

smith, "look the whole world in the face" conscious of no obligation greater than his powers of service. He should possess full freedom in all matters not legitimately connected with the conduct of his office.

Principle, and not subserviency to some person possessing nominating or appointing power, should control his political action and he should be as free to oppose as to support the policies of the chiefs of administration in all matters not directly affecting his conduct as an employee. Such action should of course be characterized by decorum and suitable regard for official and personal dignity.

Features of the Spoils System.

How is it with the spoils system? Does not continued allegiance to the patron who has secured appointment constitute the sole title of the appointee to permanence in office? The latter would, perhaps, prefer to retain his office on account of the honesty, industry, and intelligence displayed by him in the performance of his duties but he is not permitted to do so. The patron upon whose recommendation he was selected may die, he may even be removed from public life by the better judgment of his constituents, though it is the business of those whom, under the spoils system, he has foisted upon the public pay-roll to prevent such an intelligent expression of the will of the voters. A new administration may, in spite of the same obstacles, be selected. If it be of his own party the employee may be safe though experience has shown that this is doubtful and that he will be wise to cultivate friends among the faction newly become dominant. If it is of another party his doom is sealed unless, indeed, he can maintain personal relations that are superior to partisanship, or can stifle his convictions, subordinate his desire to enjoy a good opinion of himself, and masquerade as a friend of the party newly successful.

Even for the slender chances thus secured how numerous have been the self-stultifications, inexcusable indeed, but brought about by timorous fears and appalling possibilities to loved and helpless dependents that lead us to pass them with but mild condemnation. Those who have committed these sins, led thereto by circumstances which to their weakness seemed inexorable, have been robbed of their self respect. The country has been robbed of manliness in a group of its citizens, the state has been weakened, the social edifice deprived of part of its foundation.

The spoils system destroys also the independence of the legislative branch of government and enables the executive to control the law-making power by granting or withholding at will favors to individual legislators in the distribution of patronage. The legislator, who, belonging to the party in power under

the spoils system, ventures to act upon his own judgment irrespective of the wishes of the executive not infrequently finds himself deprived of all influence in the distribution of offices and the influence of place-hunters used to build up rivals for his political power and to prevent his continuance in the legislative body. Unless he is a man of extraordinary popularity he has the alternative of a complete surrender of principle or retirement from public service; he either gives place to a more pliable successor or becomes a traitor to his convictions and a faithless servant of the people.

Government Employees Blackmailed.

"Thou shalt not steal" the political power of individuals. The integrity of each voter is essential to that of democracy itself and can be subverted by any means which gives undue influence to other individuals as effectively as by measures which exclude qualified electors from the privileges and duties that are the attributes of the franchise. One way to accomplish this result is to introduce the use of money in elections and this is in part, at least, a result of the spoils system. Under no other system would an employee of the public feel compelled to act in accordance with such a notification as that which I am about to read. It was actually sent by an agent of a national campaign committee to an employee of the Federal government. It read:

"Our books show that you have paid no heed to either of the requests of the committee for funds. The time for action is short. I need not say to you that an important canvass, like the one now being made, requires a great outlay of money and we look to you as one of the Federal beneficiaries to help bear the burden. Two per cent of your salary is \$..... At the close of the campaign we shall place a list of those who have not paid in the hands of the head of the department you are in."

One need not comment on the brutality of such a system towards those who hold public office. This system of levying blackmail upon employees of the Federal government for campaign purposes was so recently in existence, that its more superficial evils are familiar to all. Possibly we have not all considered its more remote, though not less inevitable results. Campaign funds obtained in this way were, so far as the Federal service was concerned, available to but one party at a time. Would the leaders of the other party stand idly by and see the victory of principles they regarded as essential to the public welfare turned to defeat by the superior financial resources of their opponents?

To fight fire with fire is a natural if not always an ethical impulse. Not being able to place public resources under forced contributions, what sources

are available? Are not, ask the leaders of the party out of power, our principles just, is not our anticipated victory to eventuate in legislation? Some must profit pecuniarily by that legislation; let them contribute. From this conclusion, so easily justified by the zealous and enthusiastic partisan, how short the step to the sale of legislation. Who will say that it has not been frequently taken. And so both parties have plethoric campaign funds. A new rivalry ensues. Each party feels that it must have the loudest, if not the most harmonious music, at the head of its processions, which must contain the most brilliant torches and the most splendid uniforms. Each candidate desires that the largest halls, and those most frequently, shall resound in his honor with the ringing phrases of the most eloquent and highest paid speakers, and that the plaudits of the largest multitudes shall be made to testify to his tremendous popularity.

Disposition of Campaign Funds.

Every one knows how large a portion of every campaign fund is never applied to the objects for which it was raised. The demands of ward workers rise proportionately with the total expenditures. Every one must have a share in the feast. Vote purchasing begins, if it has not begun before, and the wages of the purchasers rise with the price of the purchased. The party that hopes to come into power meets the emergency by selling more prospective legislation; that in power is impelled to raise the per centage it demands of the salaries of the incumbents of public offices, and when the limit in that direction is reached, to multiply the offices and holders and increase their compensation in order that greater sums may thus be diverted from the public treasury to the party coffers. If the assessments of candidates for office has not yet begun, it begins now. Prospective judges, legislators, civil officers of all kinds are made to pay, first twenty-five, then fifty, then one hundred per cent, and finally, twice or thrice their prospective salaries as the price of nomination. If office-gaining is made so costly, office-holding must become correspondingly remunerative. The history of nearly every large municipality and of nearly every state, affords most ample evidence of the way in which this has been accomplished.

If, however, we exclude the use of money, we find many other elements of political corruption resulting from the partisan abuse of the power of appointment to office. Whenever this power is delegated to party leaders with tacit or express permission to exercise it as a means of strengthening party organizations, subordinating capacity and fitness for the public service to the requirements of partisan expediency, a force is put in operation that tends progressively