IT IS NOT IDLE PASTIME

Rev. Dr. Parkhurst Cautions Reformers Not to Trifle with Reform.

WHAT IT MEANS TO FIGHT SIN

Text of an Address Which Every Amer ican Citizen Ought to Read and Digest-Telling Truths of a Brave and Earnest Man.

Chicago, Feb. 1 .- The Civic Federation, composed of earnest men, has decided to reform Chicago, Lexow fashion. Before reaching this decision they communicated with Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, of New York; and after some interchange of letters he consented to deliver an address in this city, before the Marquette club. He delivered 1t Jan. 23. He said:

"The questions that are most deeply agitating the public mind this year, and that will continue to agitate it probably for many years to come, are not national ones but municipal. We have reached a period that may be designated 'the renaissance of the city.' The remarkable concentration of population at urban centers has operated to accentuate the municipality; and to such degree has this concentration reached, and so largely are material values and intellectual energies accumulated at these points, that we may almost say that the real life of the nation is lived, and throbs itself out, at these centers, and that the nation is going to be increasingly what our municipalities make it to be, determine that it shall be. At the same time and closely connected therewith is the fact of quite a general deterioration in the quality of municipal life. And men who have respect for themselves and who love their city and appreciate the intimate relations in which municipal condtions stand to the question of our national life and to the permanence of American institutions, are bestirring heart, and it is by the pressure of the practically available. The clergymen themselves, pondering the situation and squaring themselves to it.

Inter-Municipal Fellowship.

"It is generally in our favor that there is a kind of intermunicipal fellowship in this business. While each city has its own interests and indulges in a little rivalry once in a while in such questions as those of relative wealth. population and the like, yet there is a fellowship among cities, and a good cause in your city is helped by the fact that the same good cause is being worked out in another city, and in a good many other cities.

"I would like to say just at this point, if you will let me refer to myself-as I shall be obliged to do a number of times in the course of the hour-that that has been one of the compelling motives that has helped to keep me in good spirits during the exacting warfare of the last three years in New York, that if the damnable elements of evil in our own city could be crushed every other city. And you here in Chiof effort of the same kind, as it is at this motive which has influenced my acceptance of the invitation tendered me York city for a year, but I have felt that if I could contribute, no matter how small an amount, toward aiding. stimulating in the task which you have upon your hands and hearts, it would be so much done not only toward redeeming Chicago, but so much done toward purifying and strengthening individual, social and civic life throughout the great north-

Effect of a Redeemed Chicago.

"You believe in Chicago; I never struck a Chicagoan yet that did not. But Chicago is not the whole earth, and you will do well just at this point of your enterprise to realize the effect that a redeemed Chicago is going to exent not only upon yourselves and your state, but upon contiguous states. mention this because if you are going to carry this undertaking through to the end, you will need the re-enforcement and the buttressing of large motives or you will get tired. You cannot live on the force of a resolution, but if your machinery is to be kept running to the end of the trip, level grade and up grade, you will have to keep replenishing your fires by solid chunks of combustible motive. Enthusiasm is good, but it takes a constant succession of motives to keep it up.

You understand, as I do, that my object in coming here and discussing the municipal problem is not to rescue your city. You will have to do that The Cincinnati Tribune remarked the other day, that Dr. Parkhurst would find it another story when he undertook to tackle Chicago. I am not here to tackle Chicago, although, as for Cincinnati, I might say in passing, that I have exceptional opportunities for knowing what her moral and political condition is, and that it will I said: be more becoming to her to use her mop in scrubbing her own dirty floor, than to use it in bespattering Chicago. I am not here to tackle Chicago. It is true I have availed myself of all means within my reach of acquainting myself with your condition; but even then you know that condition better than I can a hundred to one. As nearly as I can make it out, your municipal depravity exceeds that of New York. It costs us no pang to yield to you that pre-eminence. You do everything in a colossal way in Chicago and it is natural to expect, therefore, if your municipality is depraved, it will be colossally de-

Vice Not Organized in Chicago.

"In one other particular, however, I am confident that your municipal condition has the advantage over what ours has been, this, namely, that as to your municipal depravity, while there is more of it, it is not so thoroughly organized; that while you have no Tam many Hall, exactly, you have stuff enough to make it, make two perhaps, so that your battle as contrasted with what ours has been will be that of fighting bushwhackers rather than contending with an organized ary.

"Now, whether the corruption that has fastened upon your municipal vitals is one that shows itself promimently in the matter of election frauds, or in that of blackmailing, or in that of city contracts, or in your judiciary, inferior or superior, makes very little difference. It is the municipality that is diseased. I do not mean the mayor: I do not mean the alderman and judges. It is the municipal condition that you have to aim at. If you have a mercenary judge, or a blackmailing police officer, displacing him does not touch the heart of the matter. Bad municipal conditions can put new corrupt judges on the bench just as fast as you can impeach the old ones. Lopdifference. It is the municipality that

ping off the tops does not embarrass They are a lying, perjured, rum-soaked the roots. There is yery little use in doing anything unless you are prepared to do the whole. Spasms of virtue I think are quite as racking to the system as chronic iniquity.

"The inquiry I put to you, therefore, is: Are you prepared to make a thorough job of it? That is the first question you have to answer. Do you ask how long it will take? We have only begun yet in New York. All the cartoons of dead tigers with which our illustrated journals have fooled their eaders since the sixth of last November are simply the product of an overheated imagination. And even if the tiger were killed, there is a whole menagerie full of other beasts which, if more respectable, some of them are just as bloodthirsty and keep their incisors in just as good trim.

After Another Municipal Beast. "In fact, just at this moment, the and are off scouring the jungle for swer the challenge. I did go into hell, another municipal beast of prey who is hungry and ten times foxier. It is not into my pulpit with cartridges that uation. To use an illustration that I what I was talking about than they have used a great many times at home had the month before for not knowing in order to accomplish anything that is what I was talking about. It is almost really worth the pains it takes to ac- impossible to suit such people and to complish it, you will have to regenerate adjust your treatment to their ethical your city. That word is a quotation and esthetic propositions. from Presbyterian theology, but answers the purpose well even if it is. It means more than reformation. Reformation denotes a change of form heart, the inauguration of a new quality of municipal motives and impulses. of course it is dealing with the ideal. not incompetent. You are not going to win except by the pressure of a splendid enthusiasm, and amount of time and be of no service to half measures. Remember, if you knew the condition of things through please, that I am not speaking to you out the city, but had no feeling of it. trodden. Municipal mending, jobbing, far as these matters were concerned, cobbling, will not move the popular it was not sufficiently supple to be aroused popular heart you are to be were not interested in the movement saved, if you are to be saved. Now,

how are you going to do that? "Let me go on and in a few paraover, and there is enough in common give way. between our two cities to make the policy pursued in New York at least of hard raps at the hands of the police: cable to my own municipality.

Many Obstacles Encountered

"When we began work in February 1892, everything was against us. The difficulties were so gigantic as to be inspiring. I have known what it is to iniquity. climb precipitous Alpine peaks that that would be in itself demonstration were so nearly up and down that the complete that they could be crushed in ugly obstinacy of the pile refreshed me, recuperated me and filled my legs with cago, in view of what you have under- a nervous irritability and muscular intaken, need to feel the grand conspiracy spiration that easily carried me up very hour in progress in so many sister | That was something the way we felt us they blackguarded us, which, in a cities. Let me add here that that is a when we started out in '92. Everything way, answered the same purpose, for it was in the hands of the enemy. Mayor, kept the thing in the air and held peoaldermen, commissioners, district at- ple's attention fixed upon it. We were by the Marquette club. This is the first torney, police justices, all banded to- careful not to let more than a week time I have spoken outside of New gether in solid, organized resistance to go by without giving the public someassault, and the town in all its better thing fresh. We secured the indictelements either so asphyxiated by the ment of a captain and our society stock foul miasmatic air it had been so long went up. We failed to convict him ficulties of the situation as to be pros- talking about the matter. They trated in the apathy of a supine resignation.

presidency of the Society for the Prevention of Crime vacated by the sented to the arrangement provided sore. the society would quit quiddling with small matters, such as arresting saloon-keepers, and commence gunning for big game, such as gambling shops patronized by police captains and disreputable houses frequented by the judiciary. My conditions were accepted, of the campaign was fired in the shape of a sermon preached from my pulpit Feb. 14, 1892.

"I never could see how it was fair to preach against the Ahabs and Jeze-bels 3,000 years back and be any less pronounced in the respects we pay to the same genius of depravity brought down to date. It is just a bit suggestive of cowardice to pound the antediluvians for their depravity and ignore the manifestations of equal wickedness that are contemporary. a man preaches in that way it looks as though he were preaching for his salary and setting up his target centuries enough away to guarantee him against the risk of libel suits.

Severe Arraignment of Officials. "You will see what sort of a situation we had to confront if I quote a sentence or two from the just mentioned discourse. And I want to remark that my characterization has since that time been justified by developments a good many times over.

Here is an immense city reaching o rms of evangelization to every quarter of the globe, and yet every step that we take looking to the moral betterment of this city has to be taken directly in the teeth of the damnable pack of administrative bloodhounds that are fattening themselves on the ethical flesh and blood of our clizenship. We have the right to demand that the mayor and those associated with him in administering the af-fairs of this city should not put obstruc-tions in the path of our ameliorating endeavors, but they do. There is not a formunder which the devil disguises himsel that so perplexes us in our efforts or so be wilders us in the schemes which, a Christians and churches, we devise for th good and the saving of men in our midst as the polluted harpies that, under the pretense of governing this city, are feed-ing night and day on its quivering vitals

"And they were; but they did not like to be told of it. The grand jury of that month called me down for my sermon and asked me if I had any authority but common rumor and newspaper statement. They issued a presentiment against me as a means of snuffing me out as a warning against any other interloper who should venture to invade the secret precincts of a Tammany administration.

"The jury's presentment taught m a good lesson never to go gunning with blank cartridges. My next step was to fill my cartridge box. The grand jury threw down the gauntlet and I picked it up. I accumulated a few facts that I was not obliged to write with quotation marks.

Unpalatable Facts Presented.

"Having been trodden down, sneered at, cursed, threatened, 'presented,' for very men who were among the heart-iest and most chivalrous in our recent own knowledge, I would have entered 'tiger hunt' have mounted horse again hell if need be to find facts to an more decent than the tiger, but just as little gun on another Sunday and went well to discourage people, but it is al- were not blank cartridges, and then ways wholesome to face the entire sit- they swore at me worse for knowing

"Thereupon the grand jury of March, which was of quite a different complexion from that of its predecessor took our evidence against the police only. Regeneration means a change of secured some more of its own, and issued a presentment againt them, telling them that they were either crimi-If you say this is dealing with the ideal, nal or incompetent, and that they were

"It would take an unpardonable you will start no popular enthusiasm you to continue with any detail of the by any effort that you make to achieve three years' events. The community along a line that I have not myself There was conscience enough, but so except to the extent of intimating from time to time in a general sort of a way, that a minister's duty is to preach graphs give you a little idea as to how the Gospel. However, we believed in we did it in New York. The conditions the people, and kept at our work of are, in some respects, different with discovering the facts and publishing you from what they are with us, but them. We knew, or thought we knew men are men everywhere, corrupt that when this process had been conmunicipality is corrupt municipality all tinued long enough, something would

"Our society suffered some pretty service to you here. I have examined among others, our detective was ar with a good deal of care all the material rested and thrown into jail on the that has been put in my hands rela- charge of blackmail. The object of this tive to your municipal condition and move was to discredit our work and there is scarcely anything in it that to prevent his interfering with their differs essentially from what is appli- practice of blackmail. Our police and yours, I see, are cut from the same cloth, they are so sorry to have people do wrong that they are self-sacrificing enough to do all the wrong themselves so as to save others the bother of the

Helped by the Newspapers.

"All these proceedings kept the town stirred up. We availed every opportunity to get some new facts into the air. All this helped the newspapers, and they requited us by turning round over the rocks, perpendicular and all. and helping us, or if they did not help respiring, or so appreciative of the dif- and stock went down. But people kept there was a good deal in it, and they began, after about a year and half "I had been requested to take the to feel that there was a good deal in it They were beginning to get their moral blood up. Public conscience had been death, of Dr. Howard Crosby. I con- chafed so long it was beginning to feel

"We would scour a whole precinct make anywhere from twenty to sixty solld cases against gamblers and the keepers of disorderly houses, then publish a list. All of the papers would publish it. Then I would sharpen my pen, ralx up a concoction of oxalic acid and we started in. The opening gun and vitriol, write a complaint against the captain in question and send copies of it to the mayor, the public officials, the newspapers-and the New York Sun. And that was what did it. Facts did it. We did not bother with theories, but tried as nearly every day as we could to get some fresh facts into the papers for the citizens to flavor their coffee with at breakfast. We were a good deal of a nulsance in a way at least we were told so- and I think that those who told us were sincere; but we knew we were right and kept doing it just as we kept going to bed at night and getting up in the morning. There was nothing particularly difficult about it. It required no special genius except the genius a dog shows in fastening to a root—the genius of hang-to-it-iveness. It is like drilling into granite-the granite may be tough, the drill may be dull and the hammer light, but if you keep pounding and live long enough you are sure to get through. You can do the same thing here and you will get the same results, only, as I said before. while there may be just as great thickness of a stratum to drill through here I am confident that it is not so knottl-

ly organized as it was with us. When finally the thing had been pushed so far that people began to be ashamed of themselves, and of each other, to live in a city that was governed by a crew of banditti that would be a disgrace to Turkey, and a brood of libertines that would have been refused naturalization papers in Gomorrah, they sent up to Albany and obtained an investigating committee, and the whole world knows the rest.

"I would not like to address you it any such terms as would be offensive to you, but I want to say that how much you will accomplish here in Chicago will depend entirely upon how

will have to pay for everything you get; and it is not money that I am think-ing of either. I wonder how many there are in this great city that are willing to take their coats off and keep them off until they die, or till Chicago is redeemed? That is what will do it and it is the only thing that will do it. You will have to take your life in your hands and your comfort and your ease in your hands and conquer a victory step by step. There is no call for the dillettante or the dude. Reform clubs are numerous and they have large enrollments, but some how they do not succeed in saving their city. There is no short cut to municipal salvation. You cannot win it by the prestige or the wealth or reform organizations, municipal leagues, civic clubs or by whatever other name the institution may be distinguished. You will avail nothing except to the degree that you fling your personality and all that it stands for directly against the oncoming tide of evil, even at the risk of being inundated and swamped by it. If this language is more strenuous than fits into your predilections, you have only yourself to blame for it, for I came here at your bidding, not my own. If you have any object in life that means more to you than the redemption of Chicago I would counsel you to keep out of the municipal regeneration business. It is to be gone at in the same way as that in which the Dutch saved Holland and our revolutionary fathers

enfranchised America. Reform Is an Expensive Luxury.

"You have got to pay for the thing all it is worth, and you have got to pay for it in the expensive coin of your own personal tissue. There is nothing funny about it. You will not live any longer for it. You will not rest better nights nor eat with a better appetite daytimes. It is feasible, but the circumstances are a good deal what they vere in the old days when the children of Israel wanted to reach the promised land. There were the Anakims, and they would have to be met and beaten down, and there was no fancy device for doing that except to club them down; and that they had no grit for, and so they wasted thirty-eight years zig-zagging through the wilderness But postpone it as they might, the pinch came, and the Anakims had to be met. You may zig-zag as they did, and feed on manna till you are worn into your graves as they were, but you or your children cannot escape the inevitable. It is a long, bitter, square fight that will be the means of giving into your hands a city that you can gener ously be proud of, and if you do not do it, somebody will have to, or your city will go utterly to the bad and sway the whole country along with it.

"The movement with you will not be question of numbers though. The influences that shape national or municipal destiny are not arithmetical. It has always been the case that the lar gest results have been achieved in the first instance by small minorities. 'One man shall chase a thousand,' is just as true here as it was in the days of Israel. If I knew that there were ten men in all this city with good heads, honest hearts, indomitable pluck and thoroughly appreciative of the situation that were prepared to lay themselves upon the municipal altar, with the same steady eyed unreserve with which Savonarola gave himself to the world there is nothing on earth or in hell that could defeat you. That is the principle upon which history has always been administered, and in all likelihood always will be.

Side Issues Must Be Avoided.

"It is quite closely akin to that to say that if you are going to do thorough work you will have to be most punctilous in avoiding all side issues. Whatever the movement with which I have been associated in New York has been able to accomplish has been due to the fact that we have kept to a straight line and have refused to be side tracked. The one object we had in view was the breaking down of Tammany hall by showing the collusion be tween Tammany's police department and the criminals. We simply wanted a good city government administered on business principles and conducted according to the requirements of the ten commandments, and every other consideration had to go by the board.

"The personal investigation of disorderly houses with which, in February of '92, the movement was initiated, was not a crusade against disorderly houses. but against Tammany's vicious method of protecting and encouraging disorderly houses. It was Tammany we were after, and not the disreputable women with which Tammany had capitalized itself; and all the hypocritical curses heaped upon us by the police commissioners and Tammany chiefs for persecuting the poor, frail unfortunates, was unmitigated rot and known by the police officials to be such. We had no interest in the social evil, no more did we have interest in the gam- fail. bling evil or in the violation of excise. Those were simply three points at which we tried to jab our dagger into Tammany's vitals, and we jabbed it, we did. We tried to show not that crimes existed and ought to be broken up, but the criminals and that therefore Tammany ought to be broken up. And we dld show it; at least we began to and the Lexow committee finished it up. "And I want to tell you that all the

prominence that was given by Tamnany officials and their friends to the work done by our society in connection with disorderly houses was done for the purpose of confusing the issue, shifting the attention from themselves to us, and working our activity as a kind of moral umbrella to ward off the dropping storm from their own unprotected heads. Tammany journals obfuscated theair with such religious consecutiveness that it was a good while before the issue became clear; but when it became clear, the people were with us and are there today. So that when reporters came to me to ask my opinion as to the proper method of dealing with the social evil, I told them to go home

that effect.

Wary of Politicians. "I speak of all this because too much consideration cannot be given to the matter of working with an eye single to one end. It is impossible to do two things at the same time and half do either of them. And there is nothing that has come nearer to making us profane (that is, the clerical members of our society) than the attempt to import into the crusade political and partisan considerations. Whatever advances we have made in my own city, we have arrived at the point-at least the rank and file of our citizens havewhere we want the administration kept untouched by the taint of politicians. There is no Republican and no Democrat in the ten commandments; no Republican and no Democrat in business So that politics is as much an impertinence in the honorable conduct of a municipality as in the honorable and successful administration of a bank manufactory. New York will never be administered honestly, economically and effectively until it is swept clean of politics and politicians. And the same is true of Chicago and every other city.

"Our movement, then, has had no partisanship in it and no sectarianism in it. An all round man is bigger than either party and the decalogue is as broad as Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism, all placed alongside of each other. You will not eliminate municipal corruption till you decide that the exclusive qualifications for official positions are intelligence, adaptedness and honesty. Such a condition of things would be purgatory to the politician and chronic crucifixion to the 'bosses.' But it is meat, drink and no end of dessert to the rest of us.

"When it came time to make up the slates last summer, the party leaders beat their drums till the ground shook and the party organs worked their diapasons till the sea roared, but the people called them down and ground their heel into all political fooling; and our new mayor proposes to run New York as he would run any other business-in the interests of decency and the stockholders.

Probe Needed, Rather Than Plaster.

In the material from various sources that has come into my hands to be used as 'pointers' in shaping my address to you this evening, considerable has been said about 'elevating the tone' of your community. something in that way of phrasing things that is liable to be misleading. The first thing you have to do is not to elevate but to tear down, and rip to pleces; you will have to bore into your city council, riddle your police force, put your police courts into the criminal box and let daylight clear through your assessors' office. 'Elevating the tone' does not quite touch it. So far as I can learn, you have no tone that is worth elevating. It is like our police force that is to be reorganized. I tell our people that they cannot reorganize rot. When mortification has begun to set in, the most considerate thing that can be done is to hand the remains over to the offices of the undertaker. "I am not counselling on your part

any procedure different from the one we have been ourselves prosecuting. The first step toward putting up a building is to dig down-to excavate. Architecture is of no account until you have touched solid bottom. Under existing circumstances, therefore, I beg of you not to talk of 'elevating' your 'tone.' Drop it. Of course, all of this performance will create a stench. Well, We have had the moral sewers of our years, and metaphorically speaking, ing to the principle which your vote during the past six months we have denended on surface drainage exclusive ly; and I have sometimes feared that when we come to breathe pure air again the shock of the change will be so great as to asphyxiate us. But it is your only way out. Better make thorough work of it than to play the dilettante with it and do it in installments.

Popular Heart Must Be Touched. "While of course this enterprise will best be prosecuted by a limited number on the principle that the auger needs to be smallest at the point where it enters, yet it is a matter wherein you need the backing of all classes so fas as you can get it. Let me caution you to make your movement comprehensive enough to win the confidence and support of every stratum of society. The Marquette club, under whose auspices I am privileged to speak tonight is made up of men who are eminently respectable—so I am told; and you have I believe, other semi-political organizations of a similar character. We do not want to disparage 'respectability' -I am using the word now with quota tion marks-but too much respectability in a lump is fatal in a community as composite as yours. You will have to touch the popular heart or you will

"Our success in New York was due to the fact that our movement was learned to be also in the interests of the poor, the distressed and of those who were born, or whose parents were born on the other side of the sea-in Gerthat Tammany was working in with many, Italy, Poland, Russia; and it was the votes of that class of people that made victory possible last November. If you are going to win the hearts of these people you will have to go into It as a matter of heart and not merely as a matter of policy. You understand that it is the poor as well as the rich that are suffering from the present situation and you will draw them from bad alliances by demonstrating to them the practical advantage that will accrue to them from contracting alliance that are better. If you will persuade them not only that what you are in pursuit of is a city that is more decent, but a city that will be more comfort able for all classes of people to live ina city whose more economical administration will reduce taxes, and a city where the taxes will be so assessed that paying the tax commissioner or his 'pal' a consideration will not relieve

much you are willing to sacrifice. You and mind their business-or words to the millionaire from his just proportion and so throw a heavier burden upon the pockets of the impecunious-I say if you will put the whole matter in simple and transparent shape before the less prosperous classes of your city and show them that decent people will look more carefully after their interests than the rascals and blood-suckers will, that are befriending them now, you will win from them all the backing that

your cause needs and deserves. Arrogance of City Officials. "I urge it upon you also that you should let it be part of the civic gospel of this community that every citizen should count himself to be a privi leged and active member of the city corporation. That is part of the genius of our Amercan institutions. If there s any one thing that makes me angry to the extent of causing me to wish that I could write a new dictionary that would give me words that would do justice to the way I felt it is to have the official classes spurn our interference, and complain of us for exeroising our God-given right of keeping tab on them. We are where we are because we have not kept tab on

"A year ago or more I put detectives

them.

on the track of some of our police jus-tices. Studying up their history as they make it day by day, but more particularly night by night (we like to have full obituary records in stock against their providential withdrawal from the field of their sublunary activity)-I say I put detectives on the track of some members of that sport-ing fraternity known among us as the police bench, and Superintendent Byrnes of the police force got wind of it (it is one of the remarkable features of that gentleman's administration that, while he is as innocent as a canary of what his own officers are about, ignorant that they are buying captaincies, peddling female virtue just as your policemen are, and playing the guardian angel to the bunko-steerers that while he never seems to know anything of this, I never do anything but he is immediately 'on to it.' That is one of the ways he takes of showing what he calls his sympathy with my cause). Well, as I was saying, I put detectives on some of our police justices, and Byrnes came out and notified the public of the fact, as though he imagined it was going to embarrass or humiliate me

Public Billet Doux for Mr. Byrnes. "I thought it was a good thing to do. My wife and I look after the servant girls in the kitchen, and it never oc-curred to me that I was doing anything essentially different in keeping an eye out for the servants that we are employing and helping to pay the salary of in the police courts. So I sent Byrnes a public billet doux through the press and told him he was right; that I had my emissaries out on the track of the justices, and that when circumstances seemed to me to warrant it I should put one on him. If he was straight it would do him no harm, and if he was crooked it might do him good. "It would be useless and out of taste

to relate the love passages that have transpired between Byrnes and myself; but I wanted to make that refer ence as an illustration of the principle that no citizen is doing his whole duty as a citizen who conceives of a public officer as being anything other than a servant of the popular will and an instrument for the execution of public choice. Officers are our representatives, not our substitutes. You cannot deposit your vote in November and then retire into the shell of your own we know out our way what stench is, private interests and have any reasonable ground for expecting that the govmunicipality open now about three ernment will be administered accord-

for the quality and trend of the municipality one may happen to belong to should be counted the axis of all civic virtue. That is the best that simply indulges in discussions of civic accountability. Any man in this city who knows official crookedness and gives no sign of it to that extent is himself

criminal and ought to be blacklisted. No Confidence in Politicians.

With special emphasis let me urge i upon you to pray to have your reform movement delivered from the influence and participation of professional politicians as you would pray to have it delivered from the devil. And I am no speaking jestingly. I entered into this work in no spirit of jest three years ago, and certainly there is not anything of it in me now. We are dealing with matters here that concern the deepest interests of yourselves and your children and that not only embrace the weal of your city but extend out and forward and intertwine themselve with the destiny of the nation. Every thing in all this business depends or the solidity and everlasting immobil ity and the unmarketable righteous ness of the men you tie to. Therefore, skip this sort of creature I have jus designated as you would skip Satan Never give them your confidence, never repose upon them any of the weight of a critical situation. Make none of them

sharers with you in your movement. "If I were to mention the hardes lesson that I have had to learn during the past three years it would be that of the damnable dangerousness of professional politician. You know what I mean by that term; we are in no need of bothering to give a definition you have specimens of your own that you can lean your mind upon while this species of creature is being dis

sected. "The professional politician is the eople's natural enemy. He takes a technical satisfaction in manipulating the popular interest without having any ensitive appreciation of the significance for good or evil which such in terest involves. He is like a man playing at chess; he enjoys handling the pieces without those pieces being representative to him of any other value than what attaches to them as gaming implements. It is not intended by any means to say that every man who officially concerns himself with these matters is animated by the spirit we

have just specified. Sweeping vituperation would be unwarranted and in excessively bad taste. Still, the professional politician, understood in the sense just indicated, is the people's enemy. His watchword is diplomacy rather than principle. He is made dizzy by traveling a straight line. He values a situation according to the number and variety of interesting combinations into which it can be developed, and has no interest in municipal reform for the reason that the farther it is carried the more it will contract the area of his own versatility.

Appeal to Chicago Clergymen. "And now, if I may be permitted to conclude with a brief appeal to the clergy of this city, I would like to say that civic conditions and duties are not a field into which the modern prophets of God have entered with an earnestness and effect that comport with their wide opportunities and high endowment. Responsibility need not be taken from the shoulders of the laity, but the relations proper to be occupied by the clergy in a crisis like yours here and ours in New York are unparalleled and unique. A live preacher, if he only gets far enough away from his study and his Bible to know the world and what is going on in it, cannot watch the footsteps of the prophet statesmen who swung the destiny of the people of Israel 3,000 years ago without feeling that the inspiration still vouchsafed to the man of God is never designed to be employed exclusively in fitting men to get out of this world respectably and to live beautifully in the world to come.

"The Lord's prayer teaches us to pray, 'Thy will be done on earth.' For you that means, first of all, 'Thy will be done in Chicago.' And there is no point from which such a keynote can be sounded so effectually as from your pulpits. It is encouraging to know that the feeling is growing that Christian fidelity means patriotism just as much as it does plety; means being a good citizen just as much as it does being a good church member; and that 'Nearer, My God, to Thee,' and 'Star Spangled Banner,' are both Christian hymns in the mouth of an all-round Christian.

"We are not saying that there are not a great many matters in municipal administration upon which the pulpit is never so eloquent as when it keeps its mouth religiously shut, but those are not the matters that have been engaging us in New York or that need just now engage you here.

Battle Not Political but a Moral One. "Our battle has not been a political but a moral one. The appeal has been steadily to the conscience. 'Expediency' we have known nothing about and cared nothing. Republicanism and Democracy we have had no interest in, no more interest than Republicans and Democrats had in us till they found the movement was going to go and might have something in it that they could make capital of. The movement with us began in a church, and the appeal all the way through has been to that which the church and the synagogue represent. The strength of the game throughout has been man's

ten commandments. "One of my most thrilling experiences in the campaign of last autumn was the enthusiastic response with which an audience I was addressing greeted my reference to Moses and the Decalogue. Perhaps you would not think that of New York, but it was a symptom of the municipal condition of mind. 'Thou shalt not kill,' 'thou shalt not commit adultery,' 'thou shalt not steal' are what you might be disposed to call ethical 'chestnuts,' but they were what laid out Tammany.

responsiveness to the authority of the

"Of course that is matter for the pulpit. There is no event recorded in the old Bible story that for sanctity would rival the enterprise for regenerating Chicago, and no situation in which there was more occasion than here for the ringing out of the voice of some local Elijah, and the more of them the better. The whole question that confronts you just now is a question of righteousness versus iniquity, honesty versus knavery, purity versus filth; and if the clergy cannot come out en masse and take a direct hand in the duel, what under heaven is the use of having clergy, anyway?

Moral Leadership Is Needed.

"There is a moral leadership that it belongs to the clergy to exercise, and that it is wickedly delinquent if it fails to exercise. An appreciation and a vision of the eternal realities that load the instant makes out a very large part of the genius of statesmanship, and it is that appreciation precisely that distinguishes the preacher if so be he is gifted with divine equipment.

"In the old days of Israel the statesman was the prophet, and the prophet was the statesman; and within certain limits it even yet lies in the intention of nature and of God that the two offices should coalesce and that the man who knows the secrets of God should shape the moral purposes and inspire the moral counsels and activities of his town and time. And I venture to say to my brethren in the Christian ministry that I speak with the assurance of definite knowledge when I say that there is no influence that will more immediately operate to bring back the world to the church than for the church and its modern prophets to come back to the world and fulfill to it their mission of gentle authority and moral governance "This is a view of the case I under-

stand perfectly well that the politicians will resent. No preacher ever puts the pressure of the authoriative office upon the local moral current of municipal events without hearing from one or another of his parishioners that the pulpit would better confine itself to the spiritualities and leave civic concerns to the arbitrament of the expert, the district leader and the party 'boss.' I would see the entire center aisle of my church swept clean of the whole breed of them before I would surrender aught of the dignity that God puts upon the the pulpit or drop to a more indeterminate key the tone of authority with which the preacher is divinely ordained to address himself to all that concerns the moral life, purposes and economy of his town and time, knowing not only that this is the divine meaning of the pulpit, but knowing besides that the retreat of the politicians through the center aisle will be more than made good by fresh access of worshippers in the gallery.

"I have, perhaps, made too heavy & draft upon your time and attention. I have, of course, not treated the matter exhaustively. I have tried simply to put before you for your interest and possible guidance a few of those points that stand before my mind as the more conspicuous outcome from my own three years of effort along municipal lines. You certainly have no harder task before you here than we had in New York. The accomplishment of it is not so much a matter of numbers as it is a matter of a few trusty souls combining with one another in singleness of purpose, untainted by considerations of preferment, committed in a sacrament of affectionate devotion to your city, and prepared to serve till the the ripens and the victory comes.'

Seventh Day Thoughts and Suggestions.

charge of some department of its municipal government. Very often a city thus "short" of first-class officials secures them from among the civil lists of sister cities. seek office at the first suggestion of a pos sible change or vacancy this business-like

is that the possession of great wealth by a comparatively few men is not an un-mitigated evil. The man accustomed to handling great sums of money; the man, indeed, who has great sums to handle, is

One of the most striking things to the American reader of English newspapers is the not infrequently encountered advertisement of some city or "corporation" for the services of an official to take that point, too, in due searge of some department of its municipal government. Very often a city thus "short" of first-class officials secures them from among the civil lists of sister cities, by offering superior inducements. To an American who recollects with what eager-needs who recollects with what eager-needs of the earth of the services of an official to take the first suggestion of a possible of the services of an official to take the first suggestion of a possible of the services of an official to take the first suggestion of a possible of the services of an official to take the first suggestion of a possible of the services of an official to take the first suggestion of a possible of the services of an official to take the first suggestion of a possible of the services of an official to take the first suggestion of a possible of the services of an official to take the first suggestion of a possible tax the first suggestion of a possible of the services of an official to take the first suggestion of a possible tax the first suggestion of a possible tax the possession of great well as a possible tax through panics before and has got over being skittish; and fore and has got over being skittish; and fore and has got over being skittish; and the form and subteriminate and indiscriminate and in the second place because he knows that at such times his dollar will go further in the second place because he knows that at such times his dollar will go further in the second place because he knows that at such times his dollar will go further in the second place because he knows that at such times his dollar will go further will when men are "flush" and the most inveterate and indiscriminate an ordinary play, but who saw no inconstant will when men are "flush" and the most inveterate and indiscriminate and the most invet

pen of that excellent magazine's cultured editor, Dr. Theodore L. Flood. It is en-titled "The Drama and the Novel." I call

is en-morals and subversive of good manners. I call In other words, if it be right for profess der the attie rafters, was something terrible. I doubt if altogether there was as much money in active circulation in the place as would suffice to buy one square millionaires thereabouts would have been halled as donoright luxuries.

It call in other words, if it be right for professing the reason that in it the takes the place as would suffice to buy one square somewhat usual ground—for a clergyman real or pretended, the evident purport of the Chautauquan's argument is that it halled as donoright luxuries. to public entertainments in mind-reading, real or pretended, the evident purport of the Chautauquan's argument is that it -that both the play and the novel are the chautauquan's argument is that it here to stay; and that it behooves wide-awake Christians to accept this fact and act upon it, rather than try to ignore the purely dramatic art of the stage and of indeed, who has great sums to handle, is generally the last one to get scared in a panic. Instead of collecting all his stray change in a convenient stove-pipe or feather bed tick, he is apt to put it out with renewed briskness into new buildings of stagnant business, into new buildings and, generally speaking, into investments that are to do with real estate as a basis. He does this because, in the first