting plants has not gone so far, but the movement is now well under way. But few of the cities have undertaken to establish telephone exchanges, but this is a necessary step, and unless it is taken soon we shall have the same struggle that we have gone through in regard to water plants and lighting plants. The sooner the cities begin to establish their own telephone exchanges, the less they will have to pay for watered stock, and in compensation for so-called "vested rights."

The third Jeffersonian doctrine that is now being misinterpreted and misapplied, is his argument against long-time debts. He took the position that the earth belonged in succession to each generation, and that a preceding generation had no right to mortgage the earth beyond its occupancy of it. If his doctrine had been adopted it would be much easier to deal with the problems of today, but it is manifestly unfair to permit railroads and municipal corporations to mortgage the public for generations, and then to quote Jefferson against the issue of bonds when a city attempts to rid itself of private monopolies. It is better for a city to issue bonds at a low rate of interest and for actual improvements than for a city to permit private corporations to issue bonds, based not upon investment, but upon the power of monopoly to extort an income from succeeding generations. Then, too, there is a very clear distinction between a debt incurred in the establishment of a municipal plant which

will yield an income to the city, and the incurring of a debt which brings no specific return. Mr. Bird S. Coler, late comptroller of the city of New York, has brought out this distinction and it is one that is useful in the discussion of municipal ownership. A father who leaves to his child an incumbered plant which yields an income in excess of the interest upon the incumbrance, leaves him a richer inheritance than he would if he left him unimproved land. And so a city can justify a large indebtedness if the money borrowed is expended on a plant which not only pays an interest upon the investment, but creates a sinking fund sufficient to discharge the debt in a reasonable length of time. A generation would thus bequeath to the succeeding generation not an incumbrance but an annuity.

And so the teachings of Jefferson, when studied in the light of his controlling purpose, furnish guidance for us today, and will furnish guidance for ages to come. He built not for a day or for a century, but for all time, because he built upon the solid rock. Inspired by the love of his fellows he turned the training of a master mind and the energies of a still greater heart to the service of mankind. And although his contemporaries showered upon him the highest honors that man can give, he left the world his debtor beyond the power of man to calculate. No words or figures can measure the value of the gift that he bestowed upon the race. Wherever men contend for human rights his words strengthen and encourage. Wherever patriots devote themselves to the investigation of problems of government, his researches and his expositions illumine and direct. Every great forward movement bears the impress of his thought, his words, his work. He stands before us as the growing figure in the sphere of politics. Warriors have won fame upon the battlefield and have rearranged with their swords the maps of nations, but history affirms with Carlisle that thought, stronger than artillery parks, at last rules the world, and that "back of thought is love."

Jefferson's love for mankind was his controlling passion, and it extended to generations unborn. As we celebrate his memory on the anniversary of his birth, we can say as those could say who lived when he did, "We love him because he first loved us."

JUDGE PARKER'S SPEECH

At a Jefferson day banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York, April 13, Judge Parker made the first public address he has made since the last election and in response to the toast, "The Future of the Democratic Party." The following is the report made by the New York correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald:

The toast, "The Future of the Democratic Party," called for a reorganization of the democracy along lines and upon principles most favored in the victorious days of Grover Cleveland.

Mr. Parker belittled the tremendous victory of his republican opponent and even admitted that his own defeat "was easy to foresee and predict." He asserted it was preceded by "division and faction in our ranks over a period of eight years, and they have done their worst." Gilding skillfully from a gloomy retrospect the speaker gracefully entered into a discussion of future possibilities.

Lessons from Jefferson

Being the orator of the evening at a dinner given in celebration of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Parker drew many lessons from the great man's life and sayings. He espoused the Jeffersonian idea as against the frenzied and spasmodic movements which he said sometimes sweep over a country and drag in their wake the shattered remnants of a political army. He dubbed the free silver "craze" such

a movement, and while not mentioning William J. Bryan by name, said that as the head and apostle of that cause he "was and is perhaps the most persuasive political orator known to our history." Mr. Parker added that this wild-eyed chasing after a new god "swept our party out of power in every northern democratic state, and they had remained in the republican column ever since."

Having gleaned wisdom from the past, the speaker vigorously urged a realignment of the democratic forces under the standards which flew most proudly in the heyday of Grover Cleveland's power. He said that, when analyzed, the democratic party "in all its history has been true to a few general ideas and policies."

Principles of the Party

The principles Mr. Parker enunciated under the minor caption, "The Future Policy of the Party," as follows:

"1. The strict interpretation of the Constitution, which implies resistance to centralization by the federal government because it is opposed to the fundamental idea of our system of popular government and for the further reason that all human experience shows that that way danger lies.

"2. That levy of import duties and other taxes with strict regard to the industrial interests of all our people, whether producers or consumers, whether manufacturers, farmers or

workmen, and always at rates which, while just to all, shall be essentially revenue-producing, thus eliminating monopoly and favoritism.

"3. Constant, unremitting attention to honest, economical expenditure of the taxes collected from the people; and

"4. Non-interference in the political affairs of other nations, thus making entangling alliances as impossible as they are undesirable and un-American."

The "sage of Esopus" asserted that "these ideas are as vital as they were in the earliest stages of our national history." He took a sudden fling at some theories of the party when he added in his next sentence: "If as a natural corollary they are supplemented by the rigid, unremitting enforcement of the criminal law in both nation and states, there is not much room for the intrusion of outgrown customs, or for new-fangled forms of hysteria and humbug."

Pleas for Organization

Mr. Parker's next plea was for a harking back to the era of Mr. Cleveland and for sane organization of the party along these lines in every state and country of the Union. He declared organization to be vital, but intimated that a popular policy would result in organization. To achieve these two things he vouchsafed the following suggestion:

"If, then, we, as democrats, prove ourselves true to a real and genuine reform of tariff abuses, bringing American common sense to their suppression, if we shall only apply ourselves to this great and commanding question, with the courage, devotion to principle and regard for the interests of all the people which so distinguished Grover Cleveland, we will not only deserve and command the support of the great body of consumers, but also invite that of progressive and intelligent manufacturers, who, in all historical fiscal agitations, have finally given up their special privileges and attached themselves to a system from which at least some of the manacles had been removed. By so doing, we shall eliminate evils and abuses from our industrial system and promote real progress."

Pays Tribute to South

As a whole Mr. Parker's address comprehended a wide range of objects. He began by alluding to the recent political disaster; he next took occasion to pay warm tribute to the south, which he declared was always "solid" for obvious reasons, which he marshalled in the following eloquent paragraph:

"Maintaining the struggle with the one great and almost insoluble problem of our time, working under the most serious difficulties, courageous in the face of many discouragements, these people have manfully represented the hopes, the ideals and the traditions of their country and the logic as well as the heroism of our national history. If any man is so foolish as to ask why the democratic party has been true to the south in its time of trial, and why this attachment has been required, it must be because he knows little of history and less of human nature."

He proceeded next to decry what he described as a demand for novel methods in our national dealings. He said: "In our early days it was deemed a virtue when the government, like the individual, minded its own business, but this is now out of date, so the proper way for a government to do things is by inference or meddling." He referred with seeming sarcasm to the recent insistence that the govern-

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