

"I live for those who love me,
And the good that I can do."

—Bradford.

HEART TO HEART

By WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

These heart to heart appeals, scattered through speeches delivered during a quarter of a century (1890 to 1916), are collected and republished in the belief that they may be of permanent interest to the friends whose continued confidence has been an inspiration and whose constancy has been an ample reward for whatever service I may have been able to render to my country during the eventful days we have been co-laborers in this favored part of the Lord's vineyard.

GOVERNMENT

TEN FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITIONS

I venture to present ten propositions:

1. The social ideal towards which the world is moving requires that human institutions shall approximate towards the divine measure of rewards and this can only be realized when each individual is able to draw from society a reward proportionate to his contribution to society.
2. The form of government which gives the best assurance of attaining this ideal is the form in which the people rule—a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed—the form described by Lincoln as "A government of the people, by the people and for the people." This being the people's government, it is their duty to live for it in time of peace and die for it, if necessary, in time of war.
3. The chief duty of governments, in so far as they are coercive, is to restrain those who would interfere with the inalienable rights of the individual, among which are the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, and the right to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience.
4. In so far as governments are co-operative, they approach perfection in proportion as they adjust with justice the joint burdens which it is necessary to impose and distribute with equity the incidental benefits which come from the disbursement of the money raised by taxation.
5. Competition is so necessary a force in business that public ownership is imperative wherever competition is impossible. A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.
6. "Absolute acquiescence in the decision of the majority" is, as Jefferson declares, "the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism."
7. As acquiescence in the permanent existence of a wrong is not to be expected, it is the duty of every citizen to assist in securing a free expression of the will of the people, to the end that all abuses may be remedied as soon as possible. No one can claim to be a good citizen who is indifferent. Civic duty requires attendance at primaries and conventions as well as at the polls.
8. The government being the people's business, it necessarily follows that its operations should be at all times open to the public view. Freedom of speech is essential to representative government, and publicity is as essential to honest administration. "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none" is the maxim which should control all departments of government.
9. Each individual finds his greatest security in the intelligence and happiness of his fellows—the welfare of each being the concern of all—and he should therefore exert himself to the utmost to improve conditions for all and to raise the level upon which all stand.
10. While scrupulously careful to live up to his civic responsibilities, the citizen should never forget that the larger part of every human life is lived outside of the domain of government, and that he renders the largest

service to others when he brings himself into harmony with the law of God, who has made service the measure of greatness.

(From the Royal Art.)

GOVERNMENT—COERCIVE AND CO-OPERATIVE

Government has been called "the royal art," although it is more often described as a science, but whether it be viewed as an art or as a science it occupies an increasing place in the thought of civilized man. The theoretical anarchist who talks of the time when each will be a law unto himself and when governments will be no more needed, takes but an incomplete view of the subject. Government may be divided into two parts, namely, that which is coercive and that which is co-operative. It is to be expected that the coercive part of government will diminish with man's development. In every civilized community today but a small portion, and that constantly decreasing, needs to consider the "Thou shalt nots" of the criminal statutes. As the virtuous now restrain themselves, and would, even if there were no forbidding statutes, we may expect that, step by step as the world advances, the rigors of penal laws will be abated. We already look back with mingled amusement and wonder at the brutal penalties of a few centuries ago.

But while penal statutes wane, co-operative government is ever widening. The people find it economical, as well as otherwise helpful, to do together that which each individual could do alone only with greater difficulty and at greater cost.

(From The Royal Art.)

THREE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Generally speaking, there have been three forms of government, the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the democracy. Monarchies are, in turn, subdivided into unlimited and limited. There are few unlimited monarchies now outside of the savage tribes, and in limited monarchies new restrictions are being constantly thrown about the executive. No two aristocracies are alike, so numerous are the degrees to be found in this kind of government, and among democracies some are more democratic than others. But, as in monarchies, the tendency is to increase the limitations upon power and, as in aristocracies, the tendency is towards an enlarging of the controlling class, so in democracies the tendency is ever towards more popular government.

In the school books we are told that the monarchy is defended on the ground that it is the strongest of governments, the aristocracy on the ground that it is the wisest, and the democracy on the ground that it is the most just. This recalls the discriminating language used by Plutarch in describing the views which men, in his opinion, entertained towards the gods, namely, that "they feared them for their strength, admired them for their wisdom and loved them for their justice."

It seems hardly necessary to discuss the relative merits of these three forms of government since time, the final arbiter, fights on the side of a government in which the people rule. But it is worth while to quote the reply made by the

great historian, Bancroft, to the argument used in the support of monarchies. He said that the republic was in fact the strongest of governments because, discarding the implements of terror, it dared to build its citadel in the hearts of men.

The theory that an aristocracy is the wisest of governments can be answered in two ways: First, that "everybody knows more than anybody" — the wisdom of all the people being greater than the wisdom of any part; and, second, by the fact that wisdom is not the only requisite in government, or even the most important element, for the wisdom that directs a government is seldom, if ever, entirely separated from a selfish interest that may pervert the judgment. As justice is more important than strength — is in fact the only basis of lasting strength, and is a higher quality than wisdom — superiority must be conceded to a democracy which can boast of being the most just government.

(From the Royal Art.)

TWO THEORIES OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

There are two theories of representative government, namely, the aristocratic and democratic—in fact, these two points of view obtrude themselves no matter what phase of government we consider. The aristocratic theory is that the people are not capable of studying questions for themselves, and therefore select representatives to do their thinking for them; the democratic theory is that the people think for themselves and select representatives to give expression to the thoughts and wishes of the voters. The first theory is dangerous. Whenever a representative desires to put his own interests above the interests of his constituents or the wishes of a few above the rights of the many, he generally prefaces a statement of his attitude with the declaration that he is not a "demagogue" and does not intend to be governed by the clamor of the "unthinking multitude." He sometimes boasts that he is too conscientious to do the things which his constituents desire.

It is worth noting that this sudden manifestation of an abnormal conscience usually comes after the election and the persons in whom it is noticeable are generally conscienceless in the promises that they make and in the means that they employ to secure an election. A CONSCIENCE THAT HIBERNATES DURING THE CAMPAIGN AND ONLY COMES FORTH WHEN THE PEOPLE ARE HELPLESS TO RECALL THEIR SUFFRAGES,—SUCH A CONSCIENCE USUALLY REACHES THE MAXIMUM OF ITS SENSITIVENESS WHEN SOME VESTED WRONG IS ABOUT TO BE OVERTHROWN.

(From The Royal Art.)

DEMOCRAT OR ARISTOCRAT, WHICH?

There is only one line that can be drawn through society always and everywhere, namely, the line that separates the man who is at heart a democrat from the man who is at heart an aristocrat. I do not use the word democrat in a partisan sense. The word is more than two