that which makes you free is the truth. He discovered that the truth is to be found not in other men's books but in the recesses of one's own mind and heart. It was a discovery to which he was never false. It was that discovery faithfully followed which differentiated him from the early Gladstone. To one man the thought was sacred because it had authority. To the other because it was the truth. Their careers compared offer many illustrations of the effect of the different mental attitudes. Nothing, however, shows more clearly the effect of that than their literary product. William Gladstone left scarcely a phrase which will be treasured as a permanent expression of a great truth. Lincoln left many. Gladstone, voluminous writer that he was, left no single short production of preeminent quality. Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and his Second Inaugural, are universally acknowledged to be among the most perfect bits of English prose ever written. Gladstone made many influential speeches on many important subjects, but no speech of his compares in mastery of material, in logic and in moral fervor with Lincoln's Cooper Union Speech and none of his great debates compared in high intellectual quality with Lincoln's debates with Douglas. One is the work of a mind trained to imitate and to follow; the other of a mind trained to rely on itself.

Now it is unquestionably true that at all times intellectual life has been of the early Gladstone rather than the Lincoln type,

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that the mass of men have valued more what they learned from a book or from a reverenced teacher than what they learned from within themselves. Certainly there is evidence enough of it in contemporary intellectual life. What else is at the base of our wide-spread spurious culture than the notion that if we go through the same forms as the cultivated man we will therefore be cultivated, that if we go to college, read, travel, we must by virtue of what we have done secure a real result, yet nothing is more certain than you cannot make an athlete simply by putting him through the paces -- an artist by giving him technique. Study, association, experiences of travel, to be more than perfunctory must be transformed into individual thoughts and emotions, assimilated into the nature as food is into flesh and bone. The danger of the literary club to use a familiar example is that it deludes the members into supposing that because they are handling great names and great deeds they must be gaining culture. They gain nothing but a veneer unless they translate the subjects into terms of their own life. What does it profit to read an encyclopaedic review of Plato - nothing unless it helps to bring Plato to the streets of one's own town and to understand what he would have seen and felt and expressed there.

Much of the travel we do is not more futile in real cultivation than club work and college because we bring to it so little power of absorbing and transmuting life. If one have not

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learned to see the charm of his own hills, to follow the procession of the seasons on his remote prairie or in his sheltered valley; if he does not know the rocks and flowers and clouds at home, how can he expect to find delight in foreign fields and mountains, to detect the interest in the rocks and flowers and clouds of the Alps and the Pyrenees and Rockies. If one has not learned to read human nature in his own village what chance has he to understand the peasant of an Italian village.

Unless he goes voyaging with eyes opened at home, with a mind trained to note and compare at home, he is a blind and senseless traveller -- able to see and feel only that which a book, a guide, a fellow companion may tell him to see, and he will value the thing he sees because Baedeker or Taine or Ruskin has seen it and described it - not because it is a thing which his eyes have discovered. ~~He has read up for his voyage but he has not thought up.~~

Many of us go from college into active life in the same case as our book-ridden traveller. We bring nothing to the task but the facts taught us and we can handle them only in the way they were taught us. It is this sorry imitation which explains the dead scholarship in academic circles, the eloquent minister making no converts, the lawyers concerned with precedent rather than with equity.

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Learning is an obligation -- an obligation to enrich one's own time. But it is only an affair of books and authority -- until it is translated afresh into the terms of one's own day. The concern of him who has opportunity & leisure for study and reflection, is to make what he has gained alive, to make it alive by making it his own. To repeat the forms other men have worked out to fit their day without that modification and interpretation which they require to fit our day is to fall back on imitation, is to compromise the integrity of one's intellect. It has been imitative thinking, a tendency to accept and expound what has been passed on to us as truth without testing it by our highest natures that explains very largely how this country has been brought to its present pitiful plight of political and commercial corruption and of consequent social unrest. What other explanation is there indeed for the long blindness and dumbness of great masses of good and disinterested men before the evils whose sorry results we are seeing on all sides today -- to bribery at elections, to political rings, to illegal and unfair business methods, to alliances between politics and commerce. Has it been anything but an indolent acceptance of things as they were that has kept our intellectual class as a body silent so long to a class of evils which finally have made us the scorn of the world and which have given those who hate democracy reason to point at us triumphantly and say "Here is what

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your democratic institutions mean -- Freedom to rob and throttle one another". It is not too much to say that the evils we have allowed to grow up in this country have put back the cause of democracy in all the world. And remember that these evils have grown up in a country where schools were thicker and freer than ever before in any country-- where more boys and girls were going to college -- where there were more free pulpits -- more academic institutions, a freer press. And why -- what is the awful weakness of our educational system that it can teach so many and produce so few that discern the true meaning of the life around them. What is it but that we are turning out men who time their course to other men's thinking and do not dip down into their own souls to find the truth? There is one other explanation -- one less honorable -- of our failure in intellectual integrity. It is when self-interest closes our minds to the full truth. Honest thinking is one of the world's greatest disturbers of the peace. All the mass asks as a rule is to be let alone in the quiet possession of what it has. Any idea, reform, invention which upsets the status in quo is unpopular. The man who like Abraham Lincoln tells his party it is supporting a vicious doctrine which justice requires should be overthrown is usually an unpopular man. He endangers his opportunity of making money in his profession, of advancing in his party, of keeping his welcome in the social circles open to him. It is

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in public life, especially

probable that it ~~comes to~~ every man ardent for the truth the question whether he shall sacrifice his intellectual integrity or his worldly chance and often enough the world wins. More often than not it is on the advice of the great and wise that it wins. There is today in the Senate of the United States an able gentleman who, in earlier years, was asked by a neighbor for aid in cleaning up a notoriously badly managed city. The ~~Senator~~ gentleman, not ~~a Senator~~ an official then, only a very wise and learned lawyer of corporate connections, smiled at his serious neighbor but shook his head. "No," he said, "I cannot go into that. I know we are being robbed, I have computed that the rascals who run this town take about $3000. a year from me personally, but it would cost me more than that sum in time and money to join your movement. I believe it pays me better to stick strictly to my business and make up the $3000. in my practice. It is easier, and you should do the same. Reform movements are hard work and interfere with business." And he was right -- from the point of view of self-interest. It is always less expense in dollars and cents to pay our tribute to rascality without revolt. In the old days when the marauders on the Scottish border collected black rent or black mail as it came to be called, the Lord who paid the levy without shooting an arrow saved his castle -- and helped perpetuate the system. So our ~~Senator~~ gentleman he saved his money, his place, his peace of mind and helped build up the system which is

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costing us so dear today in honor, and in content.

There is probably no doubt that it has been self-interest not imitative thinking that has kept a percentage at least of leaders in academic and religious circles quiet in face of proved wrongs in the past two decades; that is, they have seen but they would not speak. Certain it is that we have had pulpits full of men who could explain the corruption of the Jews against which Christ revolted -- but who were dumb to the money changers in their own pews -- professors of ethics who could explain Plato with quotations from the original, could trace the rise and fall of ethical notions from his day to the present and yet were dead to the moral meaning of a railroad rebate. We have colleges full of teachers of economy who can explain the wealth of nations, but who fail to see that it has a relation to a tariff which permits our steel manufacturer to sell rails at $20.00 a ton to the Canadian in Winnipeg and $28.00 to their countrymen over the border. Personally I believe that their failure to point out the meaning of contemporary practices is usually dull scholarship -- the drawing of water from the cisterns of the past not from the living springs of today but a suffering people conscious that somehow it is being wronged by discriminations in favor of the few - discriminations obtained by bribery and perjury and law-breaking look with suspicion on church and college and call what is only intellectual barrenness by the ugly name of hypocrisy

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and self-interest.

When it is self-interest which hampers, the integrity of the intellect suffers the more seriously. The smallest horizon possible for the individual is himself. The horizon enlarges in proportion to the number of outside interests it takes in. Every friend broadens it. So does every new interest. It is only a complete horizon when it includes one's town, state, country, the world. He who sees only what concerns himself is like him who never leaves his dooryard. A mind occupied only with self in the long run defeats its own object. Our minutest interest is tied up with the common interest. Sacrifice the common interest and in the final counting you sacrifice yourself. But such is the intellectual limitation put on men who refuse to consider others than themselves that they do not see the inevitable final outcome of their acts. The last few years have furnished a sad enough spectacle of the narrowness of mind, the lack of foresight which self-interest causes in even men of great ability. Our eminent insurance leaders have been persistently practicing methods that a primitive moral sense should have told them were improper in handling trust funds. Frequently they went farther and broke well-known laws. Now nothing is more certain than that fraud particularly fraud in use of trust funds will be discovered. One gasps at the blind persistency with which many of the insurance men carried on their dishonorable work. It

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10-1

Consider some of the significant facts we have been learning about the point of view of our leading captains of industry.

Now what are the intellectual and ethical effects of such practices? Are these practices seriously affecting the American character and mind? Consider the effect on the leaders of the trust movement themselves. Most important for these men have made themselves the most conspicuous and powerful class in America. They are an American type recognized the world over for the daring of their imaginations, the audacity of their undertakings, the brilliancy of their executions, the dexterity and calmness in evading legal and moral restraints. They are one of the most distinctive class America has produced - certainly they are to-day recognized the world over as our rulers. Now what have their methods made of these men? They have several significant characteristics which cannot be overlooked by students of the times.

First: As a class they recognize no obligation to the public. Their point of view was admirably expressed years ago by one of the ablest of them in a blunt expression which I suppose I should not repeat but, which amounted to a wholesale consignment of the public to perdition. That is, whenever a privilege is desired by them to further their ends they seize it without regard to the effect it has on the general good - in indifference of both the ideals and laws of the country. Consider some of the most general examples of this:

1. Take the railroad. It is a public highway existing by the consent of the people. It exists for all the people equally like the streets and sidewalks - and the law declares it must treat all alike.

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The ~~concert~~ primitive common sense or sense of fair play, should teach this. ~~But~~ The part of a good citizen is to uphold the interpretation of the law. Yet we have had for some forty years now a large class of men wilfully and persistently defying in practice their interpretation of the duty of the railroad - struggling by every possible means to prevent a more complete expression in the laws of ~~this thing~~. So successful have they been that some of our greatest trusts, notably the oil trust and beef trust, exist in their present forms largely because of the great advantages they have secured in transportation over their rivals. They fought for these privileges, secured them, entrenched themselves more and more firmly in them until they have built up a system of special privileges ~~so strong and so general that it is~~ to all appearances impregnable. The injustice and the danger of the system has aroused the country again and again and for the last year its ~~evulsion~~ has been the chief matter before our federal and state legislatures. And yet with the whole country in arms against this system, those who profit by it defy public opinion and struggle to perpetuate it. Can there be any more real and ~~subtle and dangerous~~ disloyalty in the part of a citizen than a persistent effort to pervert the common law or to prevent the passage of more effective laws for handling a condition in which there are great and acknowledged injustice? ~~One can explain such action only on the ground of utter disregard and indifference of the social obligation.~~

2. The treatment of franchises by these gentlemen is another evidence of their contempt of the public good. The thing is very simple. We, the public, own the streets, but we want street cars, underground railways, elevated railways, gas mains, water mains, electric mains laid in them. Now shall we do this ourselves or allow individuals to do it for us? Obviously the business of supplying transportation, gas

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and water is profitable. We have preferred to allow individuals to undertake the business. We have granted franchises - very long ones in some cases. Now he who holds a franchise becomes a public servant - in a particular way. He is bound to make good to the public, but what part has the public in the thoughts of the Consolidated Gas Company of our great city New York for instance? The highest prices - the poorest service - repudiation of taxes - this is its notion of serving the public. In fact it does not take the public into account except when forced to by one of our periodical outbursts of indignation. Once a franchise is secure and their attitude is that of an owner outright. They insist on acting with the franchise as they might rightfully with their own door yards. The public good, the obligation to the public, is dismissed from their minds, if it ever existed there.

We have had this utter lack of a sense of the social obligation illustrated most painfully for the last year or so in the revelations concerning the management of our great life insurance companies. The character of the business of life insurance has always been clear. It is a trust pure and simple. This fact has been used always by the companies in soliciting. The sacredness of this obligation and fidelity with which they discharge it are a large part of their advertising capital. They work upon the feelings of a victim until one allows himself to be insured in much the same spirit that he subscribes to a benevolent fund. Now the character of this benevolence has been pretty thoroughly analysed for us recently and a more vulgar and unscrupulous betrayal of a trust could scarcely be imagined. That is in this great business with its peculiarly sacred character and with its constant professions of fidelity, we have the most flagrant contempt of the obligation.

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One of the most treasonable forms of this lack of civic responsibility is the attitude of our corporations towards political parties - state legislature, the federal congress and the courts. It, of course, goes without saying in their presence that a citizen of a Democratic county of ordinary intelligence must realize that the preservation of an institution depends on keeping our political, legislation and judicial machinery free from graft and directed towards the business of governing all the people. Any citizen of ordinary morality must realize that any effort to use this machinery for selfish purposes is immoral and unpatriotic. It would seem to be anA, B, C of citizenship and yet such is the indifference to our institutions on the part of a great many of our greatest captains of industry that they have for years used the governmental machinery of the United States solely for their own purposes. Many of the great corporations are democrats in one state and republicans in another. They areall active in preventing remedial legislations however obvious it is for the public good. We all know, how difficult it is to get a bill through the New York legislature of which the one and only purpose is the improvement of the public service if any way that bill strikes at some unjust privilege of a corporation - witness the difficulty with we have in securing proper gas and transportation legislation. We see now the sort of bribery of legislators that goes on the country over - witness the revelations concerning the use of money by the insurance companies recently - and these revelations are only examples of what we have all over the country at inbervals. The attitude of these men towards our institutions is just as it is towards our railways and our franchises - something to be used for private gain and if the public protests sneer and send it to perdition.

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16-5

Now what could be more stupefied than this contempt of the social duty of the ~~misapplied use of trust funds~~.

Now nothing is more certain than that fraud particularly fraud in use of trust funds will be discovered. One gasps at the blind persistency with which many of the insurance men carried on their dishonorable work. It

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was not that they were indifferent to what the public thought. It was not that like a bank robber they were contented if they could escape with their plunder -- not at all. They all of them wanted public esteem -- wanted to be regarded as honorable gentlemen. Some of them have not been able to endure the public scorn which followed the story of their wrong-doing. They have died of grief -- fled the country, concealed themselves in remote places. What since they were so sensitive to discovery could have induced them to proceed in ways which now that we know them seem so foolishly hazardous, so certain to come to light? What if not that dullness which comes from the destruction of the integrity of the intellect. All human experience, the fundamental processes of reasoning teach, if they teach anything, that a man who builds up a business by the aid of practices which have been declared contrary to the public good, rests it on a support certain one day to be torn from under him. If the people cannot get what they believe to be right by demand, they will take it by force -- that is the history of the world and he who builds a fortune in defiance of good laws, shows himself mentally as well as morally stupid. Do the gentlemen who today stand before the country convicted of bribery, of railroad rebates, of predatory competition, of corruption of legislatures, of perjury and who listen to the rising popular chorus for restrictive legislation, state ownership, governmental control, really

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Take the matter of the sugar Trust = a N.Y. paper of this morning about a year ago did some of them it had already been punished

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All human experience, the fundamental processes of reasoning teach, if they teach anything, that a man who builds up a business by the aid of practices which ~~have been declared~~ are contrary to the public good, rests it on a support certain one day to be torn from under him. If the people cannot get what they believe to be right by demand, they will take it by force -- that is the history of the world and he who builds a ~~future~~ fortune in defiance of good laws, shows himself mentally as well as morally stupid. Do the gentlemen of the Sugar trust who today stand before the country practically convicted of bribery, of railroad rebates, of predatory competition, of corruption of legislatures, of perjury and who listen to the rising popular chorus for restrictive legislation, state ownership, governmental control, really

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think they have showed a high order of intelligence in building up ~~fortunes~~ a hurt which are a dishonor to their names and which a hostile public threatens with confiscation? Will not even they admit now that they would have shown better business judgment if they had not allowed greed to close their minds to all considerations but those of self? Must they not understand finally their intellectual limitation in not realizing that the man, the institution, the nation ~~which practices injustice~~ to gain temporary good must pay? It is a law inexorable, unescapable. Injustice piles up in the minds of those wronged and some day they demand a counting. When W. E. W. Du Bois paraphrase Lincoln's fine sentence -- all the wealth piled by the bondman's 250 years of unrequitted toil was sunk and every drop of blood drawn with the lash was paid by another drawn with the sword. The same thing must happen in this country of ours do for the iniquities of our commercial system, paying in the blunted intelligence and the muddled consciences of a great body of our most energetic and resourceful citizens, paying in a general indifference to law, in a general disregard of the social obligation, paying in an increase of sophistries and hypocrisies, paying, too, in a growing and threatening bitterness and unrest of those who feel themselves wronged, ~~for~~ Those who follow the present commercial code and those who acquiesce in it are not the only ones whose intellects are perverted. The attitude of mind of those who oppose

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~~the monopolistic trust~~ therein and ~~its~~ their methods on economic, [illegible], social and ethical grounds is not infrequently as bad and as harmful as that of the most hardened and insolent of trust makers. Take for example a man trying to carry on an independent business and hampered by persistent railroad discrimination. It is entirely human that the man should finally try to meet force by force -- illegal practices by illegal practices -- and he should come to feel that anything is right in the war forced upon him. This has been the story in all this war of combination upon small concerns. The independents driven from pillar to post have often thrown scruples to the wind and employed any method by which they could secure an advantage. They have, ~~too, usually~~ had popular sympathy with them no matter what they did. In one part of this country with which I am familiar, a section whose chief industry is controlled entirely by a trust, it has been for years almost impossible for the trust to get a verdict in the courts even if they had a strong and conclusive case. There has come to be a complete demoralization of public sentiment after a long experience of trust violence. An amusing case of this -

The virulent and exaggerated accusations made against our entire commercial and political system which are so common to-day are another entirely natural effect of the situation into which we have allowed ourselves to come. Crime has been unearthed on all sides of us for the past few years. Crimes like those in St.

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San Francisco
Philadelphia

~~Louis~~ where a gang of boodlers ~~were~~ are running not only the city but the state - crimes like those in Philadelphia where franchises and funds had been stolen for years - crimes like those of the Oregon senator who stole public lands, crimes like those of insurance people who betrayed their trusts. These crimes have touched so crimes like those of the Sugar Trust many high heads - have shown such an alarming connection between business and politics, have proved a system of such solidity and extent that they have sent many good people into hysterics and have distorted the vision of others until they ~~see~~ fail nothing but crimes. Because certain United States senators have been proved corrupt we have the cry that the Senate tout ~~entire~~ entier is bad; because certain commercial leaders are guilty of bribery, perjury, and violence, all business is guilty. This exaggeration of the excitable is one of the inevitable features in all public agitations. It is the temperament of a part of every society to see only the lurid, the monstrous, the diabolic. . Let certain unquestionable wrongs be dragged into the light and at once their gaze is concentrated on those wrongs and all other phases of life around them are shut out. Of course this is bad -- bad because it is half-truth. Now these people developing their half-truth with all honesty -- but with the passion and the force which is amost always characteristic of such natures appeal to a large class -- particularly to the half-educated and the discontented and arouse bitterness and violence.

Every proof of new irregularity or illegality which comes to the surface adds fuel to their flame. They cease to seek the real truth about conditions., They seek only those facts which will support their theory that we are all gone to the dogs. They fall into some of the very errors of those who have built up our trust system: blindness to the whole truth, unwillingness to admit facts which are hostile to their theories, suspicion of the motive of all who disagree with them. It is all common enough to those who have studied the various mental attitudes of a people in times of stress.

This exaggeration of the few produces a harmful effect on a large body of good people who otherwise could be depended upon to help more or less to get at what is wrong in our business and political situation and to force its regulation. There is always a large conservative class in society which is easily shocked by any excess. Sometimes it is timidity -- sometimes it is fear of appearances -- sometimes it is a too large sense of its personal respectability which ails them. At all events at the first touch of exaggeration in a movement they run for cover. The iniquities of situation -- those wrongs which have been proved-they are willing to forget or to conceal if they can, thereby help to silence the too high notes in the chimes of protest. They soon fall into the same errors as the exaggerators: accepting half-truths -- refusing

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to consider facts -- suspicious of all who disagree with them. All of this complicates the trust question -- makes it more difficult to deal with it rationally and coolly as it should be dealt with. But who is to blame for it all? In the present case Are not violence and exaggeration, suspicion, timidity, -- all the natural effects on the public mind of the recent revelations concerning our business system and its alliance with our politics?

After all is said the final test of the integrity, of an intellect is its capacity for growth. There are no two characteristics which so hamper this capacity as these we have been considering, imitation & self-interest. The essential principle of all growth is inward and unconscious. Imitation is outward and conscious. That inward principle working naturally develops the thing which is at the heart of the seed. Its whole strength is turned towards making the thing nature meant it should be made, but set this principle at work trying to make something foreign to itself -- set it to imitating something and you arrest development and waste strength. We see these cases of arrested development, of perverted strength on all sides of us. An artistic temperament bending itself to practical necessities, a bold and inquiring mind confining itself to conventions and creeds, a discriminating taste accepting the mode of today. Temperament, logic, taste -- are all stunted. Growth beyond a certain point is impossible -- the strength is spent in attempt-

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to consider facts -- suspicious of all who disagree with them. All of this complicates the ~~trust~~ real question at issue -- makes it more difficult to deal with it rationally and coolly as it should be dealt with. But who is to blame for it all? Are not violence and exaggeration, suspicion, timidity, -- all the natural effects on the public mind of the recent revelations concerning our business system and its alliance with our politics?

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ing to overcome the law of its own being -- that law which says you can be yourself -- you can never be another.

As imitation diverts and finally saps the strength of the original principle so self-interest creates an atmosphere hostile to growth. ~~It is an atmosphere devoid of moral oxygen.~~ The mind will no more thrive in it, than the body in illy ventilated rooms. Fidelity to the inner impulse, not imitation of the other man -- the interest of the whole not of self alone, these are the conditions under which intellectual growth is possible.

Briefly this is saying that the mind to grow must be free -- free from dependence and from selfishness. To begin with, it is only when unfettered that the imagination has play and without imagination no mind goes far in any realm. It is upon imagination that the vision depends -- the power to see the spirit of the thing -- to foretell its flowering -- the power to recognize the opportunity. It was this free imagination which was at the root of what Abraham Lincoln made of himself. What else would have led a raw and uneducated boy of 23 to offer himself as a candidate for a State Assembly as he did. Gladstone who offered himself in the same year had to be pushed to it by powerful friends. It was not his idea to begin with, and his speeches in the campaign were only a reflection of the ideas of his powerful patron. Had Lincoln been thus swayed by his contemporaries he would never have been more than

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a laborer, a farmer, a country storekeeper. But throughout his life let an opportunity open and he at once saw its possibilities, and when he saw, he was true to the vision. The opportunity seen was like a command, a call, a thing sacred,not to be shirked, no matter what effort it cost him -- no matter what antagonism it awakened.

We must be free to see. Equally we must be free to think. A clean, clear reasoning process is out of the question when the opinion of the man across the street is mixed up with the premises. Equally it is out of the question if the effect on our own pockets is put into the balance. Lincoln could reason independently of what the old Whig party to which he belonged thought. His reasoning was never turned out of the straight and narrow path which an intellect of integrity follows by the hope even of winning an election. At one of the most critical points in his history from the point of view of the opportunist and the politician he lost his election to the senate of the United States by his refusal to conceal and evade the logic of the situation. His intellectual process springing from the clear waters of his own nature and followed with strictest fidelity, were really sacred to him. His conclusion could not be evaded - ~~conecaled~~. It was the truth and not all the men of all the world could turn Abraham Lincoln from a conclusion unless they could throw new light in his way. Then no man

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was quicker to reverse his decision. As why should he not be. He sought the truth of the thing, and if more light showed a clear - er truth then the mind should accept it and rejoice. Throughout his life indeed Lincoln's attitude was always that which he so admirably stated to Horace Greeley in 1862, when writing him as to his policy, in regard to the negro. "I shall do less" wrote Lincoln, "whenever I shall believe that what I am doing hurts the cause and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors and I shall adopt new views as fast as they shall appear to be true views." In these calm unmistakable sentences we have the very essence of honest statesmanship -- doing more or less as it helps the cause -- open-mindedness to see and admit errors, and willingness to adopt new views as they are proved to be true views.

It has been the fortune of many men of far greater natural brilliancy of mind than Abraham Lincoln, of much superior opportunities as we count opportunities and of as great patriotism and energy in serving a country, to be of far less service than he ~~to the public~~ because they failed to grasp the superior wisdom of this sort of mental integrity. They accepted their day as they found it, responded to its calls, fell in with its way. Its vices as its virtues appeared to them inherent and natural and rather to be utilized than grappled with. Their ultimate effect was to strengthen rather

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than to correct the weaknesses of the system into which they came. Just where this sort of things leads that brilliant Italian Niccolo Machiavelli showed us 500 years ago. Machiavelli was greatly in love with his country and above all desired its glory. He saw how men gained power in his day, and so prepared a practical hand book for making states rich and glorious. The rules were drawn from the practice of his day. Efficiency, diligence, knowledge Machiavelli urged on his would-be Prince, but he counseled craft, lying, violence, cruelty. It was a complete acceptance of the ways of his world as he saw it. His moral sense had been apparently entirely deadened by the atmosphere of intrigue and force in which he lived. We see clearly enough Machiavelli's mistake because great writer that he was he put his thoughts down so frankly and tersely. We see less clearly that in a way we all do what Machiavelli did when we accept the world without protest at its vices or effort at its improvement -- that is we allow our intellects to be obscured by our environment ~~until they do not distinguish exactly.~~ the boundaries between right and wrong are blurred. We do not see things as they are -- our reasons come to be inoperative or deflected until we cannot understand the inevitable result of even injustice. This mental dullness to the true meaning of things about us has always been the greatest enemy to real progress in morality, in intelligence, in taste and in general cultivation which a nation

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has to contend with. It is the greatest enemy of our day. It is the real explanation of the evils of our day. As a nation we have shown extraordinary mental activity, but it has been imitative and selfish. We have been centering our strength on possessions -- material possessions. We reckon the very value of the artist by the price paid for his picture. We estimate the advance of a college by the amount of the endowment it receives. We value a book by the number of copies it sells -- the value of a citizen by the size of his fortune; the prosperity of a business, by the size of its dividend. We have been refusing to consider as a nation that the artist who paints for prices may be ruining a talent which allowed to flower naturally would add to the joy and the elevation of the world throughout all the future. We refuse to see that - in seeking for endowments a college may chill that passion for scholarship and truth for their own sakes without which it is the hollowest of all shams. We refuse to see that the book which goes because it is advertised on the billboards and in newspapers in the same style as somebody's cure-all may be of no more inherent value than the nostrum or pill. We refuse to see that the citizen of wealth may be an incubus and a leech on the community. We refuse to see that the business with its big dividends may be prospering by practices certain one day to arouse an outraged people against it. We have confused our values, woefully confused them, when we were devoting

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more time to studying books and travelling in other lands and in pursuit of what we called culture than any other nation ever did.

~~It is quite time that we searched for our weak spots.~~ Quite time that we searched for the defect in our intellectual life which would permit such conditions to grow up as we are now obliged to face. I know that there is an effort making to avoid facing them. I know that there are even today, in the face of the revelations of the past three years, men standing in high places -- even in college halls and pulpits, crying that it is shameful to call attention to a thing so revolting as the condition of our packing houses - shameful because it will hurt the beef business, that it is anarchistic & revolutionary for a president of the United States to denounce unlawful and unjust collusion between corporations and the railroads because the corporations are great in power and profits and loss of confidence in them may disturb business. I have heard with the rest of you the contemptuous cry of muck-raking thrown at those who pointed out evils. But I know that these cries are the cries of intellects still dull to the meaning of things -- that they come from those whose eyes do not see and whose hearts are not awakened. Those who cry out against the uttering of the truth are our real pessimists - much as they may take pride in calling themselves optimists for what is your optimist - not certainly he who with ~~candor~~ Candide says all is for the best in the best possible of

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worlds. It is he who says plainly "All is not for the best in this world, much is wrong - bitterly wrong - and much may be improved by effort. ~~Then up and to the effort.~~"

It is by this virile sort of optimism that the world is what it is today -- the best world it has ever been. Personally I believe that this day, the ~~19th of June, 1906~~ 23d of January 1907, is the fairest, most hopeful day the earth has ever seen. But are we to have no fairer - no more hopeful day? Are we to content ourselves with rejoicing that the particular abuses of Christ's time, of Savanarola's time, of Martin Luther's time, of ~~the 18th~~ Rousseau's century do not exist in this land, and so fail to see what do exist. Why is our day as good as it is. Because in every past century from the days of Confucius and before down to Abraham Lincoln there has been some man or men who possessed the integrity of intellect to see and to understand the real meaning of the practices they saw about them because these men would not keep silent to the truth, but repeated it until the dull and inactive minds about them were awakened to action. They have been uncomfortable persons frequently. They have had much more respect for the truth than they have had for the opinion of their neighbors. They have regarded human life as more sacred than private property and they have preferred justice to the friendship of the party in power. They have all set the world in their time by the ears. But it is to them that we owe today. If tomorrow is to be as much

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better as we have it in us to make it, we ourselves must follow their example, we must do more real thinking about the things which concern us, expose when there is something to expose, protest when there is reason for it, fight if it is necessary. We can do these things because we are hopeful - because we have faith. If there is nothing comes from effort then we may well discourage exposure, protest, fighting. But if effort does avail, silence and inaction are the worst of pessimism and of cowardice.

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a service which will help Democracy -
& that was their training to honest & fair-
minded citizenship. & it was these men who founded this republic & the present must fit a place for the people did not know what to think clearly & honestly. They said quite recently that a white man must be prepared to fit for citizenship. the white standard for the education of purpose is what is the very real. They need to do the training which need for citizenship loyal & high-minded. As a woman I say in humiliation that we must be part of our present low political & commercial standards is due to the fact that all the women have not kept before them realized the fundamental & all important character of their public service duty to our country. It is my part & believe it is a duty in which we must take a part & we must all a real baptism - a fervent purpose & sincerity of the same heaven to our country as those who have corrupt politics by various political & business practices.

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