

are to protect us from the outside world, but they use them to enslave people who have as much right to be free as we have. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

But this problem is not to be solved by restriction. It is not to be solved by mere laws to prevent men who live in cities from doing certain things. You can by restrictive statutes so hamper

a city as to destroy its liberties; but you cannot by restrictive statutes make it pure and clean. The only way to solve the municipal problem, which is the great problem of modern civilization, is to give to cities full liberty to govern themselves, liberty to make their own local rules and regulations. Give them a system of home rule that will allow them to do wrong, and then by their blunders they may learn how to do right. (Applause.)

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

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

The mission of the democratic party is to solve the municipal problem. This is because the party of Lincoln has degenerated. It no longer serves the masses. It is guided and controlled by leaders who are under the influence of classes that own all the great privileges and monopolies of the country. It has come to be like a magnet to those classes. They are attracted to it, not because they believe in republican doctrine, for they don't; but because they believe that the republican leaders can be trusted to protect their monopoly interests. Now, the democratic mission is to arouse the plain people of the land of all parties against this combination of republican leadership and monopoly greed.

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

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

the republican leaders were not. And now we are going on in our work of getting a municipal lighting system along with our water system, of establishing a 3-cent fare street car system, and of establishing equality of taxation.

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

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

I have no ill will for Senator Hanna. Personally he is a nice man. In business he lives up to his agreements. But his public record must be condemned. In our campaign last fall Senator Hanna put it out as his key-note that republicans should "stand pat." Now, think of that! Think of that as the political key-note for an intelligent community. "Stand pat!" Do you know what that means? Why, to "stand pat" is the highest and biggest play of the professional gambler in our great American game of draw poker. He holds five cards. They may make the best or they may make the poorest hand in the deck. Holding them up close to him he says: "I stand pat," which means he doesn't need any better cards, or wants you to think he doesn't. Let the other players guess what he has. It is a game of bluff. That was Senator Hanna's game in Ohio politics. That was his key-note in a great campaign where men and women were interested in vital questions—"stand pat!" Think of the fall from the days of Abraham Lincoln. When he played the game of life they call politics, he did not "stand pat." He didn't hold five cards and bluff you to guess. He played his hand open on the table before him where everybody could see it. Lincoln, probably, never knew what a pat hand was. Oh, my republican friends of Nebraska, isn't it a fall from the republicanism of Lincoln to the republicanism of Hanna? Think of Abraham Lincoln, humanity-loving Lincoln, with his open hands, and then of Mark Hanna with his "pat hands." (Laughter and applause.)

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

An Open Letter.

Postmaster General Payne, Washington, D. C.—Dear Sir: I enclose a circular sent out by a St. Louis company which is conducting a guessing contest based upon the number of admittances to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. You will see that the sum of \$75,000 is offered in prizes, the estimates being sold for 25 cents each, or five for a dollar. The company is soliciting the aid of newspapers throughout the country to advertise the contest. It is apparent from the advertisement that this is even more demoralizing than the ordinary lottery, because the low price of the ticket and the large capital prizes promised are more alluring to those who are susceptible to the temptations offered by a lottery. It is also less fair than the ordinary lottery, because the contestant has no way of knowing how many competitors he has. In the public lottery the prizes usually bear a fixed and known proportion to the amount received for tickets, but in this case the company may take in ten or a hundred times the amount paid out in prizes. The concluding paragraph of the advertisement discloses the gambling character of the institution. It reads as follows:

"A good investment. Better than stocks and