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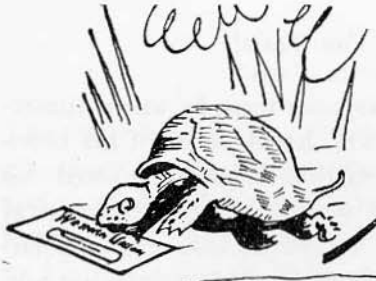


News

Charles Sumner Van Tassel—
American History in Northwestern Ohio Schools—
Fort Miami—Seneca County—Shorter Notices

Charles Sumner Van Tassel by Francis P. Weisenburger

"A land without memories is a land without history."

Few, if any, persons in northwestern Ohio have done more to revive the memories of their native region that did Charles Sumner Van Tassel who died at his home in Bowling Green on October 15, 1942 at the age of 84. His own long life, which antedated the coming of the American Civil War—(he was born on July 22, 1858)—was spent almost exclusively in the Maumee and Sandusky valleys. Even at the time of his birth, moreover, his family traditions had been well rooted in the region, the knowledge of whose past he was to do much to perpetuate. His father (who was of Dutch ancestry from the Catskill area) had migrated to northwestern Ohio when much of it was still the Black Swamp, almost impassable during a considerable portion of the year. The father arrived in the Maumee valley in 1822, teaching in the old Indian Mission School near the present-day Vollmar's Park before he took up land in Milton township, Wood county, in the 1840's. The mother of C. S. Van Tassel was a daughter of Bowling Green's first settler, Elisha Martindale, and she herself was an early teacher in a rural school west of that town.

Before embarking upon his long career as an historical writer, Van Tassel had experienced varied activities. He had served as a post office clerk in Weston; as a collector of county taxes; as a teller in a Bowling Green bank; as a newspaper reporter in the same community; as an editor in Sandusky, Toledo, Columbus, and Bowling Green; and as publicity agent for the old T. and O. C. Railroad.

While still a Bowling Green newspaper man, he wrote numerous articles on pioneer life. In 1893, he disposed of his newspaper interests, and for almost half a century devoted his primary attention to works of a biographical and historical nature. Untrained in the formal canons of historical scholarship, he nevertheless brought to his new calling a devotion and enthusiasm that resulted in much constructive achievement. His contacts with the historical guild, moreover, gradually taught him the desirability of the meticulous checking of historical facts, and his work seemed to improve in merit accordingly.

Great numbers of citizens of northwestern Ohio caught a glimpse, at least occasionally, of this tall (6 ft. 4 in.), athletic-appearing man (who never weighed over 180 pounds), as he journeyed through that section of the state, gathering material for his works and marketing his published volumes. Thousands, moreover, enjoyed his popular historical articles, "Ramblings," which appeared in various northwestern Ohio newspapers. Part of his success was due to a strong trait of determination or stubbornness which is often associated with those of Dutch descent. Thus, he carried to publication, against great financial odds, the *Book of Ohio* in eight volumes. The text was illustrated with almost two thousand fine engravings, over one hundred of which each occupied a full page. Pictures of prominent residences, churches, public buildings, and industries preserve for us realistic impressions of the Ohio of forty years ago. He became ill for a period shortly after the printing of this work, and the pecuniary failure of the project, due in part apparently to the unwise handling of the business end of it by others and to the cancellation of the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase at Toledo (1903), was a severe blow to him.

His publications in all constitute volumes which fill a six-foot shelf. Among them should be mentioned the *Story of the Maumee Valley, Toledo, and the Sandusky Region,* 4 vols. (Chicago, 1929), and the *First Hundred Years of Bowling Green* (1933). Much of his published material was based upon old memoirs and newspaper files. Some of his works, however, like

The Ohio Blue Book or Who's Who in the Buckeye State (1917), give biographical sketches of well-known contemporary Ohioans, and these too may prove valuable to historical investigators in future years. The historical profession, moreover, was served by his reprinting in 1919 of the valuable but out-of-print account of the war in 1812, Robert B. McAfee, *History of the Late War in the Western Country,* originally published in 1816.

Personally Van Tassel was a shy, clean-cut, temperate individual with an imaginative temperament. He had a keen interest in baseball, loving to discuss the game with other fans in the barber-shops, and, even on his deathbed he followed avidly the 1942 World's Series. He loved motoring into the country and was proud of the airplane ride which he took at the age of eighty-four, piloted by Dr. Nippe of Toledo. In politics he was an ardent Republican who had admired greatly the career of Joseph B. Foraker. He was survived by his widow, Nell Chaney Van Tassel.

He had long been an honorary member of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society; and it was wholly fitting that at a banquet held in Toledo two years ago, the following expression of appreciation, which may well express the sentiment of the historical profession, was presented to him, September 27, 1940:

"To Charles Sumner Van Tassel, historian of the Maumee Valley, in recognition of your unvaried and long-continued efforts to preserve and make known the entrancing history of Ohio's loveliest valley, in the name of the Maumee Valley International Historical Convention we present you with this testimonial of our gratitude and appreciation. . . ."

American History in Northwestern Ohio Secondary Schools by Roy C. Ballenger

Paralleling the survey of opinion as regards the teaching of American History among the colleges of northwestern Ohio reported in the October QUARTERLY BULLETIN, a survey of opinion among selected secondary schools of the same area is reported this month. Five secondary schools representing both rural and urban areas were contacted and four of these schools responded.

The sections of the Ohio law referring to the teaching of history and civics in the schools of Ohio are very brief:

Section 7652-1: "Every high school shall include in the requirements for graduation from any curriculum one unit of American History and Government."

Section 7645 refers to the teaching of the Constitution in the elementary schools and is as follows: "In addition to the course of study provided for in Section 7645 and 7648, General Code, it shall be the duty of the Board of Education of each school district to provide for the study of the United States Constitution and the Constitution of Ohio either in the seventh or eighth grades for a period of equivalent to one recitation period each week for the full school year."

AMERICAN HISTORY IN TOLEDO HIGH SCHOOLS

P. C. Dunsmore, Supervisor of Social Studies and Curriculum

The following is a brief statement of the work done in American History and government in the Toledo schools. Every eleventh-grade student takes this course.

American history and government are taught in separate courses. Every class studies these topics: 1. The Struggle for American Independence. 2. The Founding of American Nationality. 3. The Development of American Nationalism and Democracy. 4. The Westward Movement Stimulates American Democracy. 5. The Slavery Controversy. 6. Development of Our International Relations.

If a class is capable of doing more than this, they may study "The Beginnings of the American People and Institutions,"

and "Industrialization of the United States." This is decided by the individual teacher and class.

In the field of government the study of vital American institutions is organized under the following headings: 1. Nature and Purpose of Government. 2. Representative Democracy, Constitutional Government, Our Federal System, and State and Local Self-Government. 3. Securing Consent of the Governed. 4. How Governmental Policies are Made and Carried Out. 5. How Our Governments Promote the General Welfare. 6. The United States in the Family of Nations. 7. Financing Our Government. The historical and practical aspects of these topics are studied.

In the seventh and eighth grades the entire story of the settlement and development of America is studied. Much time in the seventh grade is given to the study of our colonial period.

Extensive use is made of the ninety-four reels of "The Chronicles of America Photoplays" and the two thousand slides on the "Pageant of America." These are owned by the Toledo Board of Education and are in continuous circulation.

The Department of Social Studies in Sandusky High School

The ultimate objective of the course in social studies is to lead every pupil to become a better citizen who wants to live in a better community, a better country, and a better world.

Since the world is the sum-total of all its yesterdays, there is a need for each pupil to have some idea of what these yesterdays were, why they were, and how they are reflected in the present social, economic, and political conditions of the world. For the purpose of transmitting these ideas we offer full year courses in World History and American History.

The subject matter of World History, and the matter of teaching it, differ considerably according to the type of class. Our students who go to college need to observe a more exact chronology of history than do our non-preparatory students. The former also should cover quite completely the material usually classified as ancient, medieval, and modern history. The course of study presented to non-preparatory students is in the nature

of historical geography, sociology, and economics. In this course, emphasis is placed upon the history of institutions (the family, religion, etc.), and upon the development of living and working conditions, rather than upon political influences and changes. Considerable emphasis is placed also upon the economic geography of the world: the location of the world's people, and of the materials which they want and need. World History students are assigned to classes very largely upon the basis of their abilities. In those classes of students whose abilities are average or below average, a simple narrative textbook is used, while the students who are more capable use more extensive and advanced study materials.

In the Junior year we are unable to make so clear a distinction between college preparatory and non-preparatory students on a class basis because of the wide variety of elective subjects which our pupils are able to select. In our American History classes, therefore, we have a rather heterogeneous grouping of students. The differences in abilities and needs of individual students are taken into consideration by the teachers in the selection and presentation of the content and materials of the course. We recognize that not all students read and comprehend equally well. We provide for their differences in ability by giving them different textbooks and other reading materials Our persistent efforts are to make history social and economic rather than political, and to emphasize the effect of our past on the present daily life of the pupil. As in World History, we emphasize the influence of geography on the course of national and world affairs.

The purpose of the course in Senior Social Studies is first to lead the student to analyze himself in such a manner that he understands why he thinks and acts as he does. The student becomes aware of the factors of inheritance and environment which influence the development of his personality. After we have accounted for the individual and his behavior, we take him into the society of other people. In the presentation of social, economic, and political problems our objective is to develop desirable attitudes on the part of the pupil toward his family,

his school, his community, his work situation, his business relationships, and his government. Particular emphasis is placed upon the responsibility of the individual for developing, maintaining, and preserving the democratic principle in all of the above relationships.

An integral part of the social studies program throughout the entire three years is an active study of current affairs. This part of our work is not something which is merely tacked on or added to the "basic" material of the various courses; it is organized *into* this material.

The Teaching of American History in Defiance High School

Grace Morse, Instructor in American History

Up to three years ago the Defiance High School courses in the social studies were organized as follows: required in grades 7 and 8, American history, divided at the Civil War for the beginning of grade 8; required in grade 10, World history; required in grade 12, American history and civics; elective for pupils in grades 10, 11, and 12, one semester of economics and one semester of sociology.

When the curriculum was revised the seventh grade American history and the elective courses in economics and sociology were dropped, the twelfth grade history was moved back to the eleventh grade and civics as a separate course was dropped, while in the twelfth a new subject, social problems, was added.

Eighth grade history is taught mostly as a narrative but as there are two teachers there is a slight difference of emphasis in the two groups. One lays most stress on the early period, not because the history is more important but in order to teach certain social studies skills. He uses the magazine *Every Week* for one day each week, assigning the most important articles for intensive study. The other emphasizes the Industrial Revolution and its effect on sectionalism in the United States and, therefore, goes more slowly over the period just before the Civil War. He uses the magazines *Scholastic* and *Young America* for general knowledge of current affairs.

In World history in the tenth grade little attention is given to United States history as such, but in the use of magazines once a week American as well as foreign news is covered and the connection between our own history and the rest of the world is stressed. Two teachers use *Our Times* and assign specific articles for study, the other uses *Time* and aims to cover the week's news.

When American history was moved back to the eleventh grade the immaturity of the pupils made a change of method necessary. Previously five texts had been used, one fifth of each class using each text and being responsible for getting the facts and point of view of its text over to the other four fifths. The organization was by topical units with little attention to chronological order. This method confused the younger pupils and at present one text is used by all pupils, the other four texts being assigned for oral reports. The organization of material is roughly chronological.

This class is taught with the idea that the past is an integral part of the present and that American life and the American people are a product of American history. This point of view is explained at the beginning of the year and the pupil is responsible for observing the life around him either directly or through the medium of the press or radio and at the beginning of each recitation he presents any significant news.

In addition to the daily work on the news the *American Observer* is used once a week, the two main articles usually being assigned for intensive study. At this time the news of the week is summarized and brought into focus with the history.

The history of Ohio and the local community is taught in this course. The system is chronological, with these facts being supplied at the corresponding time in national history.

A great deal of attention is given to geography both in the history and current events teaching with the idea that American history is a segment of world history.

There is a definite attempt to teach the origin and development of American characteristics and American ideas.

In the course in social problems given in the twelfth year there are three major divisions of the subject, government,

present social problems and the pupil's personal life and his adaptation to his surroundings. It is in this course that certain American ideas such as racial tolerance, freedom of expression and equality of opportunity are compared with our actual performance with the aim of eliminating the lag between our ideals and performance.

This teacher gives a great deal of attention to new books with the hope that the pupils will form the habit of using this important source of knowledge and understanding.

In all of these courses there is a definite purpose of helping the pupil to feel that it is a high privilege to be an American and that this can be felt more keenly after a study of American history.

A Decade of Change in the Organization of Social Science Courses in Secondary Schools

Roy C. Ballenger, Instructor in History
W. W. Ross High School, Fremont

The organization of the social science curriculum in W. W. Ross High School, Fremont, Ohio, is representative of the organization in northwestern Ohio.

The last decade has seen an increasing emphasis upon integrated social science courses, especially in grades 7, 8, and 9. This trend may be attributed in part to the general acceptance of the six year high school as the typical secondary organization in the smaller urban communities and to the increasing percentage of the youth of secondary school age enrolled in school. Emphasis in grade 7 is placed upon geography and upon community life in foreign lands. American life and history is the subject of study in grade 8. Personal Guidance courses have been introduced into grade 9.

In the upper three grades of the high school the two year course in World history has been displaced by a one year course. American history has been moved from the 12th grade to the 11th grade and economics and sociology, sometimes offered as a single integrated course, is the offering in the final year of the secondary school.

The results of these changes may be open to criticism on many

grounds. The exigencies of scheduling may place teachers not fully trained in charge of these courses. Library facilities in sufficient quantity to make supplementary reading possible for the two or three hundred students enrolled in a course are almost universally lacking.

Another decade of normal development might be expected to show continued progress in the development of the social science curriculum of the secondary school. But it is now quite apparent that the next decade will not provide a period of normal development. The content of the history curriculum has been growing rapidly *at both ends*. The progress of archaeological science produces significant additions to our knowledge of the origins and character of the early civilizations of the Near East. The startlingly rapid changes of these epochal years add new materials which must be considered if there is to be developed any appreciation and understanding of the present day world. The history of present day America can not be separated from the history of Europe and the history of Asia. The content, the tone, and the emphases of all social science courses will be different ten years from now—very different. History has become global as war has become global.

The imminent induction into the armed forces of eighteen year old youths must result in the early termination of the formal education of a large segment of our future citizenship. In many cases this termination will come before the completion of the secondary period of education. The task of developing in this generation the knowledge of the fundamentals of American history which Dr. Nevins calls for in his *New York Times* article of May 3, 1942 will not be realized in the secondary school as it is organized and supported today. It will be achieved, if it is achieved at all, in a comprehensive program of adult education yet to be formulated.

Fort Miami

The Toledo Metropolitan Park Board has passed a resolution, "that The Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio be, and it hereby is, requested to undertake such research as may be necessary for the preparation of a history of Old Fort Miami, and, in association with the Ursula Wolcott Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and such other organizations and individuals as the Society may think helpful, to prepare for submission to and the approval of this Board, a suggested plan for the future development of Old Fort Miami and a park to surround it." Acting immediately on this command, the Trustees met October 16 and empowered President Logan to appoint a committee to gather data for the history of the Fort. Curtis W. Garrison, Carl B. Spitzer and George D. Welles are the members of the Committee.

Seneca County Historical and Archaeological Museum

Since opening and dedication day, August 5, 1942, 2,115 visitors have registered at the Museum. For the "duration" the museum is open to the public twice a week, Wednesdays and Sundays, from 1:30 to 5 o'clock, P.M. The Museum is also opened to visitors from a distance by special appointment.

Arrangements have been made by the Curator, Dr. A. C. Shuman, the founder, to have different organizations of Tiffin to visit, by appointment, in groups. The Lions, the Kiwanis, and the Rotary Clubs, Boy Scout Troops, Girl Scouts, and grades from the Public Schools have taken advantage of the opportunity.

Recent additions have been 315 glass spoon holders, each unique, collected by Mrs. Robert Jones, from Ohio and other states; several large cases of sea shells from Florida and California, presented by Mrs. William Sholte, a series of antique lamps collected by Mrs. Jesse Hilton, and a group of relics collected in a globe circling trip by Mrs. W. A. Holtz.

Shorter Notices

Dr. Milo M. Quaife, of the Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, was honored by a testimonial luncheon October 15, presented by his publishers on the occasion of publishing his new history entitled, "The Flag of the United States."—Dr. Elbert J. Benton, Secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, has been made Acting-Librarian, succeeding Hugh Wallace Cathcart, who died September 6, 1942.—Dr. Schunk says the Toledo Public Library file of the *Blade,* stretching back one hundred and six years is as complete as can be found. It has been microfilmed and a copy of the film is deposited in Washington and Columbus as well as one in use at the library.

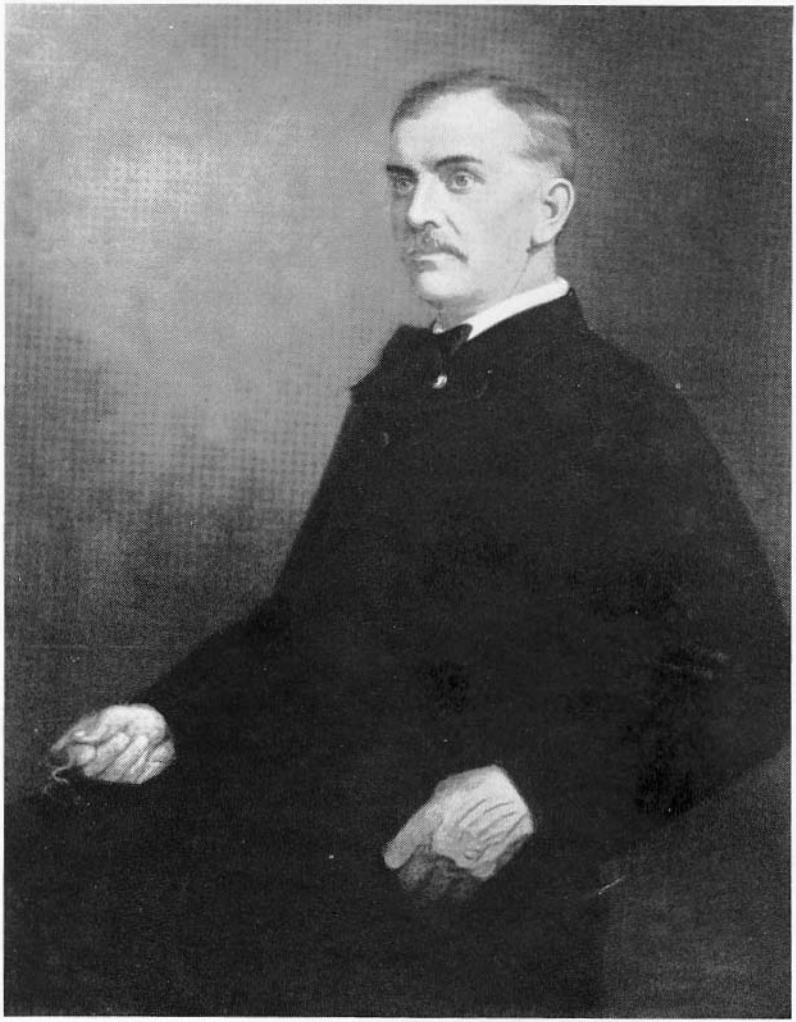
Samuel M. Jones—Evangel of Equality

JAMES H. RODABAUGH

GOD'S in his Heaven, all's right with the world!" So Mark Hanna telegraphed the newly elected President, William McKinley, on the night of November 3, 1896. In a bedroom in his Canton home, McKinley knelt and gave thanks. The sun of the "golden years" had truly arisen from behind the dark clouds of Populism. A few days after the election President Cleveland unblushingly wrote of the result: "Recent events may well cause those who represent business interests to rejoice on their escape from threatened perils."[1] The significance of the election lies in the victory of capitalism. It sounded the knell of Jeffersonian agrarian democracy, and celebrated the victory of the manufacturing and industrial order and its leadership, big business. Perhaps the result was inevitable, as Henry Adams said, "a submission long foreseen by the mere law of mass." However, the triumph of the capitalistic system brought with it the conflict which is inherent in capitalism itself, namely competition, and a warfare with the resisting or defensive forces of society which sought to protect itself from exploitation.

In a sense the Civil War ushered in a new era in American life. Stimulated by the demands of the war itself, industry began its expansion. Riding the ideological waves of frontier individualism and laissez faire, industrial capital proceeded to build its empire. Money-making became its specialization, and to this "attribute," as Brooks Adams wrote, all else was sacrificed. Capital erected its own moral code, its own ethics of financial combat. Under it sovereign powers could be bought and sold without responsibility, and popular restraints such as legislation were to be evaded by any means. In order to guarantee an absence of restraints, and further to pave the road for easier exploitation, big business sought and took control of government, local, state, and national. Governmental authority became the instrument of economic interests.[2]

Of course many other factors were operating to confuse the public mind. The tapping of a great wilderness of millions of



SAMUEL M. JONES

acres of fertile soil, the discovery of rich mineral deposits, the growth of our population through natural increase and large-scale immigration, the flood of inventions, all contributed to a sudden transformation in life from the relatively static essentially rural society to the civilization of a large population, great crowded cities, rapid communication facilities, an abundance of wealth and goods, and a potential for producing more and more. But the economic and social transformations took place much faster than our political institutions could adjust themselves. So the political field was open for exploitation by those who could exact personal advantage: It was open as well to panaceas and experiment and study for social benefit.

The engine of democracy was racing at full throttle, but the engineer was confused by the speed, and control slipped from his hands. While wealth increased and industrial production skyrocketed and new inventions added to the range of life, these were counterbalanced by poverty and class conflict. The railway, the telegraph and telephone, and the oil pipe line threw their tentacles over the land; huge smoking factories arose in growing cities; steel began to close its grip upon the nation's industrial life; great banking institutions, insurance companies, and investment houses mushroomed to feed on the wild and rich speculation; millionaires appeared almost over night to gild the age with gaudy displays and "tainted" philanthropies; a large middle class of professional men and entrepreneurs evolved to serve the "Masters of Capital" as well as the masses; competition eliminated the weaker elements, and trusts and monopolies were a natural consequence. The control of the nation's industrial wealth and production rapidly concentrated in the hands of a relatively small portion of the population.[3] On the other side of the picture is a story of pauperism and slums, of disease and crime, of sordidness and unhappiness among the millions who crowded into the cities. In 1900, two-thirds of the male workers over sixteen were receiving less than $12.50 a week, and throughout the country the average wage was less than two dollars a day. Even to Emperor William II it appeared that American capitalists intended to "suck the life

out of the workingmen and then fling them like squeezed lemon-skins into the gutter."[4]

Out of the disparity between rich and poor, employer and employee, creditor class and debtor class, arose a normal conflict, in part for a larger share of the profits being created by the new industrial order, and in part against the political and economic control of American life which fell into the hands of the industrial and financial oligarchy. Labor organizations sprang into existence to represent the working classes; assaults upon the rights of labor and failure to meet demands for better working conditions and higher wages were answered with strikes, and in some cases riots. The farmers of west and south also arose in revolt against the financial supremacy of the east. But the Populist Revolt of 1892 and 1896 was a manifestation of the confusion of the engineer, for while on the one hand the Populists and the Bryan Democrats sought honestly to establish economic democracy through cooperative and collective controls, on the other hand they adhered to the old agrarian ideal of individualism. The result was lack of unity of purpose, unwise compromise, and want of discipline necessary for success.[5] The temporary campaign of Populism for a democratic order was like the eruption of a great volcano, pouring its lava into the sea and only threatening disaster, after which it settles down to years or centuries of slow but constant emission of its fluid rock until the land is finally covered. The struggle for economic democracy continues slowly, but its principles are gradually being accepted and perhaps they too will finally cover the land.

When Populism as an organized revolt in behalf of democracy died in the late nineties, its ghost, public discontent, and the cause for such a revolt remained behind. But the articulation of the protective forces of democratic society took other forms. A successful revolution is grounded in a philosophy or ideology which has vital meaning to the people. On the stage of popular unrest, great philosophers and preachers arose to teach the new democracy. The theories of Thomas Jefferson had to be revised to meet the changes of industrial civilization. Perhaps the most effective of the new philosophers and propa-

gandists was Henry George, "the most acute critic of American economic life," whose *Progress and Poverty* appeared in 1879-80. Although many thinkers could not agree with his theory of the single tax, nevertheless his analysis of the unhealthy development of industrial civilization, and his thesis that the state might be the instrument of freedom and equality of the individual were fundamental in the philosophies of many leaders in the movement for economic democracy. *Progress and Poverty,* it is claimed, had wider circulation than any other work in political economy, and possibly than all the other combined works in the field of economics.[6]

Edward Bellamy built an attractive cooperative commonwealth in his popular novel *Looking Backward* (Boston, 1888). Like George, he declared his faith in equality as the vital principle of democracy. The state became the instrument for enforcing the subserviency of material conditions to the well-being of the individual. His planned society would preserve the benefits of the machine and at the same time give to each person a new equality and a new security. The third of these significant philosophers and propagandists was Henry Demarest Lloyd who voiced vehement protest against business combinations such as the Standard Oil Company in *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (1894). "Nature is rich," he cried, "but everywhere man, the heir of nature, is poor." Syndicates, trusts, combinations, "cornerers," he named them, regulate consumption and production not in terms of the needs of humanity, but to meet the "desires of a few for dividends."[7] As a solution he called for a socialistic or "co-operative" commonwealth. Someone once said, "Before every revolution marches a book—the *Contrat Social, Uncle Tom's Cabin.*" Before the movement for economic democracy marched three books: *Progress and Poverty,* by all odds the most significant but with a panacea limited to consideration of land monopoly; *Wealth Against Commonwealth,* a careful analysis of the evils of capitalist monopolies concluding with an appeal for the socialist commonwealth; and *Looking Backward,* a best-seller novel, an effective propaganda tool, describing the joys of the Utopian society of socialism. In each of these

is expressed a sincere faith in the individual, in the principle and operation of democracy, and in the Christian ideal as a sound foundation for real democracy.[8]

There were other prophets of humanitarianism, important because of their positions as men of God. For this was the day of the rise of the Social Gospel. Henry George had founded his social philosophy on the faith that "God was the spiritual reality behind the universe from which emanated the urge toward justice." It was natural, therefore, that his philosophy should attract a number of religious minded people who were beginning to feel a necessity for humanizing theology.[9] Theological seminaries sounded a new tone in social ethics, emphasizing the principles of human solidarity or the corporate life of man. Certain preachers of the Social Gospel stood out as imposing figures, the most dramatic being George Davis Herron whose radicalism made him one of the most denounced and idolized men in America.[10] More conservative but effective in his use of the pastorate as an agent for social progress was Washington Gladden, who characterized capitalism as a system which reduced to permanent degradation the men who do the world's work.[11] Others among the liberal and radical voices of religion included Herbert N. Casson, Josiah Strong, Lyman Abbott, William Dwight, Porter Bliss, and Graham Taylor.[12] United through a common cause, these prophets and fellow crusaders, reformers, and philanthropists took the aggressive from the speaker's platform. They attacked too with a great mass of printed materials: articles in periodicals such as the *Social Gospel, The Kingdom,* and *The Commons, The American Fabian,* and *Arena,* and hundreds of books were devoted to the causes of social justice, democracy, and the amelioration of conditions in American economic and political life. The prophets did not agree with Hanna that "all's right with the world." They called upon the people to help themselves through co-operative effort.

Behind and escorting all revolutions are three groups of men, the theoreticians or philosophers, the prophets, preachers, or propagandists, and the active revolutionaries. These latter in the movement for economic democracy followed the strategy

of a military force when confronted by a formidable foe. The mass frontal attack of Populism had withered; the new leaders sought victory for their cause by patrol activity concentrated on the weak spots in the enemy's system. Local government had been the foundation of American democracy: It was to local government therefore that the attention of the reformers was directed, and the city, the spawn of the industrial order, became "the hope of democracy." The city was looked upon as a "kind of microcosm where are posited in miniature all the problems of a democracy."[13]

The municipality, like the country as a whole, had grown too fast; it was not prepared to meet the new responsibilities, and "out of the growth of functions arose only disorganization, confusion, incoherence."[14] Such an earnest and deep scholar as Andrew D. White was forced to admit early the nineties that "the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt."[15] The city became a source of income to certain interests; the control of the government of the city became a necessity to prevent restraints upon other business interests. So business men went after the special privileges of city contracts and public utilities, gas, electric, water, telephone, and railway companies. Since the concentration of these companies was upon profits, stocks were watered, high rates were maintained, and poor service and equipment were often offered the people. In order to hold the goose that was laying the golden eggs, business men nurtured political machines with portions of the profits, and fed them in maturity with the fat that could be fried from political jobs. The political boss became an institution in American political life, but the real bosses were the economic or business interests which stood behind him with the power to buy and sell. The public welfare was forgotten in contempt for law and corruption. Brooks Adams saw one of the symptoms of the disintegration of American society "in the slough of urban politics, inseparable from capitalistic methods of maintaining its ascendancy."[16]

The first approach to the need for municipal reform was to

attack and destroy certain forces of evil. In 1871 the notorious Tweed Ring in New York was overthrown; but the way was left open for Tammany Hall to gain an empire of vice and graft and extravagance pounced on and wrecked by Reverend Charles H. Parkhurst and the Lexow Committee in 1894. Sporadic outbreaks of reform occurred throughout the country, culminating finally in the second approach to municipal reform, i.e., an effort to organize a systematic and practical political program for better municipal administration. The National Conference for Good City Government was launched in January 1894; it became the National Municipal League. Hazen S. Pingree, Mayor of Detroit from 1889 to 1897, was the first to make constructive effort to correct the evils in city government through political administration.[17] He established a municipal electric plant, forced rate reductions on gas and telephone companies, abolished toll gates on roads into the city, and led a bitter fight against the street railway monopoly in private hands.

In 1897, when Pingree became Governor of Michigan, the interest in the experiment in municipal reform focused on Toledo, where a relatively unknown figure had suddenly appeared on the political scene.[18] That man was Samuel M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo from 1897 to 1904, whose direct influence was to continue through the administration of Brand Whitlock, 1905-13. This then was the setting of the stage upon which he now trod: Industrial capitalism controlled our political and economic life; social discontent was finding expression through various channels; a movement toward the overthrow of the capitalistic system had been organized with philosophers, preachers, and active revolutionaries attacking generally and also specifically a weak spot, namely city government. Sam Jones was "neither philosophically trained nor fully conscious of the implications of his own demand for a new order in the city government,"[19] but reacted instinctively to the needs of the people and so became preacher of the new order and a practical revolutionary in the sense that he put the theories of reform to work.

The growth and political life of Toledo is illustrative of the

too rapid development of American cities. Its population literally bounced from 50,000 in 1880, to 81,000 in 1890, and nearly 132,000 in 1900. In the last decade of the century it was the fastest growing city in Ohio, increasing by a percentage of 61.9 over the 1890 population. It was a town of many nationalities; more than twenty languages and dialects could be heard on its streets every day. As the crossroads between the east and Chicago, and as the leading lake port in northwestern Ohio, Toledo felt the instability of a stream of transients and contact men, and the ribald turbulence of sailors and stevedores and oil men from the nearby fields. The city was beginning to enjoy the prosperity of flourishing industry and commerce. Toledo elevators and shipping facilities were handling around fifty million bushels of grain a year by 1895, three million tons of coal, and around 170 million feet of lumber. The Toledo Chamber of Commerce was established in 1897. Certain names had made their impress upon the financial life of the community; the Reynolds, Robison, and Secor families were leaders in railroads, city railway lines, banks, hotels, wholesale groceries, and many of the city's industries. The name of Libbey already stood for glass. The intellectual and cultural level of Toledo was low; it was a coarse, industrial city. What cultural attainment there was and avenues of relief from the hurly-burly were found in the honeycomb of organizations, religious, fraternal, social, beneficial, charitable, insurance, music. There were 87 churches, with Methodists, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics predominating.

The prosperity of Toledo had not touched the citizenry as a whole. Counterbalancing the rising capitalists were over 6,000 reported paupers in the county in 1897. Unskilled labor in leading manufacturing plants was drawing only $1.25 to $1.50 for a ten-hour day. Among the large laboring population was confusion and unrest. Labor organizations began to grow and by 1887 supported a relatively innocuous Labor Union Party. Ten years later there were 50 or 60 labor unions and auxiliaries in the city. All the workingmen needed was an inspirational leadership to give them the balance of political power in Toledo. That leadership they found in Sam Jones whom they supported

in overwhelming victories. Petty crime, not uncommon to port cities, disturbed the church people of the city. A city debt of $7,000,000 and a tax rate of 3.10, higher than that of most cities, was more disturbing to the propertied interests, who set up a clamor against the machine in power.[20] In 1894 the Citizens' Federation of Toledo was created under the auspices of religious organizations to attack gambling, saloons, disorderly houses, and Sunday desecration allegedly countenanced by the city administration. This group succeeded in electing a police commissioner at the next election. A spirit of dissatisfaction with the existing administration, and a certain spirit of reform were in the air at election time 1897. Unfortunately it was a confused and insincere idea of reform that prevailed, a sort of feeling that when the personal sins of men, particularly those who patronized the "tenderloin district," were cleaned up, happiness would grace the city. There was little or no understanding or recognition of the basic social evil, namely the economic disparity.

The Republicans, dominant in Lucas County politics, went into their city convention in 1897 divided among themselves. Guy G. Major, one of the chief factors in the American linseed oil industry and mayor from 1893 to 1897, as representative of the machine bosses, was the object of particular attack. It was claimed that he was supporting James Melvin for the nomination, the intention being to deadlock the convention until an opportune time, when Major's name would be sprung.[21] Fundamentally, the fight in convention was a part of the Hanna-Foraker feud in Ohio politics. The Lucas County bosses, Colonel George P. Waldorf, Collector of Internal Revenue, his satellite and successor as chief boss, Walter F. Brown,[22] sauve young Harvard lawyer, climbed the Hanna pork-barrel. Opposed to them and following the Foraker banner were Lemuel P. Harris, candidate for the nomination, and his manager, Charles P. Griffin. A third candidate was shipbuilder, banker, and shipping executive, Captain John Craig, supported by various businessmen and sponsored by James M. Ashley, Jr., son of the old anti-slavery and radical Republican.

In an attempt to control the convention, the machine fought

for unpledged delegates. It was charged, of course, and it was probably true, that the gamblers and saloonkeepers were supporting the Major scheme. Tom Wheeler, one of Major's lieutenants, passed out delegates' tickets at a meeting of the Lucas County Liquor Dealers' Association at Birkenhauer's saloon on Cherry Street. A night or so before the primaries, Major, his secretary, "Pretty Bobby" Adams, and Joe Nehr, chartered a hack and handled business with saloonkeepers of at least five wards, and "hangers-on," such as "Bull" Kiley, "Butch" Burns, Bill Rodgers, and Shep Coad, had money to spend across the polished mahogany bars.[23] But the machine forces failed to carry the primaries, and the convention opened with prospects of a real contest. It was a turbulent session, with the forces of Melvin, Craig, and Harris showing no signs of retreat for five ballots. On the fourth someone from the tenth ward voted for Jones, a delegate to the convention; on the fifth he had a total of six votes. At this point the Harris and Craig forces combined to nominate Jones. Ashley arose to withdraw the name of his nominee. Instantly Adams jumped up, thinking the time to present Major's name had come, only to hear Ashley present Jones's name. Virtual bedlam broke loose in the convention hall, and Sam Jones received the nomination on the sixth ballot.[24]

The campaign that followed was a close and hard fought contest. Hardened politicians felt somewhat self-conscious and silly about Jones;[25] they just could not understand him. He called a meeting of the candidates at his home to make plans for the campaign, and introduced the preferential ballot as a means of voting for a chairman of the campaign. But Walter Brown and the central committee amended the work of the candidates.[26] The Democrats nominated a young, anti-silver Democrat, Parks "Punk" Hone, who had come within a few votes of defeating Major in 1895. The Democrats tried to set the issue of the campaign as a moral one. The fact that Jones had been chosen by anti-Major forces which included the church interests, coupled with his Y.M.C.A. and other activities, brought against him charges that he would close the saloons and enforce rigid Sunday regulations. Although Jones denied such intentions

unless they were demanded by the people, he was opposed by the saloonkeepers and their followers.[27] Meanwhile in a whirlwind campaign of speeches, Jones tried to set his own issues, machine government, street railway franchises, municipal ownership, nonpartisanship in municipal politics, labor reforms, cultural and aesthetic developments for the city, and the application of the Golden Rule in an effort to achieve a better social order.[28] He spoke so effectively that some interests had their fears aroused lest he be sincere. At one meeting "Charley" Griffin pointed out that Jones was no more of a Socialist than Christ was.[29] The machine actually seems to have cut behind Jones's back to defeat him. Bob Adams revealed this one night in a party of congenial friends at the St. Charles Cafe. When the returns came in, the Democrats carried Walter Brown's ward although it had gone to McKinley by over 250. Other regular machine precincts failed too to produce for Jones. The result was a majority for him of but 518 out of 20,614 votes cast.[30] At one o'clock on April 15, Jones assumed the office of mayor.

When Jones's name was presented to the convention, one delegate arose and asked, "Who in —— is Jones?" He had taken no previous important part in politics. In fact he had been a resident of Toledo only since 1892. But his name had become well known in business, labor, and cultural circles. The story of his life was one that appealed to native Americans and immigrants of the lower economic levels, for, as told in his Autobiography,"[31] it was a story of "rags to riches." Born in an ancient stone house in North Wales in 1846, he emigrated in steerage to America at the age of three. The family, including seven children,[32] settled in Lewis County, New York, where the father worked in the stone quarries, as a stone mason, and as a farmer. Sam started to work at ten years old; at fourteen he was working in a saw mill twelve hours a day. A few years later he left home for the oil fields around Titusville, Pennsylvania. Starting with fifteen cents in his pocket, he was an employer in the field before the age of twenty. Ten very happy years in his life began in 1875, when he married Alma Bernice Curtiss who gave him three children[33] and perhaps an elementary interest in literature. On

her death in 1885, he moved to Lima, Ohio, where he drilled the first large well in the Trenton field, and was one of the incorporators of the Ohio Oil Company. When the Standard Oil squeezed the smaller producers, he sold his interests and moved to Toledo, where he married Helen L. Beach.[34]

Jones had been working on improvements for oil well machinery. After Standard Oil declared lack of interest in his patents, he established his own factory, the Acme Sucker Rod Company, at 600 Segur Avenue, in 1894, to manufacture clasp joint couplings, pull-rods, combination clamp stirrups, and line pumping jacks. His entry into modern industry brought him a fortune and a social awakening. When swarms of men sought work at his factory, he met for the first time a different kind of man, piteous in his appeal and grovelling in his feeling of inferiority before employer and boss. This Jones could not stomach. He immediately adopted as his motto: "The Business of this shop is to make men; the making of money is only an incidental detail." He "ignored the sacred rules of business," and posted only one rule for himself and his industry, "Therefore, whatsoever things ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them." His attempt to run his shop according to this precept won for him the sobriquet, "Golden Rule" Jones. He determined to set up a shop without "rules" or "bosses"; he established the eight-hour day[35] and forty-eight-hour week, while other plants were working ten and twelve hours for six days; no child labor was permitted, and no "piece-work" or "piece price" plan; overtime was abolished to allow for the employment of more men; there were no timekeepers, no timeclock, and no "ringing in" (each man kept his own time); a week's vacation with pay was granted to every worker; every man with the company a year got a minimum of twelve dollars a week, and at Christmas a bonus of five per cent of the year's salary was given. Outings and picnics were enjoyed by the employees and their families. Jones encouraged music, and supported the organization of a chorus and a band by his workers. At the corner of Segur and Field Avenues he converted a lot into Golden Rule Park and Playground. Here on Sunday afternoons he sponsored

concerts and presented noted speakers. With the help of his sister Ellen ("Nell"), he established Golden Rule House as a community center, and here a kindergarten was established. Over the shop he opened Golden Rule Hall for club and social meetings. Here too he furnished the noon meal to his workers at fifteen cents. A co-operative insurance program was inaugurated in which employees and the factory established a fund to pay sickness and injury benefits, the workers managing the fund and making rules for distribution. In 1901 Jones established a profit-sharing system by which the employees became stockholders. Finally, shortly before his death, Jones created the Golden Rule Trust Fund which is used to pay insurance to families of the workers. He encouraged his men to unionize, and marched with them in Labor Day parades. However, he sought a condition in society where the warfare of classes would no longer exist, the freedom of men in equality and brotherhood.[36]

The application of new ideas in his shop had brought Jones some prominence in Toledo by 1897. Other activities too had brought him into the public eye. His interest in the movement for economic democracy led Jones to form the Society for Applied Christianity of which he was president. He furnished the money to bring such speakers as Josiah Strong, Washington Gladden, Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Edward W. Bemis, Charles Zueblin, B. Fay Mills, Robert Ingersoll, Henry D. Lloyd, and others before the Society and the Toledo people. He donated a collection of sociological books to the public library. He was known too for his philanthropies. Although he condemned the necessity for charity as evidence of the weakness of the capitalistic system, he was to be seen in the poorer sections of the city on the coldest nights giving aid where it was needed. After Jones became mayor, his office, Whitlock said, became a kind of charity bureau. His salary as mayor was given to the poor. Once, after a weary day, he sighed, "I could wash my hands every day in women's tears." There was no element of patronage in his treatment of his workers or any other person. His relations with people were based on his natural love for them. He

was entirely free from conceit and held no respect for convention or formality. For him love was the law of life. He had a simple and implicit faith in people, and generally this faith was rewarded. Two mottoes, one on the doorstep of his Monroe Street home, "A wide house to lodge a friend," and the other in Welsh over his fireplace, "Y gwir yn erbyn y byd" (The truth against the world), are characteristic of his love and faith. Ernest Crosby wrote of Jones: "It was a quaint and moving spectacle, that of this childlike man making his way among men of the world and astonishing them by his disingenuousness."[37]

His natural and unrestrained approach and the simplicity of his manner and speech made him one of the greatest campaigners of his time. N. O. Nelson said he had heard Jones speak from the same platform with such speakers as Bryan, Jane Addams, and Henry George's disciple, Father McGlynn, and in each case Jones seemed favored.[38] He talked a straight, simple morality; he offered his hearers hope for a better life in this world; he spoke against the inequalities of the capitalistic system and against the warfare of partisanship; he preached against the group interests of sect, of party, of club or society, of nation, of class, and in favor of equality of all men in one great brotherhood.

Toledo contributed to Jones's growth by electing him mayor. It gave him an acute acquaintance with the problems of the social organism. Lincoln Steffens wrote: "The personality of Jones, married to Toledo, developed a further, deeper personality in Toledo."[39] By the time of his election in 1897, he was already known to many of the leading social reformers; by the end of his first administration as mayor, he was known as one of them. Although he had little more than two years of formal education, Jones was a well-read man. His Welsh heritage gave him a feeling for music and poetry and beautiful prose. He loved and could quote at length from the works of Burns, Emerson, and Whitman. He was attracted especially to those works which wedded art with humanity. He knew the poetry of William Morris and Edward Carpenter, and Edwin Markham sent him an inscribed copy of "The Man With the Hoe."

He read the writings of George, Bellamy, and Lloyd, and of the preachers of the social gospel. Joseph Mazzini and Karl Marx were no strangers to him, and Marx's call, "Workingmen of the World, unite," Jones looked upon as an "appeal for international brotherhood—a plea for the reign of peace instead of prejudice."[40] He read too the works of social psychologists, historians, political scientists, and economists, including William James, Carlyle and Lecky, Goldwin Smith, John R. Commons, Edward W. Bemis, Frank Parsons, John A. Hobson, and Sidney and Beatrice Webb. He read also the novels of William Dean Howells, and Whitlock introduced him to the great Russian novelists, other than Tolstoi. Oscar Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* he committed to memory.

The most important literary influences on Jones, however, were the Bible, Tolstoi, and Whitman. Jones carried on a voluminous correspondence with the Russian, and absorbed many of the latter's ideas into his own philosophy.[41] His acquaintance with Whitman seems to have come after he was mayor. A little cult of men with literary interests centered at the mayor's office. Perhaps Whitlock, a young attorney whom Jones regarded his ablest disciple and closest friend, was the leader of this band, for the field of literature was more attractive to him than the law. The Whitmanites included Perry Knapp who served as chief of police under Jones and Whitlock, and Dr. H. A. Tobey, the famous superintendent of the Toledo State Hospital for the Insane.[42] It was Tobey who had discovered in a Negro elevator boy in Dayton the poet, Paul Laurence Dunbar.[43] Dr. Tobey's charming quarters were filled with the works of all the great writers. Here too he presented Dunbar to his friends. These men studied Whitman with avidity; he became a sort of patron saint for them in their strivings for democracy. Among the books remaining from Jones's library[44] are at least eight copies of Whitman works. In a volume of *Leaves of Grass* which he presented to his son, Percy, and his wife, he wrote that this volume "has been the source of much of my education in the art of loving my fellows." His love of Whitman became widely known, and his friends, Perry Knapp, Horace Traubel, Richard Maurice

Bucke, and Elbert Hubbard, presented him with copies of Whitman's writings. At times such men as Clarence Darrow, Lincoln Steffens, and Tom L. Johnson visited the Toledo group. Darrow brought with him, as had Whitlock, the delightful profit of a close acquaintance with Altgeld. Jones did not build a political machine—he was opposed to parties—but a group of young men, attracted by literary interests and a social consciousness, attached themselves to him, and carried on the Independent Movement after his death. These included Elisha B. Southard, Thomas Biddle, William Cowell, Reynolds Voit, A. A. Moody, Frank H. Geer, Negley Cochran, and others.

Jones's vision of municipal government included non-partisan administration of a semi-socialist city. He believed the city should own and operate all public utilities; it should make life enjoyable with parks and playgrounds, free concert halls, bathhouses, swimming pools, skating rinks, scientific schools, museums, and art galleries. Concerned more with society's responsibilities to its members than the individual's obligations, he saw the state or the city guaranteeing security and the right to work by providing public projects when private employment became scarce, and municipal housing schemes to replace slums and tenements. To assist in the abolition of corruption Jones succeeded in placing the police and fire departments under a civil service system. These departments of public safety and the waterworks were placed on an eight-hour day. The police were transformed into a service organization, and their clubs were replaced with light canes.[45] He induced council to provide for free public baths and to give pay increases and fix a minimum wage for city laborers. He introduced the free kindergarten into the public school system, and organized the Complete Educational League to support the movement for children's playgrounds and outings and vocational education. He moved to beautify the city and give work to the unemployed at the same time by cleaning up the streets, and in 1899 he reported the streets in good condition and clean. Toledo was one of the first cities to begin to eliminate overhead electric lines. The Toledo park system was developed under Jones, and in 1898, council

appropriated $25,000 to begin a system of boulevards to connect the large parks. Golf was added to the park services in 1899, and playgrounds for children were begun in the same year under Jones's leadership.[46] Watching the peaceful celebration in Paris on Bastille Day in 1896, he visualized the "safe and sane" Fourth of July, and introduced that idea to America as mayor of Toledo. Although the city did not act to construct an art museum, a group of private individuals including Edward D. Libbey, Robinson Locke, and Barton Smith, organized the Toledo Museum of Art in 1901.[47]

Meanwhile his greatest accomplishments took the form of a crusade, the results of which were not so apparent immediately. In his fight for non-partisanship in city politics and for home rule for Toledo, he found himself involved in a bitter struggle with the Republican machine. His efforts to place restraints upon special privileges granted by the council in the form of licenses, contracts for public work, and franchises for public utilities brought upon him the anathema of most business interests, who allied with the machine in their opposition to Jones. Finally, this combination fought him by raising the morals issue, and the "red-herring of a wide-open town"[48] was drawn across his trail. "Whenever you hit special privilege," Whitlock wrote privately, "the preachers howl."[49]

Jones's break with the party bosses came immediately upon his election, when the leaders gave him lists of men eligible for appointments. Jones, however, refused to displace good men already in office or to appoint others simply on the basis of party loyalty. He informed the leaders that he had been elected by the people, and had no intention of serving the party's selfish interests. The real break came in the 1899 election, when all the anti-Jones forces combined in a desperate attempt to prevent his re-election. The bosses, Walter Brown and George P. Waldorf, and their lieutenants, T. P. Brown, James M. Southard, Judge John H. Doyle, Sam Cohn, Charles Nauts, killed Jones's demand for the direct primary, and arranged for a convention under the control of a supervising committee of five. The convention was a wild one. Non-delegates broke a rule of the com-

mittee and rushed the guarded doors to gain admittance to the floor. The galleries hissed: "Committee of five—pst, p-s-tt!" They cheered for Jones and called "Down with the Traction Company." The party leaders had tried to manipulate the primaries to eliminate as many Jones delegates as possible. As a result the forces of the machine candidate, Charles E. Russell, and Jones were about evenly divided. By questionable methods the machine gained control of the convention and nominated Russell on the third ballot by a vote of 130 to 123. Several Jones delegates were "seen," and Bill Roach, reporter for the *News-Bee,* said he saw delegates being bought. Jones announced from the convention platform his candidacy as an independent.[50] The convention fight and the campaign that followed again involved the wider division in state Republican politics. According to Jones, the "head machinist," Hanna, had marked him for liquidation. Jones had befriended Governor Bushnell and had joined him in the fight against the election of Hanna as Senator in 1898.[51]

The campaign of 1899 was probably the wildest in Toledo's history, and one of the wildest in the country. Virtual pandemonium reigned in the city during the campaign month of March. The Foraker men rallied to Jones's banner in spite of his avowed opposition to political parties. Reynolds Voit, Lem Harris, and Charlie Griffin served as his managers, and Attorney Clarence Brown's sarcastic oratory was an effective element in his favor. At one meeting he roasted the Browns, Jim, his son Walter, and T. P., chairman of the Republican city convention, as the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of the machine. The leading newspapers of the city opposed Jones, the traction company led an open fight against him starting on the convention floor,[52] and the ministers as a group fought his re-election. Although Jones preached to the people on the evils of partyism, on municipal ownership of public utilities, and on the means of bettering the conditions of the masses of the people, his opponents fought him on a morals crusade. Only two ministers, one of whom was the colored pastor John H. Grant, publicly supported Jones. He had withdrawn from the church, pointing out that religion it-

self was foundering on the rocks of partyism. It had separated itself from the teachings of Christ. Jesus, he said, was less concerned with the after life than with living on earth. His ideals of love and brotherhood would make this earth a veritable heaven. Jones, preaching this gospel in his book, *The New Right,* troubled the orthodox who were more devoted to personal sins.

His attitude on personal morality was disturbing too. When he first became mayor he enforced the Sunday laws for one or two Sundays as an experiment; then council stepped in and repealed the ordinances. Jones concluded correctly that the people in general were not behind the so-called moral laws. But he had not reckoned with the Anti-Saloon League. Emerson once wrote of moral reformers: "Their motives may be pious but their methods are profane. They are a buzz in the ear." In Toledo they buzzed about drinking, gambling, prostitution, dancing, theatres, post cards, the nude in art, lingerie in show windows, boys swimming in the river or playing ball in the streets, lovers strolling in the parks. As Whitlock said, they seemed to work in relays and kept the fires always burning.[53] Still these people, like those Samuel Butler once described, "would have been equally horrified at hearing the Christian religion doubted, and at seeing it practiced." Jones tried to bring his Golden Rule into the mayor's office; He used kindness and mercy and tolerance and pity, and opposed punishment which took revenge through degradation of the individual. To him crime was a disease of society, and its cause, in general, was a social one rather than a defect in the individual. Drunkenness is not the cause of poverty; in reality the opposite is true, he declared. He saw society as an organism. Since that is true, it is silly to talk of separating ourselves from the "bad people." Good health is contagious as well as a disease; good morals are likewise contagious as well as bad. The existence of bad people is evidence of a sick social organism. He visited the drunks, bums, prostitutes, and gamblers in jail. When he used to sit as magistrate in the absence of the regular judge, he released those brought before him with sermons generally directed as much at

society as at the person being tried. A motto burned in wood hung over his desk: "Judge not that ye be not judged." Whitlock was often called upon to defend criminals during Jones's administration, and he wrote a novel, *The Turn of the Balance* (Indianapolis, [1907]), in which he showed the economic causes of crime and the effect of society's methods of punishment in encouraging criminality. His sympathy for criminals and underdogs was derived from his relationship with Clarence Darrow and Jones.[54]

Toledo had its vice and crime as did all American cities. Perhaps worse conditions could have been expected because of its situation as a port and railroad town. The "tenderloin district" centered around lower Summit, St. Clair, Superior, and Lafayette streets. Among the notorious resorts were "Dixon's Inn" or "Fort Dixon," Nos. 44-48 St. Clair, and "Wildcat Run," in the old State Street district, both of which served as hideouts for underworld characters. There were houses of prostitution, around 600 saloons, faro banks, poker rooms, crap joints, policy shops, and poolrooms. One poolroom proprietor suggested to Jones that there was also the Produce Exchange, where there was more gambling than in all the poolrooms and poker joints.[55] The moralists claimed conditions were worse under Jones. Statistics do not bear this out. In 1889 there were 3,950 arrests; in 1898, 3,432 arrests but the population was almost double that of 1889. Although property values and population had greatly increased, the value of property reported stolen during the Jones administration remained at about the same average each year as it was in the early nineties. In fact property reported stolen hit a twelve-year low at $3,740 in 1901.[56] In his message of 1898, Jones claimed that the low arrest record was not due to police leniency; Drunkenness on the streets is becoming relatively rare, disorderliness even rarer, and police outrages upon a citizen are a thing of the past.[57] The antagonism to Jones on the morals issue was expressed in several ways. One judge sought to counterbalance his leniency by excessive sentences: He gave an old colored man fifteen years in the penitentiary for stealing a chicken; other sentences were fifteen years apiece for stealing

$3.60 worth of axle grease, for stealing a bicycle, and for stealing chickens; twelve-year-old Dannie Rosenbecker was given life for manslaughter, while Walter Crosby was sentenced to life for murder, although convicted on a mere technicality.[58] The Pastors' Union refused to observe national Golden Rule Day because of the local implication.[59] Finally the churches brought the evangelist, Sam P. Jones, to Toledo for two weeks during the campaign of 1899, to oust the devil and "Golden Rule" Jones. In the course of his vulgar and somewhat illiterate harangues, he declared: "I believe in the Golden Rule to a certain extent and I don't think it's going to do any harm. I believe in Golden Rule when it comes to gentleness, kindness, acts of mercy, but I believe in double-barrelled shotgun rule for mad dogs."[60] To this the mayor wrote in answer that the only way to overcome evil is with good.[61]

Meanwhile Jones's campaign went ahead steadily. With gray Molly hitched to a little open buggy, he drove around to three or four meetings a night. The old mare and Jones's big felt hat were identification symbols, and people gathered to hear him speak. Once he held a meeting on the postoffice steps where his son sounded the trumpet call. Generally a portable piano was carried along, and the crowd sang hymns which Jones had written. He was particularly effective in speaking to audiences of workers. In fact, every union in Toledo, except the Pastors' Union, supported Jones.[62] Great overflow meetings were held before thousands at the Armory and Memorial Hall. Reformers, including Casson, Herron, Pingree, and William J. Ghent, came to Toledo to speak for Jones. The latter, editor of the *American Fabian,* served as literary manager in this campaign and later in the gubernatorial election. Efforts of the machine to connect Jones with the Socialist, Eugene V. Debs, to raise the scare of higher taxes, to confuse the people by concocting registration frauds in the "tenderloin district" which were credited to the Jones forces fell far short of their goal. The *Blade* carried a series of scurrilous cartoons of Jones, and he was spoken of as "Samuel of Wales," "Millionaire Jones," and the "Golden Sucker man." The Democrats, with Captain Patrick H. Dowling

as candidate, put up only negligible opposition. The election results were astonishing, with Jones winning 16,773 votes to Russell's 4,266 and Dowling's 3,125.[63] It seemed, as Jones remarked, that everyone was opposed to him but the people.

His success at re-election, and his defeat of the machine of Waldorf and Brown gave Jones a prominent position in Ohio politics. Republicans J. Kent Hamilton and A. D. Fassett, and Democratic leader, Isaac R. Sherwood, announced their support of Jones for governor as soon as the election was over. Hanna and Cincinnati boss, George B. Cox, agreed on George K. Nash as their choice for the nomination. Hanna said Jones was supported only by riff-raff, bums, liquor dealers, and Democrats. "He means what he says," declared Hanna, "but he is a moral crank."[64] Hanna defeated Jones's nomination at the convention by the same tactics he used against him as an Independent candidate in the general election. Hanna himself is responsible for the statement that he gave $5,000 to the Waldorf and Brown machine to be used in an attempt to buy Jones's lieutenants.[65] Jones's chances for victory were slender, since he was not known in southern Ohio and rural sections. His defeat bore some significance, however, in his overwhelming victory over the Hanna machine in Lucas and Cuyahoga counties. Although Robert McKisson had already achieved that honor in Cleveland, Jones's campaign and success there certainly helped to open the way to the election of Tom L. Johnson as mayor in 1901.

The name of Jones continued to grow. He was called upon to speak all over the country. In 1900 he joined the Bryan campaign because of his opposition to war and imperialism. At that time he turned down assured election to Congress in order to participate freely in the Bryan campaign. He was spoken of as a possible candidate for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket. The Democrats used him as one of their leading orators in New York, where he stumped with Bryan. One result of his support of Bryan was bitter criticism by Debs.[66] It meant a break as well with Clarence Brown and other Republicans who had supported him. Still his popularity in Toledo faded little. Negley Cochran swung the *News-Bee* and the Democrats behind Jones

in the mayoralty election of 1901. Although the Republicans under General William V. McMaken more than doubled their 1899 vote, Jones still won over fifty-six per cent of the total vote.

The fight for home rule preceded the election of 1903. The Republican machine in an attempt to destroy Jones, actually placed him in position to win a victory for home rule. Jones's activities as acting-magistrate came in for attack. He declared utter contempt for a court which made a god of law and regarded it as more sacred than human rights and justice. A bill was framed in Toledo and passed by the state legislature in 1902 denying the mayor the right to sit as police judge. The bill also authorized the governor to appoint the board of police commissioners previously elected by the people. Jones, as an ex-officio member, had dominated the board and succeeded in transforming the police department from a tool of the machine to an orderly, harmonious service. Jones refused to recognize the governor's appointees. Mandamus proceedings were begun against him and the existing board, and the Supreme Court decided the act unconstitutional. The significance of the decision was that it denied the state legislature the authority to interfere in a specific city's government by passing bills applicable only to a city of a stated population classification. Much of the municipal code had to be revised as a result.[67]

As time for the election of 1903 approached, Jones's health was poor. He had been a victim of asthma for several years, and although he had a rich sense of humor, the sorrows of humanity weighed heavily upon him in his last years. He considered retirement, but when faced with a popular petition asking him to run, he accepted. The campaign, as in 1899, was bitterly fought on the same issues as in previous elections. Every paper opposed Jones again, the *News-Bee* having been sold by Cochran to the Scripps-McRae chain. The results of the election gave Jones 10,350 votes, Republican John W. Dowd, 7,491, Democrat C. M. Edson, 4,266, and Socialist T. A. Bragg, 538. Jones's last great fight, that with the street railway company, came to a head shortly after he began his fourth term. He had advocated municipal ownership of public utilities throughout his administra-

tion. "No circumstance," he claimed, "justifies the granting of a franchise. No one wants a franchise but for profit, and if there is a profit in it, the city ought to keep it for the benefit of the people." In his first administration he offered to provide a construction company to erect a municipal light plant, the costs to be taken out of the savings over a private plant, but the board of aldermen refused by a vote of 8 to 7 to allow the people to vote on the proposition.[68] In 1899 he directed a fight for municipal ownership of a gas plant.

Meanwhile the street railway system in Toledo was operating under franchises which were to begin running out in 1908. If not renewed well in advance the company's credit facilities would be placed in jeopardy. Jones was determined to follow a plan of attack to prevent renewal. In Toledo, as in many other cities, the political boss was allied with the private utilities. Walter Brown was an attorney for the traction company.[69] Allied with him in his protection of the private utility was the big boss of Cincinnati and the state, George B. Cox.[70] The chief form of speculation of utilities was to issue stock on extravagant estimates of future profits, i.e., to water the stock. The Toledo Railways and Light Company, incorporated in 1901 to consolidate the various competing companies, held property in 1904 valued at about $5,000,000. The total capitalization, however, in stocks and bonds was $29,500,000. The problem of course was to extort profits on $5,000,000 worth of property sufficient to pay dividends and interest on the total capitalization.[71] High fares and guaranteed franchises were a necessity to the company's prosperity. In order to hold its special privileges the company went into politics, played the machine, and resorted to unscrupulous practices such as bribery. Judge R. R. Kinkade's grand jury of 1902 indicted Ed Eckert, the traction company's paid lobbyist, for attempted bribery of Councilman C. J. Meissner. Five Republican councilmen were secretly put on the company's payroll in 1903, and Hiram P. Crouse, general manager of the *Toledo Times,* was offered $75,000 to stop his opposition to the street railway.[72]

In the spring of 1904, the council extended the franchise to

the street railway company for 25 years. The mayor immediately vetoed the extension. Council prepared to override the veto behind closed doors. A crowd of people assembled outside the chambers and forced an entrance past the husky conductors and motormen guarding the doors. Barton Smith, representing the railway before council, turned to Jones and testily demanded: "I suppose, Mr. Jones, that this is the kind of government we should have under the Golden Rule." "No," replied Jones, on the instant, "this is the kind of government we have under the Rule of Gold." Jones tried to quiet the threats of the crowd, but they were already sufficient to scare the council into inactivity. Meanwhile Jones's health was slipping fast, and on July 12 he died. The morning after his death, street railway stock went up 24 points. Some brokers issued a letter announcing Jones's death as a golden opportunity for prospective investors in the company's stock.[73] The railway officials immediately set to work to win its franchise while the people were leaderless. But a group of progressives, A. E. Overmyer, A. A. Moody, William J. McCullagh, Frank Geer, and Elisha B. Southard, met in the latter's law office in the Nasby Building to consider the situation. A few days later, on July 26, the Independent Voters' Movement was born at the same office, with Moody as president and Geer as secretary of the organization. When the franchise question came up again in October, the Independents led a large group of citizens in the famous "petition in boots." Johnston Thurston spoke to the crowd outside of the council chambers, and led it in the cry, "Let the franchise alone." Although vice-mayor Clarence Willard, a tool of the machine, said openly to the council, "You have the votes, why not act," members of the council were stopped by the popular protest. Council adjourned that night under police protection. The November election resulted in victory for the Independents, and in 1905, Whitlock, urged by Neg Cochran, Tom Johnson, and Lincoln Steffens to carry on the work started by Jones, was elected mayor on the Independent ticket.[74] It was with a great deal of hesitation that Whitlock accepted this responsibility, for, as he said, "I knew what the mayoralty had done to Jones."

Tom Johnson lost some of his faith before he died. Only a day or two before his death, he turned to his friend, Newton D. Baker, and asked, "Was it worth it?" Jones, however, was sure to the end. In his last moments he turned to his sister Nell and said: " 'He that endureth to the end—' What does it say?" She quoted the Scripture to him. "Say it in Welsh," he requested, as the end came.[75] His funeral was a great emotional expression by the people who loved him. Thousands gathered on the lawn before Jones's home for the services, lined the streets of the funeral procession, or stood in silence at the cemetery. It was estimated that 55,000 filed past his coffin as his body lay in state at Memorial Hall. Whitlock remarked after watching the wonderful outburst of popular sympathy: "It began to look as if there were something in it after all." Jones had given his people faith, sincerity, and love, and in return had received their love and justification of his faith in them. Whitlock, in spite of his skepticism and cynicism, realized this, and through his character, Edith Kittrell, he avowed his faith: "I can never say again that those people are not worth sacrifice. They are worth all; they are everything; they are the hope of the world; and their longings and their needs, and the possibility of bringing them to pass, are all that give significance to life."

"That's what America is for," said her husband, "and it's worthwhile to be allowed to help even in a little way to make, as old Walt says, 'a nation of friends, of equals.' "[76]

NOTES

1. Grover Cleveland, *Letters of . . . 1850-1908*. Selected and edited by Allen Nevins (Boston and New York, c. 1933), 461.
2. Brooks Adams, *The Theory of Social Revolutions* (New York, 1913), 208-09.
3. John Moody, *The Truth About the Trusts* (New York, 1904), 486. See also for brief but admirable discussion of the industrial control of American economic life, Burton J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business* [*Chronicles of America*, xxxix] (New Haven, Conn., 1921); Harold U. Faulkner, *Quest of Social Justice* (New York, 1931).
4. Andrew D. White, *Autobiography* (New York, 1914), II, 239.
5. Harlan R. Crippen, "Conflicting Trends in the Populist Movement," in *Science and Society*, VI, No. 2 (Spring, 1942), 133-49.
6. George R. Geiger, "The Forgotten Man: Henry George," in *Antioch Review*, I, No. 3 (Fall, 1941), 291-307. See also for excellent recent brief discussions of Henry George, Walter Fuller Taylor, *The Economic Novel in America* (Chapel

Hill, N.C., 1942), 42-57, and James Dombrowski, *The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America* (New York, 1936), 34-49. The outstanding contribution to an understanding of George is George R. Geiger, *Philosophy of Henry George* (New York, 1931).

7. Henry D. Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (New York and London, 1902), 1.
8. *Cf.* Avery Craven, *Democracy in American Life* (Chicago, 1941), 125-127.
9. Henry George, as perhaps America's greatest social philosopher, was the leading prophet. It might well be pointed out however, that the new social consciousness had been felt in other parts of the world, as in Russia, Germany, and France, where it was being given expression in various forms of political pressure. The influences of Karl Marx and Tolstoi can be recognized among American economic and political thinkers. Perhaps the American crusade found its closest foreign counterpart, however, in the English Fabian group. The concern for social justice became the motif of American literary figures and journalists, such as Hamlin Garland, William Dean Howells, and Frank Norris in fiction, Sidney Lanier, Walt Whitman, and Edwin Markham in verse, and the Muckrakers in sensational prose; it became as well the concentration of leading American scholars in economics, social psychology, and sociology, including John R. Commons and Richard T. Ely, Frank L. Ward, Albion W. Small, William James, and John Dewey. Thus European revolutionary and reform movements and propagandists and scholars, and the nascent American scholarship furnished the facts, the statistics, and generalizations for the prophets of social reform in the United States.
10. For estimate of Herron see Charles Howard Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915* [*Yale Studies in Religious Education,* XIV] (New Haven, 1940), 184-200; Dombrowski, *op. cit.,* 171-193.
11. Washington Gladden, *Recollections* (Boston and New York, 1909), 312.
12. On the Social Gospel, see Hopkins, *op. cit.,* and Dombrowski, *op. cit.*
13. Frederic C. Howe, *The City, The Hope of Democracy* (New York, 1909). In this book the author espouses the cause of industrial democracy at its base, the city. *Cf.* Brand Whitlock to Elbert Hubbard, Dec. 17, 1907, in Allen Nevins (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of Brand Whitlock* (New York and London, 1936), I, 87-88; Brand Whitlock, *Forty Years of It* (New York and London, 1925), 184.
14. Clifford W. Patton, *The Battle for Municipal Reform* (Washington, c. 1940), 9.
15. A. D. White, "The Government of American Cities," in *Forum,* X (1891-92), 357-72.
16. Adams, *op. cit.,* 227; *cf.* Howe, *op. cit.,* ix, 2, 5, 96-97; Patton, *op. cit.,* 8-11, *et passim.* The work of Lincoln Steffens in his *Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904) and *The Struggle for Self-Government: Being an Attempt to Trace American Political Corruption to Its Source in Six States* (New York, 1906), showed the corruption of politicians and big business in our local governments. See chap. on "The Shameless Cities," in C. C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1932), 59-82.
17. Ernest S. Griffith, *The Modern Development of City Government in the United Kingdom and in the United States* (London, 1927), I, 157.
18. 1897 saw two active leaders of the reform movement slip from their positions. Henry George died in the midst of the mayoralty campaign in New York City, and John P. Altgeld, "eagle forgotten . . . that kindled the flame," retired from the Governorship of Illinois badly defeated for his progressive administration. Carter H. Harrison was elected mayor of Chicago that year

through the efforts of the Municipal Voter's League which was attacking the efforts of Charles T. Yerkes to secure long-term street railway franchises.

19. Newton D. Baker, "Introduction," in Nevins (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, xiii.
20. Facts on the growth of Toledo were derived principally from the following sources: *Toledo Commercial: History and Institutions. 50th Anniversary Souvenir* [Toledo, 1895]; *Ohio Statistics, 1897* (Norwalk, 1897), and *1900* (Columbus, 1900); John M. Killits (ed.), *Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio* (3 vols., Chicago and Toledo, 1923); Nevin O. Winter, *A History of Northwest Ohio* (3 vols., Chicago and New York, 1917); newspaper files in Toledo Public Library.
21. *Toledo Blade,* February 22, 1897.
22. Brown, brilliant, smooth, and opportunist, amazingly clever as an organizer, and as dignified as an old Methodist minister, began his climb in Republican politics with the election of 1897. Co-boss with Waldorf until his death, Brown became the virtual dictator of the Republican Party in Lucas County. In 1904 and 1905 the complaint was made to President Roosevelt that no nomination could be made on the ticket without the approval of the bosses. Brown's strength spread, and by 1912, Taft recognized him as the "only boss in full commission in the state." Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (New York, c. 1939), II, 773.
23. *Toledo Blade,* February 22 and 23, 1897.
24. The Major and machine forces still refused to budge, however, and gave Melvin 103 votes to Jones's 168 on this ballot. *Toledo Blade,* February 25 and 26, 1897.
25. Brand Whitlock, " 'Golden Rule' Jones," in *World's Work,* VIII (1904), 5308.
26. *Toledo Blade,* March 3, 6, 8, 1897. The preferential ballot choice for chairman, George U. Roulet, was replaced by William H. Tucker, and Jim Ashley was rejected from the committee. Tucker was an active leader of the Waldorf crowd. He was made postmaster of Toledo by McKinley, serving from 1899 to 1915. Killits, II, 404-08.
27. *Toledo Blade,* March 8, 19, 27, 29, 30, 1897; Samuel M. Jones, *The New Right* (New York, 1899), 81.
28. Jones, *New Right,* 81; *Toledo Blade,* March 5, 24, 25, 31, April 3, 1897.
29. *Toledo Blade,* April 1, 1897.
30. *Ibid.,* March 22, April 6 and 8, 1897.
31. Jones, *New Right,* chap. II; *cf.* "Samuel Milton Jones: The 'Golden Rule' Mayor," by "One Who Knew Him," in *Arena,* XXXV (1906), 126-32.
32. Their names in order of birth were Mary, John, Alice, Ellen, Samuel, Moses, and Daniel. Information furnished by Mrs. Daniel Jones, of Maumee, Ohio.
33. Percy, 1878-1941; Eva Belle, 1879-1881; Paul, 1884—.
34. They had one son, Mason Beach Jones. The three sons have been connected with their father's business, the S. M. Jones Company, of Toledo. Mrs. S. M. Jones, a musician and leader in Toledo women's activities, died in 1940. See *Toledo Times,* July 6, 1937, and October 5, 1940.
35. Jones fixed the eight-hour day among drillers of his oil wells in 1897. While President of the Western Oil Men's Association he got a resolution passed unanimously favoring the eight-hour day in the fields. This is said to have been the first organization of employers on record to take such a stand. Jones wrote a pamphlet on *The Eight-Hour Day in the Oil Regions,* in 1896 or 1897, of which some 20,000 copies were distributed. S. M. Jones, *Letters of Love and Labor* (Toledo, 1900-1901), I, 69; *New Right,* 188-92.
36. On Jones and his factory management, see his *Letters of Love and Labor,* 2

vols., a publication of weekly letters he wrote to his employees and distributed to them in their pay envelopes. In these he outlined his philosophy of social equality, and explained how he made his shop an experiment in economic democracy. See also his *New Right, passim.;* Frank T. Carlton, "The Golden-Rule Factory: The Late Mayor Jones' Contribution toward the Solution of Industrial Problems," in *Arena,* XXXII (1904), 408-10; Ernest Crosby, "Golden-Rule Jones, the Late Mayor of Toledo," in *Craftsman,* VII (1904-05), 530-47, 679-88; Washington Gladden, "Mayor Jones of Toledo," in *Outlook,* LXII (1899), 17-21.

37. Crosby, "Golden-Rule Jones, the Late Mayor of Toledo," *loc. cit.*
38. N. O. Nelson, "Introductory," in Jones, *New Right,* 19-36.
39. Lincoln Steffens to Brand Whitlock, August 5, 1906, in Ella Winters and Granville Hicks (eds.), *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens* (New York, 1938), I, 179.
40. Jones, *New Right,* 209.
41. His religious philosophy, his break with organized religion, his humility, his opposition to the use of force in government, his antagonism to war, all smack of Tolstoian influence.
42. Harvey Scribner (ed.), *Memoirs of Lucas County and the City of Toledo* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1910), I, 259.
43. Whitlock to Octavia Roberts, July 5, 1899, in Nevins (ed.), I, 24.
44. A number of Jones's books have been preserved by his sons. Many of the volumes he read are heavily underscored, generally with red pencil, and notes of his reactions are written in the margins.
45. See Jones's "Annual Message, October 24, 1898," in *Annual Statement of the Finances of Toledo, together with the Mayor's Message and Reports of the Various Departments for the Year Ending April 1st, 1899* (Toledo, [1899]), 13-38.
46. Sylvanus P. Jermain, "A Tribute to Samuel M. Jones: Golden Rule Mayor of Toledo was Father of Children's Playgrounds," in *Toledo Blade,* September 6, 1932; *Toledo Times,* April 24, 1935.
47. For details on Jones's administration as mayor, see S. M. Jones, "Municipal Expansion," in *Arena,* XXI (1899), 766-67; Charles Zueblin, *American Municipal Progress: Chapters in Municipal Sociology* (New York, 1903), *passim;* Killits; Winter; Jones, *Letters of Love and Labor,* and *New Right;* Whitlock, *Forty Years of It;* Jones, "Annual Messages," in *Annual Statements of the Finances of Toledo,* 1897-1904; Toledo newspapers.
48. Frederic C. Howe, *Confessions of a Reformer* (New York, 1925), 159.
49. To Octavia Roberts, March 2, 1907, in Nevins (ed.), I, 68.
50. On the history of this convention, see the excellent booklet by Wendell F. Johnson, *Toledo's Non-Partisan Movement* (Toledo, 1922), 11-13; *Toledo Blade,* March 4-6, 1899.
51. Jones to Walter Brown, Chairman, Republican Executive Committee, March 7, 1899, in *New Right,* 92-95; Herbert Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna* (New York, 1923), 256; *Toledo Blade,* April 5, 1899.
52. *Toledo Blade,* March 15, 1899.
53. Whitlock, *Forty Years of It,* 297-98; *cf.* his pamphlet, *On the Enforcement of Law in Cities* (Indianapolis, [1913]).
54. Nevins (ed.), I, xxxiii.
55. *Toledo Blade,* May 19, 1897.
56. Jones, *New Light,* 362. In 1882, when the population was about 50,000, there were 4,493 arrests; in 1902, with a population of about 150,000, there were

some 3,881 arrests. *Annual Statement of the Finances of Toledo . . . for the Year Ending April 1, 1902* (Toledo, [1902]), 30-31, 502.

57. *Annual Statement . . . 1899*, 21.
58. Brand Whitlock to Louis B. Houck, June 16, 1906, in Nevins (ed.), I, 62.
59. Clark Waggoner, "Scrapbook," in Toledo Public Library. Clipping dated October 1901.
60. *Toledo Blade*, March 23, 1899.
61. Jones, *New Right*, 106-08.
62. *Ibid.*, 419.
63. On the significance of the re-election, see Herbert N. Casson, "Draining a Political Swamp," in *Arena*, XXI (1899), 768-72.
64. *Toledo Blade*, June 14, 1899.
65. Thomas Beer, *Hanna* (New York, 1929), appendix, 307-08.
66. "Our Sam a Democrat says Eugene V. Debs," clipping, October 9, 1900, in Waggoner, "Scrapbook."
67. Clinton R. Woodruff, "Municipal Government in Ohio," in *Yale Review*, XII (1903-04), 121-40; S. P. Orth, "The Municipal Situation in Ohio," in *Forum*, XXXIII (1902), 430-37; 95 Ohio Laws 203; 66 Ohio State Reports 453.
68. Jones, *New Right*, 281, 364.
69. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 17.
70. Nevins (ed.), I, xxxvi.
71. Brand Whitlock to John H. Flynn, December 9, 1911, in Nevins (ed.), I, 147-48, and xxxvi.
72. Johnson, 52; Nevins (ed.), I, xxxvii.
73. Whitlock, *Forty Years of It*, 176.
74. On the Independent Movement and the "petition in boots," see Johnson, 21, 48-49; Winter, I, 344, II, 705-08; Killits, I, 582.
75. Whitlock, *Forty Years of It*, 175-76.
76. In his short story, "The Gold Brick," in volume entitled *The Gold Brick* (Indianapolis, 1910), 34.