OUR EFFECT ON THE SPEAKER.

One of the cleverest platform speakers in America says that the Ford Hall folks constitute the most difficult audience to speak to in America. He bases that statement on personal experience. We had him with us about two years ago and it was a brilliantly successful evening. Not only in his address, but also in his handling of the questions, he was exceptionally fine. He did it so easily, apparently, and so used to speaking to audiences, large and small, all over the country that I was amazed when he told me the other day that his evening at Ford Hall cost him a week's vitality. In fact, the strain was so severe that notwithstanding he had made another engagement with us for this spring, he cancelled the date because he was not feeling quite up to the mark physically.

He has filled his other engagements in connection with his annual trip to this part of the country and felt quite equal to them, but didn't feel quite robust enough to meet the ordeal of another engagement at Ford Hall just at this time. This is the more remarkable to me because we have seldom had a speaker on our platform who has more completely won the sympathy of his entire audience than he did. Maybe that was the reason after all. A vigorous exercise of sympathy is as devitalizing as a sharp combat with opponents.

Many another speaker have I heard giving expression to a similar experience with the Ford Hall audiences. Probably we don't begin to appreciate what a tax it is on every speaker on our platform who has more completely won the sympathy of his entire audience than he did. Maybe that was the reason after all. A vigorous exercise of sympathy is as devitalizing as a sharp combat with opponents.

I will never forget the night when a young man in the gallery floored completely one of the great intellectual leaders of the country with these two questions: "Isn't it true that the ablest biologists of the day all agree that consciousness is nothing more nor less than the interaction of nervous forces?" When the reply from the speaker indicated that there was another school of biologists quite as eminent as the one named, who would disagree entirely with that statement, the voice from the gallery insistently added, "Name one," and the great man on the spur of the moment couldn't do it.

Do you wonder that there is an unusual strain in addressing a Ford Hall meeting? How necessary then it is to show the speaker every possible consideration and courtesy consistent with getting at the truth. And that is what we have a reputation for doing.

NEXT SUNDAY'S PROGRAM.

Dr. J. A. McDonald, editor of the Toronto Globe, is to address us next Sunday on the subject of "War and the Human Breed." Dr. McDonald is the most powerful speaker in Canada and is widely known in this country, especially in religious circles. He and his paper are the leading forces in Canada in favor of reciprocity with the United States, that policy being but a part of his attitude towards all brother nations.

An extra treat for that evening will be the character readings of Warren G. Richards, who will render for us the "Lil' Brown Baby" of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, and Eugene Field's inimitable "Seeh Things at Night." Mr. Richards is an artist in the delineation of character, all his effects being obtained by quick facial transformations. Pure artistic fun may very well have a place, now and then, at a Ford Hall meeting. Another feature of interest, next Sunday, will be the extra-size issue of this paper with many pleasant echoes of the Birthday in it.
The Celebration.

All these elements got into the birthday celebration, and mingled themselves with others vitaly Christian that have made the meeting so remarkable, and rendered them so attractive to the working poor. There has been something in the vibrant atmosphere that put every speaker at his best, and that something was the friendly co-operation of the Ford Hall people.

2 FORD HALL FOLKS

THE PRAYER.

(Preceding Mr. Anderson's Address.)

Grant us, we pray, a mutual respect and consideration for each other though we have come from the ends of the earth, though we have come, some yesterday and some very long ago. Give us the joy of mutual interests, the delights of a common life and the satisfaction that comes of an eager sharing in the hopes for a better day. We thank Thee for that hardness of life which is helping to make us strong and self-reliant. We rejoice in the larger measure of freedom and opportunity which our adopted country affords us. We bless the men and women, who, coming earlier than we, have helped us on our way. Keep us, O God, from ever harboring that contempt for people less favored than ourselves, which is often meted out to us by those whose lot has been more favorable than our own. Help us, one and all, foreigners and natives, ever establish and established citizens, men of every nation and class, to come to a friendly knowledge of each other, to work together in good will, and to uphold the rights of all mankind against all forms of greed, misrepresentation, and oppression. Amen.

PUBLICITY AND SOCIAL ADVANCE.

The evils of secrecy in matters of general concern, and the advantages of openness, were clearly shown by Dr. Talcott Williams, director of the School of Journalism at Columbia University, in an address recently delivered before the Public Forum of the Church of the Ascension, on the subject, "Publicity as a Cure for Social Evils." Dr. Williams said, in the course of the evening, that society can advance only to the extent that each member of it recognizes his responsibility to every other member, and that society can cleanse itself only when it knows what are the evils to be removed. Only by the aid of publicity, he believes, can society advance.

Dr. Williams' forty years of service as reporter, correspondent and editorial writer have given him the right to give with authority, and his tribute to the social value of the press is just, as we at Ford Hall very well know. We owe much to the friendly co-operation of our Boston papers!
IMMIGRANT SEES IT.

I Stewart Anderson of
Mass., at the Ford
Setting, Feb. 16, 1913.)

I, tonight as one who
knew, asking the par-
cipants a sort of family talk,
and here we shall all come to
sit down. And here we found a people
more nearly free than those of any
other land. Here are no separate
zones in which alone the Hebrews
may live. Here is no military con-
scription. Here is no state-support-
ed religious tyranny. Here there can
be no political tyranny that the votes
of the people cannot, in time, over-
throw. And while the economic sys-
tem is like that of other civilized
countries, its rule over us differs in
this, that if a majority of the voters
of the United States should make up
their minds to bring about a funda-
mental change, there is neither king,
caesar, kaiser, nor franchise limitation,
to prevent its consummation. (Ap-
plause.) Therefore, even in respect
to the economic system the people
of the United States are their own
masters—they are free. And so,
that our fatherlands were lands of
lesser liberty, or of infamous tyran-
ny, and because we have found here
so much that we sought, and because
our help is needed in working out
our country's problems, a special ob-
ligation rests upon us to bring to
our citizenship a burning and un-
quenchable devotion to democracy;
that this nation shall move on to a
still higher standard of liberty, with
social justice as its attainable goal.
Ungrudgingly, and reverently, let us constantly renew
our reverence for such things as
safety for our children that
in our private lives.

FORD HALL FOLKS

earlier life was in lands whose people
must yet reap a long time before
they reach a state of political free-
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...
It is the time for joy, for the celebration of this great victory, for the praise and glory of God. For the time has come when we can say, "The Lord is on our side; He has heard our voice and given us victory." (Verse 14.)

And so I say that we of foreign origin, in giving our best to our adopted land, should give plenteously of our hearts and souls, as the members of the Social Union Committee did, that they might help to build up the nation and to make it a land of freedom and justice.

And these evils are many. I shall not recount them to you or revel in them, for you know them better than I. But let us, as a people, take one of them—Child Labor. Suffering is the badge of manhood and womanhood. We are used to it. We accept it as a part of life's penalty. We do not see it morally, that later it may not be necessary.

FORD HALL FOLKS

than those of their own class are their brothers, and that their social needs are the same. Further, some of us lack the inspiration that comes from knowing that a rapidly-growing large body of such headworkers as editors, ministers, lecturers, and professors in colleges, universities, and theological seminaries are united with fighting zeal for the cause of human rights. We are too apt to regard hostile aliens to our cause and to our hearts at all cost. We do not see and know, and to believe that we alone are bearing the burden, we alone are fighting for justice. This is a sin, of tolerance, and it is costly to our cause.

And so I say that we of foreign origin, in giving our best to our adopted land, should give plenteously of our hearts and souls, as the members of the Social Union Committee did, that they might help to build up the nation and to make it a land of freedom and justice.

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and frequently so twists and later it may not be cut, to produce children successfully bearing at heavy burden which is the nest. And the posteri to produce an offspring bear in a man, or a factory, and they have swelled to such clame of mournful sound, a nation has turned at first pitying eye at this maltreated children, to the children of mill, mine, I join the child renements.

I am tolerant of this bill that economic sacrifice and be borne philosophical on the contrary, and scary—which it is not, on to be filled with reason toward child laundred you that a large these children are children. I would ask you to bear to yourself you and by remembering lay down your lives far off from them. I attention to a recent report house conditions which it is recorded faced toddlers four common among ten year workers. And I but there is recorded at a mother and her.

The oldest was four worked long hours and then—O God longest, an eighteen it worked with tiny upon artificial flow, help to buy food for infant body from coffin and a baby's uncomfortable men, you see, who with hard Hey want, suffering, our praying of eco that heart-breaking does not melt you, if God, be dumb for her.

children weeping, ours, comes with years? their young heads mothers,

But that cannot stop their tears.
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows.
The young birds are chirping in their nest.
The young fawns are playing with the shadows.
The young flowers are blowing toward the west.

But the young, young children, O my brothers,

They are weeping bitterly!
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free! For a little bread and a little meat,
For two poor soles for his weary feet,
For a tattered coat and a bed of rage,
And a curse or a blow if he ever lags,
For a right to live as a worm may live,
He gives up all that a child may give.
I do not believe that under the present economic system child labor can be totally abolished. (Applause.)

But I do believe that society can, through an adjustment forced by legislation, maintain itself without the labor of the children. Let us use our influence and our votes—not waiting for a fundamental economic change—to tear this accursed thing out of the life of the nation and to give the children their birthright. (Applause.) It has been said of the children, "of such is the kingdom of heaven." I ask, should they not first have their kingdom here upon earth? (Applause.)

As members of a class—inimical upon whom evil such as title deeds, and as men and women specially obligated to good citizenship, let us be unyieldingly intolerant toward them.

Let me reflect one more thought of this nature. We are hearing a good deal about the right of a man or a woman to be born under conditions that shall make probable at maturity a sound body and mind and normal morals. Thinking men and women are pointing out that our horses, our oxen, our logs are the product or selection of parents and birth conditions. For our domestic animals must yield their maximum of market value or of prize-taking value. But man—

We know that man commonly comes without a special invitation, and frequently he comes unwelcomed, hated, and thousands and tens of thousands of him, for themselves and for society, had better not have come at all—so far as human judgment can determine. It is unjust toproduce a man who must limp, physically mentally, morally, through life, hideously unjust to him, and economically unjust to society. And it is worthy of note, and of admiration, that woman, the mother of the race, is beginning to proclaim insistently the right of proper parenthood. (Applause.) I know that the problem is interlocked with other problems, but we can begin with its simpler elements, and let them lead us on. We build for posterity, and what better could we do for posterity than to provide good parentage? Give men a chance at the very gateway of life. There will then be less need to demand it later. (Applause.) Woman is thinking and saying that her offspring is entitled to at least as favorable birth conditions as are provided for a calf or a foal or a prize puppy or an Angora kitten. And is she not right? (Applause.)

For what a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculties! In form and moving, how like an angel! In apprehension, how like a god! The paragon of animals! The beauty of the world! We cannot speak of woman nowadays—indeed when we read the English news we cannot even think of her—without running head-on into woman suffrage. Straight from the soul of democracy comes the demand that woman shall have political equality with man. (Applause.) And the opponents of it might as well stand on the shore of the restless sea and bid the rising tide turn back, as to try with their impotent voices to roll back the rising tide of triumphant democracy. (Applause.) I shall not argue this cause; there is no need of it. For woman suffrage is democracy's temple. All over the civilized world woman is coming into her political own. And at least ten states of the American Union have enfranchised her. May Massachusetts—freedom loving Massachusetts—spare the shame of being last on the list; and she will be spared if the standpat legislators in yonder building can be dislodged. (Laughter and applause.) The United States is nominally a republican democracy, but it will not be in reality a republican democracy until the remainder of the states shall have given the franchise to the now excluded half—not the worse half—of their adult population. (Applause.) Woman of right ought to be the po-
Hiclim equal of man. She is his moral superior, even though man was made a little lower than the angels. Society needs the political participation of woman, and woman, for her own protection and because it is her natural right, should be a part of it.

When man and woman are politically equal, the vision of democracy will become like an inspired prophecy. For every unit of democracy will be armed for the final struggle with the most powerful weapon that the citizen can use over the vote! This is a country of ballots, and not bullets and bombs. Blind leaders of the blind are they who would try to conquer the will and the judgment of the American people by violence. Futility would be their warfare, and the chief result would be to do away indefinitely the victory of reason; and all the sins of the age would be repeated. For it has been written in the hearts of this people from the very founding of the nation that the will of the majority, freely made known in democratic form, shall be recognized as the collective will of the people. They believe that "freedom slowly hardens from precedent to precedent." They are devoted to internal peace. They know that through the ballot wrongs can, in time, be driven out. They will not tolerate the substitution of a reign of terror for the reign of law. And if the time should ever come when the power to express the popular will in orderly manner was seriously menaced, millions of them, millions were the necessary, would rise and, forgetting their own social wrongs and all else save the danger to their country, would strike down the enemies of peaceful progress, whether they were foreign-born or native. For that reason, if for none other, violence is madness. And, too, already the seeds of social and economic of the extensive practice of it, has done injury to us of alien origin. What do we hear? "That's what comes of letting in ignorant foreigners. They're a pack of anarchists. The government ought to keep them out." We should not be silent concerning this doctrine of violence. We should speak out loudly and frequently. And the party is listening for our voice. Let it be heard!

And what is this vision of democracy? It is the coming condition of when there shall be no starvation line—when there shall not be a class of makers enslaved to a class of takers—when the crimes produced by poverty shall have disappeared—when womanhood shall not be sold for bread—when children shall not be driven in droves by the lash of need—when the providing of food, clothing, shelter, shall not exhaust the strength and kill the soul of the worker—when men and women shall not in their old age crawl almost crustless to their graves—when abundance shall have replaced poverty—when reason, and music and art, and science, and our thoughts, and all that we all,—and religion—the breath of God,—shall beautify and glorify human life and there shall be one vast brotherhood of the peoples of the world. (Applause.)

Far-off, far-off will be the fulfillment of this prophecy, but the race is young. Here in America, with its citizenship the nation, on earth, and with a free democracy as its existing rich endowment, we face the beckoning future. We shall educate our way toward it, and we shall vote our way toward it. We are confronted at the outset by a choice of two political systems, each of which, some of its respective advocates assert, is capable of giving realization to our vision. One of them is the old political system, and the other is the leading in the socialist system. (Applause.) What should be our attitude toward them? Shall we, while ignorant of the merits or demerits of either or both of them, accept one and reject the other? Or shall we, sensible of the dignity of our political manhood and of our American citizenship, prepare for our momentous choice by a careful study of the principles of both systems, so that when we by ballot manifest our will, intelligence and conscience shall guide us, and each shall speak for himself and not as a mere registrar of the opinion of another. (Applause.)

And now, with this preparation for the ballot, let us proceed to the principles of both systems, so that when we by ballot manifest our will, intelligence and conscience shall guide us, and each shall speak for himself and not as a mere registrar of the opinion of another. (Applause.)
revenue, restoration of competition, decentralization of governmental authority—will raise the wage-earner far above the starvation line, will lead to a time when the multitude shall not be the enslaved wealth-producers for the few, and will reform society through the enforcement of justice, then vote as a democrat.

Or if you believe that the dominance of prohibition principles would usher in the golden age, vote as a prohibitionist. And whether we so vote or not if every man and woman in the nation were to adopt the chief principles of the prohibition party as a rule of conduct in his or her life, society would undergo such a transformation, physical, moral, mental, financial, as probably nothing else but an economic change could produce. (Applause.)

Or if you believe that the progressive party, with its adherence to an equitable tariff and its acknowledgment of the inevitability of capitalistic and industrial combination, is the one safe and sure route to social justice, because also it is preparing the minds of the people for still more radical social measures than it has yet proposed, and is putting into the hands of the people instruments for the introduction of those measures into the national life, then vote as a progressive. Also, if you are of those who believe that social evils must always exist, that the poor must always be with us, and that the enactment into law of progressive measures already proposed would be like soothing the agonzized nerve of society with a morphine pill, so that a genuine remedy would no longer, or soon again, be demanded, then also vote as a progressive. (Laughter.)

But if you believe that from the competitive system cannot come the cessation of class warfare and the abolition of war among the nations, and that it cannot evolve a social state in which the powers and aspirations of the members can have full scope and a just and satisfying fruition; and if you believe that the adoption of socialists principles would eventually give glorious reality to the vision of the people, then, as a man and as an American, do all in your power,—by voting as a socialist, or by voting with any party that may be advancing the cause of socialism,—to swell the million votes of the last election into a volume, overwhelming and sustained, that shall bring men—the heir of the ages—in triumph to his destined heritage! (Applause.)

I cannot take my seat until I have exalted this theme of human rights into the highest plane. In all ages mankind has had gods or a god. And in these latter days men of every religion and creed, and of no stated religion and no creed, almost universally believe that there is a supreme being who is the life of all life and the source of every ennobling ideal that leads man steadfastly on and on until the enroiling gloom of the mystery of human life. And although I cannot prove His existence to your satisfaction or my own, I am not ashamed to name here the name of God, and to acknowledge my belief that man is made in His image, and to say that justice must eventually reign in the lives of men because God is. That God which ever lives and loves; One God, one law, one element, And one far-off, divine event To which the whole creation moves! (Prolonged applause.)

SOME OF THE QUESTIONS.

Q. 'How can we call America so free when conditions existed as we have seen in Lawrence?'
A. If that were general all over America, I would say that we cannot call America free. It happens in isolated cases. I do not think that proves that America is not free. (Applause.)

Q. Is capitalism going to be strong enough to prevent such legislation as is necessary to wipe out child labor?
A. No, it is not. Public opinion is against it. In my statement I said I do not believe under the present economic system, child labor could ever be totally abolished. That was my statement. (Applause.)

Q. Are not the English suffragetts justified in using force because that is the only thing an Englishman can understand? (Laughter and applause.)
A. I think if the English suffragette used just enough mild force to resist the English government, it would not do much harm, but when it comes to destroying the railroad and cutting telephone lines I do not believe that it is right.

Q. What does the speaker think of the immigration bill that is now before the Senate?
A. That is the illiteracy test. It has been vetoed by the President. What little I have read about it, I do not like that illiteracy test. It seems to me that it would keep out men and
Ford Hall's Birthday Party

BY CHARLES H. WATSON.

Boston, is five years old now, and knows its products. On Feb. 23, 1917, a notable incident occurred in the history of American broadcasting. It is the birthday of Ford Hall. The celebration was a remarkable and moving event. The spirit that brought it about is a reflection of the indomitable spirit of the people who associate with Ford Hall.

The Celebration.

All these elements got into the birthday celebration, and mingled themselves with others vital to American life. It is the birthday of Ford Hall.

The Point of Meeting.

Ford Hall came together when it was determined to provide a place where the working poor could gather to discuss matters of concern to them. The house was crammed full of prepared-to-speak minds that were overreaching the social conditions. They had the look of finding expression for the deepest and most authoritative recognition and vindication of the struggle. True, it is not a church and there is no real house party for which the average church has little use. It is not a place for private, intellectual, or social gatherings, but it is a place for the community. Those who entered the meeting hall did so with the purpose of bettering their condition. The fame of it and the fame of it are everywhere of the complete identification of a man with a cause.

When George W. Coleman began, as did the real Col. A. W. Coleman, both had existed before, but 1908, did they discover just what they were for.

The Struggle to Survive.

A price to pay for a thing so unconventional in the South. It is a struggle that education of the negro industrially is the only solution of the problem. I think we shall find there will be less of that in the South. It is a problem whose end is doubtful and of the great problems of the country.

If the Puritan immigrant was not tolerant of the Indian that he found here, how can we expect our present-day immigrants to be tolerant of the native minority who seek to rule and control? (Laughter.)

A. I do not ask him to be tolerant. I simply suggested the need of tolerance toward any man whose social remedy differs from our own and the need of understanding, of ears and eyes to the knowledge that vast numbers of those who do not work with their hands are wage earners like ourselves; therefore they are brothers. They, too, like we, are suffering under present conditions. I do not ask him or anybody else to be tolerant under the present conditions. I distinctly said, let us be intolerant towards evil.

Q. In view of the value we put on individual liberty, why do we discriminate against the negro race in the South?

A. That is a question of racial antipathy. That is the root of it. It extends all over this world-races do not get along well. It was the root of the struggle in the South. But through education of the negro and through a growing sense on the part of the southerners that education of the negro industrially is the only solution of the problem, I think we shall find there will be less of that in the South. It is a problem whose end is doubtful and of the great problems of the country.

Q. Don't the speaker think that some fine morning he is going to wake up and find himself a socialist? (Laughter and applause.)

A. I don't ask that of all parties, the socialist party should be most tolerant toward the Progressive party. (Applause.) The Progressives are made up of men and women whose minds are breaking away from the old opinions.

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