

*McClure's Magazine*  
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*Enemies of the Republic*

*Wisconsin: Representative Government Restored—  
The Story of Governor LaFollette*

THE story of the state of Wisconsin is the story of Governor LaFollette. He is the head of the state. Not many governors are that. In all the time I spent studying the government of Missouri I never once had to see or name the governor of Missouri, and I doubt if many of my readers know who he was. They need not. He was only the head of the paper government described in the Constitution, and most governors are simply "safe men" set up as figureheads by the System, which is the actual government that is growing up in the United States in place of the "government of the people, by the people, and for the people, which shall not perish from the earth." The System, as we have found it, is a reorganization of the political and financial powers of the state by which, for boodle of one sort or another, the leading politicians of both parties conduct the government in the interest of those leading businesses which seek special privileges and pay for them with bribes and the "moral" support of graft. And a "safe man" is a man who takes his ease, honors, and orders, lets the boss reign, and makes no trouble for the System.

There is trouble in Wisconsin. Bounded on the east by Lake Michigan, on the north by Lake Superior, on the west by the Mississippi River, Wisconsin is a convenient, rich, and beautiful state. New England lumbermen stripped fortunes of forest off it, and, uncovering a fat soil watered by a thousand lakes and streams, settlers poured in from northwestern Europe and made this new Northwest ripen into dairy farms and counties of golden wheat. From the beginning Wisconsin has paid, nor is there now any material depression or financial distress in the state. Yet there is trouble in Wisconsin. What is the matter? I asked a few hundred people out there to explain it, and though some of them smiled and others frowned, all gave substantially one answer: "LaFolletteism." They blame one man.

*The Story of "Bob" La Follette*

Robert Marion LaFollette was born on a farm in Dane County, Wisconsin, June 14, 1855. His father was a Kentucky-bred French Huguenot; his mother was Scotch-Irish. When the boy was eight months old the father died, leaving the mother and four children, and, at the age of fourteen, "Little Bob," as his followers still call him, became the head of the family. He worked the farm till he was nineteen years old, then sold it and moved the family to Madison, the county seat and capital of the state. If, with this humble start, LaFollette had gone into business, his talents might have made him a captain of industry; and then, no matter how he won it, his success would have made him an inspiration for youth. But he made a mistake. He entered the state university with the class of '79. Even so, he might have got over his college education, but

his father's French blood (perhaps) stirred to sentiment and the boy thrilled for glory. He had a bent for oratory. In those days debates ranked in the Western colleges where football does now, and "Bob" LaFollette won, in his senior year, all the oratorical contests, home, state, and interstate. His interstate oration was on Iago, and his round actor's head was turned to the stage, till John McCullough advised him that his short stature was against that career. Also, he says, his debts chained him to the earth. He had to go to work, and he went to work in a law office. In five months he was admitted to the bar, and in February, 1880, he opened an office and began to practice. A year or so later the young lawyer was running for an office.

"They" say in Wisconsin that LaFollette is ambitious; that he cannot be happy in private life; that, an actor born, he has to be on a stage. I should say that a man who can move men, as LaFollette can, would seek a career where he could enjoy the visible effect of his eloquence. But suppose "they" are right and the man is vain—I don't care. Do you? I have noticed that a public official who steals, or, like Lieutenant-governor Lee, of Missouri, betrays his constituents, may propose to be governor, without being accused of ambition. "They" seem to think a boodler's aspirations are natural. He may have a hundred notorious vices; they do not matter. But a "reformer," a man who wants to serve his people, he must be a white-robed, spotless angel, or "they" will whisper that he is—what? A thief? Oh, no; that is nothing; but that he is ambitious. This is the system at work. It was the System in Missouri that, after spending in vain thousands of dollars to "get something on Folk," passed about the damning rumor that he was ambitious. And so in Wisconsin, "they" will take you into a back room and warn you that LaFollette is ambitious. I asked if he was dishonest. Oh dear, no. Not that. Not a man in the state, not the bitterest foe of his that I saw, questioned LaFollette's personal integrity. So I answered that we wanted men of ambition; that if we could get men to serve us in public life, not for graft, not for money, but for ambition's sake, we should make a great step forward.

Mr. LaFollette has ambition. He confessed as much to me, but he is after a job, not an office; Governor LaFollette's ambition is higher and harder to achieve than any office in the land.

### *A Politician and His First Office*

The first office he sought was that of district attorney of Dane County, and, though his enemies declare that the man is a radical and was from the start a radical, I gathered from the same source that his only idea at this time was to "pose" before juries "and win cases." Mr. LaFollette married in this year (a classmate), and he says he thought of the small but regular salary of the district attorney. However this may be, he won the office and he won his cases, so he earned his salary. District Attorney LaFollette made an excellent record. That is freely admitted, but my attention was called to the manner of his entrance into politics, as proof of another charge that is made against him in Wisconsin. "They" say LaFollette is a politician.

"They" say in Missouri that Folk is a politician. "They" say in Illinois that Deneen is a politician. "They" say in the United States that President Roosevelt is a politician." "They" are right. These men are politicians. But what of it? We have blamed our politicians so long for the corruption of our politics that they themselves seem to have been convinced that a politician is necessarily and inherently bad. He isn't, of course. Only a bad politician is bad, and we have been discovering in our studies of graft that a bad business man is worse. To succeed in reform, a man has to understand politics and play the game, or the bad business man will catch him, and then—what will he be? He will be an "impracticable reformer," and that, we all know, is awful.

### *Running Around the Ring*

“Bob” LaFollette is a politician. Irish, as well as French, he was born a master of the game, and he did indeed prove his genius in that first campaign. Single-handed he beat the System. Not that he realized then that there was such a thing. All the young candidate knew when he began was that E. W. Keyes, the postmaster at Madison, was the Republican state boss, and, of course, absolute master of Dane County, where he lived. LaFollette was a Republican, but he had no claim of machine service to the office he wanted, and he felt that Boss Keyes and Philip L. Spooner, the local leader, would be against him, so he went to work quietly. He made an issue; LaFollette always has an issue. It had been the practice of district attorneys to have assistants at the county’s expense, and LaFollette promised, if elected, to do all his own work. With this promise he and his friends canvassed the county, house by house, farm by farm, and, partly because they were busy by day, partly because they had to proceed secretly, much of this politics was done at night. The scandal of such “underhand methods” is an offense to this day to the men who were beaten by them. Mr. “Phil” Spooner (the senator’s brother) speaks with contempt of LaFollette’s “night riders.” He says the LaFollette workers went about on horseback after dark and that he used to hear them gallop up to their leader’s house late at night. Of course he knows now that they were coming to report and plot, but he didn’t know it then. And Boss Keyes, who is still postmaster at Madison, told me he had no inkling of the conspiracy till the convention turned up with the delegates nearly all instructed for LaFollette for district attorney. Then it was too late to do anything.

Boss Keyes thought this showed another defect in the character of LaFollette. “They” say in Wisconsin that the governor is “selfish, dictatorial, and will not consult.” “They” said that about Folk in Missouri, when he refused to appoint assistants dictated by Boss Butler. Wall Street said it about Roosevelt when he refused to counsel with Morgan upon the advisability of bringing the Northern Securities case, but the West liked that in Roosevelt. The West said it about Parker when he sent his gold telegram to the Democratic National Convention, but the East liked that in Parker. There must be something back of this charge, and a boss should be able to explain it. Boss Keyes cleared it up for me. He said that at the time “Bob” was running for district attorney, “a few of us here were—well, we were managing the party and we were usually consulted about—about things generally. But LaFollette, he went ahead on his own hook, and never said a word to—well, to me or any of us.” So it’s not a matter of dictation, but of who dictates, and what. In the case of LaFollette, his dictatorial selfishness consisted in this, that he “saw” the people of the county and the delegates, not “us,” not the System. No wonder he was elected. What is more, he was reelected; he kept his promises, and, the second time he ran, LaFollette was the only Republican elected on the county ticket.

During the two terms of District Attorney LaFollette, important changes were occurring in the Wisconsin state system beyond his ken. Boss Keyes was deposed and Philetus Sawyer became the head of the state. This does not mean that Sawyer was elected governor; we have nothing to do with governors yet. Sawyer was a United States senator. While Keyes was boss, the head of the state was in the post-office at Madison, and it represented, not the people, but the big business interests of the state, principally lumber and the railways, which worked well together and with Keyes. There were several scandals during this “good fellow’s” long reign, but big business had no complaint to make against him. The big graft in this Northwestern state, however, was lumber, and the typical way of getting hold of it wholesale, was for the United

States to make to the state grants which the state passed on to railway companies to help “develop the resources of the state.” Railroad men were in lumber companies, just as lumbermen were in the railway companies, so railway companies sold cheap to the lumber companies, which cleared the land—for the settlers. This was business, and while it was necessary to “take care” of the legislature, the original source of business was the Congress, and that was the place for the head of the System. Keyes had wished to go to the Senate, but Sawyer thought he might as well go himself. He had gone, and now, when Keyes was willing to take the second seat, the business men decided that, since it was all a matter of business, they might as well take it out of politics. Thus Senator Sawyer became boss, and, since he was a lumberman, it was no more than fair that the other seat should go to the railroads. So the big business men got together and they bought the junior United States senatorship for the Honorable John C. Spooner.

### *Spooner’s Senatorship Bought for Him*

At Marinette, Wisconsin, lives today a rich old lumberman, Isaac Stephenson. He was associated for years with Senator Sawyer and the other enemies of the republic in Wisconsin, and he left them because they balked an ambition of his. Having gone over, however, he began to see things as they are, and not many men today are more concerned over the dangers to business of the commercial corruption of government than this veteran who confesses that he spent a quarter of a million in politics.

Once he and Senator Sawyer were comparing notes on the cost to them of United States senatorships.

“Isaac,” said Sawyer, “how much did you put in to get the legislature for Spooner that time?”

“It cost me about twenty-two thousand, Philetus. How much did you put in?”

“Why,” said Sawyer, surprised, “it cost me thirty thousand. I thought it cost you thirty.”

“No, it cost me thirty to get it for you when you ran.”

Friends of mine, who are friends of Senator Spooner in Washington, besought me, when they heard I was going to Wisconsin, to “remember that Spooner is a most useful man in the Senate,” and I know and shall not forget that. Able, deliberate, resourceful, wise, I believe Senator Spooner comes about as near as any man we have in that august chamber today to statesmanship, and I understand he loathes many of the practices of politics. But the question to ask about a representative is, what does he represent?

Senator Spooner, at home, represented the railroads of his state. He served a term in the Wisconsin assembly, and he served the railroads there. After that he served them as a lobbyist. I do not mean that he went to Madison now and then to make arguments for his client. Mr. Spooner spent the session there. Nor do I mean to say that he paid bribes to legislators; there are honest lobbyists. But I do say that Mr. Spooner peddled passes, and any railroad man or any grafter will tell you that this is a cheap but most effective form of legislative corruption. United States Senator Spooner, then, is a product, a flower, perhaps, but none the less he is a growth out of the System, the System which is fighting Governor LaFollette.

The System was fighting LaFollette way back in those days, but the young orator did not know it. He was running for Congress. So far as I can make out, he was seeking only more glory for his French blood and a wider field to shine in, but he went after his French satisfaction in a Scotch-Irish fashion. Boss Keyes told me about it. Keyes had been reduced to the control only of his Congressional district, and, as he said, “We had it arranged to nominate another man. The

place did not belong to Dane County. It was another county's turn, but Bob didn't consult us." Bob was consulting his constituents again, and his night riders were out. The System heard of it earlier than in the district attorney campaign, and Keyes and Phil Spooner and the other leaders were angry. Keyes did want to rule that congressional district; it was all he had, and Phil Spooner (who now is the head of the street railway system of Madison) sensed the danger in this self-reliant young candidate.

"What's this I hear about you being a candidate for Congress?" he said to LaFollette one day. "Don't you know nobody can go to Congress without our approval? You're a fool."

But LaFollette's men were working, and they carried all except three caucuses (primaries that are something like town meetings) against the ring. The ring bolted, but the people elected him; the people sent LaFollette to Congress at the same time they elected the legislators that sent John C. Spooner to the United States Senate.

### *The System at Washington*

When LaFollette had been in Washington a few weeks, Senator Sawyer found him out and became "like a father" to him. "Our boy" he called him, for LaFollette was the "youngest member." The genial old lumberman took him about and introduced him to the heads of departments and finally, one day, asked him what committee he would like to go on. LaFollette said he would prefer some committee where his practice in the law might make him useful, and Sawyer thought "Public Lands" would about do. He would "fix it." Thus the System was coming after him, but it held back; there must have been a second thought. For the Speaker put LaFollette not on "Public Lands," but on "Indian Affairs."

The governor today will tell you with a relish that he was so green then that he began to "read up on Indians"; he read especially Boston literature on that subject, and he thought of the speeches he could make on Indian wrongs and rights. But there was no chance for an orator. The committee worked and "our boy" read bills. Most of these bills were hard reading and didn't mean much when read. But by and by one came along that was "so full of holes that," as the governor says, "even I could see through it." It provided for a sale of pine on the Menominee reservation in Wisconsin. Mr. LaFollette took it to the (Cleveland's) Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and this official said he thought it "a little the worst bill of the kind that I have ever seen. Where did it come from?" They looked and they saw that it had been introduced by the member from Oshkosh (Sawyer's home district). None the less, Mr. LaFollette wanted a report, and the commissioner said he could have one if he would sit down and write for it. The report so riddled the bill that it lay dead in the committee. One day the congressman who introduced it asked about it.

"Bob, why don't you report my bill?" he said.

"Bill," said Bob, "did you write that bill?"

"Why?"

"It's a steal."

"Let it die then. Don't report it. I introduced it because Sawyer asked me to. He introduced it in the Senate and it is through their committee."

Sawyer never mentioned the bill, and the incident was dropped with the bill. Some time after, however, a similar incident occurred, and this time Sawyer did mention it. The Indian Affairs Committee was having read, at the rate of two hours a day, a long bill to open the big Sioux Indian reservation in Dakota, by selling some eleven million acres right through the center.

It was said to be a measure most important to South Dakota, and no one objected to anything till the clerk droned out a provision to ratify an agreement between the Indians and certain railroads about a right of way and some most liberal grants of land for terminal town sites. LaFollette interrupted and he began to talk about United States statutes which provided not so generously, yet amply, for land grants to railways, when a congressman from a neighboring state leaned over and said:

“Bob, don’t you see that those are your home corporations?”

Bob said he saw, and he was willing to grant all the land needed for railway purposes, but none for town site schemes. When the committee rose, and LaFollette returned to his seat in the House, a page told him Senator Sawyer wanted to see him. He went out and the senator talked to him for an hour in a most fatherly way, with not a word concerning the Sioux bill till they were about to separate. Then, quite by the way, he said:

“Oh, say, when that Sioux Injun bill comes up there’s a little provision in it for our folks which I wish you to look after.”

LaFollette said the bill was up then, that they had just reached the “little provision for our folks,” and that he was opposing it.

“Why, is that so?” said Sawyer. “Let’s sit down and . . .” So they had another hour, on town sites. It was no use, however. LaFollette “wouldn’t consult.” Sawyer gave up reasoning with him, but he didn’t give up “the little provision.” Political force was applied, but not by the senior senator. The System had other agents for such work.

### *Henry C. Payne’s Part in the System*

Henry C. Payne arrived on the scene. Payne was chairman of the Republican state Central Committee of Wisconsin, and we have seen in other states what the legislative functions of that office are. Payne reached Washington forty-eight hours after LaFollette’s balk, and he went at him hard. All sorts of influence was brought to bear, and when LaFollette held out, Payne became so angry that he expressed himself—and the spirit of the System—in public. To a group in the Ebbitt House he said:

“LaFollette is a damned fool. If he thinks he can buck a railroad with five thousand miles of continuous line, he’ll find he’s mistaken. We’ll take care of him when the time comes.”

The state machine fought the congressman in his own district, and so did Keyes and the “old regency” at Madison, but LaFollette, the politician, had insisted upon a congressman’s patronage, all of it, and he had used it to strengthen himself at home. LaFollette served three terms in Congress, and when he was defeated in 1890, for the fourth, he went down with the whole party in Wisconsin. This complete overthrow of the Republicans was due to two causes, the McKinley tariff (which LaFollette on the Ways and Means Committee helped to frame) and a piece of state school legislation which angered the foreign and Catholic voters. We need not go into this, and the Democratic administration which resulted bears only indirectly on our story.

One of the great grafts of Wisconsin (and of many another state) was the public funds in the keeping of the state treasurer. The Republicans, for years, had deposited these moneys in banks that stood in with the System, and the treasurer shared with these institutions the interest and profits. He, in turn, “divided up” with the campaign fund and the party leaders. The Democrats were pledged to break up this practice and sue the ex-treasurers. Now these treasurers were not all “good” for the money, and when the suits were brought, as they were in earnest, the treasurers’ bondsmen were the real defendants. Chief among these was Senator Sawyer, the boss

who had chosen the treasurers and backed them and the practice for years. Sawyer was alarmed. It was estimated that there had been \$30,000 a year in the graft; the attorney-general was going back twenty years, and his suits were for the recovery of all the back interest. Several hundred thousand dollars was at stake. And the judge before whom the cases were to be tried was Robert J. Siebecker, brother-in-law and former law partner of Robert M. LaFollette.

One day in September, 1891, LaFollette received from Sawyer a letter asking for a meeting in the Plankinton Hotel, Milwaukee. The letter had been folded first with the letter head on, then this was cut off and the sheet refolded; and, as if secrecy was important, the answer suggested by Sawyer was to be the one word "yes" by wire. LaFollette wired "yes," and the two men met. There are two accounts of what occurred. LaFollette said Sawyer began the interview with the remark that "nobody knows that I'm to meet you to-day"; he spoke of the treasury cases and pulled out and held before the young lawyer a thick roll of bills. Sawyer's subsequent explanation was that he proposed only to retain LaFollette, who, however, insists that Sawyer offered him a cash bribe for his influence with Judge Siebecker.

Since Sawyer is dead now, we would better not try to decide between the two men on this particular case, but there is no doubt of one general truth: that Philetus Sawyer was the typical captain of industry in politics; he debauched the politics of his state with money. Old Boss Keyes was bad enough, but his methods were political—patronage, deals, etc., and he made the government represent special interests. But when the millionaire lumberman took charge, he came with money; with money he beat Keyes; and money, his and his friends', was the power in the politics of his regime.

His known methods caused no great scandal so long as they were confined to conventions and the legislature, but the courts of Wisconsin had the confidence of the state, and the approach of money to them made people angry. And the story was out. LaFollette, after consultation with his friends, told Judge Siebecker what had happened, and the Judge declined to hear the case. His withdrawal aroused curiosity and rather sensational conjectures. Sawyer denied one of these, and his account seeming to call for a statement from LaFollette, the young lawyer told his story. Sawyer denied it and everybody took sides. The cases were tried, the state won, but the Republican legislature, pledged though it was to recover in full, compromised. So the System saved its boss.

But the System had raised up an enemy worthy of all its power. LaFollette was against it. "They" say in Wisconsin that he is against the railroads, that he "hates" corporate wealth. It is true the bitterest fights he has led have been for so-called anti-railroad laws, but "they" forget that his original quarrel was with Sawyer, and that, if hatred was his impulse, it probably grew out of the treasury case "insult." My understanding of the state of his mind is that before that incident, LaFollette thought only of continuing his congressional career. After it, he was for anything to break up the old Sawyer machine. Anyhow, he told me that, after the Sawyer meeting, he made up his mind to stay home and break up the System in Wisconsin. And, LaFollette did not originate all that legislation. Wisconsin was one of the four original Granger states. There seems to have been always some discontent with the abuse of the power of the railways, their corrupting influence, and their escape from just taxation. So far as I can make out, however, some of the modern measures labeled LaFolletteism, sprang from the head of a certain lean, clean Vermont farmer, who came to the legislature from Knapp, Wisconsin. I went to Knapp. It was a long way around for me, but it paid, for now I can say that I knew A. R. Hall. He is a man. I have seen in my day some seventeen men, real men, and none of them is simpler,

truer, braver than this ex-leader of the Wisconsin assembly; none thinks he is more of a failure and none is more of a success.

*A.R. Hall's a Man*

Hall knows that there is a System in control of the land. Sometimes I doubt my own eyes, but Hall knows it in his heart, which is sore and tired from the struggle. He went to the legislature in 1891. He had lived in Minnesota and had served as an assemblyman there. When he went to the legislature in Wisconsin, one of the first demands upon him was from a constituent who wanted not a pass, but several passes for himself and others. Hall laughed at the extravagance of the request, but when he showed it to a colleague, the older assemblyman took it as a matter of course and told him he could get all the passes he cared to ask for from the railroad lobbyists. "I had taken passes myself in Minnesota," Hall told me, "but I was a legislator; it was the custom, and I thought nothing of it." A little inquiry showed him that the custom in Wisconsin was an abuse of tremendous dimensions. Legislators took "mileage" for themselves, their families, and for their constituents till it appeared that no man in the state was compelled to pay his fare. Hall had not come there as a reformer; like the best reformers I have known, experience of the facts started him going, and his reforms developed as if by accident along empirical lines. Hall says he realized that the legislators had to deliver votes—legislation—for these pass privileges, and he drew an anti-pass resolution which was offered as an amendment to the Constitution. It was beaten. Not only the politicians, the railroads also fought it, and together they won in that session. But Hall, mild-spoken and gentle, was a fighter, so the anti-pass measure became an issue.

One day Assemblyman Hall happened to see the statement of earnings of a railroad to its stockholders. Railroads in Wisconsin paid by way of taxes a percentage on their gross receipts, and, as Hall looked idly over the report, he wondered how the gross receipts item would compare with that in the statement to the state treasurer. He went quietly about his investigation, and he came to the conclusion that, counting illegal rebates, the state reports were from two to five millions short. So he asked for a committee to investigate, and he introduced also a bill for a state railroad commission to regulate railroad rates. This was beaten, and a committee which was sent to Chicago to look up earnings reported for the railways. But this was not enough. Hall was "unsafe" and he must be kept out of the legislature. So, in 1894, "they" sent down into Dunn County men and money to beat Hall for the renomination. They got the shippers out against him (the very men who were at the mercy of the roads), and one of these business men handled the "barrel" which, as he said himself, he "opened at both ends." Hall had no money and no organization, but he knew a way to fight. The caucuses were held in different places at different times, and Hall went about posting bills asking the voters to assemble one hour before time and listen to him. At these preliminary meetings he explained just what was being done and why; he said that he might not be right, but he had some facts, which he gave, and then he declared he was not against the railroads, that he only wished to make sure that they were fulfilling their obligations and not abusing their power. "I had only been trying to serve honorably the people I represented, and it was hard to be made to fight for your political life, just for doing that. But we won out. Those voters went into those caucuses and Dunn County beat the bribery. They then tried to buy my delegates."

Mr. Hall was leaning against the railroad station as he said this. We had gone over the night before, his twelve years' fight, up to his retirement the year before, and we were repeating



now. He was looking back over it all, and a hint of moisture in his eyes and the deep lines in his good face made me ask:

“Does it pay, Mr. Hall?”

“Sometimes I think it does, sometimes I think it doesn’t. Yes, it does. Dunn County—” He stopped. “Yes, it does,” he added. “They used to cartoon me. They lampooned and they ridiculed, they abused and they vilified. They called me a demagogue; said I was ambitious; asked what I was after, just as they do LaFollette. But he is a fighter. He will never stop fighting. And if I had served them, I could have had anything, just as he could now. It is hard and it hurts, when you’re only trying to do your duty and be fair. But it does pay. They don’t question my motives now, any more.”

And they don’t question Hall’s motives any more. When “they” became most heated in their denunciations of the governor and all his followers, I would ask them, the worst haters, “What about A. R. Hall?” and the change was instantaneous.

“Now, there’s a man,” they would say; not one, but everybody to whom I mentioned A. R. Hall.

When LaFollette began his open fight against the System in 1894, he took up the issues of inequalities in taxation, machine politics, and primary elections. Hall and LaFollette were friends and they had talked over these issues together in LaFollette’s law office in Madison, during the sessions. “They” say in Wisconsin that LaFollette is an opportunist. They say true. But so is Folk an opportunist, and so are the Chicago reformers—as to specific issues. So are the regular politicians who, in Wisconsin, for example, adopted later these same issues in the platform. The difference is this: the regulars wanted only to keep in power so as to continue the profitable business of representing the railroads and other special interests; Hall and LaFollette really wanted certain abuses corrected, and LaFollette was, and is, for any sound issue that will arouse the people of Wisconsin to restore representative government.

In 1894 LaFollette carried his issues to the state convention with a candidate for governor, Nils P. Haugen, a Norse-American who had served in Congress and as a state railroad commissioner. LaFollette and his followers turned up with one-third of the delegates. The regulars, or “Stalwarts,” as they afterward were called, were divided, but Sawyer, declaring it was anybody to beat LaFollette, managed a combination on W. H. Upham, a lumberman, and Haugen was beaten. Hall was there, by the way, with an anti-pass plank, and Hall also was beaten.

### *Appealing to the Voters Direct*

The contest served only to draw a line between the LaFollette “Halfbreeds” and the “Stalwarts,” and both factions went to work on their organizations. Upham was elected, and the Stalwarts, who had been living on federal patronage, now had the state. They rebuilt their state machine. LaFollette, with no patronage, continued to organize, and his method was that which he had applied so successfully in his early independent fights for district attorney and congressman. He went straight to the voters.

“They” say in Wisconsin that LaFollette is a demagogue, and if it is demagoguery to go thus straight to the voters, then “they” are right. But then Folk also is a demagogue, and so are all thorough-going reformers. LaFollette from the beginning has asked, not the bosses, but the people for what he wanted, and after 1894 he simply broadened his field and redoubled his efforts. He circularized the state, he made speeches every chance he got, and if the test of demagoguery is the tone and style of a man’s speeches, LaFollette is the opposite of a demagogue.

Capable of fierce invective, his oratory is impersonal; passionate and emotional himself, his speeches are temperate. Some of them are so loaded with facts and such closely knit arguments, that they demand careful reading, and their effect is traced to his delivery, which is forceful, emphatic, and fascinating. His earnestness carries the conviction of sincerity, and the conviction of his honesty of purpose he has planted all over the state by his Halfbreed methods.

What were the methods of the Sawyer-Payne-Spooner Republicans? In 1896 the next governor of Wisconsin had to be chosen. The Stalwarts could not run Governor Upham again. As often happens to “safe men,” the System had used him up; his appointments had built up the machine, his approval had sealed the compromise of the treasury cases. Someone else must run. To pick out his successor, the Stalwart leaders held a meeting at St. Louis, where they were attending a national convention, and they chose for governor Edward W. Scofield. There was no demagoguery about that.

### *LaFollette Beaten with Mercy*

LaFollette wished to run himself; he hoped to run and win while Sawyer lived, and he was holding meetings, too. But his meetings were all over the state, with voters and delegates, and he was making headway. Lest he might fall short, however, LaFollette made a political bargain. He confesses it, and calls it a political sin, but he thinks the retribution which came swift and hard was expiation. He made a deal with Emil Baensch, by which both should canvass the state for delegates, with the understanding that whichever of the two should develop the greater strength was to have both delegations. LaFollette says he came into the convention with enough delegates of his own to nominate him, and Baensch had 75 or so besides. The convention adjourned overnight without nominating and the next morning LaFollette was beaten. He had lost some of his own delegates, and Baensch's went to Scofield.

LaFollette's lost delegates were bought. How the Baensch delegates were secured, I don't know, but Baensch was not a man to sell for money. It was reported to LaFollette during the night that Baensch was going over, and LaFollette wrestled with and thought he had won him back, till the morning balloting showed. As for the rest, the facts are ample to make plain the methods of the old ring. Sawyer was there; and there was a “barrel.” I saw men who saw money on a table in the room in the Pfister Hotel, where delegates went in and out, and newspaper men present at the time told me the story in great detail. But there is better evidence than this. Men to whom bribes were offered reported to their leader that night. The first warning came from Captain John T. Rice, of Racine, who (as Governor LaFollette recalls) said: “I have been with the old crowd all my life and I thought I knew the worst, but they have no right to ask me to do what they did tonight. I won't tell you who, but the head of the whole business asked me to name my price for turning over the Union Grove delegation from you to Scofield.” There are many such personal statements, some of them giving prices—cash, and federal and state offices—and some giving the names of the bribery agents. The Halfbreed leaders tried to catch the bribers with witnesses, but failed, and at midnight Charles F. Pfister, a Milwaukee Stalwart leader, called on LaFollette, who repeated to me what he said:

“LaFollette, we've got you beaten. We've got your delegates. It won't do you any good to squeal, and if you'll behave yourself we'll take care of you.”

So LaFollette had to go on with his fight. He would not “behave.” His followers wanted him to lead an independent movement for governor; he wouldn't do that, but he made up his mind to lead a movement for reform within the party, and his experience with corrupt delegates

set him to thinking about methods of nomination. The System loomed large with the growth of corporate wealth, the power of huge consolidations over the individual, and the unscrupulous use of both money and power. Democracy was passing, and yet the people were sound. Their delegates at home were representatives, but shipped on passes to Milwaukee, treated, “entertained,” and bribed, they ceased to represent. The most important reform was to get the nomination back among the voters themselves. Thus LaFollette, out of his own experience, took up this issue—direct primary nominations by the Australian ballot.

### *Stalwarts Take LaFollette's Platform*

During the next two years LaFollette made a propaganda with this issue and railroad taxation, the taxation of other corporations—express and sleeping car companies which paid nothing—and the evils of a corrupt machine that stood for corrupting capital. He sent out circulars and literature, some of it the careful writings of scientific authors, but, most effective of all, were the speeches he made at the county fairs. When the time for the next Republican state convention came around in 1898, he held a conference with some thirty of his leaders in Milwaukee, and he urged a campaign for their platform alone, with no candidate. The others insisted that LaFollette run, and they were right in principle. As the event proved, the Stalwarts were not afraid of a platform, if they could be in office to make and carry out the laws. LaFollette ran for the nomination and was beaten—by the same methods that were employed against him in '96; cost (insider's estimate), \$8,000. Scofield was renominated.

But the LaFollette-Hall platform was adopted—anti-pass, corporation taxation, primary election reform, and all. “They” say now in Wisconsin that LaFollette is too practical; that he has adopted machine methods, etc. During 1896, 1897, and 1898 they were saying he was an impracticable reformer, and yet here they were adopting his impracticable theories. And they enacted some of these reforms. The agitation (for LaFollette is indeed an “agitator”) made necessary some compliance with public demand and platform promises, so Hall got his anti-pass law at last; a commission to investigate taxation was appointed, and there was some other good legislation. Yet, as Mr. Hall said, “In effect, that platform was repudiated.” The railway commission reported that the larger companies, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul and the Northwestern, respectively, did not pay their proportionate share of the taxes, and a bill was introduced by Hall to raise their assessments. It passed the House, but the Senate had and has a “combine” like the senates of Missouri and Illinois, and the combine beat the bill.

The failures of the legislature left all questions open, and LaFollette and his followers continued their agitation. Meanwhile Senator Sawyer died, and when the next gubernatorial election (1900) approached, all hope of beating LaFollette was gone. The Stalwarts began to come to him with offers of support. One of the first to surrender was J. W. Babcock, congressman and national politician. Others followed, but not John C. Spooner, Payne, and Pfister, not yet. They brought out for the nomination John M. Whitehead, a state senator with a clean reputation and a good record. But in May (1900) LaFollette announced his candidacy on a ringing platform, and he went campaigning down into the strongest Stalwart counties. He carried enough of them to take the heart out of the old ring. All other candidates withdrew, and Senator Spooner, who is a timid man, wrote a letter which, in view of his subsequent stand for reelection, is a remarkable document; it declared that he was unalterably determined not to run again for the Senate. LaFollette was nominated unanimously, and his own platform was adopted. The victory

was complete. Though the implacable Stalwarts supported the Democratic candidate, LaFollette was elected by a 102,000 plurality.

### *Victory, the Beginning of War*

Victory for reform is often defeat, and this triumph of LaFollette, apparently so complete, was but the beginning of the greatest fight of all in Wisconsin, the fight that is being waged out there now. Governor LaFollette was inaugurated January 7, 1901. The legislature was overwhelmingly Republican and apparently there was perfect harmony in the party. The governor believed there was. The Stalwart-Halfbreed lines were not sharply drawn. The Halfbreeds counted a majority, especially in the House, and A. R. Hall was the “logical” candidate for speaker. It was understood that he coveted the honor, but he proposed and it was decided that, in the interest of peace and fair play, a Stalwart should take the chair. The governor says that the first sign he had of trouble was in the newspapers which, the day after the organization of the legislature, reported that the Stalwarts controlled and that there would be no primary election or tax legislation. The governor, undaunted, sent in a firm message calling for the performance of all platform promises, and bills to carry out these pledges were introduced under the direction of the LaFollette leaders, Hall and Judge E. Ray Stevens, the authority of the primary election bill. These developed the opposition. There were two (alternative) railway tax bills; others to tax other corporations; and, later, a primary election bill—nothing that was not promised by a harmonious party, yet the outcry was startling and the fight that followed was furious. Why?

### *LaFollette and the Railroads*

I have seen enough of the System to believe that that is the way it works. Just such opposition, with just such cries of “boss,” “dictator,” etc., will arise against Folk when he is governor, and possibly against Deneen; any governors who try to govern in the interest of the people. And I believe they will find their legislatures organized and corrupted against them. But in the case of LaFollette there was a “misunderstanding.” In the year (1900) when everything was LaFollette, Congressman Babcock, Postmaster-General Payne, and others sought to bring together the great ruling special interests and the inevitable governor. Governor LaFollette said, like President Roosevelt, that he would represent the corporations of his state, just as he would represent all other interests and persons; but no more. He would be “fair.” Well, that was “all we want,” they said, and the way seemed smooth. It was like the incident in St. Louis when Folk told the boodlers he would “do his duty,” and the boodlers answered, “Of course, old man.” But some railroad men said LaFollette promised in writing to consult with them before bringing in railroad bills; there was a certain famous letter written in the spring of 1900 to Thomas H. Gill, an old friend of the governor, who is counsel to the Wisconsin Central Railroad; this letter put the governor on record. Everywhere I went I heard of this document, and though the noise of it had resounded through the state for four years, it had never been produced. Here it is:

*Madison, Wis., May 12th, 1900*

*Dear Tom:*

*You have been my personal and political friend for twenty years. Should I become a candidate for the nomination for governor, I want your continued support, if you can consistently accord it to me. But you are the attorney for the Wisconsin Central R. R. Co., and I am not willing that you should be placed in any position where you could be subjected to any criticism or embarrassment with your employers upon my account. For this reason, I desire to state to you in so far as I am able my position in relation to the question of railway taxation which has now become one of public interest, and is likely to so continue until rightly settled. This I can do in a very few words.*

*Railroad corporations should pay neither more nor less than a justly proportionate share of taxes with the other taxable property of the state. If I were in a position to pass officially upon a bill to change existing law, it would be my first care to know whether the rate therein proposed was just in proportion to the property of other corporations and individuals as then taxed, or as therein proposed to be taxed. The determination of that question would be controlling. If such rate was less than the justly proportionate share which should be borne by the railroads, then I should favor increasing it to make it justly proportionate. If the proposed rate was more than the justly proportionate share, in comparison with the property of other corporations, and of individuals taxed under the law, then I should favor decreasing to make it justly proportionate.*

*In other words, I would favor equal and exact justice to each individual and to every interest, yielding neither to clamor on the one hand, nor being swerved from the straight course by any interest upon the other. This position, I am sure, is the only one which could commend itself to you, and cannot be criticised by any legitimate business honestly managed.*

*Sincerely yours,*

The Mr. Gill to whom this letter was addressed is one of the most enlightened and fair-minded corporation lawyers that I ever met, even in the West, where corporation men also are enlightened. He convinced me that he and the other railroad men really did expect more consideration than the governor gave them, and so there may have been a genuine misunderstanding. But after what I have seen in Chicago, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh, and in Missouri and Illinois and the United States, I almost am persuaded that no honest official in power can meet the expectations of great corporations; they have been spoiled, like bad American children, and are ever ready to resort to corruption and force. That was their recourse now.

Governor LaFollette says he learned afterward that during the campaign, the old, corrupt ring went about in the legislative districts, picking and "fixing" legislators, and that the plan was to discredit him with defeat by organizing the legislature against him. However this may be, it is certain that when his bills were under way, there was a rush to the lobby at Madison. The regular lobbyists were reinforced with special agents; local Stalwart leaders were sent for, and federal officeholders; United States senators hurried home, and congressmen; and boodle, federal patronage, force, and vice were employed to defeat bills promised in the platform. Here is a statement by Irvine L. Lenroot, now the Speaker of the Assembly. He says:

#### *Official Description of the Lobby*

"From the first day of the session the railroad lobbyists were on the ground in force, offering courtesies and entertainments of various kinds to the members. Bribery is a hard word, a charge which never should be made unless it can be substantiated. The writer has no personal

knowledge of money being actually offered or received for votes against the bill. It was, however, generally understood in the Assembly that any member favoring the bill could better his financial condition if he was willing to vote against it. Members were approached by representatives of the companies and offered lucrative positions. This may not have been done with any idea of influencing votes. The reader will draw his own conclusions. It was a matter of common knowledge that railroad mileage could be procured if a member was 'right.' Railroad lands could be purchased very cheaply by members of the legislature. It was said if a member would get into a poker game with a lobbyist, the member was sure to win. Members opposed to Governor LaFollette were urged to vote against the bill, because he wanted it to pass. A prominent member stated that he did not dare to vote for the bill, because he was at the mercy of the railroad companies, and he was afraid they would ruin his business by advancing his rates, if he voted for it."

I went to Superior and saw Mr. Lenroot, and he told me that one of the "members approached by representatives of the companies and offered positions" was himself. He gave his bribery stories in detail, and enabled me to run down and verify others; but the sentence that interested me most in his statement was the last. The member who did not dare vote for the railway tax bill, lest the railways raise the freight on his goods and ruin his business, confessed to Governor LaFollette and others. Another member stated that in return for his treason to his constituents, a railroad quoted him a rate that would give him an advantage over his competitors.

Well, these methods succeeded. The policy of the administration was not carried out. Some good bills passed, but the session was a failure. Not content with this triumph, however, the System went to work to beat LaFollette, and to accomplish this end, LaFollette's methods were adopted, or, rather, adapted. A systematic appeal was to be made to public opinion. A meeting of the leading Stalwarts was held in the eleventh story of an office building in Milwaukee, and a Permanent Republican League of the state of Wisconsin was organized. This became known as the "Eleventh Story League." A manifesto was put out "viewing with alarm" the encroachments of the executive upon the legislative branch of the government, etc., etc. (The encroachments of boodle business upon all branches of the government is all right.) An army of canvassers was dispatched over the state to interview personally every voter in the state and leave with him books and pamphlets. Now this was democratic and fair, but that League did one thing which is enough alone to condemn the whole movement. It corrupted part of the country press. This is not hearsay. The charge was made at the time these papers swung round suddenly, and the League said it did not bribe the editors; it "paid for space for League editorial matter, and for copies of the paper to be circulated." This is bribery, as any newspaper man knows. But there was also what even the League business man would call bribery; newspaper men all over the state told me about direct purchase—and cheap, too. It is sickening, but, for final evidence, I saw affidavits published in Wisconsin by newspaper men who were approached with offers which they refused, and by others who sold out, then threw up their contracts and returned the bribes, for shame or other reasons.

These "democratic" methods failed. When the time arrived for the next Republican state convention, the Stalwarts found that the people had sent up delegates instructed for LaFollette, and he was nominated for a second term. What could the Stalwarts do? They weren't even "regular" now. LaFollette had the party, they had only the federal patronage and the big business System. But the System had resources. Wherever a municipal reform movement has hewed to the line, the leaders of it, like Folk and the Chicago reformers, have seen the forces of corruption retire from one party to the other and from the city to the state. This Wisconsin movement for

state reform now had a similar experience. The Wisconsin System, driven out of the Republican, went over to the Democratic party; that had not been reformed; beaten out of power in the state, it retreated to the towns; they had not been reformed.

### *The System in the Towns*

The System in many of the Wisconsin municipalities was intact. There had been no serious municipal reform movements anywhere, and the citizens of Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Green Bay, etc., were pretty well satisfied, and they are still, apparently. "We're nothing like Minneapolis, St. Louis, and the rest," they told me with American complacency. Green Bay was exactly like Minneapolis; we know it because the wretched little place has been exposed since. And Marinette and Oshkosh, unexposed, are said by insiders to be "just like Green Bay." As for Milwaukee, that is St. Louis all over again.

District Attorney Bennett has had grand juries at work in Milwaukee since 1901, and he has some 42 persons indicted—12 aldermen, 10 supervisors, 9 other officials, 1 state senator, and 10 citizens; four convictions and three pleas of guilty. The grafting so far exposed is petty, but the evidence in hand indicates a highly perfected boodle system. The Republicans had the county, the Democrats the city, and both the council and the board of supervisors had combines which grafted on contracts, public institutions, franchises, and other business privileges. The corrupt connection of business and politics was shown; the informants were merchants and contractors, mostly small men, who confessed to bribery. The biggest caught so far is Colonel Pabst, the brewer, who paid a check of \$1,500 for leave to break a building law. But all signs point higher than beer, to more "legitimate" political business. As in Chicago, a bank is the center of this graft, and public utility companies are back of it. The politicians in the boards of management, now or formerly, show that. It is a bipartisan system all through. Henry C. Payne, while chairman of the Republican state Central Committee, and E. C. Wall (the man the Wisconsin Democracy offered to the National Democratic Convention for president of the United States), while chairman of the Democratic state Central Committee, engineered a consolidation of Milwaukee street railway and electric lighting companies, and, when the job was done, Payne became manager of the street railway, Wall of the light company. But this was "business." There was no scandal about it.

The great scandal of Milwaukee was the extension of street railway franchises, and the men who put that through were Charles F. Pfister, the Stalwart Republican boss, and David S. Rose, the Stalwart Democratic mayor. Money was paid; the extension was boodled through. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* reprinted a paragraph saying Pfister, among others, did the bribing, and thus it happened that the Stalwarts got that paper. Pfister sued for libel, but when the editors (now on the *Milwaukee Free Press*) made answer that their defense would be proof of the charge, the millionaire traction man bought the paper and its evidence, too. It is no more than fair to add—as Milwaukee newspaper men always do (with delight)—that the paper had very little evidence, not nearly so much as Pfister seemed to think it had. As for Mayor Rose, his friends declare that he has told them, personally and convincingly, that he got not one cent for his service. But that is not the point. Mayor Rose fought to secure for special interests a concession which sacrificed the common interests of his city. I am aware that he defends the terms of the grants as fair, and they would seem so in the East, but the West is intelligent on special privileges, and Mayor Rose lost to Milwaukee the chance Chicago seized to tackle the public utility problem. Moreover, Rose knew that his council was corrupt before it was proven so; he told two business men that they

couldn't get a privilege they sought honestly from him without bribing aldermen. Yet he ridiculed as "hot air" an investigation which produced evidence enough to defeat at the polls, in a self-respecting city, the head of an administration so besmirched. Nevertheless, Milwaukee reelected Rose; good citizens say that they gave the man the benefit of the doubt—the man, not the city.

But this is not the only explanation. The System was on trial with Mayor Rose in that election, and the System saved its own. The Republicans, with the Rose administration exposed, had a chance to win, and they nominated a good man, Mr. Guy D. Goff. Pfister, the Stalwart Republican boss, seemed to support Goff; certainly the young candidate had no suspicion to the contrary. He has now, however. When the returns came in showing that he was beaten, Mr. Goff hunted up Mr. Pfister, and he found him. Mr. Goff, the Republican candidate for mayor, found Charles F. Pfister, the Stalwart Republican boss, rejoicing over the drinks with the elected Democratic mayor, David S. Rose!

### *Both Rings Against LaFollette*

I guess Mr. Goff knows that a bipartisan System rules Milwaukee, and, by the same token, Governor LaFollette knows that there is a bipartisan System in Wisconsin. For when Governor LaFollette beat the Stalwarts in the Republican state convention of 1902, those same Stalwarts combined with the Democrats. Democrats told me that the Republican Stalwarts dictated the "Democratic" anti-LaFollette platform, and that Pfister, the "Republican" boss, named the "safe man" chosen for the "Democratic" candidate for governor to run against LaFollette—said David S. Rose.

"They" say in Wisconsin that LaFollette is a Democrat; that "he appeals to Democratic voters." He does. He admits it, but he adds that it is indeed to the Democratic voters that he appeals—not to the Democratic machine. And he gets Democratic votes. "They" complain that he has split the Republican party; he has, and he has split the Democratic party, too. When "they" united the two party rings of the bipartisan System against LaFollette in 1902, he went out after the voters of both parties, and those voters combined; they beat Rose, the two rings, and the System. The people of Wisconsin reelected LaFollette, the "unsafe," and that is why the trouble is so great in Wisconsin. The System there is down.

There is a machine, but it is LaFollette's. When he was re-elected, the governor organized his party, and I think no other of his offenses is quite so heinous in Stalwart eyes. They wanted me to expose him as a boss who had used state patronage to build up an organization. I reminded "them" that their federal patronage is greater than LaFollette's state patronage, and I explained that my prejudice was not against organization; their kind everywhere had been urging me so long to believe that organization was necessary in politics that I was disposed to denounce only those machines that sold out the party and the people. And as for the "boss"—it is not the boss in an elective office where he is responsible that is so bad, but the irresponsible boss back of a safe figurehead; this is the man that is really dangerous. They declared, however, that Governor LaFollette had sacrificed good service to the upbuilding of his machine. This is a serious charge. I did not go thoroughly into it. Cases which I investigated at Stalwart behest, held, with one exception, very little water, and I put no faith in the rest. But, for the sake of argument, let us admit that the departments are not all that they should be. What then? As in Chicago, the fight in Wisconsin is for self-government, not "good" government; it is a fight to re-establish a government representative of all the people. Given that; remove from control the Big Business



and the Bad Politics that corrupt all branches of the government, and “good “ government will come easily enough. But Big Business and Bad Politics are hard to beat.

The defeat of Rose did not beat them. The Stalwarts still had the Senate, and they manned the lobby to beat the railroad tax and the primary election bills. But Governor LaFollette outplayed them at the great game. He long had been studying the scheme for a state commission to regulate railway freight rates. It was logical. If their taxes were increased the roads could take the difference out of the people by raising freight rates. Other states had such commissions, and in some of them, notably Iowa and Illinois, the rates were lower than in Wisconsin. Moreover, we all know railroads give secret rebates and otherwise discriminate in favor of individuals and localities.

When then the battle lines were drawn on the old bills in the legislature of 1903, the governor threw into the fight a bristling message calling for a commission to regulate railway rates. The effect was startling. “Populism,” “Socialism,” “they” cried, and they turned to rend this new bill. They let the tax bill go through to fight this fresh menace to “business.” They held out against the primary election bill also, for if that passed they feared the people might keep LaFollette in power forever. Even that, however, they let pass finally, with an amendment for a referendum. Concentrating upon the rate commission bill, Big Business organized business men’s mass meetings throughout the state, and with the help of favored or timid shippers, sent committees to Madison to protest to the legislature. Thus this bill in the interests of fair business was beaten by business, and, with the primary election referendum, is an issue in this year’s campaign.

As I have tried to show, however, the fundamental issue lies deeper. The people of Wisconsin understand this. The Stalwarts dread the test at the polls. But what other appeal was there? They knew one. When the Republican state convention met this year, the Stalwarts bolted; whatever the result might have been of a fight in the convention, they avoided it and held a separate convention in another hall, which, by the way, they had hired in advance. The Halfbreeds renominated LaFollette; the Stalwarts put up another ticket. To the Stalwart convention came Postmaster-General Payne, United States senators Spooner and Quarles, Stalwart congressmen and federal officeholders—the Federal System. The broken state System was appealing to the United States System, and the Republican National Convention at Chicago was to decide the case. And it did decide—for the System. I attended that convention, and heard what was said privately and honestly. The Republicans who decided for Payne-Spooner-Pfister-Babcock, et al., said “LaFollette isn’t really a Republican anyhow.”

Isn’t he? That is a most important question. True, he is very democratic essentially. He helped to draw the McKinley tariff law and he is standing now on the national Republican platform; his democracy consists only in the belief that the citizens elected to represent the people should represent the people, not the corrupt special interests. Both parties should be democratic in that sense. But they aren’t. Too often we have found both parties representing graft—big business graft. The people, especially in the West, are waking to a realization of this state of things, and (taking a hint from the big grafters) they are following leaders who see that the way to restore government representative of the common interests of the city or state, is to restore to public opinion the control of the dominant party. The Democrats of Missouri have made their party democratic; the Republicans of Illinois have made their party democratic. The next to answer should be the people of Wisconsin. The Stalwarts hope the courts will decide. They hope their courts will uphold the decision of the National Republican Party, that they, who represent all that is big and bad in business and politics, are the regular “Republicans.” This isn’t

right. The people of Wisconsin are not radicals; they are law-abiding, conservative, and fair. They will lay great store by what their courts shall rule, but this is a question that should be left wholly to the people themselves. And they are to be trusted, for no matter how men may differ about Governor LaFollette otherwise, his long, hard fight has developed citizenship in Wisconsin—honest, reasonable, intelligent citizenship. And that is better than “business”; that is what business and government are for—men.