

claims are established on the spoils which sooner or later will come under the control of the party. When the victorious day arrives, the expectants do not as a rule allow their claims to be forgotten.

One thing clearly brought out by the author is, that enormous sums are expended by each party contending for the mastery. Those engaged in the conflict, maintain journals, employ writers, speakers, canvassers and agitators; in fact an army of professional politicians finds employment in this kind of warfare. The necessity of a party fund is apparent. If money is the root of all evil, it is likewise the main-spring of party activity; the greater the activity, the larger the demand on the purses of those who have something to give, or something to expect.

Party organizations on both sides are on an elaborate scale, and nothing is left undone by each contestant to advance party interest. It is civil war on a gigantic scale. There are hostile camps everywhere. The nation is formed into two divisions, each division contending and struggling for the supremacy. The rank and file are drilled by the professional politicians, who manage the nominations, dictate who are to be the candidates, and generally direct the contest so as to carry the elections. The party managers are, for the most part, men who make politics the sole, or chief business of their lives, and who live and flourish by the occupation. The list, not seldom, includes ministers of state, or those who expect to be ministers, members of congress, or those who expect to be members; it also comprises those, who make the party to which they are attached a stepping stone to power and place; and who if they do not at once attain their ends, are rewarded meanwhile if in no other way by the excitement which is stimulated by contest.

The fullest and most painstaking enquiry into the whole system leads the author to describe the general result in the following words: "The tremendous power of party organization has been described. It enslaves local officials, it increases the tendency to regard members of congress as mere delegates, it keeps men of independent character out of local and national politics, it puts bad men into place, it perverts the wishes of the

"people, it has in some places set up a tyranny under the form of democracy."

This conclusion arrived at by the latest independent authority is not disputed in any quarter. It is supported by every writer of any note. Albert Stickney in "Democratic Government," 1885, says: "The practical result of the present political system in the United States, which at first sight seems in form so thoroughly democratic, has been to develop the most ingenious and remarkable tyranny known in all political history. * * * The political life of the nation is a never-ending struggle for political power between rival factions—all of them brought into existence by the same cause, obeying the same laws, using the same methods, compelled, whether they wish to or not, to prostitute the power of public office to personal ends. The result is a new kind of tyranny—the tyranny of the election machine. Under this system political freedom for the citizen cannot exist."

Henry George in "Social Problems," 1890, writes: "Speaking generally of the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the lakes to the gulf, our government by the people has in large degree become, in larger degree becoming, government by the strong and unscrupulous. * * * Money and organization tell more and more in elections. In some sections bribery has become chronic, and numbers of voters expect regularly to sell their votes. In some sections large employers regularly bulldoze their hands into voting as they like. In Municipal, State and Federal politics the power of the "machine" is increasing. In many places it has become so strong that the ordinary citizen has no more influence on the government under which he lives than he would have in China. He is, in reality, not one of the governing classes but one of the governed. * * * And he is beginning to accept the situation and leave politics to politicians, as something with which an honest, self-respecting man cannot afford to meddle. * * * The type of the rising party leader is not the orator or statesman of an earlier day, but the shrewd manager who knows how to handle the "workers," how to combine pecuniary interests, how to obtain money and how to spend it." The same writer in another place referring to the party organization, says: "Its

"men
"up t
"distr
"and-
"spin-
"mon
"The
"have
"citize
"dour
"trust
"gove
"keep
"a tra
"and
An
Smith
"four
"mou
"must
"and
"drel
"with
"their
"How
"tion
"sion
"fight
We
the ma
the re
public
men an
the bu
been d
to a la
pled p
It is
we are
that w
and w
have
smooth
making
we con
travell
fore us
affairs
ground
we ha
it tell
termin
mation